Two multifunctional locative and directional prepositions in Zande[1]

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1. Introduction

In Pasch (2007: 174ff) I observed that the direction of self-induced or caused motion towards a location is usually expressed by the preposition *ku* ((1), (2)). *Ku* is frequently used to mark DIRECTION in a journey of which the starting point has been mentioned ((3), (4)). In this case the verb describing the motion away from the starting point is gapped. These observations are in agreement with Gore & Gore (1952: 78), who translate *ku* as 'towards' and add "that it always implies motion". The situation of the speaker may optionally be indicated by the distal adverb *yo* 'there' (more frequent) or by the proximal adverb *no* (less frequent) 'here' in clause-final position.

(1) wele   ni   ki   ni-ndu   ku   kpwu-li[2]   yo.
     thus   ANAPH   CONS   X-go   DIR   village-3f   there
      '… and thus he then went to her village.' (Lagae 1921: 184)

(2) ki   ni-mo   ka   ma-a   ku   we   yo.
     CONS   X-begin   SUB   place.IPF-INAN   DIR   fire   there
     '… and began to place it [the pot with the flesh] on the fire.' (EP 1956: 73)

(3) Nabaya   a-mere   be-re,   ku   azya   Mbiri   yo.
     N.   III-escape from-1s.2[3] DIR   ?   M.   there
     'Nabaya has run away from me, towards the district of Mbiri.' (Gero 1968: 163)

(4) ka   roga-a   ku   auru   gbogbo   ti   ngba   we   si   nyoro.
     SUB   remove-INAN.2   DIR   over   platform[4]   at   mouth   fire   INAN.1   whither
     '... [to] take it away [from the fire] to a drying platform over a fire to dry.' (EP 1956: 73)

It must be noted that not all descriptions of directed motion events require the preposition *ku*. It is not used in case direction of a motion is irrelevant or vague and can be inferred from

[2] *Kpolo* 'homestead' is a relational noun. In contexts where the owner is known the second syllable is dropped and replaced by a pronoun of the second series or a noun referring to the home's owner. Furthermore the stem is contracted to one syllable and the vowel is raised (cf. Pasch 2007: 170, footnote 14).
[3] Zande hast two series of personal pronouns which appear on all pronouns which are not of HUMAN gender (Pasch & Mbolifouye 2011: <4>-<6>). In the present text they are indicated by "1" for series 1 and "2" for series 2 after the number markers "s" and "p".
[4] *Gbogbo* is a special platform for drying meat.

the combination of the verb and the following locative expression describing the position of the moved item at the endpoint of the trajectory, or GOAL ((5), (6)). It may also be omitted if direction is expressed by the verb (7).

(5)   mo   zogo-he   sende
       2s.1   put.down-INAN.2   ground
       'Put it on the ground.' (L&VP 1925: 141)

(6)   mo   moi-e   rogo   bu   yo
       2s   put.PF-INAN.2   inside   banana   there
       'Put it among the bananas.' (Gore 1926: 104)

(7)   Rame   ki   ta   zio[5]   bangili   a-boro
       sleep   CONS   already   seize   eye   PL-person

       i   ki   mo   ka   limo[6]   dunduko …
       3p.1   CONS   begin   SUB   enter   all
       'When the people became sleepy and all began to enter [their huts] …' (EP 1973: 237)

Motion away from a location does not usually get a morphological marking, even if the starting point of the TRAJECTORY, or SOURCE, is indicated. This point is described either by a prepositional phrase (8) or by a locational noun (9). This observation is in agreement with the "GOAL-over-SOURCE principle" by Verspoor et al. 1999: 98) according to which among the three components of PATH (cf. Talmy 1985) GOAL or TRAJECTORY may be windowed by itself gapping the respective other and the SOURCE. It is, however, not possible to window only the SOURCE gapping GOAL and TRAJECTORY.

(8)   Tule   ki   kuru   vuru-ru   yo   na   a-gu   a-boro
       T.   CONS   exit   belly-AN.s.2   there   with   PL-DEF.D   PL-person
       'Tule then with the people went out of its [i.e. the bird's] body.' (Lagae 1921: 190)

(9)   Mbara   ni-ta-lita   a-mbasa   u   bi   rumbu-ru
       elephant   X-yet-eat   PL-borassusnut AN.s.1   see   backside-AN.s.2

       ka   nika-ru   rogo-ho
       SUB   excrete-AN.s.2   inside-INAN.2
       'When an elephant has swallowed a borassus-nut he finds an anus to throw it out.'
       (Bervoets 1954: 1054)

The use of *ku* as a marker of direction towards a GOAL is easily elicited from informants. But the investigation of texts (stories, proverbs) collected by Evans-Pritchard (1931, 1956, 1973), Gore (1926) and Lagae (1921), proverbs by Bervouts (1952-1955), single sentences quoted in Evans-Pritchard's volume "The Azande" (1971) as well as numerous entries in the dictionaries by Gore & Gore (1952) and Lagae & Vanden Plas (1922, 1925) show that *ku* is not an unequivocal indicator of motion directed towards a GOAL, the absence of which would imply either non-motion or motion away from a SOURCE. Furthermore, the presence of *ku* is not restricted to translational motion events.

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[5] This verb is listed in the dictionary as *zia/zi* (IPF/PF) 'to seize, to take hold of' in Gore & Gore (1952: 164).
[6] Lagae & Vanden Plas (1925: 95) give *lima* (*i*) 'enter'. The final <o> in the example results from regressive assilimation.

For a comprehensive description of the functions of *ku* further criteria must be taken into account. Among these is the DIRECTION of motion events: whether they are horizontal, vertical or inward/outward. Furthermore, the quality of the PATH, whether it allows the FIGURE to reach its destination anyhow, or whether it has to follow a specific line or a narrow PATH. *Ku* may also indicate the new position of a FIGURE as resulting from directed motion where no motion is explicitly expressed. Finally *ku* is also used metaphorically to indicate DIRECTION in non-spatial contexts. In addition the specific posture of the FIGURE with regard to the GROUND at the end of the motion may play a role. In the description of static situations *ku* is used when these non-topological, but angular.

When in 2007 I stated that *ku* is the only direction marker in Zande I had not yet come across a preposition marking SOURCE/ORIGIN, *be*, which is quite usually translated as 'from, off', derived from the denotation for 'arm, hand' (3). What at first appears to be a morpho-syntactic SOURCE marker functions as such only under very specific conditions. In most cases, *be* indicates rather presence at a powerful and influential place owned by a dangerous animal or person than ORIGIN from such a place. It is, however, also used to indicate the cause of an unfavorable given situation.

In this paper I will discuss the prepositions *ku* and *be*, as real or apparent markers of direction towards a GOAL and away from a SOURCE. Both are also used in motion and in non-motion events, but with regard to *ku* the correlation with motion and the direction of motion determines the primary sense, while with regard to *be* static position determines the primary sense.

This paper is organized in two chapters. In chapter 2 the preposition *ku* is discussed in contexts other than usual directed motion events. First, some peculiar usages of *ku* in motion events are presented. Then the analysis focuses on *ku* in expressions without motion verbs, where it indicates direction of perception, angular position or remote position. In metaphorical usages *ku* marks the target language of linguistic translation, the position towards another person or another social group, and possibly also benefactivity.

Chapter 3 discusses the functions of the preposition *be* and analyses its development out of the denotation for 'hand, arm' in a process of grammaticalization. Conclusions are drawn in chapter 4.

2. The preposition *ku*

The examples given above showing the normal use of *ku* as a marker of direction in combination with motion verbs refer to horizontal motion only. In examples (1) and (2) only information on the direction towards the GOAL is given, in examples (3) and (4), information about the SOURCE of a motion is relevant to make the description of the situation comprehensible. But while the motion from the SOURCE is described by a motion verb, the verb is gapped with regard to the motion in direction of the GOAL. This direction is expressed solely by the preposition *ku*.
In the following the usage of *ku* in specific types of motion events will be analyzed.

2.1 Motion along a narrow path or into a narrow container

The second type refers to motion that leads the figure through a narrow TRAJECTORY ((10), (11)) or into a narrow container (12). Here it is apparently irrelevant whether the verbs which describe the motion conflate a component of PATH ((10), (12)) or not (11).

(10)   Hime   na-tida   ku   due   yo
        water   II-lower   DIR   ditch   there
        'The level of the water lowers in the ditch.' (Lagae 1921: 150)

(11)   mo   uka   ime   ku   rogo   kambu   yo
        2s.1   spill   water   toward   in   bottle   there
        'Pour water into the water-bottle.' (Gore 1926: 104)

(12)   mi   mbili   kele   boro   nga   Tule   ku   vu-re   yo,   hehe!
        1s.1   swallow   bad   person   COP   T.   DIR   belly-1s.2   there   woe
        'I devoured a bad person, Ture, into my stomach, woe [me].' (Lagae 1921: 184)

2.2 Vertical motion

Upward motion is always described with the preposition *ku* + *ari* 'up, above'[7], a locational
noun, which have fused to become *kuari* 'upwards'.

(13)   mo   mai-he   kuari
        2s.1   put-INAN.2   upwards
        'Put it very high.' (G&G 1952: 4)

(14)   Pipi   gizaza   sungu   ri   mbisa   na   ngba-ha   kuari.
        stopper   bottle   sit   on   table   with   mouth-INAN.2   top
        'The crown cap sits with its "mouth on top" on the table.' (i.e. with the metal side downwards)

Downward motion is marked by *ku* only when the direction of the motion is relevant
(15). Otherwise the verb and the prepositional phrase or the locational noun describing the
GOAL suffice to describe such a motion (16).

(15)   ka   ba-ha   ku   sende
        SUB   throw-INAN.2   DIR   ground
        'to throw it [from above] down to the ground' (Tucker 1959: 123)

(16)   ka   ba-ha   sende
        SUB   throw-INAN.2   ground
        'to throw it to the ground' (Tucker 1959: 123)

This claim is in apparent contradiction to the fact that *ti* 'fall' is almost always accompanied
by the preposition *ku*.

(17)   ti   ku   sende
        fall   DIR   ground
        'To fall down' (L&VP 1925: 150)

The explanation is that 'fall' is only one sense of *ti*, the basic meaning being something like
'reach, come into contact with', the local complement being then encoded as a direct object

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[7] The translation by Lagae & Vanden Plas (1925: 12) is 'en haut'.

2.3 *ku* in angular situations

In angular spatial situations where FIGURE is situated to the right or to the left of GROUND from view of the observer (cf. Pasch 2007: 178) this position is indicated by the preposition *ku*[8] (18).

(18) Guru   koti   du   ku   kumba   be   gbanga   koti   yo.
      short coat   be   DIR man   hand long   coat   there
      'The short coat is to the right (lit. hand of man) side of the long coat.'

This construction is not only used to describe the relative situation of the FIGURE as a whole with regard to GROUND, but also when part-whole relations obtain. The FIGURE may be situated only on a specific part of GROUND (19) or only a specific part of the FIGURE is situated relative to the GROUND (20).

(19) kekẽ   pai   du   ku   kumba   be   mangu   waraga   yo
      written thing be   DIR   male   hand container paper   there
      'The stamp [written thing] is on the right side of the envelope.'

(20) Ango sungu pati   ga-u   bambu ki-sa   gi-ru   ku   ti   ni.
      dog   sit   beside POSS-AN.s.1 house CONS-turn back-AN.s.2 DIR at   INAN.2
      'The dog sits besides its house with his back turned to it [i.e. towards the house].'

The construction is even used to describe the outgrowth of a part of a body in relation to the entire body.

(21) ngwa na-sanga   be-he   ku   kumba   be
      tree II-branch.off   hand-INAN.2 DIR   man   hand
      'The tree has a branch going to the right side.' (L&VP 1925: 139)

2.4 Position, other than the usual/expected one, remote

Somehow striking is the function of *ku* to indicate a static position of the FIGURE, which is different from the usual, convenient or standard one ((22) to (27)). Quite often it is a remote position ((22), (23), (24) and (25)). Note that in this function *ku* can be used even in lexicalized prepositional phrases where no verb and no predication is involved (25).

(22) Ra   pa   ku   ba-ri   a-bi   wene   mongo-ri
      sleep beside DIR   father-3f.2 III-see good   laughing-3f
      'Sleeping at her father's place sees her nice smile.'
      (He who often comes to her father will see her nice smile. (Bervoets 1954: 1054)

(23) i   ki   ni-mo   ka   ga   ku   li-e   yo   dunduko ka   sungo   yo.
      3p   CONS X-begin   SUB   install DIR top-INAN.2   3p   all   SUB   calmth there
      'They built their dwellings on its top [of this hill] and lived there.' (EP 1931: 273)

(24) A-mbegumba   a-enge   ti   vura   Sue   ku   dio   yo.
      PL-Mb.   III-start   at   side   S.   DIR   west   there
      'The Mbegumba originated on the banks of the Sue to the West.' (EP 1931: 31)

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[8] Other types of angular situations are not documented.

(25) mbē   kù   pà   dí   yó
      master   at   beside   river   there
      "Downstreamer", person from the region of the CAR capital (further downriver on the
      Ubangi) (Boyd, in print)

(26) kà   mò   nyé   kina   kú   àné   naà   gà-mó   'rúgúté   […]
      if   2s   stay   precisely   at   here   with   POSS-2s   advice
      'If you stay here with your wisdom […]' (Boyd 1995: 172)

(27) ù   nà-kpí-ngà   umu-rù   nyè   kù   wá'dí   yó   'té
      AN   IIN-die-NEG   hair-its   stay   at   nest   there   NEG
      'When it (= an animal) dies, its hair does not stay in its nest.' (Boyd 1995: 125)

An explanation for the examples (22) to (24) is that the situations described are given
only after the subjects have moved to the respective places, in other words: at the end of a
journey. With regard to example (25) only a virtual journey is conceivable. This explanation
is in agreement with Cresswell's (1978: 28, 1985: 129ff) observation that some PATH
prepositions can combine with stative verbs if they allow an 'end of journey'-reading. The
explanation does, however, not apply for examples (26) and (27). Here *ku* rather indicates the
subject's temporally extended position at a given location, as it does in example (25).

The non-standard position for an action to take place is marked by *ku* also in a
metaphorical sense to indicate that an unexpected direction has been taken instead of the one
to be expected (28).

(28) I   a-kuru   vura   ngbaya   ku   kpakasira   yo
      3p   III-begin.IPF   war   maize   DIR   pumkin   there
      'They begin the war on the maize on the pumkin leaves.' (EP 1956: 164)

2.5 Direction of perception

In many languages of the world local complements and adjuncts of perception verbs are
encoded in a way similar to those of verbs of motion (Eschenbach et al.: 2000: 133), but the
two groups of verbs embed path in different ways. With motion verbs it is the subject or the
moved object which moves along the TRAJECTORY or towards the GOAL. With verbs of vision,
however, a person or non-human animate being orients the vision towards the PATH without
translational movement, or while physically moving in the same or any other direction. This
person or animal constitutes the SOURCE of a fictive journey from the point of perception to
the point of attention. In the languages of the world, including sign languages (Asifa Majid,
pers. comm., Sept. 2nd, 2010) this has been observed above all with verbs of vision. In Zande
this holds apparently true irrespective of whether the vision-event is expressed by subject-
oriented agentive verbs (29, 30) where the subjects intentionally directs the eyes towards the
point of attention, or by subject-oriented experiencer verbs[9] (31) where the subject does not
necessarily so, but his eyes may only accidentally be oriented to the point of attention.

(29) gu   wiri-ango   ru   gi   gbada   yo   na-ngera   ku   ti   rani.
      DEM   small-dog   stand   behind   chair   DEM   II-look   DIR   at   1p.2
      'The dog is standing behind the chair facing us/looking at us.'

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[9] The terms "subject oriented agentive verbs" and "subject-oriented experience verbs" have apparently be coined
by Whitt (2009: 1085).

(30) Ture   ki   a-ngere   ku   mangu   yo, …
     T.   CONS   III-look DIR   bag   there
     'When Ture looked into the bag …' (EP 1964: 163)

(31) ni   bi   ira-mangu   ku   pati   we   yo.
     ANAPH   see   owner-witchcraft DIR   side   fire   there
     '… he saw the witch by his fire …' (EP 1973: 241)

It is true that in example (31) *ku* indicates at the same time that the object perceived is situated at a certain distance from the person who sees it.

Verbs of audition apparently show the same behavior as verbs of vision, i.e. they also mark direction from the point of perception to the point of attention. Unfortunately, this can be demonstrated only by a single example (32). Here the verb *gi* is used as subject-oriented experiencer verb, and we may assume that when it is also used as in an agentive sense 'listen to' direction is marked in the same way.

(32) Ani   a-gi-he   ku   Berezi   yo   ya   ko   a-kpi   yo.
     1p   III-hear-INAN   DIR   Zaire   there   COMPL   he   IX-die   there
     'We heard it from Zaire that he died there.' (Boyd 1998: 38)

It must be noted that verbs of perception may be used like verbs of motion without the preposition *ku* even in the description of events where the subject looks quite intently into a specific direction (33). Here, the focus of the vision event is, however, not the direction into which Ture looks, but it is rather on the termites which he is forbidden to see but which he wants to get hold of at any price. He is not searching the termites, but has found them exactly where he had expected to do so.

(33) … ki   bi-he   a-bi   na   go   kengerekengere
     CONS   see-INAN.2   III.see   at   anthill   in.enournous.numbers
     '… and saw them covering the entire termite-mound.' (EP 1964: 158)

2.6 Translation from one language into another one

ku is also used in some metaphorical meanings. The first is given when speaking of translating a text from "inside" one language into another one (34).

(34) ana   sá-ha   rogo   pa-Gríkì   ku   rogo   pa-Zande
     1p.1   change-INAN.2 in   speech-Greek   DIR   in   speech-Zande
     'We translate it (i.e. the bible) from Greek into Zande.'

2.7 Social relations

In a second metaphorical meaning *ku* is used to express interpersonal or social relations. The persons and groups concerned are opposed to each other because of mere personal attitudes (35) or because of their social ranks ((36), (37)). It appears that in case of unequal social levels *ku* introduces the person/group of higher rank.

(35) gbere   ngwandu-ko   ku   ti   wilina-ko   gbwe
     bad   heart-3m   DIR   on   brother-3m   very
     'He is very much opposed to his brother.' (L&VP 1925: 150)

(36) I   zogo   rani   zezeredi   ku   tii-ko
      3p   manage   1p.2   cool   DIR   under-3m
      'That they may govern us peacefully under him.' (G&G 1952: 142)

(37) I   na-sengi-e   ku   ti   ba-kumba
      3p   II-poise-INAN.2   DIR   at   big-man
      'They regarded themselves as separate groups under the names of their elders.'
      (lit.: They poise it [their name] with regard to their elders). (EP 1971: 58)

2.8 Benefactive

Benefactivity is usually expressed by the preposition *fu* which is derived from the verb *fu*
'give'. It appears, however, that the preposition ku can also be used as an indicator of
benefactivity: the last function of *ku* want to be presented here. Only few examples could be
found where *ku* has this function ((38), (39)), and the functional difference between the two
prepositions cannot easily be determined.

(38) mi   nyesi   ga   bamboo   ku   ri-ro   kindi
      1s   finish   POSS.2s   house   DIR   head-2s   always
      'I have finished your house above you forever.' (Gero 1968: 151)
      [Cf. German: Ich habe dir ein Dach über dem Kopf verschafft.]

(39) si   ki   nziri   ngba   ko   ko …
      INAN.1   CONS   be.sweet   good   DIR   head-2s
      'And he found them very delicious' (lit.: they [the mushrooms] were very sweet for him).
      (EP 1964: 158)

3. The preposition *be*

The preposition *be* is derived from the denotation for 'hand'. The first impression from
examples like (3) and (40) is that it indicates SOURCE just as *ku* indicates direction towards a
GOAL. But just as *ku* has been shown to be not necessarily related to motion, *be* will be
analyzed in the following as not being an unequivocal preposition of SOURCE even though the
best documented functions of *be* are to indicate SOURCE/ORIGIN or CAUSE. In fact it is even
less correlated to translational motion than *ku*.
The different functions of *be* are outlined in the following chapters, beginning with motion-
related usage via place-related usage to power-related usage.

3.1 HUMAN/ANIMATE SOURCE or ORIGIN

The SOURCE or ORIGIN of a motion event indicated by the preposition *be* is always a creature
of Human or Animate, but non-Human nature ((40), (41), (42), (43)). The motion may be real
(3) or fictive ((41), (42)), e.g. describe the transfer from one state into another one. In the
latter case the event may be expressed by a non-motion verb (42).

(40) Nabaya   a-mere   be-re,   ku   azya   Mbiri   yo.
      N.   III-run   hand-1s.2   DIR   ?   M.   there
      'Nabaya has run away from me, towards the district of Mbiri.' (Gero 1968: 163)

(41) Oro   be   a-mbara   ti   ku   be   a-gbe.
      run   hand   PL-elephant   fall   DIR   Hand   PL-buffalo
      'Running away from elephants is falling among the buffalos.' (Bervouts 1954: 1055)

(42)   si   na-ye   be   A-babua
       INAN   II-come   hand   PL-A.
       'It comes from the Ababua.' (Gero 1969: 172)

(43)   zinga   be   kpio
       awake   hand   death
       'to awake from death, resuscitate' (G&G 1952: 165)

3.2   INAN cause

The second function of *be* is that of marking the CAUSE of a situation which affects the subject in a negative way ((44), (45), (46), (47)). In all known examples the actual affecté is a person, but other animate beings in this role are well conceivable. The given grammatical subject may be a bodypart of the affecté on which he experiences a disagreeable sensation (46).

(44)   Ko   ariga   be   kaza
       3m   be.bent   hand   sickness
       'He is deformed through illness.' (G&G 1952: 4)

(45)   Mi   mbu   be   sunge
       1s.1   be.tired   hand   work
       'I am weary of work.' (G &G 1952: 17)

(46)   be-re   ma   be   pene   gita
       hand-1s.2   blister   hand   handle   hoe
       'My hand is blistered by the handle of the hoe.' (G&G 1952: 83)

(47)   … ka   kumba-ri   gbere   be   ga-ri   pai   ni …
       SUB   husband-3f   bad   hand   POSS-3f   matter
       'When her husband was infuriated by her behavior.' (EP 1973: 239)

3.3 Place of a HUMAN/ANIMATE possessor

The third function of *be* is that of marking the location where an action takes place. That location is in the ownership or under the control of a powerful HUMAN or ANIMATE being who is usually a threat to any intruder ((48), (49)). Note that in the two examples *be* constitutes the possessum in an inalienable possessive construction, *be-li* – 'her hand', which shows that it has retained some nominal features.

(48)   Oro   be   a-mbara   ti   ku   be   a-gbe.
       run   hand   pl-elephant   fall   DIR   hand   pl-buffalo
       'Running away from elephants falls among the buffalos.' (Bervouts 1954: 1055)

(49)   …u   ni-ye   ka   li   gwara   be-li.
       LOG.1   X-come   SUB   eat   yam   hand-3f
       '[He said that] he had come to eat yam at her's.' (i.e. her place)
       [… qu'il est venu pour manger les ignames chez elle.] (Lagae 1921: 184)

3.4 Alienable possession

In examples (48) and (49) the construction "*be* + X", with X being the possessor of *be*, describes the inalienable possession of the bodypart 'hand' which is used to express the power

over a (home) territory. In the two examples, the "*be* + X"-construction constitutes a local complement introduced by *ku*. In the majority of cases, however, this construction constitutes the predicate of the copula *du* 'be somewhere' in a locative construction. It is used to describe alienable possession (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002: 32): Y *du be* X (Y COP hand X) 'Y is in the possession of X' ((49), (50)). It fits the location schema of possessive constructions as described by Heine (1997: 51), which has been thoroughly investigated for Ewe (Claudi & Heine 1986) and for many other languages.

(50)   Wene   bamboo   (du)   be-re
        good   house   be   hand-1s.1
        'I have a good house.'

(51)   Dungu   a-e   du   be   A-mbomu   nga
        many   pl-thing   be   hand   pl-Mbomu   COP

        gu   I   a-bi   kina   be   kura   a-boro   kia
        DEF.D   3p   III-see just   hand   other   pl-person   ?
        'Many things the Ambomu possess they took over from other peoples.' (EP 1971: 91)

3.5 Acquisition of possession

It goes without saying that the denotation for 'hand', *be*, is the SOURCE of the possessive marker. The simple explanation is that a person can acquire possession of things by using the hands used as a tool to grasp and hold them ((52), (53)) or as a container in which to carry or keep things ((54), (55)).

(52)   … kù   ki   di   wili-gaza,   ki   zadi-he   be-ko.
        …3m   CONS   take   small-drum   CONS   hold-INAN.2   hand-3m
        '… and he took a little drum and carried it in his hand.' (Lagae 1921: 183)

In case there is co-reference between the subject of a clause and owner of the hand, it is the subject who uses his/her hand(s) as a tool to get hold of sth. or to hold and keep sth. (53). In case the owner of the hand is a person other than the subject, s/he is the ORIGIN from where the subject takes away something (54).

(53)   Mo   zadi-he   be-ro   (54)   mo   di-he   be-ko
        2s.1   hold-INAN.2   hand-2s.2   2s.1   take-INAN.2   hand-3m
        'Take hold of it with your hand' (G&G 1952: 17)   'Take it from him' (G&G 1952: 17)

(55)   Tule   na-gwali,   ki   dungura   tunga   a-liahẽ   ku   be-ko;
        T.   II-start   CONS   collect   seed   PL-food   DIR   hand-3s
        'Ture was on his way, and he collected seeds of all food plants into his hand.'
        (Lagae 1921: 183)

A hand may, of course, also be used to drop things or to give them away. But this cannot explain the SOURCE / ORIGIN function of *be*. There must be another explanation.

3.6 Acquisition of a road or a territory

In the same way as artifacts are appropriated by, e.g. the verb *di* 'to take' and the term *be* 'hand' as a locative complement, territorial items, like PATHS, can metaphorically be taken by

the hands / in the hands of travelers (56). This means that respective items get under the control or power of these travelers.

(56)   Si   du   i   ki   ni-di   kina   Sue   ku   be-yo
        INAN.1 be   3p   CONS X-take.PF only   S.   DIR   hand-3p

        ku   be-yo   ka   pe-e   ku   ngboso-o   na   Yubo,
        DIR   hand-3p SUB   follow-INAN.2 DIR   junction-INAN.2 PREP Y.
        'For this reason they migrated following the course of the Sue (lit.: they then took the Sue in their hand) as far as its junction with the Yubo.' (EP 1931: 31)

The conquest of a population group may also be expressed by the verb *dia* (*i*) 'take', but in a completely different construction in which *be* 'hand' is encoded as the direct object. This means that the conqueror does not metaphorically take the defeated people by his own hands or put them into his own hands, but he seizes the hands of the defeated people. The hands are encoded as a direct object and the people are encoded as the possessors of the hands ((57), (58), (59)).

(57)   ko   ki   ta   dia   be   a-gi   yo   re
        3s   CONS yet   overcome.IPF hand PL-DEF.P 3p   DEM
        'And when he had overcome (these) them [i.e. the Abarambo]' (EP 1931: 273)

(58)   A-gbia   ki   ta   dia   be   yo   i   ki   ni-ya   si   ngba,
        PL-chief CONS yet   defeat.IPF hand there 3p   CONS VI-say INAN.1 good
        'Since the Avungara had defeated them, they considered it advisable …' (EP 1931: 273)

(59)   Ko   ki   so   vura   na   yo   ki   di   be   yo.
        3m   CONS stitch war   PREP 3p   CONS defeat hand 3p
        'He fought them and overcame them.' (EP 1931: 274)

This means that with their enemies' hands conquerors take hold of that part of their enemies that not only is the best visible tool of military power of defense and attack. They are also the parts of the body with which to exert power most ostensibly, power and control within the own group, over their possession, their culture and their territory political power. Taking hold of the enemies' hands means to disarm them so that they cannot exert power any more. Even in situations of interpersonal hostility, aggressing s.o. is expressed with respect to his hands (60).

(60)   u   ki   ka   na   gine be   a-boro   rogo   munga.
        AN.s.1 CONS forbid with path hand PL-person in   m.
        'And he disallowed men to take the way to a *munga*'s place.' [il et interdisait le chemin aux hommes à l'endroit d'un *munga*.] (Lagae 1921: 188)

The reading of *be* 'hand' as TOOL OF CONTROL OF TERRITORY is likely to be the origin of the marker of SOURCE or ORIGIN, and the reading of *be* 'hand' as a TOOL OF CONTROL OVER POLITICAL POWER AND CULTURE is likely to be the SOURCE of the marker of CAUSE. The first parts of examples ([3] 40) and (41) represent the bridging context construction in the development of *be* as a denotation for 'control of territory' to become a preposition which marks ORIGIN.

Given that Zande history – in particular in the 17th and 18th century – was determined by conquests of neighboring territories and internal rivalries and that in this period the Zande practiced an intense language training among the subjugated groups, it may be concluded that

the perception of territorial, military and political power has had an influence on the development of the preposition *be*. In other words, the philosophy of conquest or dominance of the Azande has had an impact on the grammatical structure of their language.

4. Conclusion

The impression provoked by examples (40) and (41) that *ku* and *be* are prepositions marking DIRECTION of motion towards a GOAL and away from a SOURCE, albeit confirmed by informants is misleading. The primary sense of *ku* is to indicate DIRECTION of translational and also of fictive motion, but it has acquired other functions, like that of indicating angular position, static location at a distant, usually non-standard place.

More striking is the development of *be* from a marker of possession to one marking possession of territory and power, a power which makes the owner of the given territory influential and often also dangerous. The territory ruled by a dangerous ruler is likely to become threatening to intruders and mere visitors. The existence of such danger emanating places, or the anxiety with which they were regarded, may have motivated a further step in the semantic expansion of *be* and made it a preposition indicating ORIGIN from a dangerous place. It must be noted that here the focus is more on the danger of the place than on its local situation. A final development turns *be* into a preposition indicating dangerous or disagreeable circumstances as causes or negative effects on persons.

Abbreviations

AN	animate (non-human)	L&VP	Lagae & Vanden Plas
ANAPH	anaphoric pronoun	G&G	Gore & Gore
CONS	consecutive	m	masculine
COP	copula	PF	perfective verb stem
DEF.D	definite marker distal	PL, p	plural
DEF.P	definite marker proximal	POSS	possessive marker
DIR	direction	s	singular
EP	Evans-Pritchard	SUB	subordinating particle
f	feminine	1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person pronoun
INAN	inanimate	.1, .2	series 1, 2 of pronouns
IPF	imperfective verb stem	II, IIN, III,	tense-aspect markings
LOG	logophoric pronoun	IX, X	according to Boyd (1995)

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[10] Giorgetti used the name "F. Gero" as the pen name of Giorgetti Gero Filiberto.

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