CHAPTER 5: Polysemy of motion verbs

“The verbs that describe movement are first learned, most frequently used, and conceptually dominant.”

Miller & Johnson-Laird 1977: 527

This chapter develops an analysis of motion verbs in Ladakhi. Although it is being observed in previous research on lexical semantics that the prepositions are the most polysemous in languages like English (Taylor, 1989: 109); verbs are found to be the most polysemous in Ladakhi (Tashi, ‘in press’).

Motion verbs typically profile, or focus on, parts of the complex SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema. To come, to arrive, to reach and to bring inherently profile the goal of a movement whereas the verbs like to go, to leave, to depart and to take inherently profile the source of a movement, and to move, to pass, to travel inherently profile the path of a movement. Radden (1996) schematized the situation of the deictic motion verbs come and go as follows:
Before I start the actual analysis of motion verbs in Ladakhi, let us look at some approaches to the study of deictic motion verbs.

5.1. The approaches

There have been two major approaches to the semantics of deictic motion verbs: (i) the classical approach based on the concept of “deictic center” (Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000; Oe 1975, Nakazawa 2006), and (ii) Fillmore’s (1966, 1971, 1975, 1982, 1983) approach based on the notions of person, space and time. This section provides a brief review of Talmy’s and Fillmore’s approaches.

5.1.1. Motion-from-the-center vs. Motion-toward-the-center (Talmy 1975, 1985)

It has been commonly believed that GO describes motion from the deictic center, whereas COME describes motion toward the deictic center (Talmy 1975, 2000; Oe 1975, among others; of. Wilkins and Hill 1995).

According to Talmy, deictic motion verbs are a kind of Path-conflating verbs, in which “the deictic component of Path typically has only the two member notions “toward the deictic center”. In Talmy’s framework motion events are
analyzed as consisting of an object (the Figure) and its movement through a path (the Path) with respect to another reference objects (the Ground). MOVE is an abstract verb which represents motion in a Motion event, and TOWARD is a component of the Path called Vector. The Vector expresses “the basic types of arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figural schema can execute with respect to a Ground schema” (Talmy 2000: 53), and is represented in terms of abstract prepositions, called “deep prepositions”, such as TOAWARD and TO. It expresses the meaning of a preposition as well as the Path information conflated within the semantics of motion verbs. The Conformation is another component of the Path and specifies the spatial relation of the Path to the Ground.

5.1.2. Fillmore’s Person-based Analysis

Fillmore’s classic works (1966, 1971, 1975, 1982, 1983) are often taken as showing how complex coming and going verbs really are. He analyses the use conditions of these verbs in terms of the deictic categories of person, place and time. The relevant parameters of person are: speaker and addressee; of place the goal of motion; and of time, coding time and reference time. Coding time is defined by Fillmore as the time of the speech or communication act, and reference time as “the point or period that is the temporal focus (…) for the event (…) described in the clause” (Fillmore 1971: 52). Fillmore (1997, among others) characterizes the distribution of English go and come as follows:
1. *Come* indicates motion towards {the location at the utterance time, the location at the event time, or the “home base” of {the speaker or the addressee}.

2. *Go* indicates motion toward a location distinct from the speaker’s location at the utterance time.

To begin with, the following section attempts an analysis of the polysemy of the deictic motion verbs ḷəɔ ‘come’ and ḷə ‘go’ in Ladakhi in terms of prototypes, image-schemas (such as SOURCE, PATH and GOAL), as well as metaphor that are central to Cognitive Linguistics and shows the possible semantic extensions.

**5.2. The deictic motion verbs**

In most languages *coming* and *going* verbs are assumed to have a deictic in nature. Motion, i.e. change of location plays an important role both in our perceptual organization and in our conceptualization of reality through the use of language. Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) argue that our understanding of motion is based on an abstract image schema which includes SOURCE, PATH, GOAL and DIRECTION as its structural elements.

The SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema typically involves a force which imparts a vector, i.e., a directionality, on the moving object. Forces are experienced in a causal chain, they have origins, directions and paths of motion.
Radden (1996) observes that the most typical verbs of motion in English—as in probably most other languages—are the deictic motion verbs *to come* and *to go*. These are also the two verbs that are most commonly used to express changes of state. Let us first look at the Ladakhi deictic motion verbs 

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which have number of extended senses. The prototype meaning of the deictic motion verb *joŋ* ‘come’ denotes movement of an animate towards the speaker whereas the deictic motion verb *tʃʰa* ‘go’ denotes movement of an animate away from the speaker.

5.2.1. **The deictic motion verb joŋ ‘come’**

The diverse uses of *joŋ* ‘come’ in example 1 below are grouped under three major categories: one signifies ‘prototypical’ meaning (spatial motion); the second designates ‘non-prototypical’ in physical domain and the third shows ‘metaphorically extended’ meanings (change of state). These three major senses are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from physical space to mental space and change of state.

(A) **Prototypical meaning of joŋ (spatial motion verb)**

The domain for the spatial motion verb *joŋ* is physical space. There is a spatial movement of the theme; that is, the theme (animate) physically moves
through a spatial path towards a concrete location. Consider the following example:

1. joŋ ‘come’ (LEUD: AH)

kʰo lena dir nam joŋs
he leh-abl here when come-pst
‘When did he come here from Leh?’

Within the senses of physical domain, the most central meaning of the verb joŋ is almost same as “come” in English. In this sense, in example 1 above, the motion is towards a landmark (speaker’s position), a spatial location and provides the prototypical sense of joŋ ‘come’. The destination of the theme is the primary landmark and thus profiled. The secondary landmark is the theme’s departure point, the SOURCE, which is also profiled.

(B) Non-prototypical meanings of joŋ (in physical domain)

While the domain for the spatial motion verb joŋ is physical space, in the following examples, it is found that the inanimate theme moves through a spatial path towards a concrete location. Consider the following examples:

1.1 ‘flow down’ (Additional)

rina tʰu joŋduk
mountain-abl water come-pr
‘Water flows down from the mountain.’

1.2 ‘fall down’ (Additional)

\texttt{thok pikana lu\-skor bute jons}

ceiling-abl fan detach-pp come-pst

The fan got detached from the ceiling and fell down.’

In example 1.1, the motion is of inanimate subject ‘water’ that flows from SOURCE ‘mountain’, a spatial location. The SOURCE is the secondary landmark and thus profiled here. In the case of example 1.2, the motion is also of inanimate subject ‘fan’ that detaches from SOURCE ‘ceiling’, a spatial location. The SOURCE is the secondary landmark and thus profiled.

In these examples, the meanings remain physical, although it is not the same as the prototypical meaning as in example 1. There has been a metaphorical shift from the prototypical physical meaning of ‘\textit{jons}’ (animate movement) to a different physical domain (inanimate movement). A similar shift is found in other examples too. Consider the following example:

1.3 ‘fall (e.g. of snow, rain)’ (Additional)

\texttt{rgun la ka ma\-bo jons}

winter-loc snow much come-pst

‘There was much snow fall in winter.’
In example 1.3, the motion is of inanimate theme ‘snow’ that falls from a SOURCE which is backgrounded and thus not profiled here. The phrase ‘SOURCE is backgrounded’ indicates that the SOURCE can be pointed out but in this case it is not profiled, hence backgrounded. The SOURCES can be observed clearly in the case of the following examples.

1.4 ‘be available’ (Additional)

\[
di \text{g}os\text{lak}\text{p}o \text{mar}poe\text{a}ŋ \text{j}oŋ\text{aman}\text{ok}
\]

this dress red-loc come-neg-v.be

‘This dress is not available in red color.’

1.5 ‘be enough’ (LEUD: AH)

\[
goslak \text{t}sem\text{ba} \text{ras}po \text{maj}oŋs
\]

dress stitch-inf cloth neg-come-pst

‘The cloth was not enough to stitch dress.’

The meanings in examples 1.4 & 1.5 above are extended to refer to the motions ‘be available’ (from the state of availability to non-availability of things), ‘be enough’ (from cloth to dress) respectively in the physical domain but within the physical domain the SOURCES are unknown in some instances. Consider the following examples:

1.6 ‘exist’ (Additional)

\[
ladaksla \text{dzaŋgi} \text{nuŋtse j}oŋ\text{duk}
\]
Ladakh-loc mosquitoes fewer come-pr
‘There exist fewer mosquitoes in Ladakh.’

1.7 ‘fill (e.g. of tear in eyes)’ (Additional)

\[\text{tutpas base migiaŋ tʃʰima joŋs} \]
smoke-erg due to eye-loc tears come-pst
‘The eyes were filled with tears due to the smoke.’

1.8 ‘grow’ (Additional)

\[\text{ʃotʃʰokсла tsandаn məbo joŋduk} \]
south-loc sandalwood lots of come-pr
‘Sandalwood grows in abundance in South.’

The properties that can explain the extended meanings ‘exist’ (flying of mosquitoes), ‘fill’ (filling of tears in eyes), & ‘grow’ (growing of sandalwood) in examples 1.6 to 1.8 respectively. In these examples, there is a physical motion of inanimate themes.

(C) **Non-prototypical meanings of joŋ** (metaphorical extensions in changes of states)

Spatial motion and change of state (in abstract sense) are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from physical space to mental space, as well as from an objective to a subjective perspective. In the former the speaker sets up his viewpoint within the theme’s destination, which is a concrete location, and tracks the whole motion objectively through a spatial path.
For the latter, the speaker conceptually takes the theme’s “destination”, which is not a concrete location, but rather another process, as reference point, and views the whole thing as progressing through a mental path. Therefore, there may not exist a spatial motion nor any concrete locations at all, but rather some kind of conceptualized “motion” and “locations”. Metaphorical extension refers to the mappings across conceptual domains, from the source domain to the target, in which entities exhibit resemblances (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

It is commonly agreed among metaphor researchers that not everything from the source domain gets mapped onto the target domain. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 52) call this partial map of the structure of the source domain the ‘used’ part of metaphor.

Radden (1996) states that from a descriptive point of view, motion, i.e., change of location, might best be subcategorized as a particular type of change along with change of state, change in time, etc. and from an experientialist point of view, however, motional changes are seen as more basic and salient than other types of changes, which are metaphorically understood.

The conceptual metaphor CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION, or CHANGE IS MOTION, appears to be highly motivated and probably universal. Motion metaphors are well-motivated, and they also bound in describing in terms of motion such basic events as changes of state, external
events, actions, forces, and time as well as more specific events such as life, love, careers or development in general (Radden, 1996: 424-5).

The change of state expresses the phase preceding an entity’s transition to a new state. The metaphorical motion ends in a state which is seen as a new beginning. The topological elements of the motion schema, PATH and GOAL are directly mapped onto the structure of change of state. Consider the following examples:

1.9 ‘acquire’ (Additional)

mane tonna  kʰe-raṅaa  ge-wa  jōntsan

mantra chant-cond  you-dat  virtue  come-fut

‘If (you) chant the particular kind of Mantra called ‘Mane mantra’ you will acquire virtue.’

1.10 ‘bring into’ (Additional)

ŋaa  spetja  ioa  ma-jons

I-dat  text  memory-dat  neg-come-pst

‘I could not memorize the text.’

1.11 ‘return to’ (Additional)

ŋaa  ni  tʃʰuṅtusi  skorla  itu  jons

I-dat  my  childhood  about  remembrance  come-pst

‘I remembered about my childhood.’

1.12 ‘feel sleepy’ (LED: RN)
kʰoa ɲit joŋduk

he-dat sleep come-pr

‘He feels sleepy.’

1.13 get cold’ (LED: RN)

ŋaa daŋ tʃʰampa jɔŋs

I-dat yesterday cold come-pst

‘I was affected with cold yesterday.’

1.14 become’ (LEUD: AH)

kʰoa ʂo ʂaŋte jɔŋs

he-dat anger much come-pst

‘He became much angry.’

1.15 ‘smell’ (LED: RN)

kʰardʒi ʒagmaŋs borna tʃima rtsokpojoŋtʃan

food day-many keep-cond smell bad come-fut

‘If (you) keep the food many days, it will develop bad smell.’

1.16 ‘rise (dough)’ (LED: RN)

taki tʃoa bakzanpoa skʃur maŋsuŋk

chapatti do-inf dough-dat sour neg-come-pst,perf

‘The dough didn’t turn sour for making chapatti.’
In examples 1.9 to 1.16, the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to ‘acquire’ (the state of before and after acquiring virtue), ‘bring into’ (the state of ability to non-ability of memorization), ‘remember’ (the state of disregard to remembrance), ‘feel’ (unsleeping state to sleeping), ‘be affected’ (the state of with-cold to without-cold), ‘become’ (normal state to angry state), ‘develop’ (the state of fresh food to stale food), ‘turn’ (the state of dough to sour dough) respectively. The metaphorical usages are extended here describe changes of states in abstract sense, where PATHS and GOALS are profiled and SOURCES are unknown.

1.17 ‘receive’ (Additional)

diring སྣམོ་ ག ་ pb on joṣs

today morning-loc I-dat phone come-pst

‘I received a phone call today in the morning.’

1.18 ‘be broadcasted’ (Additional)

riri pb ult snastshul jon kisdul

radio switch-on news come-incep-pr

‘Switch on the radio, the news is about to be broadcasted.’

In examples 1.17 & 1.18, the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to ‘receive’ and ‘be broadcasted’ respectively that show the transmission of news/ringing-phone through signal by electronic means such as waves (PATH)
that can be heard by people (GOAL) elsewhere. The deictic situation for which the metaphorical usage is extended describes abstract motion towards the speaker’s location, where PATH and GOAL are profiled and SOURCE is backgrounded.

1.19 ‘prolong’ (Additional)

\[\text{he-erg this work year three-abl-onward do-pr.p come-pst.perf}\]

‘He has been doing this work since three years.’

In example 1.19, the meaning is metaphorically extended to refer to a particular measurement of time. In this case, all the three image-schemas i.e. SOURCE (starting point of the three years duration); PATH (the duration from the starting point to the present) and GOAL (the present) are profiled.

There is a significant difference between the examples under (A), (B) & (C): the meaning in (A) is the prototypical or the central meaning whereas the other senses (i.e. (B) & (C)) are metaphorically being extended to refer to senses in physical domain and changes of states respectively.

5.2.2. The deictic motion verb ʈʃʰa ‘go’

The diverse uses of ʈʃʰa ‘go’ in example 2 below are grouped under two major categories: one signifies ‘prototypical’ meaning; the second designates metaphorically extended senses in physical domain, conceptual domain as well as
in changes of states. These two major categories are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from prototypical meaning to physical space and mental space. Let us look at the following example:

(A) **Prototypical meaning of tʃʰa**

The domain for the spatial motion verb tʃʰa ‘go’ in Ladakhi is physical space. There is a spatial movement of the theme; that is, the theme (animate) physically moves through a spatial path towards a concrete location. tʃʰa indicates motion away from the location of the speaker. Consider the following example:

2. tʃʰa ‘go’ (LED: RN)

ηa ladaksla tʃʰatʃan

I ladakh-loc go-fut

‘I will go to Ladakh.’

Within the senses of physical domain, the most central meaning of the verb tʃʰa is almost same as “go” in English. In this sense, in example 2 above, the motion is towards a landmark (away from the speaker’s position), a spatial location and provides the prototypical sense of tʃʰa ‘go’. The destination of the theme is the primary landmark and thus profiled. The secondary landmark is the theme’s departure point, the SOURCE, which is backgrounded.
(B) Metaphorical transfer of $t\text{^}h\text{^}a$ (in physical domain)

Metaphor involves a transfer from one domain of conceptualization onto another. Consequently, there is one meaning involved that is called ‘prototypical’ and another one that is ‘transferred’ or metaphorical.

While the domain for the spatial motion verb $t\text{^}h\text{^}a$ is physical space, in the following examples, it is found that the inanimate theme moves through a spatial path towards a concrete location.

2.1 ‘to flow’ (Additional)

jurbeañna $t\text{^}h\text{^}u$ $t\text{^}h\text{^}enuk$

canal-abl water go-v.be

‘The water flows from the canal.’

In example 2.1, the sense is extended metaphorically in physical domain to refer to an inanimate movement. The image-schemas (i.e. SOURCE and PATH) are focused here and the GOAL is backgrounded.

In the above example, the meaning remains physical, although it is not the same as the prototypical meaning as in example 2. There has been a shift from the prototypical physical meaning of $t\text{^}h\text{^}a$ (animate movement) to a different physical domain (inanimate movement). A similar shift is found in other examples too. Consider the following examples:

2.2 ‘to detach’ (Additional)
The mapping between different conceptual domains are carried out by means of metaphors. Metaphors are understood as transfers, where properties from one concept are transferred to another, and in this way, it is how they ‘allow
us to understand one domain of experience (target) in terms of another (source)
(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 135). The conceptual mappings manifest that the source domain is concrete and the target domain is abstract, and the physical sense is viewed as being more basic. Consider the following examples:

2.5 ‘to become tasty’ (Additional)

\[\text{masala snama} \text{š iukna k}^{\text{hardzi}} \text{žimbo t}^{\text{hatjan}}\]

\[\text{spice various put-cond food tasty go-fut}\]

‘The food will be tasty if various spices are put (together).’

2.6 ‘to incur expenditure’ (Additional)

\[\text{talo } \text{qoson } \text{manbo t}^{\text{hatasdu}}\]

\[\text{this year expenditure more go-likely-pr}\]

‘The expenditure is likely to be more this year.’

2.7 ‘to forget’ (Additional)

\[\text{galtes rd}^{\text{zed t}^{\text{hana t}^{\text{ibet}}}}\]

\[\text{if forget go-cond what-do}\]

‘What will you do if (we) forget.’

2.8 ‘to pass exams’ (Additional)

\[\text{g}^{\text{jala silna ekzam pas t}^{\text{hatjan}}\}

\[\text{good study-cond exam pass go-fut}\]

‘If (you) study hard (you) will pass the exam.’
2.9 ‘time’ (Additional)

$t'huts'od\rgu\ t'hakisduk$

time nine go-incep-pr

‘The time is about to be 9 o’clock.’

2.10 ‘to telephone’ (Additional)

$zak\sumnap'arla\ p'hon\ tanse\ t'haminduk$

day three-abl-onward phone give go-neg-pr

‘The phone does not work since three days.’

2.11 ‘to become habitual’ (Additional)

$tamak\ ma'bo\ thunya\ s'oks\ t'hatsan$

cigarette too much drink-COND habit go-fut

‘If (you) smoke too much it will become a habit.’

2.12 ‘to take place’ (Additional)

$elek'san\ s'okspa\ t'hakisduk$

election soon go-incep-pr

‘The election is about to take place soon.’

In examples 2.5 to 2.12, the words $zimbo$ ‘tasty’, $d'oso$ ‘expenditure’, $rdz'ed$ ‘forget’, $pas$ ‘pass’, $rgu$ ‘nine’, $p'hon$ ‘phone’, $s'oks$ ‘habit’, $elek'san$ ‘election’ are used with $t'h'a$ respectively to refer to ‘to become
tasty’, ‘to occur expenditure’, ‘to forget’, ‘to pass exams’, ‘time’, ‘to telephone’, ‘to become habitual’, ‘to take place’ in conceptual domain. These senses are closely related to, but distinct from, the prototypical instance in terms of conceptual metaphor which cannot be physically seen.

**Metaphorical meanings of tʃʰa (in change of state)**

As mentioned in section 5.2.1. that the change of state expresses the phase preceding an entity’s transition to a new state. The metaphorical motion ends in a state which is seen as a new beginning. The topological elements of the motion schema, SOURCE, PATH and GOAL are directly mapped onto the structure of change of state. Consider the following examples:

2.13 ‘to turn into’ (LED: RN)

kirim skuna rdoṅ karpo tʃʰatʃan

cream apply-cond face white go-fut

‘If (you) apply cream, (your) face will turn into white.’

2.14 ‘be developed’ (Additional)

jula g+jokspa jarg+jas tʃʰanok

village-loc soon development go-v.be

‘The village will soon develop.’

2.15 ‘to transform’ (LED: RN)

kʰardʒi maṅbo zana rg+jakspa tʃʰatʃan
food            lots of     eat-cond   fat           go-fut
‘If (you) eat lots of food, (you) will become fat.’

2.16 ‘to become’ (LED: RN)
kʰo golak soŋlo
he     head-shine went-said
‘It is said that he has gone bald.’

2.17 ‘to become cold’ (Additional)
tʃa gʃokspa tʰun qaŋmo tʃʰatʃan
tea        quickly       drink   cold         go-fut
‘The tea will become cold, have quickly.’

2.18 ‘to go mad’ (Additional)
samlo maŋbo taŋna sponba tʃʰatʃan
think     too much give-cond mad         go-fut
‘If (you) think too much (you) will go mad.’

2.19 ‘to feel relief’ (Additional)
las ɡupna  nga kʰamsaŋ tʃʰatʃasdaq
work complete-cond I       relief     go-v.be
‘I feel relief if the work is completed.’

2.20 ‘to freeze’ (Additional)
rgunla tʃʰua gaŋs tʃʰatʃan
‘The water will be ice in winter.’

In examples 2.13 to 2.20, the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to ‘turn into’ (the state of before and after turning the face white), ‘develop’ (the state of undeveloped to developed village), ‘transform’ (the state of thin to fat person), ‘become’ (the state of no bald to bald), ‘become cold’ (the state of hot tea to cold tea), ‘go mad’ (the state of normal person to mad person), ‘feel relief’ (the state of hectic to relief), ‘freeze’ (the state of warm to cold weather) respectively. The metaphorical usages are extended here describe changes of states, where SOURCE, PATHS and GOALS are profiled.

Now let us look at the motion verbs ལུ་ཐེག་ ‘walk’ and བུ་དུང་ ‘descend or get down’ in the language under investigation.

5.3. Motion verbs

This section develops an analysis of the motion verbs ལུ་ཐེག་ ‘walk’ and བུ་དུང་ ‘descend or get down’ in terms of prototype and metaphor that are central to Cognitive Linguistics and shows the possible semantic extensions.

The perception of motion is among the earliest and most basic human experiences. In addition, “the verbs that describe movement are first learned, most frequently used, and conceptually dominant” (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1977: 527).
5.3.1 The motion verb ཁིལ ‘walk’

The various usages of the motion verb ཁིལ ‘walk’ in example 3 below are grouped under three major categories: one signifies ‘prototypical’ meaning (spatial motion); the second designates ‘non-prototypical meanings in physical domain’ and the third shows ‘metaphorically extended’ meanings (in conceptual domain). These extended senses in conceptual domain are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from physical space to mental space.

(A) Prototypical meaning of ཁིལ (spatial motion verb)

The domain for the spatial motion verb ཁིལ is physical space. There is a spatial movement of the theme; that is, the theme (animate) physically moves through a spatial path. Consider the following example:

3. ཁིལི་ཁསུའི་‘to walk’ (LEUD: AH)

མ་ནོ་བོ ཁིལ་ན་ཁང་བཤེར་ལས་ས་གཞ་ས།

a lot walk-cond leg-dat pain come-fut

‘(Your) leg will get pain if (you) walk a lot.’

Within the senses of physical domain, the most central meaning of the motion verb ཁིལ is almost same as “walk” in English. In this sense, in example 3 above, the motion is of an animate that physical moves and provides the prototypical sense of ཁིལ ‘walk’.
(B) Non-prototypical meanings of դու (in physical domain)

While the domain for the spatial motion verb դո is physical space, in the following examples, it is found that the animate theme moves away from the speaker’s position through a spatial path. Consider the following examples:

3.1 ‘to move, go’ (LEUD: AH)

\[\text{kʰerəŋ śtìnna joŋ ŋa daksa ḍulet} \]

you latter come I now walk-fut

‘You come later, I will move now.’

In example 3.1, the motion is of animate towards a landmark (away from the speaker’s position). The SOURCE is the secondary landmark and thus profiled here.

In this example, the meaning remains physical, although it is not the same as the prototypical meaning as in example 3. There has been a shift from the prototypical physical meaning of դո ‘walk’ (animate movement) to a different physical domain (animate movement) in the sense of ‘go or move’.

(C) Non-prototypical meanings of դո (metaphorical extensions in conceptual domain)

As mentioned in section 5.2.2. that the mappings between different conceptual domains are carried out by means of metaphors. Metaphors are understood as transfers, where properties from one concept are transferred to another, and in this way, it is how they ‘allow us to understand one domain of
experience (target) in terms of another (source)’ (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 135). The conceptual mappings manifest that the source domain is concrete and the target domain is abstract, and the physical sense is viewed as being more basic. Consider the following examples:

3.2 ‘(of things) to work’ (LEUD: AH)

\texttt{gad\i\_dulba\_minduk}

watch walk neg-pr

‘The watch is not working.’

3.3 ‘to run well (of restaurant etc.)’ (Additional)

\texttt{s\_arla\_zak\^an\_maaq\_ala\_dulduk}

summer-in restaurant very-good walk-pr

‘The restaurant runs well in summer.’

In examples 3.2 and 3.3, the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to ‘(of things or machines) to work’ and ‘to run well (of restaurant, hotel, shop etc.). These senses are closely related to, but distinct from, the prototypical instance in terms of conceptual metaphor which cannot be physically seen.

\textbf{5.3.2 The motion verb bab ‘descend or get down’}

The diverse uses of the motion verb bab ‘descend or get down’ in example 4 below are grouped under three major categories: one signifies ‘prototypical’ meaning (spatial motion); the second designates ‘non-prototypical
and metaphorical meanings in physical domain’ and the third shows ‘metaphorically extended’ meanings (in conceptual domain). These extended senses in conceptual domain are semantically related to each other by means of a metaphorical shift from physical space to mental space.

(A) **Prototypical meanings of  bab (spatial motion verb)**

The domain for the spatial motion verb  bab is physical space. There is a spatial movement of the theme; that is, the theme (animate) physically moves through a spatial path. Consider the following example:

4.  bab‘ as ‘to descend, get down’ (LEUD: AH)

\[
\text{ŋaṭə } \text{brokna } \text{bab\text{spin}}
\]

\[\text{we} \quad \text{summer place-abl descend-pst}\]

‘We have descended from the summer place.’

Within the senses of physical domain, the most central meaning of the motion verb  bab is almost same as “descend or get down” in English. In this sense, in example 4 above, the motion is of an animate that physical moves and provides the prototypical sense of  bab ‘descend or get down’.
Non-prototypical and metaphorical meanings of bab (in physical domain)

While the domain for the spatial motion verb bab is physical space, in the following examples, it is found that an inanimate theme moves away from a concrete location or an object. Consider the following examples:

4.1 ‘fall’ (LEUD: AH)

dutṣik kʰamaṇś babṣ
this year snow-lots descend-pst
‘There was lots of snow fall this year.’

4.2 ‘flow’ (LEUD: AH)

rīna tʃʰu babsduk
mountain-abl water descend-pr
‘Water flows from the mountain.’

4.3 ‘to come out (e.g. the color of tea leaves after boiling)’ (Additional)

tʃa ganṭa tʃik skolspin daron mababsuk
tea hour one boil-pst still neg-descend-pst.perf
‘(I) have boiled the tea for one hour but still the color has not come.’

In example 4.1 to 4.3, the motion is of inanimate themes that move from one location to the other.

In this example, the meaning remains physical, although it is not the same as the prototypical meaning as in example 4. There has been a metaphorical shift
from the prototypical physical meaning of bab ‘descend or get down’ (animate movement) to a different physical domain (inanimate movement) in the sense of ‘fall’, ‘flow’ and ‘to come out (e.g. the color of tea leaves after boiling)’.

(C) **Non-prototypical meanings of bab** (metaphorical extensions in conceptual domain)

Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics is understood as a mapping or correspondence between two conceptual domains, where properties from one domain, the source, are transferred onto another domain, the target. It is in this way that metaphors “allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 135). According to the standard view of metaphor in this framework (of. Johnson 1987; Kovecses 2002; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Grady 1997), the conceptual associations between source and target domains are usually considered universal, since they are grounded on an experiential bodily basis, i.e. embodied human experience. Consider the following examples:

4.4 ‘to be decided’ (LED: RN)

\[
\text{laspo t}^\text{i}\text{ot}^\text{esika babs}
\]

work do-on descend-pst

‘It was decided to do the work.’

4.5 ‘to decrease (of price)’ (Additional)

\[
daksa k^\text{h}are rin babsuk
\]
now sugar-gen price descend-pst.perf

‘The price of the sugar has been decreased now.’

4.6 ‘to change weather’ (Additional)

dutṣik qaṃmo gḥokspa babs

this year cold ear descend-pst

‘The cold has come early this year.’

In examples 4.4 to 4.6, the meanings are metaphorically extended to refer to ‘to be decided’, ‘to decrease (e.g. of price)’ and ‘to be changed weather’. These senses are closely related to, but distinct from, the prototypical instance in terms of conceptual metaphor which cannot be physically seen.

In this Chapter, I have analyzed the different meanings of the semantic field motion verbs in terms of prototype and metaphor (both in physical and conceptual domains) that are central to Cognitive Linguistics.

‘take place’, ‘be developed’, ‘become’, ‘become cold’, ‘go mad’, ‘feel relief’, ‘freeze’), 1 more sense of the motion verb ḋuḷ ‘walk’ (for instance: ‘to run well (of restaurant etc.)’) and 2 more senses of the motion verb bab ‘descend or get down’ (for instance: ‘to come out (e.g. the color of tea leaves after boiling)’, ‘to decrease (of price)’ ‘to change weather’).