Two multifunctional locative and directional prepositions in Zande

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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-li2 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-Is.23 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 platform4 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

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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 zio⁵ bangili a-boro
sleep CONS already seize eye PL-person
i ki mo ka limo⁶ 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 vulu-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-mbasu 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.

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 assimilation.
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 morphosyntactic 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).
The level of the water lowers in the ditch.' (Lagae 1921: 150)

'Pour water into the water-bottle.' (Gore 1926: 104)

'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’, a locational noun, which have fused to become *kuari* ‘upwards’.

‘Put it very high.’ (G&G 1952: 4)

‘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).

‘to throw it [from above] down to the ground’ (Tucker 1959: 123)

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

‘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) **kekê 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

Somewhat 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)

\(^8\) Other types of angular situations are not documented.
(25) mbē kù pà dí ýó
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 kù ìná 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’dì ýó ‘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 verbs9 (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.’

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-Gríkí 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 ngwandum-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)
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)

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.

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.]

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).

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)

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)
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(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 willi-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
2s.1 hold-INAN.2 hand-2s.2
‘Take hold of it with your hand’ (G&G 1952: 17)

(54) mo di-he be-ko
2s.1 take-INAN.2 hand-3m
‘Take it from him’ (G&G 1952: 17)

(55) Tule na-gwali, ki dungura tunga a-liahē 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AN</th>
<th>ANAPH</th>
<th>CONS</th>
<th>COP</th>
<th>DEF.D</th>
<th>DEF.P</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>EP</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>INAN</th>
<th>IPF</th>
<th>LOG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animate (non-human)</td>
<td>anaphoric pronoun</td>
<td>consecutive</td>
<td>copula</td>
<td>definite marker distal</td>
<td>definite marker proximal</td>
<td>direction</td>
<td>Evans-Pritchard</td>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
<td>imperfective verb stem</td>
<td>logophoric pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L&amp;VP</td>
<td>L. &amp; V.</td>
<td>L. &amp; VP</td>
<td>Lagae &amp; V. Plas</td>
<td>Gore &amp; Gore</td>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>G&amp;G</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfective verb stem</td>
<td>PL, p</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>POSS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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10 Giorgetti used the name “F. Gero” as the pen name of Giorgetti Gero Filiberto.


