Table of contents

Acknowledgements — v
Abbreviations — xi

I  The Caac language

1  Introduction — 3
1.1  The language and its speakers — 3
1.1.1  Location — 3
1.1.2  Linguistic affiliation — 6
1.1.3  Sociolinguistic background — 8
1.1.4  Previous work on Caac — 9
1.1.5  Methods of collection and nature of the data — 11
1.1.6  Orthography and conventions used — 12
1.2  The study — 13
1.2.1  Aims and theoretical interests of the study — 13
1.2.2  Overview — 14

2  Sketch Grammar — 16
2.1  Phonological sketch — 16
2.1.1  Caac phonological system — 18
2.1.2  Realization of aspirated consonants and realization of nasalisation — 20
2.1.3  Sandhi and apocope phenomena — 21
2.2  Grammatical sketch — 21
2.2.1  Parts of speech — 21
2.2.2  Noun phrases — 39
2.2.3  Independent basic clauses — 49
2.2.4  Constituents and structure of the predicate — 53
2.2.5  Complex and non-basic clauses — 59
2.2.6  Concluding remarks — 66

II  Linguistic resources for spatial reference in Caac

3  Overview of Location, Motion and Orientation Constructions — 71
3.1  Basic Locative Constructions (BLCs) — 71
3.1.1  BLC with the locative verb e 'be at' — 71
3.1.2  BLC with mo ‘stay; live’ — 74
3.1.3 BLC with posture verbs — 75
3.1.4 Where-questions — 76
3.2 Basic Motion Constructions — 77
3.2.1 Expression of Motion, Path and Manner — 78
3.2.2 Encoding of Source — 81
3.2.3 Encoding of Goal — 81
3.2.4 Where-questions and motion events — 85
3.3 Basic Orientation Constructions — 85
3.3.1 Basic Orientation Construction — 85
3.3.2 Interrogative sentences expressing orientation — 91
3.4 Concluding remarks — 91

4 Spatial Verbs — 93
4.1 Posture verbs and posture prefixes — 93
4.2 Locative verbs — 97
4.3 Motion verbs — 97
4.3.1 Verbs encoding Motion only — 98
4.3.2 Verbs encoding Motion + Path — 99
4.3.3 Verbs encoding Motion + Goal — 103
4.3.4 Verbs encoding Manner of Motion — 104
4.3.5 Transitive Motion verbs with Passed Grounds — 105
4.3.6 Reflexive verbs beve ‘turn around’ and bira/bire ‘turn around’ — 107
4.3.7 Verbs of transport and kuri~huri ‘follow, chase’ — 108
4.4 Verbs of looking — 110
4.5 Concluding remarks — 110

5 Nominal, Prepositional and Adverb Phrases encoding Spatial Bearings — 112
5.1 Spatial prepositional phrases — 113
5.1.1 General characteristics — 113
5.1.2 o ‘at; to’ — 113
5.1.3 na ‘from’ — 115
5.1.4 habur e/o ‘in front of’ and pûr e/o ‘behind’ — 116
5.1.5 camwa ‘(be/turn) towards’ — 116
5.2 Spatial nominal phrases — 118
5.2.1 Relational nouns — 118
5.2.2 Absolute directions expressed in prepositional phrases — 128
5.2.3 Toponyms — 129
5.3 Spatial adverb phrases — 131
5.3.1 Non-deictic spatial adverbs — 131
5.3.2 Region adverbs — 132
5.3.3 Deictic spatial adverbs — 135
5.4 na ‘PRE.LOC’ — 138
5.5 Concluding remarks — 140

6 Directionals — 141
6.1 Absolute directionals — 141
6.1.1 Distribution and combinations — 142
6.1.2 Semantics — 149
6.1.3 Summary — 166
6.2 Deictic directionals — 168
6.2.1 =me ‘CENTRIP’ versus (=)ap ‘CENTRIF’ — 169
6.2.2 =me/=ve ‘CENTRIP’ versus =ec/=uc ‘CENTRIF’ — 174
6.2.3 Shifting the Deictic Centre — 182
6.3 Morphemes modifying directionals — 184
6.3.1 =ek ‘further’ — 184
6.3.2 =mwa ‘back; far’ and =wa ‘back; far’ — 185
6.4 Conclusion — 187

III Analysis of space in Caac

7 Theoretical framework — 191
7.1 Terminological issues — 192
7.1.1 Giving spatial information about what and with respect to what — 192
7.1.2 Representing spatial information in terms of vectors — 193
7.2 Introducing spatial strategies — 211
7.2.1 Frames of Reference versus topology — 212
7.2.2 The role of deixis — 221
7.3 Typology of spatial domains — 225
7.3.1 Definition and status of orientation — 225
7.3.2 Location versus motion versus orientation — 228
7.3.3 Revision of the typology of spatial domains — 229

8 Vectorial analysis of spatial expressions in Caac — 233
8.1 Spatial strategies relying on angular-anchored vectors — 234
8.1.1 Intrinsic Frame of Reference — 234
8.1.2 Ambiguous cases: between intrinsic and relative Frames of Reference — 242
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1.3</td>
<td>Absolute Frame of Reference</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1.4</td>
<td>Geomorphic Frame of Reference</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Spatial strategies relying on head-anchored vectors</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1</td>
<td>Landmarks</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.2</td>
<td>Deictic Centre</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Fictive motion</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.1</td>
<td>Directionals as dynamic terms</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.2</td>
<td>Coverage/Co-extension Paths</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.3</td>
<td>Paths emanating from a facet of the Figure</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.4</td>
<td>Access Paths: Paths to the Figure</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.5</td>
<td>Access Paths from fictive Ground</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.6</td>
<td>Anticipated Paths</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3.7</td>
<td>Overview</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusion | 297
Bibliography | 302
Index | 309