5   *'Come' and 'go' in Kilivila*

GUNTER SENFT

> If one wished to identify the most characteristically
> verbal of all the verbs...one would turn to the verbs of
> motion, the verbs that describe how people and things
> change their places and their orientation in space...
>
> Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976:527)

1   Introduction[1]

Although it may seem trivial it is a fact that there are (almost) all kinds of ways in, and paths on, which we can move as human beings - and it is no wonder that our species-specific capacity for speech pays due tribute to this fact. Motion and especially locomotion with respect to ourselves, to other people and to objects are important concepts and constants in, and for, our environment, our lives, and most, if not all, our actions. Thus, motion verbs definitely form a central semantic cluster in our languages. They are central and in general acquired rather early (see e.g. Macrae 1976; Clark and Garnica 1974; Gropen et al. 1991), and they generally play an important part in grammar and grammaticalisation processes, being prime candidates for development into auxiliaries, modals, and poly-verbal chains (see Brown et al 1993).[2] Moreover, as Miller (1972:338) rightly observes, "we have generalised [the concept of physical motion] freely into nonphysical contexts", especially with respect to our (verbal) thinking. Thus, it is no wonder that in their classic work on "Language and

---

Perception" Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976:527) refer to motion verbs as "the most characteristically verbal of all the verbs", emphasising (again) that "verbs of motion [are] ontogenetically primary", that "their meanings have a strongly perceptual basis", and that they are "an important link between language and perception". But how are "verbs of motion" to be defined?

Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976:529) point out that we have (at least) to differentiate between "verbs of motion-in-place" and "verbs of locomotion" - and concede that they "arbitrarily confine [their] analysis to verbs of locomotion". However, even with this restriction there remain at least two further problems with the definition of 'motion verbs'. Almost immediately after the definition of verbs of motion as "verbs that describe how an object changes from a place p at time t to another place p' at a later time $t+i$" (1976:528), Miller and Johnson-Laird (1976:530) explicitly refer to one of these problems:

> Our attempt to define verbs of motion as verbs that imply change of location is not completely satisfactory, since it leaves us with complicated decisions about various groups of closely related verbs. A list containing all and only verbs of motion seems to be an impossible ideal.

There are a number of (other) attempts and proposals in the linguistic literature to define motion verbs and, more generally, to define how motion events are linguistically coded.[3] Almost all these proposals mention as basic components of movement the following notions: 'motion, motion structure, source/origin, path, (intermediate) locations, medium, goal/ destination, time, direction/trajectory, figure, ground, manner/cause'. I do not want to discuss these notions in detail here - but I will come back to many of these notions below in my presentation and analysis of some of the Kilivila verbs speakers produce to refer to the locomotion of persons and things.[4] For the purposes pursued here it should suffice to state that so far we do not have a general notional definition of motion verbs.

Moreover, besides our lack of a clear and general notional definition of "motion verbs" it is rather unclear and highly "questionable whether [a] set of notionally-defined motion verbs corresponds to a formally defined verb class in *any* language", as Wilkins and Hill (1995:242) - referring to Lucy (1994) - point out. Lucy's point can be considered a basic challenge for all research on lexical semantics. He (1994:623-624) argues as follows:

> Approaches to lexical semantics often rely on denotational overlap with English words (or their systematised scientific offspring) to establish the meanings and groupings of lexemes in other languages and typically ignore the local facts of morphosyntactic distribution and characteristic denotational range...Lexical items are grouped together and analyzed as a coherent set not because speakers of those languages group them together in a set as revealed, for example, by common grammatical treatment, but because the analyst so groups them. And meanings are assigned not on the basis of a close examination of actual usage, but on the basis of rough functional equivalence with forms in our own language. Thus, an external framework is imposed on the language in place of a framework deriving from its native logic. And any subsequent analysis has more to do with the imposed frame than with the language itself.

See for example Diersch (1972:30-52); Fefilov (1976:287); Gerling and Orthen (1979:99ff.); Hilty (1965:26ff.); Maienborn (1990:81, 106); Miller (1972:339); Schröder (1983:213); Di Meola (1994: 28ff.); and especially Talmy (1975, 1985, 1991)

Kilivila, the language of the Trobriand Islanders, is one of 40 Austronesian languages spoken in the Milne Bay Province of PNG. It is an agglutinative language and its general word order pattern is VOS (Senft 1986).

These two basic problems for all research on motion verbs seem to be rather discouraging for any linguist. However, there may be a way out. I have pointed out at the beginning of this paper that motion and movement are important concepts and thus form a central semantic cluster in human languages. Speakers of every language talk about motion and locomotion events - and to do so their languages offer them the verbal means. Thus, despite the fact that we, so far, do not have a clear definition of motion verbs, we can take it as a fact - until proven otherwise - that we find in all languages notionally defined motion verbs. Moreover, even if we do not know if there are formal criteria within languages on the basis of which their speakers group these verbs as formally defined motion verbs, I assume the common sense argument that all the verbal expressions or verbs speakers use in then-languages to refer to motion and locomotion events can be - at least pretheoretically and, of course, notionally - regarded as being motion verbs. Thus, if we speak of 'motion verbs' here we refer to verbal expressions speakers use to verbally refer to motion and locomotion events within the general framework of sensorily perceivable and empirically-given motion and locomotion events speakers experience in their environment. This may sound a rather straightforward argument, and it may be much too common-sense-like for an effete philosophical discussion of problems of formally correct linguistic classification processes, but I think too strict formal requirements sometimes may cause the linguist to disregard obvious facts of life and their coding in natural languages. We should always keep in mind that natural languages are in general ambiguous and do not always follow the strict logic of the algorithms of unambiguous artifical languages designed, for example, for artifical intelligence purposes. This may be regarded by some linguists as a shortcoming or even a deficiency of natural language. However, I am convinced that it is exactly this quality of natural language that accounts for the fact that our languages are such efficient, complex, and highly creative tools in and for our everyday interpersonal interaction and for the human capacity of verbal thinking.

If we accept this notional and, if you like, pretheoretical search domain for, and definition of verbs that refer to motion and locomotion events, it is by no means difficult to find or to collect data for these verbal expressions. Speakers of all languages use them in various contexts and text categories. We can easily elicit them with for example a questionnaire, or if we are looking for more natural contexts in which these verbal expressions are likely to show up, we can elicit the verbs in these predefined contexts.

It is of course necessary for a linguist to come up with a sound semantic description of the verbal expressions that are used by speakers of the described language to refer to (loco-) motion events. However, it is even more interesting to compare these expressions in various languages to find out what concepts of motion exist in a certain language, and what concepts can be found that are similarly expressed in other languages. If we are interested in the latter, and if we are in the rather ideal situation that a number of field researchers are cooperating, being interested in the same problem, then we have to develop means which allow us to compare data that are gathered in comparable contexts.

Our Cognitive Anthropology Research Group at the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics offers this quite ideal situation for comparative and interdisciplinary research. Within the Institute's projects on 'Change of State' and on 'Space' (see Pederson & Roelofs 1995) we have discussed and designed two means for eliciting verbal expressions that refer to events of motion and locomotion. David Wilkins and Debbie Hill (1995:216-242) developed a "preliminary 'Come' and 'Go' questionnaire" in which they provide 20 "Motion Scenes" that researchers should use as guidelines for eliciting expressions to refer to locomotion events. We also decided on the elicitation of 'route directions' or 'route

descriptions' because this is a text category in which motion verbs are very likely to show up. However, this decision left us with some problems. It is a quite general experience for field researchers working in rather small speech communities that their attempts to get route descriptions from their consultants provoke results like the following:

- The consultants shake their heads and comment on the request for a route description with comments such as, "You should know by now how to come/go (!) from here to there".
- The consultants look at the researcher in utter disbelief, take him or her by the hand and say something like, "Ok, come on, let's go there, I'll show you the way".
- The consultants - asked to give descriptions of routes that took them to really distant places - start their descriptions and end up with a brief summary like the following which I elicited on the Trobriand Islands in 1983: "I sailed to Dobu Island. I sailed. I anchored at night at the big reef close to Yaga. I sailed another day, anchored at night at the reef close to Dobu. I sailed and arrived at Dobu".

Such route descriptions were not exactly what we had in mind. Moreover, we wanted to elicit comparable texts. Therefore we decided on developing an interactive game in which our consultants were asked to give and to follow route descriptions. In what follows I will describe this methodology of data gathering in detail.

2 Method of data elicitation

Based on an experiment devised by Jürgen Weissenborn (1986) to elicit route descriptions in children within the framework of an interactive game, I did a pilot study on eliciting route descriptions on the Trobriand Islands in 1992 (Senft 1992). In this study I built two identical, rather complex, Lego block 'towns' and used a string to mark a route on one of the models. Then I asked two consultants to play a game with me. In this game the consultants, a matcher and a director, were each facing one of the model towns. The consultants were sitting next to each other, facing the same direction, screened off from one another so that they could not see each other. The director was asked to describe a route to the matcher. This route was indicated by a string on the Lego town in front of the director. On the basis of this description, the matcher was asked to let a small doll walk this route. Unlike Weissenborn's 'towns', my two identical model towns were internally asymmetrical in all axes. It turned out that these models were too complex and abstract for all my Kilivila consultants to interact with successfully.

Based on these pilot experiments David Wilkins and other members of our Cognitive Anthropology Research Group designed a simpler version of this route elicitation task. The Lego blocks were substituted with bigger 'Duplo' blocks as well as 'Easy Block' short cylinders, cones and roof shapes that all had the same colours. Moreover, Duplo fence links and two small identical trucks were introduced to the game; the string to mark the route to be described was replaced by a small link chain; the Lego people were exchanged for slightly bigger Duplo people; and two pieces of white plastic tablecloth material served the base mats for the landscapes that were built with these materials. Finally, two yellow squares were used to mark the start and end points of the paths.

The basic landscape design of this revised version of the route description elicitation task is organised symmetrically around a central axis, with objects on each side of the central axis being of identical shape and colour. This symmetry within the base design should force the

consultants to differentiate directions in the cross axis (or, if you like, the so-called left-right axis). Three pairs of different objects - in the foreground two roof shapes on each side, in the middle ground two simple bridges on each side, and in the back two towers on each side - form the constant objects of the basic scene. Other objects that are symmetrical in one axis - two short fence rails, a truck, a Duplo stair structure, and a rectangular fence structure - can be placed with their axis of symmetry along the central axis. Thus, one way of varying scenes in the landscapes in which routes have to be described is by placing this limited number of symmetrical objects along the axis of symmetry. All these objects were selected to elicit certain notions of motion like 'going around, circling, going through, going along, going over/under, going up/down, passing through/under, moving to the back/front of, moving on the left/right side of, climbing over', etc. (for an extremely detailed description of our Research Group's 'Route Description Elicitation' see Danziger 1993:15-28).

There are four basic scenes to be elicited in the modified route description elicitation task. Mixed in with these are three distinct conditions (Danziger 1993:20):

- The first condition is one of pure symmetry in the scenes and applies to the first two routes (see Figures 1 and 2).

The first path starts off to the left and never moves back towards the speaker, but finishes at the other end of the table on the far yellow square.
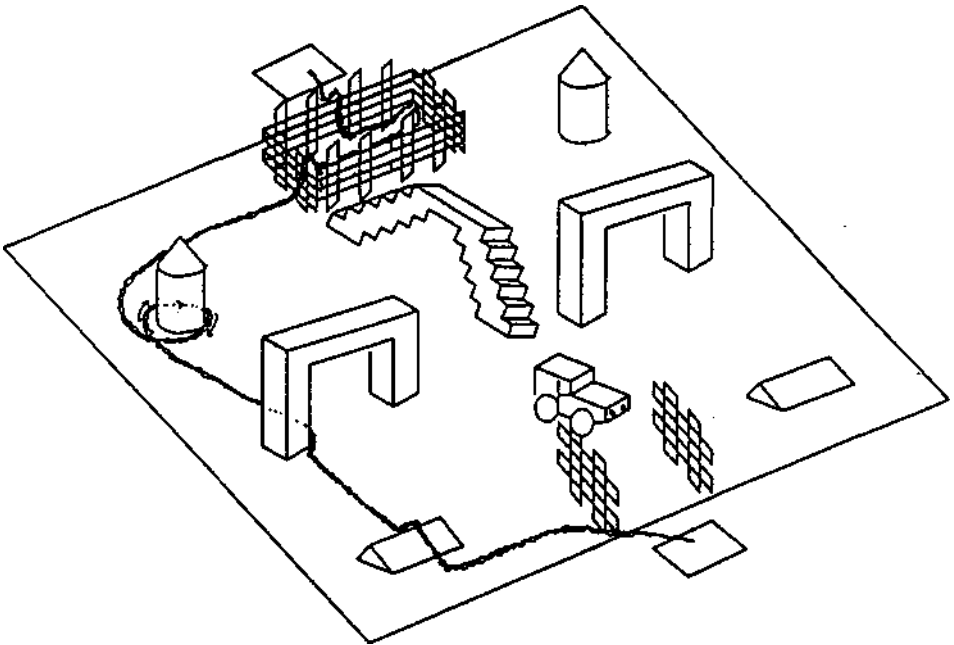

Figure 1: Path 1 (set-up for director)

The second path moves off to the right and is a long return path back to the starting point.
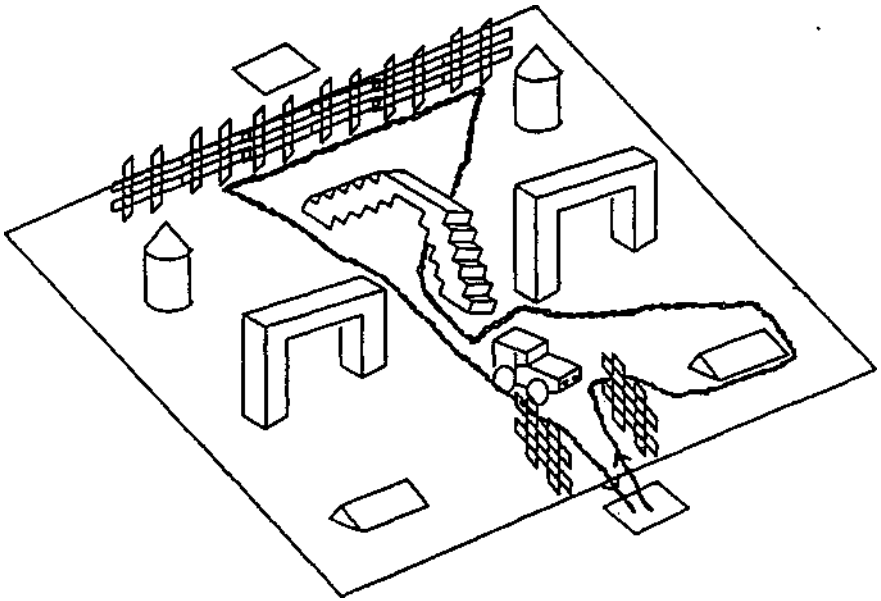
Figure 2: Path 2 (set-up for director)

The second condition applies to the third route. Here the researcher uses open spaces in the design to place objects which destroy symmetry. Here the only constraint is that these objects do not block the route that is to be described (see Figure 3). The point of this condition is to see whether the new objects in the scenes are taken up as landmarks which resolve any problems which may have arisen in the original symmetrical condition.
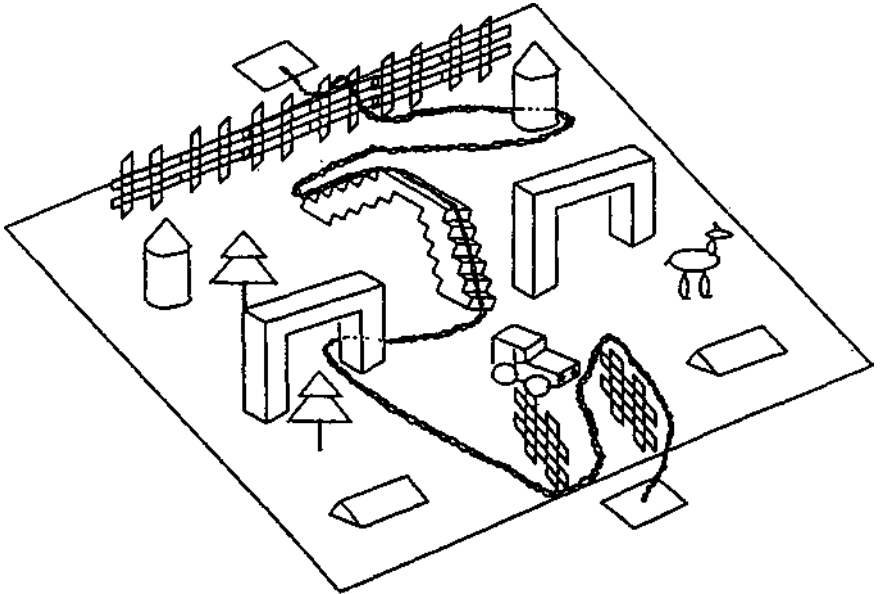
Figure 3: Path 3 (set-up for director)

- The third condition applies to the fourth route (see Figure 4). On either side of the mat, the researcher has to place relatively large objects that are not to be construed as part of the scene itself (like, for example, a coconut or an apple to the left of each mat and a bush knife or a bowl to the right). The point of this condition is to see whether ad hoc local landmarks - basically outside the scene - will be used to facilitate the route description.
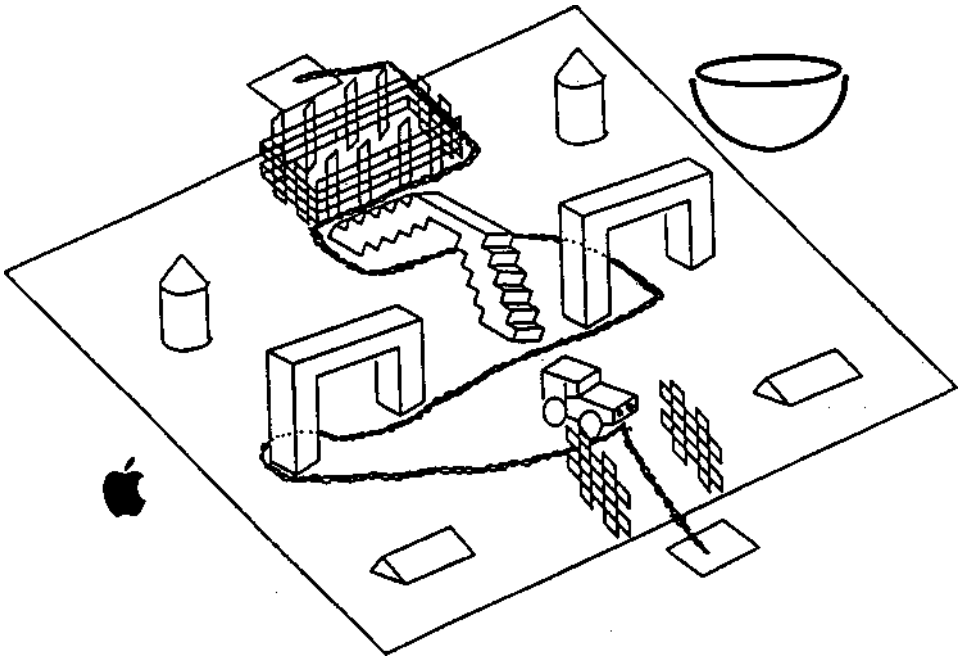
Figure 4: Path 4 (set-up for director)

These four routes were used to elicit route descriptions within the framework of the above described interactive game played by the director and the matcher. The descriptions of these four different, though standardised, paths were videotaped with three pairs of male and female adult players each. After transcription of the data which I collected in 1994 the documented motion verbs were discussed with additional consultants to get further information on the lexical semantics of the respective verbal expressions. Figure 5 gives a brief summary of how Bokarawana (approx. 35 years old) described Path 4 to her younger neighbour Imkubul. (In the appendix I give the complete transcription of this interactive game.)

Figure 5: Summary of Bokarawana's route description

In what follows I will discuss the semantics of the motion verbs in Kilivila that I elicited in 12 of these route description tasks.

3 'Come' and 'go' in Kilivila
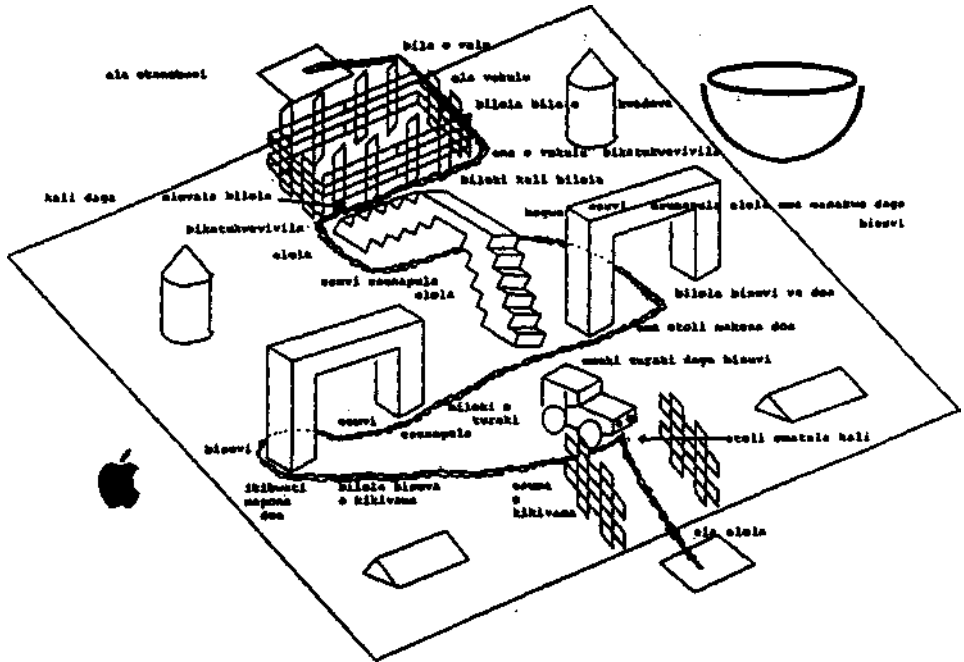
3.1 **Criteria and presentation format**

Discussing the motion verbs elicited in these interactive games with additional consultants, it became obvious that the following criteria were basic for the differentiation of these motion verbs, and thus also central for an adequate lexical semantic description of these Kilivila verbal expressions:[5]

- Is the source and/or path and/or destination of the motion known or not?
- Is the motion oriented towards, or away from, the speaker?
- Is the motion deictically anchored in the speaker?
- Is the place of the speaker at the destination of the motion or not?
- Is the destination of the motion a place or person other than the speaker and her/his place?

Most of these criteria nicely coincide with Talmy's (1975) definition of the "MOTION SITUATION" with its central subconcepts of "FIGURE, GROUND, PATH", and "MOTION". See also Talmy (1991) and Aske(1989).

- Does the motion include the commencement or completion of the motion?
- What kinds of other notions such as 'to go down to the beach', 'to go up to the village', etc. are expressed in Kilivila motion verbs?

In what follows I will present what I will (pre-theoretically) call the 'come/go' subset of these "inherently directed" (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995:111; also 147, 241ff.) Kilivila (loco-)motion verbs elicited within the interactive games. My analyses are based on these data and on discussions of expressions that refer to motion events I had with additional consultants. Thus, these lexical semantic descriptions represent analyses based on the Kilivila native speakers' emic point of view.

I first present the Kilivila verbal expression the speakers used to refer to a certain motion event, describe the lexical semantics of this verbal expression, and then illustrate the lexical semantic analysis with a figure.[6] For these illustrations I basically use the conventions proposed by Wilkins and Hill (1995): The speaker is represented by a circle (o). If the motion is not deictically anchored in the speaker, the source *S* of the described motion is indicated by a black dot. Such a black dot is also used to indicate an implied destination *D* (or goal) of the motion event the expression refers to. An arrow is used to indicate the path *P* (or trajectory) of the motion. If the actual path is not specified, this is indicated by a question mark (?) in the arrow. The pointed head of the arrow represents the general direction of the motion referred to. Whether or not any information on the source S, the path P, and the destination D are part of the lexical semantics of a given motion verb is indicated by plus (+) and/or minus (-) signs given with the respective abbreviations. Other more specific information is added to the illustrations if necessary.

3.2   Motion away from the speaker

We will first look at verbal expressions that codify motion that is directed away from the speaker. The verbal expression *-la-[1]* is used to refer to all kinds of motion events that are directed away from the speaker. This implies, of course, that the place of the speaker is not at the destination of the motion. The motion event itself can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Source, path, and destination of the motion may or may not be known. We can gloss this motion verb as 'to go'. The expression *-lola-,* a reduplication of *-la,* emphasises and intensifies the motion referred to. This expression is also used to refer to the motion event that can be glossed as 'to go' as well as 'to walk'. Figure 6 illustrates the analysis of these motion verbs:

The abbreviations and symbols used in figures and discussion are presented in this paragraph. Additional abbreviations for glosses used in examples and the appendix are in footnote 10.
For the orthography of the Kilivila expressions presented here see Senft (1986:14ff.). For the construction of the Kilivila verbal expression and its inflectional morphology see Senft (1986:29-38); see also the morpheme-interlinear translation of the route description game in the appendix.
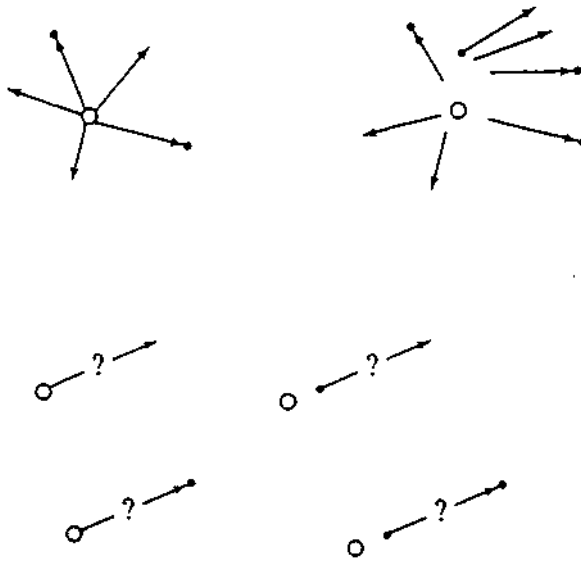
Figure 6: *-la {lola* = Emph/Int) motion away from speaker
$\pm S \pm P \pm D$

The verbal expression *-lilola-* is used to refer to any kind of motion away from the speaker. This expression implies that the speaker has no knowledge whatsoever about the source, path, and destination of the motion. The only information conveyed besides the general fact that the motion is by no means directed towards the speaker is the fact that this motion is habitual. This expression can be glossed as 'to (always) go/walk' Figure 7 illustrates this lexical semantic analysis of the motion verb:
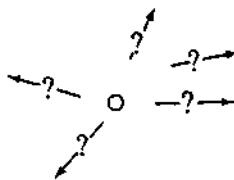
Figure 7: *-lilola-* motion in general away from speaker
$\pm S \pm P \pm D$

The verbal expression *-valova-* is used to refer to motion away from speaker. The focus of this expression is on the start of the motion event. The source is known to the speaker. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Information about the path and the destination of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to start going/walking'. Figure 8 illustrates this analysis:
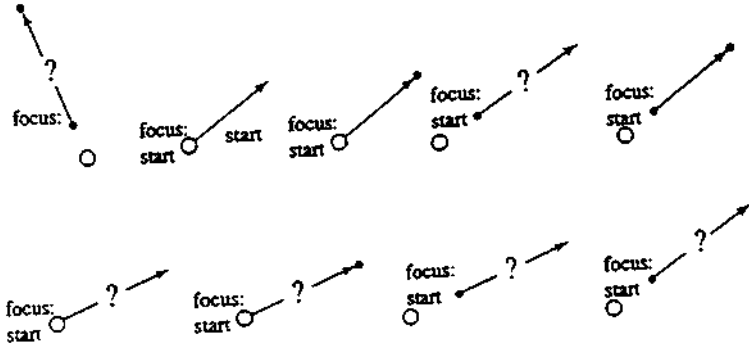
Figure 8: -*valova*- motion away from speaker
$+ S \pm P \pm D$

The verbal expression -*loki*- also refers to motion away from the speaker. The focus of this expression is on the completion of the motion, or the arrival of the object or person moving away from the speaker. It implies that the action of the motion away from the speaker is completed and that the destination of the motion is known. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Information about the source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go/walk and arrive (at a known destination)'. Figure 9 illustrates this analysis:
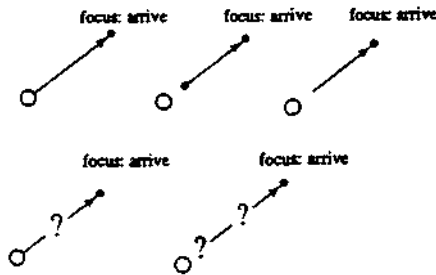
Figure 9: - *loki*- motion away from speaker
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression -*va*- refers to motion away from the speaker. This expression is telic, it implies that the destination of the motion is known. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Information about the source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go to'. The expression -*weva-,* probably a reduplication of -va-, implies that the motion is habitual and recurrent; it can be glossed as 'to always go to'. Figure 10 illustrates this analysis:
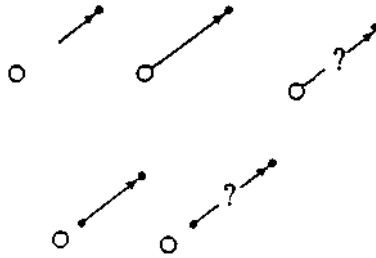
Figure 10: *-va- (weva:* habitual) motion away from speaker
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression *-weki-* refers to a *swift* motion away from the speaker. Again, this expression is telic, however its usage also requires the specification of the destination of the motion event. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Information about the source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go and rush to (place XYZ)'. Figure 11 illustrates this analysis:
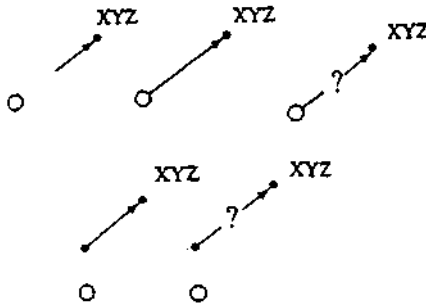
Swift Motion

Figure 11: *-weki-* motion away from speaker, D specified
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression *-vokeya-PP IV-* belongs to a set of the verbs that allow the incorporation of an object directly into the verbal expression, if the object is referred to by a pronoun. This is done by suffixing possessive pronominal affixes that indicate inalienable possession and in general an intimate degree of possession. In my Kilivila grammar I have referred to this set of pronouns as the fourth series of possessive pronouns within the language; therefore, I refer to these affixes with the abbreviation TP IV (Senft 1986:33-35, 47-54). This expression is used to refer to motion away from the speaker or from another person or persons who are known to, and specified by, the speaker.[8] The motion event the

Compare for example:
    E-vokeya-gu.   *E-vokeya-mi.*
    3-go.away.from- 1PPIV   3-go.away.from-2PL.PP IV
    'He goes away from me.'   'She goes away from you (all).'

speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Information about the path and the destination of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go away from the speaker or from someone else'. Figure 12 illustrates this analysis:

Person S   Person(s) A (B, C)

Person S   Person(s) A (B, C)   Person(s) A(B,C)

Person S   Person(s) A (B, C)   Person(s) A(B,C)
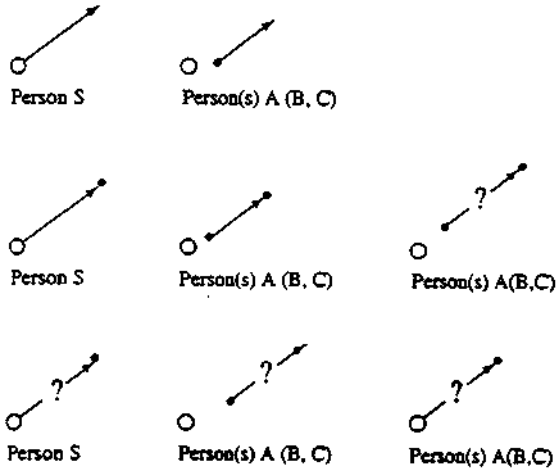
Figure 12: *-vokeya-* PPIV motion away from speaker or from (an)other person(s)
$$+S \pm P \pm D$$

The verbal expression *-vekeya-* refers to motion away from the speaker. The expression is telic again, because it implies the speaker's knowledge of the destination of the motion event. Moreover, this expression implies that a person and/or animal is following another person and/or animal. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. Information about the source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go to - following a person or an animal'. Figure 13 illustrates this analysis:

focus: follow

+B   +B

?+B   ?+B   ?+B   ?+B
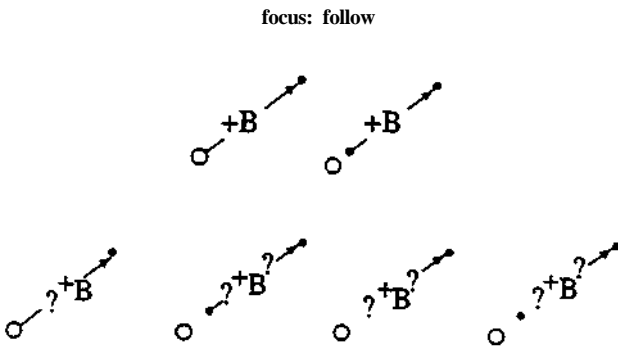
Figure 13: *-vekeya-* motion away from speaker
$$\pm S \pm P + D$$

The verbal expression *-suva-* refers to motion away from the speaker. The expression is telic, too, because it implies the speaker's knowledge of the destination of the motion event. Moreover, this expression also implies knowledge of the path. The source of the motion event may or may not, be known. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go via'. Figure 14 illustrates this analysis:
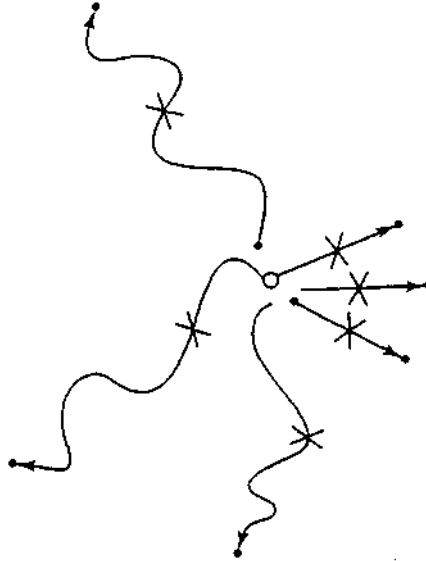
Figure 14: *-suva-* motion away from speaker $\pm\,S + P + D$

The verbal expression *-vabusi-* refers to motion away from the speaker. The expression is not only telic, it also implies that the destination of the motion is on the trajectory from the village or the garden down to the beach. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. More specific information about the source and any information about the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go (on the trajectory that leads) from the village/garden down to the beach'. Figure 15 illustrates this analysis:

beach   beach   beach   beach   beach   beach
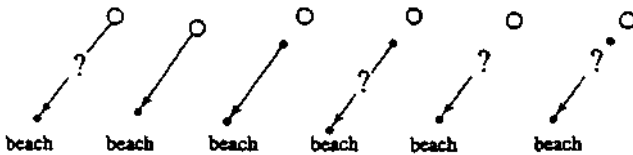
Figure 15:   *-vabusi-* motion from village/garden down to beach
motion away from speaker
$\pm\,S \pm P + D$

   The verbal expression *-valagua-* refers to motion away from the speaker. Again, this expression is not only telic, it also implies that the destination of the motion is on the trajectory from the beach up to the village. The motion event the speaker refers to can, but need not, be deictically anchored in the speaker. More specific information about the source and any information about the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to go (on the trajectory that leads) from the beach up to the village'. Figure 16 illustrates this analysis:

Figure 16: *-valagua-* motion from beach up to the village
motion away from speaker
$\pm S \pm P + D$

3.3   Motion towards the speaker

   We will now look at verbal expressions that codify motion towards the speaker. The verbal expression *-ma-* is used by speakers to refer to motion towards the speaker. Source, path, and destination of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The speaker's place may or may not be at the destination of the motion referred to. The expression can be glossed as 'to come'. Figure 17 illustrates this analysis:
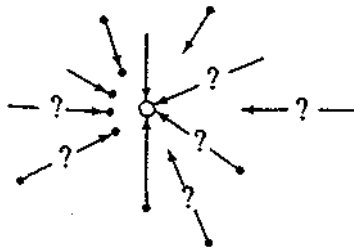
Figure 17: *-ma-* motion towards speaker
$\pm S \pm P \pm D$

   The verbal expression *-mema-,* most probably a reduplication of the form *-ma-,* refers to motion towards the speaker. This expression is telic, it implies that the destination of the motion is either the speaker or another person. Nevertheless, this implies again that the speaker may or may not be at the destination of the motion event. The source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as to come to'. Figure 18 illustrates this analysis:
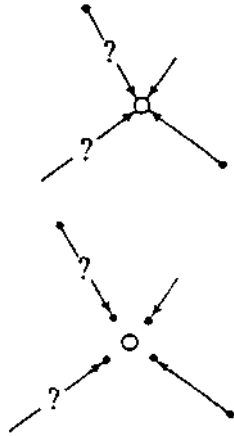
Figure 18: *-mema-* motion towards speaker
D is speaker or other person
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression *-mekeya-* refers to motion towards the speaker. The expression is telic, the speaker has to be at the destination of this motion event. Moreover, this expression implies that someone accompanies another person and/or animal that moves towards the speaker. The source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come with someone (or with an animal) to where the speaker is'. Figure 19 illustrates this analysis:
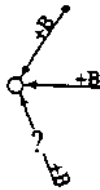
Figure 19: *-mekeya-* motion towards speaker accompanying someone
Speaker at destination
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression *-mikeya-PP IV-* again belongs to the set of the verbs that allow the incorporation of an object directly into the verbal expression, if the object is referred to by a pronoun. This is done by suffixing possessive pronominal affixes that indicate inalienable possession and a generally intimate degree of possession.[9] The verb refers to motion towards the speaker. The expression is telic, the speaker has to be at the destination of the motion or in

Compare for example:

E-mikeya-m.	*Ku-mikeya- si-si.*
3-come.towards-2PP IV	2-come.towards-3PL.PP IV-PL
'She comes to(wards) you.'	'You (all) come to them.'

close contact to another specified person who is the destination of this motion event. The source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come towards (the speaker or to a person who is close to where the speaker is)'. Figure 20 illustrates this analysis:
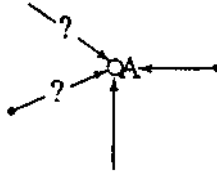
Figure 20: *-mikeya-* PPIV to come towards someone:
ps specified or speaker
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression *-suma-* refers to motion towards the speaker. This expression implies knowledge of at least that part of the path that is in the field of the speaker's vision and/or perception; moreover, it implies that this part of the path passes someone or something close to the speaker. The source and the destination of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come and pass something/someone close to the speaker'. Figure 21 illustrates this analysis:
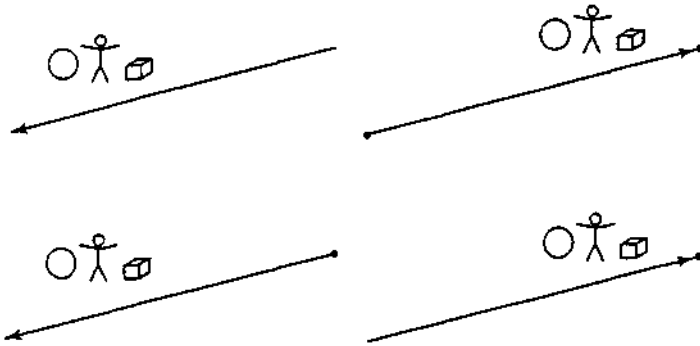
Figure 21: *-suma-* motion towards speaker
$\pm S + P^* \pm D$
* part of the path in the field of the speaker's vision; path passes s.o./s.th. close to the speaker

The verbal expression *-sumwa-* refers to motion towards the speaker. This expression implies knowledge of at least that part of the path that is in the field of the speaker's vision and/or perception; moreover, it implies that this part of the path passes someone or something further away from the speaker. The source and the destination of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come and pass something/someone further away from the speaker'. Figure 22 illustrates this analysis:
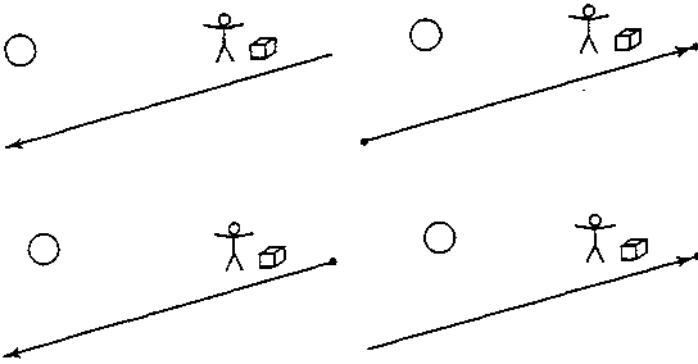
Figure 22: *-sumwa-* motion towards speaker
± S + P* ± D

*part of the path in the field of the speaker's vision;
path passes s.o./s.th. further away from the speaker

The verbal expression *-mwa-* refers to motion towards the speaker. The expression is telic, the destination of the motion event is known to the speaker, though the speaker must not be at the destination point of this motion event. The source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come to (a place which is in the direction of, but different from, the speaker's place)'. Figure 23 illustrates this analysis:

Figure 23: *-mwa-* motion towards speaker
speaker not at D
± S ± P + D

The verbal expression *-mweki-* refers to motion towards the speaker. Again the expression is telic, and again the destination of the motion event is known to the speaker, though the speaker must not be at the destination point of this motion event. Moreover, the speaker knows that the motion takes the straight and direct path from a source which he may or may not know about, towards the destination of the motion event. The expression can be glossed as 'to come straight to (a place which is in the direction of, but different from, the speaker's place)'. Figure 24 illustrates this analysis:

Figure 24: *-mweki-* motion towards speaker
speaker not at D
$\pm S + P + D$

The verbal expression *-meki-* refers to motion towards the speaker. Again the expression is telic; the destination is not only known to the speaker, but it is also specified as another person or object. The source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come to someone/something (who/which is in the direction of where the speaker is, but at a different place)'. Figure 25 illustrates this analysis:

Figure 25: *-meki-* motion towards speaker
speaker not at D
D specified as other person/thing
$\pm S \pm P + D$

The verbal expression *-mwemwa-* refers to motion towards the speaker. The expression is telic; the destination is not only known to the speaker but also specified; however, the speaker must not be at the destination of this motion event. The source and the path of the motion may or may not be known to the speaker. The expression can be glossed as 'to come to (a specified place which is different from the speaker's place)'. Figure 26 illustrates this analysis:

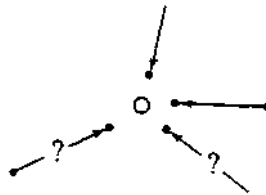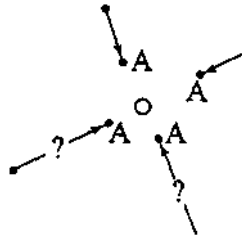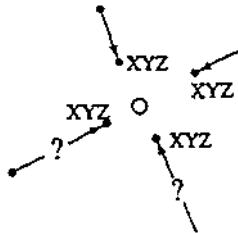**Figure 26:** *-mwemwa-* motion towards speaker
speaker not at D
D specified as other place
$\pm S \pm P + D$

These verbal expressions represent the subset of Kilivila (loco-)motion verbs that express the concepts 'motion directed away from the speaker' - the 'GO'-concepts - and 'motion towards the speaker' - the 'COME' concepts - that I could elicit from my consultants in the Trobriand Islands and which are documented in my Kilivila speech corpora. In what follows I will summarise the findings presented here.

4   Summary

If we look at all the Kilivila verbal expressions that express 'COME' and 'GO' concepts, we realise that the Trobriand Islanders have developed a rather sophisticated system for referring to various motion events that are in the broadest sense directed towards or away from the speaker. Table 1 summarises the Kilivila verbs expressing 'COME' concepts:

Table 1:   'COME' - Kilivila motion verbs expressing motion towards the speaker

Verb	± known			Speaker's place ±desti- nation	Comments	Gloss(es)
	Source	Path	Desti- nation			
-ma-	+*J*-	+/-	+/-	+/-		'to come'
-mema-	+/-	+/-	+	+/-		'to come to'
-mekeya-	+/-	+/-	+	+	accompany	'to come with someone'
-mikeya- PPIV	+/-	+/-	+	+		'to come towards'
-mwa-	+/-	+/-	+	-		'to come'
-mweki-	+/-	+	+	-	direct path	'to come straight to'
-meki-	+/-	+/-	+		Destination person other than speaker	'to come to *s.o./* s.th.'
-mwemwa-	+/-	+/-	+		Destination place other than speaker's place	'to come to a place different from speakers place'
-suma-	+/-	+	+/-			'to come and pass s.o./s.th. close to the speaker'
-sumwa-	+/-	+	+/-			'to come and pass s.o./s.th. further away'

As already mentioned in the beginning of §3 above, this table confirms that the following criteria are central for an adequate lexical semantic description of Kilivila verbs expressing motion towards the speaker. Only the most general expression *-ma-* does not differentiate at all whether the speaker knows something about the source (S), the path (P), and the direction (D) of the motion event and the speaker's position or place (Sp's P) with respect to this motion event. In general, any kind of knowledge about the source of the motion event is not

explicitly expressed in all these verbs, it is irrelevant whether the speaker knows or does not know anything about the place from where the motion event starts.

The three verbal expressions *-mweki-*, *-suma-* and *-sumwa-* imply that the speaker knows something about the path of the motion or certain parts of the this path. Moreover, seven of these ten motion verbs clearly indicate that the motion event they refer to is telic; their use implies that speaker has information about the destination of the motion events to which they refer. In addition to this encoded information the expressions *-mekeya-* and *-mikeya-PP IV-* imply that the speaker's place is at the destination of the motion event. With the exception of the expressions *-ma-* and *-mema-* that do not encode any such information, all the other six verbs imply that the speaker using these forms to refer to a motion event is not at its destination.

Table 2 summarises the Kilivila verbs expressing 'GO' concepts:

Table 2: 'GO' - Kilivila motion verbs expressing motion away from the speaker

Verb	± known			Comments	Gloss(es)
	Source	Path	Desti-nation		
-la-	+/-	+/-	+/-		'to go'
-lola-	+/-	+/-	+/-	Intensification; Emphasis	'to go', 'to walk'
-lilola-	+/-	+/-	+/-	Intensification; Emphasis; Habitual	'to go', 'to walk'
-valova-	+	+/-	+/-	action starts	'to start going/ walking'
-vokeya- PPIV	+	+/-	+/-		'to go away from someone'
-loki-	+/-	+/-	+	action complete	'to go/walk and arrive'
-va-	+/-	+/-	+		'to go to'
-weva-	+/-	+/-	+	Habitual	'to go to'
-weki-	+/-	+/-	+	swift action; Destination specified	'to go and rush to'
-vekeya-	+/-	+/-	+	follow (+animate)	'to go and follow'
-suva-	+/-	+	+		'to go via'
-vabusi-	+/-	+/-	+		'to go down to the beach'
-valagua-	+/-	+/-	+		'to go up to the village'

This table shows that two of the 13 verbs expressing motion away from the speaker, namely *-valova-* and *-vokeya-* imply that the source of the motion event is known to the

Speaker. Only the verb *-suva-* implies that the speaker knows something about the path of the motion or certain parts of this path. With nine of these expressions it is codified that speaker knows something about the destination of the motion events they refer to - one of these expressions, the verb *-weki-,* actually requires that the destination of the swift motion event to which it refers is specified. Thus, all these expressions are telic.

If we compare these tables it is also obvious that most of the 'COME' concepts do not match with the 'GO' concepts. I have no idea whatsoever why this is so. We just have to observe the interesting fact that specific kinds of information codified in verbs expressing 'COME' concepts differ from specific kinds of information that are codified in verbs expressing 'GO' concepts.

Finally, I want to point out that motion verbs in Kilivila are very often realised in serial verb constructions. Even a brief glance at the appendix strongly supports this observation. These constructions also allow for different glosses of certain verbal expressions. To give just one example: The verb *-ke'ita-* can generally be glossed as 'to return'. However, constructions like:

(1)a.   *e-la   e-ke'ita*
          3-go   3-return

   b.   *e-ma   e-ke'ita*
          3-come   3-return[10]

are best glossed as 'to go back' and to come back'. In serial verb constructions we also observe that speakers suddenly change their point of view of description within these constructions. Bokarawana provides a nice example in her description of route number 4 (see Appendix, utterance No.43) where she serialises the 'GO'-expression *-lola'* with the 'COME'-verb *-ma-;*

(2)   *E-lola e-ma   ma-na-kwa   daga...*
        3-go   3-come   DEM-DEM-CP.thing ladder
        He goes and comes (to) this ladder...

However, this is not an 'exotic' finding at all. We also find many descriptions in English and German that play with this kind of alternation between 'come' and 'go' in phrases like, for example, 'X goes on and comes to Y'.

Abbreviations used here and in the appendix:

CP   **Classificatory Particle (numeral classifier)**
DEM   **Demonstrative**
DIR   **Directional**
EMPH **Emphasis**
FUT   **Future**
LOC   **Locative**
PL   **Plural**

Appendix 1: Text for route: path 4 (see Figure 5)

Participants

Director   Bokarawana (B)   (Malasi, approx. 35 years)
Matcher.   Imkubul (I)   (Malasi, approx. 24 years)
Observer   Gunter Senft (G)
Public voices (P)

Text

1. B: *E   Imkubul?*
        yes   Imkubul
        'Yes, Imkubul?'

2. I: *O.*
        oh
        Oh!

3. B: *M-to-na   tau   bogwa bi-lola* (laughs) *e-lola e-la*
        DEM-CP.male-DEM   man   already   3.FUT-go   3-go   3-go
        This man, he will already go, he really goes, he goes,

        e-toli   mna   omatala   m   beya avaka...
        3-stand.still   hm   in.front.of   hm   this   what...
        he stands (still) comes to a halt in front of, hm, this, what is this...?'

4. P: *...kali...*
          fence
        '...fence...'

5. B: *...kali e-toli   iga   i-wevasi e   bogwa*
          fence 3-stand.still   then   3-rest   yes ok
        ...fence, he stops, then he rests..., well, ok?'

6. I: *E.*
        yes
        'Yes.'

7. B: *E   besatuta   bi-lola   bogwa e-lilola i-lola e*
        and   now   3FUT-goal already 3-go   3-go and
        'And now he will really go, already he really keeps on going, he goes, and

        e-va   e-toli   ma-ke-si-na   makala
        3-go.to 3-stand.still DEM-CP.rigid-PL-DEM   like
        he goes to, and stops at these rigid (things) - like

        kokola doa beya e-toli   ma-luva-na
        pillar   door this 3-stand.still   DEM-CP.tied.bundle-DEM
        pillars of a door, there he stops at this tied bundle (of things - i.e. the Lego
        construction),

     e-mema e-seki-la   e   i-vavagi e   iga   i-wevasi...
     3-come 3-pass-EMPH   and 3-make and then 3-rest
     he comes there, he really passes it, he makes it; and then he rests.'

8. I: *Ke   owewa   kena omema?*
     well there.(away from me) or   here.(closer to me)
     'Well, (at the side that is) there (further away from me) or (at the side that is) here (closer to me)?'

9. B: *E-suma   o   kikivama m-to-na   tau...,*
     3-come.and.pass s.th.(close.to.speaker) LOC left   DEM-CP.male-DEM man
     'He comes and passes it here (close to me and you), (it is) at the left of this man,

     e   ke   bogwa?
     yes well ok
     yes, well, ok?'

10. I: *E.*
     yes
     'Yes.'

11. B: *E   bi-lola   bi-lola   bi-suva   m-pa-na*
     and 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-go.via DEM-CP.part-DEM
     'And he will really go, he will really go, he will go via this part

     owewa o   kikivama va   Tuyabwau
     there LOC left   DIR   Tuyabwau
     there at the left, to the Tuyabwau (the name of a fresh water well)

     e-vekeya   e   e-suma-wa   ku-vagi yokwa
     3-go.and.follow and 3-come.and.pass-only 2-do   you

     ma-ke-na   kai
     DEM-CP.wood-DEM tree
     he goes and follows (this direction); and he comes and passes by -
     you do (put up) this tree -

     e   i-toli   igau i-kibwati   ma-pona-na   doa iga i-wevasi
     and 3-stand.still then 3-be.in.line.with DEM-CP.hole-DEM door then 3-rest
     and he stops, then he is in line with this door, and then he rests.'

12. I: *E   bogwa.*
     yes ok
     'Yes, ok.'

13. B: *Bogwa ke   bogwa bogwa*
     ok   well ok   ok
     'Ok, well, ok...ok?'

14. I: *E.*
     yes
     'Yes.'

15. B: *E   bi-suvi   bogwa e-suvi*
       and   3.FUT-enter already 3-enter
       'And he will enter (and pass through), already he enters (and passes through
       the door).

       e   e-suvi e-sunapula e-lola e   e-lola-aa
       yes 3-enter 3-exit   3-go yes 3-go-EMPH
       Yes, he enters (passes through and) exits (leaves it), he really goes, he keeps
       on going, indeed,

       e-ma   e-meki   turaki avaka ma-utu-na?
       3-come 3-come.to truck what   DEM-CP.fragment-DEM
       he comes, he comes to the truck - what about these particles?

       e-toli   i-wevasi, ...bogwa ke   bogwa Imkubul?
       3-stand.still 3-rest   ok   well ok   Imkubul
       he stops, he rests; ok, well, ok Imkubul?'

16. I: *Igau ke   e-suvi e-la i-toli   oluvala....?*
       later well 3-enter 3-go 3-stand.still in.the.middle
       'Wait; well, he enters (and passes through the door), he goes, he stops in
       the middle...?'

17. B: *E e-suvi   e-sunapula i-lola*
       yes 3-enter 3-exit   3-go
       'Yes, he enters (and passes through), he exits (leaves), he really goes,

       bi-loki   o   turaki mbeya avaka Gunter?
       3.FUT-go.and.arrive LOC truck   there what Gunter
       he will go and arrive at the truck there (at) what (is this), Gunter?'

18. G: *Makala   daga.*
       like   ladder
       'It's like a ladder.'

19. B: *O ke, e-meki   turaki daga e-toli   iga*
       oh well 3-come.to truck ladder 3-stand.still then
       'Oh, well; he comes to the truck and the ladder, he stops, then

       i-wevasi, ma-ke-na   i-sedidi...
       3-rest   DEM-CP.wooden-DEM   3-slip
       he rests; this slips...'

20. G: *Imkubul ambe? Ku-nigada   kidamwa gala ku-nukwali.*
       Imkubul where 2-ask.for   if   not 2-know
       'Imkubul, where (is the man now)? - ask if you do not know.' [11]

21. B: *E-livala buku-nigada buku-katupoi e   yegu ba-livala*
       3-say   2.FUT-ask.for 2.FUT-ask   and I   1.FUT-say
       'He says you will ask for something (meaning) you will ask and I will answer.'

Here I chose an inappropriate expression: *-nigada-* means 'to ask for something, to demand, to request'
- my mistake is elegantly corrected by Bokarawana.

22. I: *Igau sena e-kapusi m-to-na   tau*
    later very 3-fall   DEM-CP.male-DEM   man
    'Wait, he is always falling down this (little) man.'

23. B: *Ke   bogwa Imkubul?*
    well ok   Imkubul
    'Well, ok Imkubul?'

24. I: *E.*
    yes
    'Yes.'

25. G: *Ambe e-tota   besatuta?*
    where 3-stand   now
    'Where is he standing now?'

26. I: *Kena ambe?* (laughs) *m-to-na   tau e-la i-tova*
    but   where   DEM-CP.male-DEM   man 3-go 3-stand
    'But where (indeed)? - this man goes, he is standing on his way,

    o   mna ka   turaki daga oluvala?
    oh hm   look truck ladder in.the.middle
    o, hm, look, in between the truck and the ladder.'

27. B: *Turaki daga oluvala-ga   e-tota   m-to-na   tau.*
    truck   ladder in.the.middle-EMPH 3-stand DEM-CP.male-DEM   man
    'Between the truck and the ladder, in the middle, indeed, this man is standing
    (there).*

28. G: *E   bwena makala.*
    yes   good   like
    'Yes, it is good like this.'

29. B: *E   ke   bogwa?*
    and well ok
    And, well, ok?

30. I: *£.*
    yes
    'Yes.'

31. B: *E   besatuta bi-lola   bi-suvi   turaki daga*
    and now   3.FUT-go 3.FUT-enter truck   ladder
    'And now he will go and enter (and pass through the passage) between the
    truck and the ladder,

    bi-suvi-ga   oluvala   e bi-lola   e   besatuta e-lola,
    3.FUT-enter-EMPH   in.the.middle and 3.FUT-go and now   3-go
    he will really enter (and pass) in the middle, and he will go, and now he is going

    e   e-lola e-ma   e-toli   ma-ke-na   avaka...
    and 3-go 3-come 3-stand.still DEM-CP.rigid-DEM   what
    and he really goes, he comes and stops at this - what is it?...'

32. G: *Makala   doa*
      like   door
      'It's like a door.'

33. B: *...doa, e-toli-ga   m-pa-na   e-mema   e-wevasi...*
      door   3-stand.still-EMPH DEM-CP.part-DEM 3-come.to 3-rest
      '.. .door; he stops at this thing, he comes to it and rests.'

34. I: *Ke   bogwa e-toli   e-wevasi?*
     well already 3-stand.still 3-rest
     'Well, he has already stopped and rests?'

35. B: *E   iga   e-tota   e-wevasi*
     and   later 3-stand 3-rest
     'And then he (still) is standing (there) and rests.'

36. I: *O   ki.*
     oh golly
     'Oh, golly.'

37. B: *E-lukwe-m   makala gala buku-nukwali buka-tupoi*
     3-tell-you   like   not   2-FUT-know   2.FUT-ask
     'He (Gunter) told you that if you do not know (what to do) you should ask,

     ba-lukwe-m,   e   besatuta bi-lola   bi-suvi   va   doa
     l.FUT-tell-you and now   3.FUT-go 3.FUT-enter DIR door
     and I will tell you (what to do); and now he (the toy man) will really go and
     he will enter (and pass) through the door.'

38. G: *Sena to-kapusi   makala Gunter bi-la   Tuyabwau.* (laughter)
     very CP.male-falling like   Gunter 3.FUT-go Tuyabwau
     'This man always falls down - like Gunter on his way to the Tuyabwau (well).'[12]

39. B: *Imkubul!*
     Imkubul
     'Imkubul!'

40. I: *O.*
     oh
     'Oh!'

41. B: *Bogwa   e-suvi   e-sunapula i-lola*
     already 3-enter 3-exit   3-go
     'He entered (and passed through this door) already, he exits (leaves it) and
     really walks

     u'ula   mi-ya-na   sena e-meya olakeva.
     reason   DEM-CP.flexible-DEM very 3-bring up
     because this (chain) really brings (him) up.'

This comment refers to an accident I had in 1989, where I severely hurt myself sliding on the slippery reef. The reference provoked much laughter.

42. I: *E   ambeya e-lola e-la?*
         and where 3-go   3-go
         'And where is he really going now?'

43. B: *E-lola e-ma   ma-na-kwa   daga, e e-toli   e-wevasi,*
         3-go   3-come DEM-DEM-CP.thing ladder and 3-stand.still 3-rest
         'He goes and comes (to) this ladder; and he stops and rests;

         ke   bogwa e-toli?
         well already 3-stand.still
         well, has he already stopped?'

44. I: *E.*
         yes
         'Yes.'

45. B: *E   besatuta bi-suvi   wi... amakala i-susuvi to-kukupi,*
         and now   3.FUT-enter eh   how   3-enter   CP.male-short
         'And now he will enter (and pass through), eh, how, he really enters (and passes
         through), the little man;

         e   bogwa e-suvi   e-sunapula e-lola.
         and already 3-enter 3-exit   3-go
         and already he has entered (and passed through), he exits (leaves it) and really
         walks (on).'

46. I: *E e-lola ambeya bi-mwa?*
         yes 3-go   where 3.FUT-come
         'Yes, he really goes, where will he come to?'

47. B: *E e-lola bi-katukwevivila bi-loki   ma-na-kwa   kali*
         yes 3-go   3.FUT-turn   3.FUT-go.and. arrive DEM-DEM-CP.thing fence
         Yes, he really goes, he will turn, he will go and arrive at this fence,

         e   e-toli   bi-wevasi, ke   bogwa?
         and 3-stand.still 3.FUT-rest well ok
         and he stops and rests; well, ok?'

48. I: *E.*
         yes
         'Yes.'

49. B: *E   besatuta bi-lola kali ma-na-kwa   vavagi makala daga*
         and now   3.FUT-go fence DEM-DEM-CP.thing thing like   ladder
         'And now he will really go (on the path) between the fence and this thing like a
         ladder,

         e   oluvala   bi-lola, e   e-lola, e-lola-aa e-ma
         and in.the.middle 3.FUT-go yes 3-go   3-go-EMPH 3-come
         he will really go (there); yes, he really goes; he really keeps on going and he comes

         o   vokulu va   kali e e-toli   igau Imkubul?
         LOC corner DIR   fence and 3-stand.still then Imkubul
         to the corner at the fence and he stops then - Imkubul?'

50. I: *E   bogwa.*
          yes ok
          'Yes, ok.'

51. B: *O,   e   bi-katukwevivila bi-lola   bi-la*
          oh   and   3.FUT-turn   3.FUT-go 3.FUT-go
          'Oh, and he will turn and he will really go, he will go

          o   kwadeva beya misinari   la   bwala, e   i-lola
          LOC   beach   here missionary his house and 3-go
          to the beach here at the missionary's house; and he really goes,

          e-la   kwe-yuvela   vokulu e-toli   bi-wevasi, bi-wevasi bi-vokwa
          3-go   CP.thing-again corner 3-stand.still 3.FUT-rest 3Krr-rest 3.FUT-finish
          he goes, the next corner again, he stops, he will rest; he will finish his rest,

          oluvi bi-lola   bi-la   o   valu, bogwa Imkubul?
          then 3.FUT-go 3.FUT-go LOC   place ok   Imkubul
          then he really will go he will go to his place; - ok, Imkubul?'

52. I: *E   bogwa.*
          yes ok
          'Yes, ok.'

53. B: *E   e-lola-aa   bogwa e-kanobusi.*
          yes 3-go-EMPH   already 3-arrive
          'Yes, he really kept on going and now he has arrived.'

54. I: *Ka   ke   bi-lola   makala.*
          wow   well 3.FUT-go like
          'Wow, well, he really could go like this.'

55. G: *Bwena.*
          good
          'Good.'

Appendix 2: Glosses for Figure 5

ela elola
he goes, he really goes

etoli omatala kali
he stands (still) in front of the fence

esuma o kikivama
he comes and passes it (close to me) at the left

bilola bisuva o kikivama
he will go he will go via (this) at the left

ikibwati mapona doa
he is in line with this door

bisuvi
he will enter (and pass through)

esuvi esunapula
he enters (and passes through), he exits (leaves it)

biloki o turaki
he will go and arrive at the truck

emeki turaki daga bisuvi (oluvala)
he comes to the truck and the ladder he enters (and passes through) (in the middle)

ema etoli makena doa
he comes he stands still at this door

bilola bisuvi va doa
he will go he will enter (and pass) through the door

bogwa esuvi esunapula ema manakwa daga bisuvi
already he will enter (and pass through) he exits (leaves it) he comes to this ladder he will enter (and pass through)

esuvi esunapula elola
he enters (and passes through) he exits (leaves) he goes

elola bikatukwevivila
he goes and goes he will turn

kali daga oluvala bilola
the fence the ladder in the middle he will go and go

biloki kali bilola
he will go and arrive at the fence he will go and go

ema o vokulu bikatukwevivila
he comes to the corner he will turn

bilola bila o kwadeva
he will go and go he will go to the beach

ela vokulu
he goes to the comer

bila o valu ela ekanobusi
he will go to his village he goes he arrives

References

Aske, Jon, 1989, Path predicates in English and Spanish: a closer look. *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society,* 1-14. Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Brown, Penelope, Stephen Levinson, and Gunter Senft, 1993, *Change of state project: motion and locomotion.* Mimeo, Nijmegen.

Clark, Eve V. and Olga K. Garnica, 1974, Is he coming or going? On the acquisition of deictic verbs. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 13:559-572.

Danziger, Eve, ed., 1993, *Cognition and space kit.* 2nd fieldwork kit manual of the Cognitive Anthropology Research Group at the MPI for Psycholinguistics. Mimeo, Nijmegen.

Diersch, Helga, 1972, *Verben der Fortbewegung in der deutschen Sprache der Gegenwart.* Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse Band 62, Heft 3. Berlin (DDR): Akademie Verlag

Di Meola, Claudio, 1994, *Kommen und gehen. Eine kognitiv-linguistische Untersuchung der Polysemie deiktischer Bewegungsverben.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Fefilov, Alexander, 1976, Über einige Grundprinzipien der konfrontativen Untersuchung der deutschen und russischen Fortbewegungsverben. *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 13:285-289.

Gerling, Martin and Norbert Orthen, 1979, *Deutsche Zustands- und Bewegungsverben.* Eine Untersuchung zu ihrer semantischen Struktur und Valenz. Tübingen: Narr.

Gropen, Jess, Steven Pinker, Michelle Hollander and Richard Goldberg, 1991, Syntax and semantics in the acquisition of locative verbs. *Journal of Child Language* 18:115-151.

König-Hartmann, Daniela and Harro Schweiser, 1983, Kommentierte Bibliographie zu psychologischen und linguistischen Arbeiten über die kognitive und sprachliche Verarbeitung räumlicher Beziehungen (Laufende Thematische Bibliographie, Stand Oktober 1982)Teile I-III. *Linguistische Berichte* 85:102-118; 86:107-126; 87:99-120.

Hilty, Gerold, 1965, Strukturunterschiede zwischen französischem und deutschem Bewegungsausdruck. *Moderne Sprachen* 9:25-35.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav, 1995, *Unaccusativity: at the syntax-lexical semantics interface.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Lucy, John, 1994, The role of semantic value in lexical comparison: motion and position roots in Yucatec Maya. *Linguistics* 32:623-656

Macrae, Alison J., 1976, Movement and location in the acquisition of deictic verbs. *Journal of Child Language* 3:191-204.

Maienborn, Claudia, 1990, *Position und Bewegung: zur Semantik lokaler Verben.* IBM Germany Science Center, Institute for Knowledge Based Systems. IWBS Report 138.

Miller, George A., 1972, English verbs of motion: a case study in semantics and lexical memory. In Arthur W. Melton and Edwin Martin, eds, *Coding processes in human memory,* 335-372. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Miller, George A. and Philip N. Johnson-Laird, 1976, *Language and perception.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press.

Pederson, Eric and Ardie Roelofs, eds, 1995, *Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics Annual Report 1994.* Nijmegen: MPIP.

Schreuder-Peters, Misja, Milko van Gool and Ester Messing, 1992, A *bibliography on space, deixis, and related topics, with index.* Working paper No.l5. Nijmegen: Cognitive Anthropology Research Group, MPI for Psycholinguistics.

Schröder, Jochen, 1983, Fortbewegungsverben als Beschreibungsproblem (Simplicia - Adverbialzusatz - be-Präfixe) (1). *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 20:213-219.

Senft, Gunter, 1986, *Kilivila - the language of the Trobriand Islanders.* Mouton Grammar Library 3. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

    1992, *Kilivila route description - A CARG Poster.* Nijmegen: Cognitive Anthropology Research Group, MPIP.

Slobin, Dan I., 1995, *Motion verbs - a bibliography.* Mimeo, Berkeley.

Talmy, Leonard, 1975, Semantics and syntax of motion. In J. Kimball, ed., *Syntax and semantics,* Vol.4, 181-238. New York: Academic Press.

1985, Lexicalisation patterns: semantic structure in lexical forms. In Timothy Shopen, ed., *Language typology and syntactic description,* Vol.III, 57-149. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1991, *Path to realisation: a typology of event conflation.* Mimeo, Berkeley. 40pp.

Weissenborn, Jürgen, 1986, Learning how to become an interlocutor - The verbal negotiation of common frames of reference and actions in dyads of 4-14 year old children. In Jenny Cook-Gumperz, William A. Corsaro and Jürgen Streeck, eds, *Children's worlds and children's language,* 377-404. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Wilkins, David and Deborah Hill, 1995, When 'GO' means COME: questioning the basicness of basic motion verbs. *Cognitive Linguistics* 6:209-259.