Verbal lexicalization and cultural domains in Toposa

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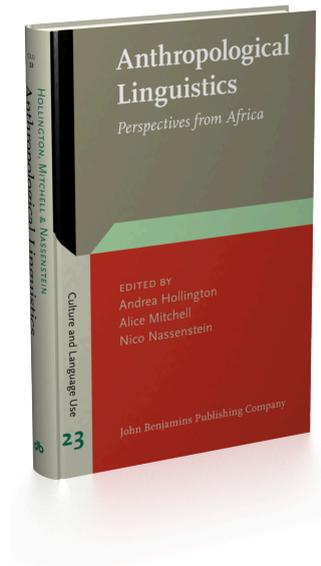
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Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan, packages a great deal of semantic information in verb roots. This chapter investigates whether lexicalization processes in the verb can be linked to the emergence of cultural "schemas", "frames" or "scenarios" (Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2014). The chapter shows that Toposa has refined verbal lexicalization in cultural activities and scenarios in the lexical domains of mobility, sacrifices, rituals, carrying, cutting, herding, transportation of goods, and daily activities that at large reflect typical characteristics of the pastoralist cultures of East Africa and thus suggests a link between culture and language in the semantic domains of activity verbs.

Keywords: semantic domains, verb lexicalization, language and culture, cultural scenarios, cultural keywords

1. Introduction

Toposa, an Eastern Nilotic language of South Sudan, packages a great deal of semantic information in its verb roots.[1] As previously observed in Schröder (2016), motion verbs conflate verb frame and satellite frame information in hybrid motion frames. Furthermore, lexical information pertaining to time, manner, purpose, goal and instrument can be encoded by the verb root (Schröder, 2017). To take a simple example, the action of cleaning is lexicalized differently in Toposa depending on the instrument: the verb specifies whether the activity is done with

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[1] Toposa is an Eastern Nilotic language of the Nilotic language family that consists of Western Nilotic (Dinka, Shilluk, Päri, Burun, Nuer, etc.), Southern Nilotic (Tugen, Nandi, Keiyo, Marakwet, etc.) and Eastern Nilotic (Bari, Maasai, Teso-Turkana, etc.) (Vossen, 1982). Maasai, Teso-Turkana (which includes Toposa), and Southern Nilotic languages have VSO word order and are marked nominative languages.

a cloth (*pye* 'wipe') or a broom (*weny* 'sweep').[2] Examples (1) and (2), taken from narrative texts, are intended to show that the instrument is indicated only in the verb and not elsewhere in the clause. Elicitation confirms that an argument encoding the instrument would not be possible in these clauses.[3]

(1) *Toriçi sekę ke-rumw-orį   nya-ki-yepę   nyekerų   ka nya-pyere daŋ*
     already   DEP-finish-VEN FEM-DER-clear dancing ground and FEM-sweep all
     'The dancing ground has already been cleared and swept completely.'

(2) *A-sik-i   Losike nya-ku-ŋinyi   nyegeci*
     3SG-abandon-IPFV L.   FEM-DER-clean.with.rag mixing.stick
     'Losike has given up wiping the mixing stick.'

In a recent paper on verbs of vision, Wnuk (2022, p. 158) comments on the "cross-linguistic variability and malleability of (…) concepts" involved in verbal meaning "in domain after domain". This chapter contributes to our knowledge of this cross-linguistic variability by considering lexical semantics across a range of domains in Toposa, including "human locomotion" (Malt & Majid, 2013, p. 584), or what I refer to here as mobility. Following my analysis of the proliferation of verb roots in Toposa denoting different features of motion events, including those involving the motion of cattle, I turn to domains that relate to more ceremonial activities, namely, sacrifice, marriage, and other rituals. These unique verbalization processes open a window for understanding the culture of the Toposa people. Other domains mentioned frequently in the literature on lexical distinctions in the verb include those of cutting and carrying. I consider these domains in the final section. In exploring verbal lexicalization patterns in Toposa, I am particularly interested in the cultural motivations behind these lexicalization processes, inspired by Wierzbicka's work on the relationship between lexical domains and cultural meaning and her suggestion that languages are the "best mirror of the human mind" (Wierzbicka, 1994, p. 431).

Toposa is a highly inflectional and derivational agglutinative language with elements of fusion. Here I briefly summarize the verbal and nominal morphology of the language to help the reader follow the examples.

The most important prefix slots for the verb are the person prefixes and the dependency marker *to-/ki-*. These morpheme categories are mutually exclusive and occur in the same slot. The verbal extensions of the verb are ventive/itive,

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2. The English translations arguably encode instrument as well, though they are classified as 'manner' verbs by Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2020, p. 160).

3. The data in the examples is taken directly from the texts, which were mostly transcribed by native speakers and the orthography therefore differs. Underlining of vowels indicates devoicing.

Table 14.1 Morphological structure of the Toposa verb and deverbal nouns

				STRUCTURE OF THE VERB	
Person DEP	Root	Ventive Itive Plural	Benefactive Passive Habitual	Imperfective Perfective Passive Plural	Translation
to-	mat	-ar<u>i</u>			'They run away'
a-	naŋ	-un		-eta	'They arrived'
to-	doc		-akin	-ae	'It was mixed'
ku-	cum	-<u>u</u>			'He speared'
ki-	swok		-et	-e	'They always left early'
			STRUCTURE OF DEVERBAL NOUNS		
Gender	Nom.	Root	Benefactive Itive Ventive	Agent Instrument	Translation
nya-		jul		-ot	'Sacrifice for the prevention of diseases and misfortune'
nya-	ki-	gur	-okin		'Ritual performed when mixing one's own cattle with others'
nya-	ki-	lom	-un		'Ceremony performed for a returnee'
nye-	ka-	pu	-or	-on	'A person who regularly guts bulls'

benefactive, habitual, passive and imperfective and perfective aspect. Like most Eastern Nilotic languages Toposa has two verb classes, a To-class and a Ki-class. The distinction derives from the form of the imperative which appears with To-verbs and Ki-verbs. The two verb classes also align with different person prefixes: in the To-class, the personal prefixes (in the order of 1st/2nd/3rd person SG and 1st/2nd/3rd person PL) are: *a-*, *i-*, *e-*, *e-*, *i-*, *e-*; while in the Ki-class, the person prefixes are *e-*, *i-*, *i-*, *i-*, *i-*, *i-*. In deriving deverbal nouns, the verb root is always preceded by the nominalizer *ki-* and the female gender marker *nya-*. If a noun is derived into an agentive noun the female marker *nya-* changes to the male gender marker *nye-* and the nominalizer from *ki-* to *ka-*, as in *nyekapuoron* 'a person who regularly guts oxen'. The nouns can also carry verbal extensions like benefactive and itive and ventive. The noun can also contain an instrumentalizer and an agentive suffix.

The empirical basis of this contribution is the corpus of texts compiled by M. Schröder (2010). The text compilation contains 74 texts including animal fables,

as well as biographical, historical, fictional, mythological and true-story narratives. It also comprises of expository and procedural texts. The texts were collected between 1981 and 2000 from Toposa people of all ages who were born and lived around the area of Kapoeta, South Sudan. In the first phase, when there was no alphabet established for the Toposa people, the texts were audio-recorded, transcribed and translated into English by me and my husband, Martin Schröder. In the second phase, after establishing an alphabet, texts were written down in Toposa and then translated by my husband, myself and Pastor Lokuuda, a native Toposa speaker. To investigate verb meanings, I also consulted the Toposa dictionary (M. Schröder, 2008). The dictionary has over a thousand entries and is followed by an appendix covering names for the areas of fauna, livestock, nicknames of animals, flora, numerals, names of other ethnic groups, interjections, ideophones, and irregular verbs. If neither of the expressions in the text nor the dictionary helped with the meaning of the verb roots, I consulted Pastor Lokuuda, who once a year visits our home.[4] Often I used the dictionary for investigating the semantic domains of lexical items like cutting, giving, going, coming, returning, etc. Then I tried to find examples in the texts. The examples in the present paper are all taken from the texts. The names of the sacrifices and rituals were first looked at in M. Schröder (1993a) and (1993b). Then the dictionary was consulted to find out whether the names of the sacrifice were related to a verb root. If a verb root was identified, an example from the text was searched for and documented if found.

2.   Verbal lexicalization processes in the cultural domain of mobility

Toposa people belong to one of the pastoral cultures of East Africa, in which movement, walking and the economic concept of mobility is dominant. Pastoralist groups have to move their cattle from one grazing ground to another for economic reasons. So, walking and being mobile is a habit that is part of daily life. The importance of mobility and walking is manifested in the lexicalization of motion events, an especially rich lexical domain. I would argue that movement on foot from one place to another holds so much salience in Toposa culture that the linguistic domain of moving and walking is highly differentiated and can be regarded as one of the keywords of the culture (Goddard & Wierzbicka,

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2014, p. 19).[5] Other Nilotic languages that highlight and differentiate the domain of walking include Cherang'any, a Southern Nilotic language spoken in Kenya (Mietzner, 2015). This section will demonstrate examples of the mobility domain.

Table 14.2 provides an overview of all attested verb roots that are used in the lexical domain of mobility, organized according to path, motion, path + motion, and driving cattle:

Table 14.2 Verb roots used to express mobility

Lexical domain	Examples	English translation
PATH OF MOTION		
from source	yek	'leave'
from source + time	swok	'leave early in the morning'
to goal	boŋ	'return'
to goal	naŋ	'arrive'
to goal + time	waru	'arrive at dusk'
en route	por	'pass by'
en route	por	'pass through'
to goal	wap	'follow'
to goal + manner	tup	'follow closely'
to goal (goal perspective)	pap	'approach'
to goal	ram	'migrate'
MANNER OF MOTION		
gait + speed	ker	'run (fast), race'
gait + speed	suk	'run'
gait + speed	mot-mat	'run fast, run a race'
gait	rim	'stroll, wander about'
gait	la	'wander about, stroll about'
gait + speed	kom	'walk fast, hurry'
gait + time	kiiy	'walk all night'
manner + object	cak	'trample'
gait + speed + activity	buny	'walk fast doing something'
manner + purpose	ced	'run to get something'

5. Like many African languages, Toposa is first and foremost a verb-framed language (Schröder, 2016) where the lexicalization of the path in the verb is more prominent than specifying the manner of motion.

Table 14.2 *(continued)*

Lexical domain	Examples	English translation
HYBRID MANNER AND PATH OF MOTION		
gait + speed + to goal	ber	'run ahead'
gait + speed + from source	wok	'run away, escape'
gait + speed + path	curw	'run around'
manner + goal	dol	'arrive carrying something'
DRIVING CATTLE		
to goal + object	ram	'drive [cattle]'
to goal + object	me	'drive [cattle] from behind'
to goal + object	twar	'drive [animal]'
to goal + object	ruj	'drive [cattle] as one herd'

Table 14.2 shows that the lexical domains of 'running' and 'walking' contain several different lexical items. A fine-tuning of the activities of 'run' and 'walk' has taken place. Also note that the meanings of 'leave taking' and 'arrival' have a lexical distinction for time. The following sections examine meanings in the domain of mobility in more detail.

2.1   Verbs encoding path of motion

Typical verbs that demonstrate movement away from and movement back to a source in the semantics of the verb are, respectively, the verbs *yek* 'leave', illustrated in (3a), and *boŋ* 'return', illustrated in (3b). *Yek* and *boŋ* are typical verb-frame roots where the path is integrated into the lexical meaning of the verb.[6]

(3) a. *Te-yek-a   nai   nya-ki-warạ   ŋakipi locorinị*
         DEP-leave-VEN then FEM-DER-look water   waterhole
         'He left to look for water in the waterhole section of the river.'[7]

    b. *To-boŋ-osi   nyepeewae nakopọ, to-luŋ-akinị   nyepeewae*
         DEP-return-VEN:PL part   country DEP-walk.out-BEN part
         'One part returned to the country (=home), the [other] part walked out.'

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6. Talmy (2000) claims that the way the world's languages organize their motion events can be categorized into verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. Toposa is typically a verb-framed language that also has hybrid frames where path and manner of motion are encoded in the same verb root.

7. H. Schröder (2013, 2020) demonstrated that Toposa is a 'clause-chaining language'. Toposa has medial clauses that are inflectional dependent on finite clauses and this dependency is

With respect to movement towards a goal, Toposa has two different verbs for 'arrive': *naŋ* and *dol*, where the difference is that *dol* implies that the person is carrying something: see (4a) and (4b) for examples. (An additional verb meaning 'arrive' is discussed in 2.2.) In Example (4b), the items being carried by the hunting-dog generation in the migration were their belongings. The meaning 'arrive' incorporates the path into the verb as in a typical verb-framed verb. While (4a) explicitly refers to the goal location (the city of Juba), (4b) talks about an implicit goal, namely the area of Loŋeleya, where one section of the Toposa people, the hunting-dog generation, settled:

(4) a. *Na   a-naŋ-un-et-a   Juba a-bu   Lokuuta mini̱   lokalȩ ka*
        when 3PL-arrive-ITV-PFV-PL Juba 3SG-come.PST L.   go.PST house of
        amaakeŋe
        uncle.3SG.POSS
        'When they arrived in Juba, Lokuuta went to the house of his uncle.'[8]

     b. *Ani   e-dol-un-et-e   neni, to-wuru-u-tṵ   nai ŋide*
        When 3PL-arrive-ITV-PFV-PL there DEP-beget-ITV-PL then children
        kecȩ
        3PL.POSS
        'When they arrived there, they begot their children.'

A further verb specifying movement towards a goal, i.e., a verb that incorporates the path, is *pap* 'to approach'. This verb emphasizes proximity to the goal, as illustrated in Example (5):

(5) *Ani   e-pap-uun-i   ŋakeru̱,   ki-ɲak-a-si   nabo*
     when 3SG-approach-ITV-IPFV dancing-ground DEP-charge-RFL-PL again
     ŋisorokȯ, …
     young.men
     'When they approach the dancing-ground, the young men charge again with mock-attacks.'

With verbs meaning 'pass', the specific orientation is to the route of the path, where either a person 'passes by' a particular ground, expressed in the verb *por*, or a person 'passes through, via', which is expressed in the verb *tor*. In Example (6a), the travelers go past Loopu without entering it, while in Example (6b) the traveler passes through Nagishot while on his way to Kapoeta.

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expressed through the dependency (DEP) prefixes *to-* and *ki-*, whereby *to* occurs with verb class 1 and *ki* with verb class 2 verbs.

8. The implied meaning of carrying something does not specify what is carried. It can be a material thing or a child.

(6) a. *... potu̱ ŋikalotoko̱ to-lom-a   Kaalemuliŋa ki-por-u-tu̱   Loopu*
         come:PL travellers DEP-enter-VEN Kalemuliga DEP-pass.by-ITV-P *Loopu*
         '... travellers (traders) came, they settled at Kalemulinga, they passed by
         Loopu'

     b. *E-los-i   Kapoeta ki-tor   Nakisod*
         3SG-go-IPFV/PST Kapoeta DEP-pass.through Nakisod
         'He went to Kapoeta, he passed via/through Nagishot.'

Another verb which integrates the meaning of path is expressed in the English
verb 'follow'. Speakers of Toposa can choose when expressing the concept of 'fol-
low' between the verbs *wap* and *tup*, shown in (7a) and (7b) respectively. The
difference in meaning between the two lexemes is that *tup* carries the additional
meaning of 'following closely', or very precisely, so it has some manner aspect
incorporated. Both terms can be used literally and metaphorically. In the literal
sense, the verb 'follow' has the path integrated in that somebody takes an exist-
ing path to reach a goal, or follows a person to reach a destination, as in (7a). In
the metaphorical sense, both verbs can be used in the sense of copying the way or
manner or activities of somebody else, as shown in (7b).

(7) a. *To-luŋ-akini̱   nai ikesi̱ ku-wap-akisi̱   nyapasi̱ Kidepo kalo to*
         DEP-refuse-BEN with them DEP-follow-BEN swamp Kidepo from west
         'They refused, they followed the Kidepo swamp (= valley) from the west.'

     b. *Ku-cum-u̱   nyekoroe nya-kicuma nakalo tetene̱ to-tup-aki̱*
         DEP-spear-ITV goat   FEM-spear place right DEP-follow.closely-BEN
         locye locye nabo to-tup-akisi̱   lucye daani̱
         other other again DEP-follow.closely-BEN then all.others
         'He starts to spear the goat into the right spearing place, another follows,
         and another, they then all follow.'

Another verb with 'follow' semantics is *reŋe*, which has the sense that somebody
is following somebody in order to chase him, i.e., the motion and purpose of the
action is integrated into the lexical meaning, as in (8). The story goes that a group
of men had gone to a grazing ground with their cattle, but were not welcomed
there, and so they were beaten and chased away:

(8) *Ki-det-ae   ka ŋalita ki-reŋee*
     DEP-beat-PASS with sticks DEP-chase
     'They were beaten with sticks, they were chased away.'

2.2   Temporal semantics in motion verbs

One interesting dimension of Toposa motion verbs is that they can encode tem-
poral information. If the Toposa people want to specify that the motion took place

at night, that time span is lexicalized in the verb root *kiiy* 'go at night', as shown in Example (9):

(9) *Ta-ram-akisị   nai ikesị ki-kiiy-ata   nyakwaarạ daanị kya*
    DEP-move-BEN:PL DS they DEP-go.at.night-VEN night   all   and
    ku-wala
    DEP-dawn
    'So, they moved [away], they went at night, the whole night, it dawned and the light came.'

The deictic verbs 'leaving' and 'arriving' can also be specified for time: see the example with 'leaving' *swok* in (10), specifying that the person left early in the morning:

(10) *Ki-swok-ete   ca, tanị e-naŋ-i   nyapaaranị na*
     DEP-leave.early-PFV/PL DS until 3P-arrive-IPFV day   when
     e-temokin-ieto   ikesị nya-ki-si
     3PP-enough-PFV they FEM-DER-flee
     'They [always] left early in the morning, until the day arrived when it suited them to flee.'

To arrive early can be expressed with the verb *waru*, where early is specified as 'at dusk', as in Example (11):

(11) *Ani   nai e-waru-un-i,   bu   nai nyaate*
     When then 3PP-arrive.at.dusk-ITV-IPFV/PST 3SG:come.PST then cow
     'When they arrived at dusk, the calf came.'

2.3 Manner of motion: Walking and running

The significance of the mobility domain is specially manifested in the lexical differentiation of 'running' and 'walking' activities. Toposa has three main verbs in this domain, where the difference lies in the area of speed. The verb *ker* in Example (12a) has the meaning of running fast, as in a race, while *suk* (12b) is a more general term for running, where speed is less important. The verb *mat* (12c) also integrates the idea of high speed into the lexical root:[9]

(12) a. *To-ker-a   ŋide,   to-lom-a   nakaisị.*
        DEP-run.fast-PL children DEP-enter-PL huts
        'The children ran [away] fast, they entered the huts.'

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9. The precise difference in meaning between *ker* and *mat* is still to be investigated. The verb *mat* 'run fast' has another variant, *man*.

b. *To-suk-o   nayi ŋide   e-ema ŋutuŋa.*
    DEP-ran-PL this children 3P-tell people
    'The children ran to tell the people.'

c. *Abu   nyebu to-mat-ari̱   tani̱ lokupworo*
    3SG:come hyena DEP-run.fast-VEN till   water.pool
    'Hyena ran to the water pool.'

Two of the examples above are lacking satellites or motion suffixes that specify the path of the motion; only the manner aspect of the motion event (i.e. running) is expressed by means of the verb root. In (12c), we find a satellite denoting the goal of the motion event.[10] Another typical manner of motion verb is equivalent to the English verb 'hurry' in the sense of 'moving fast', whether walking or running. The idea of fast movement can also be expressed with the verb *ced*, as in Example (13a), or the verb *kom*, as in Example (13b). The verb *ced* has an additional element of immediacy relative to the time of speaking, i.e., without any dawdling or delay in order to try to get something or somewhere, whereas *kom* means walking fast.

(13) a. *Ani   i-mwon-i,   to-ced-ori̱   nabo to-pere̱*
         When 3P-satify-IPFV/PST DEP-hurry-VEN again DEP-sleep
         'When he was satisfied, he hurried back to go to sleep.'

    b. *A-bu   to-limw-oki̱ nyatemari̱ e-baa lokilye   keŋe̱*
        3SG-come DEP-tell-BEN that   3SG-say M/SG-husband 3SG.POSS
        iŋesi̱   ki-kom-u
        3SG.OBJ DEP-walk.quickly-ITV
        'He told her that her husband has informed her to hurry up.'

The idea of running around in circles, i.e., with manner and path conflated, is expressed in the verb root *curw*, as exemplified in the first clause of (14). Another manner of motion verb in this example, which expresses the idea of trampling, is *cyak*, where a patient is affected by the manner of motion – see the second clause of (14):

(14) *Abu   ɲitaaka̱ ka nyaate ki-curw-oki̱,   ki-cyak-a̱   ŋide*
     3SG-come calf   of cow   DEP-run.around-BEN DEP-trample-VEN children
     ka Nyeŋatunyu̱
     of lion
     'The calf of the cow came, ran around, and trampled on the cubs of the lion.'

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10. The expression *tani̱* in Example (10c) 'till' was originally a conjunction. However, in this example, 'until' functions as a preposition. In this example the locative marker *lo* also occurs on the goal noun, because the motion of running has a destination.

There are other specific senses of the activity RUN which also incorporate some aspect of the path of motion, as in the verb *ber* to 'run ahead':

(15) *A-to-ber-ite*   *aeoŋ kiŋaren a-to-noki-te*   *aeoŋ nyepeduru*
     1P-DEP-run.ahead-SIM 1SG outside 1SG-DEP-hide-SIM 1SG tamarind
     'I had run ahead [at the same time] outside, hiding myself [behind] a tamarind.'

Also within the lexical domain of running, the concept of 'fast running' can combine with the intention of 'running away' from the enemy. If the sense of 'run away' is intended, i.e., a combination of manner and movement away from a (dangerous) source, the cause of the running, then the verb *wok* occurs. An example with *wok* (16) is taken from a folk tale where the animals thought that the sun had fallen down (in fact it was a palm nut), so chicken and other animals ran away in a panic, fleeing from the danger:

(16) *Ku-wok-or-i̱*   *Ŋekokoro̱*
     DEP-run.away-VEN-RFL chicken
     'Chicken fled.'

Returning to the concept of a circular path of motion, which we already encountered with *curw* in (14), another verb which indicates both manner (in this case walking) with a path 'around' is *rim* as in (17):

(17) *To-lot-o̱*   *nabo Lobanyete̱ nya-ki-rebe̱*   *ŋawiyei*   *ka Ŋibuya*
     DEP-walk-VEN again Lobanyet FEM-DER-scout cattle.camps of Boyas
     ki-rimi̱   *iŋesi̱ ŋawiyei*   *nyakwaare̱ daani̱*
     DEP-walk.around 3SG cattle.camps night   all
     'Lobanyet went again to scout the cattle camp of the Boya, he circled the cattle-camps all night [long].'

Such a hybrid type of verb, where both manner of motion and the path are encoded in a single verb root, is also manifested in the verb *laa* 'stroll around', illustrated in Example (18). The lexemes *laa* and *rim* seem to be near synonyms. If a speaker wants to express that he/she walks around in a full circle he/she chooses the verb *rim*, as in (17).

(18) *Ŋacye   paarani̱ ki-laa-a*   *Neŋatuŋu̱ namoni*
     another day   DEP-stroll.around-VEN lion   forest
     'One day Lion strolled around in the forest ...'

The concept of 'migrating' is expressed in the verb *ram*. Here the path is integrated in the lexeme of the verb as people move their place of residence from one place to another. As with the equivalent English verb, this verb also denotes a change in place of residence. An example is provided in (19):

(19) *Ta-ram-akisi̠*   *Ŋimosiŋo naŋololo̠ Siŋaita to-lom-a*   *Loŋela*
      DEP-migrate-BEN:PL Mosingo river   Siŋaita DEP-settle-PL Loŋeleya
      'The Mosingo moved to the river Singaita, they settled at Longeleya.'

2.4   Driving cattle

In pastoralist cultures the cattle and all activities that surround cattle are crucial
to the livelihood of the people. Cattle play a major role in marriage festivities and
sacrifices for rituals and they are important for bridewealth and compensation of
murder. But they are also part of everyday activities of herding. The activity of dri-
ving cattle is a common subject of discussion and is conceptualized linguistically
in several different ways. There are four terms for driving cattle: *ram* (20a); *me*
(20b); *twar* (20c); and *ruj* (20d).

(20) a. *Ta-ram-u̠*   *nai Lobanyete̠ nyaate keŋe̠*   *lore*   *i-damidami.*
          DEP-drive-ITV DIS Lobaynyet cow   3SG.POSS village 3SG-dance:INT
          'So Lobanyet drove his cow to [his] village (= home), dancing.'
      b. *To-me-ki̠*   *lokale̠ nakwaare*
          DEP-drive-BEN home night
          'He drove [the cow] home in the night'
      c. *A-bu*   *Nyebu ki-yok-oki̠*   *loceni̠ keŋe̠*   *i-twar-un-i*
          3SG-come Hyena DEP-see-BEN nephew 3SG.POSS 3SG-drive-ITV-IPFV/PST
          nyaate
          cow
          'Hyena came [discourse], he saw his nephew driving the cow [home].'
      d. *A-bu*   *Kwee to-ruj-u̠*   *nyaate lokale̠*
          3SG-come Jackal DEP-herd-ITV cow   home
          'Jackal drove the cow back home.'

The verb *ram* (20a) is a general term for driving cattle while *me* (20b) specifies the
driving of the cattle from behind, i.e., specifies the relative position of the herder
to the herd. The verb *twar* (20c) does not only refer to driving of cattle but can
refer to driving animals in general. The verb *ruj* (20d) specifies that cattle are dri-
ven together as one herd, so the herder invests efforts to keep the herd together.
The path along which the herd of cattle are driven is expressed by the use of the
motion suffixes, e.g., the itive suffix in (20a).

3.   Lexicalization processes in the domain of sacrifice

The Toposa have a very elaborate system of verbs that lexicalize the various activities that surround the appeasing of ancestral spirits. Toposa people believe in the existence of a supreme being and the spirits of the departed, who have to be appeased by means of various sacrifices. Dimmendaal (2015, pp. 174–175), comparing the Turkana and Toposa understandings of the spiritual world, mentions that the occasions which need sacrifices for appeasements among the Toposa are droughts, epizootics and diseases. Other occasions are dances and age-set ceremonies. The following examples demonstrate the lexicalization processes of Toposa in the domain of sacrifices. The semantic field of sacrifices is packed with cultural information and in this case the lexicalization processes demonstrate the significance of this aspect of Toposa culture. See also M. Schröder (1993b) for a detailed discussion of rituals and sacrifices among the Toposa people. Table 14.3 provides an overview of the lexical items to be analyzed.

Table 14.3 Verbal lexicalization and deverbal nouns in the domain of sacrifice[*]

Name of sacrifice	Verb root	Verb root meaning
nyajulot (see 3.1)	jul	'turn or hang upside down'
nyapukin (see 3.2)	pu	'gut; disembowel; kill animal as sacrifice'
nyakicak (see 3.3)	cak	'throw'
nyabuto (see 3.6)	but	'compensate for murder'
nyakibel (see 3.7)	bel	'break'
nyakigurokin (see 3.8)	gur	'spread out'
nyalemar (see 3.9)	lem	'bring, fetch, get'
nyakiriwokin (see 3.10)	riw~riy	'block, avert'
nyakilomun (see 3.4)	lom	'usher in'
nyekideriet (see 3.5)	der	'sacrifice an animal when child's teeth break through abnormally'
nyalemar (see 3.9)	lem	'bring'
nyakiriwokin (see 3.10)	riw~riy	'avert'
nyakibel (see 3.7)	bel	'break'

[*] Note: Not all kinds of sacrifice are discussed in the text that follows the table in subsections 3.1–3.10.

3.1   *Nyajulot*

The *nyajulot* sacrifice is performed for a range of reasons, from prevention or cure of diseases to prevention or stopping of misfortunes. In *nyajulot*, an area is magically protected by cutting the skin of the sacrificed animal into long thin strips and hanging them around the area, as discussed in M. Schröder (1993b, p. 17). The name of the sacrifice can be traced back to the verb root *jul*, which means 'turn or hang upside down'. The verb *jul* derives a noun through the addition of the gender prefix *nya-* and the nominalizer prefix *ki-*, as well as the instrument suffix marker *-ot*. Semantically, this derivation involved metonymic extension from the original meaning 'to hang upside down'. As part of this process, the deverbal noun *nya-julot* was first used to refer to the pieces of skin of the sacrificial animal that are hung upside down and placed around an area, i.e., via metonymic extension from the activity of hanging to the objects hung. A further step of metonymic derivation took place when the noun for the objects developed into an event noun to describe the sacrifice ceremony as a whole.

Through metonymic change, and with further lexical specification, *nyajulot* can also refer to other kinds of sacrifice: *nyajulot ka ŋakipi* 'sacrifice for water'; *nyajulot ka ŋuumwa* 'sacrifice for a good harvest'; *nyajulot ka nyakuru* 'sacrifice for rain'; *nyajulot ka nyedeke* 'sacrifice for disease'; *nyajulot ka ŋibaren* 'sacrifice for cattle'; *nyajulot ka nyakerṵ* 'sacrifice for [protecting] the dancing ground'; and *nyajulot ka nyecor* 'sacrifice for the waterhole', to protect the water in the well from being contaminated (see M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 18).

3.2   *Nyapukin*

The name of this sacrifice is derived from the verb root *pu*, which has various meanings such as 'gut; disembowel; kill a favorite bull'. The verb root *pu* in combination with the nominalizer prefixes *nya-* and the benefactive marker *-kin* extends the meaning to sacrificing an animal (usually a fat ram, he-goat, or ox) to an ancestral spirit to get the blessing of a senior relative, as in Example (21).

(21)   *A-cam-it̪*   *nyekamuran̪i keŋe̪*   *Lonyia*
　　　 3SG-want-PFV in-law　　　 3SG.POSS Lonyia
　　　 nya-pu-kin̪i　　　　　　　　　 *iŋesi̪*　　 *nyemoŋo*
　　　 FEM-sacrifice.to.appease.spirit-BEN 3SG.OBJ ox
　　　 'His in-law Lonyia wanted to sacrifice an ox for him to appease the spirit.'

3.3   *Nyakicak*

The name of this sacrifice is derived from the root *cak* 'to throw'. The metonymic extension from the verb to the sacrificial noun is based on the activity that happens during the sacrifice, where dung mixed with mud is thrown at a designated object or person. This ritual was traditionally performed for cleansing purposes and occurs on three occasions: firstly after a person has been absent from Toposa land; secondly after mixing another household's cattle with one's own, either after a raid or after an exchange of goats and cows with another family; and thirdly after animals are received for the compensation of murder. The person or the family members who have to be blessed will be smeared with dung from an disemboweled animal (see M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 28). Nowadays, *nyakicak* has developed into a generic noun referring to the ritual activity of cleansing that can take place at any time. In (22), for example, a man who was known to have supernatural powers cleansed a stone in order to get water for his cattle:

(22)   *Bee ani na   e-nyam-ea   nyakure ŋibarenẹ keŋẹ   ta-ram-ạ iŋesị kode*
it.is.said.when 3SG-eat-INS thirst   cattle   3SG.POSS DEP-beat 3SG or
ta-cakạ   to-lelew-u-tụ   ŋakipi ta-mat-a   ŋibarenẹ ka
DEP-throw.for.sacrifice DEP-flow-ITV-PL water 3PL-drink-PL cattle   of
ŋituŋa keŋẹ.
people 3SG.POSS
'It was said [that] when thirst ate his cattle (= when his cattle were thirsty), he beat the stone or threw dung at it (= sacrifice)], water flowed [from that stone], his cattle and his people drank.'

There are further lexical extensions of the original *nyakicak* ceremony, including *nyakicak nyaupwala* 'to throw [dung] at shields' which is performed in the event of an abnormal birth to avert misfortune. The young mother has to throw chyme at the shield of the men present. *Nyakicak nyalyel* describes the ritual of throwing chyme at the grave of one's deceased father to honor him and appease his spirit.

3.4   *Nyakilomun*

The name of this sacrifice is based on the verb root *lom* 'to usher in'. The verb root *lom* captures the reentering of a person to his or her homestead after a long absence, especially from foreign territory. The person is welcomed back into the homestead by his father and brothers. The name *nyakilomun* derives from the verb root *lom* by adding the gender and nominalizer prefixes *nya-* and *ki-* and the ventive suffix *-un*. Here the relation between the verbal meaning and the name of the sacrifice is rather transparent, since the person is ushered back into his home-

stead (see M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 29). The ceremony takes the following form: an animal has to be slaughtered and the stomach content mixed with blood, and this mixture is then sprinkled on the returnee as they enter the gate in order to welcome him back into the community.

3.5   *Nyekideriet*

Further rituals are performed when a child's teeth break through abnormally. All of this information is lexicalized in the monomorphemic verb root *der* 'to make a sacrifice when child's teeth break through abnormally', from which is derived the name of the sacrifice *nyekideriet*. Again, this noun is derived by means of the gender and nominalizer prefixes *nye-* and *ki-* and the instrument suffix *–(i)et*. Another ritual that has to do with reproduction is *nyeburet*, which is performed if a woman's breasts leak before giving birth. The name of the ritual comes from the verb root *bur* 'to sacrifice an animal when breasts are leaking before birth'. The ritual basically is believed to protect the breast from getting infected.

3.6   *Nyabuto*

M. Schröder (1993a) talks at length about the sacrifices that have to be undertaken for the compensation of murder. The most common ceremony is the sacrificial ritual *nyakubuto*, where the noun is derived from the verb *but* 'compensate for murder'. The ceremony is performed as follows: The two affected families come together and a bull or a goat is slaughtered, roasted or boiled. The members of the affected parties sit together and have a meal that demonstrates that they have reconciled. The affected party has to be given a certain number of livestock to compensate for the murdered person (M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 24).

3.7   *Nyakibel*

Another ritual for the compensation of murder is called *nyakibel nyakoit*. The underlying verb root for *nyakibel* is *bel* 'to 'break'. The verbal construction is *nyakibel nyakoit* 'to sacrifice to compensate for murder', which originally means 'to break a bone'. Again, we observe metonymical extension from an activity performed at the ceremony to the event itself: in the ceremony the two parties come together and each member of the families breaks bones of the slaughtered animals. All food of the families has to be shared. If this ritual is not performed, it is believed that the members of the family of the murderer will never find peace and family members will die.

3.8 *Nyakigurokin*

A ritual is performed among Toposa when inherited cattle are joined to the cattle herd of the son, which also has to be performed when raided cattle are joined into a person's herd. The name for the ritual is *nyakigurokin*, from the verb root *gur* 'to spread out'. It seems that the original meaning of the verb 'to spread out' informed the meaning of the noun in the sense that somebody is spreading out or opening his territory for more cattle to join with his herds.

3.9 *Nyalemar*

Another sacrifice takes place in order to protect the fields of sorghum from the birds: *nyalemar ŋikeny* 'to sacrifice to protect sorghum fields from birds'. The verb root of this nominalization is *lem* 'to bring, fetch, get, harvest'. The semantic process by which this noun was derived is opaque to this author, as it does not seem to relate to ritual activities, which are rather cumbersome: the man who performs the ceremony has to stay indoors for six days without eating or drinking water or bathing. Before he comes out, people should not go to the field. When he finally comes out, he can eat so he has enough strength to walk a long distance to the west and he carries a goat, which is then slaughtered and roasted, and its head buried.

3.10 *Nyakiriwokin*

A sacrifice called *nyakiriwokin* is performed to avert bad luck from certain areas. The underlying verb root is *riw ~ riy* 'to block, avert'. So the verb root is nominalized and the original meaning of 'avert' or 'block' is maintained, encoding the desired outcome of the ritual. A sacrificial animal, referred to as *nyekiriyet*, is taken to the place where the protection is necessary and its skin stretched over a road or other areas as a form of protection.

3.11 Verbal lexicalization and slaughter activities

The final part of this section reflects briefly on the domain of slaughtering, since slaughtering in specific ways for sacrifices is also a cultural scenario encoded in single verb roots. When killing an animal for slaughter the complex verb lexicalization *gum* 'to shoot and pierce the vein and drain blood' is used. This verb is exemplified in Example (23).

(23) *Ani   ki-doli   isuwa nawi   i-ki-to-gum-akini̠*
When DEP-reach 1PL   cattle-camp 1PL.OBJ-ERG-CAUS-shoot.drain.blood-BEN
ŋaakot ka nyaate
blood of cow
'When we reached the cattle-camp, they drained a cow's blood for us.'

If Toposa people want to express a specific type of sacrificial slaughtering that involves cutting the tongue, heart, and lungs of an animal, they can use the verb root *toropiy*, which encodes this complex meaning: see Example (24):

(24) *Ŋutuŋa daani̠ lu   e-sapan-et-e,   i-toropiy-et-e*
People   all   who 3PL-initiate-PFV-PL 3PL-cut.tongue.heart.lung-PFV-PL
ŋibarene̠ kece̠   daani̠ e-twono   nyasapana̠ bakini̠
cattle   3PL.POSS all   3PL-be.precious initiation   like
nyakuluru̠
stripping.off.in.mourning
'All people who have been initiated cut the tongue, heart and lungs of their cattle together (= they do not kill by cutting the throat); initiation is as precious (= serious) as stripping off [all decorations] in mourning.'

4.   Verbal lexicalization in rituals

This sections talks about how rituals and their procedures are captured in verbal lexicalization. The first section deals with marriage rituals and the second with other rituals. Table 14.4 provides an overview of the verb roots that have been identified so far in this domain.

Table 14.4 Verbal lexicalization in the domain of ritual

Ritual	Verb root	Translation
MARRIAGE RITUALS		
Marriage negotiation	lotoi	'arrange marriage negotiation'
Bringing the bride home	um	'bring [bride] to the groom's settlement'
Paying of bridewealth	uut	'pay bridewealth'
Cleansing ritual in case of marriage in the same clan	sub [nyatale]	'do a cleansing ritual'
Preparing the bride ritually for marriage	tal	'prepare bride ritually'

Table 14.4 *(continued)*

Ritual	Verb root	Translation
OTHER RITUALS		
Killing a favorite bull	pu	'gut favorite bull'
Chewing the first stalks	git	'perform a ritual for chewing the first stalk'
Fire ritual	pir	'perform the fire ritual'

4.1   Verb packaging in the cultural domain of marriage

The assumption of this paper is that in-depth study of lexicography and 'key words' can open a window to the understanding of a culture (Wierzbicka, 1979). Marriage is an essential part of the Toposa culture and the language encodes the different stages of the marriage negotiation rituals in monomorphemic verb roots. For example, recognized elders visiting the family of the bridegroom for marriage negotiations perform the first step of the marriage negotiation, which involves negotiating the bridewealth. The whole process is encoded by the verb root *lotoi* 'to arrange marriage negotiations', exemplified as a deverbal noun in (25):

(25) *E-los-it-o   ŋikosukwou nyalotoi   nyaberu ka Marko*
      3SG-go-PFV-PL elders   marriage.negotiations wife   of Marko
      'Elders have gone to negotiate for Mark's wife.'

The ritual that ends the bridewealth negotiation involves a goat being slaughtered by the father of the bride and given to the bridegroom and his company as a meal (M. Schröder, 1993b, p. 9). The final part of the marriage negation is when the bride is taken from her homestead and brought to the homestead of the bride-groom, a process packaged into the verb root *um* as in Example (26):

(26) *Na   i-wum-ere   nyapese*
      when 3SG-bring.to.bridegroom's.settlement-INST:PASS girl
      ki-nyony-oe
      DEP-perform.marriage.ritual-PASS
      'When a girl is brought [to the bridegroom's settlement], some marriage rituals are performed.'

At this stage, spears are also given to the bridegroom to symbolize the first stage of the bride's payments. This act of giving spears is denoted by the noun *nyakuuma*, based on this same verb root *um*. The paying of the bridewealth is lexicalized in the verb root *uut*, see also M. Schröder (1993b, p. 9), as expressed in Example (27):

(27) *Ani   i-wut-a   nyitoonị, ki-marạ   ŋibarenẹ*
      When 3sG-pay.bride.price-VEN man   DEP-count cattle
      'When a man pays the bridewealth, he counts the cattle'

Another ritual has to be performed when marriage takes place within the same clan. That ritual is referred to with the noun *nyakisub nyetalẹ*, a nominalization of the verb root *sub* 'make' and *nyetalẹ* 'religious duty'. This expression relates to the cultural assumptions that marriage within the same clan is not the preferred option among the Toposa and thus that some cleansing ritual has to take place to avert the curse that such a marriage union can bring.

Another verb specific to the context of marriage is *tal*, which refers to the ritual preparation of the bride, typically performed by an elderly woman. This verb is illustrated in (28):

(28) *I-tale   nyakimat   nyateran.*
      3sG-prepare.ritually old.woman bride
      'The old woman is preparing the bride ritually.'

In 3.2 I already discussed the verb root *pu*, meaning 'to gut a favorite bull'. This verb is also used to derive the name of another ritual *nyakupuokin*, again with the gender and nominalizer prefix as well as the benefactive extension *-okin* to give a noun representing the activity. The background to the ritual is that when someone's favorite bull becomes old, the man decides to kill it. This ritual is performed among the person's age-set and accompanied by a praising ceremony *nyakupuokin* and war dance *nyakidamadam*. Then the animal is killed, disemboweled, skinned, and cooked to be eaten by the attendees. The name of the ritual (whole ceremony) is *nyapuor* (M. Schröder, 1993b, pp. 30–31). The verb *pu* is also used for the gutting and disembowel of any animal.

Other rituals are performed when the first stalks of the harvest season are chewed, captured in the noun *nyakigitakin*. The verb root *git* specifically refers to ritual chewing of these first stalks, as opposed to *rwab* which refers to chewing generally. One final ritual to mention is the fire ritual, the action of which is lexicalized in the verb *pir* (example 29):

(29) *Ki-pir-ụ   (nyakim)!*
      DEP-make.fire.ritually-VEN fire
      'Make the fire-ritual (and curse)!'

M. Schröder (1993b, p. 25) writes that this ritual is performed after somebody has been robbed and the fire maker is called to curse the respective thief. This verb is another good example of the highly culturally specific nature of lexical representation.

5.   Verbal lexicalization in everyday activities

In the last empirical section of this paper I will take a look at verbal meaning in everyday cultural domains that have also been explored in other languages, specifically those of carrying and cutting. These domains show high degrees of specificity in terms of the meanings that have been lexicalized in Toposa.

I have identified eight Toposa verbs that refer to different ways of carrying goods: see Table 14.5. It is not uncommon to have an elaborated domain for the meaning of 'hold while moving' (i.e., 'carry') specified in languages that do not traditionally make use of other means of transportation (see Hill, 2016; Heath & McPerson, 2009; Pawley, 1997).[11] The domain of 'carrying' (i.e., transporting by means of the human body) is salient in the Toposa culture as it is the only way that people transport goods or children on land. Hill (2016, p.506) writes, quoting Cruse (2011, p.205), that "salient domains stand out from their background in some way and have a superior power of commanding attention".

Table 14.5 The cultural domain of 'carrying'

Kod	'carry something by hand'
dak	'carry something in arms or hands'
nap	'carry on the back' (normally implying a baby)
tun	'carry something clutching with both arms'
luku̲	'carry something in cloth/apron'
wok	'carry something on the head'
rwoŋ	'carry something on shoulders'
lepelep	'carry sick/injured person'

The distinctions illustrated in the table reveal that the way of carrying something has received special attention in the culture. There is no generic term for 'carry' which subsumes these more specific terms. Toposa distinguishes between carrying goods by hand, in a cloth or apron, on the head or on the shoulders. Special attention is given to the fact that an injured person needs to be carried, as conceptualized in the verb *lepelep*.[12] The following examples taken from the text collection (M. Schröder, 2010) reflect some of these distinctions in the domain of carrying: see the example of carrying by hand in (30a), carrying on the back with

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11. Hill (2016, p.509) documents eleven different verbs for carrying in the culture of Longgu, an Oceanic language spoken in the northeast coast of Guandalcanal.

12. Note the verb root *lepelep* is a reduplication of the verb *lep* 'to throw upwards'.

the verb *nap* (30b), carrying, holding while clutching both arms through the verb *tun* (30c) or carrying on the head by the verb *wok* (30d):

(30) a. *Ta-dak-a*   *nai iŋesi̱ nyakiri̱ŋi̱ ki̱ŋa   ku-muj-u*
          DEP-carry.by.hand-ITV DSC 3SG meat   outside DEP-eat-VEN
          'He carried the meat outside, he ate [it all].'

   b. *Ta-nap-a̱*   *nai iŋesi̱ nyabwo ka nyadoli̱ tya ŋaculo to-kodo̱*
          DEP-carry.on.back-ITV DS 3SG front   of apron   and beads DEP-carry
          nyadere   natikapipilani̱, te-ek-a   jiki̱   Buya
          calabash beautiful   DEP-leave-ITV straight Boyaland
          'Then he put [on the back] the front apron and the beads, he carried a very beautiful calabash, he left straight for Boya [land].'

   c. *Ki-yau   iŋesi̱ nyatapa̱ to-tun-u̱   ka nyatorobu*
          DEP-receive 3SG porridge DEP-carry.by.clutching-VEN on chest
          'He received the porridge, he carried it, clutching it with both hands.'

   d. *Ku-wok-o   nayi nyakutuluŋu̱ tani̱ lokupworo*
          DEP-carry.on.head-ITV he   pillow   till water.pool
          'Then he carried his mother's pillow to the water pool.'

Another domain that has appeared to receive special attention in the culture is that of cutting. Toposa distinguishes twenty-four different ways of cutting. Special attention is given to the patient of the verb, i.e., the object that is cut, such as string, grass, sticks and stalks, meat, ropes, fruit, leather, or animals. The cutting of meat receives special attention, with seven distinct verbs denoting the cutting of meat either into strips, off the bones, off the skin, without skinning (see also Majid et al., 2007, for a cross-linguistic study of cutting and breaking). One verb distinguishes the manner of cutting: *ver* 'cut smoothly', while another distinguishes the direction of the cut: *tel* 'cut across'. The generic term for cut is *tub*, which can be used for all objects, and the generic term for cutting meat is *yet* or *duŋ*.

Table 14.6 Verbs for cutting

Reb	'cut a string'
ŋed	'cut a rope'
tel	'cut across'
leny	'cut grass'
tel	'cut sticks'
ŋer	'cut grass for thatching'
did	'cut into strips'
karaŋ	'cut into cubes'
kep	'cut leather'
rikirik	'cut meat into strips'
dok	'cut meat off bones'

Table 14.6 *(continued)*

Reb	'cut a string'
waj	'cut meat off bones'
daŋ	'cut meat of skin'
luku̱	'cut meat without skinning'
duŋ	'cut meat'
yet	'cut meat'
deŋ	cut off large fruit/plants'
wal	'cut off limb at joint'
muny	'cut off ear in case of twin birth (kid-goats/calves); 'cut off top half of goat's ear to curse thief'
rubor	'cut off (ear/nose) in fight'
yer	'cut smoothly or evenly'
tek	'cut sticks/timber'
kiek	'cut up animal'
tub	'cut (general)'

Example (31) nicely illustrates that different verbs are used for cutting grass and cutting timber:

(31) *Ani   nabo e-bun-i   nyekaru locye   ki-teka-ta   ŋituŋa*
      when again 3SG-come-IPFV/PST year   another DEP-cut.timber-PL people
      to-ŋer-ete   nyamoni ŋina
      DEP-cut.grass forest   DEM.DIST
      'When again another year came, the people cut timber, they cut grass in that forest.'

The examples illustrate some of the cutting verbs found in the texts, namely, *karaŋ* 'cut meat into cubes' (32), *deŋ* 'cut gourds out of large fruits or plants' (33), and *wal* 'cut limb off at foreleg' (34):

(32) *Ta-lac-uni̱   e-karaŋ-ik-i̱   nyakiriŋi*
      DEP-untie-VEN 1SG-cut.into.cubes-BEN-RFL meat
      'Untie yourself [so that] I [can] cut the meat into cubes for myself.'

(33) *To-deŋo ŋituŋa   ka ŋieerea   ka daani, to-lukwa   ŋutwoli̱ ka ŋaarekae*
      DEP-cut large.fruit of settlement of all   DEP-round bottles and calabashes
      The people of all the settlements cut [gourds there], they rounded (= made) bottles and calabashes [from the gourds].

(34) *Tem   nabo nicye ʿAta-wal-ṳ   nyakwaatạ' tem   nyekupe*
      DEP.say again one   DEP.1SG-cut.at.joint-VEN foreleg   DEP.say spirit
      ʿakaduṇṳ   nyakwaatạ enị?'
      DEP-cut.meat-VEN foreleg   who
      Another one said, "Let me cut the foreleg". The spirit said "Aai, kaai, who is
      this who is cutting off my foreleg?"

6.   Conclusion

This chapter set out to demonstrate that semantic information packaged in verb
roots can illustrate and draw out cultural assumptions, beliefs, practices and sce-
narios and thus a link between culture and language is established. The lexical
domains that get special attention in the language through specificity can be
regarded as keywords or key domains of the culture. One of those cultural key
domains in Toposa, I have argued, is the mobility domain. In the mobility
domain, a great deal of information is specified regarding manner of motion as
well as in some cases about the time of the day. Concepts of running and walking
are finetuned for speed and path. The lexical elaboration of the mobility domain
can perhaps be linked to the necessity of moving from place to place in search
of pasture, as is typical for pastoralist cultures. The Toposa language also reflects
the cultural significance of the domain of sacrifices in order to appease the spir-
its. Investigation of the marriage domain showed verbal lexicalization processes
for the different stages of marriage, including negotiating bridewealth, bringing
home the bride, and anointing her. Finally, we observed many distinctions in the
everyday domains of carrying and cutting. The different scenarios revealed in ver-
bal lexicalization processes are central to the way of life of the Toposa people, as
reflected in language.

Abbreviations

1/2/3	first/second/third person	INST	instrumental
BEN	benefactive	IPFV	imperfective
CAUS	causative	ITV	itive
DEP	dependence marker	OBJ	object
DS	discourse marker	PASS	passive
DER	noun derivation marker	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	POSS	possessive
FEM	feminine	PST	past
INT	intensifier	PFV	perfective

RFL	reflexive		Underlined vowels indicate
SIM	simultaneous		voicelessness
SG	singular	u̱	voiceless u
VEN	ventive		

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