

Can Talmy's motion typology be expanded to visual motion?
An examination of visual motion expressions in Sidaama (Sidamo)

This study shows that causation types, rather than event integration, are relevant to visual motion expression patterns in Sidaama, a Cushitic language of Ethiopia.

Matsumoto (2001, forthcoming) points out that the difference between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages in the pattern of expressing motion (Talmy 1985) is not found in the pattern of expressing fictive motion along a visual emanation path (Talmy 1996); verb-framed languages characteristically use a path of motion verb as the main verb when expressing motion, but use the verb of looking as the main verb and use a non-verbal constituent for the visual path when expressing visual emanation, with the result that the difference between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages disappears. In fact, unlike motion, visual motion is not a "macro-event" ("a complex event that can be conceptually integrated into a unitary event expressible in some languages by a single clause") (Talmy 1991) with which Talmy's typology deals. Thus, a language can express visual motion very differently from motion, and Talmy's typology, which concerns how the main event and the co-event (e.g. manner, cause) are integrated, does not necessarily apply to visual motion.

The present study examines how Sidaama (a verb-framed language) expresses visual emanation as well as another type of fictive motion, shifts in the orientation of the path of the lateral motion of the line of sight, and shows that Sidaama can express the two types of visual motion analogously to two corresponding types of causation.

Like other languages, Sidaama uses the verb of looking as the main verb and a non-verbal constituent to express visual emanation (e.g. (1)). When Sidaama expresses a line of sight shift, a path of motion verb can serve as the main verb, with no co-event mentioned (e.g. (2), (3)).

Visual emanation and a line of sight shift can be expressed analogously to two types of agentive motion, onset causation and object-maneuvering causation, respectively. In visual emanation, the agent is conceptualized as acting on the figure only at the beginning of the path, without controlling it for the rest of the figure's motion, as in onset causation, whereas in a line of sight shift, the agent is conceptualized as keeping the figure under control, without moving his/her whole body, as in object-maneuvering causation. Like object-maneuvering causation (e.g. (4)), a line of sight shift can be expressed with a path verb as the main verb (e.g. (2)). On the other hand, to express onset causation, a path verb may serve as the main verb of a multi-verb construction (e.g. (5a)), but no path verb may be used with a verb for the cause serving as the main verb (e.g. (5b)). Similar to the latter, no path verb is used for visual emanation (e.g. (1)). Thus, expressions for the two types of visual motion are somewhat parallel to those for the two types of causation.

In sum, in Sidaama, visual emanation and a line of sight shift can be expressed analogously to onset and object-maneuvering causation, respectively. This is unrelated to Talmy's typology.

- (1) ise gord-ú giddo-ra la'-'-ino.
 3SG.F.NOM sky-GEN.M inside-ALL look-3SG.F-PERF.3
 'She looked into the sky.'

- (2) isi waalč-ú wid-í-ra
 3SG.M.NOM gate-GEN.M direction-GEN.M-ALL
 illé(-si) k'ol-ø-ino.
 eye(ACC)(-3SG.M.POSS) turn-3SG.M-PERF.3
 'He turned his eyes toward the gate.'
- (3) ille-se isí ledo
 eye(NOM.F)-3SG.F.POSS 3SG.M.GEN COMITATIVE
 min-í-si giddo-ra e'-'-ino.
 house-GEN.M-3SG.M.POSS inside-ALL enter-3SG.F-PERF.3
 'Her eyes followed him as he entered the house.'
lit. 'Her eyes entered the house with him.'
- (4) ise kaasé t'arapees-ú aan-í-ra
 3SG.F.NOM ball[ACC] table-GEN.M top-GEN.M-ALL
 wor-t-ino.
 put-3SG.F-PERF.3
 'She put the ball on the table.'
- (5) ise kaasé bale-te giddo-ra
 3SG.F.NOM ball[ACC] hole-GEN.F inside-ALL
 { (a) ol-t-e ee-ss-i-t-ino. }
 throw-3SG.F-CONN enter-CAUS-EPENTHESIS-3SG.F-PERF.3
 { (b) ol-t-ino. }
 throw-3SG.F-PERF.3
 'She threw the ball (a) into the hole/(b) toward the inside of the hole.'
 (a): *lit.* 'She threw the ball and put it into the hole.'

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