

**THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF DIRECTION IN NANDI: A
COGNITIVE APPROACH**

**“ A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has never been submitted to any other university for examination.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents: Mr. Kipkemei arap Lagat and Mrs. Romana Lagat. I have so many things to thank you for: thank you for giving me an education even when it was almost elusive and for instilling in me the value of hard work.

And

To my love: Georgina. I cherish your support and encouragement.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate the grammaticalization of direction in the Nandi language. It aimed at identifying directional affixes and lexical items which indicate direction, and at establishing the co-occurrence phenomenon involving directional affixes and some derivational affixes, namely, the benefactive, the comitative, and the reflexive. It also sought to determine the adequacy of cognitive grammar approach as a framework for describing this notion of direction.

The data for this study was intuitively generated by the researcher who is a native speaker of the language in question. The analysis of the data proceeded by the structural method whereby the verbs and sentence structures were subjected to analysis in line with the objectives of the study. The notions of trajector and landmark, as used in cognitive grammar, played a key role.

The findings of the study show that there are three main affixes of direction in the Nandi language: the ventive, the itive, and the ambulative. They also show that these affixes can co-occur with derivational affixes. However, there are cases of incompatibility. It was further established that there exist lexical items which indicate direction in Nandi and that the cognitive approach can adequately describe the notion of direction.

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

∅	- Zero morpheme
1PS	-First person singular
1PPL	-First person plural
2PS	-Second person singular
3D	-Third person dependent
3PS	-Third person singular
AMB	-Ambulative
BEN	-Benefactive
COM	-Comitative
DP	-Distant past
HH	-High high tone
IMP	-Imperfective
ITV	-Itive
LH	-High low tone
LL	-Low low tone
LM	-Landmark
NEG	-Negation
PF	-Perfective
PH	-Phase
PNS	-Proto-Nilo-Saharan
Pst	-Past tense
REFL	-Reflexive
SF	-Slot filler
TR	-Trajector
VEN	-Ventive
VOS	-Verb Object Subject
VSO	-Verb Subject Object

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces this study on the grammaticalization of direction in Nandi by first providing a brief socio-cultural overview of the Nandi language and defining the terms that are central to the understanding of the issue of grammaticalization. Then the chapter offers the background to the study from which it states the research problem, the research questions, and the objectives. The chapter goes on to specify the rationale of the study, the scope and delimitation, and then to describe the theoretical framework, to review the relevant literature, and finally to describe the research methodology.

1.1 A brief socio-cultural overview of the Nandi language

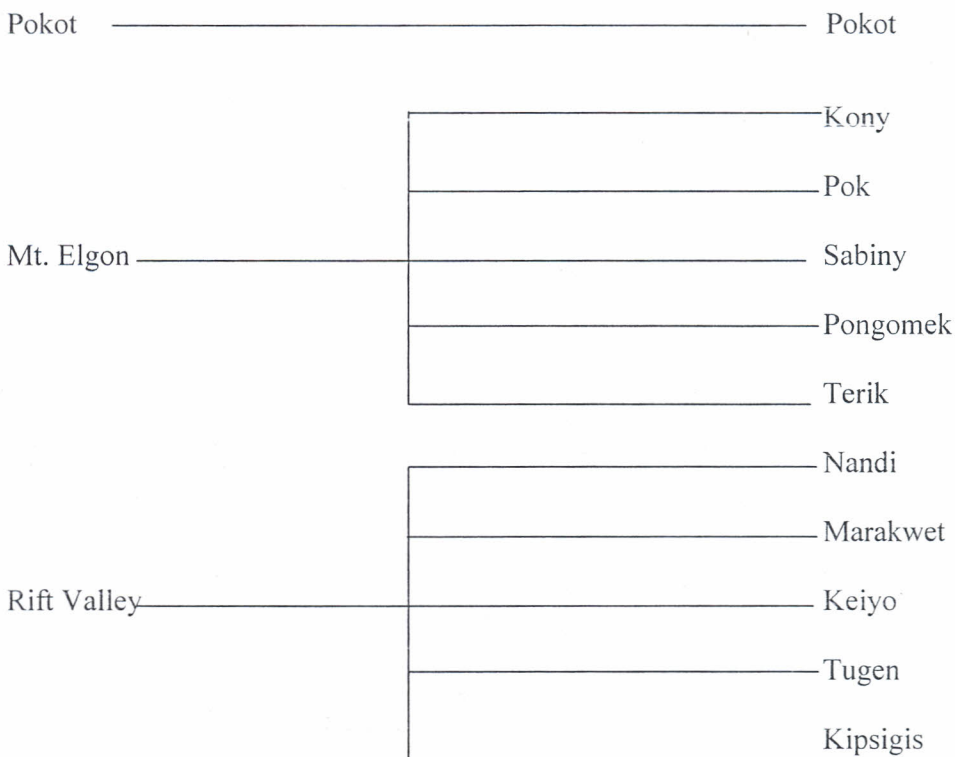
The Nandi language belongs to the Nilotic branch of the greater Nilo-Saharan language family. The Nilotic group, which is a branch of the Eastern Sudanic, is divided into three sub-branches: Western, Eastern, and Southern Nilotic groups. The Kalenjin speakers, the Nandi included, belong to the Southern Nilotic group.

Traditionally, the Southern Nilotic groups are people whose economic mainstay is cattle-keeping. These people believe that they migrated from the area around the border of Egypt and Sudan. According to Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973:94), the Kalenjin originated from the borders of present-day Ethiopia and the Sudan some two thousand years ago before they migrated to and settled in the mountainous highlands of the Rift Valley province of Kenya. Today, they dominate the whole highland region from Mt. Elgon to the north-west, Kericho County to the south, and Baringo to the east. They border the Luhya, the Luo, and the Abagusii

peoples along the western escarpments; the Maasai to the east, and the Turkana to the north.

According to Otterloo (1979:2) the Kalenjin, as a language, has thirteen dialects: Terik (TE), Nandi (NA), Kipsigis (KI), Keiyo (KE), South Tugen (ST), NorthTugen (NT) (also called Arror), Sabaot (SA), Cherang’any (CH), Talai Marakwet (TM), Endo Marakwet (EM), Sambirir Marakwet (SM), East Pokot (EP), and West Pokot (WP). For Toweett (1979: xiv), Kalenjin has nine dialects: Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Tugen, Sabaot, Marakwet, Pokot, Okiek, and Sengwer. As for Creider (1982:9), it has eleven dialects. The author provides a chart that depicts the genetic relationship of these dialects. He classifies them into three major divisions as indicated below.

Figure 1: Genetic relationships



(Adapted from Creider (1982:9))

The Kalenjin, as a people, mainly live in the following seven counties: Nandi, Kericho, Uasin Gishu, Trans-Nzoia, West Pokot, Baringo, and Elgeyo-Marakwet. Chesaina (1991:1) observes that the Kalenjin, as a language, comprises seven major dialects namely Kipsigis, Keiyo, Markwet (Marakwet), Nandi, Tugen, Sebei (Elgon Kalenjin), and Pokot. An oral story goes that Kalenjin people, who are known (by older Kipsigis) as Mnyoot migrated into their present areas from the north. The Kipsigis were the pioneer group in the southward movement. This pioneer group passed through Mt. Elgon, Kerio Valley and some parts of Baringo and settled in the present-day Kericho County. The Nandi and the Kipsigis are the last separation of the great Mnyoot family. The tale has it that the two brothers (or their families agreed that one of them should look for pasture in the west (Nandi) and the other in the south (Kipsigis)) (Toweett, 1979: xiii).

It is worth noting that the word *Kalenjin* is a recent coinage by the educated elites of the 1950's whose motive was political. Chesaina (1991: 1) says that the term *Kalenjin*, which literally means 'I say to you', is a recent creation. Chesaina concurs with Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973) in arguing that the word *Kalenjin* is not only a recent coinage but also political in its origin. It follows that the people of Kenya who are now called Kalenjin did not have such a common name. In fact, the Kalenjin were initially referred to as the Nandi-speaking tribes by the colonial administration. The choice of the word Kalenjin was guided by the need to find a term that was common to all dialects, as Kipkorir (1978:1) suggests:

... the invention of the word Kalenjin to identify a group of people was the achievement of a number of educated young men who decided that the people then referred to as the Nandi-speaking tribes should have a new and more acceptable name.

The Nandi language, specifically, is predominantly spoken in the Nandi and Uasin Gishu counties. It is also spoken in some parts of Trans-Nzoia County. In the national census of the year 2009, the Nandi population was found to be 949,835¹.

Of the Kalenjin languages, Nandi was the first to be written down. The first Kalenjin bible was written in Nandi. The Christian missionaries used it for the rest of the Kalenjin dialects. For this reason, Nandi has been considered as the standard variety. However, Koske (2006) claims that Kipsigis is the standard variety (see p.3).

1.2 Definition of terms

The following terms will be employed in this study. They all refer to morphemes used in marking direction except the benefactive, the reflexive, and the comitative, which are derivational affix markers.

Ambulative

This refers to an affix which "... indicates that action of the verb is performed [repetitively] while moving, away from or towards the speaker..." (Zwarts 2004: 128). Creider and Creider (1989: 89) note that the ambulative affixes are "related in form to the ventive and the itive suffixes ..." since they bear in part the meaning 'towards' the speaker and 'away from' the speaker respectively. The ambulative affixes are marked by the suffixes **-a:n** and **-a:t** in the Nandi language.

¹ The data was obtained from *The 2009 Kenya National Population and Housing Census* published by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.

Andative

According to Towett (1979: 139) the andative refers to the suffix that adds the meaning “action moves away from the speaker”. He gives the suffixes **-aat** and **-taat** as the andative markers. These are related to the ambulative. In fact he terms the andative as ambulatory in his explanation. (It is worth noting that Towett is not clear regarding the use of this term and that I did not find a better definition of the andative in the literature).

Benefactive

According to Crystal (2003) the benefactive is “a term used in some grammatical description to refer to a case form or construction whose function in a sentence is to express the notion ‘on behalf of’ or ‘for the benefit of’. A benefactive form (a benefactive) expresses the sense of ‘intended recipient’, and is often introduced by a *for* phrase in English.” (p. 50). This is marked by the suffix **-chi** in the Nandi language.

Comitative

This refers to “the case used to show ‘along with’ or ‘in the company of’” (Bauer 2004: 26). For Trask (1993), the comitative refers to “a case form typically indicating an individual in whose company something is done....” In the Nandi language, the comitative is marked by the suffix **-ta:ita**.

Itive

According to Creider and Creider (1989: 87) the itive refers to “a suffix **-ta** ... added with the derivation of verbs which involve the extra meaning ‘directed away (from the speaker)’.” Zwarts (2004) refers to the itive as “the opposite of the ventive suffix used

to express motion away from the speaker or perspective point” (p.126). Its allomorph is **-te**.

Reflexive

According to Crystal (2003) the term reflexive refers to “... a verb or a construction where the subject and the object relate to the same entity. English uses reflexive pronouns to express this relationship (e.g. he kicked himself)... Other languages use a variety of forms for the expression of reflexive meaning, such as suffixes, case endings and word order” (p. 392). The reflexive marker is the suffix **-kei** in the Nandi language.

Ventive

The ventive, according to Creider and Creider (1989: 86), has “...the added meaning ‘directed towards the speaker’ ”. Zwarts (2004: 125) concurs with them that the ventive “... indicates that the action of the verb is directed towards the speaker” The ventive is usually perceived as the opposite of the itive. In the Nandi language, the ventive is marked by the suffix **-u**.

1.3 Background to the study

The Nandi language is mainly characterised by VSO word order. However, there are instances where VOS word order can feature in this language. At the phonological level, the possible syllable structures are CVC, CVCVC, VC, and CVCV types (see Maiyo 2007: 21).

It should be noted that not so many studies have been carried out on the Nandi language. Tucker and Bryan (1964), for instance, dealt with the noun classification in Kalenjin. Creider’s (1982) study was concerned with tone in the Nandi language.

Toweett's (1975), showed how the Kipsigis nouns group themselves into eleven plural classes. It further investigated the findings of Tucker and Bryan (1964).

I was inspired to write on the notion of direction in Nandi by Toweett's (1977) Ph.D. thesis entitled *A Study of Kalenjin Linguistics*. In it Toweett investigated what he termed "the morphological behaviour of the Kalenjin language". In this work, under the subtitle 'Formal verbal suffixes', the author mentions (see pp.162-164) affixes such as the *conversive*, the *ventive*, and the *andative*, all of which have an aspect of direction. He deals with these from the perspective of traditional grammar. He says that the *conversive* suffix indicates that 'action is towards the speaker', the *ventive* 'action moves towards the speaker', and the *andative* 'action moves away from the speaker'. The author illustrates the *ventive* with the following example.

1. Ø- *Pir- aan- u la: kwe: t.*
2PS- beat- AMB- VEN child
'You beat the child as you move towards me (the speaker).'

In example 1, Toweett (1977) describes the ambulative *-aan* as the *ventive* and the suffixes *-a:t* and *-ta:t* as the *andative*. The ambulative shows that the action is done repeatedly as one moves towards the speaker. The way he puts it is rather confusing since the *ventive* and the ambulative are two distinct suffixes: *-u*, and *-a:n* and *-a:t* respectively. However, Creider and Creider (1989) give the *ventive* as the suffix *-u*. I will stick to Creider and Creider's definition of the *ventive* in this study. They define it as the suffix that adds the meaning 'directed towards the speaker' (see p.86). Toweett further illustrates the *andative* and the *conversive* with examples 2 and 3 respectively.

2. Ø- Pir- aat- e la:kwe:t.

2PS- beat- AND- IMP child

‘You beat the child as you move away from me (the speaker).’

3. Ke:- pir te:ta LL- LH

Inf- beat cow

‘To beat or lead a cow towards the speaker’

He claims that the conversive involves tonal change: from HH – LH to LL – LH. In my view, these two terms, the andative and the conversive, are obscurely explained in his work and thus they will not be referred to from now henceforth since they will not be of much help to this study.

Creider and Creider (1989: 86-89) discuss verbal derivation in relation to direction. They explain the terms *ventive*, *itive*, and *ambulative*. They too use traditional grammar in their discussion. Regarding the ventive, they say that ‘action is towards the speaker’ and this is marked by the suffix **-u** as in (4):

4.	<u>Person</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	1PS	a:-ma: ng’-u:	‘I am getting (it) out.’
	2PS	i:-ma: ng’-u:	‘You are getting (it) out.’
	3	ko:-ma: ng’-u	‘He/she was getting (it) out’
	1PPL	ki:-ma: ng’-u	‘We are getting (it) out.’

Concerning the itive, action is directed away from the speaker. The suffix **-ta** is used to mark the itive. They illustrate this with the following:

5.	<u>Person</u>	<u>Imperfective</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	1PS	a-to: r-ta-i	‘I am pushing (away from the speaker)’
	2PS	i-to: r-ta-i	‘You are pushing (away from the speaker)’
	3	ko-to: r-ta-i	‘He/she was pushing (away from the speaker)’

Creider and Creider (1989: 89) suggest that the ambulatives **-a:t** and **-a:n** are related in form to the ventive and itive suffixes in that they add the meaning ‘here and there away or towards the speaker’. From *Ke:-kas* (‘to listen’) is formed *Ke:-kas-a:t* (‘to listen this way and that way from the speaker’) and *Ke:-kas-a:n* (‘to listen this way and that way away from the speaker’).

But neither Towett (1977) nor Creider and Creider (1989) adequately dealt with the grammaticalization of direction because of the following reasons. Firstly, both studies laid emphasis on the verb and did not analyse sentences as such, as can be seen in the examples 1, 2, and 3. Secondly, they did not discuss at all the lexical items which indicate direction, like *kong’asis*, meaning ‘east’. Thirdly, they did not identify the affixes which can co-occur with the affixes of direction, such as the *benefactive* **-chi**, the *reflexive* **-kei**, and the *comitative* **-taita**. Lastly, traditional grammar does not adequately describe the conceptualisation of directionality. It only mentions, with examples, the markers of direction but fails to describe how direction is realised with respect to the speaker and the hearer.

1.4 Statement of the problem

In view of the above inadequacies, there definitely exists a gap in knowledge regarding the description of **direction** in the Nandi language. This gap centres around the following specific questions:

- I. What are the affixes that serve as markers of direction on the Nandi verb?
- II. What types of lexical items indicate direction in the Nandi language?
- III. Which affixes can co-occur with the affixes of direction on the Nandi verb?
- IV. Is the cognitive theory an adequate model for describing the grammaticalization of direction in the Nandi language?

The aim of the present study is, therefore, to find answers to the questions above.

1.5 Objectives

From the aim above, the specific objectives of this study are:

1. To investigate the affix markers of direction on the Nandi verb.
2. To identify the types of lexical items which indicate direction in the Nandi language.
3. To identify the affixes which co-occur with the affixes of direction on the Nandi verb.
4. To determine the adequacy of the cognitive theory in describing the grammaticalization of direction in the Nandi language.

1.6 Hypotheses

The hypotheses of this study are:

1. The Nandi language has affixes of direction on the verb.
2. There are lexical items which indicate direction in the Nandi language.
3. There are affixes which can co-occur with the affixes of direction on the Nandi verb.
4. The cognitive theory is adequate for describing the grammaticalization of direction in the Nandi language.

1.7 Scope and delimitations of the study

The Nandi language has no distinct dialects on record. However, it is a linguistic fact that a language is expected to have dialects. My proposal is that Nandi has three dialects: the Nandi South dialect, the Nandi North dialect, and the Uasin Gishu-Trans-Nzoia dialect. In this regard, the data used in this study will relate more to the Nandi North dialect than to the other two.

This study will focus on the grammaticalization of direction in Nandi. Of particular concern will be three types of affixes namely: the *ventive*, the *itive*, and the *ambulative*. With regard to co-occurrence, the present study will only determine how the stated affixes can co-occur with the *benefactive*, the *reflexive*, and the *comitative*. Other features of direction such as those manifested in the use of prepositions and demonstratives will be left aside for further research.

Further, with the cognitive theory being a model with a myriad of theoretical concepts and principles, the present study will draw upon two key concepts in particular: the concept of landmark (LM) and that of trajector (TR). Nevertheless,

some other notions will also be referred to in this study, namely schematisation, profiling, predication, and domain. (More will be said about these notions in the following section.)

1.8 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this study of the grammaticalization of direction in Nandi is the Cognitive Theory. Its main tenets and principles are discussed below. These include: abstraction, schematization, trajector, landmark, profiling, predication, and domain.

1.8.1 The cognitive theory

The cognitive theory was first developed in the early 1970's by Ronald Langacker. This model is called cognitive theory (also, Cognitive Grammar) "because it represents an attempt to understand language not as an outcome of a specialized language module, but as the result of general cognitive mechanisms and processes" (Evans and Green 2006:114). This theory is "firmly rooted in the emergence of modern cognitive science in the 1960s and 1970s, particularly in the work relating to human categorization, and in earlier traditions such as **Gestalt psychology**" (ibid. p.3). By the early 1990s, there was a growing proliferation of research in this area, and of researchers who called themselves 'cognitive linguists'. The International Cognitive Linguistics Society was established in 1989/1990 together with the journal *Cognitive Linguistics*. In the words of the eminent cognitive linguist Ronald Langacker (1991a), cited in Evans and Green (2006:3), this 'marked the birth of cognitive linguistics as a broadly, grounded, self conscious intellectual movement'.

Cognitive Grammar assumes that language is neither self-contained nor describable without essential reference to cognitive processing. The grammatical structures, therefore, are inherently symbolic, providing for the structuring and conventional symbolization of the conceptual content. Langacker (1991b), quoted in Droste and Joseph (1991), observes that:

Lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum of symbolic units divided only arbitrarily into separate components of grammar- it is ultimately as pointless to analyse grammatical units without reference to their semantic value as to write a dictionary which omits the meanings of its lexical items (p. 275).

According to Evans and Green (2006:114-5) cognitive grammar "...consists of an inventory of units that are form-meaning pairings: morphemes, words, and grammatical constructions. These units, which Langacker terms as **symbolic assemblies**, unite properties of sound, meaning and grammar within a single representation".

1.8.1.1 Abstraction, schematization and language use

Evans and Green (2006) argue that:

In Cognitive Grammar, the units that make up the grammar are derived from language use. This takes place by the processes of **abstraction** and **schematization**. Abstraction is the process whereby structure emerges as the result of the generalization of patterns across instances of language use. For example, a speaker acquiring English will, as the result of frequent exposure, 'discover' recurring words, phrases and sentences in the utterances they hear, together with the range of meanings associated with those units. Schematization is a special kind of abstraction, which results in representations that are much less detailed than the actual utterances that give rise to them. That is, schematization results in **schemas** (p.115).

Evans and Green (2006) further observe that “...the symbolic assemblies, the units of grammar, are nothing more than schemas.... They can be words like *cat*, consisting of the three sound segments [k], [æ], and [t] that are represented as a unit [kæt], idioms like [He/she kick –TENSE the bucket], bound morphemes like the plural marker [-s] or the agentive suffix [-er], and syntactic constructions like the ditransitive construction....” (ibid. p. 115)

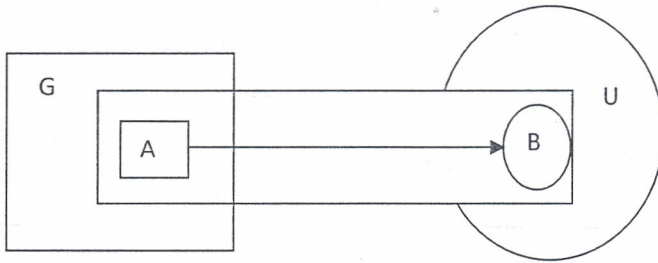
In a nutshell, abstraction and schematization, as fundamental cognitive processes, produce schemas based on usage events. Cognitive Grammar makes two important claims:

- The general cognitive processes are fundamental to grammar; and
- The emergence of grammar as a system of linguistic knowledge is grounded in language use (see p.115).

1.8.1.2 Schemas and their instantiations

According to Evans and Green (2006) “cognitive linguists argue that grammar not only derives from language use, but also, in part, motivates language use. It does this by licensing or **sanctioning** particular usage patterns. A usage pattern **instantiates** its corresponding schema; **instantiations**, therefore, are specific instances of use, arising from a schematic representation” (pp. 115-116). This idea is illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: An instantiation of a schema



(Adapted from Langacker (2000), cited in Evans and Green, 2006:116).

Concerning figure 2, they explain that “the box labelled G represents the repository of conventional units of language: the grammar. The circle labelled U represents a particular usage event: an utterance. The box labelled A in the grammar represents a conventional unit; a symbolic assembly. The circle labelled B represents a specific linguistic element within an utterance. The arrow signals that B instantiates (or ‘counts as an instance of’) schema A. This means that A sanctions B.” (See p.116)

Langacker (1991a) observes that:

Any aspect of usage events is subject to schematization, which can be carried to any degree of abstraction. As a consequence, the linguistic system subsumes units representing the same phenomenon at varying levels of detail and resolution. These form hierarchies in which a schema at a given level is **instantiated** by sub-schemas, each of which conforms to its specifications but is more precise and finely specified.

(p.2)

1.8.1.3 Attention

In cognitive grammar, another assumption that underpins language is attention.

Langacker (1987) defines it thus:

Attention is intrinsically associated with the intensity or energy level of cognitive processes, which translates experientially into greater province or salience. Out of the many on-going cognitive processes that constitute the rich diversity of mental experience at a given time, some are of augmented intensity and stand out from the rest as the focus of attention. (p.115)

According to Evans and Green (2006:536) linguistic expressions relate to conceived situations or ‘scenes’. Attention is differentially focused on a particular aspect of a given scene. In Langacker’s terms, this is achieved in language by a range of **focal adjustments** which ‘adjust the focus’ on a particular aspect of any given scene by using different linguistic expressions or different grammatical constructions to describe that scene. Langacker distinguishes three parameters along which focal adjustment can vary: selection, perspective, and abstraction.

1.8.2 Landmark and trajector

Following Langacker (1988), cited in Lee (2001:3), the term **landmark (LM)** refers to “the entity that is construed as the reference point, whereas the **trajector (TR)** refers to the element that is located with respect to it”. With regard to trajector, Langacker (1987: 217) observes that the “the term ... suggests motion, and processual predications describing physical activity (presumably the prototype for relations) the trajector generally does move through a spatial trajectory”. He elucidates the landmarks as “points of reference for locating the trajector”. These two notions are illustrated in examples (6a-6f).

Evans and Green (2006:157-158) are of the opinion that there exists a bounded landmark. They argue that a bounded landmark

... has enclosed sides, an interior, a boundary, and an exterior. As a consequence of these properties the bounded LM has the additional functional property of **containment** ... The concept associated with containment is an instance of what cognitive linguists call an **image schema**. In the cognitive model, the image-schematic concept represents one of the ways in which bodily experience gives rise to meaningful concepts. While the concept CONTAINER is grounded in the directly embodied experience of interacting with bounded LMs, the image-schematic conceptual structure can also give rise to more abstract kinds of meaning (pp. 157-158).

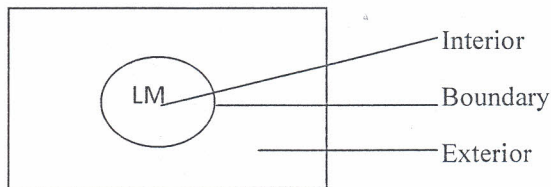
Consider the following examples from Lakoff and Johnson (1980:32), cited in Evans and Green (2006:158):

- (6a) He is *in* love.
- (6b) We are *out of* trouble now.
- (6c) He is *coming out of* the coma.
- (6d) I'm *slowly getting into* shape.
- (6e) He *entered* a state of euphoria.
- (6f) He *fell into* a depression.

They argue that examples like the ones in (6a-6f) are licensed by the **metaphorical projection** of the CONTAINER image schema onto the abstract conceptual domain of STATES, to which concepts like LOVE, TROUBLE and HEALTH belong.

Evans and Green (2006: 180-181) further say that “cognitive linguists attempt to support their formal representations of meaning elements by using diagrams”. The figure below, for instance, is a CONTAINER image schema.

Figure 3: CONTAINER image schema



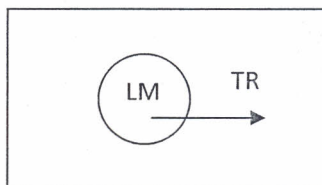
(Adapted from Evans and Green, 2006:181)

The image schema in figure 3 consists of the structural elements interior, boundary and exterior. These are the minimum requirements for a CONTAINER. It is, therefore, a basic CONTAINER schema. The container is represented as the landmark because the boundary and the exterior together possess sufficient Gestalt properties (e.g. closure and continuity) to make it the figure, while the exterior is the ground. The idea behind figure 3 is that it ‘boils down’ the image-schematic meaning to its bare essence, representing only those properties that are shared by all instances of the conceptual category CONTAINER (p.181).

Although figure 3 represents the basic CONTAINER schema, there are a number of other image schemas that are related to this schema which give rise to distinct concepts related to containment. Figure 4 and figure 5, for instance, represent just two variants of the CONTAINER schema lexicalized by *out*. The trajector (TR) *John*, which is the entity that undergoes motion, moves from a position inside the LM to occupy a location outside the LM. Figure 4 corresponds to example (7).

(7) John went out of the room. OUT I

Figure 4: Image schema for OUT I

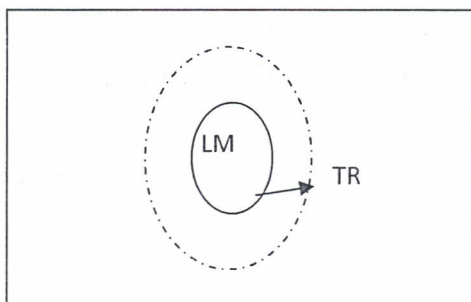


(Adapted from Evans and Green, 2006:182)

The image schema in figure 5 corresponds to example (8). In this example, the meaning of out is ‘reflexive’, which is a technical way of saying that something refers to itself: example (8) could be paraphrased, albeit redundantly, as ‘The honey spread itself out’. In other words, liquid substances like *honey*, due to their physical properties, can simultaneously be the LM and the TR. The LM is the original area occupied by the *honey*, while the *honey* is also the TR because it spreads beyond the boundary of its original location (p.182).

(8)The honey spread out OUT

Figure 5: Image schema for OUT 2



(Adapted from Evans and Green, 2006:182)

The image schemas in figures 4 and 5 represent two concepts that are more specific and detailed than the image schema in figure 3, because they involve motion as well

as containment. This indicates that image schemas can possess varying degrees of schematicity (see p. 182).

It is worth noting that the arrow in the schema usually represents the direction of motion.

1.8.3 Perspective: trajector – landmark organization

As mentioned above, one parameter of focal adjustment is **perspective**. The perspective from which a scene is viewed has consequences for the relative prominence of its participants. Evans and Green (2006) explain that:

Langacker argues that the grammatical functions subject and object are reflections of perspective and thus have a conceptual basis. He suggests that the distinction between subject and object relates to the prototype of an **action claim**, a cognitive model involving an ‘energy source’ (AGENT) that transfers energy to an ‘energy sink’ (PATIENT). Langacker calls the semantic role of the expression that fulfils the subject function the **trajector** (TR), which reflects the observation that the ‘prototypical’ subject is dynamic. The semantic role of the expression that fulfils the object function is referred to as **landmark** (LM). This reflects the observation that the prototypical object is stationary or inert. It should be noted that the terms trajector and landmark are used in a range of related ways in cognitive linguistics (p. 541).

Evans and Green (2006:541) go on to say that “Langacker defines TR –LM organization in terms of a conceptual asymmetry between participants in a **profiled** relationship: while the TR signifies the focal participants, the LM represents the secondary participant. In an English sentence, for example, the TR (subject) comes first and the LM (object) comes second. The familiar case of an active and passive pair of sentences illustrates this point.” Consider example (9) from Evans and Green (2006:541):

(9a) George ate all the caviar (active).

(9b) All the caviar was eaten by George (passive).

In example (9) the focal participant (TR) is *George* who is the AGENT of the action, and the secondary participant (LM) is *the caviar* which is the PATIENT. In (9b) the situation is reversed and the PATIENT is now the focal participant (TR). In a passive sentence, the AGENT is the secondary participant (LM), but it is not the object because passivized verbs do not take objects. Instead, the *by-phrase* that contains the object behaves more like a modifier and can be deleted without making the sentence ungrammatical. This difference between the active construction and the passive construction is represented by figure 6 and figure 7.

Figure 6: George ate all the caviar

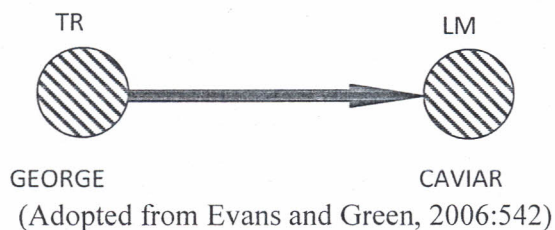
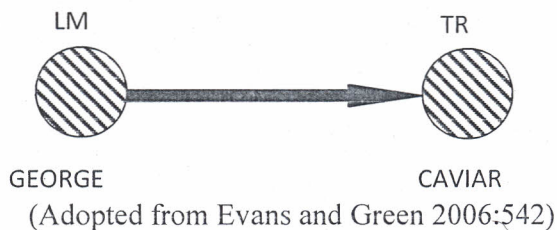


Figure 7: All the caviar was eaten by George



Evans and Green (2006:542) observe that “the distinction between these two sentences relates to a shift in **perspective**, which is effected by changing the relative prominence attached to the participants in the profiled relationship. Both participants are profiled, GEORGE as TR in figure 6, while the CAVIAR is marked as TR in figure 7. The direction of the arrow remains the same in both diagrams because George is still the ‘energy source,’ irrespective of whether he is the primary or secondary participant”.

Evans and Green (2006:542) note that although the term ‘trajector’ is derived from ‘trajectory’ (a path of motion) it is worth emphasizing that this term is “applied to all salient participants, regardless of whether the verb involves motion or not”.

1.8.4. Other notions in cognitive grammar that are of interest to this study

1.8.4.1 Profiling

According to Langacker (1987:491) a profile is “the entity designated by a semantic structure. It is a substructure within the base that is obligatorily accessed, functions as the focal point within the objective scene, and achieves a special degree of prominence (resulting in one level of figure/ground organization)”. Evans and Green (2006: 41) are of the view that “... language provides ways of directing attention to certain aspects of the scene being linguistically encoded. This general ability, manifest in language, is called profiling... One important way in which language exhibits profiling is in the range of grammatical constructions it has at its disposal, each of which serves to profile different aspects of a given scene”.

1.8.4.2 Predication

Langacker (1991:551) defines predication as “the semantic role of any expression, regardless of size or type”. The term is used for a given meaning of any expression (regardless of its size or type, and predicate for the meaning of a single morpheme (also see p.4). There are two kinds of predication: nominal predication and relational predication. The nominal predication deals the nouns whereas the relational predication deals with the verbs, the prepositions, and the adjectives.

1.8.4.3 Domain

Domain refers to “a coherent area of conceptualization relative to which semantic units may be characterized. Three-dimensional space, smell and touch sensation, are examples of basic domains. A concept or conceptual complex of any degree of complexity can function as an abstract domain” (Langacker 1987: 488). Domains are therefore cognitive entities: mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts or conceptual complexes (see p. 147).

1.9 Literature review

This section will review the literature on the Nandi language and other related languages of the Southern Nilotic group with respect to the notion of direction. It will also review the literature on the notion of direction *per se*.

1.9.1 Literature on the Nandi language and other related languages

This subsection gives an overview of the relevant literature, on the Nandi language and other related languages within the Southern Nilotic group, which discusses the notion of direction. It will also review the relationship between the literature and the topic of study.

Toweett (1977) mainly deals with the morphological behaviour of the Kalenjin language. As noted in section 1.2 above, the author mentions suffixes such as the *conversive*, the *ventive*, and the *andative*, all of which point to the notion of direction (see pp. 162- 164). It is this work that inspired me to study the notion of direction in Nandi. Since Toweett's illustration of the ventive is not satisfactory, as stated in section 1.2, it forms part of the gap that this study sets out to fill.

Crazzolaro (1978) embarks on the grammar and the vocabulary of the Pokot language, also called Suk. In this work, he studied a special class of verbs which he termed as the 'directional verbs'. According to him, these verbs form "...a special class...with two semantically and morphologically correlated but distinct forms: (a) the one with the meaning 'away from' the speaker, as in *kee-rop* 'to run away'; (b) the other with the meaning 'towards' the speaker, as in *kee-rop-o* 'to run hither'"(see pp. 93-94). This confirms that there exist affixes of direction in Nandi and its related languages.

Creider and Creider (1989) discuss the grammar of Nandi. This is the first grammar of Nandi to be written by professional linguists. In part, the authors deal with the verbal derivation in relation to direction (see pp.85-89). In my view, their work explains the terms *ventive*, *itive*, and *ambulative* in a better way than Toweett (1977) especially with respect to the definition of the ventive. Since this study seeks to analyse the notion of direction in the Nandi language, these notions will form the backbone of the study.

Ehret (2001) makes an attempt to reconstruct the Proto-Nilo-Saharan (PNS) language. His work provides a reconstruction of not only consonants, vowels, and

tones of PNS, but also the history of derivational morphology, number marking, and pronouns in the Nilo-Saharan family. In chapter 5, which deals with the verb derivational morphology, he reconstructs the itive and ventive and arrives at **-i* and **-u* respectively as the prototypical markers. Ehret terms these as the verb extensions of direction in the PNS (see pp. 131-132). This reconstruction serves as a clear evidence for the existence of the affixes of direction in the Nilo-Saharan languages, Nandi included. In fact the reconstructed ventive is an exact reflection of the Nandi ventive.

Zwarts (2004) deals mainly with the phonology of the Endo Marakwet. However, he devotes a good part of his last chapter (Chapter 10) to verbal derivation in which he defines the following suffixes: the ventive, the itive, and the ambulative(s). His definitions notably agree with those of Creider and Creider (1989) (see pp.125-126, 128).

Mietzner (2009), in her text written in the German language, highlights the notion of direction in a section of the Nilo-Saharan languages, especially within the Southern Nilotic group. She attempts to put forward a comparative study of the Southern Nilotic languages with respect to the following affixes of direction: the ventive, the itive, the mobilitive ventive, and the mobilitive itive of which the latter two are equivalent to the ambulatives (pp. 172-176, 186-189)².

The notion of direction, in most of the aforementioned pieces of literature, is studied within the traditional grammar. As stated earlier, this approach is marred with

² The translation of the relevant section was made available to me by Dr Helga Schröder, lecturer, Department of Linguistics, University of Nairobi, to whom I am obliged.

demerits which form part of the gap that this study attempts to fill by employing the cognitive approach. Traditional grammar, for instance, employs the parsing process which involves dividing the morphemes. This does not indicate direction. However, the use of the schematic diagrams in the cognitive approach indicates the directionality by use of the trajectory (path of motion).

1.9.2 Literature on the notion of direction

Lyons (1968) while discussing ‘case’ alludes to the notion of direction. He notes that, “The most general distinction to be recognised within the ‘local’ functions of the cases is *locative* v. *directional* (‘in/at’ v. ‘to’ or ‘from’). Whether the resultant form has spatial or temporal reference will depend primarily upon the sub-classification of the inflected noun: cf. ‘in the house’, ‘from the house’: ‘in childhood’, ‘from childhood’, which would be translated in a number of languages by single inflected words. The terms ‘locative’ and ‘directional’ themselves are to be interpreted (like ‘local’) as neutral with respect to the distinction of space and time; and the distinction within ‘directional’ ” (p.300).

Quirk *et al.* (1985:514-525), in their discussion of the ‘Adjuncts of space,’ observe that “... there are numerous common adverbs realizing spatial relations... some can themselves be used prepositionally as well as adverbially (cf 9.5). Most can be used for both position and direction: *abroad, about, above, ahead, aloft, alongside, anywhere, around, ashore....*” They further note that some items denote direction but not position, as in *after, along, aside, before, by, downward(s), forward(s), inward(s), left, outward(s), over, past, right, round, sideways, skywards, and upward(s)* (see pp. 516-517). They argue that the direction adjuncts of both goal and source can normally

be used only with verbs of motion or with other verbs used dynamically (cf 4. 33ff) that allow a directional meaning. They give these examples:

(10a) I think you should now turn *left*.

(10b) He jumped *over the fence*.

(10c) She was whispering softly *into the microphone*.

(10d) He came *from America* last week.

(10e) It jumped *out of the cage*.

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 682) also note that *up, down, along, across, and around*, occurring with verbs of motion, make up a group of prepositions expressing movement with reference to an axis or directional path.

The pieces of work by Lyons (1968) and Quirk *et al.* (1985) will inform this study regarding the description of the notion of direction especially with respect to the lexical items which indicate direction in the Nandi language.

1.10 Research methodology

The data for this study will be intuitively generated by the researcher who is a native speaker of the Nandi language. Since this study is theoretical in nature, much of it will be based on library research.

The data analysis will proceed by the structural method. This will involve the analysis of the verbs and sentence structures in line with the objectives of the study. The data (verbs and sentences) will be subjected to the cognitive analysis whereby the concepts of landmark and the trajector will play a major role. The trajector-landmark

relationship together with the trajectory (path of motion) will, for instance, depict that the action is towards the speaker in the case of the ventive.

1.11 Significance and contribution of the study

To the best of my knowledge, no study has employed the cognitive approach in the analysis of the Nandi language. This study will contribute, to a certain extent, to the growth of the theoretical and descriptive linguistics. It follows that the applicability of the cognitive model will be tested with respect to the notion of direction in the Nandi language. The strengths and possible weaknesses of the cognitive model will be revealed by this study.

In addition, the cognitive analysis of the Nandi data with respect to the notion of direction will serve to shed light on the study of Nandi, a language which has not been widely studied yet. The study will also show how morphologically rich the Nandi language is. This will be reflected in the wide range of the possible affixes on the verb. Last but not least, a study of this kind is likely to raise issues for further research. For example, an investigation into other features of direction such as those manifested in the use of prepositions and demonstratives is one such issue.

CHAPTER TWO: THE NANDI VERB AND THE NOTION OF DIRECTION

This chapter focuses on the Nandi verb phrase and its morphological structure. It also deals with the notion of deixis in relation to the speaker: the gateway to the understanding of the affixes of direction as deictic morphemes. In addition, it lays special emphasis on the Nandi verb with respect to the affixes of direction.

2.1 The Nandi verb morphology

In Nandi, as in most Nilo-Saharan languages, the verb depicts a great deal of complexity. Creider and Creider (1989: 75) note that “the complexity of the verbal word in Nandi is, for the non-Nandi, staggering”. The Nandi verb frequently involves extensive marking for conjugational features. It inflects for subject, object, negation, tense, mood, and aspect. Tense in the Nandi language portrays three degrees. Creider and Creider (1989) refer to these as *hodiernal*, *hesternal*, and *distant* (see p.76).

Zwarts (2003:114) provides the schematic morphological structure of the verbs in Endo Marakwet, a language related to Nandi. The schema is given below. It is also applicable to Nandi. (Both Nandi and Endo Marakwet are Southern Nilotic languages as hinted earlier).

Table 1: The morphological structure of the Nandi verb

<u>Prefixes</u>					<u>Root</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>			
Tense	Negation	Phase	Motion	Person		Derivational suffixes	Imperfective	Object suffixes	Subject suffixes

(Adapted from Zwarts, 2003:114)

It is important to note that not all the affixes in Table 1 can fit into a single verb root at any one time. The various affixes are only selected depending on the morphosyntactic compatibility. Here are examples to illustrate how a good number of these affixes attach themselves into the verb root.

(11a) *Kitakowirtaati chepto koita.*

Ki- ta- ko- wir- ta- aat- i chepto koita

DP-PH-3D-throw-ITV-AMB-IMP girl stone

‘The girl was still throwing the stone (as she moved away from the speaker)’

(11b) *Kimatakopataati boiyot mbarenik.*

Ki- ma -ta -ko -pat -aat -i boiyot mbarenik

DP-NEG -PH -3D -dig -AMB-IMP man fields

‘The man no longer digs the fields (as he moves away from the speaker)’

In (11a), for instance, the prefixes, from the left of the root, mark tense (DP), phase (PH), and person (3D); whereas the suffixes, from the right of the root, mark imperfective aspect (IMP), ambulative (AMB), and itive (ITV). Moreover, in (11b), the negation marker (NEG) is introduced as a prefix but the suffixal ambulative is

dropped. Phase (PH) prefixes, as used here, refer to the prefixes that show the stage in which an action is: it corresponds with a particular moment in time (see Zwarts, 2009: 119). Examples of phase prefixes in Nandi are *ta-* meaning ‘still’ and *sip-* roughly meaning ‘before’. The phase prefix *ta-* features in sentences (11a) and (11b) above.

According to Toweett (1979: 115) Kalenjin verbs may be divided into two main classes. This classification is based on the behaviour of the infinitives. The first class takes the prefix *kee* – as the infinitive marker while the second class takes *kii-*. *Kee* – and *kii-* infinitive prefix markers approximate to the ‘to’ infinitive of the English language. The following tables show the examples of data drawn from the two respective classes.

Table 2a: Examples of class I verbs

Nandi		English gloss
1.	<i>kee-wir</i>	‘to throw’
2.	<i>kee-cham</i>	‘to love’
3.	<i>kee-oon</i>	‘to chase’
4.	<i>kee-al</i>	‘to buy’
5.	<i>kee-sir</i>	‘to write’
6.	<i>kee-am</i>	‘to eat’
7.	<i>kee-lapat</i>	‘to run’
8.	<i>kee-milta</i>	‘to roll’
9.	<i>kee-tilta</i>	‘to jump’
10.	<i>kee-yatita</i>	‘to circumcise’
11.	<i>kee-yiesta</i>	‘to disperse’
12.	<i>kee-uita</i>	‘to stretch out’
13.	<i>kee-unta</i>	‘to release’

Table 2 (b): Examples of class II verbs

Nandi		English gloss
1.	<i>kii-pat</i>	'to till'
2.	<i>kii-iil</i>	'to apply (oil)'
3.	<i>kii-pwaat</i>	'to remember'
4.	<i>kii-nuur</i>	'to soak'
5.	<i>kii-chuut</i>	'to drag'
6.	<i>kii-kat</i>	'to greet'
7.	<i>kii-tiar</i>	'to kick'
8.	<i>kii-mut</i>	'to take (somebody)'
9.	<i>kii-sup</i>	'to follow'
10.	<i>kii-yaanta</i>	'to sing initiation songs'
11.	<i>kii-chiikta</i>	'to push'
12.	<i>kii-siipta</i>	'to postpone'
13.	<i>kii-siirta</i>	'to pass'

To further illustrate the Nandi verb in the sentential structure, the following are simple sentences.

(12a) *Sirei chepyoset barwet.*
 V S O
 Ø -sir -ei chepyoset barwet
 3PS-write-IMP woman letter
 'The woman is writing a letter'

(12b) *Chamei werto chepto.*
 V S O
 Ø -cham-ei werto chepto
 3PS-love-IMP boy girl
 'The boy loves the girl'

(12c) *Kiitiar chepyoset boiyot.*
 V O S
 Ki-Ø -itiar chepyoset boiyot
 Pst-3PS-kicked- woman old
 'The woman kicked the man'

- (12d) *Koinuur ngoroik werto.*
 V O S
Ko -Ø -inuur ngoroik werto
 Pst-3PS -soak clothes boy
 ‘The boy soaked the clothes’

The sentences in (12a) and (12b) contain class 1 verbs while those in (12c) and (12d) contain class 2 verbs. As stated earlier, the Nandi language has both the VSO word order and the VOS word order. These word orders are usually in free variation. However, the former is used more often than the latter. These structures in (12) confirm the word order of the language of study.

Having looked at the morphology of the Nandi verb phrase and the sentential structure, this study proceeds to examine the affixes of direction. But before that, it is important to understand first the notion of deixis and deictic centre vis-a-vis the speaker.

2.2 The notion of deixis in relation to the speaker

Deixis, as used in linguistics, refers to those features of language which refer directly to the locational, personal, social, and temporal characteristics of the situation within which an utterance takes place. For Yule (1996: 9), deixis is a technical term which means “pointing” through language. Any linguistic form, therefore, which is used to accomplish this pointing, is called a deictic expression. The affixes of direction as found in the Nandi language, for instance, are deictic expressions in their own right. They are also referred to as deictic morphemes (see Mietzner 2009:35ff). As Yule says, deictic expressions depend, for their interpretation, on the speaker and the hearer sharing the same context. A deictic centre is a reference point to which a deictic expression is to be interpreted. A speaker, who is the utterer of the message, is

typically the deictic centre of his or her own deictic references. The affixes of direction in Nandi are interpreted in reference to the speaker: the deictic centre. They are interpreted in terms of either ‘towards’ or ‘away from’ the speaker. In this regard, the speaker is the central person. The details of the affixes of direction will be dealt with in the following section.

2.3 The affixes of direction

In the Nandi verb, the affixes of direction come after the root. The affixes that mark direction in the Nandi language are: the ventive, the itive, and the ambulative. Some literature refers to these affixes as deictic morphemes (see Mietzner, 2009: 168). This study will examine these three affixes in the following sub-sections.

2.3.1 The ventive

The ventive (VEN) is marked by the suffix *-u*. Creider and Creider (1989) note that the ventive adds the meaning “directed towards the speaker”. They observe that “although the suffix is deleted in the infinitive, its presence affects the surface tones so that infinitives of verbs of this class always contrast with infinitives of underived verbs” (p.86). The ventive, therefore, indicates that the action of the verb is directed towards the speaker or towards the deictic centre.

The following examples illustrate the use of the ventive.

- (13a) *Kowiru werto mpiret.*
Ko- Ø -wir - u werto mpiret
 Pst-3PS-throw-VEN boy ball
 ‘The boy threw the ball (towards the speaker)’

- (13b) *Kio:nu lakwet teta.*
Ki- Ø- o:n- u lakwet teta
 Pst- 3PS-chase-VEN child cow
 ‘The child was chasing the cow (towards the speaker)’

- (13c) *Koimilu koita?*
Ko- i- mil- u koita?
 Pst-2PS-roll-VEN stone
 ‘Did you roll the stone (towards the speaker)?’
- (13d) *Ichuutu chepyoset musukchet.*
I- chuut- u chepyoset musukchet
 3PS- drag-VEN woman log
 ‘The woman is dragging the log (towards the speaker)’
- (13e) *Imutu konetindet lakwet.*
I -mut- u konetindet lakwet
 3PS-take-VEN teacher child
 ‘The teacher is taking the child (towards the speaker)’
- (13f) *Kiisupu asikarindet chemaiyat?*
Ki -i -sup -u asikarindet chemaiyat?
 Pst -3PS-follow-VEN soldier drunk
 ‘Did the soldier follow the drunk?’

From the examples above, there are a number of points to note. First and foremost, it can be noted the examples in (13a), (13b), and (13c) bear the ventive within class 1 verbs. On the other hand, the examples in (13d) and (13e) bear the ventive within class 2 verbs. In addition, questions make use of the ventive as witnessed in (13c) and (13f). This study underlines that all the verbs, regardless of the class to which they belong, make use of the ventive suffix.

2.3.2 The itive

The itive suffix (ITV) is the opposite of the ventive suffix. It is used to express motion away from the speaker or from the deictic centre. The usual form of this suffix is *-ta*, with *-te* as its allomorph in certain instances. The itive, therefore, expresses an action that is directed away from the speaker.

Creider and Creider (1989: 87) define the itive as “a suffix *-ta...* added with derivation of verbs which involve the extra meaning ‘directed away (from the speaker)’”. They claim that “there are a few verbs which are found only here (unlike *-u* ‘ventive’)” However, this study, contrary to this claim, established that almost every verb takes the itive suffix depending on the context of usage.

The following examples illustrate the use of the itive.

- (14a) *Kawirta Kipruto mpiret.*
Ka-Ø -wir- ta Kipruto mpiret
 Pst-3PS-throw-ITV Kipruto ball
 ‘Kipruto has thrown the ball (away from the speaker)’
- (14b) *Kialta boiyot teta.*
Ki- Ø- al- ta boiyot teta
 Pst- 3PS- buy-ITV old man cow
 ‘The old man sold the cow (away from the speaker)’
- (14c) *Koichiikta lakwet ng’echeret.*
Ko-Ø -ichiik-ta lakwet ng’echeret
 Pst-3PS-push-ITV child chair
 ‘The child pushed the chair (away from the speaker)’
- (14d) *Wirte mpiret.*
Ø - wir- te mpiret
 2PS-throw-ITV ball
 ‘(You) throw the ball (away from the speaker)’
- (14e) *Kiasirte barwet.*
Ki- a- sir- te barwet
 Pst- 1PS-write-ITV letter
 ‘I wrote the letter (away from the speaker)’

The examples in (14) show just a few instances out of the many where the itive can feature. A test of the itive on most verbs has shown that the itive is compatible with verbs of all kinds as long as the speaker of the utterance wants to indicate that the action is directed away from a deictic centre. It can be noted also that the itive *-ta*

changes to *-te* in the imperative structures such as example (14d). This change is noted in (14e) as well in which the first person is involved.

2.3.2.1 Lexicalization of the itive

This study has established that there are certain verbs which have incorporated the itive into the root permanently. That is, the root no longer stands on its own without the itive: they are part and parcel of each other. The process by which the itive has changed meaning is referred to as lexicalization. Lipka (1990), quoted in Hopper and Traugott (2003:134), defines lexicalization as “the phenomenon that a complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete lexical unit, a simple lexeme.” This process is sometimes referred to as “univerbation”. He goes on to say that, through this process, the complex lexeme “loses the character of a syntagma to a greater or lesser extent.” Lexicalization often leads to grammaticalization. However, both processes have much in common and, are to a certain extent, parallel (see Lehmann, 2002: 15).

For the purposes of differentiating these two terms, it is important to define the term ‘grammaticalization’ as well. Following Lichtenberk (1991:38), quoted in Lessau (1994), grammaticalization is referred to as:

... a historical process, a kind of change that has certain consequences for the morphosyntactic categories of a language and thus for the grammar of the language. The prototypical consequences of grammaticalization are: (i) Emergence of a new grammatical category; (ii) Loss of an existing grammatical category; (iii) change in the membership of a grammatical category. All three kinds of change may be historically linked (pp.417-418).

From the definition above, it can be concluded that grammaticalization is diachronic process. In fact, Traugott and König (1991), quoted in Lessau (1994), concurs with Lichtenberk (1991) that:

Grammaticalization ... refers primarily to the dynamic, unidirectional historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morphosyntactic forms, and in the process come to code relations that either were not coded before or were coded differently.
(p.189)

The examples of verbs which have incorporated the itive permanently due the lexicalization process are given in table 3.

Table 3: Verbs with lexicalized itive

Nandi verb		English gloss
1.	<i>kee-tilta</i>	'to jump'
2.	<i>kee-yaatita</i> ³	'to circumcise'
3.	<i>kee-yiesta</i>	'to disperse'
4.	<i>kee-uita</i>	'to stretch out'
5.	<i>kee-unta</i>	'to release'
6.	<i>kee-amta</i> ⁴	'to preach'
7.	<i>kii-yanta</i>	'to sing praise songs'
8.	<i>kii-tata</i>	'to pour libation'

³ *Kee-yaatita*, etymologically, came from *kee-yat* meaning 'to open'. This, together with the incorporated itive, is no longer used in the sense of 'to open' but in the sense of 'to circumcise' which also formerly meant 'to open out for the boys to get to the adulthood stage'.

⁴ *Kee-amta* in the sense above came from *kee-am* meaning 'to eat'. Now, with the itive incorporated, it means 'to preach'. It is probable that the usage of this word in this sense came with the advent of Christian Missionaries and the Bible translation that followed later.

At a glimpse, it can be noticed that all the examples in Table 3 end with the syllable –*ta*: the unit that was previously an itive marker. The reason behind the lexicalisation of the itive is perhaps the attempt to enrich the lexicon. This seems plausible because more than half of the data in Table 3 derive from other lexical items. Words such as *kee-yaatita*, *kee-yiesta*, *kee-amta*, and *kii-yanta*, for example, have their counterparts from which they were derived. They were derived from *kee-yaat* ‘to open’, *kee-yey* ‘to burst’, *kee-am* ‘to eat’, and *kii-yan* ‘to believe’ respectively. These examples confirm that the incorporation of the itive, through lexicalization process, lead to the realization of totally new lexical entries.

2.3.3 The ambulatives

The two ambulative suffixes are, in a way, related to the ventive and the itive suffixes. This relationship is in the concept of motion with reference to a deictic centre. According to Zwarts (2003: 127), “the ambulative suffixes... indicate that the action of the verb is performed while moving, away from or towards the speaker, respectively.”

These suffixes are *-aat* and *-aan*. The suffix *-aat* means that the action is performed while moving away from the speaker whereas *-aan* means that action is performed while moving toward the speaker. It should be noted that other scholars, such as Mietzner (2009:173), refer to the former as mobilitive itive and the latter as mobilitive ventive. This is perhaps due to the idea of ‘away from’ or ‘toward’ the speaker. However, the reason why this study will not adopt Mietzner’s terminology is that the ambulative suffixes can operate independent of the ventive and itive suffixes as can be seen in Table 4(a) and Table 4(b). Moreover, Rottland (1982), cited in Mietzner (2009: 173), and Toweett (1979:138ff) refer to the ambulative as the

andative whereas O'Brien and Cuypers (1975) call it *peripatetic* suffix. Consequently, it can be inferred from the foregoing that terms *ambulative*, *mobiltive*, *peripatetic*, and perhaps *andative* could be used interchangeably.

The following are examples of verbs bearing the ambulative suffixes *-aat* and *-aan*.

Table 4 (a): The infinitive forms and the ambulative *-aat*

	Infinitive	Infinitive + ambulative	Gloss
1.	<i>kee-wi:r</i>	<i>kee-wi:r-aat</i>	'to go while throwing'
2.	<i>kee-sir</i>	<i>kee-sir-aat</i>	'to go while writing'
3.	<i>kee-am</i>	<i>kee-am-aat</i>	'to go while eating'
4.	<i>kee-tilta</i>	<i>kee-tilta-aat</i>	'to go while jumping'
5.	<i>kee-yatita</i>	<i>kee-yatita-aat</i>	'to go while circumcising'

Table 4 (b): The infinitive forms and the ambulative *-aan*

	Infinitive	Infinitive + ambulative	Gloss
1.	<i>kee-wir</i>	<i>kee-wir-aan</i>	'to come while throwing'
2.	<i>kee-sir</i>	<i>kee-sir-aan</i>	'to come while writing'
3.	<i>kee-am</i>	<i>kee-am-aan</i>	'to come while eating'
4.	<i>kee-tilta</i>	<i>kee-tilta-aan</i>	'to come while jumping'
5.	<i>kee-yatita</i>	<i>kee-yatita-aan</i>	'to come while circumcising'

The following examples of sentences bear the ambulative suffixes on the verb.

(15a) *Amaati pandiat Chelimo sukul.*

Ø- am- aat- i pandiat Chelimo sukul
3PS-eat-AMB-IMP maize Chelimo school

‘Chelimo is eating the maize as she goes (away) to school’

(15b) *Kosiraate boiyot barwet.*

Ø-sir- aat- e boiyot barwet
2PS-write-AMB-IMP the man letter

‘The man was writing the letter (as he moved away from the speaker)’

(15c) *Koamaan kipengerek Kiptoo.*

Ko-Ø- am- aan kipengerek Kiptoo
Pst-3PS-eat-AMB pop corns Kiptoo

‘Kiptoo ate the pop corns as he came (towards the speaker)’

(15d) *Kowiraan Chepkorir teta.*

Ko- Ø -wir -aan Chepkorir teta
Pst-3PS-throw-AMB Chepkorir cow

‘Chepkorir threw (sticks) at the cow (towards the speaker)’

The sentential structures in (15) show how the ambulatives are attached to the verb root. The sentences in (15a) and (15b) bear the ambulative *-aat* (meaning that the action is done severally as the agent moves towards the speaker). Those in (15c) and (15d) bear the ambulative *-aan* (meaning that the action is done several times as the agent moves towards the speaker). A crucial fact about the ambulatives is that they are core in the sense that they indicate the direction of motion of one of the arguments within a construction (see van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 43).

(17a) *Kiwirtaat werto kiptulit.*

Ki-Ø -wir -ta -aat werto kiptulit

DP-3PS-throw-ITV-AMB boy ball

‘The boy threw the ball (severally as he moved away from the speaker)’

(17b) *Kosirtaat chepto baronok.*

Ki-Ø- sir- ta- aat chepto baronok

DP-3PS-write-ITV-AMB girl letters

‘The girl wrote the letter (severally as she moved away from the speaker)’

In (17a) and (17b), it is realized that the itive *-ta* can co-occur with the ambulative *-aat*. Unlike in the ventive-ambulative co-occurrence in (16), whereby the ventive comes after the ambulative *-aan*, the itive comes before the ambulative *-aat*. It should be noted that the long vowel in the ambulative coalesces with the vowel in the itive to give a single long vowel. Again, the reason behind their compatibility is that both affixes imply that the action is directed away from the speaker.

With regard to the use of the two ambulative suffixes (*-aan* and *-aat*), it is important to note that both affixes also mean that the action is performed repeatedly. For instance, the verb *wir-ta-aat-e* means ‘throw (it) repeatedly as you move away from the speaker’.

In a nutshell, the co-occurrence between the two ambulatives and the ventive and the itive witnessed in this section confirm the interrelatedness of these directional affixes. On the one hand, the ambulative *-aan* co-occurs with the ventive *-u* as they both imply “towards the speaker”. On the other hand, the ambulative *-aat* is

compatible with the itive *-ta* since both of them bear the meaning “away from the speaker”.

2.4 Summary

This chapter introduced the Nandi verb phrase and examined the notion of direction. The morphological structure of the verb was studied with regard to the affixes that mark direction. The following types of affixes were discussed: the *ventive*, the *itive*, and the *ambulative*. The effect of the lexicalization process on the itive was also noted. Moreover, it should be noted that the study of the affixes of direction were studied under traditional grammar. The weakness of traditional grammar is that it does not indicate the direction of the action in question. The co-occurrence properties of the ventive and the itive, and the two ambulates were examined too, though in passing. The following chapter will deal with the subject of co-occurrence in detail.

CHAPTER THREE: CO-OCCURRENCE OF AFFIXES AND LEXICAL DIRECTIONALS

The affixes of direction can co-occur with other affixes such as the benefactive, the comitative, and the reflexive. These co-occurrences bring about valency adjustments in sentences: that is, they are either argument increasing or argument decreasing. This chapter sets out to examine the co-occurrence phenomenon among these affixes. Moreover, it will also focus on the lexical items which indicate direction. A summary of the chapter will be given at the end.

3.1 Co-occurrence with argument increasing and argument decreasing operators

The derivational processes with regard to the Nandi verb lead to the increase or decrease in arguments in the Nandi sentence. As hinted at earlier, this study will only focus on three operators (affixes): the reflexive, the benefactive, and the comitative. While the benefactive and the comitative are argument increasing operators, the reflexive is an argument decreasing operator (see Payne, 1997: 175ff). This study, however, will not delve into details of the morphosyntactic valency adjustment operations. All these affixes notably occur as suffixes. The benefactive marker in Nandi is *-chi*, the comitative marker is *-ta:ita*, and the reflexive is *-kei*.

3.2 Co-occurrences involving the ventive

The ventive, as stated earlier, denotes that the action is directed towards the speaker. This section will examine the co-occurrences involving the ventive. Of particular concern, in this regard, will be the reflexive and the comitative.

3.2.1 Co-occurrence of the ventive with the reflexive

According to Payne (1997: 198), a prototypical reflexive construction is “one in which subject and object are the same entity.... Reflexive operations reduce the semantic valence of a transitive clause by specifying that there are not two separate entities involved; rather, one entity fulfils two semantic roles” He further notes that “reflexives can be expressed lexically, morphologically, or analytically”. In Nandi, the reflexive is marked morphologically. Hence it follows that such a reflexive is referred to as morphological reflexive. Storoshenko (2010:15) concurs with Payne that reflexivity is the phenomenon which exists when two semantic argument positions are occupied by the same entity. Besides, it is important to note that reflexivization affects transitivity. It transforms a transitive verb into an intransitive one (cf. Matsinhe, 1994: 170). This is realized when a reflexive predicate is derived from a transitive predicate by binding its object to the subject and thus giving rise to co-referentiality.

The following examples illustrate the use of the reflexive in Nandi.

- (18a) *Koitiarkei Kimutai.*
Ko- \emptyset -*itiar* -*kei* Kimutai
Pst-3PS-kick -REFL Kimutai
'Kimutai kicked himself'

- (18b) *Chamekei Chepleting.*
 \emptyset -*cham* -*e* -*kei* Chepleting
3PS-love-IMP-REFL Chepleting
'Chepleting loves herself'

In the sentences in (18) the action is directed back to the entity that initiated it. This entity, usually, occupies the subject position. But in the case of reflexivity, the two semantic argument positions (subject and object) are occupied by the same entity. In

(18a), for instance, the subject ‘Kimutai’ is also the object of this construction. That is, (18a) is as good as saying ‘Kimutai kicked Kimutai’. The same applies to the construction in (18b) which can otherwise be put as ‘Chepleting loves Chepleting’. The AGENT is the PATIENT at the same time, to say the least. It follows that the reflexive plays the role of disambiguation: that the action is directed to none other than the AGENT, usually, the subject.

Having looked at how the reflexive is manifested sententially, this study proceeds to examine its co-occurrence with the ventive. The following sentences illustrate the co-occurrence of the ventive with the reflexive.

- (18a) *Komilukei koita eng tulwet.*
Ko -mil -u -kei koita eng tulwet
 Pst- roll-VEN-REF stone down hill
 ‘The stone rolled itself down the hill (toward the speaker)’
- (18b) *Kowirukei lokoek eng ketit.*
Ko -wir -u -kei lokoek eng ketit
 Pst-throw-VEN-REF fruits from tree
 ‘The fruits threw themselves from the tree (toward the speaker)’
- (18c) *Kiimutukei lakwet sukul.*
Ki -imut -u -kei lakwet sukul
 Pst-take-VEN-REFL child school
 ‘The child took himself to school (towards the speaker)’

The examples in (18) show that the ventive is compatible with the reflexive. As stated in the preceding paragraphs, the action in these examples is directed to the entity that initiates it. The only additional information introduced by the ventive is ‘towards the speaker’. What one can make of (18a), for example, is that the stone

rolled itself down but towards the spatial position occupied by the speaker. The same additional meaning is introduced in (18b) and (18c). In (18c), the speaker is located at school where the child took himself to. It is important to note that, in this co-occurrence, the ventive marker comes before the reflexive marker.

However, it should be noted that the ventive does not co-occur with the benefactive. It follows that, usually, the speaker and the beneficiary of an action are two different entities. Consequently, this is the reason why these affixes cannot co-occur.

3.2.2 Co-occurrence of the ventive with the comitative

The comitative is a case form typically indicating an entity whose company something is done. It is used to show ‘along with’, ‘in the company of’, or ‘together with’. In the Nandi language, it is marked by *-ta:ita*. The following examples illustrate the use of the comitative.

(19a) *Kaoontaita Kipkosgei teta artet.*

Ka-oon-taita Kipkosgei teta artet

Pst-chase-COM Kipkosgei cow goat

‘Kipkosgei chased the cow along with the goat’

(19b) *Kawirtaita werto mpiret koita.*

Ka-wir-taita werto mpiret koita

Pst-throw-COM boy ball stone

‘The boy threw the ball along with the stone’

- (19c) *Koinuurtaita chepto kweinik ngoroik.*
Ko-inuur-taita chepto kweinik ngoroik
 Pst-soak-COM girl shoes clothes
 ‘The girl soaked the shoes along with the clothes’

The examples in (19) show how the comitative serves to indicate the idea ‘of along with’. In (19a), for instance, the AGENT ‘Kipkosgei’ not only chased ‘the cow’ but also ‘the goat’. The action was directed to two entities, hence two PATIENTS. In (19b) and (19c), it can be noted that there are two PATIENTS and one AGENT in each case too. In (19b), the AGENT is ‘the boy’ and the PATIENTS are ‘the ball’ and ‘the stone’. The AGENT is ‘the girl’ while the PATIENTS are ‘the shoes’ and ‘the clothes’ in (19c).

The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of the ventive with the comitative.

- (20a) *Kamilunta:ita chepyoset kiptulit koita.*
Ka-mil-u -n -ta:ita chepyoset kiptulit koita
 Pst-roll-VEN- SF- COM woman ball stone
 ‘The woman rolled the ball along with the stone (towards the speaker)’
- (20b) *Kowiruntaita boiyot kuniet pandek.*
Ko-wir- u- nt- a:ita boiyot kuniet pandek
 Pst-throw-VEN-SF- COM man sack maize
 ‘The man threw the sack along with the maize (towards the speaker)’
- (20c) *Kaoonuntaita Kipkosgei teta artet.*
Ka-oon -u -n -taita Kipkosgei teta artet
 Pst-chase-VEN-SF-COM Kipkosgei cow goat
 ‘Kipkosgei chased the cow along with the goat (towards the speaker)’

The introduction of the ventive into the sentences in (20) adds more information. This additional information concerns direction: that is, the action is directed towards the

speaker. In (20a), for instance, ‘the woman’ acts on ‘the ball’ along with ‘the stone’ towards the speaker’s direction. In essence, the PATIENTS ‘suffer’ the action but in the direction of the speaker. This is true for all the constructions in (20). Notice also that the ventive marker occurs just before the comitative marker. The co-occurrence of the ventive with the comitative in such constructions is possible since the AGENT, the PATIENTS, and the speaker are separate referential entities.

However, it should be noted that in this case of the co-occurrence involving the ventive and the comitative, there is a slot filler (SF) *-n-* that facilitates the ease of articulation from the back vowel /u/ to the alveolar sound /t/. Further, it should be noted that the comitative is sometimes shortened to *-ta*.

3.2.3 Co-occurrence of the ventive with both the comitative and the reflexive

This study has also established that the ventive can co-occur with both the comitative and the reflexive in a single construction, as in:

- (21a) *Kamiluntaitakei kiptulit koita.*
Ka-mil -u -n -ta:ita -kei kiptulit koita
 Pst-roll-VEN-SF-COM-REF ball stone
 ‘The ball rolled itself along with the stone (towards the speaker)’
- (21b) *Kawiruntaitakei temet lokoek.*
Ka-wir- u- nt- a:ita- kei temet lokoek
 Pst-throw-VEN-SF-COM-REF branch fruits
 ‘The branch threw itself along with the fruits (towards the speaker)’
- (21c) *Kaoomuntaitakei chepyoset lakwet.*
Ka-oon -u -n -taita -kei chepyoset lakwet
 Pst-chase-VEN-SF-COM-REFL woman child
 ‘The woman chased herself along with the child (towards the speaker)’

In (21), all the three suffixes co-occur to give a complex set up of the verb phrase. This, as a matter of fact, attests to the complexity of the Nandi verb phrase alluded to at the beginning of the preceding chapter. In these examples, there is a reduction in the number of arguments compared to those in (20). While there are three arguments in (20), those in (21) are only two. The reason behind this reduction is to do with the phenomenon of reflexivity. The introduction of the reflexive affix in (21) decreases the number of arguments. In (21a), for instance, ‘the ball’ acted on itself and on ‘the stone’ as well. This implies that no one else rolled the ball other than itself which, in the course of rolling, also made the stone to roll and thus they rolled together. In this co-occurrence, the ventive occurs just after the root of the verb while the comitative and the reflexive follow in that order.

3.3 Co-occurrences involving the itive

As mentioned earlier, the itive affix indicates that the action is directed away from the speaker. Unlike the ventive, the itive can co-occur with the benefactive. It can co-occur with the reflexive as well, but not the comitative. This section, therefore, deals with the co-occurrence of the itive with the benefactive, and with the reflexive.

3.3.1 Co-occurrence of the itive with the benefactive

The benefactive is a case form which expresses the notion ‘for the benefit of’ or ‘on behalf of’ (see Crystal 2003: 50). It is often introduced by a ‘for’ phrase in the English language. The benefactive increases the number of arguments in a construction. The following sentences illustrate the benefactive in Nandi.

- (22a) *Ketiarchi kiptulit Kiprono Chebet.*
Ke- tiar -chi kiptulit Kiprono Chebet
 Pst-kick-BEN ball Kiprono Chebet
 ‘Kiprono kicked the ball for Chebet’

- (22b) *Kaoonchi werto teta boiyot.*
Ka-oon -chi werto teta boiyot
 Pst-chase-BEN boy cow man
 ‘The boy chased the cow for the man’

The benefactive marker *-chi* introduces the argument ‘Chebet’ in (22a). It also introduces the argument *boiyot* ‘the man’ in (22b). In essence, these two instances attest to its characteristic of increasing an argument in a sentence construction.

The examples of sentences in (23) illustrate the co-occurrence of the itive with the benefactive.

- (23a) *Ketiartachi kiptulit Kiprono Chebet.*
Ke- tiar -ta -chi kiptulit Kiprono Chebet
 Pst-kick -ITV -BEN ball Kiprono Chebet
 ‘Kiprono kicked the ball for Chebet (away from the speaker)’

- (23b) *Kaoontachi werto teta boiyot.*
Ka-oon -ta -chi werto teta boiyot
 Pst-chase-ITV -BEN boy cow man
 ‘The boy chased the cow for the man (away from the speaker)’

The examples in (23) reflect the ones in (22) with just a single additional morpheme: the itive marker. This form brings with it two senses, namely, either ‘away from the speaker’ or ‘away from the beneficiary of the action’. The latter sense means that the beneficiary is spatially located within the deictic centre from where the action is performed. This co-occurrence is possible because both direction and reference point to an object outside the speaker’s deictic centre. From the examples in (23), it can be noted that the itive, like the ventive, occurs just after the root of the verb and then followed by the benefactive.

3.3.2 Co-occurrence of the itive with the reflexive

The examples in (24) illustrate the co-occurrence of the itive with the reflexive.

- (24a) *Kaaltakei teta.*
Ka -al -ta -kei teta.
Pst-sell-ITV-REF cow
'The cow sold itself (away from the speaker)'

- (24b) *Kimiltakei koita.*
Ki -mil-ta -kei koita
Pst-roll-ITV-REFL stone
'The stone rolled itself (away from the speaker)'

As noted earlier, the reflexive is an argument decreasing operator. In (24a) and (24b), for instance, what is conveyed can be paraphrased as *Kaalta teta teta* ('The cow sold the cow' (away from the speaker)) and *Kimilta koita koita* ('The stone rolled the stone (away from the speaker)') respectively. In both cases, the subject and the object refer to the same entity. It follows that the role of the reflexive is to get rid of ambiguity, as mentioned in section 3.2.1. The co-occurrence of the itive and the reflexive is possible due to the fact that both direction and reference point to one entity. Also, notice that the itive occurs immediately after the root, and then followed by the reflexive.

3.3.3 Co-occurrence of the itive with both the benefactive and the reflexive

At yet another level, the itive, the benefactive, and the reflexive can co-occur within a verb in a single construction, as in (25):

- (25a) *Ketiartachikei werto kiptulit.*
Ke -tiar -ta -chi -kei werto kiptulit
Pst-kick-ITV-BEN-REF boy ball
'The boy kicked the ball for himself (away from the speaker)'

(25b) *Kialtachikei boiyot cheko.*

Ki -al -ta -chi -kei boiyot cheko

Pst-sell-ITV-BEN-REF man milk

‘The man sold the milk for himself (away from the speaker)’

In (25), both the AGENT of the action and the beneficiary of the action is one and the same entity. This is the reason why such a co-occurrence is possible. In (25a), for example, *werto* ‘the boy’, as subject, has two semantic roles: it is both the AGENT and the beneficiary. The subject, *boiyot* (‘the man’) in (25b), has the same semantic roles too. From these examples, it can be noted that the itive is closer to the root, and then followed by the benefactive and the reflexive consecutively.

In sum, it can be observed that in all the co-occurrences the ventive and the itive remain adjacent to the root of the verb. And in all the cases of combinatory co-occurrences, the reflexive comes last among the suffixes.

3.4 Co-occurrences involving the ambulative

This section deals with the co-occurrences which involve the ambulative affixes. It will examine the two ambulative forms and their possible co-occurrences with the benefactive and the reflexive.

3.4.1 Co-occurrence of the ambulatives with the benefactive

The ambulative suffixes *-aan* and *-aat* can co-occur with the benefactive. The following examples illustrate this.

(26a) *Sirchinaati Kiptoo barwet Cheruto.*

Ø -sir -chi -n -aat -i Kiptoo barwet Cheruto

3PS-write-BEN-SF-AMB-IMP Kiptoo letter Cheruto

‘Kiptoo is writing a letter for Cheruto (as he moves away from the speaker)’

(26b) *Kioonchinaati mestowot kechirek mokoriot.*

Ki -oon -chi -n -aat -i mestowot kechirek mokoriot

Pst-chase-BEN -SF-AMB-IMP shepherd sheep rich man

‘The shepherd chased the sheep for the rich man (away from the speaker)’

The examples in (26) show the co-occurrence of the ambulative *-aat* with the benefactive marker *-chi*. This co-occurrence is possible because the direction marked by the ambulative point towards the speaker. In (26a), for example, Cheruto is the beneficiary who benefits from the action as she moves away from the speaker. Notice that, in both examples, the benefactive occurs after the root but before the ambulative. It should also be noted that the benefactive marker *-chi*, which means ‘for’, as used in (26), could mean ‘to’ as well.

In addition, the ambulative *-aan* can co-occur with the benefactive. As noted earlier, this ambulative form indicates that the action is directed towards the speaker and that motion is involved. In essence, it gives the opposite of the ambulative *-aat*. The following examples illustrate this co-occurrence.

(27a) *Kosirchinaanu Kiptoo barwet Cheruto.*

Ko-Ø -sir -chi -n -aan -u Kiptoo barwet Cheruto

Pst-3PS-write-BEN-SF-AMB-VEN Kiptoo letter Cheruto

‘Kiptoo was writing a letter for Cheptoo (as he moves toward the speaker)’

(27b) *Kisiilchinaan mestowot cheko chepto.*

Ki -Ø -siil -chi -n -aan mestowot cheko chepto

Pst-3PS-scoop-BEN-SF-AMB shepherd milk girl

‘The shepherd scooped the milk for the girl (as he moved towards the speaker)’

The co-occurrence in (27) takes place due to the simple reason that the beneficiary benefits from the action as he moves towards the speaker. Another point to be noted concerns the occurrence of the ventive marker *-u* in (27a). It emphasizes the direction of the action in question. The ventive, in this case, is a redundant feature and thus it is, usually, optional. This explains the reason why it is not found in (27b): but there is no harm affixing it either.

3.4.2 Co-occurrence of the ambulatives with the reflexive

The ambulative suffixes can co-occur with the reflexive. The following examples show the co-occurrence of these markers with the reflexive. First and foremost, this section embarks on the co-occurrence of the ambulative *-aat* with the reflexive.

(28a) *Sir-aat-e-kei Cheruto.*

Ø-sir-aat-e-kei Cheruto

3PS-write-AMB-IMP-REF Cheruto

‘Cheruto is writing on herself (as she moves away from the speaker)’

(28b) *Kiichuutaatekei lakwet.*

Ki - Ø -ichuut-aat -e -kei lakwet

Pst-3PS-drag-AMB-IMP-REFL child

‘The child was dragging himself (as he moved away from the speaker)’

It can be witnessed that in (28), like in other instances involving the reflexive, the subject and object refer to the same entity. In the cases in (28), the subject executes the action on itself as it moves away from the speaker. That is, the subject is the AGENT and the PATIENT at the same time.

Moreover, examples in (29) illustrate the co-occurrence of the ambulative suffix *-aan* with the reflexive marker.

(29a) *Siraanukei Cheruto.*

Ø-sir-aan-u-kei Cheruto

3PS-write-AMB-VEN-REF Cheruto

‘Cheruto is writing on herself (as she moves toward the speaker)’

(29b) *Kichuutaankei lakwet.*

Ki -Ø -chuut-aan -kei lakwet

Pst-3PS-drag-AMB-REFL child

‘The child dragged himself (as he moves towards the speaker)’

In (29), the subject directs the action on itself as it moves towards the speaker. It should be noted that the ventive in (29a) has an element of tense: that is, the present tense. In sum, it can be observed that the ambulative occurs after the root but before the reflexive. However, this study established that the comitative cannot co-occur with the ambulative suffixes.

3.4.3 Co-occurrence of the ambulative with both the benefactive and the reflexive

Just like the ventive, the ambulative affixes can co-occur with both the benefactive and the reflexive. The following examples illustrate the co-occurrence of the ambulative *-aat* with both the benefactive and the reflexive.

(30a) *Kosirchinaatekei werto barwet.*

Ko-sir -chi -n -aat -e -kei werto barwet

Pst-write-BEN-SF-AMB-IMP-REFL boy letter

‘The boy was writing the letter for himself (severally away from the speaker)’

(30b) *Kowirchinaatekei lakwet kiptulit.*

Ko-wir -chi -n -aat -e -kei lakwet kiptulit

Pst-throw-BEN-SF-AMB-IMP-REFL child ball

‘The child was throwing the ball for himself (severally away from the speaker)’

It should be noted that the benefactive as used in the examples in (30) could also be interpreted to mean ‘to’. Further, in (30), the subject is the AGENT and PATIENT at the same time. This is facilitated by the presence of the reflexive. Apart from initiating the action, the subject is the beneficiary of the action too. This explains the reason behind such a co-occurrence. In (30a), for instance, ‘the boy’ initiated the action ‘writing’ and benefited from it, not only once but severally, as he moved away from the speaker.

On the other hand, the ambulative *-aan* is also compatible with both the benefactive and the reflexive. This co-occurrence is illustrated by the examples below.

(31a) *Kisiilchinaamukei lakok peek.*

Ki-siil -chi -n -aan -u -kei lakok peek

Pst-scoop-BEN-SF-AMB-VEN-REFL children water

‘The children scooped the water for themselves (severally towards the speaker)’

- (31b) *Kiwirchinaamukei werik kiptulisiek.*
Ki -wir -chi -n -aan -u -kei werik kiptulisiek
 Pst-throw-BEN-SF-AMB-VEN-REFL boys balls
 ‘The boys threw the balls for themselves (severally towards the speaker)’

The examples in (31) have the same implications as those in (30) except that it is different in terms of directionality. In this regard, the action is directed towards the speaker. It should be noted that the ventive affix appears in (31) just to give emphasis regarding direction. However, this is a redundant feature which can be done away with without changing the semantics of the construction. At yet another level, the co-occurrence involving the benefactive and the reflexive used in the sense such as the one in (31) would give a sense equivalent to a reciprocal. (31b), for instance, would also be understood as ‘the boys threw the balls at one another as they moved towards the speaker’ (see Toweett 1979: 169). Lastly, in this somewhat complex co-occurrence, the benefactive occurs after the root while the ambulative and the reflexive follow in that order.

3.5 The lexical items that bear the notion of direction in Nandi

There are lexical items which bear the notion of direction in the Nandi language. These are free morphemes, i.e. words in their own right, as opposed to the affixes discussed in the previous chapter. They belong to two categories: directional verbs and directional adverbs.

3.5.1 Directional verbs

According to Bowden (2005), “the system of directionals ... is used to encode relative spatial location” (p.1). The directional verbs refer to verbs which encode the notion of direction. Bugenhagen (2010: 65) terms them as “primary motion predicates”. In

essence, most of the directional verbs are characterised by motion. He observes that these verbs “indicate a deictic orientation”.

Examples of directional verbs in Nandi are given in the table below.

Table 5: Some directional verbs in Nandi

Directional verb		Gloss
1.	<i>Nyo</i>	‘come’
2.	<i>Wui</i>	‘go’
3.	<i>Mwei</i>	‘flee, run away from’
4.	<i>Lante</i>	‘cross over to the opposite side of something’
5.	<i>Sup</i>	‘go after’
6.	<i>Chuul</i>	‘go directly (to), go straight to’
7.	<i>Yem</i>	‘go around, encircle something’
8.	<i>Kanap</i>	‘raise, lift’
9.	<i>Uut</i>	‘go along the river’
10.	<i>Tooch</i>	‘ascend, go upwards’

The following examples of sentences illustrate the use of the directional verbs.

(32a) *Nyo.*

‘(You) come (towards the speaker)’

(32b) *Wui kaa.*

‘(You) go home (away from the speaker)’

(32c) *Yemei chepyoset tulwet.*

Ø -yem -ei chepyoset tulwet

3PS- go round-IMP woman hill

‘The woman is going round the hill’

(32d) *Kakanap werit meset.*
Ka- kanap werit meset
Pst-Ø-lift- boy table
'The boy lifted the table'

It should be noted that, usually, directional verbs are used in the imperative, just like in many other languages. The English language, for instance, uses imperative forms like 'come' and 'go'. However, they can as well be used in other forms than the imperative. (30c) and (30d), for example, are instances involving declarative forms.

3.5.2 Directional adverbs

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 438) note that "the adverb functions as the head of an adverb phrase, with or without modification Because of its great heterogeneity, the adverb class is the most nebulous and puzzling of the traditional word classes.... The adverb is an item that does not fit the definitions for other word classes". The directional adverbs are adverbs which indicate direction. They are sometimes discussed under the heading "adjuncts of space" (see also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 514). In this respect, Quirk *et al.* note that "Directional adjuncts of both goal and source can normally be used only with verbs of motion or with other verbs used dynamically that allow directional meaning." (ibid.517).

The table below gives the examples of directional adverbs in Nandi.

Table 6: The inventory of directional adverbs in Nandi

Directional adverb		Gloss
1.	<i>Barak</i>	'up, upwards'
2.	<i>Olatukul</i>	'everywhere'
3.	<i>Pitoniin</i>	'abroad, across'
4.	<i>Ng'ony</i>	'down'
5.	<i>Kong'asis</i>	'east, eastwards'
6.	<i>Cherongo</i>	'west, westwards'
7.	<i>Murot tai</i>	'south, southwards'
8.	<i>Murot katam</i>	'north, northwards'
9.	<i>Kiptupatoi</i>	'opposite'
10.	<i>Tai</i>	rightwards'
11.	<i>Katam</i>	'leftwards'
12.	<i>Let</i>	'back, backwards, behind'
13.	<i>Oliin</i>	'away'
14.	<i>Meto</i>	'uphill'

3.5.2.1 Cardinal directions as directional adverbs and cultural concepts

Cardinal directions form part of the directional adverbs. And for this reason this subsection gives them some attention in order to understand them better. Following Mietzner and Pasch (2007: 1), cultural aspects “play a role in the structuring of cognitive categories”. In most Southern Nilotic cultures the main axis is defined by morning and evening, namely by sunrise and sunset. In these cultures, the east was associated with prayer and religion on the whole. The sun, called *Asiis*, was considered as the ‘supreme being’ from whom all life came. Furthermore, the west, called *cherongo*, was associated with darkness, death, and evil (see also Mietzner and Pasch 2007:2ff). With regard to the cardinal points and the Nandi culture, therefore, there are two cardinal directions: *kong'asis* ‘east’ (usually the key point of reference), and *cherongo* ‘west’. The other two directions are *murot tai* ‘south’, and *murot katam*

‘north’: meaning one’s right or left respectively, with east as the basic point of reference. The east is considered as the primary direction to be able to conceptualise the rest of the directions. Basically, all these are arrived at based on the sunrise-sunset orientation. Table 6 contains these cardinal directions as examples of directional adverbs.

3.5.2.2 Other directional adverbs

From the examples of directional adverbs in Table 6, two adverbs (*barak* ‘up’ and *ng’ony* ‘down’) are associated with a path oriented on a vertical axis. These vertical axis directionals, when used with the verbs of motion, the PATH of the FIGURE is understood to go from a lower geographical point to a higher geographical point or vice versa.

To illustrate the use of some of these directional adverbs, here are examples of sentences.

- (33a) *Kawo chepto katam.*
Ka-w-o chepto katam
Pst- go-PF girl left
‘The girl went left (to the left)’
- (33b) *Kawir Kipruto kiptulit kong’asis.*
Ka-wir Kipruto kiptulit kong’asis
Pst- throw Kipruto ball east
‘Kipruto threw the ball to the east’
- (33c) *Kolapat boiyot let.*
Ko-lapat boiyot let
Pst- run man backwards
‘The man ran backwards’
- (33d) *Ketiarchi kipsomaniat kiptulit pitoniin.*
Ke-tiar-chi kipsomaniat kiptulit pitoniin
Pst-kick-BEN student ball across
‘The student kicked the ball across (the river)’

From the examples above, it can be observed that directional adverbs in Nandi are morphologically and phonologically independent words. Furthermore, they can co-occur with both transitive verbs, as in (33b) and (33d), and intransitive verbs, as in (33a) and (33c).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed the co-occurrence of the affixes of direction together with some argument increasing and argument decreasing affixes; namely the benefactive, the comitative, and the reflexive. The said affixes of direction put on focus are the ventive, the itive, and the ambulative suffixes. In addition, it has examined the lexical items which indicate direction in the Nandi language namely: the directional verbs and the directional adverbs.

CHAPTER FOUR: A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE NOTION OF DIRECTION IN THE NANDI LANGUAGE

The last two chapters discussed the notion of direction in the Nandi language from the perspective of traditional grammar rather. However, traditional grammar cannot adequately describe the notion of direction. While it is capable of identifying the affixes that mark direction, it can capture neither the direction of the action nor the direction of the motion. It is for this reason that this chapter attempts to describe the notion of direction in the Nandi language using the cognitive approach. This is in pursuit of the central goal of cognitive grammar which, according to Langacker (2010: 87), is “to describe the structure of languages and develop a general framework allowing the optimal description of any language”.

From the outset it is important to note that both the affixes of direction and the directional lexical items belong to the province of relational predication. According to Langacker (1987), “a relational predication profiles the interconnections among conceived entities” (see p.219). In this regard, he observes that “entities need not be things but they can themselves consist of component relations”. In Cognitive Grammar, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and conjunctions fall within relational predication, while nouns fall within nominal predication.

4.1 The notion of direction within a cognitive approach framework

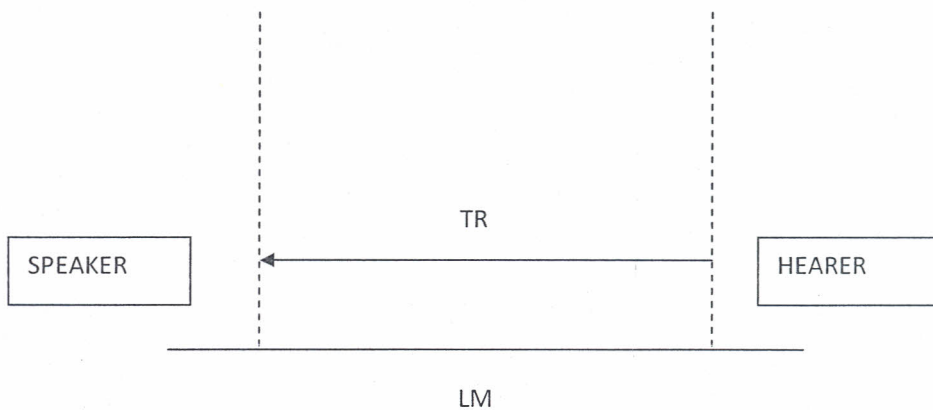
This section sets out to deal with the ventive, the itive, and the ambulative using the cognitive approach. As noted earlier, the notion of trajector (TR) and that of the landmark (LM), among other cognitive notions, will play a key role in the analysis. In relation to the foregoing, Langacker (2010: 100) argues that “within a profiled relationship, one participant stands out as the primary focus of attention called the

trajector, this participant is the one the expression is construed as locating, describing, or characterizing. Often another participant stands out as a secondary focus by virtue of being invoked as a landmark for this purpose”.

4.1.1 Describing the ventive within a cognitive approach

The ventive, as mentioned earlier, is marked by the suffix *-u*. This marker indicates that the action is directed towards the speaker. In line with the cognitive notion of schematization, the general schema for the ventive is given below.

Figure 8: The general schema for the ventive

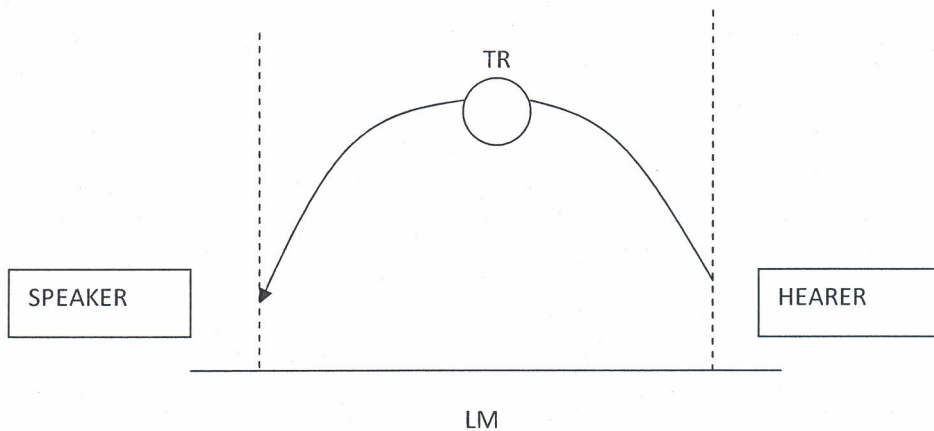


Usually in schemas such as the one in figure 8, the arrow represents the path of motion (trajectory) taken by the trajector: the primary focus of attention. Figure 8 basically represents the conceptual image schema abstracted by the hearer upon hearing a linguistic construction that bears the ventive. The area between the vertical dotted lines is assumed to represent the deictic space that exists between the speaker and the hearer. The landmark (LM) represents the ground which is usually the point of reference. The following examples of sentences (containing the ventive) are analysed using the cognitive approach.

- (34a) *Wiru mpiret.*
 Ø- wir -u mpiret.
 2PS-throw-VEN ball
 ‘(You) throw the ball (towards the speaker)’

The schema for (34a) is given below.

Figure 9: The schema for the ventive in (34a)



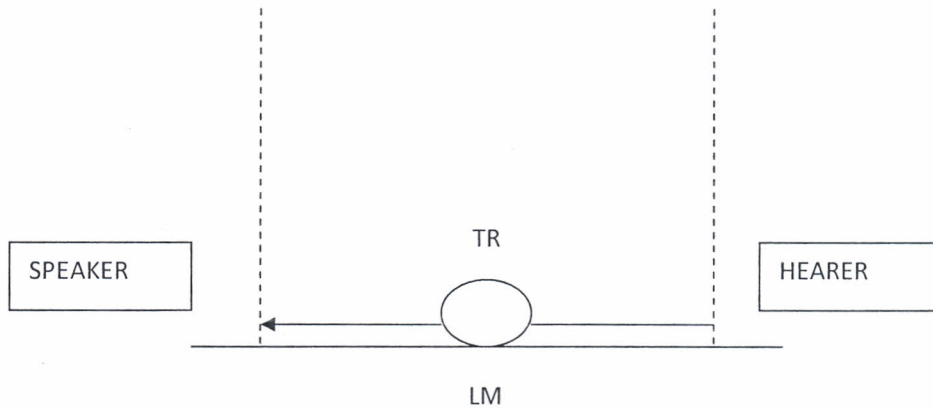
With regard to the schema in Figure 9, the ball, in this case the body in motion, is the trajector. Notice that the path of motion is curved. It follows that, usually, in the physical world, bodies thrown across space take a curved path due to forces such as gravity and air resistance. When a speaker utters the sentence in (34a), the hearer conceptualizes the utterance in their mind, abstracts the image schema, and consequently, responds by throwing the ball towards the speaker.

The construction in (34b) is yet another example that bears the ventive.

- (34b) *Milu lakwet chepololet.*
 Ø -mil -u lakwet chepololet
 3PS-roll-VEN child pumpkin
 ‘The child is rolling the pumpkin (towards the speaker)’

The figure below depicts the schema for (34b).

Figure 10: The schema for ventive in (34b)

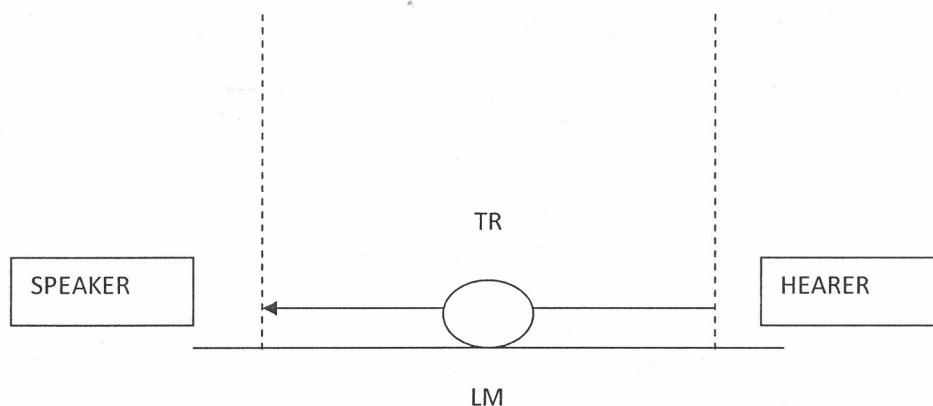


In the schema in Figure 10, the TR (the pumpkin), is in contact with the landmark (LM). It follows that the conceptual image schema invoked by the verb root *mil-* ‘roll’ is that of an object in motion but having a physical contact with a certain surface. The LM represents the surface on which ‘the pumpkin’ rolls. Again, the arrow points to the direction in which it rolls (towards the speaker). One other example is provided below.

- (34c) *Kioonu teta mestowot.*
Ki-oon -u teta mestowot
 DP-chase-VEN cow shepherd
 ‘The shepherd chased the cow (towards the speaker)’

The schema for (34c) is represented as follows:

Figure 11: The schema for the ventive in (34c)



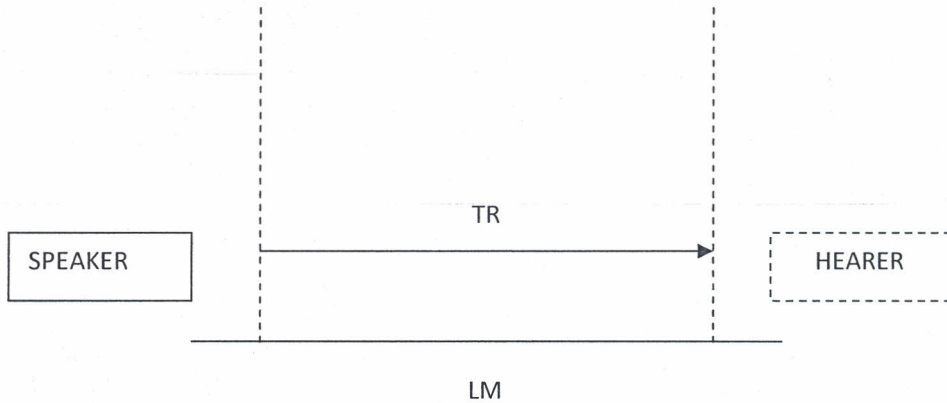
Sentence (34c) means that the shepherd chased the cow towards the speaker as marked by the ventive $-u$ on the verb. In its conceptual image schema in Figure 11, the trajector (TR) represents ‘the cow’, that is, the primary focus, whereas the arrow represents the direction of movement. Still, the TR touches the LM since the movement of a cow is normally possible on a surface.

As a matter of fact, it can be noted that the schemas in Figure 10 and Figure 11 are similar. The TR and LM are in contact with each other in both cases and cannot thus give the difference between ‘roll’ and ‘chase’. This is perhaps one of the weaknesses of the cognitive grammar, namely that a single schema may sometimes represent more than one linguistic expression.

4.1.2 Describing the itive within a cognitive approach

As already mentioned, the itive indicates that the action in question is directed away from the speaker. It is marked by either $-ta$ or $-te$. The general schema instantiated by the itive is given in the figure below.

Figure 12: The general schema for the itive.

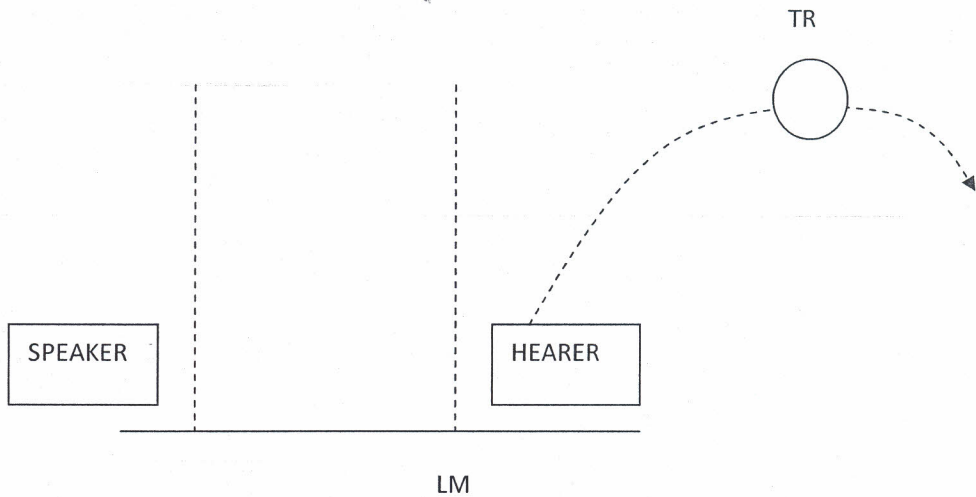


In Figure 12, it is clear that there is change in the direction of the arrow. This one points away from the speaker. This is exactly the opposite of the direction of the arrow for the ventive in Figure 8. However, it should be noted that, regarding the itive, the action is not necessarily directed towards the hearer. It can be directed elsewhere as long as it is away from the speaker. This explains why the hearer's box is perforated. Below are illustrative examples.

- (35a) *Wir-te mpiret.*
Ø-wir-te mpiret
 2PS-throw-ITV ball
 '(You) throw the ball (away from the speaker)'

The schema for (35a) would appear as in the figure below.

Figure 13: The schema for the itive in (35a)

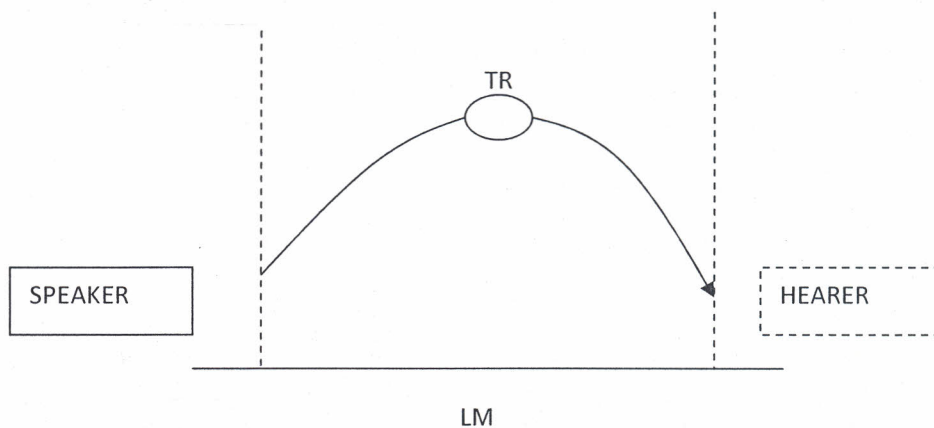


The sentence in (35a) instantiates the schema in Figure 13. In (35a), the speaker imperatively orders the listener to throw the ball. The action, in this case by the hearer, is directed away from the speaker. In this example, the deictic proximity between the speaker and the hearer does not matter. However, there are cases where the action is done by the speaker herself as can be witnessed in the following example.

- (35b) *Kiawirte mpiret.*
Ki- a- wir- te mpiret.
 DP-1PS-throw-ITV ball
 'I threw the ball (away from myself)'

In example (35b), it is the speaker herself who performed the action. Consequently, its conceptual schema appears as the one in the figure below.

Figure 14: The schema for the itive in (35b)



The conspicuously perforated box of the hearer should be noted in Figure 14. The perforation suggests that the deictic centre of the action is around the speaker and that the sentence does not specify the direction in which the ball was thrown and to whom. It might have been thrown either towards the hearer or towards some other direction, as long as it was away from the speaker. Consider this other example:

(35c) *Kamilta lakwet chepololet.*

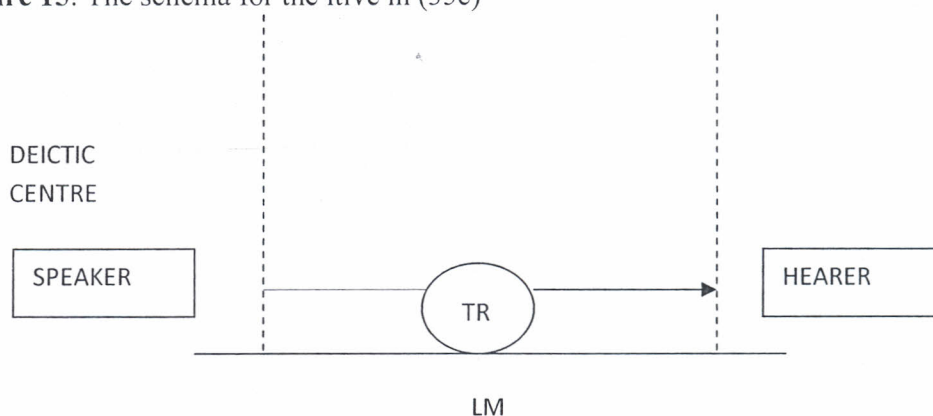
Ka- Ø- mil- ta lakwet chepololet

Pst- 3PS-roll-ITV child pumpkin

‘The child rolled the pumpkin (away from the speaker)’

The figure below depicts the schema for (35c).

Figure 15: The schema for the itive in (35c)



Regarding example (35c), the speaker and ‘the child’ are within the same deictic centre. The child, therefore, rolls ‘the pumpkin’ (TR) away from the deictic centre as shown by the arrow.

4.1.3 Describing the ambulatives within the cognitive approach

The ambulative affixes in the Nandi language are *-aan* and *-aat*. The former implies that the action is done repeatedly as the AGENT moves towards the speaker or towards a certain deictic centre around which the speaker is located, whereas the latter means that the action is done as the AGENT moves away from the speaker or from a deictic centre. The conceptual schemas for the two ambulatives are shown in Figure (16a) and Figure (16b) respectively. (The reason for putting the figures next to each other is for comparative purposes.)

Figure 16 (a): The general schema for the ambulative affix *-aan*

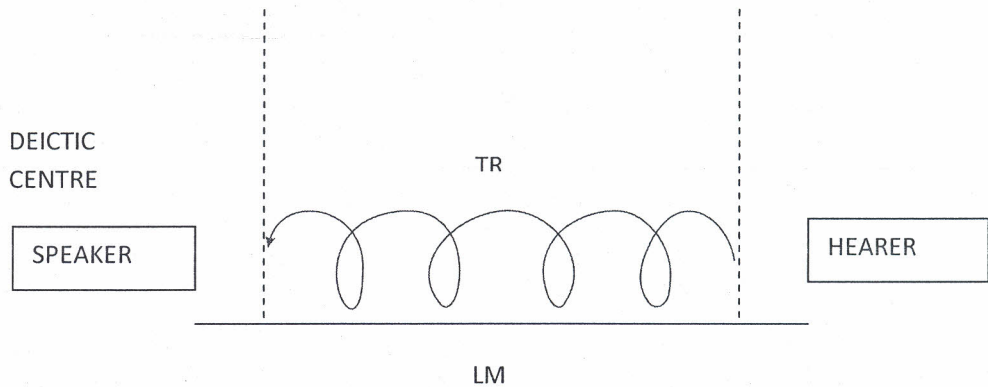
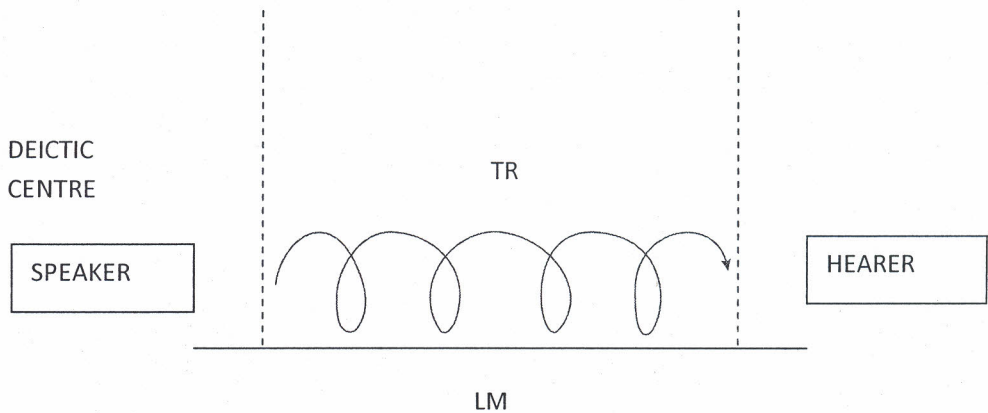


Figure 17 (b): The general schema for the ambulative affix *-aat*



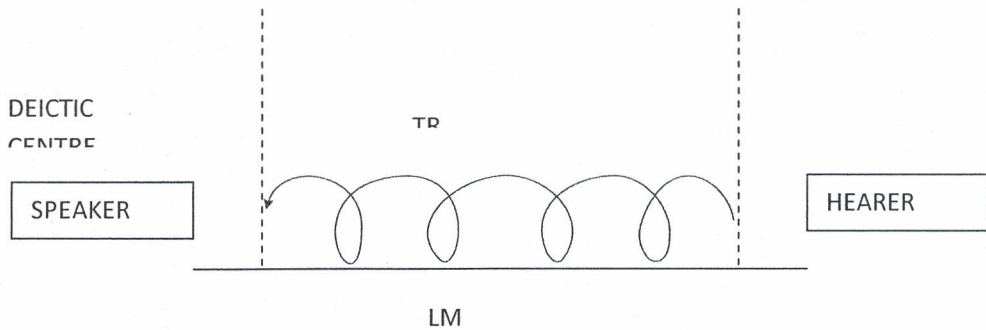
The spiral arrows in the schemas point to the direction of the action and that of motion. The spiral nature of the arrow conceptually instantiates the repetitive property of the ambulative. It also instantiates the concept of motion: the ambulatory property.

With regard to the ambulative *-aan* the following sentences will suffice as illustrative examples.

- (36a) *Koamaan kipengerek Kiptoo.*
Ko-am-aan kipengerek Kiptoo
 Pst-eat-AMB pop corns Kiptoo
 ‘Kiptoo ate pop corns as he moved (towards the speaker)’

The hearer of sentence (36a) would abstract a schema in their mind like the one in Figure 17.

Figure 18: The schema for the ambulative in (36a)



As noted above, the spiral arrow captures the ambulatory property of the ambulative as well as its repetitive property. That is, sentence (36a) implies that the eating of the pop corns was done repeatedly and that the AGENT (Kiptoo) did the eating as he moved towards the speaker.

(36b) *Kowiraan Chepkorir teta.*

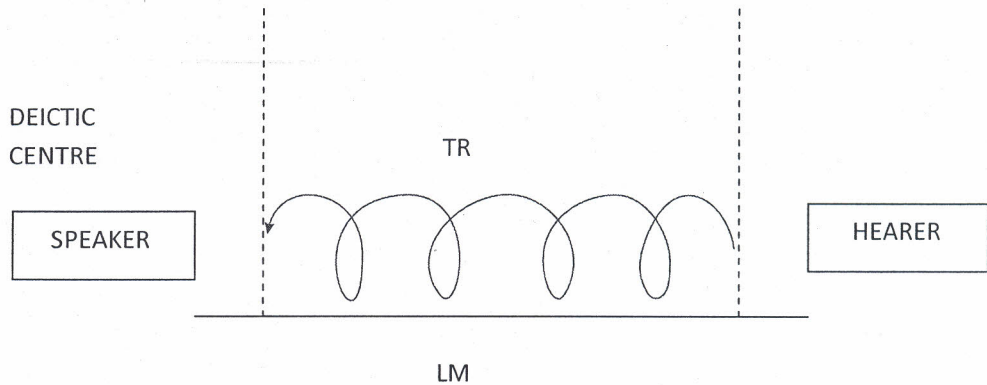
Ko -wir -aan Chepkorir teta

Pst-throw-AMB Chepkorir cow

‘Chepkorir threw (something) at the cow (as she moved towards the speaker)’

The following figure is a conceptual schema for (36b).

Figure 19: The schema for the ambulative in (36b)



The schema in Figure 18 instantiates that the action bearing the ambulative is repeated and that it involved motion towards the speaker.

It can be observed that the schemas in Figure 17 and Figure 18 are similar. This study has thus established that the schema for the ambulative suffix *-aan* tends to apply across the board regardless of the variation in the linguistic constructions. In both schemas the ambulatory property is indicated by the spiral arrow.

The ambulative suffix *-aat*, on the other hand, conceptually profiles the opposite of its counterpart, the suffix *-aan*. This is demonstrated by the general schemas in Figure (16a) and Figure (16b). The following are illustrative examples for the ambulative suffix *-aat*.

(37a) *Wiraaate seset.*

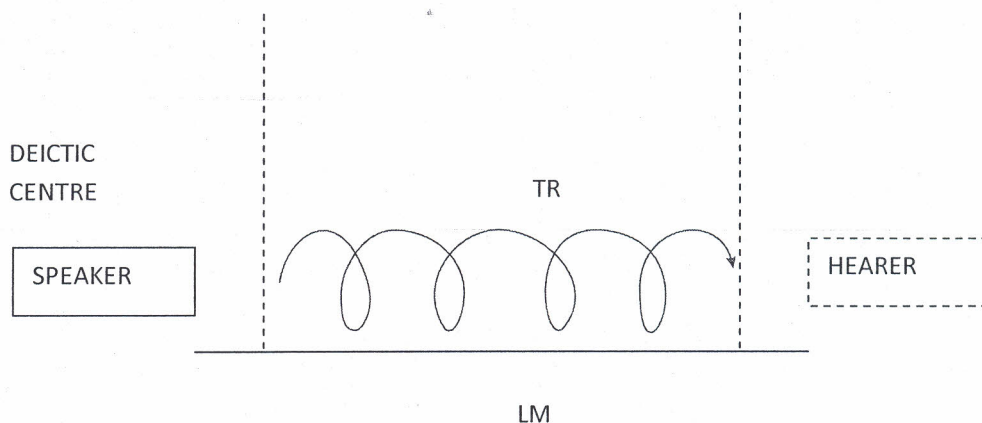
Ø-wir-aat-e seset

2PS-throw-AMB-IMP dog

‘(You) throw (objects) at the dog (as you move away from the speaker)’

The conceptual image schema for the ambulative in (37a) is given below.

Figure 20: The schema for the ambulative in (37a)



What one can make of this schema is that the action in the verb *wir* ('throw') is done repeatedly as represented by the spiral nature of the arrow. In addition, the AGENT performs the action as s/he moves away from towards the speaker as depicted by the direction in which the arrow points.

(37b) *Kosiraati baronok konetindet.*

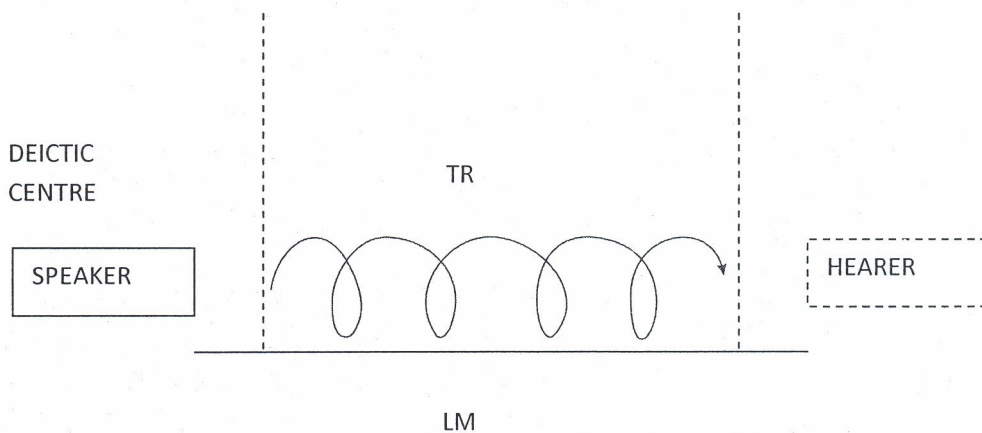
Ko -Ø -sir -aat -i baronok konetindet

Pst-3PS-write-AMB- IMP letters teacher

'The teacher was writing letters (as she moved away from the speaker)'

The schema for (37b) is provided in the following figure.

Figure 21: The schema for the ambulative in (37b)



In (37b), just like in (37a), the action is performed repeatedly and away from the speaker. The schemas in Figure 19 and Figure 20 are similar since the same concept of direction, manifested in the ambulative *-aat*, is conceptualized and schematized in the same way.

4.1.4 Describing directional lexical items within the cognitive grammar approach

This section describes the notion of direction embodied in directional lexical items. These include directional verbs and directional adverbs. (These lexical items were discussed from the perspective of traditional grammar in section 3.4.1 and in section 3.4.2 respectively.)

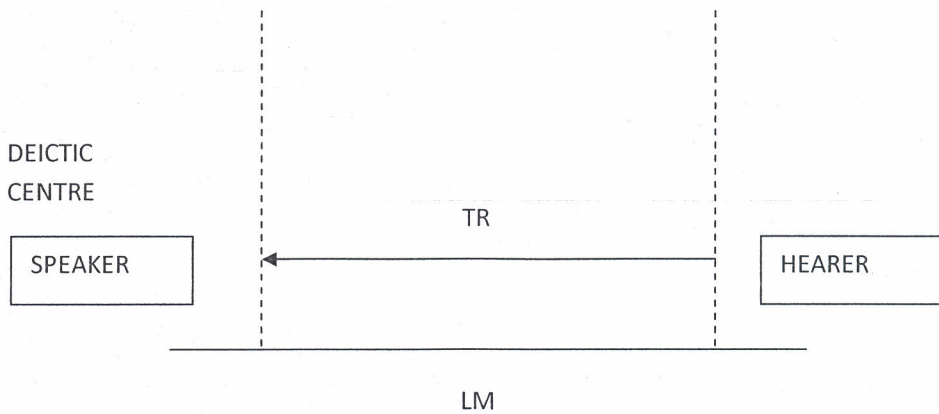
4.1.4.1 Directional verbs

As noted in the section 3.4.1, directional verbs refer to those which encode the notion of direction. They are usually characterised by motion as well. This subsection, therefore, sets out to describe the constructions containing directional verbs using the cognitive approach.

- (38a) *Nyoo kaa.*
Ø- *nyoo kaa*
2PS- come home
'(You) come home'

The schema for (38a) is represented in the figure below.

Figure 22: The schema for *nyoo* in (38a)

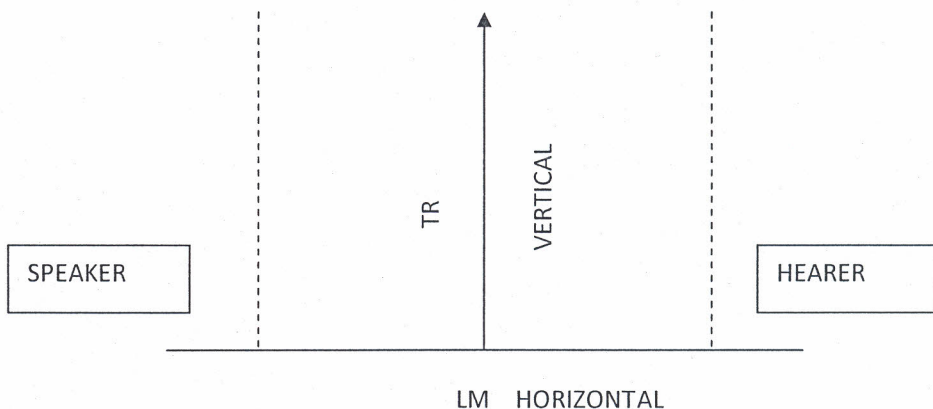


In Figure 21, the image schema indicates that upon uttering the construction in (38a), the speaker expects the hearer to move towards a deictic centre, *kaa* ('home'), where the speaker is spatially located. Here, the hearer is the trajector while the ground is the landmark. The arrow indicates the direction of movement (towards the speaker).

(38b) *Kiitooch Jeso kipsengwet.*
Ki - i -tooch Jeso kipsengwet
 Pst-3PS-ascend Jesus heaven
 'Jesus ascended into heaven'

The image schema in Figure 22 represents the construction in (38b).

Figure 23: The schema for *tooch* in (38b)



The verb *tooch* ('ascend') conceptually profiles the schema in Figure 22. The schema shows that the trajector, in this case, 'Jesus', moved in an upward direction. The directional path of movement is construed as one that is manifested in a vertical orientation in reference to the ground, which is the landmark in this case.

(38c) *Yemei chepyoset tulwet.*

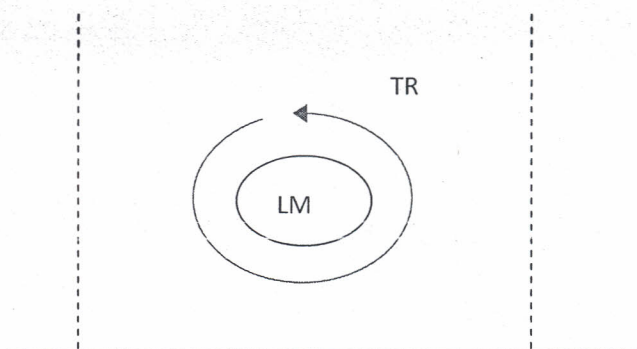
Ø -yem -ei chepyoset tulwet

3PS-go round-IMP woman hill

'The woman is going round the hill'

The conceptual schema for (38c) is given below.

Figure 24: The schema for *yem* in (38c)



The construction in (38c) conceptually profiles the image schema in Figure 23. The trajector, *chepyoset* 'the woman', follows a circular path of motion around a particular point of reference known as landmark. The landmark, in this case, is *tulwet* 'the hill'. The arrow in this schema takes a circular shape so as to, in an abstract way, represent the idea of 'going round a particular point'. It should be noted that there is a change in the point of reference, LM, in Figure 23.

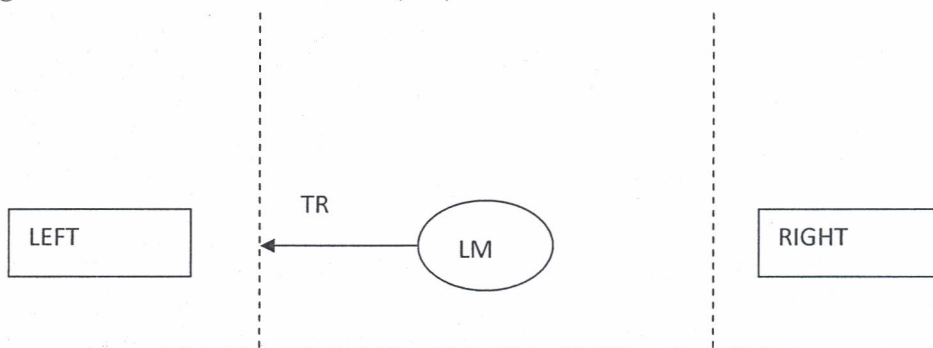
4.1.4.2 Directional adverbs

The following examples illustrate how such adverbs indicate direction.

- (39a) *Kawo chepto katam.*
Ka -w -o chepto katam
Pst-go-PF girl left
'The girl went left'

The figure below represents the schema for *-w-* ('go') in (39a).

Figure 25: The schema for *-w-* in (39a)

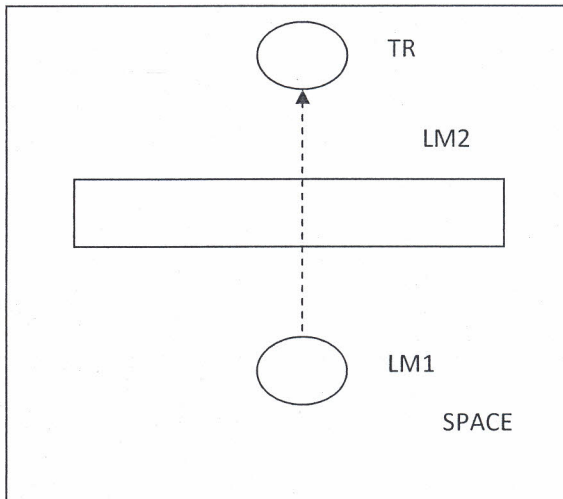


The hearer of the sentence in (39a) abstracts the schema shown in Figure 24. The schema shows that from a given point of reference (LM) in space, 'the girl' (TR) went 'left'. The arrow indicates the direction of movement. It should be noted that (39a) is construed in terms of right-left orientation.

- (39b) *Ketiarchi kipsomaniat kiptulit pitoniin.*
Ke-tiar-chi kipsomaniat kiptulit pitoniin
Pst-kick-BEN student ball across
'The student kicked the ball across (the river)'

The sentence in (39b) presents the following schema.

Figure 26: The schema for *pitoniin* in (39b)



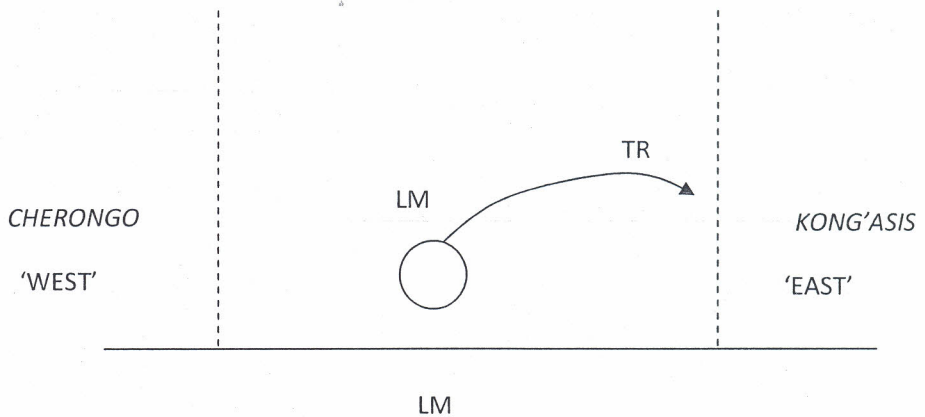
(Adapted from Langacker (1987: 218))

In the schema in Figure 25, the directional adverb ‘across’ (*pitoniin*), according to Langacker (1987), “locates its trajector on the opposite side of one landmark (LM 1) relative to a point of reference (a second landmark (LM2)) normally equated with the position of the speaker unless otherwise specified” (pp. 217-218).

- (39c) *Kiwir Kimutai kiptulit kong'asis.*
Ki -Ø -wir Kimutai kiptulit kong'asis
Pst-3PS-throw Kimutai ball eastwards
'Kimutai threw the ball eastwards'

The example in (39c) profiles the schema in Figure 26.

Figure 27: The schema for *kong'asis* in (39c)



In the schema in Figure 26, the trajector ('the ball') is thrown eastwards from a given point of reference (LM) in space. This point of reference is the same point where 'Kipruto' is located. The given schema instantiates a west-east orientation: in any case, east is construed as the opposite of west. The trajectory path is curved in this case because, usually, bodies thrown into space take a path of this kind.

As hinted at in the discussion above, the conceptualization of directional affixes and directional lexical items is, to a large extent, based on two domains: the abstract domain and the space domain. Langacker (1987) defines the abstract domain as "any non-basic domain; any concept or conceptual complex that functions as a domain for the characterisation of a higher-order concept" (p.485). The space domain according to Evans and Green (2006) is "a domain that derives directly from sensory experience of the world, such as a visual perception and our experience of motion and touch" (p.233).

4.2 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to describe the notion of direction in the Nandi language based on a cognitive grammar model. It has dealt with the directional affixes (ventive, itive, and ambulative) and the directional lexical items (directional verbs and directional adverbs). By the use of the conceptual image schemas, together with the trajector-landmark alignment, this study has made significant progress in describing the notion of direction in the Nandi language. A major success, for instance, is in the way directional affixes are captured in the conceptual image schemas where the arrow indicates the direction of the action and that of motion. It should be noted that the image schemas were modified in other instances to suit the conceptual needs of the various linguistic constructions.

CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

This study sought to provide answers to the following research questions:

- I. What are the affixes that serve as markers of direction on the Nandi verb?
- II. What types of lexical items indicate direction in the Nandi language?
- III. Which affixes can co-occur with the affixes of direction on the Nandi verb?
- IV. Is the cognitive theory an adequate model for describing the grammaticalization of direction in the Nandi language?

In view of these questions, the study set out to investigate the affixes of direction on the Nandi verb phrase. It also endeavoured to identify the lexical words which indicate direction as well as other affixes which co-occur with those indicating direction on the Nandi verb. Moreover, this study sought to determine the adequacy of the cognitive approach in describing the grammaticalization of direction in the Nandi language.

With respect to the first research question, this study has noted three affixes of direction that can be attached to the Nandi verb: the ventive *-u*, the itive *-ta* or *-te*, and the ambulative forms, namely, *-aan* and *-aat*. It has established that all the markers of direction are always suffixes, and that there exist lexical words, in the form of verbs and adverbs, which indicate direction in the Nandi language. In addition, the study established that certain affixes of direction co-occur with other affixes such as the benefactive, the comitative, and the reflexive. The ventive *-u*, for

instance, co-occurs with the reflexive *-kei*; and together with the comitative *-ta:ita*. However, some affixes are characterised by incompatibility. The ventive, for example, cannot co-occur with the benefactive marker. Still on the phenomenon of co-occurrence, the study found that some affixes of direction are compatible with each other. The ambulative *-aan*, for example, is compatible with the ventive *-u* in an instance such as *wir-aan-u* ('throw an object at another several times as you move towards the speaker').

Regarding the adequacy of cognitive grammar in, it transpires from this study that the model is, to a great extent, adequate. Through the use of its notions of trajector and landmark, within an image schema, it was able to handle the conceptualization of direction and motion. The arrow within the schema indicates the direction in which the action takes with respect to the affix of direction attached to the verb. The arrow, where movement is involved, indicates the direction of motion, too. The strength of the cognitive model lies here. Cognitive Grammar, at yet another level, offers the flexibility of the trajector-landmark alignment, which is usually manipulated to suit the conceptualization of any given linguistic construction. On the contrary, traditional grammar, apart from merely parsing the component morphemes of a linguistic unit, does not illustrate both direction and motion.

Although it was not part of the objectives of this study to determine the grammatical change with respect to the affixes of direction, it was established that in some instances the itive marker *-ta* has been incorporated into the root of the verb due to the lexicalization process. In these cases, the itive has lost its meaning – it has been desemanticized, to say the least. Since desemanticization is one of the parameters of grammaticalization, then, this study logically gives a probable conclusion that maybe

the grammaticalization process also has had a role in this change. Although grammaticalization presupposes lexicalization, there exists a thin line between the two. Moreover, the itive, when attached to certain verb roots, can result in antonymy in other instances.

However, it deserves mention that in spite of its strengths, Cognitive Grammar also has its own weaknesses. To begin with, this study has established that sometimes a single image schema can represent more than one linguistic construction. Ideally, there should be one image schema per linguistic construction. Another weakness concerns the perennial challenge of cognitive sciences: that is, there is not much empirical evidence regarding cognition studies. This is because of the simple reason that the human mind cannot be subjected to experimental studies due to ethical values attached to human life.

In conclusion, the findings of this study indicate that the cognitive approach, despite its weaknesses, can adequately describe better the notion of direction in the Nandi language.

5.2 Suggestions for further research

For the purposes of further research, I recommend the following: first and foremost, as hinted at in section 1.7, that a further study should investigate other features of direction such as those manifested in the use of prepositions and demonstratives in the Nandi language. Secondly, I recommend that a diachronic study should be carried out to check whether or not the directional affixes have undergone change both morphologically and semantically. Thirdly, a further study should investigate in detail

the role of lexicalization in language change with respect to the notion of direction in the Nandi language.

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