Motion Events in Chantyal

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1. INTRODUCTION

On the surface of it, spatial reference — descriptions of where something is located or descriptions of trajectories — should be fairly simple and relatively uniform across languages. After all, the basic spatial relationships [up/down, left/right, front/back, over/under, to/from, etc.] would seem to be basic to the human understanding of the world, and, further, children learn about spatial relationships before they begin speaking. On the basis of such considerations, many theorists believed that children should map their pre-established spatial categories onto those of the language they are learning, with the result that the expression of spatial relationships in different languages should involve mostly the substitution of different words for the same conceptual categories.

Empirical investigation of spatial reference in the languages of the world reveals a much more complicated picture. While there are certainly some similarities in spatial reference across languages, there are also deep differences. In this paper, I'll present a description of motion events in Chantyal[1] ['tsʰʌntjɑl] from the perspective of the by-now-familiar framework of Leonard Talmy [1985, 1991, 2000] as extended and elaborated by Dan Slobin [1996, 1997, 2000, 2003; Berman & Slobin 1994]. I will show that while Chantyal can be classified as a verb-framed language according to Talmy's typology, it exhibits many characteristics of typical satellite-framed languages.

The Chantyal language is spoken in the Myagdi District of Nepal by about 2000 of the 11,000 ethnic Chantyal. It is a member of the Tamangic subgroup of the Bodic branch of the Sino-Tibetan family. Other Tamangic languages include Gurung, Manange, Nar-Phu, Seke, Tamang, Thakali and perhaps some others.[2]

This paper will be organized as follows: in §2 I provide a brief discussion of Talmy's typology of event types and describe the ways in which Chantyal conforms to the verb-framed language [V-language] type; in §3 I'll discuss the ways in which Chantyal deviates from typical members of this type and behaves like a satellite-framed language [S-language]; and in §4 I provide a summary and discussion of the facts presented in the paper.
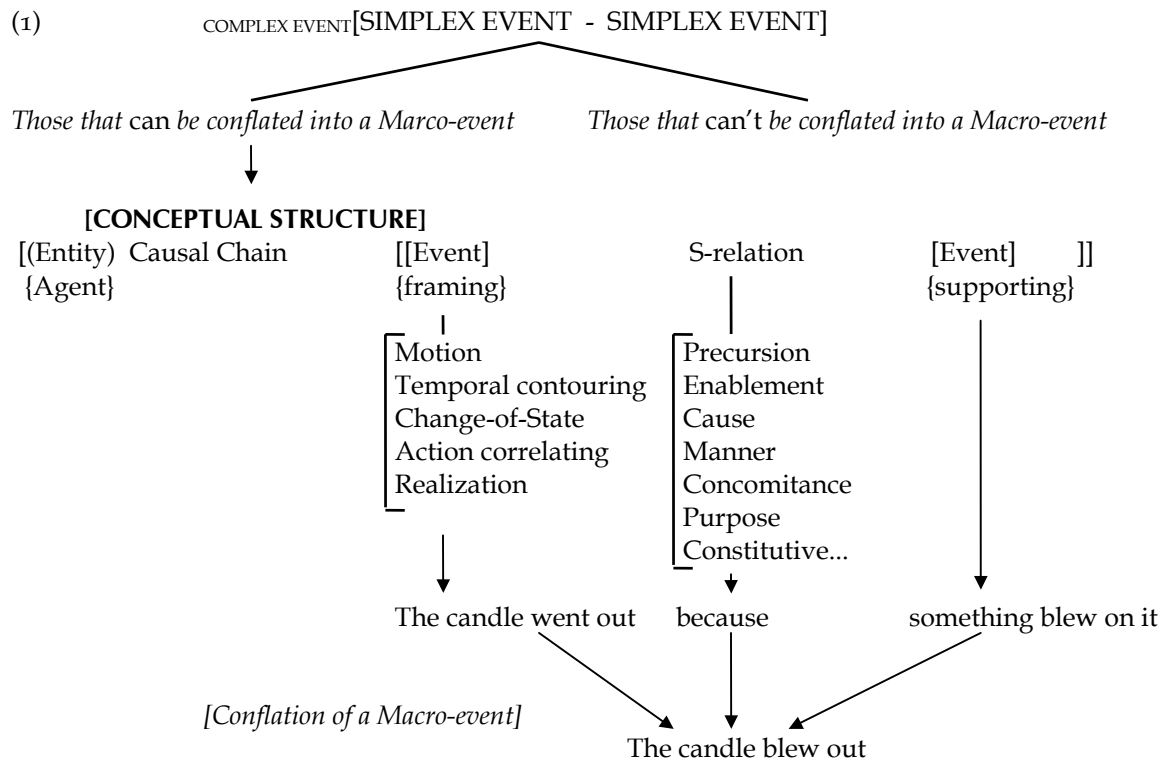
2. CHANTYAL AS A VERB-FRAMED LANGUAGE

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[2] Mazaudon in many publications [*e.g.* 2003] has referred to this group as the TGMT group.

In this section, I discuss Talmy's typology of event types and show the ways in which Chantyal behaves as a typical verb-framed language.

2.1 *Talmy's typology:* Talmy's [1991, 2000] typology of event types claims that *events* [or *event complexes*] can be decomposed into a set of *simplex events* on the basis of some perhaps universal principles. In certain instances, these simplex events within an event complex may be *conflated* into a *macro-event*. Within each macro-event, there is a simplex event that constitutes a *framing event* which delineates a certain type of schematic structure [these are also referred to as *domain-schematizing events*]. There are five sorts of framing events: motion, temporal contouring, change-of-state, action correlating, and realization (Talmy 1991). The relation between the framing event and the other, supporting event is given by the *supportive relation* [S-relation].
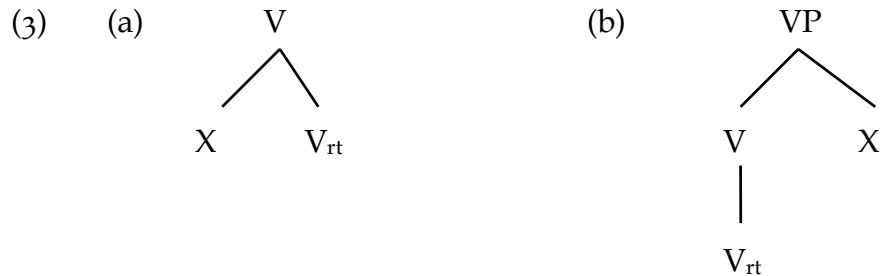
(1)   COMPLEX EVENT[SIMPLEX EVENT - SIMPLEX EVENT]

Those that can *be conflated into a Marco-event*   *Those that* can't *be conflated into a Macro-event*

[CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE]
[(Entity) Causal Chain   [[Event]   S-relation   [Event]   ]]
  {Agent}   {framing}   {supporting}

| |
Motion   Precursion
Temporal contouring   Enablement
Change-of-State   Cause
Action correlating   Manner
Realization   Concomitance
                         Purpose
                         Constitutive...

The candle went out   because   something blew on it

[Conflation of a Macro-event]
                              The candle blew out

Each sort of *framing event* [or domain schematization event] has the following four structural features:
(2)   1. figural entity [generally set by context]   OBJECT
         2. ground elements   LOCATIONS
         3. activating process [two values: transition/no-transition] MOTION
         4. relating function   PATH
Either the relating function alone or the relating function and the ground elements can be considered the *core schema* of the framing event.
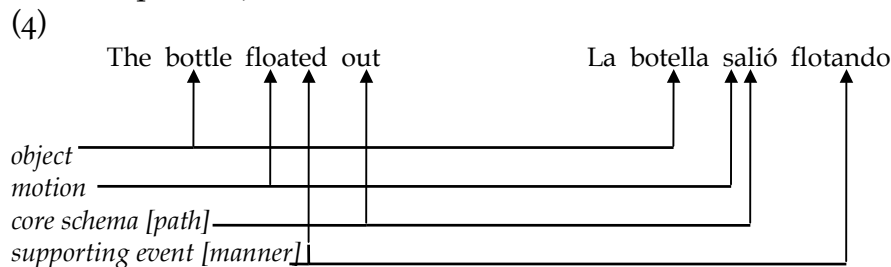   The new typology concerns the syntactic placement of the core schema [*i.e.* path or location], whether in the *verb* or in a *satellite*.

Talmy defines a satellite as a grammatical constituent, other than a nomimal argument, that has a sister relation to the verb. This includes a wide variety of grammatical entities, including: English verb particles, verb prefixes [separable & inseparable] in German, verb prefixes in Latin and the Slavic languages, co-verbs in Chinese and Lahu, Caddo incorporated nouns, Atsugewi polysynthetic affixes to the verb, etc. Given the definition, and given the examples of satellites mentioned [but not illustrated] in Talmy (1991:486), we can interpret Talmy's definition in two ways as illustrated below [where the linear order is irrelevant, 'X' is a satellite, and X ≠ NP]:

(3) (a)   V   (b)   VP

          X V_{rt} V   X

                                                     |
                                                  V_{rt}

When the core schemata are mapped onto the verb, we have a *framing verb* and the language is *verb-framed*. When the core schemata are mapped onto a satellite, we have a *framing satellite* and the language is said to be *satellite-framed*.

Satellite-framed languages [S-languages] typically map the *supporting event* onto the main verb, which is then called a *supporting verb*, *e.g.* 'floated' in the English example in (4). Verb-framed languages [V-languages] typically map the supporting event onto a satellite or adjunct, typically a PP or an adverbial, *e.g.* the converb [*flotando*] in the Spanish example in (4).

(4)

The bottle floated out   La botella salió flotando

object
motion
core schema [path]
supporting event [manner]

2.2 *Chantyal's place in Talmy's typology:* In general, Chantyal fits quite well into Talmy's typology and patterns like a typical V-language. We see this, for example, in sentences like (5)

(5) **na-sə marak-ra latti-sə lɦi-si-rə   bən   la-i³**
     I-ERG door-DAT kick-INST hit-ANT-SEQ closed do-PERF
     'I kicked the door shut'

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³ Colloquially, this sentence would likely be rendered as
   na-sə marak-ra latti-sə lɦi-si-rə   bən   la-si   pin-ji
   I-ERG door-DAT kick-INST kick-ANT-SEQ closed do-ANT give-PERF
   'I kicked the door shut'
where the now main verb **pin-ji** 'gave' would signal that the event was done to the door's detriment.

where the supporting event [kicking] is subordinated as a sequential [anterior] converb. Contrast this with the English translation, where the supporting event is made into the main verb [*kicked*] and the core schema is a satellite [*shut*]. Similar arrangements of information, typical of V-languages, can be found for other event types:

(6) **khi gɦãti-ri ɦar ɦəlji-si-rə   si-i**
   he throat-LOC bone get.stuck-ANT-SEQ die-PERF
   'He choked to death on a bone'
   [CHOKE = supporting event, DIE = core schema]

(7) **na-sə məynbətti phur-si-rə bətti sar-ji**
   I-ERG candle blow-ANT-SEQ light kill-PERF
   'I blew the candle out'
   [BLOW = supporting event; EXTINGUISH/GO OUT = core schema]

(8) **na-sə kəmes khur-si-rə səffa la-i**
   I-ERG shirt wash-ANT-SEQ clean do-PERF
   'I washed the shirt clean'
   [WASH = supporting event; MAKE CLEAN = core schema]

For all these sentences, S-language English makes the supporting event the main verb, whereas in V-language Chantyal the core schema is rendered by the main verb.

  Motion events are likewise rendered by sentences that, in important respects, conform to the V-language type. In these sentences the core schema, the path, is expressed by the main verb. (9) illustrates this basic pattern:

(9) **bətəl kwi-phyã-phyãraŋ nacci-gəy wadar-nɦari-gəmsə tɦõ-i**
   bottle water-SUPER   dance-PROG cave-INES-ABL   exit-PERF
   'The ball floated out of the cave'

The verb **tɦõ-** 'exit, go out' contains the core schema, namely the specification of path; the supporting event, translated in English as 'float' but expressed in Chantyal as 'dancing on water', is rendered in Chantyal as a progressive converb.

  The verb *float* in the English translation of (9) conflates [*i.e.* expresses as a single word] the fact of motion and the manner in which the motion was carried out. In general, Chantyal does not favor sentences describing motion events in which manner is mapped onto the main verb. Sentences like (9) or (10)

(10) **na-sə phurbal latti-sə lɦi-si-rə bakəs-nɦari wõ-i**
   I-ERG ball kick-INST hit-ANT-SEQ box-INES enter-PERF
   'I kicked the ball into the box'

are fully idiomatic, but sentences like (9′) or (10′) are not, even though the grammatical means to express them [a verb expressing manner and the inessive and ablative case clitics] is available to the language:

(9′) **#bətəl kwi-phyã-phyãraŋ wadar-nɦari-gəmsə nacci-i**
   bottle water-SUPER   cave-INES-ABL   dance-PERF
   'The bottle floated out of the cave'

(10′) **#na-sə phurbal latti-sə bakəs-nɦari lɦi-i**
   I-ERG ball kick-INST box-INES hit-PERF
   'I kicked the ball into the box'

Such sentences, descriptions of motion events where the main verb expresses manner, are simply not encountered in Chantyal discourse except under special conditions described below. Chantyal characteristically places information about manner into a verb rendered as the head of a converbal clause. This is usually the case even when manner is expressed by means of the 'expressive vocabulary'— idiomatic, often reduplicated forms typically accompanied by **la-** 'do' rendered as a converb, as in (11) and (12):

(11)   **bɦalu nə   dɦəŋ dɦəŋ la-gəy   ni   ca-ŋ   kha-i**
        bear   TOPIC   staggering   do-PROG   little   this.place-LOC   come-PERF
        'Bear staggered a little ways over here'

(12)   **phuttə phuttə   la-gəy   day-muwari   ɦya-i**
        hopping   do-PROG   elder.brother-ADES   go-PERF
        'He hopped toward his elder brother'

Again, notice that in the English translations manner is expressed in the main verb, which functions also as a verb of motion. In Chantyal, manner expressions generally do not also express motion; instead motion is expressed with a verb which conflates motion and path [*go, come, enter, exit,* etc.] and such verbs are usually a required component in the expression of motion events. Case clitics, the locative and adessive clitics in the examples above, refine the expression of path but still require the presence of a motion verb. In this respect, Chantyal is again typical of V-languages (Slobin 1996, 2000).

      Chantyal, however, does possess a few verbs which conflate manner and motion, *e.g.* the verbs **pɦala-** 'walk' and **dugri-** 'run', and these verbs have some special properties. They differ from verbs like **lɦi-** 'hit' in that their basic meanings involve motion along a path. They do not, however, specify a path, unlike the verbs **ɦya-** 'go', **kha-** 'come', **wõ-** 'enter', and **tɦõ-** 'exit', which include the specification of path in their basic meanings. The specification of path in the basic meanings of verbs has important consequences for Chantyal grammar.

      To see how this is so, we need to introduce a few terminological distinctions. Locative expressions can be divided into those that are *static* [position involving no movement] or *dynamic* [position within a path or trajectory]; if they are dynamic, they can denote the *source*, *route*, or *goal*:

(13)   STATIC: position involving no movement
          *the cup is **on** the table*
        SOURCE [DYNAMIC]:   the beginning point of the path or trajectory
          *the girl ran **from** the house*
        ROUTE [DYNAMIC]:   the route taken by the path or trajectory
          *the boy ran **on/along** the path*
        GOAL [DYNAMIC]:   the end point of the path or trajectory
          *the girl ran **to** the school*

Among the dynamic expressions, we can distinguish source and goal from route: the former express beginnings and endpoints of trajectories and can, following Aske (1989), be referred to as *telic*; static and route expressions are *atelic*.

      Motion verbs that do not specify path [*e.g.* 'walk', 'run'] occur freely with atelic path expressions, as in the following sentences:

(14) **mənchi tɦim-nas dugri-i**
    person house-ALL run-PERF
    'the man ran toward his house'

(15) **kyeti chana-pɦyaraŋ pɦara-i**
    girl roof-SUPER walk-PERF
    'the girl walked on the roof'

(16) **kyata kɦyam-əŋ pɦara-i**
    boy path-LOC walk-PERF
    'the boy walked on/along the path'

However, when telic [source or goal] paths are expressed, a path verb almost always occurs as the main verb with the *manner+motion* verb appearing as a converb:

(17) **na kadmandu-ri pɦar-gəy ɦya-i**
    I Kathmandu-LOC walk-PROG go-PERF
    'I walked to Kathmandu'

(18) **gɦwara gãw-gəmsə dugri-gəy gɦyaŋ-ri ɦya-i**
    horse village-ABL run-PROG forest-LOC go-PERF
    'the horse ran from the village to the forest'

Further, locative expressions [case clitics, locative nominals, etc.] that do not signal source paths are ambiguous out of context between static, route, and goal senses (Noonan *ms*b). So the locative case clitic **-ri** can signal any of those senses, but goal senses are highly unlikely unless a path verb is present. Compare (19) with (20):

(19) **na kadmandu-ri pɦara-i**
    I Kathmandu-LOC walk-PERF
    'I walked in/toward Kathmandu' [**-ri** has a static or route sense]

(20) **na kadmandu-ri pɦar-gəy ɦya-i**
    I Kathmandu-LOC walk-PROG go-PERF
    'I walked to Kathmandu' [*i.e.* 'I reached Kathmandu': **-ri** has a goal sense]

Only with a path verb such as **ɦya-** 'go' can the goal sense of **-ri** be realized.

By 'path' verbs, I mean verbs which include an expression of path in their meanings. Simple path verbs, verbs whose senses include only motion and path, include **ɦya-** 'go', **kha-** 'come', **wõ-** 'enter', and **tɦõ-** 'exit'. There are two other sets of path verbs. The first of these specify both manner and path, and include verbs like 'fall' **kɦur-, təy-, pəlti-**, 'climb' **cəəri-** , and 'escape' **phutki-**. These manner+path verbs specify path ['fall' includes DOWN, 'climb' includes UP, 'escape' includes AWAY] and thus differ from *manner+motion* verbs like 'run', 'walk', 'fly', and 'carry' that specify manner and motion but not path. The second set include verbs which express caused motion and path, such as **kɦa-** 'bring', **kar-** 'put in', and **tɦur-** 'take out'.

Any sort of path verb can be a main verb with telic path expressions. We've seen examples of simple path verbs already; examples with manner+path verbs and caused-motion path verbs follow:

(21) MANNER+PATH
    naku cãy dɦəli-si-wa dɦuŋ-phyãraŋ cəri-si-m
    dog AFFORMENTIONED fall-ANT-NOM tree-SUPER climb-ANT-NPST

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'That dog has climbed on top of the fallen tree.'[X124][4]

(22) CAUSED-MOTION PATH

bura-sə   naku-ra tebəl-phyãraŋ kar-si-m
old.man-ERG dog-DAT table-SUPER   put-ANT-NPST
'the old man has put the dog on the table'

In both sentences, the path phrase employs -**phyãraŋ** 'on, over, on top of' which has a goal sense in both sentences. And just as with simple path verbs, verbs of these two classes can function as the syntactic main verb with non-path verbs when telic path expressions occur:

(23) **tɦem-əŋ   sa-ye   gɦəri-ye bɦari na-i   kɦa-i**
house-LOC earth-GEN jar-GEN   load   carry-ANT bring-PERF
'[He] carried the load of earthenware jars home'

In this example, the path verb **kɦa-** 'bring' serves as the main verb with **na-** 'carry' in an subordinate relation describing manner.

    To complete the picture, it should also be noted that even route path expressions are not possible if the predicate does not include motion in its basic meaning. We've seen how route senses are possible with verbs of motion that do not specify path, such as 'run', 'walk', 'fly', 'carry', etc. If motion is not a component of the meaning of the predicate, then even route path expressions are not possible. Narasimhan (*ms*) points out that in Hindi predicates like *melt* cannot occur with an atelic path expression; Chantyal behaves in a similar fashion, as we see in (24):

(24) **#caklət   bakəs-nɦari-gəmsə pəgli-i**
       chocolate box-INES-ABL   melt-PERF
       'the chocolate melted out of the box'

One would say instead:

(25) **caklət   pəgli-gəy bakəs-nɦari-gəmsə tɦõ-i**
       chocolate melt-PROG box-INES-ABL   go.out-PERF
       'the chocolate melted out of the box'

The route path expression ['out of the box'] cannot occur with the non-motion verb 'melt' without an expressed path verb as the syntactic main verb.

We've seen ways in which Chantyal conforms to the verb-framed [V-language] typology. For motion events the core schema [the expression of path] is mapped onto the verb. The supporting event [manner] is mapped onto a converb, a subordinate adverbial heading a non-finite clause. Further, verbs that express motion but do not specify path will be grammatically subordinated to a path verb if a telic path [source or goal] is specified.[5] Verbs which do not include motion in their basic meaning cannot occur with

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[4] This and many other examples in this paper are drawn from published [or to be published] discourses: Noonan et al (1999), Noonan & Bhulanja (ms), Noonan & Bhulanja (in preparation).

[5] Slobin (1997) offers a refined version of Aske's analysis, utilizing the term 'boundary crossing' to describe instances that, in many V-languages, require the presence of a verb which includes a specification of path. In Chantyal, the telic/atelic distinction, where source and goal path expressions are considered telic, seems to account for the data.

any sort of path expression unless a path verb is present and functioning as the main verb.

3. DEVIATIONS FROM THE VERB-FRAMED TYPOLOGY

In the last section, we saw how the expression of motion events in Chantyal generally conforms to the verb-framed typology. There are, however, several ways that Chantyal deviates from a typical verb-framed language in the expression of motion events as this typology is now understood. For discussions of this typology, see in particular the works of Dan Slobin (1996, 1997, 2000; Berman & Slobin 1994), but see Slobin (2003) for some qualifications and reevaluations).

3.1 *Relative dearth of path verbs:* Path verbs have been defined as verbs which include an expression of path in their meanings. In principle, the path meaning element can take any of three frames of reference (Levinson 1996a, 1996b): *relative* to the position of the speaker [*i.e.* 'deictic' verbs like 'come' and 'go']; *intrinsic* to the ground element [*e.g.* 'enter', 'exit']; or *absolute*, utilizing a coordinate system based fixed bearings such as geographic coordinates ['go north', 'go east'], the direction of gravity ['ascend', 'descend'], a geographical feature ['go seaward', 'go upriver', 'go toward the mountains'], and so on.

Of the three frames of reference possible with path verbs, Chantyal utilizes only two, relative and intrinsic, for the simple path verbs and the caused-motion path verbs. The set of simple path verbs in Chantyal consists of only five verbs: **ɦya-** 'go', **kha-** 'come', **wõ-** 'enter', **tɦõ-** 'exit', and **tɦo-** 'arrive'[6]: there are no simple path verbs with an absolute frame of reference in the native vocabulary or among the commonly used borrowed vocabulary; that is, no commonly used simple path verbs with meanings like 'ascend', 'descend', 'go north [to the high mountains]', 'go up the valley', etc. Even within the allowable frames of reference, there are few verbs: there are no native or commonly used borrowed verbs with senses like 'go away', 'follow', 'advance', 'rotate', 'leave/depart', etc.[7] Chantyal thus has is a very small set of simple path verbs for a V-language, and the small size of this set has consequences which will be discussed below. Like the simple path verbs, the caused-motion path verbs can have a relative frame of reference, *e.g.* **kɦa-** 'bring' and **pɦo-** 'take', or an intrinsic frame of reference, *e.g.* **tɦur-** 'take out' and **kar-** 'put in/on', but there are no verbs with meanings like 'bring up' or 'put up', combining the caused-motion path sense with an absolute frame of reference. This state of affairs is quite unlike that of many languages spoken in mountainous re-

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[6] **tɦo-** 'arrive' can be used by itself, but it is much more common in the fixed expression **tɦo kha-** 'arrive come'. This expression is the only example of what was probably once a productive serial construction, still much used in related Nar-Phu (Noonan 2003b).

[7] There are some little used borrowings from Nepali with some of these senses, but no native terms. Of the borrowings, only the borrowings **jɦəri-** 'move down' and **gɦumi-** 'rotate' were recorded in free discourse, and of these only **jɦəri-** can be said to be in common use.

gions,[8] in particular those in Nepal, where some languages have elaborate systems of verbs with absolute frames of reference (Bickel 1997, 2000).

Manner+path verbs, on the other hand, have either intrinsic path reference ['escape'] or absolute reference ['climb', 'fall']. There are no manner+path verbs with meanings like 'climb here' versus 'climb there', employing a relative frame of reference.

In sum, there are fewer path verbs in Chantyal than one would expect from a V-language, fewer certainly than one finds with the well-studied V-languages such as the Romance languages, Turkish, Hebrew, and Japanese. This relative lack is not without consequence, as we will see in the next two sections.

3.2 *Extensive use of directional satellites and case clitics:* Chantyal makes extensive use of directional satellites. Directional satellites in Chantyal are a complex set of forms specifying direction and location; syntactically, they conform to Talmy's definition of satellite, typically occuring immediately before the verb complex. The directionals may be simple, formed without the prefixal demonstratives, or complex, formed with prefixal demonstratives. Some common simple directionals are:[9]

(26)

tu-ŋ	'up'	**mə-ŋ**	'down'
to-r	'upward'	**ma-r**	'downward'
ca-ŋ	'this place, over here'	**te-ŋ**	'that place, over there'
ca-r	'in this way, direction'	**te-r**	'in that way, direction'
phir(i)	'outside'	**kʰyam kʰyam**	'on the road/path'

The complex demonstratives are built off of simple directionals or a restricted set of combining forms together with the prefixal demonstratives.[10] Some examples follow:

(27)

yi-tu-ŋ	'up here'	**yi-mə-ŋ**	'down here'
ɦə-tu-ŋ	'up there'	**ɦə-mə-ŋ**	'down there'
wu-tu-ŋ	'up yonder'	**wu-mə-ŋ**	'down yonder'
yi-to-r	'upward to here'	**yi-ma-r**	'downward to here'
ɦə-to-r	'upward to there'	**ɦə-ma-r**	'downward to there'
wu-to-r	'upward yonder'	**wu-ma-r**	'downward yonder'

(28)

ca-ŋ 'this place, over here' *te-ŋ* 'that place, over there'

yi-ca-ŋ	PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL		
ɦə-ca-ŋ	DISTAL-PROXIMAL	**ɦə-te-ŋ**	DISTAL-DISTAL
		wu-te-ŋ	REMOTE-DISTAL

ca-r 'in this way/direction' *te-r* 'in that way/direction'

yi-ca-r	PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL		
ɦə-ca-r	DISTAL-PROXIMAL	**ɦə-te-r**	DISTAL-DISTAL

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[8] The Chantyal live in a very rugged, mountainous district. The base of Mt. Dhaulagiri, one of the world's highest peaks at 8167m, is only 10 to 15km from most of the Chantyal-speaking villages.

[9] Most directionals contain one of the frozen locative suffixes -**r** or -**ŋ**.

[10] Chantyal has three sets of demonstratives: the 'independent' set, the 'locative' set [represented by **ca-** and **te-** in the directionals] and the 'prefixal' set (Noonan 2001). The indepedent set also have commonly occurring locative forms, **cə-ri** 'there' and **cu-ri** 'here': since these forms take the standard casemarking clitics and function otherwise as nominals, they are not considered directional satellites.

		wu-te-r REMOTE-DISTAL

ca-jam *'this side [of river/gorge]'*   **te-jam** *'that side [of river/gorge]'*

    yi-ca-jam PROXIMAL-PROXIMAL

    ɦə-ca-jam DISTAL-PROXIMAL   **ɦə-te-jam** DISTAL-DISTAL

                                         wu-te-jam REMOTE-DISTAL

The forms in (27) consist of the simple directionals together with one of the 'prefixal demonstratives'. In (28), forms containing the 'locative demonstratives' combine with the prefixal demonstratives. For the meaning and use of forms with two demonstratives, referred to as 'double demonstratives', see Noonan (2001).

    The directionals are commonly encountered in Chantyal discourse. They are found, as we would expect, with path verbs:

(29)   **ma-r**   **kʰa-i**   **tə**
       down-LOC bring-PERF FACT
       '[She] brought it down'

(30)   **təyla**   **na tu-ŋ**   **ɦya-wa-khi**   **nə**   **kʰi ɦare-õ**
       yesterday I   up-LOC go-NOM-COTEMP TOPIC you be.NEG-IMPF
       'When I went up yesterday, you weren't there'

(31)   **te-jam**   **ɦya-si-m**   **tane**
       that-side.of.gorge go-ANT-NPST AFFIRMATION
       '[He] has gone to that side of the gorge, right?'

They are also used to reinforce the path sense of path verbs:

(32)   **tʰokhor nə**   **cə naku jɦyal-gəm**   **ma-r**   **təy-gəy mu**
       now   TOPIC that dog window-ABL down-LOC fall-PROG be.NPST
       'Now the dog is falling down from the window.' [Y35]

(33)   **cə bɦyakuta nə**   **bətəl-gəmsə phiri**   **tʰõ-wa** **la-si-m**
       that toad   TOPIC bottle-ABL   outside exit-NOM do-ANT-NPST
       'the toad has begun to get out of the bottle.' [Y8]

In the last two examples, the directional is, in a sense, redundant since the path is already given in the meaning of the verb. Nonetheless, use of directionals is not uncommon with these verbs. It should also be noted that directionals are found with non-motional verbs, too:

(34)   **naku cãy**   **rəttuwa-ye won-səŋsə dugri-gəy tuŋ**   **kyata-ra**
       dog AFOREMENTIONED deer-GEN   front-ABL   run-PROG up-LOC boy-DAT
      sɦya-gəy   **mu**
       look.at-PROG be.NPST
       'The dog, running in front of the deer, is looking up at the boy.' [Y108]

(35)   **cə naku-sə ajəy pəni tu-ŋ**   **dɦuŋ-ra phale tharo la-si-rə**
       that dog-ERG still also up-LOC tree-LOC leg   erect do-ANT-SEQ
       'That dog is still also standing erect, legs up on the tree, and' [X52]

So, directionals are used in Chantyal with a wide variety of predicate types, in many ways analogous to the way English uses verb particles.

The rich set of directionals compensates for the relative paucity of path verbs in Chantyal. There is no native path verb or commonly used borrowed path verb meaning 'ascend', but there is a readily available alternative, namely **to-r ɦya-** 'go up'.

The fact that path can be, and often is, expressed in a satellite is not typical of V-languages, but rather is a pattern characteristic of S-languages. In Chantyal, path is mapped onto the main verb, but it is frequently also mapped onto a directional satellite, an elaborated class of entities capable of conveying complex meanings. In the expression of path, therefore, Chantyal is clearly a V-language, but also exhibits this particulcar characteristic of S-languages.

In addition to the directionals discussed above, Chantyal makes use of a large number of locative case clitics. The case clitics are a rich and fairly elaborated set (Noonan 2003a, *ms*b), at least by the standards of other Tamangic languages.[11] Not only is there a relatively large number of locative cases, but it is possible to combine case affixes. In addition, there are constructions referred to as locative nominal expressions, which add to the repertoire of possible expressions of path. Some examples of the three types follow:

(36) CLITIC
      tɦim-nɦari 'inside the house'
      COMPOUND CLITIC
      tɦim-nɦari-gəmsə 'out from inside the house'
      LOCATIONAL NOMINAL EXPRESSION
      tɦim-ye ar-ri 'beside the house' [house-GEN side-LOC]

An examination of the example sentences already provided will reveal many instances of nouns with locative case clitics.

Locative casemarking is obligatory with ground elements, which is to say that there are no constructions like *she exited the house*, where *house* is coded as a direct object. In Chantyal, one would have to say:

(37) **tɦim-nɦari-gəmsə tɦõ-i**
      house-INES-ABL   exit-PERF
      '[She] exited the house'

Note also that directional satellites can take locative casemarking, as we see in the following examples:

(38) **ɦə-jə   kwənə-wa kwən-ma pəni jəmməy ma-r-kəm   nə   kɦa-wa**
      that-that wear-NOM cloth-PL   also all   down-LOC-ABL TOPIC bring-NOM
      pəri-m
      happen-NPST
      'Even all those clothes we wear have to be brought from down below.' [S61]

(39) **wu-te-jam-mar-gəmsə   kha-i**
      yonder-that-side.of.gorge-CIRC-ABL come-PERF

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[11] There are, for example, two productive simple locatives, an ablative, an allative, a circumlative, an elative, an inessive, a superessive, a subessive, and two comitatives. Many of these are transparently recent in origin.

'[It] came from around that side of the gorge yonder'
The directional **ma-r-kəm** 'from down below' contains the ablative case; the directional **wu-te-jam-mar-gəmsə** 'from around that side of the gorge yonder' contains both the circumlative and the ablative cases.

      We have seen, then, that Chantyal has a rather elaborate system of directional satellites and casemarking morphology. This system allows for rather precise specification of path and is, at the same time, compact and convenient to use.

3.3 *Elaboration of path:* As noted, the directionals and case clitics combine with path verbs to provide Chantyal with an elaborate system for the expression of path. This system is fully exploited in Chantyal narratives. Indeed, it can be said that Chantyals devote a good deal of attention in framing narratives to the expression of path.

      In order to demonstrate this, we need some comparative data. Slobin claims that in comparing Frog Story narratives [Berman & Slobin 1994][12] among verb-framed and satellite framed languages, significant differences can be found in the amount of information about trajectory that speakers provide, and that this difference characterizes all age groups [children to adults] in his study. For example, in comparing [satellite-framed] English with [verb-framed] Spanish, Slobin (1996:200) finds that in describing an event where a boy falls off the antlers of a deer into a pond, his Spanish and English speaking informants differed considerably in the percentage of informants who described this event with a bare verb of falling [*e.g.* 'he fell into the water'] as opposed to a more elaborated description of the trajectory [*e.g.* 'he was thrown tumbling down from the cliff into the water'].

(40)

      Percentages of downard motion descriptions with bare verb [Slobin (1996:200)]

	PRESCHOOL [3-5YRS]	SCHOOL [9YRS]	ADULT
English	16	13	15
Spanish	56	54	36

In contrast, the Spanish speakers were much more likely than their English speaking counterparts to elaborate on the scene, so that while they give less information about trajectory, they give more information about the scene, producing descriptions like [p204]:

(41)   *Lo tiró. Por suerte, abajo, estaba el río. El niño cayó en el agua.* '[The deer] threw him. Luckily, below, was the river. The boy fell in the water.'

The comparative figures are given in (42).

(42)

      Percentage of narrators providing extended locative elaboration in describing the fall from cliff [Slobin (1996:205)]

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[12] Frog Story narrations are a way of collecting comparable discourse data from speakers of different ages and with different native languages. People are asked to tell a story that they learn after having looked at a wordless picture book, Mercer Meyer's *Frog, Where Are You?* In this story, a boy and his dog look for an escaped pet frog.

	5 YRS	9 YRS	ADULT
English	8	8	0
Spanish	8	42	25

Slobin claims that speakers of English and Spanish have different rhetorical styles, with English speakers devoting more narrative attention to elaboration of trajectory, while speakers of Spanish devote more narrative attention to elaboration of scene.

Slobin had twelve informants for each age group for each language, giving him a total of 36 informants for each language. My sample of Chantyal Frog Story narratives is much smaller: four narrations, all from adults. My informants, however, were remarkably uniform in the sort of information they provided. All narrators gave additional specification of trajectory, and all used a directional satellite [**ma-r** 'downward'] in doing so. For example:

(43)
110. **cə kyata nə cə rəttuwa-ye kəpal-gamsə phwattə phutki-si-rə**
that boy TOPIC that deer-GEN head-ABL slipping escape-ANT-SEQ
'the boy slips from the deer's head, and'

111. **wucchətti-si-rə**
be.ejected.away-ANT-SEQ
'is ejected away, and'

112. **ma-r təy-gəy mu**
down-LOC fall-PROG be.NPST
'is falling downward.' [Y110-2]

In this respect, Chantyal narrations more closely resemble those of speakers of S-languages than of speakers of V-languages.

Further evidence for this claim comes from a further examination of the 'fall from the cliff' episode in the Frog Story narratives discussed by Slobin (1997). Slobin has shown that, in comparing narratives produced by speakers of S-languages with speakers of V-languages, speakers of S-languages use more path segments to describe this sequence, averaging 3.0 in the Germanic languages and 2.8 in the Slavic languages, but 2.1 in the Romance languages and 2.0 in Hebrew (Slobin 1997:448). The Chantyal speakers in my sample averaged 4.0 path segments. A full description of the scene illustrated in (43) is provided in (44):

(44)
106. **dugri-wa durgri-wa nə la-si-rə**
run-NOM run-NOM TOPIC do-ANT-SEQ
'It [the deer] began to run and run, and'

107. **yəwta cyãji pɦara-ye tawko-ri tɦo kha-si-m**
one small cliff-GEN edge-LOC arrive come-ANT-NPST
'has arrived at the edge of a small cliff.'

...

109. **cəŋsə tɦokhor nə cə rəttuwa pɦara-ye thapla-ri**
then now TOPIC that deer cliff-GEN top.of.head-LOC
thəppə rokki-wa-khir nə
stopping.abruptly stop-NOM-COTEMP TOPIC
'Then when the deer now stops abruptly at the edge of the cliff,'

110. **cə kyata nə cə rəttuwa-ye kəpal-gamsə phwattə phutki-si-rə**

that boy TOPIC that deer-GEN head-ABL slipping escape-ANT-SEQ
'the boy slips from the deer's head, and'

111. **wucchətti-si-rə**
be.ejected.away-ANT-SEQ
'is ejected away, and'

112. **ma-r təy-gəy mu**
down-LOC fall-PROG be.NPST
'is falling downward.' [Y106-12]

Chantyal narrative style favors the elaboration of path statements, in a manner that goes beyond the simple exploitation of the casemarking and directional satellite morphology. We've seen that this sort of elaboration of path is more characteristic of S-languages than of V-languages.

As one further illustration of the possibilities for elaboration of path descriptions, note the following, which includes a number of clauses containing both source and goal path descriptions:

(45)

2. **ci-si-wa pəcchim-gəmsə pəcchim-gəm chyantu-ri kha-i**
stay-ANT-NOM west-ABL west-ABL Chhyantung-LOC come-ANT
'From the west where they had lived, having come to Chhyantung from the west,'

3. **ci-i**
stay-PERF
'they stayed.'

4. **chyantu-gəmsə jɦiŋkhani jɦiŋkhani-ri kha-i**
Chhyantung-ABL Jhing Khani jhing Khani-LOC come-PERF
'From Chhyantung, Jhing Khani... we came to Jhing Khani.'

5. **nɦi-i jɦiŋkhani-ri**
we-GEN Jhing Khani-LOC
'To our Jhing Khani.'

6. **cə-ra te-r jɦiŋa-sə kɦap-si-wa bulbari-ri ci-i**
that-TEMP that.place-LOC fly-ERG cover-ANT-NOM garden-LOC stay-PERF
'After that, in that place, we stayed in a garden covered with flies.'

7. **bulbari-gəm jɦiŋkhani-ri əyra kyãla-kəy kha-wa-khiri**
garden-ABL Jhing Khani-LOC hunting play-PROG come-NOM-COTEMP
'When we came hunting from the garden to Jhing Khani,'

8. **jɦiŋa-sə kɦap-sy-õ dɦaw mara-i**
fly-ERG cover-ANT-NOM ore see-PERF
'we saw the ore that the flies covered.' [V2-8]

Source and goal path descriptions can be found in clauses 2, 4, and 7. Again, this is not typical of V-languages (Slobin 1997, 2003), which tend to package individual path components with separate verbs, and to mention fewer path components overall.[13]

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION
In this paper, we've seen how Chantyal fits the basic profile of a verb-framed language, in which the core schema is mapped onto the main verb while the supporting events is mapped onto a satellite [usually a converb in Chantyal]. At the same time, for motion

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[13] I should note, however, that none of my Chantyal Frog Story narrators produced for the cliff scene a single clause combining source and goal, such as *the boy fell down from the cliff into the pond*.

events, the language exhibits a number of properties generally associated with satellite-framed languages: there are relatively few path verbs, extensive [and sometimes pleonastic] use is made of directional satellites and locative case clitics, and path expressions are elaborated in ways characteristic of S-languages.

There are two related — indeed intertwined — explanations for this apparent discrepancy. The first, as noted, is that Chantyal has a convenient and elaborate system of directional satellites and case morphology available to code path. What is available and convenient is used, as Slobin (2003) discusses at some length.

Second, narrative elaboration of path seems to be interesting to Chantyals; that is, narrative styles favor path elaboration. Narratives describing journeys typically include a good deal of information about path and the establishment of landmarks. Sentences like the following are commonly encountered particularly in high involvement personal narratives, such as the one from which these examples were taken:

(46) **əə... Syãlkhərkə-wãr-gəmsə kha-wa   mənchi-õ Sakho-ye   cəwtaro**
      Uh... Syalkharka-CIRC-ALB   come-NOM person-PL Sakho-GEN resting.place
      ma-r-sə   dɦara-mar ləskər lagi-gəy   to-r   ɦya-wa mara-wa
      down-LOC-ABL hill-CIRC   file   happen-PROG up-LOC go-NOM see-NOM
      'Uh... I saw people, who came from around Syalkharka, going up around the hill in a file from down below at the Sakho resting place.' [R72]

(47) **tɦini jɦulki-wa byala-ri nə   sakho-ye dɦara-mar   thyadiri**
      sun   rise-NOM   time-LOC TOPIC Sakho-GEN hill-CIRC   eldest.sister
      to-r   tɦim-nas ɦya-wa mara-i-rə
      up-LOC house-ALL go-NOM see-ANT-SEQ
      'By the time the sun rose, I saw my eldest sister around Sakho Hill going up toward the house, and' [R87]

Some explanation for this attention to path and landmarks may derive from the fact that the Chantyals live in a very rugged, mountainous region with a huge range of micro-climates, running the gamut from semi-tropical to glaciated. Further, they travel a good deal within their region in the ordinary course of things: moving cattle to good pasture, gathering wood and other provisions in the forest, hunting, tending their scattered fields, visiting relatives in other Chantyal villages, traveling to school, going to other villages to buy and sell, and so on. Travel is thus central to their traditional way of life. Information about where the narrator was and the direction in which the narrator was moving is important for understanding other aspects of a narration in the Chantyals' varied and difficult terrain. And since the means of providing this information comes easy to hand, it is much used.

The Talmian typology of event types has provided us with an important tool for investigating lexicalization patterns and the arrangement of information into grammatical categories. A surprising outcome of research utilizing this typology has been the discovery by Slobin and his colleagues that classification of languages in terms of this typology is broadly predictive of the type and quantity of information provided in discourse. As Slobin has recently pointed out (2003), other aspects of grammar as well as

culture and aesthetics must be taken into account in order to obtain a more complete account of narrative organization. While the typological classification is broadly predictive, it is not determinative. Much more work remains to be done before we can proclaim the birth of a new field of rhetorical typology, but some of the groundwork has already been laid.

Appendix: Typological Sketch of Chantyal

Below is a brief typological profile of Chantyal morphology and syntax:
1. overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinating; native roots are monosyllabic, but numerous borrowings from Nepali have introduced polysyllabicity
2. nouns can be inflected for number, singular & plural; marginal classifiers borrowed from Nepali
3. there are a large number of grammatical & local case enclitics; there may be multiple case clitics in a given word
4. verbs are inflected for tense, aspect, and mood; there are a large number of periphrastic TAM constructions; verbs are not inflected for person, number, noun class; there are no honorific verbs or nouns [as in the Tibetan Complex and some Tamangic languages, such as Nar-Phu]
5. word order is overwhelmingly head-final
6. overwhelmingly ergative; anti-dative marking of direct objects [*i.e.* dative case with high animacy direct objects]
7. no passive or antipassive, but there are resultative and causative constructions
8. only non-finite subordination except for complements of 'say' (Noonan *ms*a)
9. coordination of clauses is rare [morphemes borrowed from Nepali]; native pattern involves use of conjunctive participles (Noonan 1999)
10. nominalizations used for a wide variety of functions, including relative clauses (Noonan 1997)
11. zero anaphora; low referential density (Bickel *ms*, Noonan & Darnell *in preparation*)

Abbreviations

ABL	ablative	DAT	dative
ADES	adessive	ERG	ergative
ALL	allative	GEN	genitive
ANT	anterior	IMP	imperative
CIRC	circumlative	IMPF	imperfective
COM	comitative	INES	inessive
COTEMP	cotemporal	INST	instrumental

LOC	locative	PROG	progressive converb
NEG	negative	Q	interrogative
NOM	nominalizer	SEQ	sequential converb
NPST	non-past	SUB	subessive
PERF	perfective	SUPER	superessive case
PL	plural		

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