ALL > (1) PLURAL
This grammaticalization process appears to achieve marking plural referents of nouns or personal pronouns. Colloquial southern American English 'all' (second person plural pronoun). English all > Tok Pisin PE ol 'they' (third person plural subject pronoun). In Wani Kumara, the free form buka 'all, together' is commonly used as a plural marker (McDonald and Wurm 1979: 27). Portuguese todo(s) 'all' > Papia Kristang CP nos-taou 'we' ('we all', first person plural inclusive pronoun; Stolz 1992b: 281). French tous les 'all the' > Tayo CF tule, te, te, nominal plural proclitic or prefix. Ex.

Tayo CF (Kühl 1995: 234, 237)
Tle fier-
la, le fini puse e
PL flower-
DEF TAM CPL grow and
pi sa atra-de puse akor.
then they PROG grow still
'The flowers have been growing, and they are still growing.'

Note that we have subsumed under this entry a number of different individual processes. More research is required on the exact nature and the genetic and areal distribution of this process.

ALL > (2) SUPERLATIVE
Latvian vis 'all' > superlative prefix vis-; Estonian köik 'all' > superlative marker 'of all' (Stolz 1991b: 50–4). Amharic hullu 'all', used in superlative constructions. Ex.

Amharic (Ultan 1972: 134)
ko-
hullu, yamral.
from all he is: handsome
'He is the most handsome of all.'

Hamer wul-na 'all' + dative suffix > superlative marker. Ex.

Hamer (Lydall 1976: 433)
wul-
na kisi sana do gob.
all for he fast exists runs
'He runs fastest.'

Teso kere 'all' > superlative marker. Ex.

Teso (Kitching 1915: 25, 44)
(a) agarit oni kere.
call:3SG us all
'He's calling all of us.'
(b) etogo vol yes le-telekarit kere.
house that COP REL-surpass kere.
'That house is the biggest one.'

Note that it is not ALL on its own that is responsible for this grammaticalization; in addition some comparative predication (expressed, e.g., in the Teso example by means of 'surpass') is required. Heine (1997b: 124) notes: "Perhaps the predominant pattern for forming superlatives is that of replacing an individual standard of comparison ... by the entire class of possible individuals, which means typically that the standard is modified by the quantifier 'all' and the like." For more examples, see Ulton 1972 and Heine 1997b: 124f.

ALLATIVE > (1) COMPLEMENTIZER
This grammaticalization path is suggested by Hopper and Traugott (1993: 181–2), who note that "the reanalysis of a dative-allative particle as a complementizer is widespread." The following are among the examples adduced by them: Latin ad 'to', French à (< Latin ad 'to'), and Maori ki, which is both a dative and an allative marker, "and is a complementizer with the same kinds of verbs as English want." Ex.

English (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 181)
(a) We handed the box to the Gypsy.
(b) We want to ask you a few questions.

It would seem that we are dealing with a chain of grammaticalization of the following kind: ALLATIVE > PURPOSE > INFINITIVE > COMPLEMENTIZER (cf. Hespelmart 1989); see ALLATIVE; PURPOSE. Note that ALLATIVE itself is the target of other concepts; see under ARRIVE; GO TO; SEE.

ALLATIVE > (2) DATIVE
Tamil -itam 'to' (directional bound postposition) > bound postposition marking the indirect object. Ex.

Tamil (T. Lehmenn 1989: 41)
kumar raajaa-v-itam oru pustakam
Kumar Raj- LOC a book
kothaa- aang. give-PAST-3SGM
'Kumar gave Raja a book.'

Lezgan -z 'to', direction marker (nominal suffix) (> 'for' benefactive/malefactive marker) > dative marker. Ex.

Lezgan (Hespelmart 1993: 88, 89)
(a) Zun medinstitutid- z fi- da.
'Velgo to medical school.'
(b) Ruša gadadi- z cik mag- na.
'Velgo to medical school.'
Examples of a development from allative to dative functions can also be found in European languages. Thus, Latin ad 'to' has given rise to markers whose functions include that of a dative in some Romance languages; compare also English to. Ex.

English
(a) I went to my teacher.
(b) I spoke to my teacher.

The preposition YU of Pre-Archaic Chinese (fourteenth–eleventh centuries B.C.) had both an allative and a dative meaning. Alain Peyraube (personal communication) considers it more likely that the dative meaning preceded the allative one in time; that is, we might be dealing with a counterexample to the present grammaticalization. Note that ALLATIVE itself is the target of other concepts; see ARRIVE; GO TO; SEE.

ALLATIVE > (3) INFINITIVE

ALLATIVE markers tend to give rise to PURPOSE markers, which may further develop into INFINITIVE markers, a process that has been well described by Haspelmath (1989). For examples of the latter evolution, see PURPOSE > INFINITIVE. Note that ALLATIVE itself is the target of other concepts; see ARRIVE; GO TO; SEE.

ALLATIVE > (4) PATIENT

Spanish a, directional preposition > marker of human/definite objects. Imonda: -m, direction marker > (a) optional object marker, (b) obligatory object marker in [+HUMAN] object-subject relations. Ex.

Imonda (Seiler 1985: 165)

\[\text{aia-} l \quad \text{edel-} m \quad \text{ue-} \quad \text{ne-} \quad \text{wòl} \quad \text{fe-} f.\]

father-NOM human-GL class-eat-PL do-PRES

'Her father habitually eats humans.'

Lezgian -z 'to', direction marker, nominal suffix > experiencer object marker. Ex.

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 89)

(a) Zun medinstiitudi- z fi- da.  
\text{LAB} \quad \text{medical:school} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{go-} \quad \text{FUT}

'Will I go to medical school.'

(b) Kasubadi- z tara- n xile- l  
Kasuba- DAT tree- GBN branch- SRESS

zurba sa quís aku-na.  
big one bird see-AOR

'Kasubba saw a big bird on a tree's branch.'

Latin shows evidence of a reversed process, in that the accusative suffix -m, inherited from Proto-Indo-European, serves as an allative in certain locations (anonymous reader).

There may be two different pathways that are involved here, one leading from a dative (recipient) to a patient/accusative marker, and another leading to an experiencer marker (Martin Haspelmath, personal communication); see also DATIVE > PATIENT. Note that ALLATIVE itself is the target of other concepts; see ARRIVE; GO TO; SEE.

ALLATIVE > (5) PURPOSE

Imonda -m, directional marker (NP-suffix) > purpose case marker (nominal suffix). Ex.

Imonda (Seiler 1985: 161)

(a) né- m at uagl- n.  
bush-GL CPL go- PAST

'He has gone to the bush.'

(b) tēta- m ai- fòbò- n.  
game-GL pl-go down-PAST

'They have gone hunting for game.'

Albanian për 'to', directional preposition > preposition marking purpose. Ex.

Albanian (Buchholz, Fiedler, and Uhlish 1993: 403)

punon për nesër 
'to work for tomorrow'

This process leads not only to the rise of PURPOSE case markers but also to PURPOSE proposition markers; for example, Imonda -m purpose marker > purposive clause marker. Ex.

Imonda (Seiler 1985: 162)

tòbò soh- m ka uagl- f.  
fish search-GL 1 go- PRES

'I am going to search for fish.'

Lezgian -z 'to', direction marker (nominal suffix) > -z/-iz, purposive marker (verbal suffix). Ex.

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 89, 156)

(a) Zun medinstiitudi- z fi- da.  
\text{LAB} \quad \text{medical:school} \quad \text{DAT} \quad \text{go-} \quad \text{FUT}

'Will I go to medical school.'

(b) I irid stva čpi- n juldaš- ri- 
this seven brother selves-GEN friends- PL-

qšt galaz qùguwa- z fe- na.  
POSS with play- INF go- AOR

'These seven brothers went to play with their friends.'

Basque -ra, the ordinary allative case marker, marks purpose when attached to a verb in the gerund. Ex.
ALLATIVE > (5) PURPOSE

Basque (anonymous reader)

(a) etxera noa.
    etxe-  ra    n-    a-  oa
house- ALL 1SG:ABS  PRES- go
'I'm going home.'

(b) liburu hau irakurtzer a noa.
    liburu  hau  irakur-  tze- ra  n-
book this read- GER-ALL 1SG:ABS-
a-  oa
PRES- go
'I'm going to read this book.'

This appears to be an instance of a widespread process whereby spatial and
temporal markers are grammaticalized in specific contexts to markers of
"logical" grammatical relations, such as adversative, causal, concern, concessive,
and conditional relations; see, for example, locative; since; temporal; up. Note that allative markers themselves may be the target of other
concepts; see arrive; go to; see.

ALLATIVE > (6) TEMPORAL
German zu allative preposition > temporal preposition. Ex.

(a) Komm   zu    mir!
    come to me
'Come to me!'

(b) Er kommt immer zum Wochenende.
    he comes always to the weekend
'He always comes on the weekend.'

Albanian për 'to', directional preposition > 'in', 'within', temporal preposition. Ex.

Albanian (Buchholz et al. 1993: 403)
    për   tri    javë
    (to three weeks)
'in/within three weeks'

Lezgian -z 'to', direction marker (nominal suffix) > temporal marker. Ex.

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 88–9)
(a) Zun    medinstitutdi- z
    I:ABS medical-school-DAT fi- da.
'Ve'll go to medical school.'

(b) M. Hațiev 1958 = jisa-
    M. Hațiev 1958 = year-
    n  22 = martdi-
    22 = March-

ALLATIVE > (7) UNTIL (TEMPORAL)
Chinese DAO 'to' > 'until'. Ex.

Chinese (Alain Peysraube, personal communication)
    Yao  deng  dao  liu  dian  cai  zou.
    must wait until six hour then leave
'Vedd must wait until six before leaving.'

Old Norse til 'goal' > English till; Middle High German bi ze (= bei zu) 'with
to' > bis 'until'; Russian do 'to' > 'until'; Croatian do 'to' > 'until'; Bulgarian do 'to' > 'until'; Arabic 7ila 'to' > 'until' (Haspelmath 1997b: 67). Lezgian -ldi,
superdirective (srdir) marker 'onto', nominal suffix > 'until', temporal marker. Ex.

Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993: 101–2)
(a) Allahquli  rușa-
    n  diyet  wiçe-
    Allahquli  girl- GEN attention self-
    ldi  c'ugwa- z  alaqt- zawa-
    srdir draw- INF strive- IMPFV- PAST
'Allahquli was trying to draw the girl's attention to himself.'

(b) Wun  i  c'awa- ldi  hina  awa-
    youABS this time- srdir where beinc-
    j!

'Where were you until now?'

This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process
whereby spatial concepts, including motion in space, are used as structural
templates to express temporal concepts; see also allative > temporal; ablative;
behind; front; in; interior; locative. Note that allative itself is the target of other
concepts; see arrive; go to; see.

ALONE > ONLY

English alone. Ex.

English
(a) Susie was alone in the house.
(b) Among my friends, Susie alone smokes. (anonymous reader)

German allein 'alone' > 'only'. Ex.
German
(a) Ich bin allein zu Hause.
I am alone at home.'

(b) Allein wegen dem Duft mag ich Blumen.
alone because of the smell like I flowers
'I like flowers only because of the smell.'

Bulgarian samó 'alone', adjective (neut:sg) > sómo 'only', adverbial.
Ex.

Bulgarian
(a) Deteto e samó v momenta.
child:the is alone:neut:sg in moment:the
'The child is alone at the moment.'

(b) Ivan jade sómo kiselo mijako
Ivan eat:3:sg:pres alone:neut:sg yogurt
za zakuska.
for breakfast
'Ivan has only yogurt for breakfast.'

Basque bakarrik 'by oneself' is attested from the fifteenth century, but only from the seventeenth century is it attested as meaning 'only' (anonymous reader; Sarasola 1996: 95). Ex.

Basque (anonymous reader)
(a) bakarrik etorr-i d-a.
bakarri- rak etorr- i d-a alone- advl come- pfv pres- aux
'He has come by himself.'

(b) urtean behin bakarrik
urte- an behin bakarrik
year- loc once only
'only once a year'

Swahili peke yake 'alone' (third person singular) > 'only'. Ex.

(a) A- na- kaa peke yake.
cl- pres- stay alone
'He lives alone.'

(b) A- na- taka chai peke yake.
cl- pres- want tea only
'He wants tea only.'

More research is required on the exact nature and the genetic and areal distribution of this process. See also one.

Also > NP-AND
Cayuga hni 'also', 'too' > noun-phrase coordination conjunction. Ex.

Cayuga (Mithun 1988: 341–2)
(a) Akitakrá hni' shé nyó: nlatóstá:ke.
I fell also as far I came:back
'I fell on the way back, too.'

(b) Junior, Helen, Hercules hni'
Junior Helen Hercules also
'Junior, Helen, and Hercules'

Kxoe tama-xa 'also', adverbial particle > NP-conjoining particle 'and', added to both conjunct constituents. Ex.

Kxoe (Treis 2000b: 76; Köhler 1989: 182, 268)
(a) Gòdáv- n tama-xa //án- a-
Mbükushu- cpl also settle- junc-
ko tê- hi.

(b) /Gríkù- n tama-xa Kwágari-
|Gríkù- cpl also Kwangali-
n tama-xa . . .
cpl also
'the Gríkù and the Kwangali . . .'

See Mithun 1988 and Treis 2000b for more details on this grammaticalization; see also comitative, dual, two.

This appears to be an instance of a more general process, whereby adverbial categories are pressed into service as coordinating elements.

VP-AND > SUBORDINATOR
That coordinating conjunctions 'and' may come to be used as subordinating conjunctions has been demonstrated by Harris and Campbell (1995: 290). The Mingrelian coordinating conjunction da 'and' has developed into a conditional clause marker, and Mingrelian do 'and' can be used as the temporal conjunction 'as soon as'. Similarly, the coordinating conjunction ta 'and' of lXun (northern dialect) serves as a marker of cause clauses but may also introduce other kinds of adverbial clauses.

lXun, northern dialect (Bernd Heine, field notes)
(a) yà-nu’dá ke ló:lu dóní ta dìsá
cl-dem past mount donkey and be:slow
Kipsikiis *koon* 'yesterday' > *koo*- (*hemernal*), past tense marker (Dimmendaal 1995: 34).

Conceivably, this is a conceptually plausible but possibly areally induced pathway of grammaticalization, since it appears to be confined to Africa. More research is required on the exact nature and the genetic and areal distribution of this process.

---

**APPENDIX 1**

**Source-Target List**

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COME FROM > (1) ABLATIVE (LOCATIVE, TEMPORAL)

Haitian CF (Hall 1953: 55)
yo pòtè bagay sa yo sòt ná-mòn.
(they bring thing DEM PL from LOC-hill)
'they bring these things from the hills.'

This is an instance of a process whereby a verb, on account of some salient semantic property, gives rise to a grammatical marker highlighting that property; compare, for example, COME TO; CROSS; EXCEED; GO TO; PASS; RESEMBLE.

COME FROM > (2) NEAR PAST

Jiddu (Somali dialect) -ook 'come' > near past tense marker. Ex.

Jiddu (Marcello Lamberti, personal communication)
(a) y- ooku.
3M-come
'He comes.'
(b) y- aamooku
3M-eat- come
'He has just eaten.'

Teso -bu, PL -potu 'come' > past (perfective) auxiliary. Ex.

Teso (Hilders and Lawrence 1956: 14; Heine and Reh 1984: 104)
a- bu ke-ner.
I- come I- say
'I said.'

Sotho -tsôa 'come from' > -tsôa-, immediate past tense prefix. Ex.

Sotho (Doke and Mofokeng [1957] 1985: 204)
kê- tsôa- rêka.
'I have just bought.' (lit.: 'I have come from buying')

Klao de 'come' > past tense marker. Ex.

Klao (Marchese 1986: 124)
ô de de ni. he come thing eat
'He just ate.' (lit.: 'He came from eating')

Nyabo wo 'come' > marker of past actions. Ex.

Nyabo (Marchese 1986: 124)
ô wo gbôla pi-e. he come rice cook- NOUN
'She's been cooking rice.'

Margi gbôla to come from' > 'to have done before,' 'in the past' (Hoffmann 1963: 220).

COMPARE also the following examples, where instead of a (near) past tense marker, a "perfect" morpheme has evolved: French venir de 'come from' > perfect. Ex.

French
(a) Il vient de Paris.
he comes from Paris
'He comes from Paris.'
(b) Il vient d' aller à Paris.
he comes from go to Paris
'He has just gone to Paris.'

Yoruba ti 'to come out of' > "perfect tense" marker. Ex.

Yoruba (Ward 1952: 139)
O ti lb.
(he come:out go)
'He has gone.'

Malagasy avy 'come' > near past marker. Ex.

Malagasy (Bourdin 1999: 1)
avy ni- laalo aho.
come past-play I
'(I have) played just now.'

This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby process verbs are grammaticalized to auxiliaries denoting tense or aspect functions; compare BEGIN; COME TO; DO; FINISH; GO TO; KEEP; LEAVE.

COME TO > (1) BENEFATIVE

This is a process that appears to have occurred repeatedly in Senufo languages and dialects. Pilara pô 'come' > benefactive marker. Ex.

Pilara (Carlson 1991: 212)
(a) wi pô ga.
3SG come here
'S/He came here.'
(b) ki kâ u pô.
it give him/her to
'Give it to him/her.'

Lahu là 'come' > là, benefactive particle (indicating that the verbal action is for the benefit of or impinging upon a nonthird person). Ex.

Lahu (Matisoff 1991: 395–6)
(a) là.
'Come.'
COME TO > (2) CHANGE-OF-STATE

This grammaticalization includes processes leading to what tends to be described as resultative markers, for example, in Fijian, Vangunu, and To'aba'ita (Lichtenberk 1991a: 487–8); for example, To'aba'ita mai 'come' > -mai, ingressive/resultative marker. Ex.

To'aba'ita (Lichtenberk 1991a: 487)
fanu'de rodo na-mai.
place it:PFV be:dark PERF-come
'It has become dark.'

Perhaps related to this grammaticalization is the development of Chinese lai, which throughout Chinese history was used as a verb meaning 'come'. In Early Mandarin (around the twelfth century) it developed uses of a perfect marker, its function being to relate "two time points, a point in the past and speech time," possibly being a marker of "currently relevant state" (Sun 1996: 98). Ex.

Early Mandarin (jingde chuandenglu; quoted from Sun 1996: 98)
daxiong shan-xia cai junzi lai.
Daxiong mountain below pick fungi LAI
'I have been to the foot of the Daxiong mountain to pick mushrooms.'

English come > linking verb; for example, come true, come undone. Sango ga 'come to' > 'become' (inchoative marker; Thornell 1997: 122). Ex.

Sango (Thornell 1997: 118)
(a) E gi' ge.
1:PL come:TO here
'We come here.'
(b) Tene as ga polélé.
word OF:become clear
'The speech became clear.'

This grammaticalization appears to be particularly common in pidgin and creole languages: Guyanese CF vini 'come (from)') > change-of-state marker. Ex.

Guyanese CF (Corne 1971: 90)
i vini malad.
(3:SG come sick)
'He has become sick.'

COME TO > (3) FUTURE

Bambara nà 'come' > nà, remote future marker. Ex.

Bambara (Donald A. Lessau, personal communication)
(a) ù te nà.
3:PL NEG:AUX come
'They don't come.'
(b) à nà sà.
3:SG FUT die
'He will die.' (= everyone has to die some day)

Bambara bë auxilliary + nà 'come' > bëna, near future marker. Ex.

Bambara (Donald A. Lessau, personal communication)
(a) ù bë nà.
3:PL AUX come
'They come.'
(b) à bëna sà.
3:SG FUT die
'He will die (soon and/or surely('.'

Kono nà (+-d) 'come' > nà, near future tense marker. Ex.

Seychelles CF (Corne 1977: 63, 89)
(a) i demande si mò a kapab vini.
(3:SG ask if 1:SG FUT beable come)
'The asks if/whether I will be able to come.'
(b) mò pu vin ris ê zur.
i n vin larpâter.
(1:SG FUT come rich one day) (he CPL come surveyor)
'I shall be (come) rich one day.' 'He became a surveyor.'

Fa d'Ambu CP bi 'come' > resultative aspect marker. Ex.

Fa d'Ambu CP (Post 1992: 159)
tipa bi sxu dual eli kumu pasa.
stomach come PART hurt 3:50 eat surpass
'His stomach hurt; he had eaten too much.'

Ghanaian PE come 'come' > ingressive aspect marker (Huber 1996). Chinook Jargon čâkwâ or čâku 'come' is found before stative verbs and occasionally before active verbs in any of the forms čâku, čaw, č(u) with the meaning 'become X,' 'get to be X'; for example, Grand Ronde Chinook Jargon dâkta čaw sik 'the doctor becomes sick' (Grant 1996: 236).

This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby process verbs are grammaticalized to aspectual auxiliaries; compare DO; FINISH; GO; GO TO; LEAVE.
Kono (Donald A. Lessau, personal communication)
(a) i ná- á fe n mà?
(2sg come-tam what for
'What have you come for?'
(b) mbé náá ní kó- á.
(1sgtam nfut 1sg wash-tam
'I'm going to wash myself (right now).'
Akan ba 'come' > be, bë, bê, bô, bô, future tense marker. Ex.
Akan (Welmers 1973: 353–4; Marchese 1986: 123)
à- bë- bá.
he-fut-come
'He's going to come.'
Wapa (Jukun dialect) bi 'come' > future tense marker. Ex.
Wapa (Welmers 1973: 354; Marchese 1986: 123)
kú ri bi ya.
he prog come go
'He's going to go.'
Efik -di- 'come' > future tense marker. Ex.
Efik (Welmers 1973: 354–5; Marchese 1986: 123)
á- di- dép mbóró.
1sg-come buy bananas
'I'm going to buy bananas.'
Zande ye 'come' in the progressive construction [na . . . ka] > future marker
na ye ka/ne ka (Marchese 1986: 75). Néyé iyi 'come' > future tense marker
(Marchese 1986: 75). Godié yí 'come' > future tense marker (Marchese 1986:
75). Bêtô yí 'come' > future tense marker (Marchese 1986: 75). Dida ci 'come' >
ci, future tense marker (Marchese 1986: 75). Tepo di 'come' > future tense

Koyo (Marchese 1986: 75)
(a) Abi yi du.
Abi come:fact town
'Abi came home.'
(b) Abi yi du mo.
Abi aux town go
'Abi will go to town.'

Gwari 6é 'to come' > 6à, future tense marker (Hyman and Magaji 1971: 59, 147;
Heine and Reh 1984: 198). Duala ya 'come' > -ya, immediate future marker

Duala (Heine and Reh 1984: 132)
(1) ná- ya nanga wàsè.
he pres-fut lie ground
'He will lie down right now.'

Ganda -já 'come' > indefinite future marker. Ex.
Ganda (Welmers 1973: 355; Marchese 1986: 124)
ájá kágóndá.
he come inf-go
'He is going to go (sometime).'

Sotho -tla 'come' > -tla-, future tense marker; -tîle hó- 'have come to' >
'come' > -za-, marker of immediate future. Ex.

Zulu (Mkhathwa 1991: 96)
(a) Ngî ye- za.
(1sg-i- future
'He's coming.'
(b) U- za- ku- fika.
(2sg-fut-inf arrive
'He'll arrive.'

Acholi bino 'to come' > -bi-, future tense marker. Ex.
Acholi (Malandra 1955: 76; Bavin 1983: 151; Heine and Reh 1984: 92)
(a) byec a- bino.
elephant 3sg-come
'The elephant came.'
(b) an a- bi- camo.
1sg 1sg-fut-eat inf
'I'll eat.'

Teso abunere (ko) 'to come' > -bun-, future tense marker. Ex.
Teso (Hilders and Lawrance 1956, 1958)
- buni a- anyun.
(3sg-come pres inf see
'He will see.'

Lotuko 'tuna 'to come' > future tense marker. Ex.
Lotuko (Muratori 1938: 161ff; Heine and Reh 1984: 131–2)
a- ttu nt leten.
1sg-come 1 go
'I'll leave immediately.'
COME TO > (3) FUTURE


Tamil (T. Lehmann 1989: 217)

1SG Kumaar-a:k keep-k-a vaa:ku varu-kir-ee

1SG Kumar-ACC ask-TMP come-PAST-1SG

'I am going to ask Kumar.'


The process COME TO > FUTURE has been discussed in a number of different works; for more details, see especially Welmers 1973: 354–5; Ullan 1978a; Fleischman 1982a, 1982b; Bybee et al. 1991. For a cognitive interpretation of the process, see Emanatian 1992. This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby process verbs are grammaticalized to auxiliaries denoting tense or aspect functions; compare BEGIN; COME FROM; DO; FINISH; GO TO; KEEP; LEAVE; PUT.

COME TO > (4) PROXIMATIVE

Lahu la 'come' > (la venitive >) proximate aspect marker 'almost coming to', 'nearly'. Ex.

Lahu (Matisoff 1991: 395–6)

(a) m=E-y=È la ve.

'it's raining.' (lit: 'rain comes')

(b) si-la

'be close to death'

Tchien Krahn gi 'come' > 'almost'. Ex.

Tchien Krahn (Marchese 1986: 121)

pidÊ gi kwÊ

plantain come spoil

'The plantain is almost spoiled.'

Compare NEAR; LOVE; WANT. This process is often confused with the development (>) COME TO > FUTURE. While the latter process leads to the rise of a verbal tense, the present one results in an aspect function. This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby process verbs are grammaticalized to auxiliaries denoting tense or aspect functions; compare BEGIN; COME FROM; DO; FINISH; GO TO; KEEP; LEAVE; PUT.

COME TO > (5) PURPOSE

Chinese lai 'come' > subordinating conjunction of purpose clauses. Ex.

Chinese (Matisoff 1991: 401–2)

ni' neung yong shéime jiangfa lai bangzhu ya ni?

2SG can use what method (come) help 3SG PART

How are you going to help him?'

Sapo di 'come' > goal/purpose clause marker (Marchese 1986: 144).

Since BENEFACTIVE markers may also be derived from COME TO (see COME TO > BENEFACTIVE) and may themselves develop into PURPOSE markers (see Heine et al. 1991), it is possible that PURPOSE is not immediately derived from COME TO but rather has BENEFACTIVE as an intermediate stage. In Chinese, however, the development from LAI (lai) 'come to' to purpose marker does not appear to have involved an intermediate BENEFACTIVE stage (Alain Peyraube, personal communication); more research is required on this point. This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby verbs denoting location or motion serve as structural templates to express relational adpositional or subordinating concepts; compare ARRIVE; COME FROM; GO TO; LEAVE; PASS.

COME TO > (1) AGENT

In this grammaticalization process comitative markers are pressed into service to introduce agents in passive constructions. Swahili na 'with'; comitative preposition > agent marker in passive constructions. Ex.

Swahili

(a) a-li- ondoka na mke-wa.

CI-PAST-leave with wife-his

'He left (together) with his wife.'

(b) a-li- it- wa na mke-wa.

CI-PAST-CALL-PASS by wife-his

'He was called by his wife.'

(French avec 'with' >) Seychelles CF (av)ek 'with', general preposition > marker of the agent in passive constructions. Ex.

Seychelles CF (Corne 1977: 71)

(a) mÊ koz ek u.

(1SG speak with 2SG)

'I speak to you.'

(b) ban bras i n kase ek diva.

(PL branch 3SG CPT broken with wind)

'The branches are have been broken by the wind.'

(French avec 'with' >) Rodrigues CF (av)ek 'with', general preposition > agent marker in passive constructions. Ex.

* Alain Peyraube (personal communication) tells us that the correct form of this item is fangfa.