

## Event Integration Patterns in Herero: The Case of Motion Event Components

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According to Talmy's (2000) typology of event integration patterns, there are two types of languages: verb-framed languages, which express a main event with the main verb and a co-event with an adverbial, and satellite-framed languages, which express a main event with the satellite and co-event with the main verb. Talmy classifies Bantu languages as verb-framed languages. However, Herero, one of the Bantu languages, has not only verb-framed language patterns, but also other patterns. Even just in the cases of motion, patterns vary depending on the path and type of co-event.

**Keywords:** Herero, event integration, motion expression, Talmy's typology, Bantu languages

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### 1. Introduction

This paper investigates patterns of event integration of motion in Herero, a Bantu language spoken in Namibia and Botswana. What is called “event integration of motion” in this paper is the phenomenon shown in (1).

(1) ‘The man is running across the street.’ (Gaines 2001: 1)

a. French

*L'homme traverse la rue en courant.*  
the.man move.across the street by running

b. German

*Der Mann läuft über die Straße.*  
the man run over the street

(1a) and (1b) are an example of French and German, respectively. Both sentences express the integration of two events: one is the path of the motion, ‘to move across,’ and the other is the manner of the motion, ‘to run.’ In French, the main verb expresses the path ‘to move across’ and a separate syntactic element expresses the manner, as shown in (1a), while in German, the main verb expresses the manner ‘to run’ and a separate element expresses the path, as shown in (1b) (Gaines 2001: 1).

According to Talmy’s (2000) typology of event integration patterns, there are two types of languages: verb-framed languages (V-languages), which express a main event with the main verb and a co-event with an adverbial, and satellite-framed languages (S-languages), which express a main event with a “satellite”<sup>1</sup> and a co-event with the main verb. Talmy classifies Bantu languages as V-languages. However, depending on the path and manner of motion, various integration patterns are observed in Herero. This paper discusses how Herero expresses complex motion events in an integrated way, especially integration with manner, using data<sup>2</sup> collected from the questionnaire in Kawachi (2013). Section 2 introduces Herero verbs that are used to express motion events and manner. In Sections 3 and 4, I show how goal and path are integrated with manner. Although this paper discusses integration patterns of motion mainly in terms of manner, I introduce some examples of integration with concomitance in Section 5.

## 2. Verbs that express motion events

Before discussing event integration, this section introduces Herero verbs that express motion with the goal or path, and verbs that express manner of motion.

### 2.1. Verbs that express motion and goal

The verb stems used to express motion towards the goal (MOVE *to*) are *yenda* ‘to go’ and *ya* ‘to come.’

MOVE *to*: *yenda* ‘to go’  
                   *ya* ‘to come’

Both of them can appear with the goal of the motion, but they indicate different directions. The verb *ya* ‘to come’ expresses motion towards the speaker or listener, and *yenda* ‘to go’ expresses motion towards other directions. These verbs are also used in expressions that indicate the source of motion (MOVE *from*), as illustrated in (2b) and (3b) below.

<sup>1</sup> The “satellite (to the verb)” is “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” (Talmy 2000: 102).

<sup>2</sup> All data of Herero in this paper were collected through fieldwork in Windhoek, Namibia, in 2012, 2013, and 2014 by the author with the financial support of Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (nos. 22520432, 25370475, and 25370477). The language consultant was Angela Kuverua, who was born in 1966 in Windhoek.

(2) *yenda* ‘to go’

- a. *Owo vá-i<sup>3</sup> ku-ósúkóle.<sup>4</sup>*  
 3PL SM3PL.PST-go.NPF LOC17-school  
 ‘They went **to** school.’
- b. *Owo vá-i okuzá pu-osukóle/ku-osukóle.*  
 3PL SM3PL.PST-go.NPF from LOC16-school/LOC17-school  
 ‘They went (somewhere) **from** school.’

(3) *ya* ‘to come’

- a. *Owo má-vé-yá ku-onganda.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-come.NPF LOC17-house  
 ‘They are coming **to** the house.’
- b. *Owo má-vé-yá okuzá pu-osukóle/ku-osukóle.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-come.NPF from LOC16-school/LOC17-school  
 ‘They are coming **from** the school.’

The goal is expressed with a noun with the locative noun prefix, *ku-* (cl.17).<sup>5</sup> This locative noun prefix adds the meaning of ‘towards’ in this case. The source is expressed with the preposition *okuza* ‘from,’ which is grammaticalized from the verb *za* ‘to be from,’ followed by a locative noun with the prefix *pu-* or *ku-*.<sup>6</sup> Here the locative noun prefix *ku-* functions just to indicate general place, not adding the meaning of ‘toward.’

## 2.2. Verbs that express motion and path

The following verb stems express motion with path.

<i>ronda</i>	‘to go up’	(MOVE <i>up</i> )
<i>heruka</i>	‘to get down’	(MOVE <i>down</i> )
<i>hita</i>	‘to get in’	(MOVE <i>in</i> )
<i>pita</i>	‘to get out’	(MOVE <i>out</i> )
<i>kondoroka</i>	‘to get around’	(MOVE <i>around</i> )

<sup>3</sup> When morpho-phonological rules apply to the combination of morphemes, the surface form of the verb sometimes looks quite different from the underlying form. The underlining form of *vá-i* is *vé-a-yend-V* (V = copy of the preceding vowel).

<sup>4</sup> *Ku-omuvéro* appears as *komuvéro* as a result of vowel merge. The same phenomenon occurs in the case of other locative noun prefixes, *pu-*, *mu-* (see Footnote 5).

<sup>5</sup> Herero has three kinds of locative noun prefixes:

- pu-* (cl.16): mainly indicates a specific point ‘at, on’  
*ku-* (cl.17): mainly indicates general place or direction ‘towards’  
*mu-* (cl.18): indicates ‘inside, in’

<sup>6</sup> The verb *za* itself can express the source of motion.

- Owo má-vé-zú posukóle.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-be.from.NPF LOC16.school  
 ‘They are (coming) **from** the school.’

These paths are always expressed by such verbs, which contain the meaning of both motion and path in Herero, not by any other elements.

### 2.3. Verbs that express manner

The following verb stems express manner of motion in Herero.

<i>wondja</i>	‘to walk’
<i>wondja kozongoró</i>	‘to crawl (on knees)’
<i>tupuka</i>	‘to run’
<i>tenduna</i>	‘to limp’
<i>slengera</i>	‘to stagger’
<i>honahona</i>	‘to creep’
<i>nana ozombaze</i>	‘to drag feet’
<i>ndarafa</i>	‘to skip’
<i>nderera</i>	‘to march’
<i>hakahana</i>	‘to rush’
<i>tuka</i>	‘to fly’
<i>tukatuka</i>	‘to hop’
<i>tjaara</i>	‘to swim’

When these manner verbs are integrated with the motion events, such as MOVE *to*, MOVE *from*, MOVE *up*, MOVE *down*, MOVE *in*, and MOVE *out*, the following event integration patterns are observed.

#### (4) Event integration patterns in Herero

- (i) The main verb expresses the manner, and a non-verb element, such as the following, expresses the motion event:
  - a. the itive prefix *ka-* added to the verb
  - b. the applicative suffix *-er* added to the verb
  - c. the locative noun prefix *pu-*, *ku-*, or *mu-*
  - d. a prepositional phrase
- (ii) The main verb expresses the manner, and a non-main verb, such as the following, expresses the motion event:
  - e. the infinitive form of the verb
  - f. the simultaneous subordinate clause
- (iii) The main verb expresses the motion event, and a non-main verb, such as the following, expresses the manner:
  - g. the simultaneous subordinate clause.

Following Talmy's definition of satellite (Talmy 2000, see Footnote 1), only the elements in (i-a) and (i-b) are "satellites," and elements other than the main verb are neither "satellites" nor "main verbs." Therefore, I will divide the elements not into the categories "main verb" and "satellite," but "non-verb element," "non-main verb," and "main verb" in this paper. Which pattern is used or most preferred depends on the manner or path. We will see how these manner verbs are integrated as co-events with the motion event, which is the main event in the next section.

### 3. Integration patterns of manner and MOVE *to*, MOVE *from*, or MOVE *along*

#### 3.1. Integration of manner and the goal: MOVE *to*

This section will show the integration patterns of manner and goal (MOVE *to*). Example sentences a, b, c, e, and g in (5)–(16) correspond to a, b, c, e, and g in (4) above, respectively. There are no examples of (4d) because Herero does not have a preposition that indicates the goal. Also, there are no examples of (4f) since none of the verbs show that pattern, in which the main verb expresses the manner and a simultaneous subordinate clause the goal, in the integration of manner and goal.

#### (5) *wondja* 'to walk'

a.	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-ka-wóndj-a</i>	<i>(oku-yendá)</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-ITV-walk-BF	INF-go	LOC17-door
b.	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-wóndj-er-e</i>	<i>omuvéro.</i>	
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-walk-APPL-NPF	door	
c.?	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-wóndj-ó</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>	
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-walk-NPF	LOC17-door	
e.	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-wóndj-o</i>	<i>oku-yendá</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-walk-NPF	INF-go	LOC17-door
g.*	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-i</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro</i>	<i>a-má-wóndj-o.</i>
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF	LOC17-door	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-walk-NPF

'S/he is walking **to** the door.'

The meanings of the examples in (5) might not be exactly the same; however, all of them are given by the language consultant as equivalents of 'S/he is walking to the door.'<sup>7</sup>

(5a) demonstrates the use of the itive prefix *ka-*. The function of *ka-* is to indicate movement away to perform the action of the verb stem. However, when *ka-* appears with *wondja*, it is idiomatic and means 'to go (somewhere) by walking.' The infinitive form of

<sup>7</sup> I have collected Herero expressions that express the equivalent situation of each English sentence in the questionnaire. Therefore, in this paper, examples under the same English translation are the expressions that Herero native speakers judged to be equivalent, although they might be slightly different from each other.

*yenda* ‘to go’ is optional. In (5b), the manner verb appears in its applicative form and the goal appears as the applied object. In (5c), the goal is expressed with the locative noun prefix *ku-*. Although the use of the locative noun prefix is the most general way to indicate the goal of the verbs *yenda* ‘to go’ and *ya* ‘to come,’ it is slightly odd in the case of integration with the verb *wondja* ‘to walk.’ The goal is expressed with the infinitive form of *yenda* in (5e), which literally means ‘She is walking to go to the door.’ With this meaning, *okuyenda* ‘to go’ seems to be the purpose rather than the goal. However, *okuyenda* behaves as a preposition that indicates the goal in this case. It seems that the infinitive form of *yenda* is at least partially grammaticalized. In (5a), (5b), and (5e), the manner is expressed by the main verb, and the goal is expressed with either an affix or the infinitive form of *yenda*. The pattern in (5g), in which the motion event of MOVE *to* is expressed by the main verb, is not accepted.

The same verb *wondja* ‘to walk’ is used to express ‘to crawl’; *wondja kozongoró* literally means ‘to walk on knees.’

(6) *wondja kozongoró* ‘to crawl’

- a. *Okanátje má-ké-ka-wondj-a ku-ozongoró \*(oku-yendá) ku-omuvéro.*  
 baby13 PRG-SM13-ITV-walk-BF LOC17-knee INF-go LOC17-door
- b.(#)*Okanátje má-ké-wondj-er-e omuvéro ku-ozongoro.*  
 baby13 PRG-SM13-walk-APPL-NPF door LOC17-knee  
 ‘The baby is crawling to/for the door.’
- c.??*Okanátje má-ké-wondj-o ku-ozongoró ku-omuvéro.*  
 baby13 PRG-SM13-walk-NPF LOC17-knee LOC17-door
- e. *Okanátje má-ké-wondj-o ku-ozongoró oku-yendá ku-omuvéro.*  
 baby13 PRG-SM13-walk-NPF LOC17-knee INF-go LOC17-door
- g.\**Eye má-i ku-omuvéro a-má-wondj-o*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF LOC17-door SCM-PRG.SM3SG-walk-NPF  
*ku-ozongoró.*  
 LOC17-knee  
 ‘The baby is crawling (<walking on knees) **to** the door.’

The examples in (6) show patterns similar to those in (5), but unlike in (5a), when the itive prefix *ka-* is used, the infinitive form of *yenda* ‘to go’ becomes compulsory, not optional as shown in (6a). The applicative form can also be used, but it causes *omuvéro* ‘door,’ which is the applied object, to act more like the purpose than the goal,<sup>8</sup> meaning,

<sup>8</sup> The symbol “#” indicates that the sentence is grammatical but has a different meaning from the intended one. However, in the case of (6b), it is possible to interpret it as the intended meaning, although a different translation is more likely. Such cases are indicated with (#).

for example, that the baby wants to touch the door, as shown in (6b). Therefore, in the case of *wondja kozongoró* ‘to crawl,’ (6a) and (6e) are more appropriate to show the goal clearly.

The only verb that can express the goal with the itive prefix *ka-* is *wondja*.<sup>9</sup> None of the verbs in examples (7)–(10) can express the goal with the itive prefix *ka-*. Some of them can express the goal with the applicative suffix, but not all of them, as shown in (9b). All the verbs in examples (7)–(10) can express the goal with the locative noun prefix *ku-*, as shown in (7c), (8c), (9c), and (10c), and the option of using the infinitive form of *yenda* ‘to go’ is available to all of these verbs. Some verbs can appear in the simultaneous subordinate clause as shown in (9g) and (10g), although they are not most preferred.

(7) *tupuka* ‘to run’

a.* <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-ka-tupuk-a</i>	<i>ku-ostóra.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-ITV-run-BF	LOC17-store	
b.(#) <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-ir-e</i>	<i>ostóra.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-APPL-NPF	store	
	‘S/he is running for the market.’		
c. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-a</i>	<i>ku-ostóra.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF	LOC17-store	
e. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-a</i>	<i>oku-yendá</i>	<i>ku-ostóra.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF	INF-go	LOC17-store
	‘S/he is running <b>to</b> the market.’		

(8) *tenduna* ‘to limp’

a.* <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-ka-tendun-a</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-ITV-limp-BF	LOC17-door	
b. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tendun-in-e</i>	<i>omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-limp-APPL-NPF	door	
c. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tendun-a</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-limp-NPF	LOC17-door	
e. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tendun-a</i>	<i>oku-yendá</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-limp-NPF	INF-go	LOC17-door
	‘S/he is limping <b>to</b> the door.’		

<sup>9</sup> The itive prefix *ka-* can appear with verbs other than *wondja* with its original function, which is to indicate that the event of the verb stem occurs at a place different from the conversation, but not with MOVE *to*.

(9) *ndarafa* ‘to skip’

a. *Eye	<i>má-ka-ndaráf-a</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-ITV-skip-BF	LOC17-door	
b. *Eye	<i>má-ndaraf-er-e</i>	<i>omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG -skip-APPL-NPF	door	
c. Eye	<i>má-ndaráf-á</i>	<b><i>ku-omuvéro.</i></b>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-skip-NPF	LOC17-door	
e. Eye	<i>má-ndaráf-á</i>	<b><i>oku-yendá</i></b>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-skip-NPF	INF-go	LOC17-door
g. ?Eye	<b><i>má-i</i></b>	<i>ku-omuvéro</i>	<i>a-má-ndaráf-á.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF	LOC17-door	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-skip-NPF

‘S/he is skipping **to** the door.’

(10) *honahona* ‘to creep’

a. *Eye	<i>má-ka-honahon-a</i>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-ITV-steal-BF	LOC17-door	
b. Eye	<i>má-honahon-en-e</i>	<i>omuvéro.</i>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-steal-APPL-NPF	door.	
c. Eye	<i>má-honahon-a</i>	<b><i>ku-omuvéro.</i></b>	
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-steal-NPF	LOC17-door	
e. Eye	<i>má-honahon-a</i>	<b><i>oku-yendá</i></b>	<i>ku-omuvéro.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-steal-NPF	INF-go	LOC17-door
g. ?Eye	<b><i>má-i</i></b>	<i>ku-omuvéro</i>	<i>a-má-hónáhón-á.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF	LOC17-door	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-steal-NPF

‘S/he is stealing **to** the door.’

Although all the verbs in examples (7)–(10) can express the goal with the locative noun prefix *ku-*, not all of the manner verbs can take a noun with *ku-* as the goal, as shown in (11c)–(16c).

(11) *nderera* ‘to march’

a. *Ovandu	<i>má-vé-ka-nderér-a</i>	<i>ku-omaendó.</i>	
people2	PRG-SM2-ITV-march-BF	LOC17-graveyard	
	‘People are marching at the graveyard.’		
b. #Ovandu	<i>má-vé-nderér-ér-é</i>	<i>omaendó.</i>	
people2	PRG-SM2-march-APPL-NPF	graveyard	
	‘People are marching for the graveyard.’		



- c.#*Ovandu*      *má-vé-nderér-é*      *ku-omaendó.*  
 people2      PRG-SM2-march-NPF      LOC17.graveyard
- e. *Ovandu*      *má-vé-nderér-é*      *oku-yendá*      *ku-omaendó.*  
 people2      PRG-SM2-march-NPF      INF-go      LOC17-graveyard  
 ‘People are marching **to** the graveyard.’

(12) *tukatuka* ‘to hop’

- a.\**Ovanátje*      *má-vé-ka-tukatuk-a*      *ku-omaendó.*  
 children2      PRG-SM2-ITV-hop-BF      LOC17.door
- b.\**Ovanátje*      *má-vé-tukatuk-ir-e*      *omuvéro.*  
 children2      PRG-SM2-hop-APPL-NPF      door
- c.#*Ovanátje*      *má-vé-tukatuk-a*      *ku-omuvéro.*  
 children2      PRG-SM2-hop-NPF      LOC17-door  
 ‘Children are hopping on the door.’
- e. *Ovanátje*      *má-vé-tukatuk-a*      *oku-yendá*      *ku-omuvéro.*  
 children2      PRG-SM2-hop-NPF      INF-go      LOC17-door
- g. *Ovanátje*      *má-vé-i*      *ku-omuvéro*      *a-má-vé-tukatuk-a.*  
 children2      PRG-SM2-go.NPF      LOC17-door      SCM-PRG-SM2-hop-NPF  
 ‘Children are hopping **to** the door.’

(13) *slengera* ‘to stagger’

- a.\**Eye*      *má-ka-slenger-a*      *ku-omuvéro.*  
 3SG      PRG.SM3SG-ITV-stagger-BF      LOC17-door
- b. *Eye*      *má-slenger-er-e*      *omuvéro.*  
 3SG      PRG.SM3SG-stagger-APPL-NPF      door
- c.#*Eye*      *má-slenger-a*      *ku-omuvéro.*  
 3SG      PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF      LOC17-door  
 ‘S/he is staggering on the door.’
- e. *Eye*      *má-slenger-a*      *oku-yendá*      *ku-omuvéro.*  
 3SG      PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF      INF-go      LOC17-door
- g.?*Eye*      *má-i*      *ku-omuvéro*      *a-má-slenger-a.*  
 3SG      PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF      LOC17-door      SCM-PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF  
 ‘S/he is staggering **to** the door.’

(14) *nana ozombaze* ‘to drag one’s feet’

- a.\**Eye*      *má-ka-nan-a*      *ozombazé*      *ku-omuvéro.*  
 3SG      PRG.SM3SG-ITV-drag-BF      feet      LOC17-door



Using the applicative suffix cannot always express the goal. Example (11b) is grammatical, but it indicates the purpose of the main event of MOVE *to*, not the goal in this case.<sup>10</sup> Also, the locative noun prefix *ku-* cannot always mean ‘towards,’ and it sometimes means the place (see Footnote 5).<sup>11</sup> With the manner verbs in (11)–(16), the locative noun prefix *ku-* cannot express the goal ‘to’ but the place ‘at/on.’ For example, (15c) and (16c) are faulty constructions because *hakahana* ‘to rush’ requires not the place but the direction or action to rush, and ‘to swim at the bridge’ is not logical.

All the manner verbs can express the goal with the verb *yenda* ‘to go’ in infinitive form, as shown in (e) of each example in (11)–(16). Some manner verbs have the option of appearing in a subordinate clause. Each example (g) in (12)–(16) shows the pattern in which the main verb expresses the main event of MOVE *to* and the simultaneous subordinate clause<sup>12</sup> expresses the manner.

### 3.2. Integration of manner and source: MOVE *from*

In examples (5)–(16), we have seen that the ways of indicating the goal differ depending on the manner verbs. The way of indicating the source MOVE *from*, however, is fixed regardless of the manner. The source of motion is indicated by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *okuza* ‘from,’ which is the (i-d) pattern in (4), as shown in (17)–(19). No other patterns occur in the integration of manner and source.

(17) *wondja* ‘to walk’

<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-wondj-o</i>	<i>okuzá</i>	<i>komuvéró.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-walk-NPF	from	LOC17.door

‘S/he is walking **from** the door.’

(18) *tupuka* ‘to run’

<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-a</i>	<i>okuzá</i>	<i>komuvéró.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF	from	LOC17.door

‘S/he is running **from** the door.’

(19) *nana ozombaze* ‘to drag one’s feet’

<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-nan-a</i>	<i>ozombazé</i>	<i>okuzá</i>	<i>komuvéró.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-drag-NPF	feet	from	LOC17.door

<sup>10</sup> Whether the applied object indicates the goal or purpose can sometimes depend on the context. However, it seems to be mainly determined by the verb stem. The applied object of the applicative form of *nderera* ‘to march’ is always the purpose and cannot be the goal.

<sup>11</sup> Whether the locative noun prefix *ku-* indicates direction ‘towards’ or general place ‘at/ on’ seems to depend on the verb. However, it is not clear at this moment. More investigation is needed.

<sup>12</sup> The simultaneous clause is exclusively used as a subordinate clause, and the initial prefix *á-* of the clause is the marker of subordinate clauses (SCM).

‘S/he is dragging feet **from** the door.’

### 3.3. Integration of manner and route: MOVE *along*

The next examples show the integration patterns of the manner and route of the motion MOVE *along*. The route is expressed by the locative noun prefix *mu-*, that is, pattern (i-a). The way of indicating the route and manner is also fixed, and no other patterns occur in this integration.

(20) *wondja* ‘to walk’

a. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-ka-wondj-a</i>	<i>mu-ondjira.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-ITV-walk-BF	LOC18-street

b. <i>Eye</i>	<i>má-wondj-o</i>	<i>mu-ondjira.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-walk-NPF	LOC18-street

‘She is walking **along** the street.’

(21) *tupuka* ‘to run’

<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-a</i>	<i>mu-ondjira.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF	LOC18-street

‘She is running **along** the street.’

(22) *nana ozombaze* ‘to drag one’s feet’

<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-nan-a</i>	<i>ozombazé</i>	<i>mu-ondjira.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-drag-NPF	feet	LOC18-street

‘S/he is dragging feet **along** the street.’

cf. (23) *punda* ‘to dance’

<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-pund-u</i>	<i>mu-ondjira.</i>
3SG	PRG.SM3SG-dance-NPF	LOC18-street

‘She is dancing **in** the street.’

The function of the locative noun prefix *mu-* is to add the meaning ‘inside’ to the noun, as shown in (23); thus, the original meaning of *mondjira* is ‘in the street’ rather than ‘along the street.’ However, when *mu-* is used with a verb that contains the meaning of motion, it can be translated as ‘along.’ Therefore, the ‘MOVE *along*’ reading of the locative noun prefix *mu-* in the examples above seems to be attributable to the meaning of the verb and the context.

### 3.4. Summary of the findings

We have seen the integration patterns of the motion events (MOVE *to*, MOVE *from*, and MOVE *along*) and manner of motion. When the event MOVE *from* integrates with the manner, the main verb expresses the manner, and the main event is expressed by a non-verb element, namely, the prepositional phrase with *okuza* ‘from.’ The integration of the event MOVE *along* and the manner also shows the pattern in which the main verb expresses the manner and the locative noun prefix *mu-* expresses the main event. These patterns do not follow the pattern of V-languages.

The patterns of these integrations, manner and MOVE *from* or MOVE *along*, are fixed. However, in the case of the integration of MOVE *to*, the patterns differ depending on the manner. In some cases, the goal is expressed by the main verb, and in other cases, it is expressed by a non-main verb or non-verb element. Table 1 shows how the goal is indicated when it appears with the manner.

Table 1: Integration of MOVE *to* and manner

		goal	manner				
			a. ITV <i>ka-</i>	b. APPL <i>-er</i>	c. LOC <i>ku-</i>	e. INF of <i>yenda</i>	g. ‘to go’ is main V
(5)	<i>-wondja</i>	walk	✓	✓	?	✓	*
(6)	<i>-wondja kozongoro</i>	crawl	✓	(#)	??	✓	*
(7)	<i>-tupuka</i>	run	*	(#)	✓	✓	n/d
(8)	<i>-ṭenduna</i>	limp	*	✓	✓	✓	n/d
(9)	<i>-ndarafa</i>	skip	*	*	✓	✓	?
(10)	<i>-honahona</i>	creep	*	✓	✓	✓	?
(11)	<i>-nderera</i>	march	*	#	#	✓	n/d
(12)	<i>-tukatuka</i>	hop	*	*	#	✓	✓
(13)	<i>-slengera</i>	stagger	*	✓	#	✓	?
(14)	<i>-nana (ozombaze)</i>	drag feet	*	*	#	✓	✓
(15)	<i>-hakahana</i>	rush	*	#	*	✓	??
(16)	<i>-tjaara</i>	swim	*	*	*	✓	✓

According to Table 1, five patterns are observed in the integration of MOVE *to* and manner. The typical integration pattern of V-languages, in which the main verb expresses the main event of MOVE *to* (pattern g) is fully accepted only with a few manner verbs. There are some verbs for which data for this pattern are not available (indicated with “n/d” in Table 1). The Herero consultant did not provide examples for these, so their availability is unknown. However, this suggests that this integration pattern is not a very preferable or natural expression.

When the main verb expresses manner, the goal is expressed by either a non-verb element (such as the itive prefix *ka-*, applicative suffix *-er*, or locative noun prefix *ku-*) or

a non-main verb (an infinitive verb). The former patterns are not integration patterns of V-languages, and the latter patterns are at least not “typical” patterns of V-languages. Herero does not have a preposition of indicating the goal (that is why Table 1 does not have a column for pattern d); however, *okuyenda*, the infinitive form of the verb *yenda* ‘to go’ possibly functions as a preposition, as mentioned in Section 3.1.

#### 4. Integration patterns of manner and MOVE *up*, MOVE *down*, MOVE *in*, or MOVE *out*

This section will show the integration patterns of path and manner, using the following verbs, which express manner. Paths such as *up*, *down*, *in*, *out*, and *around*<sup>13</sup> are always expressed by a verb; therefore, the patterns in (i) in (24) are not possible, and only the patterns in (ii-e, f) and (iii-g) occur in the integration of path and manner. Each example (e), (f), and (g) in examples (25)–(46) corresponds to (24).

<i>wondja</i>	‘to walk’
<i>tupuka</i>	‘to run’
<i>ndarafa</i>	‘to skip’
<i>honahona</i>	‘to creep’
<i>tukatuka</i>	‘to hop’
<i>slengera</i>	‘to stagger’

#### (24) Event integration patterns in Herero (=4)

- (i) The main verb expresses the manner, and a non-verb element, such as the following, expresses the motion event:
- the itive prefix *ka-* added to the verb
  - the applicative suffix *-er* added to the verb
  - the locative noun prefix *pu-*, *ku-*, or *mu-*
  - a prepositional phrase
- (ii) The main verb expresses the manner, and a non-main verb, such as the following, expresses the motion event:

<sup>13</sup> I have not collected enough data on the event integration of MOVE *around* for discussion or analysis. Therefore, I will treat only *up*, *down*, *in*, and *out* in this section. The following examples in (i) are just supplemental information.

<i>tupuka</i> ‘to run’					
i)	e.	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-a</i>	<i>oku-kondoroka</i>	<i>ondjuwo.</i>
		3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF	INF-move.around	house
	f.*	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-tupuk-a</i>	<i>a-ma-kondorok-a</i>	<i>ondjuwo.</i>
		3SG	PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-move.around-NPF	house
	g.	<i>Eye</i>	<i>má-kondorok-a</i>	<i>ondjuwo</i>	<i>a-ma-tupuk-a.</i>
		3SG	PRG.SM3SG-move.around-NPF	house	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-run-NPF
				‘S/he is running <b>around</b> the house.’	

- e. the infinitive form of the verb
- f. the simultaneous subordinate clause
- (iii) The main verb expresses the motion event, and a non-main verb, such as the following, expresses the manner:
  - g. the simultaneous subordinate clause.

#### 4.1. Integration of MOVE *up* and manner: *-ronda* ‘go up’

(25) *wondja* ‘to walk’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-wóndj- ó oku-rondá ku-ondundu.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF INF-go.up LOC17-mountain
- f. \**Ówó má-vé-wóndj- ó a-má-vé-rond-ó ku-ondundu.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain
- g. \**Ówó má-vé-rond-ó ku-ondundu a-má-vé- wóndj-á*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain SCM-PRG-SM3PL-walk-BF  
 ‘They are walking **up** the mountain.’

(26) *tupuka* ‘to run’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-túpúk-á oku-rondá ku-ondundu.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-run-NPFINF-go.up LOC17-mountain
- f. ?*Ówó má-vé-túpúk-á a-má-vé-rond-ó ku-ondundu.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-run-NPFSCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain
- g. *Ówó má-vé-rond-ó ku-ondundu a-má-vé-túpúk-á.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain SCM-PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF  
 ‘They are running **up** the mountain.’

(27) *ndarafa* ‘to skip’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-ndaraf-á oku-rondá ku-ondundu.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF INF-go.up LOC17-mountain
- f. \**Ówó má-vé-ndaraf-á a-má-vé-rond-ó ku-ondundu.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain
- g. *Ówó má-vé-rond-ó ku-ondundu a-má-vé-ndaraf-á.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain SCM-PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF  
 ‘They are skipping **up** the mountain.’

(28) *honahona* ‘to creep’

- e. ?Ówó má-vé-hónáhón-á **oku-rondá** ku-ondundu.  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF INF-go.up LOC17-mountain
- f. ?Ówó má-vé-hónáhón-á **a-má-vé-rond-ó** ku-ondundu.  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain
- g. Ówó **má-vé-rond-ó** ku-ondundu a-má-vé-hónáhón-á.  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain SCM-PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF  
 ‘They are creeping **up** the mountain.’

(29) *tukatuka* ‘to hop’

- e. Ówó má-vé-túkátúk-á **oku-rondá** ku-ondundu.  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF INF-go.up LOC17-mountain
- f. Ówó má-vé-túkátúk-á **a-má-vé-rond-ó** ku-ondundu.  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain
- g. Ówó **má-vé-rond-ó** ku-ondundu a-má-vé-túkátúk-á.  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain SCM-PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF  
 ‘They are hopping **up** the mountain.’

(30) *slengera* ‘to stagger’

- e. \*Éyé má-sléngér-á **oku-rondá** ku-ondundu.  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF INF-go.up LOC17-mountain
- f. \*Éyé má-sléngér-á **a-má-rond-ó**  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG -stagger-NPF SCM-PRG.SM3SG-go.up-NPF  
 ku-ondundu.  
 LOC17-mountain
- g. Éyé **má-rond-ó** ku-ondundu a-má-sléngér-á.  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-go.up-NPF LOC17-mountain SCM-PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF  
 ‘S/he is staggering **up** the mountain.’

In the case of MOVE up, pattern e, in which the main verb expresses the manner and the path appears in the infinitive verb form, is used, except when the manner verb is *honahona* ‘to creep’ or *slengera* ‘to stagger.’ Pattern f, in which the path is expressed in the simultaneous subordinate clause, is only acceptable in the integration with *tukatuka* ‘to hop.’ Pattern g, in which the main verb expresses the path and a simultaneous subordinate clause expresses the manner, is widely used, except in the case of the manner verb *wondja* ‘to walk.’



4.2 Integration of MOVE *down* and manner: *-heruka* ‘get down’(31) *wondja* ‘to walk’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-wóndj-ó oku-héréká ku-ondundú.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF INF-go.down LOC17-mountain
- f.\**Ówó má-vé-wóndj-ó a-má-vé-hérék-á*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF  
*ku-ondundú.*  
 LOC17-mountain
- g.?*Ówó má-vé-herúk-á ku-ondundú*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF LOC17-mountain  
*a-má-vé-wóndj-ó.*  
 SCM-PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF  
 ‘They are walking **down** the mountain.’

(32) *tupuka* ‘to run’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-túpúk-á oku-herúká ku-ondundú.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF INF-go.down LOC17-mountain
- f.? *Ówó má-vé-túpúk-á a-má-vé-herúk-á*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF  
*ku-ondundú.*  
 LOC17-mountain
- g. *Ówó má-vé-herúk-á ku-ondundú*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF LOC17-mountain  
*a-má-vé-túpúk-á.*  
 SCM-PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF  
 ‘They are running **down** the mountain.’

(33) *ndarafa* ‘to skip’

- e.??*Ówó má-vé-ndaráf-á oku-heruka ku-ondundú.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF INF-go.down LOC17-mountain
- f.\**Ówó má-vé-ndaráf-á a-má-vé-heruk-á*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF  
*ku-ondundú.*  
 LOC17-mountain
- g. *Ówó má-vé-herúk-á ku-ondundú*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF LOC17-mountain

*a-má-vé-ndaráf-á.*

SCM-PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF

‘They are skipping **down** the mountain.’

(34) *honahona* ‘to creep’

e.??*Ówó má-vé-hónáhón-á oku-herúká ku-ondundú.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF INF-go.down LOC17-mountain

f.?*Ówó má-vé-hónáhón-á a-má-vé-herúk-á*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF  
*ku-ondundú.*

LOC17-mountain

g. *Ówó má-vé-herúk-á ku-ondundú*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF LOC17-mountain

*a-má-vé-hónáhón-á.*

SCM-PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF

‘They are creeping **down** the mountain.’

(35) *tukatuka* ‘to hop’

e. *Ówó má-vé-túkátúk-á oku-herúká ku-ondundú.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF INF-go.down LOC17-mountain

f. *Ówó má-vé-túkátúk-á a-má-vé-herúk-á*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF  
*ku-ondundú.*

LOC17-mountain

g. *Ówó má-vé-herúk-á ku-ondundú*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-go.down-NPF LOC17-mountain

*a-má-vé-túkátúk-á.*

SCM-PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF

‘They are hopping **down** the mountain.’

(36) *slengera* ‘to stagger’

e.??*Éyé má-sléngér-á oku-herúká ku-ondundú.*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF INF-go.down LOC17-mountain

f.\**Éyé má-sléngér-á a-má-hérúk-á*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF SCM-PRG.SM3SG-go.down-NPF  
*ku-ondundú.*

LOC17-mountain

- g. *Éyé má-heruk-a ku-ondundú*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-go.down-NPF LOC17-mountain  
*a-má-sléngér-á.*  
 SCM-PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF  
 ‘S/he is staggering **down** the mountain.’

In the case of MOVE *down*, pattern g, in which the main verb expresses path and the simultaneous subordinate clause expresses manner, is widely used, except in the integration with the verb *wondja* ‘to walk.’ It is only with *tukatuka* ‘to hop’ that pattern f is fully accepted, as well as in the case of MOVE *up*; however, the level of acceptability of pattern f is higher than that of MOVE *up* integration. On the other hand, the acceptability level of pattern e is lower than that of MOVE *up*.

#### 4.3. Integration of MOVE *in* and manner: *-hita* ‘to enter’

##### (37) *wondja* ‘to walk’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-wóndj-ó oku-hita mu-ondjuwó.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF INF-enter LOC18-house
- f.\* *Ówó má-vé-wóndj-ó a-má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house
- g.\* *Ówó má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwó a-má-vé-wóndj-ó.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house SCM-PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF  
 ‘They are walking **into** the house.’

##### (38) *tupuka* ‘to run’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-túpúk-á oku-hitá mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF INF-enterLOC18-house
- f.\* *Ówó má-vé-túpúk-á a-má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house
- g. *Ówó má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwó a-má-vé-túpúk-á.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house SCM-PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF  
 ‘They are running **into** the house.’

##### (39) *ndarafa* ‘to skip’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-ndaráf-á oku-hitá mu-ondjuwó.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF INF-enter LOC18-house
- f.\* *Ówó má-vé-ndaráf-á a-má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house

- g. *Ówó má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwó a-má-vé-ndaráf-á.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house SCM-PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF  
 ‘They are skipping **into** the house.’

(40) *honahona* ‘to creep’

- e. *Ówó má-vé-hónáhón-á oku-hítá mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF INF-enter LOC18-house
- f.\* *Owo ma-ve-honahon-a a-má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house
- g. *Ówó má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwó a-má-vé-hónáhón-á.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house SCM-PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF  
 ‘They are creeping **into** the house.’

(41) *tukatuka* ‘to hop’

- e.? *Ówó má-vé-túkátúk-á oku-hítá mu-ondjuwó.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF INF-enter LOC18-house
- f.\* *Ówó má-vé-túkátúk-á a-má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwo.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF SCM-PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house
- g. *Ówó má-vé-hit-í mu-ondjuwó a-má-vé-túkátúk-á.*  
 3PL PRG-SM3PL-enter-NPF LOC18-house SCM-PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF  
 ‘They are hopping **into** the house.’

(42) *slengera* ‘to stagger’

- e.\* *Éyé má-sléngér-á oku-hítá mu-ondjuwó.*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF INF-enter LOC18-house
- f.\* *Éyé má-sléngér-á a-má-hit-í mu-ondjuwó.*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF SCM-PRG.SM3SG-enter-NPF LOC18-house
- g. *Éyé má-hit-í mu-ondjuwó a-má-sléngér-á.*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-enter-NPF LOC18-house SCM-PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF  
 ‘S/he is staggering **into** the house.’

In the case of MOVE *in*, patterns e and g are equally widely acceptable. However, pattern f is not accepted at all.

4.4. Integration of MOVE *out* and manner: *-pita* ‘to get out’(43) *wondja* ‘to walk’

e.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-wóndj-ó</i>	<i>oku-yendá</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF	INF-go	outside
f.*	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-wóndj-ó</i>	<i>a-má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside
g.*	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé</i>	<i>a-ma-ve-wondj-o.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-walk-NPF

‘They are walking **out**.’

(44) *tupuka* ‘to run’

e.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-túpúk-a</i>	<i>oku-pítá</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF	INF-get.out	outside
f.??	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-túpúk-a</i>	<i>a-má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside
g.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé</i>	<i>a-má-vé-túpúk-á.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-run-NPF

‘They are running **out**.’

(45) *ndarafa* ‘to skip’

e.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-ndaráf-á</i>	<i>oku-pítá</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF	INF-get.out	outside
f.*	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-ndaráf-á</i>	<i>a-má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside
g.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé</i>	<i>a-má-vé-ndaráf-á.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-skip-NPF

‘They are skipping **out**.’

(46) *honahona* ‘to creep’

e.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-hónáhón-á</i>	<i>okú-pítá</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF	INF-get.out	outside
f.??	<i>Owo</i>	<i>ma-ve-honahon-a</i>	<i>a-ma-ve-pít-i</i>	<i>pendje.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside
g.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé</i>	<i>a-má-vé-hónáhón-á.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-creep-NPF

‘They are creeping **out**.’

(47) *tukatuka* ‘to hop’

e.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-túkátúk-á</i>	<i>oku-pítá</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF	INF-get.out	outside
f.*	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-túkátúk-á</i>	<i>a-ma-ve-pít-i</i>	<i>pendje.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside
g.	<i>Ówó</i>	<i>má-vé-pít-í</i>	<i>pendjé</i>	<i>a-má-vé-túkátúk-á.</i>
	3PL	PRG-SM3PL-get.out-NPF	outside	SCM-PRG-SM3PL-hop-NPF

‘They are hopping **out.**’

(48) *slengera* ‘to stagger’

e.*	<i>Éyé</i>	<i>má-sléngér-á</i>	<i>oku-pítá</i>	<i>pendjé.</i>
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF	INF-get.out	outside
f.*	<i>Éyé</i>	<i>má-sléngér-á</i>	<i>a-ma-pít-i</i>	<i>pendje.</i>
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-get.out-NPF	outside
g.	<i>Éyé</i>	<i>má-pít-í</i>	<i>pendje</i>	<i>a-má-sléngér-á.</i>
	3SG	PRG.SM3SG-get.out-NPF	outside	SCM-PRG.SM3SG-stagger-NPF

‘He is staggering **out.**’

In the case of MOVE *out*, patterns e and g are equally widely used. However, pattern f is not acceptable, just like in the case of the integration of MOVE *in*.

## 4.5. Summary of the findings

We have seen the integration patterns of path and manner, and they are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2: Integration patterns of path and manner

path \ manner	MOVE <i>up</i>			MOVE <i>down</i>			MOVE <i>in</i>			MOVE <i>out</i>		
	<i>ronda</i>			<i>heruka</i>			<i>hita</i>			<i>pita</i>		
	e	f	g	e	f	g	e	f	g	e	f	g
walk <i>wondja</i>	✓	*	*	✓	*	?	✓	*	*	✓	*	*
run <i>tupuka</i>	✓	?	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	??	✓
skip <i>ndarafa</i>	✓	*	✓	??	*	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	*	✓
creep <i>honahona</i>	??	?	✓	??	?	✓	✓	*	✓	✓	??	✓
hop <i>tukatuka</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	*	✓	✓	*	✓
stagger <i>slengera</i>	*	*	✓	??	*	✓	*	*	✓	*	*	✓

- e. The main verb expresses the manner, and the infinitive form of the verb expresses the path.
- f. The main verb expresses the manner, and the simultaneous subordinate clause expresses the path.
- g. The main verb expresses the path, and the simultaneous subordinate clause expresses the manner.

As I have already mentioned, paths such as *up*, *down*, *in*, and *out* are all expressed only by verbs (either main or non-main verbs); therefore, the patterns in (i), in which a non-verb element expresses the path, do not occur in the integrations of these paths and manner.

In the integrations of path and manner, patterns in which the path is expressed by a non-main verb (e, f) and by the main verb (g) are both observed. According to Table 2, the verb *wondja* ‘to walk’ can only appear in the integration of pattern e, and the verb *slengera* ‘to stagger’ can only appear in the integration of pattern g, regardless of the kind of path. However, other manner verbs can appear as both the main verb and a non-main verb. In the integration of MOVE *up*, MOVE *down*, MOVE *in*, MOVE *out*, and manner, I have only presented examples of six manner verbs, however, the other manner verbs listed in Section 2.3, such as *nana ozombaze* ‘to drag one’s feet’ and *tenduna* ‘to limp,’ also appear both in patterns e and g. On the other hand, pattern f, in which the main verb expresses the manner and the subordinate simultaneous clause expresses the path, is observed in a very limited number of manner verbs.

## 5. Integration of concomitance and MOVE to

Up to here, we have seen the integration pattern of path (incl. goal, source, or route) with manner. In this section, I will show some examples of integration with concomitance. The numbers and types of verbs are, however, limited and not enough to draw conclusions, so they are presented just as supplemental information. The following examples are the integration cases of MOVE *to* and concomitance.

(49) *imbura* ‘to sing’

- |               |                  |                 |                         |
|---------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| g. <i>Owo</i> | <i>má-vé-í</i>   | <i>kokéreká</i> | <i>a-má-vé-ímbúr-á.</i> |
| 3PL           | PRG-SM3PL-go.NPF | LOC17.church    | SCM-PRG-SM3PL-sing-NPF  |
- ‘They are going **to** church while singing (they are doing going to church and singing at the same time).’

(50) *teratera* ‘tremble’

g. *Eye má-í komuveró a-má-terátér-á.*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF LOC17.door SCM-PRG.SM3SG-tremble-NPF  
 ‘S/he is going **to** the door with trembling (s/he is doing going to the door and trembling at the same time).’

Both examples use pattern g, in which the main verb expresses the motion event and the simultaneous subordinate clause expresses the co-event (concomitance). In the case of integration of goal and concomitance, this pattern is most commonly and productively used. However, the other case is also observed, as shown in (51).

(51) *zara* ‘to wear’

c. *Eye má-zár-á ohorókova ongiríne ku-okéreka.*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-wear-NPF dress green LOC17-church  
 ‘She will wear a green dress **to** the church.’

cf. g. *Eye má-í kokéréká a-má-zár-á*  
 3SG PRG.SM3SG-go.NPF LOC17.church SCM-PRG.SM3SG-wear-NPF  
*ohorókova ongiríne.*  
 dress green  
 ‘She will go to the church while wearing a green dress.’

In example (51c), *okéreka* ‘church’ appears with the locative noun prefix *ku-*, and it indicates the goal (which is pattern c). This is not only the case in *okéreka* ‘church,’ but any noun with a locative noun prefix can be the goal with the verb *zara* ‘to wear.’ When pattern g is used with this verb, the situation that is expressed is not that she is walking in a green dress, but that she is putting on a green dress on the street while walking to the church, as shown in (51g). However, this pattern is only observed in the integration of the goal and the verb *zara* ‘to wear’ at the moment.

## 6. Conclusion

We have seen the event integration patterns in motion expressions such as MOVE *to*, MOVE *from*, MOVE *along*, MOVE *up*, MOVE *down*, MOVE *in*, and MOVE *out*. The integration patterns of these motion and manner are summarized in (52).

(52) Event integration patterns in Herero

- (i) The main verb expresses the manner, and non-verbal elements express the motion event (=main event).
  - a. The main event is expressed by the itive prefix *ka-* attached to the verb.



- MOVE *to* (but only with *wondja* ‘to walk’)
- b. The main event is expressed by the applicative suffix *-er* attached to the verb.
  - MOVE *to*
- c. The main event is expressed by the locative noun prefix.
  - MOVE *to*
  - MOVE *along*
- d. The main event is expressed by a prepositional phrase.
  - MOVE *from*
- (ii) The main verb expresses the manner, and a non-main verb expresses the motion event (=main event).
  - e. The main event is expressed in the infinitive verb form.
    - MOVE *to* (most widely used)
    - MOVE *up*
    - MOVE *down*
    - MOVE *in*
    - MOVE *out* (most widely used)
  - f. The main event is expressed in the simultaneous subordinate clause.
    - MOVE *down* (but very rare)
- (iii) The main verb expresses the motion event, and a non-main verb expresses the manner (co-event).
  - g. The co-event is expressed in the simultaneous subordinate clause.
    - MOVE *to*
    - MOVE *up* (most widely used)
    - MOVE *down* (most widely used)
    - MOVE *in* (most widely used)
    - MOVE *out* (used as widely as pattern e )

In patterns (i) and (ii), the main verb expresses the manner; therefore, it is only in pattern (iii) that the main verb expresses the path, which is a typical pattern of V-languages. Pattern (iii) is observed in the integration of MOVE *to*, MOVE *down*, MOVE *in*, and MOVE *out*, but not in the integration of MOVE *along* and MOVE *from*. These integrations appear only in pattern (i).

Integrations other than with MOVE *along* and MOVE *from* appear in various patterns, depending on the manner, or sometimes on the path. When the main event is MOVE *to*, pattern (i-a) is the basic pattern. When the main event is MOVE *up*, *down*, *out*, or *in*, patterns e and g are most widely used, and these patterns are sometimes interchangeable.

Talmy (2000) classifies Bantu languages as V-languages. Patterns a and b are the typical integration patterns of S-languages, and pattern g is a typical integration pattern of V-languages. According to (52), the pattern that is most widely used is pattern g, and patterns a and b are used the least. This result might show that Herero has the tendency of V-languages. However, there are also cases in which non-verb elements express the main event (patterns in (i)), and these cases are not rare but even essential for MOVE *from* and MOVE *along*. Also, even when the verb expresses the main event, the verb is not always the main verb (patterns in (ii)), and these cases are not typical patterns of the V-languages of Talmy's (2000) definition. Moreover, when the main event is expressed by the infinitive form of *yenda* 'to go,' the verb seems function as a preposition through grammaticalization. This would be pattern (i-d). Therefore, it is not very clear whether Herero, one of the Bantu languages, should be classified as a V-language. It seems more apposite to say that Herero shows a heterogeneous characteristic in its event integration patterns, and at least Herero cannot be clearly classified as a V-language.

### Abbreviations

APPL: applicative, BF: basic final, INF: infinitive prefix, ITV: itive, LOC: locative, NPF: non-perfect final, PL: plural, PST: past, PRG: progressive, SCM: subordinate clause marker, SG: singular, SM: subject marker, 1: first person, 2: second person, 3: third person. The numbers in the glosses (other than persons) show the noun class that the noun belongs to or the affix agrees with.

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