

**Title:** Towards a typology of associated motion in South American languages and beyond  
**Category:** oral presentation

Grammatical markers of associated motion (AM), a newly recognized typological category (Koch 1984, Wilkins 1991, Guillaume 2006), primarily attach to non-motion verbs and express the fact that the verb action (V) is associated with a backgrounded motion which can be temporally **prior** ('go and V', 'come and V', etc.), **concurrent** ('V while going', 'V while coming', etc.) or **subsequent** ('V and go', 'V and come', etc.). The category of AM contributes to the typology of motion events in recognizing the possibility that in some languages the (translational) motion component of a motion event be expressed by grammatical morphemes rather than lexical verbs (Levinson & Wilkins 2006, Guillaume 2006).

Initially proposed and discussed in the descriptive literature on **Australian** languages (Koch 1984, Tunbridge 1988, Austin 1989, Wilkins 1991, Nordling 2001, Dixon 2002), the category of AM has also been recognized in a number of languages from other parts of the world, especially **South America** (Sakel 2004, Guillaume 2008, Silva 2011, Vuillermet 2012, Rose under review, Fabre under review), **Central America** (Zavala 2000, O'Connor 2007, Caballero 2008, McFarland 2009) and **North America** (Dryer 2007). More marginally, AM systems have also been identified in **Africa** (Bourdin 2005, Voisin to appear) and **Asia** (Jacques to appear).

In this paper, I will be concerned with the expression of AM in South America. I will present the results of an on-going investigation of this category in some **45 neighboring South-American languages** spread over Bolivia, Peru et Western Brazil, and belonging to approximately 20 distinct genetic groupings.

The goals of the study are to answer the following questions:

- **descriptive:** Which of these languages have AM systems, whether recognized as such or discussed under a different terminology? How complex are these systems? Which parameters and semantics features are needed to analyze these systems?
- **typological:** How do these parameters and features distribute across different languages? Are there any typological correlations / implicational dependency between them?
- **genetic & areal:** How do the identified types of AM systems distribute across distinct genetic grouping and geographic regions?

Among the results to be discussed during the talk, one can highlight the following:

- AM is a **widespread** phenomenon in South America, being found in an overwhelming majority of the languages surveyed
- in several of these languages AM is expressed by **unusually complex systems** of 6 or more distinctions (sometimes up to 13 distinctions)
- the distinctions basically operate according to the following 4 parameters: (1) grammatical function of the **moving argument**, (2) **temporal relation** between action and motion, (3) **path** of the motion and (4): **aspectual realization** of the action with respect to the motion
- the manifestation of the parameters and the distinctions correlate with the level of complexity according to the following implication scale: **prior motion** of the subject > **concurrent motion** of the subject > **subsequent motion** of the subject > **motion of the object**
- the most complex AM systems are found in the neighboring **Arawak, Panoan and Tacanan** families along the western margins of the Amazon basin down the eastern foothills of the Andes

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