

**Supplementary Material for  
Associated motion and directionals: Where they overlap  
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**Chapter 4 in**

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This document of supplementary material describes the morphemes in all 56 languages which are used both as markers of associated motion (hereafter AM) and as directionals. It is organized into six geographical areas. §S1 is languages in Africa; §S2 is languages in South America; §S3 is languages in North America; §S4 is languages in Australia; §S5 is one language in New Guinea; and §S6 is one language in Asia. Within each section, the languages are organized by language family, though the numbering of subsections ignores this.

**S1. Africa**

There are 14 languages in this section (§S1). §S1.1 deals with one Niger-Congo language (Tafi). §S1.2 deals with one Kordofanian language (Tima); §S1.3 to §S1.5 deal with three Songhay languages; §S1.6 and §S1.7 deal with two Nilotic languages; §S1.8 deals with one Central Sudanic language (Ma'di); and §S1.9 to §S1.14 deal with six Afro-Asiatic languages, one of which is Berber, the other five of which are Chadic.

**S1.1 Tafi (Kwa, Niger-Congo; Ghana)**

Tafi has a ventive prefix *bo-* ~ *bé-* that is used either for prior AM, as in (S1), or as a directional, as in (S2).

(S1) *kíděso* *pɪ* *ó-bo-yú* *ki-vu* *ni* *be-kusi* *e-dzini* *ní*.  
why CONN 2SG.DEP-VENT-dance NC-dance COMIT NC.PL-chief NC-wife DEF  
'Why did you come and dance with the queens?' (Bobuafor 2013: 253)

(S2) *é-dzyũĩ* *ko* *yí* *é-bé-kóéyĩ* *ní* *o-zĩ* *ní* *kĩmĩ* ...  
NC-rat just 3SG.INDEP NC-VENT-exit LOC NC-hole DEF inside  
'A mouse just came out of the hole ...' (Bobuafor 2013: 172)

Tafi also has an andative prefix, but it is not clear that it can be used as a directional.

**S1.2 Tima (Kordofanian; Sudan)**

Tima has a ventive suffix that codes subsequent motion, as in (S3), or functions as a directional, as in (S4).

(S3) *móðk-íŋ*  
drink-VENT  
'drink and come towards me' (Bashir 2010: 187)

- (S4) *dûk-ij*  
 go-VENT  
 ‘come’ (Bashir 2010: 187)

### S1.3 Koyra Chiini (Songhay; Mali)

Koyra Chiini has a ventive (or centripetal) suffix *-kate* that is used either for subsequent AM, as in (S5), or as a directional, as in (S6).

- (S5) *no-o                      koy   dogo-kate                      hayni   woo   ra.*  
 2SG.SUBJ-IMPV   go   uproot-CENTRIP   millet   DEM   LOC  
 ‘You go and uproot some of that millet (and come back with it).’ (Heath 1999a: 140)

- (S6) *i                      na   yee-kate                      qgu-ye   banda   koon*  
 3PL.SUBJ   NEG   return-CENTRIP   3PL.REFL   back   bare  
 ‘They (=donkeys) have not come back (with) their backs empty.’ (Heath 1999a: 141)

### S1.4 Koyraboro (Koroboro) Senni (Songhay; Mali, Niger)

Koyraboro Senni has a ventive (or centripetal) suffix *-kate* (identical to the suffix in Koyra Chiini) that is also used either for subsequent AM, as in (S7), or as a directional, as in (S8).

- (S7) *haamey-kate*  
 snatch-CENTRIP  
 ‘snatch and bring’ (Heath 1999b: 173)

- (S8) *yee-kate*  
 go.back-CENTRIP  
 ‘come back’ (Heath 1999b: 172)

### S1.5 Kwarandzyey (Songhay; Algeria)

Kwarandzyey has a ventive suffix *-tsi* that is used either for subsequent AM, as in (S9), or as a directional, as in (S10).

- (S9) *ndza   tsakk<sup>w</sup>a   n-ba-ṭṭaz-tsi*  
 with   who   2SG-PFV-dine-HITHER  
 ‘Who did you have dinner with (before coming back here)?’ (Souag 2010: 369)

- (S10) *lūxxūd   yə-yyər-tsi                      yə-m-kəmməl.*  
 when   1PL-return-HITHER   1PL-IRREAL-finish  
 ‘When we come back, we will finish.’ (Souag 2010: 368)

### S1.6 Camus (Nilotic; Kenya)

Camus has andative and ventive suffixes *-oo* and *-u* respectively. They code subsequent AM, as in (S11) and (S12), or they function as directionals, as in (S13) and (S14).

- (S11) *k-á-idóŋ-oo*                      *n-kérá-í.*  
 ASP-1SG-beat-ANDAT    FEM-child.OBJ-SG  
 ‘I beat the child until he runs away.’ (Heine 1980: 124)
- (S12) *k-á-idóŋ-u*                      *n-kérá-í.*  
 ASP-1SG-beat-VENT    FEM-child.OBJ-SG  
 ‘I beat the child until he comes back.’ (Heine 1980: 124)
- (S13) *a-rum-oo*  
 INF-push-ANDAT  
 ‘to push away’ (Heine 1980: 124)
- (S14) *a-rum-ú*  
 INF-push-VENT  
 ‘to push this way’ (Heine 1980: 124)

### S1.7 Pári (Nilotic; South Sudan)

Pári has ventive morphology, which can be used for prior AM, subsequent AM, and directional meaning. The different categories are realized by stem changes, including tone. Compare the multiplicative (habitual/repetitive) form in (S15), which does not involve AM, with the ventive form in (S16), which does. (Andersen calls the ventive ‘centripetal’.)

- (S15) *ùbúr á-kwàd-ò*  
 Ubur    COMPL-steal.ANTIPASS-HAB-SUFF  
 ‘Ubur used to steal.’ (Andersen 1988: 301)
- (S16) *ùbúr á-kwànn-ò*  
 Ubur    COMPL-steal.ANTIPASS.CENTRIP-SUFF  
 ‘Ubur came to steal.’ (Andersen 1988: 301)

Example (S17) illustrates the use of a ventive form to denote subsequent AM (differing from the form in (S16) in that it is not antipassive).

- (S17) *dhòk á-kwál`                      ùbúrr-ì.*  
 cows    COMPL-steal.CENTRIP    Ubur-ERG  
 ‘Ubur stole the cows (and brought them here).’ (Andersen 1988: 301)

Example (S18) illustrates the use of a ventive form as a directional.

- (S18) *á-múll`-ò*  
 COMPL-crawl.CENTRIP-SUFF  
 ‘He crawled (hither).’ (Andersen 1988: 302)

### S1.8 Ma’di (Central Sudanic; Uganda, South Sudan)

Ma’di has a ventive prefix which is used either for subsequent AM, as in (S19), or as a directional, as in (S20) and (S21).

- (S19) *ká kî` lîná ē-ná rá*  
 3 PL food VENT-eat AFF  
 ‘They will eat somewhere else and then will come here.’ (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 74)

- (S20) *ágó zì ē-mú džúbà gá sí.*  
 man SPEC VENT-go Juba LOC from  
 ‘A certain man came from Juba.’ (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 17)

- (S21) *ká gálámò rì òò búkù rì ē-dží.*  
 3 pen DEF and book DEF VENT-take  
 ‘She is bringing the pen and the book.’ (Blackings and Fabb 2003: 340)

### S1.9 Tamashek (Berber, Afro-Asiatic; Mali)

Tamashek has ventive (centripetal) and andative (centrifugal) clitics that code various types of AM. The use of the centripetal (ventive) clitic =*ádd* for subsequent motion is illustrated in (S22), for concurrent motion in (S23), and as a directional in (S24).

- (S22) *Muss, aytas=ádd i-sàyer-æn.*  
 go.IMPRT cut.IMPRT=CENTRIP PL-wood-MASC.PL  
 ‘Go, cut (and bring) the pieces of wood!’ (Heath 2005: 598)
- (S23) *i-ššayæl=ádd.*  
 3SG.M.SUBJ-work=CENTRIP  
 ‘He came working.’ (= ‘He was working as he came.’) (Heath 2005: 599)
- (S24) *ərjəš-ær=ádd ror `é-wet hàr a-m-ézzar.*  
 walk.PFV-1SG=CENTRIP chez SG-market until SG-??-camp  
 ‘I walked from the market all the way to the camp.’ (Heath 2005: 291)

The use of the centrifugal (andative) clitic =*hín* for prior motion is illustrated in (S25), for concurrent motion in (S26), and as a directional in (S27).

- (S25) *i-kfa=hín*                      *áʒrəf*                      *è*                      *mæssi-s*.  
3SG.M.SUBJ-give.PFV=CENTRIF    money    DAT    master-3SG.POSS  
'He went and gave the money to his master.' (Heath 2005: 600)
- (S26) *i-kša=hín*  
3SG.M.SUBJ-eat.PFV=CENTRIF  
'It (=brush fire) ate up (the vegetation) going away that way.' (Heath 2005: 600)
- (S27) *a=hín*                      *äs-æy*.  
FUT=CENTRIF    arrive.IMPV-1SG.SUBJ  
'I will come (there).' (Heath 2005: 600)

### S1.10 Bole (West Chadic, Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Nigeria)

Bole has a ventive suffix *-àakóo* that is used either for subsequent AM, as in (S28), or as a directional, as in (S29).

- (S28) *màté* à *lòod-àakóo-yí*.  
3PL 3SUBJ ask-VENT-OBJ  
'They will ask and come with the answer.' (Gimba 2000: 135)
- (S29) *íshí* à *pàt-àakóo*  
3SG 3SUBJ go.out-VENT  
'He will come out.' (Gimba 2000: 135)

### S1.11 Ngizim (West Chadic, Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Nigeria)

Ngizim has a set of ventive suffixes, varying for aspect and mood. Example (S30) illustrates the use of the perfective ventive suffix *-ée* for subsequent AM, while (S31) illustrates its use as a directional.

- (S30) *jà mäs-ée márdũ.*  
1PL.EXCL buy-VENT.PFV millet  
'We bought and brought millet.' (Schuh 1972: 26)
- (S31) *təf-ée-w*  
go.in-VENT.PFV-PFV  
'He came in' (Schuh 1972: 26)

### S1.12 Lele (East Chadic, Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Chad)

Lele has a ventive particle *jè* which serves as a marker of subsequent motion, as in (S32), or as a directional, as in (S33).

- (S32) *ŋ lèé jè sì kàṇdi.*  
 1SG eat VENT meat in.neighbourhood  
 ‘I ate the meat there and came here.’ (Frajzyngier 2001: 194)
- (S33) *òdì dí jè dèbrɛŋ lìṇdá.*  
 leave 3SG.M VENT Debreng yesterday  
 ‘He came from Debreng.’ (Frajzyngier 2001: 194)

### S.1.13 Buwal (Biu-Mandara, Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Cameroon)

Buwal has two ventive suffixes, varying for visible vs. nonvisible. The latter (-*xā*) is illustrated in (S34) and (S35), with (S34) illustrating its use for subsequent AM and (S35) illustrating its use as a directional.

- (S34) *Sā-ḡàk-xā lā nākā á dāmāw.*  
 1SG-sow-VENT.NONVIS field 1SG.POSS PREP bush  
 ‘I sowed my field in the bush (and returned)’ (Viljoen 2013: 374)
- (S35) *na-ndā-xā ná-ndzā á bwāl.*  
 1PL.EXCL-go-VENT.NONVIS 1PL.EXCL-stay PREP Buwal  
 ‘... we came, we stayed in Buwal.’ (Viljoen 2013: 373)

Buwal also has an andative particle *āzà* (glossed IT for ‘itive’) that functions either as a marker of prior AM, as in (S36), or as a directional, as in (S37).

- (S36) *ndā ɣ bān āzà ménégē?*  
 go INF wash IT TAG.IMPRT  
 ‘Go and wash there, won’t you?’ (Viljoen 2013: 518)
- (S37) *ā-xěj āntā āzà skʷá?*  
 3SG-run 3SG.POSS IT Q.FAM  
 ‘Did he run away?’ (Viljoen 2013: 280)

### S1.14 Gude (Biu-Mandara, Chadic, Afro-Asiatic; Cameroon, Nigeria)

Gude has a morphological process involving stem changes that is used either for ventive subsequent motion (e.g. *la* ‘cut’ vs. *lya* ‘cut and come’) or as a directional (e.g. *kula* ‘fall’ vs. *kulya* ‘fall here’ and *səba* ‘drive’ vs. *shiba* ‘drive here’). (Hoskison 1983: 98).

## S2 South America

There are 14 languages discussed in this section. §S2.1 deals with one Quechuan language (Huallaga Quechua); §S2.2 to §S2.5 deal with four Panoan languages; §S2.6 deals with one Mosesten-Chimane language (Mosesten); §S2.7 to §S2.11 deal with five Arawakan languages; §S2.12 deals with one Katukinan language (Kanamari); §S2.13

deals with one Macro-Je language (Rikbaktsa); and §S2.14 deals with one Yanomamic language (Yanomami). Note that there is one other Arawakan language in North America, discussed in §S3.1.

## S2.1 Huallaga Quechua (Quechuan; Peru)

There is a morpheme that Weber (1989) glosses ‘afar’ that functions as an AM morpheme meaning either ‘prior motion’, as in (S38), or ‘prior plus subsequent motion’, as in (S39) (there is usually an implication that the subject goes somewhere and returns but not always).

- (S38) *mikU-mu-shun*  
eat-**AFAR**-12.IMP  
‘let’s go eat (over there)’ (Weber 1989: 29)

- (S39) *Wasi-:-ta watqa-ykU-mu-nki.*  
house-1POSS-OBJ spy-impact-**AFAR**-2  
‘Please spy on my house (and then come back).’ (Weber 1989: 101)

This morpheme is also used as a ventive directional, indicating motion towards the deictic centre, as in (S40)

- (S40) ... *pukutay ura-ka-rpU-mu-ra-n.*  
cloud descend-pass-down-**AFAR**-PAST-3  
‘... the clouds came down about them.’ (Weber 1989: 123)

## S2.2 Kashibo-Kakataibo (Panoan; Peru)

Kashibo-Kakataibo has a number of suffixes which Zariquiey Biondi characterizes as directional. Among these is a set of six suffixes which apparently form a set in that they occur in the same slot in the verb. Three of them have a form beginning with /k/ that is used with intransitive verbs contrasting with a form beginning with /b/ that is used with transitive verbs:

	intransitive	transitive
going	- <i>kian</i>	- <i>bian</i>
coming	- <i>kwatsin</i>	- <i>bëtsin</i>
passing	- <i>kwain</i>	- <i>buin</i>

Examples (S41) and (S42) illustrate the transitive andative suffix *-bian* being used as a marker of concurrent AM and subsequent AM, respectively.

- (S41) ‘*a-bian-tëkën-i-a.*  
do-**GOING**.**TRANS**-again-IPFV-NON.PROX  
‘(S)he does it while going, again.’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 188)

- (S42) *ka-bian-i*  
 say-**GOING.TRANS-SW.REF.SIMUL**  
 ‘going after saying it’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 571)

In (S43), however, it is functioning as a directional, combining with the verb *tika* ‘follow’.

- (S43) ... *ka-tika-bian-i* *uni a=x kwan-akë-x-ín.*  
 back-follow-**GOING.TRAN-SW.REF.SIMUL** person that=S go-REM.PAST-3-PROX  
 ‘[It is said that, when he brought his wife,] the other man went behind, following them.’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 589)

Example (S44) illustrates the corresponding intransitive andative suffix *-kian* coding concurrent AM, while (S45) and (S46) illustrate the same suffix functioning as a directional.

- (S44) *y ain ‘ibu ria nish-kian-i kwan-a-n.*  
 and 3.GEN owner CON.3 hate-**GOING.INTR-SW.REF.SIMUL** go-PFV-1/2  
 ‘And its owner went very upset.’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 488)
- (S45) ... *ma ni=nu atsin-kian-kin* ...  
 already jungle=loc enter-**GOING.INTR-SW.REF**  
 ‘... when he had already entered the jungle, ...’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 741)
- (S46) *bari-i rit-kian-pun-i-a* ...  
 look.for-SW.REF.SIMUL go.together-**GOING.INTR-REC.PAST-IPFV-NON.PROX**  
 ‘The ones who went early that day to look for animals ...’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 419)

While I find no examples with either of the two ventive suffixes functioning both as markers of AM and as directionals, there are examples of the transitive ventive suffix functioning as a marker of AM and the intransitive ventive suffix functioning as a directional, suggesting that these also can function in both ways. Example (S47) illustrates the transitive ventive suffix functioning as a marker of concurrent AM, while (S48) illustrates the intransitive ventive suffix functioning as a directional.

- (S47) *kwan-xun kana upít-o-kin ‘ë=n ‘atsa*  
 go-SW.REF NAR.1SG good-FACT-SW.REF.SIMUL 1SG=A manioc.ABS  
*pi-bëtsin-i-n.*  
 eat-**COMING.TRANS-IPFV-1/2**  
 ‘Having gone, I am eating manioc beautifully while coming.’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 354)
- (S48) *ri-kwatsin-akë-x-ín*  
 go.together-**COMING.INTR-REM.PAST-3-PROX**  
 ‘they came together’ (Zariquiey Biondi 2011: 419)



### S2.3 Yaminahua (Panoan; Brazil and Peru)

Yaminahua and the next two languages to be discussed are in the same Panoan family as Kashibo-Kakataibo. These three languages all have sets of AM suffixes similar to those in Kashibo-Kakataibo, with pairs varying with the transitivity of the verb. The suffixes in Yaminahua are:

	intransitive	transitive
andative	<i>-kain</i>	<i>-fain</i>
ventive	<i>-kera(n)</i>	<i>-fera(n)</i>

Again, we find both AM and directional meanings associated with members of this set. Example (S49) illustrates the transitive andative suffix *-fain* coding concurrent AM, while (S50) illustrates the same suffix functioning as a directional.

- (S49) *Fakē yoa pi-fain-i-ka-i.*  
 child.ERG yucca eat-GOING.TRANS-PURP-GO-PROG  
 ‘The child ate yucca (while going away from the reference point).’ (Faust 2002: 131)

- (S50) *Ê iso chifã-fain-ita.*  
 1SG maquisapa follow-GOING.TRANS-PAST.YESTERDAY  
 ‘I followed a maquisapa (monkey) (going away from the reference point).’ (Faust 2002: 100)

Similarly, (S51) illustrates the intransitive ventive suffix *-kera* coding concurrent AM, while (S52) illustrates the corresponding transitive ventive suffix *-fera(n)*.

- (S51) *M=ē na-kera-keran-a.*  
 already=1SG die-COMING.INTR-INCEPT-COMPL  
 ‘I almost died while I was coming.’ (Faust 2002: 129)

- (S52) *A-res o-kī tene-feran-a, tsao-xō.*  
 3SG-only come-when rest-COMING.TRANS-COMPL sit.down-PTCPL  
 ‘When he came alone, he would sit down every time to rest.’ (Faust 2002:149)

Example (S53) illustrates both of these suffixes being used as directionals.

- (S53) *Nete-kera-kī nō poke-fera-ti, anã.*  
 return-COMING.INTR-when 1Pl cross-COMING.TRANS-DIST.PAST again  
 ‘Upon returning, we crossed the stream again. (Faust 2002: 150)

## S2.4 Shipibo-Konibo (Panoan; Peru)

I illustrate three morphemes in Shipibo-Konibo that are used either for AM or as directionals. The andative suffix *-kain* is used for either concurrent or subsequent motion, as in (S54).

- (S54) *E-a-ra bewa-kain-ke.*  
 1SG-ABS-EVID sing-ANDAT.SG.INTR-COMPL  
 ‘I sang while going.’ / ‘I sang and left’ (Valenzuela 2003: 159)

Example (S55) illustrates this suffix used as a directional.

- (S55) *Ja basi-ma-bi-ronki ik-á iki pichá*  
 that delay-NEG-EMPH-HSY do.I-PTCPL.COMPL AUX fish(sp.):ABS  
*noya-kain-i.*  
 fly-ANDAT.SG.INTR-SIMUL.SS  
 ‘A little bit later a palometa fish flew away.’ (Valenzuela 2003: 599)

Examples (S56) and (S57) illustrate a suffix *-ina(t)* that codes upward motion. In (S56), it is used as a marker of concurrent AM with a nonmotion verb meaning ‘sing’, while in (S57) it functions as a directional, combining with a verb meaning ‘come’ to mean ‘come up’.

- (S56) *Sani-ra bewa-inat-ai.*  
 Sani.ABS-EVID sing-GOING.UP-INCOMPL  
 ‘Sani is going up the river singing.’ (Valenzuela 2003: 269)
- (S57) *Jainoa-xa no-a jo jó-ina-ke, ...*  
 there.LOC-ABL-S:EVID 1PL-ABS come come-GOING.UP-COMPL  
 ‘From there, we came up the river ...’ (Valenzuela 2003: 269)

There is a third morpheme in Shipibo-Konibo that is used either as a marker of AM or as a directional, *-pake(t)*, that is similar to the previous one, except that it involves downward motion. Example (S58) illustrates its use as a marker of AM, while (S59) illustrates its use as a directional.

- (S58) ... *jato yoi yoi-paket-i*  
 3PL.ABS tell tell-GOING.DOWN-SIMUL.SS  
 ‘... they went down the river inviting the people (to the Ani Xeati ceremony).’  
 (Valenzuela 2003: 593)
- (S59) ... *wetsa ka-a iki toxbá-paket-i*  
 other.ABS go-PTCPL.COMPL AUX float-GOING.DOWN-SIMUL.SS  
 ‘... while the second one floated down the river.’ (Valenzuela 2003: 270)

## S2.5 Kashinawa (Panoan; Brazil and Peru)

Kashinawa, like Kashibo-Kakataibo, has AM suffixes that come in pairs differing in transitivity. I confine my comments to just one of these suffixes *-baun* ‘go around’. Example (S60) illustrates an AM use of this suffix, while (S61) illustrates a directional use.

- (S60) *En ainbu baken piti betsa betsapa pi-baun-ikiki*  
 1SG woman child food one all.kinds eat-PASSING-3.INCOMPL  
 ‘My daughter is eating all kinds of food, going around (from house to house).’  
 (Montag 1979: 110)

- (S61) *Yava kuxi-baun-mis-ki, ichapadan.*  
 peccary(sp.) run-PASSING-HAB-DECL ??  
 ‘The huangana are running around in circles.’ (Montag 1979: 110)

## S2.6 Moseten (Isolate; Bolivia)

In (S62), the ventive suffix *-ti* codes prior motion, while in (S63) it functions as a directional.<sup>1</sup>

- (S62) *i-we bae'-e-ti-in.*  
 here.MASC-downriver live-VERB-VENT-PL  
 ‘[It must be the time that the priests, like before,] came to live here.’ (Sakel 2004: 276)

- (S63) *Iits i-ya' jĭj-ti khāei' mimi'.*  
 DEM.MASC MASC-to go-VENT INDEF only.MASC  
 ‘This one here came alone.’ (Sakel 2004: 360)

Similarly, in (S64), the andative suffix *-k(a)* is coding prior AM, while in (S65), it is functioning as a directional.

- (S64) ... *watyeke-ra' jāe'mā kāw-ë-k-te-in.*  
 maybe-IRREAL uh see-VERB-ANDAT-3M.OBJ-PL  
 ‘... maybe they will go to see him.’ (Sakel 2004: 414)

- (S65) *O'yi-we jĭj-ka-' ...*  
 yucca-downriver go-ANDAT-FEM.SUBJ  
 ‘She went to the yucca field, ...’ (Sakel 2004: 105)

## S2.7 Apurinã (Southern Maipuran, Arawakan; Brazil)

Apurinã has a random concurrent motion suffix *-āpo* that is functioning as a marker of random concurrent motion in (S66), but as a directional in (S67), where it codes

<sup>1</sup> Sakel describes the ventive suffix as meaning ‘do an action after arrival, here’ (p. xxii). She describes the andative suffix as meaning ‘do an action after arrival, away’ (p. xxii).

random direction.

- (S66) *nhi-nhika-āpo-ta-ru.*  
 1SG-eat-RANDOM-VBLZ-3SG.MASC.OBJ  
 ‘I went around aimlessly eating it.’ (Facundes 2000: 284)
- (S67) *nota mutekā-āpo-ta.*  
 1SG run-RANDOM-VBLZ  
 ‘I ran around.’ (Facundes 2000: 249)

## S2.8 Nomatsigenga (Southern Maipuran, Arawakan; Peru)

Nomatsigenga has a ventive suffix *-ap* that is used in (S68) as a marker of prior AM and in (S69) as a directional. Lawrence (2013) glosses it as ‘ALL’ for ‘allative’.

- (S68) *p-oga-og-ap-ima-ri-ni* *p-ikongiri* ...  
 2SG-CAUS-drink-ALL-IRREAL-3M-IPFV.ANIM 2SG.POSS-uncle  
 ‘Come and drink with your uncle, ...’ (Lawrence 2013: 88)
- (S69) *na-N-ar-ap-e-ni.*  
 1SG-IRREAL-fly-ALL-IRREAL-IPFV.ANIM  
 ‘I will come flying.’ (Lawrence 2013: 87)

It also has an andative suffix *-an* that is used for prior AM, as in (S70), and as a directional, as in (S71). Lawrence glosses as ‘ABL’ for ‘ablative’.

- (S70) *na-N-áge-an-e-ne-ri-ni* *oká.*  
 1SG-IRREAL-grab-ABL-IRREAL-BEN-3M-IPFV.ANIM DEM.PROX  
 ‘I’m going to grab all of what’s here for him.’ (Lawrence 2013: 135)
- (S71) *i-isig-an-k-a.*  
 3M-run-ABL-PFV-REAL  
 ‘He ran away.’ (Lawrence 2013: 88)

## S2.9 Yine (Southern Maipuran, Arawakan; Peru)

Yine has an andative suffix *-pa* that Hanson (2010) glosses as ‘elative’ which functions as a marker of prior AM in (S72) and as a directional in (S73) and (S74).

- (S72) *p-kawa-ha-pa-ni.*  
 2SG-bathe-OBLG-ELV-ANTIC  
 ‘Go bathe!’ (Hanson 2010: 208)
- (S73) *w-homkahita-ini-pa-tka-li* *ø-nikata-ni-na-wi.*  
 1PL-follow-TEMP-ELV-PFV-3SG.M 3-consume-ANTIC-COMPL-1PL  
 ‘If we follow it, it will consume us.’ (Hanson 2010: 214)

- (S74) *mala poti-ko ø-satoka-pa-ya.*  
 downriver INTENS-EMPH 3-return-ELV-APPL  
 ‘They went further downstream.’ (Hanson 2010: 376)

## S2.10 Nanti (Southern Maipuran, Arawakan; Peru)

Nanti has a ventive suffix *-apah* that codes AM in (S75). Michael (2008) glosses it ‘ADL’ for ‘adlative’.

- (S75) *no=neh-apah-ø-i=ri.*  
 1=see-ADL-IPFV-REAL=3SG.M.OBJ  
 ‘I saw him upon arriving.’ (Michael 2008: 262)

Guillaume (2016) classifies this suffix as coding prior motion, but (S75) is the only example that I found with a nonmotion verb and it is not clear from the sentence gloss whether this suffix codes prior motion or concurrent motion. In all of the other examples I found, it apparently functions as a ventive directional, as in (S76).

- (S76) *i=moNteh-apah-ø-i.*  
 3SG.M=cross.river-ADL-IPFV-REAL  
 ‘He is crossing the river towards (me).’ (Michael 2008: 261)

Nanti also has a suffix *-ut* that codes prior plus subsequent motion with nonmotion verbs, as in (S77), but also functions as a prior plus subsequent directional, as in (S78).

- (S77) *i=p-ut-i=ri.*  
 3SG.M=give-RETURN-REAL=3SG.M.OBJ  
 ‘He gave it to him (going to him, giving it to him, then returning).’ (Michael 2008: 258)

- (S78) *i=shig-ut-i.*  
 3SG.M=run-RETURN-REAL  
 ‘He ran there and back.’ (Michael 2008: 258)

## S2.11 Baure (Southern Maipuran, Arawakan; Bolivia)

Baure has two suffixes of AM (though they also occur as verbs meaning ‘go’ and ‘come’). The ventive one *-pik* is used for prior AM, as in (S79), and as a directional, as in (S80).

- (S79) *ikomor-a-he-ko-no-a-pik=hi tek-iko-wo-i'*  
 kill-LINK-DISTR-ABS-NMLZ-LINK-COME=QUOT all-really-COP-EMPH  
*to čonok hir-anev.*  
 ART big man-PL

‘They come to kill all the big men.’ (Danielsen 2007: 170)

- (S80) ... *ti ni-eyon ri-kačo-wa-pik ne' wapoeri-ye.*  
 DEM.F 1SG-wife 3SG.F-go-SHORT.TIME-COME here river-LOC  
 ‘[Now I will go and ask why] my wife came here to the river (for a short time).’  
 (Danielsen 2007: 352)

The andative suffix *-pa* is also used for prior motion, as in (S81), or as a directional, as in (S82).

- (S81) *vi-kotorek-pa-no tiwe' ito ro-sowe'.*  
 1PL-work-GO-NMLZ but PROG 3SG.M-rain  
 ‘We went to work, but it was raining.’ (Danielsen 2007: 279)
- (S82) *yiti' yi-ačik aw nti' ni-yono-i-ko-pa-i'.*  
 2PL 2PL-load and.not 1SG 1SG-walk-DUR-ABS-GO-EMPH  
 ‘You (pl) load the cargo and I go walking like this (without taking any cargo).’  
 (Danielsen 2007: 387)

## S2.12 Kanamari (Katukinan; Brazil)

Groth (1977) describes an andative suffix *-na* and a ventive suffix *-ji* that function as markers of prior AM, as in (S83), or as directionals, as in (S84).

- (S83) a. *pu-na* b. *pu-ji*  
 eat-GO.AWAY eat-COME.TOWARDS  
 ‘go to eat there’ ‘come to eat here’ (Groth 1977: 205)
- (S84) a. *to-na* b. *to-ji*  
 go-GO.AWAY go-COME.TOWARDS  
 ‘go away’ ‘come towards’ (Groth 1977: 204)

## S2.13 Rikbaktsa (Macro-Ge; Brazil)

Rikbaktsa has a single prefix *ɬ-* ~ *na-* that is used as a marker of prior AM, as in (S85) and (S86).

- (S85) *tumi ø-mi-ɬ-i-ku.*  
 chicha 1.SUBJ-NONPAST-DIR-3SG.OBJ-drink  
 ‘I am going (in order to) drink the chicha.’ (Silva 2011: 129)

- (S86) *fî-k-na-moro.*  
 2.SUBJ-PAST-**DIR**-bathe  
 ‘You went to bathe.’ (Silva 2011: 119)

The sentence glosses for examples using this morpheme (using form of *aller* ‘go’ in French) suggest that it might be andative (or neutral with respect to direction). However, it also occurs as a directional with motion verbs, where it seems to have ventive meaning, as in (S87) and (S88).

- (S87) *parini i-φ-ŕ-ikfî.*  
 jaguar 3.SUBJ-PAST-**DIR**-leave  
 ‘The jaguar has returned.’ (Silva 2011: 87)
- (S88) *kare i-bo i-φ-na-fuk=ŕo=ŕe ...*  
 after 3POSS.SG-to 3SUBJ-PAST-**DIR**-enter=ITER=SUBORD  
 ‘After, when he came back to her, ...’ (Silva 2011: 359)

## S2.14 Yanomami (Yanomamic; Brazil)

Yanomami has three clitics that function either as markers of AM or as directionals. The first is a ventive clitic, =*ima*, which functions as a marker of concurrent AM in (S89), but as a directional in (S90). (Perri Ferreira glosses it as DIR.VEN for ‘ventive directional’).

- (S89) *napë pë=ã=wayoma=yu=ima=i.*  
 white.person 3PL=sound=talk=RECIP=**DIR.VEN**=DYN  
 ‘The white people are coming while talking to each other.’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 352)
- (S90) *napë oxe a=i=rërë=ima=ma.*  
 white.person youngster 3SG=DIM=run=**DIR.VEN**=PAST  
 ‘The white child came running.’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 391)

The second is also ventive clitic, =*yu*, but when it functions as a marker of AM, it codes prior AM, as in (S91).

- (S91) *pirio wa=yoka=hehu=ki=yu.*  
 door 2SG=CLSF.R.door=close=PFV2=**DIR.VEN2**  
 ‘Come and close the door.’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 354)

In (S92), this clitic is a directional.

- (S92) *napë pë=rërë=ki=yu=ma.*  
 white.person 3PL=run=PFV2=**DIR.VEN2**=PAST  
 ‘The white people ran over here (with a defined objective).’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 346)

Note that the difference between =*ima* and =*yu* when they function as markers of AM is concurrent versus prior motion, but when they function as directionals, the difference is apparently that =*yu* is used when the deictic centre is a defined goal of the motion, while =*ima* simply codes motion towards the deictic centre.

The third clitic that is relevant here is an andative clitic =*huru*, which functions as a marker of concurrent AM, as in (S93), or subsequent AM, as in (S94).

- (S93) *thuë thë=pë=heri=huru=ma.*  
 woman CLFR=3PL=chant=**DIR.ANDAT**=PAST  
 ‘The women were singing (moving away).’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 352)

- (S94) *kama xaraka e=ki=huhe=ku=huru=ma.*  
 3 arrow SW.REF=PL=release=PFV2=**DIR.ANDAT**=PAST  
 ‘He put down his arrows and went away.’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 357)

In (S95), this clitic is used as a directional.

- (S95) *pora a=kāyo=rërë=rayu=huru=ma.*  
 ball 3SG=APPLIC=run=PFV=**DIR.ANDAT**=PAST  
 ‘He ran away with the ball.’ (Perri Ferreira 2017: 202)

### S3. North America

For all the languages in this section, there are also descriptions of AM in the Supplementary Materials to Dryer (this volume, chapter 13). In many cases, those descriptions contain details that are not included here, since those descriptions describe all associate motion morphemes, while this section only describes morphemes that function both as markers of AM and as directionals.

There are 22 languages discussed in this section. §S3.1 deals with one Arawakan language (Garifuna); §S3.2 deals with one Chibchan language (Guatusa); §S3.3 discusses one Mayan language (Kekchi); §S3.4 discusses one Tequistlatecan language (Lowland Chontal); §S3.5 discusses one Otomanguean language (Sochiapan Chinantec); §S3.6 discusses one Totonacan language (Huehuetla Tepehuan); §S3.7 to §S3.13 discuss seven Uto-Aztecan languages; §S3.14 discusses one Chumashan language (Ineseño Chumash); §S3.15 discusses one Muskogean language (Creek); §S3.16 discusses one Wakashan language (Kwak’wala); §S3.17 to §S3.20 discuss four Algonquian languages; and §S3.21 and §S3.22 discuss two language isolates (Chimariko and Tonkawa).

#### S3.1 Garifuna (Haurholm-Larsen 2016; Arawakan; Belize to Nicaragua)

Garifuna, an Arawakan language, is discussed here, along with languages of North America, but see §S2.7 to §S2.11 for discussion of five Arawakan languages of South America. Garifuna has an andative suffix *-yna*, that indicates concurrent AM, as in (S96), as well as functioning as a directional, as in (S97).



- (S96) *bueno aban wé-ydi-n aríya-hè-yna wa-gíya pádnà.*  
 well CONN 1PL-go.1SUBJ-UNSPEC look.for-DISTR-ANDAT 1PL-DEM companion  
 ‘Well, then we left, looking for company on our way’ (Haurholm-Larsen 2016: 225)
- (S97) *éybugé-yna l-ínya Aléru aban l-achúgera-gu-n yára.*  
 walk-ANDAT 3MASC-COP Alero then 3MASC-stumble-REFL-UNSPEC there  
 ‘Alero is walking down the road and then stumbles there.’ (Haurholm-Larsen 2016: 236)

### S3.2 Guatusa (Chibchan; Costa Rica)

Guatusa has a ventive prefix *tonh-* that is used for prior AM, as in (S98), and as a directional, as in (S99).

- (S98) *mi-tonh-usírra*  
 1-COME-talk  
 ‘I came to talk.’ (Constenla 1998: 124)
- (S99) *lacá=lha i-tonh-min.*  
 ground=3.on 3-COME-fall  
 ‘He came falling to the ground.’ (Constenla 1998: 124)

### S3.3 Kekchi (Stewart 1980, Hún Macz 2005; Mayan; Guatemala)

Kekchi has a ventive prefix *ol-* illustrated in (S100) that can also combine with an AM prefix *nume’-* which represents doing something while passing by, as in (S101).

- (S100) *x-ol-in-x-b’oq.*  
 COMPL-COME-1SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-call  
 ‘He came to call me.’ (Stewart 1980: 73)
- (S101) *X-ol’-laj-ex-in’-nume’-sak’.*  
 COMPL-COME-REPET-2PL-1SG-WHILE.PASSING-hit  
 ‘As I was coming, I hit each one of you.’ (Hún Macz 2005: 58)

While the ventive prefix is clearly being used for AM in (S100), it can be argued to be functioning as a directional in (S101) since it codes the direction represented by the AM prefix *nume’-*. It is not clear whether the ventive prefix can function as a directional with verbs where the motion is denoted by the verb itself rather than by an AM prefix.

### S3.4 Lowland Chontal (O’Connor 2004; Tequistlatecan; Mexico)

Lowland Chontal has a ventive prefix that can be used either for prior AM, as in (S102), or as a directional, as in (S103).

- (S102) *sago-way-jle'*.  
eat-VENT-IMPV.PL  
'Come and eat!' (O'Connor 2004: 171)
- (S103) *may-ñay-pa kaj- 'mi-pa lane'*.  
go-VENT-PFV.SG leave-into-PFV.SG road  
'He came back (when, because) she threw him out in the street.' (O'Connor 2004: 174)

### S3.5 Sochiapan Chinantec (Chinantecan, Otomanguan; Mexico)

Sochiapan Chinantec has three AM prefixes which also function as directionals. The AM prefixes in this language also vary for tense and mood and for person and number of subject. The ventive prefix *ηia-* in (S104) codes prior motion in addition to future tense and 1SG subject.

- (S104) *ηiá<sup>M</sup>-ɣliá<sup>H</sup>* *tiá<sup>L</sup> kǐ<sup>H</sup> lá<sup>M</sup> ηiú<sup>H</sup>*.  
VENT.IMPRT-push.INAN.IMPRT.2SUBJ SUPPL rock this friend  
'Please come and push this rock, friend.' (Foris 2000: 109)

The same ventive prefix occurs in (S105) where it is functioning as a directional.

- (S105) *ɣa<sup>L</sup> li<sup>M</sup>uu<sup>M</sup> ηia<sup>L</sup>-ɣu<sup>LM</sup>* *siá<sup>ɣL</sup> ɣηiu<sup>LM</sup> hná<sup>HL</sup>*.  
MODR stop VENT.PRES-enter.PROH.2 again house:1SG.POSS 1SG  
'Don't ever come into my home again!' (Foris 2000: 156)

The andative prefixes also function either as markers of prior AM, as in (S106), or as directionals, as in (S107), (unless the intended meaning in this example is 'go and enter').

- (S106) *Kuá<sup>M</sup>-hǐe<sup>H</sup>* *rẽɣ<sup>M</sup>!*  
ANDAT.IMPRT-see.2 sibling.2POSS  
'Go see your sibling!' (Foris 2000: 107)
- (S107) *cá<sup>M</sup> ɣǐ<sup>L</sup> dá<sup>M</sup> ka<sup>L</sup>-ηiǐ<sup>H</sup>-ɣi<sup>LM</sup>* *ηiéi<sup>ɣL</sup>*  
person that.ANIM VERIF PAST-ANDAT-enter.ANIM.3SG inside.3SG  
*ɣηiu<sup>LM</sup> hná<sup>HL</sup>*.  
house.1SG 1SG  
'It was definitely that person who entered my house.' (Foris 2000: 368)

Sochiapan Chinantec has two other AM prefixes, both of which code concurrent motion. The first of these, *ñi<sup>3</sup>-*, which Foris calls the ambulative, is illustrated in (S108). It involves moving around, i.e. random concurrent motion.

- (S108) *ŋiɪL-hui<sup>MH</sup> cú<sup>M</sup> ha<sup>H</sup> ʔŋiɪ<sup>L</sup> ʔi<sup>L</sup> tɛ<sup>ʔML</sup> rãĩ<sup>ʔMH</sup>.*  
 AMB-whistle.3 3PRO among house COMP call.PRES.3 companion.3POSS  
 ‘He walks around in the streets calling his companions.’ (Foris 2000: 104)

This prefix can also be used as a directional with motion verbs, as in (S109).

- (S109) *ʔe<sup>L</sup> ta<sup>MH</sup> ŋiɪL-ŋĩ<sup>ʔH</sup> nú<sup>M</sup> ŋiɪ<sup>H</sup> lá<sup>M</sup>?*  
 what work AMB-walk.2SG 2SG place this  
 ‘Why are you walking around here?’ (Foris 2000: 104)

The second concurrent AM prefix, *ʔi<sup>H</sup>-*, illustrated twice in (S110), is one that apparently differs from the ambulative prefix in that it only codes concurrent motion, without coding direction, while the ambulative codes random concurrent motion. Foris glosses *ʔi<sup>H</sup>-* simply as ‘MOT’.

- (S110) *hãu<sup>M</sup> huõu<sup>LM</sup> cá<sup>M</sup>mĩ<sup>L</sup> hmi<sup>ʔH</sup> ʔi<sup>H</sup>-ʔó<sup>ʔLM</sup> ʔi<sup>L</sup> ʔi<sup>H</sup>-ʔo<sup>M</sup> ...*  
 so many.ANIM woman TERMIN MOT-shout.3 and MOT-cry.3  
 ‘So many women were walking along shouting and crying ...’ (Foris 2000: 111)

This prefix can also occur with verbs of motion, as in (S111), which might seem surprising if it only codes motion, but Foris implies (p. 111) that this use is more common with inanimate subjects (where the motion is nonvolitional).

- (S111) *hlã<sup>ʔH</sup> rɛ<sup>M</sup> ʔi<sup>H</sup>-cau<sup>LM</sup> ʔmã<sup>M</sup>ĩ<sup>ʔLM</sup> lá<sup>M</sup>.*  
 really well MOT-go.3SG wagon this  
 ‘This wagon really moves along well.’ (Foris 2000: 111)

Although this prefix is combining with a motion verb, it is not clear that we should be analysing as directional, since it is not clear that it codes direction, nor is it apparently functioning as a marker of AM, since it does not add a motion event.

### S3.6 Huehuetla Tepehua (Totonacan; Mexico)

Huehuetla Tepehua has a concurrent random motion suffix *-t’ajun*, characterized as ambulative by Kung (2007), illustrated in (S112).

- (S112) *tiix laqxtu=ch juu lhii-t’aqap’a-t’ajun.*  
 why alone=ALREADY REL APPL-get.drunk-AMB.IMPV  
 ‘Why do you go around getting drunk?’ (Kung 2007: 291)

It also functions as a directional, as in (S113), where it combines with a motion verb *ʔalhtanan* ‘walk’ to denote walking with random direction.

- (S113) *maa x-7alhtanan-t'ajun juu laka-x-taanqaa juu*  
 RPT PAST-walk-AMB.IMPV ART CASE-3POSS-bottom ART  
*laka-kin-lakakapen-an.*  
 CASE-1POSS-coffee.field-PL

‘He went around walking below my coffee fields.’ (Kung 2007: 291)

### S3.7 Tetelcingo Nahuatl (Aztecan, Uto-Aztecan; Mexico)

Tetelcingo Nahuatl has a ventive prefix which Tuggy (1979) glosses as ‘hither’ and which is homophonous with the verb stem for ‘come’; it is used for prior AM in (S114) and concurrent motion in (S115) and (S116).

- (S114) *št-k-cahčt-li ihkt-u kiemu nt-k-wal-ıhto.*  
 IMPRT-3SG.OBJ-shout-APPLIC be-DIST like 1SG-3SG.OBJ-HITHER-say  
 ‘Shout to him like I came and said to.’ (Tuggy 1979: 129)

- (S115) *k-wal-teh-tiekt-li in-u pah-tli koš*  
 3SG.OBJ-HITHER-REPET-pour-APPLIC DEM-DIST medicine-ABS whether  
*o-cin-tli.*  
 water-DIM.HON-ABS

‘He comes sprinkling that medicine on him if it is liquid.’ (Tuggy 1979: 132)

- (S116) *wal-yewa-ta-ya.*  
 HITHER-sit.DUR-DUR-IMPV  
 ‘He was coming seated.’ (Tuggy 1979: 84)

In (S117) and (S118), it is used as a directional.

- (S117) *por taha tt-wala ye nt-wal-temu-k.*  
 for 2SG 2SG-come already 1SG-HITHER-descend-PFV  
 ‘Because you came, I’ve managed to get down here.’ (Tuggy 1979: 134)

- (S118) *in-i-nən-ka tli tt-k-wal-ika-k*  
 DEM-PROX-PROX-be that 2SG-3SG.OBJ-HITHER-carry-PFV  
 ‘this here that you brought’ (Tuggy 1979: 126)

Whether the prefix *wal* is directional or concurrent AM in (S118) depends on whether the verb *ika* ‘carry’ counts as a motion verb. If this verb is like the English verb *carry* in entailing motion, then *wal* in (S118) is a directional. On the other hand, if the verb really meant ‘hold’, then one could consider *wal* as expressing concurrent AM. However, in (S119), the verb (*w*)*ika* seems to be unambiguously a motion verb, so (S118) seems to be an example illustrating the use of *wal* as a directional.

- (S119) *yeka o-ki-wika-k.*  
 someone PAST-3SG.OBJ-carry-PFV  
 ‘Somebody took it.’ (Tuggy 1979: 78)

### S3.8 Cora (Corachol, Uto-Aztecan; Mexico)

Cora has an andative prior motion prefix *a’* ‘away’ illustrated in (S120).

- (S120) *áuuh viitʰe a’-u-ta-hée-va ta-váuhsi-mʷa’a.*  
 LOC rains AWAY-COMPL-PFTV-call-HAB 1PL-elder-PL  
 ‘Go off and call back here your elders, The Rains.’ (Casad 1984: 203)

This prefix is also used as a directional, as in (S121).

- (S121) *á’-u-ye’i-mi mʷéeci hamʷan.*  
 AWAY-COMPL-go-DESID you with  
 ‘He wants to go with you.’ (Casad 1984: 240)

### S3.9 Lowland Tarahumara (Tarahumaran, Uto-Aztecan; Mexico)

Lowland Tarahumara has a suffix *-si*, glossed ‘motion’ by Valdez Jara, that is used as a marker of concurrent AM, as in (S122), or as an andative directional, as in (S123).

- (S122) *maha-ga basí-si-le=turu.*  
 scare-CONT throw.stones.at-ASSOC.MOT-PAST=FOCUS  
 ‘Scared, they went throwing stones at him.’ (Valdez Jara 2013: 177)
- (S123) *lége ma-si-é-ko warú rosobócu-go-me gasá-tiri.*  
 downwards run-ASSOC.MOT-PAST-IRREAL big grey-CONT-PTCP grass-LOC  
 ‘It ran away, the big grey one, by the grass.’ (Valdez Jara 2013: 177)

### S3.10 Cupeño (Cupan, Uto-Aztecan; California, USA)

Cupeño has three suffixes that function both as markers of AM and as directionals. The first is a ventive suffix that codes prior AM, as in (S124), or functions as a directional, as in (S125).

- (S124) *Hanaka pem-enew tan-pe’-men-mi’aw.*  
 again 3PL-with dance-3PL-PL-ARRIVE  
 ‘Again they came and danced with them.’ (Hill 2005: 273)
- (S125) *Yaw-mi’aw-wene pem-nemxa-y.*  
 carry-ARRIVE-HABIT 3PL-treasure-OBJ  
 ‘They would bring their treasures.’ (Hill 2005: 274)

The second AM suffix is one that Hill glosses as MOTG for ‘motion going’ and describes the meaning as ‘go off doing, go around doing’. When used with a nonmotion verb, it appears to denote random concurrent motion, as in (S126).

- (S126) *Pa-hal-ngiy-qal.*  
 3SG-look-MOTG-PAST.IMPV.SG  
 ‘He went looking around.’ (Hill 2005: 269)

This suffix also occurs as a directional with motion verbs, as in (S127), where it denotes random motion.

- (S127) *Way-pem-yi-ngiy-wen.*  
 swim-3PL-THEME-MOTG-PAST.IMPV.PL  
 ‘They were swimming around.’ (Hill 2005: 270)

In (S128), however, it seems to denote andative motion.

- (S128) *Mu=ku’ut pe-m peta’a-nim=e keng-pem-yi-ngiy.*  
 and=REPORT DET-PL all-PL=CONTRAST fly-3PL-THEME-MOTG  
 ‘And, it is said, they all flew away.’ (Hill 2005: 338)

In (S129), it seems to have both the andative sense of motion away as well as random motion.

- (S129) *Ta’a-la’a-la’a-la’a-pe-yi-ngiy.*  
 stagger-REPET-REPET-REPET-3SG-THEME-MOTG  
 ‘He went off staggering.’ (Hill 2005: 270)

It is also possible to combine this suffix with the ventive suffix *-mi’aw* illustrated above in (S124) and (S125), where this combination denotes subsequent motion, with the apparent meaning ‘they turned around, they set off towards here’.

- (S130) *Mu=ku’ut pe-m pe-ye wi-w men-pe’-mi’aw-ngiy.*  
 and=REPORT 3SG-PL 3SG-mother two-DUP turn.around-3PL-ARRIVE-MOTG  
 ‘Then he and his mother came back.’ (Hill 2005: 213)

The third AM suffix is a ventive concurrent motion suffix *-veneq ~ -vemax*, illustrated in (S131). Hill glosses this suffix with MOTCA for ‘motion coming along’ and describes it as meaning ‘come along VERBing’.

- (S131) *Qwa’i-veneq.*  
 eat-MOTCA  
 ‘He came eating something on the way.’ (Hill 2005: 271)

This suffix is also used as a directional with motion verbs, as in (S132).

- (S132) *Mu=ku'ut pe' kawisi-sh pe-cha\$hwin-veneq pe-yik.*  
 and=REPORT DET fox-NONPOSS 3SG-crawl-MOTCA 3SG-to  
 'And it is said Fox came crawling toward him.' (Hill 2005: 271)

### S3.11 Shoshone (Numic, Uto-Aztecan; western United States)

Shoshone has an andative prior motion suffix *-gwa(n)*, illustrated in (S133).

- (S133) *Ne reka-gwan-do'i.*  
 1SG eat-DIR-FUT  
 'I'm going somewhere to eat.' (Shaul 2012: 108)

This suffix is also used as a directional, as in (S134).

- (S134) *Go'e-gwan daga Ijape!*  
 return-DIR only coyote  
 'Just go back (where you came from), Coyote.' (Shaul 2012: 108)

### A3.12 Panamint (Numic, Uto-Aztecan; California, United States)

Panamint has four AM morphemes that are also used as directionals. One is a ventive suffix *-(k)kin* illustrated in (S135), where it denotes prior motion.

- (S135) *Sümü-ttü-sü ma tükka-kin-tu'ih.*  
 one-NUM-ABS 3SG.OBJ eat-HITHER-FUT  
 'One will come and eat it.' (Dayley 1989: 65)

In (S136), however, it codes concurrent motion.

- (S136) *hipi-kkin*  
 drink-HITHER  
 'coming drinking' (Dayley 1989: 421)

This suffix is also used as a directional, as in (S137) and (S138).

- (S137) *Satü süngkia-kin-na.*  
 that stagger-HITHER-NONFUT  
 'He is coming staggering.' (Dayley 1989: 66)
- (S138) *Patümmu piiya hima-kkin-tu'ih.*  
 liquor.buyer beer carry:PL.OBJ-HITHER-FUT  
 'The liquor buyer will bring some beers.' (Dayley 1989: 65)

There is also an andative suffix *-(k)kwan*, illustrated in (S139) and (S140). In (S139), it involves prior motion, while in (S140), it appears to involve concurrent motion.

- (S139) *Nü hipi-kwan-tu'ih.*  
 1sg drink-ANDAT-FUT  
 'I will go and drink.' (Dayley 1989: 66)

- (S140) *Nüüü ma kwüüü-kkwan-tu'ih.*  
 1SG 3SG.OBJ catch-ANDAT-FUT  
 'I'm going away catching it.' (Dayley 1989: 66)

The andative suffix is also used as a directional, as in (S141) and (S142).

- (S141) *Ma tüpuni, tammü mia-kkwan-tu'ih.*  
 IMPER wake.up 1PL.INCL go-ANDAT-FUT  
 'Wake up so we can go.' (Dayley 1989: 50)

- (S142) *Mungku mimi'a-kwan-tu'ih.*  
 2DU go.DUAL-ANDAT-FUT  
 'You two are going away.' (Dayley 1989: 130)

The other two suffixes are used for concurrent AM or as directionals. The first of them, -*kon* ~ -*koC*, denotes random concurrent motion, as in (S143).

- (S143) *Sa-tü sa-kka u pakka-ngkü-kop-pühantü.*  
 that-SUBJ.SG that-OBJ.SG 3SG.OBJ kill-APPLIC-AROUND-PAST  
 'He went around killing that for him.' (Dayley 1989: 65)

This suffix is also used as a directional with motion verbs, as in (S144).

- (S144) *Supe'e kaakki yütsü-kom-mi-nna.*  
 that.time crow fly-AROUND-ITER-NONFUT  
 'Then crow was flying all around.' (Dayley 1989: 65)

The second concurrent suffix -(n)*noo(h)* denotes 'continuous, while in motion', illustrated in (S145) and (S146).

- (S145) *Nü nukkwintüm pa'a katü-nooh-on-to'eh.*  
 1SG train on sit-CONTIN.IN.MOTION-DEF-FUT  
 'I will get to ride on a train.' (Dayley 1989: 84)

- (S146) *hipi-nnooh*  
 drink-CONTIN.IN.MOTION  
 'go along drinking' (Dayley 1989: 421)

Dayley's description of this suffix suggests that it is neutral with respect to direction, that it does not code random motion. However, it also occurs as a directional on motion verbs, as in (S147), where it appears to denote random motion.



- (S147) *So'oppütü yoti-**nnoo**-nna.*  
 many fly-CONTIN.IN.MOTION-NONFUT  
 'Many are flying around.' (Dayley 1989: 160)

Example (S148) is similar, except that here the verb root does not denote motion, but the motion derives from the use of the ventive suffix.

- (S148) *Sa-tü tu-kutti-**nnoo**-hin-na.*  
 that-SUBJ.SG ANTIPASS-shoot-CONTIN.IN.MOTION-HITHER-NONFUT  
 'He is coming along shooting things.' (Dayley 1989: 84)

It is not clear how *-kom* and *-nnoo(h)* differ, either as markers of AM or as directionals, although the description suggests that the latter implies continuous motion in a way that the former does not.

### S3.13 Northern Paiute (Numic, Uto-Aztecan; western United States)

Northern Paiute has two suffixes that are used both as markers of AM and as directionals. First, there is an andative prior motion suffix *-ga ~ -kya* (that Thornes calls translocative), illustrated in (S149).

- (S149) *tammi=sakwa winai-**ga**-kwi.*  
 1PL.INCL=HORT fish-TRANSL-FUT  
 'Let's go fishing.' (Thornes 2003: 92)

This suffix is also used as a directional, as in (S150) and (S151).

- (S150) *yaisi owiu yotsi-u-**ga**-ʔyakwi tui=hau=tui.*  
 then there fly.SG-PUNC-TRANSL-HABIT any=how=any  
 '... and it would fly off from there in every direction.' (Thornes 2003: 186)

- (S151) *hanno=sakwo ta wii-**kya**.*  
 where=HORT 1DU descend-TRANSL  
 'Which way should we go down?' (Thornes 2003: 408)

There is a second AM suffix *-(ʔ)nimi*, which denotes random concurrent motion. This suffix is more specifically singular, with a distinct corresponding suffix denoting plural random motion. It involves concurrent motion, as in (S152) and (S153).

- (S152) *tihoawai-**nimi** ni*  
 hunt-RANDOM.SG 1SG  
 'I've been hunting around.' (Thornes 2003: 417)

- (S153) *himma i wati-wini-**nimi**?*  
 what 2SG look.for-CONT.SG-RNDM.SG  
 'What are you looking around for?' (Thornes 2003: 480)

This suffix is also used as a directional with motion verbs, as in (S154) and (S155).

- (S154) *obi tia? nimmi-?nimi-?yakwi paana kai mi=punni ...*  
 DEM thusly wander-RANDOM.SG-HABIT PROH NEG PL=see.DUR  
 ‘So he would wander around, but didn’t see them ...’ (Thornes 2003: 462)

- (S155) *u-ma kwitzo?ai ka oo yodzi-kya?i-nimi-?yakwi, mi?i.*  
 3-INST survive PTCL so fly.SG-around-RANDOM.SG-HAB QUOT  
 ‘By living on that, it would fly all around, they say.’ (Thornes 2003: 507)

### S3.14 Ineseño Chumash (Chumashan; California, United States)

Ineseño Chumash has a ventive prefix *akti-* that is used for prior AM, as in (S156).

- (S156) *s-akti-kep’*  
 3SG-COME-bathe  
 ‘he comes to bathe’ (Applegate 1972: 339)

But it can also be used as a directional. In fact the normal way to express ‘come’ in this language is to combine the ventive prefix with the verb stem for ‘go’, as in (S157).

- (S157) *kay-wun’ siš-akti-na?*  
 3-PL 3DU-COME-go  
 ‘The two of them are coming.’ (Applegate 1972: 560)

The ventive is also used in one of the ways to express ‘bring’, as in (S158) (though this is also built on the stem for ‘go’ in the sense of ‘go with’).

- (S158) *s-akti-nu-na-lit asuksuk’u?*  
 3SG.SUBJ-COME-CONCOM-go-1SG.OBJ something  
 ‘He brings me something.’ (Applegate 1972: 172)

### S3.15 Creek (Muskogean; southeastern United States)

Creek has a ventive prefix *y-* that is used either for prior AM, as in (S159), or as a directional, as in (S160).

- (S159) ... *ma ’ciłakko-calá:h-i-ta:t mô:m-os-in y-in-hoyêyt-in ...*  
 that horse-spotted-DUR-FOCUS be.so:RESULT-DIM-DS VENT-DAT-stand.SG.PFV-DS  
 ‘... the spotted horse came and stood before him ...’ (Martin 2011: 324)

- (S160) ... *y-o:ss-ít.*  
 VENT-go.out:SG-SS  
 ‘[He would return to exactly where he had gone under] and come out.’ (Martin 2011: 234)

### S3.16 Kwak'wala (Northern Wakashan; west coast of Canada)

Kwak'wala has a suffix  $-(g)\partial l$ , illustrated in (S161) and (S162) that is used for AM, although it is not clear from the examples whether it denotes prior motion or concurrent motion, though I treat it as concurrent motion for the purposes of this study.

- (S161) *həmsayalagəlis*  
*həms-(gə)ʔala-(g)əl-ʔis*  
 pick.berry-LOOK.FOR-**DIR.ATEL**-OUTDOOR  
 'go looking for berries' (Rosenblum 2015: 297)

- (S162) ... *ʔálegəls* *laχida* *wəqəs.*  
*ʔale-gəl-!s* *la=χida* *wəqes.*  
 look.for-**DIR.ATEL**-GROUND PREP=DEM frog  
 '[The boy and his dog left the house and] went to look for frog.' (Rosenblum 2015: 309)

This suffix is also used as a directional with motion verbs. In (S163), it seems to have the meaning 'along' rather than 'to' or 'from'.

- (S163) *qadʔəlxuweʔ*  
*qas-ʔ(g)əl-xuweʔ*  
 walk-**DIR.ATEL**-TOP.EDGE  
 'walk along the ridge of hill' (Rosenblum 2015: 302)

And in (S164), it seems to have andative meaning, indicating motion away from the ground, represented by the final suffix.

- (S164) *pəʔəʔl's*  
*pəʔ-(g)əl-!s*  
 fly-**DIR.ATEL**-GROUND  
 'to fly (up) from the ground' (Rosenblum 2015: 302)

### S3.17 Menomini (Algonquian, Algic; central U.S.)

Menomini has a ventive preverb *pes-* ~ *pec-*, as in *pes-me-cehsow* 'he comes here to eat' and *neqnema-w ne-pes-ohsε-hkam* 'I have come here to get some tobacco' (p. 217). In these two preceding examples, this preverb denotes prior AM, but it also combines with motion verbs as a directional, as in *pec-piatε-t* 'when he arrived here' and *eneq pes-ke-wε'yah* 'then he came back here'.

### S3.18 Ojibwa (Algonquian, Algic; eastern Canada and U.S.)

Ojibwa has two morphemes that are used either as markers of AM or as directionals. The first is a ventive morpheme *bi-* that is used either for prior AM, as in (S165), or as a directional, as in (S166).

- (S165) *gi:biwi:sni.*  
*gi:-bi-wi:sni-w.*  
 PAST-COME-eat-3  
 ‘He came to eat.’ (Rhodes 1976: 252)
- (S166) *w-gike-nd-a:n      wi:-bi-dgošn-ini-d      bi:ye:n-an.*  
 3-know-OBV.OBJ    FUT-COME-arrive-OBV-3    Peter-OBV  
 ‘He knows that Peter will come.’ (Rhodes 1976: 203)

The second is either a marker of random concurrent AM, illustrated in (S167), or a directional, also with random meaning, as in (S168).

- (S167) *bba:-mo:nhaškkiwe:.*  
*biba:-mo:nah-maškikiw-e:-w.*  
 AROUND-dig-medicine-INCORP-3  
 ‘He is gathering medicinal herbs.’ (Rhodes 1976: 265)
- (S168) *bba:mbato:.*  
*biba:m-bato:-w.*  
 AROUND-run-3  
 ‘He is running around.’ (Rhodes 1976: 244)

### S3.19 Cree (Algonquian, Algic; Canada)

Cree also has a ventive preverb *pê-* illustrated in (S169), where it denotes prior AM.

- (S169) *nipâpa      wîsakisin      pîkonam      oskât      pê-wîcihinân.*  
*ni-pâpa      wîsakisin-w      pîkon-am-w      o-skât      pê-wîcihi-nân.*  
 1POSS-father    fall-3      break-INAN.OBJ-3    3POSS-leg    COME-help-1PL  
 ‘My father fell and broke his leg, come and help us!’ (Cook 2014: 89)

However, this preverb can also be used as a directional with motion verbs, as in (S170).

- (S170) *ê-pê-kîwê-t      Jeff    ni-kî-mîciso-nân.*  
 CH.CONJ-COME-go.home    Jeff    1SUBJ-PAST-eat-1PL  
 ‘When Jeff came home, then we ate.’ (Cook 2014: 79)

### S3.20 Malecite-Passamaquoddy (Algonquian, Algic; Maine, northeastern U.S., and New Brunswick, eastern Canada)

Malecite-Passamaquoddy has a ventive preverb *pét- ~ péc ~ péci-*, that is used for prior AM, as in (S171), or for concurrent AM, as in (S172), or as a directional, as in (S173) and (S174).

- (S171) *h-pét-təmúm-a-l*  
 3-ARRIVE-hire-DIR-3OBV  
 ‘he comes and hires the other’ (LeSourd 1993: 282)
- (S172) *pét-témo*  
 ARRIVE-cry.3  
 ‘he comes crying’ (LeSourd 1993: 283)
- (S173) *péc-óhse*  
 ARRIVE-walk.3  
 ‘he comes walking’ (LeSourd 1993: 378)
- (S174) *pécí-ph-â*  
 ARRIVE-carry-PASS.3  
 ‘he arrives being carried’ (LeSourd 1993: 68)

### S3.21 Chimariko (Isolate; California, U.S.)

Chimariko has an unusual sort of andative prior motion suffix *-(yu)wu*, which means ‘to go back somewhere to do something’, as in (S175).

- (S175) *n-ixoda-yuwu*  
 IMPER.SG-watch-RT  
 ‘go back and look at him!’ (Jany 2009: 108)

This suffix appears to add to the basic andative prior motion meaning the presupposition that the subject has already traveled in the opposite direction and will be returning to the starting point of this earlier movement. This suffix seems to be specifically andative since not only do all the examples involve going back, but there is a verb *aʔatok* meaning specifically ‘come back’, illustrated in (S176).

- (S176) *h-aʔatok-yaʔ-kon.*  
 3-return.hither-AGAIN-FUT  
 ‘He is going to come back.’ (Jany 2009: 42)

This suffix also appears to function as an directional, since it occurs with the motion verb *atqa* ‘take away’ in (S177) and with the verb *iwo* ‘fall over’ in (S178).

- (S177) *h-atqa-wu-k-ta* *šəvəl-op.*  
 3-take.away-RET-PAST-3PL.NONSPEC shovel-DEF  
 ‘They took the shovel away from him.’ (Jany 2009: 211)
- (S178) *h-iwo-wu-k-ta.*  
 3-fall.over-RET-DIR-ASP  
 ‘He fell over backwards.’ (Jany 2009: 41)

See §S4.1 and §S4.4 below for two similar morphemes in two Australian languages.

### S3.22 Tonkawa (Isolate; south-central U.S.)

Tonkawa has a pair of suffixes *-ta* and *-na* which are ventive and andative and appear to be concurrent motion suffixes, as in *naw-ta* ‘to come along setting fires’, *naw-na* ‘to go off setting fires’, *na·xsok-ta* ‘to come raiding’, and *na·xsok-na* ‘to go off raiding’. These also function as directionals, as in *yancicxil-ta* ‘to come running’ and *yancicxil-na* ‘to run off’.

## S4. Australia

There are four languages discussed in this section. They represent three branches of the Pama-Nyungan family, though ones that are in geographical proximity to each other.

### S4.1 Mparntwe Arrernte (Arandic, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)

Mparntwe Arrernte has two suffixes that can be used either for concurrent AM or as directionals. The first is a ventive suffix *-intye*, illustrated in (S179) and (S180), the former illustrating concurrent AM, the latter functioning as a directional.

- (S179) *Kenhe kwele artwe just arlenge-nge-anteye ar-intye-ke.*  
 but QUOT man just far-ABL-as.well see-DO.COMING-PAST.COMPL  
 ‘But supposedly the man had just seen (everything) from afar as he came.’  
 (Wilkins 1989: 319)

- (S180) ... *artnerr-intye-p-intye-rlenge.*  
 crawl-DO.COMING-FREQ-DO.COMING-DS  
 ‘[... started rapidly taking out the burrs, prickles, and thorns that had stuck into the baby] as it had come crawling along. (Wilkins 1989: 531)

The second is a reversative suffix *-irtne* that functions as a marker of concurrent AM in (S181) but as a directional in (S182). In both cases, there is the implication that the motion involves returning to a previous location.

- (S181) *Nthenhe arrantherre arlkw-irtne-tyenhe Thursday-nge?*  
 where 2PL(A) eat-REVERS-NONPAST.COMPL Thursday-ABL  
 ‘Where will you eat on your way back on Thursday?’ (Wilkins 1989: 277)

- (S182) *Kele arrpenhe-le tyarre-kng-irtne-ke.*  
 OK other-ERG pull.out-carry/take-REVERS-PAST.COMPL  
 ‘So the other one dragged him back (towards the water).’ (Wilkins 1989: 277)

#### S4.2 Kaytetye (Arandic, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)

Kaytetye has at least two suffixes that function either as markers of AM or as directionals. The first is a ventive suffix *-yernalpe* that codes concurrent AM in (S183) but is a directional in (S184).

- (S183) *Ware ampe-yernalpe-rrane mwernart-atheke.*  
 fire burn-**WHILE.COMING-PROG** this.way-toward  
 ‘The bushfire is burning in this direction.’ (Koch 1984: 30)

- (S184) *Mwernart-atheke erntwe-yernalpe-rranytye.*  
 this.way-toward push-**WHILE.COMING-PROG**  
 ‘(They) are pushing (the car) this way.’ (Koch 1984: 30)

The second is an andative suffix *-layte ~ -rrayte* that marks subsequent AM in (S185) but functions as a directional in (S186).

- (S185) *Alarre-layte-nke nhartepe kwerarte-pe atnwenhe-pe.*  
 kill-**AND.GO-PRES** that.ACC it.ACC-TOP animal.ACC-TOP  
 ‘(The hawk) kills that animal and goes off.’ (Koch 1984: 29)

- (S186) *alhwenge-theye artnpe-rrayte-nye.*  
 hole-ABS run-**AND.GO-PAST**  
 ‘[The goanna] ran away from its hole.’ (Koch 1984: 29)

#### S4.3 Wirangu (Thura-Yura, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)

Wirangu has a suffix *-gad* that is used for concurrent AM, as in (S187).

- (S187) *Signpost balgi-rn-gad-na.*  
 signpost shoot-**PRES-GO-PAST**  
 ‘(They) shot at the signposts as they were traveling along.’ (Hercus 1999: 131)

In (S188), it is functioning as a directional, with what appears to be andative direction. This suggests that the use as an AM marker may also be andative.

- (S188) *Indhala nyurni wina-rn-gad-n?*  
 where you walk-**PRES-GO-PRES**  
 ‘Where are you walking off to?’ (Hercus 1999: 131)

#### S4.4 Arabana (Karnic, Pama-Nyungan; Australia)

Arabana has a suffix *-thika* that codes returning somewhere. It denotes prior AM in (S189) and concurrent AM in (S190), while it functions as a directional in (S191).

- (S189) *Pitha-palti-nha kanhangarda kaRu thawi-thika-rna.*  
 Pitha-palti-PROP there thither throw-**RETURN-IMPV**  
 ‘(The place called) Pitha-palti-nha, that is where we went back to throw it away.’  
 (Hercus 1994: 89)
- (S190) *KaRu uka-ru tharki-tharki-l-thika-rna pirra-maka.*  
 there he-ERG show-show-BEN-**RETURN-IMPV** message-stick  
 ‘He went back, showing people the message stick (on his way).’ (Hercus 1994: 208)
- (S191) *Antha wadna-thika-rnda.*  
 I run-**RETURN-PRES**  
 ‘I’m running back (to last night’s camping place).’ (Hercus 1994: 207)

### S5. Imonda (Border family; Papua New Guinea)<sup>2</sup>

The sole language discussed in §S5 is the only language from New Guinea in the sample. Imonda has a ventive suffix *-pia* that functions either as a marker of concurrent motion, as in (S192) or as a directional, as in (S193).

- (S192) *ne-m ka heual-ōb-i-pia-fna.*  
 2-GOAL 1 hear-NON.SG-LINK-**COME-PROG**  
 ‘I came here hearing you.’ (Seiler 1985: 125)
- (S193) *tetoad paiha-i-pia-n.*  
 bird fly-LINK-**COME-PAST**  
 ‘The bird came flying.’ (Seiler 1985: 108)

### S6. Karbi (Kuki-Chin-Naga, Sino-Tibetan; India, Bangladesh)

The sole language discussed in §S6 is the only language from Eurasia in the sample. Karbi has a ventive proclitic *nang=* that Konnerth (2014) calls cislocative, that functions either as an indicator of prior motion, as in (S194), or as a directional, as in (S195)

- (S194) ... *lasō nang=k-làng-dūn=ta.*  
 this **CISLOC-NMLZ-see-along=ADDIT**  
 ‘... they came to watch this.’ (Konnerth 2014: 232)

<sup>2</sup> The Imonda constructions generally involve directional-motion morphemes that also function as verb stems on their own. But in the directional-motion constructions, the form consists of verb root + motion verb root forming a single verb stem and this construction is apparently restricted to compounds where the second verb is a motion verb, so I take this to be grammaticalized. Seiler cites examples of the verbs for ‘go’, ‘go up’, ‘come up’ and ‘come back’ being used for concurrent or subsequent associated motion, but no clear examples as directionals.



(S195) ... *a-pō*      *abàng=tā*      *nang=sūn-tùk-lò*.  
                  POSS-father   NPDŁ=ADDIT   CISŁOC=descend-sound.of.steps-REAL  
                  ‘... the father came down ...’ (Konnerth 2014: 230)

## Abbreviations

1	first person
12	first person plural inclusive
1/2	first or second person
1PL	first person plural
1POSS	first person possessor
1SG	first person singular
2	second person
2DU	second person dual
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
2SUBJ	second person subject
3	third person
3DU	third person dual
3M	third person masculine
3PL	third person plural
3POSS	third person possessor
3PRO	third person pronoun
3SG	third person singular
3SUBJ	third person subject
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADL	adlative
ADDIT	additive
AFF	affirmative
ALL	allative
AMB	ambulative
ANDAT	andative
ANIM	animate
ANTIC	anticipatory
ANTIPASS	antipassive
APPLIC	applicative
ART	article
ASP	aspect
ASSOC.MOT	associated motion
ATEL	atelic
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CENTRIF	centrifugal

CENTRIP	centripetal
CH.CONJ	changed conjunct
CISLOC	cislocative
CLFSR	classifier
COMIT	comitative
COMP	complementizer
COMPL	completive
CON	conversational register
CONCOM	concomitant action
CONN	connective/connector
CONT	continuative
CONTIN	continuous
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DEP	dependent
DESID	desiderative
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
DIR.VEN	ventive directional
DIST	distal
DIST.PAST	distant past
DISTR	distributive
DS	different subject
DUR	durative
DYN	dynamic
ELV	elative
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
EXCL	exclusive
F	feminine
FAM	familiar
FEM	feminine
FREQ	frequentative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
HORT	hortative
HSY	hearsay
IMPRT	imperative
IMPV	imperfective
INAN	inanimate

INCEPT	inceptive
INCL	inclusive
INCOMPL	incompletive
INCORP	incorporation
INDEP	independent
INF	infinitive
INTENS	intensifier
INTR	intransitive
INTR.S	intransitive subject
IPFV	imperfective
IRREAL	irrealis
IT	itive
ITER	iterative
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MASC	masculine
MODR	moderative
MOT	(associated) motion
MOTCA	motion coming along
MOTG	motion going
NAR	narrative register
NC	noun class marker
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NON.SG	nonsingular
NONFUT	nonfuture
NON.PROX	non-proximal to addressee
NONPOSS	non-posessed
NONSPEC	nonspecific
NONIS	nonvisible
NPDL	noun phrase delimiter
NUM	numeral
OBLG	obligative
OBJ	object
OBV	obviative
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROP	proper noun marker
PROX	proximal
PTCL	particle
PTCPL	participle

PURP	purpose
Q	question
QUOT	quotative
REAL	realis
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relativizer
REM.PAST	remote past
REPET	repetitive
REPORT	reportative
RESULT	resultative stative
RETURN	returnative
REVERS	reversative
RT	round trip
S	intransitive subject
SG	singular
SIMUL	simultaneous
SPEC	specific
SS	same subject
SUBORD	subordinate
SUBJ	subject
SUFF	suffix
SUPPL	supplication
SW.REF	switch reference
TAG	tag
TERMIN	terminative
TOP	topic
TRANS	transitive
TRNSL	translocative
UNSPEC	underspecified verb
TSL	translocative
VBLZ	verbalizer
VENT	ventive
VERIF	verificational

## References

References for those items cited in the Supplementary Materials (a separate list of references for those items cited in the main body of the chapter immediately follows the main body)

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