Polysemy patterns of two postpositions marking class-membership and property assignment in Jeli (Central Mande)[1]

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1. Introduction

Jeli or Jeri is an endangered Central Mande language still spoken by less than 2000 speakers in the north of the Ivory Coast, that is, in Korhogo and surrounding areas (for a detailed list of villages with estimated number of Jeli speakers, cf. Kastenholz 2001). Jeli belongs to the Manding-Jɔgɔ branch within the Central Mande languages (cf. Kastenholz 1996: 70f.). Its nearest relative is Jɔgɔ ("Ligbi") spoken in Ghana (Brong-Ahafo Region) and some settlements in neighbouring areas of Ivory Coast (Bondoukou, Bouna).

In contrast to other Central Mande languages such as Jɔgɔ, Koranko, Bambara, Vai and Yalunka, the concepts of class-membership ('Musa is a hunter') and property assignment ('Musa is president') on the one hand and equation ('Musa is the winner', 'Musa is my father') on the other are formally differentiated in Jeli. Whereas class-membership and property assignment are expressed by a copula and a postpositional phrase containing a predicate nominal and a postposition (i.e., *kɔŋ* or *rɛ́*), the predicate nominal in nominal sentences expressing equational function is linked to the subject only by a copula, but is not further marked by a postposition.

The purpose of this paper is threefold.

1. Data on identificational clauses (with special reference to class-membership and property assignment) in Jeli are presented and discussed within the framework of the functional-typological approach (Sections 2 and 3).

2. The polysemy pattern of the two postpositions involved in marking class-membership and property assignment are investigated in terms of metaphorical extensions and iconic motivation (Section 4).

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3. By exploring the range of meanings associated with postpositions used to express class-membership in Jeli the empirical base for a typology of "identificational" postpositions in the Mande languages should be broaden.

2. Theoretical preliminaries

2.1 Semantic subtypes of identificational sentences

According to a widely accepted typology of constructions featuring "predicate nominals" (cf. Dik 1989: 161-182, Hengeveld 1992, Payne 1997: 111-119, Stassen 1997), we may distinguish between two major subtypes of identificational sentences.

In the first type "a certain property such as group membership (class-inclusion) or a positive or negative quality is predicated of a referential subject in the form of a non-referential predicate noun" (Sasse 2007: 28). This semantic subtype (for example: 'Madu is a hunter', 'Madu is communist') is called "property assignment", "class-inclusion", "proper inclusion", "class-membership" or "ascriptive type" in the literature (cf. Dik 1989: 180, Payne 2007: 114, Hengeveld 1992: 110f.).

The second type, named "equative type", asserts "that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal" (Payne 1997: 114). This type can by exemplified by sentences such as 'Madu is my father' or 'Madu is the winner'.[2]

It must, however, be kept in mind that in many languages the equative type (having definite predicate nominals) can oscillate between a specificational and an ascriptive (characterizational) reading. As has been shown by Sasse (2007: 29), this is especially the case when the predicate nominal is a possessive phrase such as 'my father' in 'Ali is my father'. In this example, the specificational reading is indicated if "Ali is the one that has to be identified with", whereas the same sentence has an ascriptive reading, if it is understood as "Ali has the property of being in a paternal relationship of me" (Sasse 2007: 29).

2.2 Conceptual transfer and encoding strategies of identificational sentences

In his typological study "Intransitive predication" Stassen (1997) discusses different sets of encoding mechanisms for intransitive predicates, i.e., event, class-membership, location and property concepts in the languages of the world (his sample contains 410 languages). Moreover, Stassen proposes a set of formal and semantic principles in order to account for the variation of intransitive predicates across languages.

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[2] The terminology for constructions involving predicate nominals is thus quite varied and highly confusing. We use "identificational sentences" as a cover term comprising two major subgroups: "class-membership" (rather than "class-inclusion" or "proper inclusion") and "equation" (rather than "identificational clause").

As regards the encoding of class-membership predicates, Stassen (1997: 111-113) argues that the use of the equational strategy seems the 'natural' option for the encoding of class-membership predicates. This argumentation is motivated by the semantic concept of "iconicity" ("which states, wherever possible, form will mirror function", Stassen 1997: 113). Thus, the close semantic relation (sometimes resulting in ambiguity) between class-membership predications and equational sentences can be held responsible for the unique encoding of class-membership and equation in many languages of the world.

However, opposed to this general concept of "iconicity", language structure may also be shaped by a general principle of "structural economy", called by Stassen (1997: 112) "The Economy Principle of Predicate Encoding: Languages tend to minimise the number of different surface patterns in the encoding of their intransitive sentences". This formal principle accounts for a uniform pattern for locational, class-membership and event clauses.

> For at least some languages, the 'desire' to create a uniform surface pattern for all intransitive sentences may be stronger than the 'desire' to maintain semantic transparency. (Stassen 1997: 112)

Moreover, on the basis of the localistic interpretation of the concept of predication, the unique structural features of the encoding of class-membership and event predicates across languages can be explained by tracing them back to features of the locational strategy. Thus, according to the framework of localism, predication, i.e. the association of a particular, individual entity with semantic classes of predicates such as class-membership, events and properties can be conceived "as location of an entity into a space which is defined by the predicate" (Stassen 1997: 15).

> […] there exists a tradition of a LOCALISTIC interpretation of the concept of predication, in which events, properties, and classes are seen as 'places' at which (the referent of) the subject comes to be situated. […] Thus, we can distinguish between predicates which situate an entity in a CONCRETE spatial location and predicates which assign an ABSTRACT, non-physical and non–spatial, location to their subjects. (Stassen 1997: 15)

3. Identificational sentences in Jeli[3]

As stated before, the concepts of class-membership and equation are formally differentiated in Jeli. Class-membership predicates are expressed by a copula and a

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[3] For a description of one-argument identificational (presentational) clauses (NS + sùŋ), cf. Tröbs (1998: 175ff.).

postpositional phrase containing a non-referential[4] predicate nominal and a locative postposition. Two locative postpositions are used in the marking of class-membership predicates, i.e., the inessive Pp *kɔ́ŋ* and the adessive Pp *rɛ́*. These two postpositions are used interchangeably, as shown in examples (1) and (2).[5]

CLASS-MEMBERSHIP / PROPERTY ASSIGNMENT

NS + à + NS + kɔ́ŋ / rɛ́; predicate nominal is non-referential

(1) *ò   tà=na   gbìra   sí   kɔ́ŋ / rɛ́*
      2PL   FOC=PL.COP   stupid.person   FOC   Pp
      'You are stupid people.'

(2) *nàa   jèli   sí   kɔ́ŋ / rɛ́*
      1SG.COP   Jeli   FOC   Pp
      'I am a Jeli.'

Since class-membership predicates in Jeli are always marked by a locative postposition, they are metaphorically interpreted as having a spatial dimension, i.e., as an interior when used with the Pp *kɔ́ŋ* or as a place when used with the Pp *rɛ́*. Class-membership sentences in Jeli thus locate someone in or at a class or group ('I am in / at the group of Jeli'). In Anderson's terms (1971: 207), class-membership predicate nominals are "a subtype of locative".

The concept of equation, however, is expressed in Jeli by a copula and a bare nominal. The predicate nominal is not further marked by a postposition, as shown in examples (3) and (4). Thus, no localistic interpretation can be suggested.

EQUATION

NS + à +NS; predicate nominal is referential

(3) *kpùru-kara-mugo=ni   sá   à   tà=ni*
      leather-sew-man.DEF=PL   FOC.COP   1PL   FOC=PL
      'We are the leatherworkers.'

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[4] Referentiality (involving discourse referentiality and definiteness, cf. Tröbs 1998: 106-111, Payne 1997: 263-266) is indicated by the definite marker *–o*. It either "leans on" the preceding noun or replaces the final vowel of the preceding noun if the noun constitutes the only element of the nominal phrase.

[5] The definite marker *–o* and the plural marker *–ni* are considered to be enclitics. In contrast to suffixes, they do not exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems but, syntactically, attach to the borders of a nominal phrase.

The copula / imperfective auxiliary *–à* is also treated as an enclitic, since its host is not a specific kind of stem but a specific phrasal node, i.e., the subject NP (cf. Klamer 1994: 50 for pronominal cliticisation in Kambera). Moreover, the copula / imperfective auxiliary *–à* cannot stand on its own in a normal utterance. Finally, the copula / imperfective auxiliary *–à* often merges with the preceding element.

(4) *ì   tà   mɔ́   sá   ná   wù-mɔ́*
    3SG   FOC   chef.DEF   FOC.COP   3PL.POSS   head-chef.DEF
    'This person is their leader.'

To summarize, on the basis of the localistic interpretation of the concept of predication, the structural features of the encoding of class-membership predicates in Jeli can be explained by tracing them back to features of the locational strategy. The same can be assumed for intransitive event predicates by taking their possible diachronic developments into account, cf. (5a)-(5c).

    Location Schema (X is at Y)

(5a) *ní   kpó=à   gbàŋ-dɔ́   rɛ́*
    3PL   all=COP   house-door.DEF   Pp
    'All of them are at the entry door.'

    Reconstructed Progressive

(5b) **ní   kpó=à   kù=o   rɛ́*
    3PL   all=COP   talk=DEF   Pp
    'All of them are at talking.'

    Progressive / Habitual

(5c) *ní   kpó=à   kù-ɛ*
    3PL   all=COP   talk-IPFV
    'All of them are talking / talk.'

The Jeli language has opted for a uniform surface pattern for locational, class-membership and (historically) intransitive event sentences by way of locational takeover. The locational strategy prevails over the equational strategy as regards the encoding of class-membership predicates. Or, to put it in Stassen's terms (1997: 112), for the Jeli language, the 'desire' to create a uniform surface pattern for all intransitive sentences was stronger than the 'desire' to mirror the close semantic relation between equational predicates and class-membership predicates formally by taking over the equational strategy.

4. Polysemy pattern of the two postpositions involved in marking class-membership

As noted above, two spatial postpositions are involved in marking class-membership predicates. As the spatial postpositions in Central Mande in general (cf. Tröbs 1998, 1999), these two postpositions express mainly topological relations (proximity, contact, containment) but are neutral with respect to the differentiation of

Source and Goal. It should thus be kept in mind that directional meaning components are only lexicalized in verbs (so called directional or orientation verbs), but not in postpositions. Following Lüpke (2007: 553-561), while describing semantic extensions of the two spatial postpositions we will specify which semantic path relation, namely Source or Goal (although indicated by the directional semantics of the verb), is marked by them.

4.1 Polysemy pattern of the spatial Pp *kɔ́ŋ*

Kɔ́ŋ is a lexical postposition with the meaning 'inside, in'. It goes back to the relational noun meaning 'stomach'. The distinction between relational noun and lexical postposition is not always easy to draw. When used as a lexical Pp, *kɔ́ŋ* neither accepts nominal determiners such as the definite marker -*o* nor modifiers.[6]

(6)   *nà*   *kɔ́ŋ=à*   *nà*   *díbe-nɛ*
     1SG   stomach=IPFV   1SG   hurt-IPFV
'My stomach hurts (me).'

In its original spatial meaning the Pp *kɔ́ŋ* indicates a specific topological or Ground relation, i.e., insideness or containment, as shown in example (7).

     PRIMARILY INESSIVE SEMANTICS WITH CONCRETE NOUNS

(7)   *ì*   *mì*   *dà (dò+à)*   *yí=o*   *kɔ́ŋ…*
     3SG   REL   TOP.COP   water=DEF   Pp
'what is in (inside) the water…'

The extensions of *kɔ́ŋ* include the encoding of inessive semantics with abstract nouns as shown in (8) and (9), location in a place with non-motion verbs (10), movement towards a Goal with allative verbs (11) and movement away from a Source with ablative verbs (12).

     INESSIVE SEMANTICS WITH ABSTRACT NOUNS

(8)   *ná*   *mì*   *kèlɛ*   *tìga*   *jèli-kpuraɔ*   *kɔ́ŋ?*
     3PL.IPFV   what   call.IPFV   peanut   Jeli-language.DEF   Pp
'How do they say 'peanut' in the Jeli language?'

(9)   *yé*   *ɲíɛ*   *jòli*   *kɔ́ŋ*
     2SG.COP   year   how.many   Pp
'How old are you?' (lit. In how many years are you?)

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     [6] It should be noted that nouns ending in a velar nasal such as *kɔ́ŋ* 'stomach' do not differ in the surface between definite (cf. *kɔ́ŋ* < *kɔ́ŋ* + *o*) and indefinite (cf. *kɔ́ŋ*) forms.

LOCATION IN A PLACE WITH NON-MOTION VERBS

(10) *nà*   *Ø*   *wà*   *kpòo*   *kà-Ø*   *bɔ̀gɔ*   *kɔ́ŋ*

    1SG   PFV[7]   CR[8]   hoe.DEF   leave-PFV   bush.DEF   Pp

    'I have left the hoe in the bush.'

MOVEMENT TOWARDS A GOAL WITH ALLATIVE VERBS

(11) *ì*   *Ø*   *sɔ̀-Ø*   *bɔ̀gɔ*   *kɔ́ŋ*

    3SG   PFV   enter-PFV   bush.DEF   Pp

    'He went into the bush.'

MOVEMENT AWAY FROM A SOURCE WITH ABLATIVE VERBS

(12) *ì*   *Ø*   *wà*   *búɔ-Ø*   *bɔ̀gɔ*   *kɔ́ŋ*

    3SG   PFV   CR   come.from-PFV   bush.DEF   Pp

    'He has come from the bush.'

Furthermore, the Pp *kɔ́ŋ* is employed to mark abstract predicative possession by using the Location Schema (Y is located in X) encoding the possessor (X) as a locative complement and the possessee as the subject (cf. Heine 1997: 91f.). As shown in examples (13) and (14), the possessee is physical or psychological state.

ABSTRACT PREDICATIVE POSSESSION

(13) *ɲɛ̀ɔ*   *sá*   *nà*   *kɔ́ŋ*

    sleep.DEF   FOC.COP   1SG   Pp

    'I am tired.' (lit. sleep is in me)

(14) *nà*   *fàli=à*   *ì*   *kɔ́ŋ*

    1SG   antidote=COP   3SG   Pp

    [Some girls said:] 'He (the youngest brother) is mine.' (lit. My antidote is in him)

In the uses studied so far, the Pp *kɔ́ŋ* functions as a Ground-denoting Pp in the expression of locative and possessive relations as well as motion events.

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[7] The distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect is basic to the Jeli TAM system. This opposition is marked by the combination of auxiliaries and inflectional verb stems. Thus, the imperfective aspect is encoded by the auxiliary (predicate marker) *–à* in combination with the imperfective verb form which is derived principally through suffixation (cf. Tröbs 1998: 84-89). In contrast to the imperfective aspect, the perfective aspect is unmarked twofold. First, it has no overt perfective auxiliary. Second, the perfective verb form is unmarked. In order to keep an explicit marking for these two non-overt elements, an overt "Ø" is included in the Jeli line, and "PFV" in the gloss line.

[8] Current relevance (CR) indicates a specific deictic component of meaning, i.e., an action which took place in the past is relevant to the moment of speech. According to Bybee et al. (1994: 86), the specification of current relevance is lost, when an anterior (or perfect) changes into the past or perfective.

Moreover, the Pp *kɔ́ŋ* is also used to mark predicative arguments of verbs expressing quality and transformation, as shown in (15) and (16).

PREDICATIVE ARGUMENTS OF VERBS EXPRESSING QUALITY (ESSIVE FUNCTION)

(15) *ná*   *à*   *tà=ni*   *fíle-nɛ*   *jògo-ni*   *sí*   *kɔ́ŋ*
      3PL.IPFV   1PL   FOC=PL   see-IPFV   Dyula   FOC   Pp

'They (people from Katala) consider us (the Jeli from Korhogo) to be Dyula.'

PREDICATIVE ARGUMENTS OF VERBS EXPRESSING TRANSFORMATION (TRANSLATIVE FUNCTION)

(16) *ndà=ni*   *Ø*   *má-Ø*   *mùgu=ni*   *kɔ́ŋ*
      3PL.FOC=PL   PFV   make-PFV   person=PL   Pp

'They became human beings.'

As noted by Creissels (2008: 1), in contrast to canonical arguments of verbs, predicative arguments "do not denote an entity involved in the verbal event, but a property predicated of the referent of another argument of the same verb". Typical predicative arguments appear in constructions with verbs such as 'to become', 'to transform', 'to act as', 'to consider to be', 'to pretend to be', etc. Thus, we observe a semantic affinity (i.e., property assignment) between predicative arguments and predicate nominals in identificational clauses.

> Verbs whose argument structure includes a predicative argument lend themselves to a semantic decomposition including a predication of identification. (Creissels 2008: 1)

The identical encoding of class-membership predicate nominals and predicative arguments of quality and transformation verbs is thus an example of iconic motivation: similar form reflects similar meaning or conceptual structure (cf. Croft 1990: §7.3).

Finally, our corpus contains one example in which *kɔ́ŋ* marks the experiencer of the emotion verb *kúdia* 'be pleasant'. Here, the Pp *rɛ́* can be used alternatively to *kɔ́ŋ*.

EXPERIENCER OF AN EMOTION VERB

(17) *súŋ*   *mì*   *dò*   *kúdia*   *kɔ̀ndi* *mɛ̀*   *kɔ́ŋ / rɛ́*
       thing   REL   TOP   be.pleasant   bird   DEM   Pp

'…which food this bird likes.' (lit. which food is pleasant for the bird)

Let us now turn to the other Pp involved in marking class-membership.

4.2 Polysemy pattern of the Pp *rɛ́*

Rɛ́ is a formal Pp with spatial ('at') and associative meaning ('with'). The assumed original meaning of *rɛ́* is adessive, i.e., it indicates proximity by stating that 'the Figure is close to a spatial Ground', as shown in (18).

ADESSIVE MEANING

(18) *ní   sàga-ra   gbàŋ-dɔ́   rɛ́*
　　　3PL   sit-Part.Res   house-door.DEF   Pp
　　　'They are sitting at the entry door.'

The metaphorical extensions of the adessive semantics of *rɛ́* include the expression of temporal meaning (19), the marking of abstract predicative possession where the possessee (Y), i.e., a psychological state (20), a physical state (21) or another abstract concept (22), is located at the possessor (X), and the encoding of comparison (23). According to Heine (1997: 117), comparison is expressed by using a variant of the Location Schema, namely, 'X is Y at Z', which establishes a spatial relation between the comparee (X) and the standard (Z). The Location Schema can, thus, be paraphrased as "X has property Y, and if Z is placed in the same location as X, X has more than Z does" (Heine 1997: 114).

TEMPORAL MEANING (LOCATION IN TIME)

(19) *yè   sínɛ   yè   tàna-Ø   tɛ́lɔ   mì   rɛ́*
　　　3SG.IPFV   look.for.IPFV   3SG.IPFV   get.red-PFV   time.DEF   REL   Pp
　　　'When (the time when) it (the mango fruit) is getting red…'

ABSTRACT PREDICATIVE POSSESSION (Y IS LOCATED AT X)

(20) *yákili=à   ì   rɛ́*
　　　intelligence=COP   3SG   Pp
　　　'He is intelligent.' (lit. Intelligence is at him)

(21) *kùgu=à   à   kpó   rɛ́*
　　　hunger=COP   1PL   all   Pp
　　　'All of us are hungry.' (lit. Hunger is at all of us)

(22) *nà   rá   cà=à   í   tà   rɛ́*
　　　1SG   POSS   credit=COP   2SG   FOC   Pp
　　　'You owe me money.' (lit. My credit is at you)

COMPARISON BY USING THE LOCATION SCHEMA (X IS Y AT Z)

(23) *ì   ká   gbɔ̀   ì   bála-ná   wòmɛ   rɛ́*
　　　3SG   POSS   tree.DEF   3SG   become.big-Part.Res   DEM   Pp
　　　'His tree is bigger than this.'

In addition to the uses mentioned so far, *rɛ́* is employed to encode associative meaning (comprising comitative and instrumental). As argued by Croft (1991: 197), the comitative function is related to the adessive function "by the COMITATIVE-PROXIMITY metaphor, in which a spatial expression of co-location such as 'near' or 'among' develops into a comitative form". A similar argumentation is found in Anderson (1971: 4), who argues that the comitative function has an underlying locative structure since it indicates typically "the person along with whom". Moreover, the conflation of comitative and instrumental meanings into one marker is widely attested in the languages of the world (Croft 1991, Heine et al. 1991). The polysemy between comitative and instrumental markers is motivated by the COMPANION-INSTRUMENT metaphor that states that ACCOMPANIMENT also indicates INSTRUMENTALITY (cf. Lakoff/Johnson 1980: 134f.). The comitative function is exemplified in (24)-(27).[9] Examples (28) and (29) illustrate the instrumental function.

COMITATIVE FUNCTION

(24) *Mori=à   ɲì-ɛ   à   rɛ́   súma*
    Mori=IPFV   spend.the.night-IPFV   1PL   Pp   tomorrow
    'Mori will spend the night at our place/with us [chez nous] tomorrow.'

(25) *sá   ní   yí=o   rɛ́!*
    come   and   water=DEF   Pp
    'Bring water!' (lit. come with water)

(26) *fì   sí   Ø   wà   tà'a-Ø   wá   ní   í   rɛ́?*
    today   FOC   PFV   CR   go.away-PFV   INT   and   2SG   Pp
    'Have you gone mad today?' [lit. today has gone away with you?]

(27) *yè   kù-ɛ   ní   Soma   rɛ́*
    3SG.IPFV   talk-IPFV   and   Soma   Pp
    'He is speaking with/to (talking with/to) Soma.'

INSTRUMENTAL FUNCTION

(28) *nà   Ø   nà   wù=o   yìri-Ø   (ní)   jèse=o   rɛ́*
    1SG   PFV   1SG   head=DEF   bind-PFV   (and)   yarn=DEF   Pp
    'I tied up my hair with a yarn.'

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[9] Note that comitative semantics is usually expressed by the coordinating conjunction *ní* [N1 *ní* N2] which assigns equal rank to the elements it connects (cf. *Mori ní Soma wà cí* 'Mori and Soma have arrived').

(29) *wáli=o=à*   *dègaŋ*   *kánkɔŋ*   *ní*   *kálaŋ*   *né*
   boy=DEF=COP   grave   Pp   and   bow   Pp
   'The boy is on the grave with a bow.'

Moreover, causation can be perceived as place with the Pp *rɛ́*. In example (30), the postpositional phrase *kùgo rɛ́* is viewed as cause "triggering" the verbal action (cf. Radden 1985: 182).

   "TRIGGERING CAUSE"
(30) *dí=o=ni*   *dà*   *dì-ɛ*   *nà*   *ɲɔ̀*   *kùgo*   *rɛ́*
   child=DEF=PL   TOP.IPFV   cry-IPFV   1SG   Pp   hunger.DEF   Pp
   'The children are crying for me (because) of hunger.'

According to its broad semantics, i.e., spatial, comitative, instrumental and cause, *rɛ́* is used to mark participants of certain intransitive verbs as well as the third participant of three-place verbs.[10] Depending on the directional semantics of the intransitive verb governing *rɛ́*, *rɛ́* functions to mark the Goal or Source of the verb. In (31), *rɛ́* serves to encode the Goal, in (32) it marks the Source.

   GOAL WITH INTRANSITIVE DIRECTIONAL VERBS
(31) *ì*   *Ø*   *wà*   *màga-Ø*   *sìbe=o*   *rɛ́*
   3SG   PFV   CR   touch-PFV   meat=DEF   Pp
   'He has touched the meat.'

   SOURCE WITH INTRANSITIVE DIRECTIONAL VERBS
(32) *ì*   *Ø*   *wà*   *dàga-Ø*   *à*   *rɛ́*
   3SG   PFV   CR   slip.away-PFV   1PL   Pp
   'It (the Jeli language) has slipped away (from us).' [it has become disused]

The above mentioned concept of "triggering cause" (Radden 1985: 182) can be held responsible for the use of *rɛ́* with emotion verbs such as 'to dream about', as shown in example (33).
   "TRIGGERING CAUSE" WITH INTRANSITIVE REACTIONAL OR EMOTION VERBS
(33) *ní*   *í*   *sá*   *kúro*   *má-Ø*   *yí=o*   *rɛ́…*
   CONJ   2SG   COND   dream.DEF   do-PFV   water=DEF   Pp
   'If you dream about water…'

Furthermore, *rɛ́* is used to mark the third participant of transfer verbs. In (34) *rɛ́* serves to encode the animate Goal or Receiver of a verb of change of possession, in

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[10] For a thorough semantic analysis of postpositions marking the third participant of three-place verbs in Yalunka, cf. Lüpke (2007: Section 3).

(35) *rέ* is used to indicate the 'information asked for' in a verb of transfer of information.

THIRD PARTICIPANT OF TRANSFER VERBS (VERBS OF CHANGE OF POSSESSION)

(34)

nà	*Ø*	*wà*	*wáro*	*lè-Ø*	*nà*	*séŋ*	*rέ*
1SG	PFV	CR	money.DEF	give-PFV	1SG	father	Pp

'I have given [as a present] money to my father.'

THIRD PARTICIPANT OF TRANSFER VERBS (VERBS OF CHANGE OF INFORMATION)

(35)

má	*Ø*	*wà*	*í*	*tà*	*nìgi-Ø*	*kíli=o*	*rέ?*
who	PFV	CR	2SG	FOC	ask-PFV	way=DEF	Pp

'Who has asked you for the way?'

As noted by several authors (cf. Croft 1990: 166, Lüpke 2007: 557; 561), there is a clear metaphorical relationship between the change in location and the transfer of possession of an object. In this metaphorical extension, changes of possession are treated like changes in location. In a further extension, transfers of information are conceived as transfers of possession of an object. To put it in Lüpke's (2007: 557) terms, what events of change of location, events of change of possession, and events of change of information have in common is that all three types "entail at least a metaphorical transfer of an entity from a Source to a Goal, applying a metaphor I will henceforth label 'transfer-metaphor'". A still more abstract extension of the "transfer metaphor" can be held responsible for the use of *rέ* to mark the animate Goal or malefactive with the generic verb *má* 'to do', as shown in (36).

THIRD PARTICIPANT OF TRANSFER VERBS (ABSTRACT EXTENSION OF THE "TRANSFER METAPHOR")

(36)

yè	*sínε*	*yè*	*mì*	*má-Ø*	*nà*	*rέ?*
3SG.IPFV	look.for.IPFV	3SG.IPFV	what	do-PFV	1SG	Pp

'What can he (the lion) do to (against) me (the hare)?'

Finally, according to its associative meaning, *rέ* can also be used to mark the transferred object in a change of possession verb. In this so called "Theme-Instrument Strategy" (Lüpke 2005: 217) the object of transfer is treated as an Instrument and the Goal or target of transfer is associated with the Theme. Thus, in example (37), *rέ* is employed to indicate the gift or the good of transfer by treating it as an instrument.

TRANSFERRED OBJECT IN A CHANGE OF POSSESSION VERB

(37)

à	*Ø*	*ì*	*kúɔ-Ø*	*wári*	*rέ*	*tέ*
1PL	PFV	3SG	present-PFV	money	Pp	NEG

'We did not present him with money.'

5. Summary

Our findings on the different polysemy pattern of the Pp *kɔ́ŋ* and *rέ* as well as the related explanatory parameters are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Main extensions of the spatial postpositions *kɔ́ŋ* and *rέ*

Pp	Function	Motivational basis for extensions based on cross-linguistically attested conceptual transfer patterns
kɔ́ŋ	Locative relations; i.e., denotes specific Ground relations (insideness) in the expression of location, possession, motion events (with directional verbs: Source/Goal)	Abstract predicative possession is expressed with the Location Schema (Y is located in X) (Heine 1997: 91f.)
	Class-membership	Class-membership predicate nominals are "a subtype of locative" (Anderson 1971: 207)
	Predicative arguments of verbs expressing quality and transformation (essive/translative)	Semantic affinity between class-membership predicate nominals and predicative arguments (= iconic motivation, cf. Creissels 2008)

Table 1: Main extensions of the spatial postpositions *kɔ́ŋ* and *rέ* (continued)

Pp	Function	Motivational basis for extensions based on cross-linguistically attested conceptual transfer patterns
rέ	Locative relations; i.e., denotes specific Ground relations (proximity) in the expression of location and possession as well as in events of change of location (with directional verbs: Source and Goal)	Abstract predicative possession is expressed with the Location Schema (Y is located at X) (Heine 1997: 91f.)
	Class-membership	Class-membership predicate nominals are "a subtype of locative" (Anderson 1971: 207); "The Economy Principle of Predicate Encoding" (Stassen 1997: 112)
	Comparison	Comparison is expressed with the Location Schema (X is Y at Z) (Heine 1997: 117)

	Comitative, Instrument	COMITATIVE-PROXIMITY metaphor (Croft 1991: 197); COMPANION-INSTRUMENT metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 134)
	"Triggering cause"	Causation viewed as a place "triggering" the verbal action (Radden 1985: 182)
	Third participant with transfer verbs	Changes of possession and information are treated like changes of location (Croft 1990: 166; Lüpke 2007)

The treatment of the polysemy pattern of the two postpositions used to encode class-membership predicates in Jeli was based on the localist hypothesis, according to which spatial concepts are more basic than other concepts and therefore serve as source pattern for the conceptualization of non-spatial concepts (Anderson 1971, Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lyons 1977).

Since these two "identificational" postpositions clearly have a spatial component (insideness, proximity), we have argued that their "identificational meaning" is derived from their spatial meaning and treated class-membership predicate nominals as "a subtype of locative" (Anderson 1971: 207).Moreover, by using several common conceptual metaphors we have shown that the basic concepts "space" and "change-in-space" served as templates for the development of a set of other postpositional functions such as the encoding of abstract predicative possession, comparison, comitative, instrumental, "triggering cause", and third participants with transfer verbs.

In contrast to the lexical Pp *kɔ́ŋ* which still preserves its concrete spatial (inessive) meaning, the formal Pp *rɛ́* has a highly general semantics and is used besides its adessive semantics to cover all kinds of situations entailing metaphorical transfer.

Finally, neither of the two postpositions can be used to mark beneficiaries (for, to somebody's benefit) or oblique agents.

Abbreviations

COND	conditional	NEG	negation
CONJ	conjunction	Part.Res	resultative participle
COP	copula	PFV	perfective
CR	current relevance	PL	plural
DEF	definite marker	POSS	possessive marker
DEM	demonstrative	Pp	postposition
FOC	focus particle	REL	relative marker
IPFV	imperfective	SG	singular
INT	interrogative	TOP	topic marker

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Summary

Polysemy patterns of two postpositions marking class-membership and property assignment in Jeli (Central Mande

This paper examines the polysemy patterns of two postpositions marking class-membership and property assignment in Jeli, a Central Mande language, in terms of metaphorical extensions and iconic motivation. It thus aims at broadening the empirical base for a typology of "identificational" postpositions in the Mande languages.

Keywords: postpositions; polysemy; identificational clauses; Jeli; Central Mande