

Event encoding in a crosslinguistic perspective III: The expression of motion events across languages

(NOTE: Much of the work presented here was carried out with John Beavers and Shiao Wei Tham; see Levin, Beavers & Tham 2009 for sections 3 and 8 and BL&T 2010 for the remainder.)

1 The encoding of directed motion events: Setting the stage

- Germanic and Romance languages contrast dramatically in their default descriptions of events of motion in some manner along a path, which potentially includes a goal (Bergh 1940, 1948, Malblanc 1968, Sapir & Swadesh 1932:21–22, Slobin 1996, 1997, 2000, Talmy 1975, 1985, 2000, Tesnière 1965:309–310, Vinay & Darbelnet 1958).

- Languages of both types recognize that **directed motion events** have certain components: the fact of motion, the entity that moves (the theme or figure), the path of motion, and the manner of motion. Paths are often defined with respect to a reference object.

- But these and other languages differ as to whether they prefer to “lexicalize” the **path** inside or outside the verb and, concomitantly, to express the **manner** of motion outside or inside the verb when a clause describes a directed motion event that expresses both the path and manner of motion.

— English and other Germanic languages: (preferentially) use a manner of motion verb plus a prepositional phrase expressing the path.

(1) Blériot flew across the Channel.
THEME MANNER PATH

— French and other Romance languages: (preferentially) use a directed motion verb plus an optional prepositional phrase or adverbial clause specifying the manner of motion.

(2) Blériot traversa la Manche en avion.
Blériot crossed the Channel in a plane
THEME PATH MANNER
Blériot crossed the Channel by plane. (French; Vinay & Darbelnet 1958:105)

- The attested patterns involve an apparent reversal in the locus of expression of the manner and path components of the event: as a verb vs. a prepositional phrase or adverbial clause.

(3) a. John limped into the house. (English)
b. Je suis entré dans la maison (en boitant).
I am entered in the house in limping
'I entered the house (limping).' (French)

- This observation leads Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000) to classify languages into two major typological categories based on how path and manner are encoded and combined in one clause describing a directed motion event that expresses both semantic components.

— S(atellite)-framed (or manner) languages (English, Russian, German, Mandarin):

Lexicalize the manner of motion in the verb; the path is expressed as a “satellite” to the verb.

— V(erb)-framed (or path) languages (Spanish, French, Turkish, Japanese, Hebrew):

Lexicalize the path of motion in the verb; the manner, if specified, is expressed outside the verb.

NOTE: Talmy (2000:102) defines a satellite as including any category other than NP/PP that is a sister to V and is a dependent of V, including affixes (separable and inseparable), particles, and co-verbs. BL&T (2010:336-339) suggest the notion should include PPs as well.

- Talmy also recognizes a third language type, exemplified by Atsugewi, which is rarely attested: The verb lexicalizes the figure, with other event components expressed outside the verb. (This lexicalization type will be ignored here.)

2 Moving beyond Talmy’s initial proposal: Goals of the lecture

- Talmy’s proposal that languages fall into two lexicalization types is now considered too simplistic.
 - Languages often show characteristics of both types, so at best it makes sense to recognize V- vs. S-framed constructions rather than languages (e.g., Asbury et al. 2008, BL&T 2010, Croft et al. 2010, Cummins 1996, 1998, Filipović 2007, Jones 1983, Melka 2003, Folli & Ramchand 2005, Son 2007).
 - **Refinements:** The notion of path is argued to mean “path that crosses a boundary” (Aske 1989, Slobin & Hoiting 1994, Stringer 2001): V-framed languages show S-framed behavior when the path does not involve boundary crossing.
 - **Extensions:** The typology is extended to include a class of “equipollently-framed languages” where “path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms” such as serial verb constructions (Slobin 2004:249; see also Zlatev & Yangklang 2004, Slobin & Hoiting 1994, but see Talmy 2009).
 - Even these revisions are insufficient when confronted with the full range of possibilities for encoding path and manner within one clause.
 - BL&T (2010) propose that Talmy’s original typological categories follow given that many languages allow only one verb per (simple) clause, and in such clauses there are limited event encoding patterns when both path and manner are expressed.
 - This understanding is actually implicit in some of the above-cited extensions and refinements to Talmy’s typology, which specifically target languages that allow more than one verb per clause.
 - BL&T (2010) argue that attested crosslinguistic variation in the encoding of directed motion events can be better explained by recognizing two morphosyntactic factors.
- (4) a. Verb is the only clause-obligatory lexical category that can encode manner or path.
 b. A given verb may lexicalize only one of manner and path.
 (cf. Manner/result complementarity (RH&L 2010))

- (5) Availability of language particular resources independent of motion encoding:
- a. *Lexical*: manner and result verb roots/stems/affixes, spatial adpositions and particles, boundary markers
 - b. *Morphological*: case markers, applicative affixes, aspectual affixes, compounding
 - c. *Syntactic*: adjunction, verb serialization, subordination, applicativization

- Apparent typologies arise from the interaction of these factors.

- That is, crosslinguistic differences can be characterized in terms of the facet of the event the verb lexicalizes—manner or path—with this then influencing how other event components are expressed.

3 A deeper look at V-framed languages

AN ADDITIONAL OBSERVATION: Not only do Romance languages encode directed motion events with the V-framed pattern, but they only show the S-framed pattern with a handful of verbs.

- (6)
- a. Anne ran/jogged/strolled to the park.
 - b. Anne va au parc.
Anne goes A.the park
'Anne goes to the park.' (French)
 - c. Anne court au parc.
Anne runs A.the park
'Anne runs at the park.' (French; location interpretation only)
- (7)
- a. *La barca è **galleggiata** sotto il ponte.
The boat is float.PSTPRT under the bridge
'The boat floated (to) under the bridge.'
(intended; Italian; Folli & Ramchand 2005:97, (32b))
 - b. *El barco **flotó** a la costa.
the boat floated A the coast
'The boat floated to the coast.' (intended; Spanish; Fábregas 2007:169, (5b))

THE CURRENTLY ACCEPTED PICTURE (revised from Talmy's original proposal):

- In English, all manner of motion verbs can be used in the expression of directed motion events.
- In Romance languages, only a few may (e.g., Cummins 1996, 1998, Fábregas 2007, Gehrke 2008, Jones 1983, 1996, Kopecka 2009, Martínez Vázquez 2001, Zubizarreta & Oh 2007).

PROPOSAL: The crosslinguistic differences stem from differences in preposition inventories.

THE REASON PREPOSITION INVENTORIES MATTER:

- Manner of motion verbs do not entail directed displacement along a path, and, therefore, do not semantically select for path arguments, including goals.
- They contrast with directed motion verbs, which entail directed displacement along a path, even in the absence of an overt path-denoting complement.

- (8)
- a. Terry ran in place.
 - b. I jumped on the trampoline. (ambiguous: (i) onto it or (ii) while on it)

- (9) a. # Sam came, but never left school.
 b. # The plane ascended, but remained at 35,000ft.

— Thus, a manner of motion verb must combine with a path phrase to express directed motion.

- ENGLISH: Has the goal preposition *to* (among others), allowing a goal to be semantically composed with a manner of motion verb through a regular compositional process.

- (10) Pat ran/walked/ambled/jogged/plodded to the store.

CONSEQUENCE: All manner of motion verbs can be used in encoding directed motion events.

- ROMANCE LANGUAGES: Lack a dedicated goal preposition like English *to*.
 (Cummins 1996:19, Fábregas 2007, Folli & Ramchand 2005:96, Jones 1983:165, Son 2007, 2009, Song 1997, Stringer 2003, 2006)

— The Italian preposition *a* and its Romance cognates are often glossed as *to* in the context of motion events, whether described with directed motion verbs, as in the Italian (11), or occasionally with manner of motion verbs, as in (38).

- (11) Mario è andato a scuola.
 Mario is go.PSTPRT A school
 ‘Mario went to school.’

- (12) La rondine è volata al nido.
 the swallow is fly.PSTPRT A.the nest
 ‘The swallow flew to the nest.’

— However, *a* and its cognates also have locative uses with non-motion verbs, as in the Italian (13).

- (13) a. Mario è rimasto a casa.
 Mario is remain.PSTPRT A house
 ‘Mario remained at home.’
 b. Il mio fratello è a scuola.
 the my brother is A school
 ‘My brother is at school.’

— For this reason, studies by Fábregas (2007), Song (1997), Son (2007), among others, suggest that Romance *a* is inherently locative and best glossed ‘at’.

(NOTE: Spanish *a* predominantly shows directional uses, probably since other lexemes, e.g., *en* ‘in’, *a lado de* ‘near’, *dentro* ‘inside’, have assumed some of its former locational functionality; for discussion see Fábregas 2007.)

- This proposal accounts for Romance *a*’s locative uses:

— When Romance *a* occurs with a directed motion verb, the directional interpretation may be attributed to the verb—the *a* phrase is just a location marker.

— When *a* occurs with a typical manner of motion verb, the preposition alone is unable to predicate a result location, explaining the lack of directional interpretation for (14) (and necessitating special treatment of the exceptional verbs as in (7); see section 8).

- (14) Il ballerino ballò al teatro ‘La Scala’.
 the dancer dance.PST A.the theatre ‘La Scala’
 ‘The dancer danced at/*to the La Scala theatre.’

CONSEQUENCE: Romance languages have no general way to express a goal with manner of motion verbs in a directed motion event.

• Manner of motion verbs in Romance languages can unambiguously show directional interpretations with the counterparts of English *towards* (Aske 1989, Cummins 1996:13f, Fábregas 2007:170, Jones 1983:185f, 1996:396f, Martínez Vázquez 2001, Melka 2003).

- (15) ‘towards’ prepositions: French *vers*, Italian *verso*, Spanish *hacia*

- (16) Silenciosamente flotaba **hacia** la puerta.
 silently floated towards the door
 ‘She floated silently towards the door.’

(Spanish; Mario Vargas Llosa, *La tía Julia y el escribidor*, p. 262; from Fábregas 2007:170, (7))

This behavior is not unexpected if the unacceptability of (7b) has to do with the nature of the preposition *a* rather than a prohibition on expressing path outside the verb in Romance languages.

• Further, some V-framed languages use other morphosyntactic devices that allow directed motion event descriptions with manner of motion verbs: complex verbs, as in Japanese (Yoneyama 1986), and applicative morphemes, as in Tswana (Schaefer 1985); see below.

— In Tswana, a manner of motion verb can take a location complement:

- (17) mò-símàné ó-tábóg-à fá-gòdí mò gá-thàbà
 CL.1-boy he-run-IMP NEARBY-top LOC-mountain
 ‘The boy is running on top of the mountain.’
 (Tswana; Schaefer 1985:64, Table II, 1)

— But a manner of motion verb cannot take a path complement—a V-framed language property.

- (18) * mò-símàné ó-tábóg-à gòdí mò gá-thàbà
 CL.1-boy he-run-IMP top LOC-mountain
 ‘The boy is running to the top of the mountain.’
 (Tswana; Schaefer 1985:67, (4a))

— A manner of motion verb can take a path complement when applicativized.

- (19) mò-símàné ó-tábóg-**èl**-à kwá-gòdí mò gá-thàbà
 CL.1-boy he-run-**to**-IMP DISTANT-top LOC-mountain
 ‘The boy is running to the top of the mountain.’
 (Tswana; Schaefer 1985:66, Table III, 1)

(SOME ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS: (i) Romance languages disallow productive N-N compounding and, concomitantly lacks certain types of complex predicate formation; Beck & Snyder 2001, Snyder 2001, 2012; (ii) Romance languages disallow the conflation of “manner” with a little *v*; Mateu 2012, Mateu & Acedo-Matellán 2012, Mateu and Rigau 2010; (iii) Romance languages require (result) root-to-*v* movement; Folli & Harley 2015.)

4 Encoding directed motion events in sentences with a single verb

- This section illustrates the diversity in the encoding of directed motion events across languages in simple sentences with one verb; the next section turns to those with more than one verb.
- The survey also shows that some languages exhibit properties of both V- and S-framed languages, depending on the lexical and morphosyntactic devices each language makes available.
- Thus, the range of data is more complex than Talmy's typology predicts.
- Yet, the patterns embodied in Talmy's typology show up clearly: they are a result of whether the verb encodes path or manner in sentences with a single verb.

4.1 The verb lexicalizes manner

This section looks at possible expressions of the path when the single verb lexicalizes manner.

4.1.1 Path particles/affixes

- Path is often encoded via a particle or an affix associated with a manner verb.

- (20) a. An owl popped out. (English)
b. ... weil da eine Eule plötzlich raus-flattert.
... because there an owl suddenly out-flaps
'... because an owl suddenly flapped out.' (German)
c. ... omdat er een uil uit-vliegt.
... because there an owl out-flies
'... because an owl flew out.' (Dutch)
d. Tam vy-skočila sova.
there out-jumped owl
'An owl jumped out.' (Russian)

(Examples from Slobin 2004)

- Moving outside of Europe, Mokilese (Micronesian) uses directional affixes with manner verbs.

- (21) Ih aluh-dah-la in dollo.
he walk-up-PERF LOC mountain
'He walked up to the mountain.' (Mokilese; Harrison 1976:204, (47))

- This is the canonical S-framed language pattern, typically not observed in V-framed languages.
- However, many purported V-framed languages actually do show S-framed behavior, as shown in further sections, allowing a path to be expressed with a manner of motion verb.

4.1.2 Goal or path XPs

- The path may also be expressed with a PP or a DP with an appropriate morphological case.
- These options are exemplified by English PPs headed by *to*, *into*, and *onto* PPs and by Finnish allative (*-lle*) and illative (*-hVn/seen/siin*) DPs.

4.1.3 General event delimiters

- General event delimiters, such as English *until*, may introduce goals with manner of motion verbs in some languages, including some V-framed languages (Beavers 2008).

- (22) a. The bottle floated as far as/??until the cave. (English)
- b. La cire coule jusqu'au bord de la table.
The wax flows until.the edge of the table
'The wax flowed to the edge of the table.' (French; Cummins 1996)
- c. La botella flotó hasta/??a la cueva.
The bottle floated until/A the cave
'The bottle floated to the cave.' (Spanish; Aske 1989)
- d. John-wa kishi-made/*ni oyoida/tadayotta/hatta.
John-TOP shore-until/to swam/drifted/crawled
'John swam/drifted/crawled to the shore.' (Japanese; Beavers 2008)

- These are not goal markers as they are used to indicate various types of boundaries, including temporal endpoints of events and sometimes boundaries of spatial regions.

(23) They talked until the meeting/midnight/they fell asleep.

- They provide a static boundary point for some event participant that has physical or abstract extent, hence, the name “general event delimiter”; they are not goal markers per se.

- In a given instance, the type of delimitation is inferred from the nature of the event and the complement of the marker.

- Thus, these markers are interpreted as goal expressions in (22) since motion events may be delimited by a spatial bound (Beavers 2008).

- Strictly speaking, this is S-framed behavior, but sentences (b)–(d) in (22) are from putative V-framed languages: French, Spanish, and Japanese.

- Aske (1989) argues that these markers do not entail “boundary crossing”, refining Talmy’s typology to be sensitive to the encoding of “telic” vs. “atelic” paths with V, but this distinction does not seem right. (See also Slobin & Hoiting 1994, Martínez Vázquez 2001, Stringer 2001.)

— *Until*-markers generally do entail or implicate arrival (as in (22)).

— There is no sense in which (24) doesn’t entail boundary crossing.

- (24) John-wa dōkutu-no naka-made oyoida.
 John-TOP cave-GEN inside-until swam
 ‘John swam into the cave’ (Japanese; K. Uchiyama p.c.)

4.1.4 Applicative affixes

- Applicative affixes in some languages—V-framed included—may allow goals to be expressed with manner of motion verbs.
- As noted in section 3, Tswana applicative *-əl-* does this (Schaefer 1985).

- (25) a. mò-símàné ó-kíbítl-à fá-tlàsé gá-dì-tlhàrè.
 CL.1-boy he-run heavily-IMP NEARBY-under LOC-CL.8-tree
 ‘The boy is running with heavy footfall under the trees.’
- b. mò-símàné ó-kíbítl-**əl**-à kwá-tlàsé gá-thàbà.
 CL.1-boy he-run heavily-**to**-IMP DISTANT-under LOC-mountain
 ‘The boy is running with heavy footfall to the top of the mountain.’

- Thus, this morpheme gives rise to apparent S-framed behavior in a V-framed language.

4.2 The verb lexicalizes path

This section looks at possible expressions of manner when the single verb lexicalizes path.

4.2.1 Manner adverbials

- Manner can be expressed in a subordinate adverbial clause such as a participial clause, a pattern typical of V-framed languages.
- This pattern is attested in Romance languages, as well as Bantu (Gaines 2001).

- (26) a. La botella entró a la cueva (flotando).
 the bottle entered to the cave floating
 ‘The bottle entered the cave floating.’ (Spanish)
- b. Je suis entré dans la maison (en boitant).
 I am entered in the house in limping
 ‘I entered the house limping’ (French)

4.2.2 Ideophones

- Ideophones provide a way to convey manners of motion; they can combine with both directed motion and manner of motion verbs.
- This strategy is found in Basque, Japanese, Korean, and Thai (Akita 2008, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2006, 2009, Matsumoto 2003, Schaefer 2001, Shibatani 1990, Slobin 2004:233–235, Stringer 2011, Sugiyama 2005, Wienold 1995:319–322).

4.3 Summary

- There are differences in the morphosyntactic categories that encode path and manner—the former has greater affinity with adpositional and affixal categories, the latter with adverbial and verbal categories—but this should be unsurprising given their ontological distinctness.
- What matters is that the main verb is the one lexical category that can lexicalize either meaning component; thus, if there is only one verb, depending on which meaning the verb lexicalizes, language-particular devices come into play to encode the remaining meaning component.

5 Encoding directed motion in sentences with two distinct verbs

- Languages that allow multiple verbs in a single clause allow manner and path to be lexicalized in distinct verbs without violating Manner/result complementarity.
- Such languages are not accommodated by Talmy’s typology, which assumes one verb per clause.
- Thus, it is not surprising that to account for such languages some researchers (Slobin 2004, Zlatev 2004) extend Talmy’s typology by positing a category of “E(quipollently)-framed languages”.

5.1 Compound verbs

- Japanese (Wienold 1995, Yoneyama 1986) and Korean (Choi & Bowerman 1991, Kim 1997, Wienold 1995) have verb-verb compounds made up of path and manner verbs.

- (27) a. John-wa eki-e hashitte-itta.
John-TOP station-to running-went.
‘John ran (in)to the station.’
- b. John-wa kishi-e oyoide-itta.
John-TOP shore-to swimming-went.
‘John swam to the shore.’ (Japanese)

5.2 Serial verb constructions

- Serial verb constructions (SVCs) also involve two verbs, allowing directed motion event descriptions where one verb lexicalizes manner and the other path.

- (28) ɔli ɔmɔhe la o vbi oa.
the man run enter at house
‘The man ran into the house.’ (Emai; Schaefer 1986:181)

- (29) a. chán won jón klàp khâw hój.
I circle reverse return enter room
‘I returned circling back into the room.’ (Thai; Zlatev & Yangklang 2004)
- b. chán dæn won klàp jón khâw paj.
I walk circle return reverse enter go
‘I am walking in a circle, returning back inside.’ (Thai; Zlatev & Yangklang 2004)

- However, some Caribbean English Creoles have SVCs that are composed of a manner of motion verb plus a deictic directed motion verb; the goal or any other path elements are expressed via PPs (Winford 1990).

- (30) a. dem a waak go a maakit.
 they PROG walk go to market
 ‘They’re walking to (the) market’
- b. dem ron kom in a di house.
 they run come in to the house
 ‘They ran into the house’

- Thus, the expression of path may be spread out over multiple elements even in SVC languages, in a way that is reminiscent of an S-framed language.

5.3 Summary

- Multiple verb options allow for the encoding of manner and path, each in their own verb.
- Even in languages with more than one verb in a clause, it is necessary to appeal to language-particular lexical and morphosyntactic resources.
- Even with a three-way typology fails to capture the observed properties of individual languages: a language may tend towards V- or S-framed encoding even when it allows for multiple-verb options, and some SVC languages exhibit mixed behavior even in multiple-verb encoding.

6 The role of lexical and morphosyntactic resources in encoding directed motion

- The data surveyed in sections 4 and 5 show a wide variety of encoding possibilities for motion events that do not fit comfortably in a two- or three-way typology.
- This survey also shows that some options for the expression of motion events involve one motion verb, while others involve two. The former were the focus of Talmy’s work and the basis for his typology; the latter have figured in work that extends his typology.
- The constraint in (4), repeated in (31), might illuminate why the number of verbs affects the available encoding options for directed motion events.

- (31) a. Verb is the only clause-obligatory lexical category that can encode manner or path.
 b. A given verb may lexicalize only one of manner and path.

- (b) is an instantiation of a more general constraint that a verb can lexicalize either a manner or a result, where path is a type of result (L&RH 1991, 1992, RH&L 2010).
- Given this, there are two classes of options for the encoding of a particular directed motion event in a given language:

- (32) **Path as verb:** If path is lexicalized in the verb, then:
- a. If the language has monoclausal multiverb constructions, manner may also be lexicalized in a verb.
 - b. If the language has manner adverbials (ideophones, subordinate clauses, adverbs), these may encode manner.

- (33) **Manner as verb:** If manner is lexicalized in the verb, then:
- a. If the language has monoclausal multiverb constructions, path may also be lexicalized in a verb.
 - b. If the language has appropriate result elements (affixes, applicatives, semantic cases, adpositions, particles), these may encode path.
 - c. If the language has general event delimiters, these may be used to encode path.

- Given these possibilities, the encoding options for a directed motion event in a language depend on factors not specific to such events.

EXAMPLE: Both Romance languages and Japanese:

— Lack applicative morphemes (cf. Tswana), “aspectual” affixes (cf. Russian), particles (cf. Dutch), and have limited case inventories (cf. Finnish).

— Lack secondary predication (e.g., result phrases and, thus, goal phrases, cf. English) (Aske 1989, Folli 2002, Snyder 1995, Song 1997, Talmy 1991, 2000, Washio 1997).

Therefore, there are two possible options left for the expression of path: verbs and general event delimiters, such as *until*-markers.

- The resources available to a given language can’t be predicted (e.g., the lack of directed motion verbs in Russian).
- The actual resources employed for encoding directed motion events is also unpredictable.

EXAMPLE: The availability of general event delimiters does not mean such markers will encode path: Japanese allows *until*-markers to encode goals in directed motion events, but not all speakers of English accept *until* for this purpose.

Compositional method	Example language
Serial Verbs (e.g., $V_{manner} V_{path}$)	Caribbean English Creoles, Emai, Thai, Mandarin
Compound Verbs (e.g., $V_{manner}+V_{path}$)	Japanese, Mandarin
Complementation (e.g., $V_{manner} PP/DP_{path}$)	English
Subordination (e.g., $V_{path} V_{manner}$ -participle)	All languages (?)
Adjunction (e.g., $V_{path} AdvP/PP_{manner}$)	All languages (?)

EXAMPLE: Japanese allows verb-verb compounds but Romance languages do not, again an independent property of each language.

Thus, the options for encoding directed motion events in different languages vary depending on the variety of path and manner encoding options available, the compositional processes available for combining them, and the way these are exploited in a given language.

7 Revisiting Talmy's typology

- As shown, the options for the encoding of directed motion events is constrained by the available options for encoding manner and path outside the verb.
- Furthermore, if a particular language has multiple options available for encoding manner or path, some options may be preferred over others on processing or markedness grounds and, thus, used more frequently (e.g., the *until*-marker strategy is unlikely to be a preferred option for goal expression).
- Thus, a given language may overwhelmingly favor S- or V-framed encoding even if other options are available.
- This accounts for the putative “V-framed” classification of Romance languages: of the two options available for encoding path, directed motion verbs are preferred over *until*-markers on markedness grounds, yielding a tendency toward V-framed event encoding.
- The same holds of Japanese, which also allows verb-verb compounds and, thus, tends to show V-framed and equipollently-framed event encoding.
- Further, language may allow both canonical S- and V-framed event encoding if these are independently available: Both English and Hebrew show these possibilities as they have manner verbs, directed motion verbs, manner participles, and goal adpositions:

- (34) a. The dog crawled into the doghouse.
 b. The dog went into the doghouse crawling. (English)
- (35) a. ha-kelev zaxal la-meluna.
 the-dog crawled to.def-doghouse
 ‘The dog crawled into the doghouse.’
 b. ha-kelev nixnas la-meluna be-zxila.
 the-dog entered to.DEF-doghouse in-crawl_N
 ‘The dog entered the doghouse crawling.’ (Hebrew; I. Francez, p.c.)

- A language can even encode both path and manner outside the verb if there are relevant resources available.

- (36) John moved stealthily out of the bedroom. (manner=adverb, path=adposition)
- (37) a. John stole out of the bedroom. (manner=V, path=adposition)
 b. John left/exited the bedroom stealthily. (path=V, manner=adverb)

- All are valid options, though a manner verb plus a path phrase is presumably the default (avoiding complex adverbials), thus explaining the putative “S-framed” characterization of English.

Conclusion: Talmy's typology results from numerous converging factors, including the overlap of path/manner encoding in the verb and the independent availability of and preference for certain other options for expressing path outside the verb.

8 Accommodating locations understood as goals

- Accounts of the encoding of directed motion events must confront a form of divergence from the “ideal” Talmyan V-framed type: French, Italian, and Spanish allow some manner of motion verbs to be used with apparent pathcomplements in the expression of directed motion, as does Japanese.

- (38) a. La palla è **rimbalzata** sopra il tavolo.
the ball is bounce.PSTPRT on the table
‘The ball bounced onto the table.’ (Folli & Ramchand 2005:96, (31b))
- b. La rondine è **volata** al nido.
the swallow is fly.PSTPRT at.the nest
‘The swallow flew to the nest.’

- An explicit typology of directed motion event encoding cannot easily accommodate such data.
- Some researchers (Alonge 1997, Fábregas 2007, Folli & Ramchand 2005, Stringer 2006) account for the data along roughly the following lines:
 - V-framed languages have TWO lexically distinct sets of manner of motion verbs, with one set having a path feature or meaning component.
 - In contrast, S-framed languages such as English have ONE type of manner of motion root since ALL manner of motion verbs can be used in the expression of directed motion.
- However, the Romance data is better described as involving location PPs with a goal interpretation and not goal PPs, given the discussion in section 3.
- A comparable phenomenon is attested in Germanic languages—all manner languages: e.g., Cummins 1996, 1998, Gehrke 2006, 2008, Nikitina 2008, Thomas 2004, Tutton 2009 on English; Biberauer & Folli 2004 on Afrikaans; Gehrke on Dutch; Tungseth 2005, 2008 on Norwegian.
- Thus, some English manner of motion verbs allow directional interpretations for location PPs, though *into* or *onto* could be unambiguously used instead of *in* or *on*, respectively.

- (39) a. So we **ran in the store**, (my friend Carrie and I) locked the door, and called the police. (www.instantweb.com/v/vlr/vstatmnt.html)
- b. So we **ran into the store**, locked the door, and called the police.

Yet, *in* and *on* are locative, as shown by their uses with stative verbs in (40), contrasting with *into* and *onto*, which are inherently goal markers and not found with stative verbs, as in (41).

- (40) a. Pat remained in Seattle.
b. The cat sat on the branch.
- (41) a. John ran/*stayed into the store.
b. John ran/*was onto the beach barefoot.

- If the phenomenon is not specific to V-framed languages, it requires an alternative explanation.
- An alternative, pragmatic account: Contextual factors favoring a displacement interpretation give rise to directional readings with certain location PPs both in Germanic and Romance languages.

8.1 The pragmatic account

THE NULL HYPOTHESIS: Languages, English and Romance included, do not differ in the meanings associated with verbs that belong to a comparable verb class.

COROLLARY: All Romance manner of motion verbs simply lexicalize manner; that is, none additionally lexicalizes a notion of direction or path.

- Nikitina (2008) proposes that the directional interpretation of an English location PP may be attributed to a pragmatic inference on the part of the reader/hearer:

(42) Infer a directional interpretation for a location PP in contexts favoring such an interpretation.

- Nikitina's pragmatic account can be carried over to the Romance data.

8.2 Factors facilitating the directional interpretation in English (Nikitina 2008)

- THE NATURE OF THE VERB:

Directional uses of *in* are more common with path than manner verbs, and with manner verbs they are more common with verbs encoding manners that are more likely to convey displacement, e.g., those associated with the notions 'jump' or 'run'. These tend to be verbs that convey simpler—i.e. less elaborated—manners (see also Thomas 2004).

SIGNIFICANCE: Directed motion verbs inherently convey displacement; certain (simpler) manner verbs are more likely to convey types of motion intended for displacement than other (more complex) ones, which might include meaning components inconsistent with this; see section 8.4.

- ASPECTUAL FACTORS:

In phrases are more likely to be understood as directional with verbs that are inherently punctual (or at least describe shorter events), than with verbs that describe a process with greater duration.

In particular, *in* is found less often with manner of motion verbs (which tend to describe processes with greater duration) than with directed motion verbs (which are more likely to allow shorter, transition readings); see also Thomas (2004).

SIGNIFICANCE: Verbs that inherently describe short events can naturally describe transitions from one location to another. If the event has greater duration, the associated path is likely to need some physical extent (see also Beavers 2008). That is, Nikitina suggests that *in* is used when there is no prominent (complex) path.

- THE NATURE OF THE GROUND (I.E. THE COMPLEMENT OF THE P):

In is found more often with what Nikitina calls 'containers'—locations with well-defined boundaries, and often a well-defined entrance/exit, such as rooms, boxes, buildings, and cars—than with 'areas'—locations that lack such boundaries, such as forests, neighborhoods, fields, space.

(43) Container grounds (Nikitina 2008:186, (17)):

- a. He went in the hotel and searched till he found the razor.
- b. I mean, someone walks in a classroom.

- (44) Area grounds (Nikitina 2008:186, (18)):
- a. You think you'd, you think you'd, uh, go up in space if you had a chance?
 - b. If I walk into a bad neighborhood, I'm sure I'd want to walk through with you because I'm sure you have above the average instinct for how to use guns and how to use them effectively and everything.

SIGNIFICANCE: As Nikitina points out, it is more plausible to infer a punctual transition into a container than into an area, which lacks a clear boundary.

8.3 Extending the pragmatic account to a path language

PREDICTION: The pragmatic explanation should extend to path languages: directional interpretations of location PPs should be available with the appropriate pragmatic support even though such languages lack a preposition such as *to* which allows the direct expression of a goal in a PP.

- Kopecka (2009) presents a corpus study of the occurrences of nine French manner of motion verbs with three locative prepositions—*dans* ‘in’, *sur* ‘on’, and *sous* ‘under’—in the Frantext corpus.

- (45) *courir* ‘run’, *glisser* ‘slide’, *grimper* ‘climb’, *marcher* ‘walk’, *nager* ‘swim’, *ramper* ‘crawl’, *(se) rouler* ‘roll’, *sauter* ‘jump’, *voler* ‘fly’

- Her study suggests that the factors favoring the directional interpretation of location PPs in English extend to French.

— THE VERB: Not all manner of motion verbs are found equally with location PPs with directional interpretations, and the distribution shows some overlap with what is observed in English.

- (46) a. Exclusively found in the expression of motion at a location: *nager* ‘swim’
 b. Favored in the expression of motion at a location: *marcher* ‘walk’, *courir* ‘run’, *rouler* ‘roll’, *voler* ‘fly’, *ramper* ‘crawl’
 c. Favored in the expression of directed motion: *grimper* ‘climb’, *sauter* ‘jump’
 (Kopecka 2009:61; see Table 5 for details)

— ASPECT: The two verbs that most strongly favor the directed motion interpretation, *sauter* ‘jump’ and *grimper* ‘climb’, are most likely to be used in perfective forms (*passé simple*, *passé composé*), while *voler* ‘fly’, *nager* ‘swim’, and *marcher* ‘walk’ show a strong affinity for the imperfective.

This correlation is reminiscent of Nikitina’s observation that directional interpretations of location PPs are favored in the description of punctual (short) rather than durative (long) events.

— THE GROUND: To the extent that Kopecka’s categories for coding grounds can be aligned with Nikitina’s, the results of the two studies seem to be largely consistent.

Location PPs with directional uses tend to involve grounds that are ‘objects’—entities that are movable, such as tables, trains, trees, or rocks—or ‘animates’, while pure locative uses tend to have ‘place’ and ‘substance’ grounds. The former are fixed geographic spaces such as forests, deserts, sea or paths like streets or ways, while the latter are entities like water, snow, and sand; all these are extended in space.

Kopecka’s observation (2009:70) that the use of *dans* ‘in’ in locational sentences is correlated with its more frequent cooccurrence with places—basically restates one of Nikitina’s observations.

8.4 Are some manner of motion verbs special?

The two-meaning approach assumes that some verbs have a special lexically specification; however, it is not clear that only some verbs should be singled out.

THE REASON: While various studies observe that some verb types are favored and some are strongly disfavored with location PPs with directional interpretation, there is considerable middle ground.

- The favored verbs describe forms of motion that necessarily produce displacement in some direction (Alonge 1997, Biberauer & Folli 2004:25, Cummins 1996, 1998, Fábregas 2007, Jones 1996:395, Mateu 2008:246, n. 29): running, walking, flying, and perhaps jumping and rolling.
- Disfavored are verbs describing forms of motion such as dancing, spinning, and twirling. These verbs “lexicalize motion events with no clear beginning, path of motion, or end” (Tutton 2009:18).
- Also favored are verbs that may describe a unified, uninterrupted movement (Cummins 1998).

(47) J’ai glissé sur la glace.
‘I slipped on the ice.’ (Cummins 1998:56, (12a))

- However, properties of a particular situation can take priority over prototypical real world knowledge, licensing directional uses of location PPs when there is appropriate contextual support, even with verbs which might seem unanticipated or even impossible, thus casting doubts on claims that some manner of motion verbs disallow such readings.

AN EXAMPLE: Verbs that describe aimless motion such as *amble*, *stroll*, or *wander* are occasionally found with directional interpretations of locative *in* in appropriate contexts.

(48) ... my 2 year old daughter had **wandered in** the room drawn in by the sounds of battle.
(www.audioholics.com/reviews/receivers/pioneer-vsx-818v/listening-conclusion)

9 Moving on: Conclusion

- BL&T (2010) propose that the wide variation within and across languages in directed motion event encoding falls out of very general constraints on how manner and path may be encoded.

(49) “... the choice that a language makes in the primary categorization of a certain class of concepts mediately influences the shape that its grammar takes, because grammatical categories are essentially fed by lexical categories.” (Lehmann 1990:180)

- As with hitting event descriptions, further particulars of directed motion event encoding can be traced to the lexical and morphosyntactic resources available to individual languages.
- Talmy’s typology arises because verb may generally lexicalize either manner and path, but not both simultaneously, with the choice a language makes as to which it prefers in the verb influencing the encoding of directed motion events.

References

- Akita, K. (2008) "How Motion Sounds/Looks in Japanese and English: Mimetics in the Typology of Motion Expressions", handout, Kobe Conference on Language Typology: English, Japanese, and Other Languages, Kobe University, Hyogo, Japan.
- Alonge, A. (1997) "Semantica lessicale e proprietà sintattiche dei verbi di movimento italiani: analisi di dati acquisiti da dizionari di macchina e da un corpus testuale computerizzato", *Atti del III Convegno della Società Internazionale di Linguistica e Filologia Italiana*, 31-63.
- Asbury, A., B. Gehrke, H. van Riemsdijk, and J. Zwarts (2008) "Introduction: Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P", in A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, and R. Nouwen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1-32.
- Aske, J. (1989) "Path Predicates in English and Spanish: a Closer Look", *BLS* 15, 1-14.
- Beavers, J. (2008) "On the Nature of Goal Marking and Delimitation: Evidence from Japanese", *Journal of Linguistics* 44, 283-316.
- Beavers, J., B. Levin, and S.W. Tham (2010) "The Typology of Motion Events Revisited", *Journal of Linguistics* 46, 331-377.
- Beck, S. and W. Snyder (2001) "The Resultative Parameter and Restitutive Again", in C. Féry and W. Sternefeld, eds., *Audiatur Vox Sapientiae: A Festschrift for Arnim von Stechow*, Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 48-69.
- Biberauer, T. and R. Folli (2004) "Goals of Motion in Afrikaans", in O. Courzet, H. Demirdache, and S. Wauquier-Gravelines, eds., *Proceedings of Journées d'Etudes Linguistiques 2004*, 19-26.
- Bergh, L. (1940) "L'idée de direction Exprimée par un adverbe ou par une préposition en suédois, par un verbe et une préposition en français", *Studia Neophilologica* 12, 66-90.
- Bergh, L. (1948) *Moyens d'exprimer en français l'idée de direction: Étude fondée sur une comparaison avec les langues germaniques, en particulier le suédois*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Göteborg.
- Choi, S. and M. Bowerman (1991) "Learning to Express Motion Events in English and Korean: The Influence of Language-Specific Lexicalization Patterns", *Cognition* 41, 83-121.
- Croft, W., J. Barðdal, W. Hollmann, V. Sotirova, and C. Taoka (2010) "Revising Talmy's Typological Classification of Complex Events", in H.C. Boas, ed., *Contrastive Construction Grammar*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 201-235.
- Cummins, S. (1996) "Movement and Direction in French and English", *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 15, University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada, 31-54.
- Cummins, S. (1998) "Le mouvement directionnel dans une perspective d'analyse monosémique", *Langues et Linguistique* 24, 47-66.
- Fábregas, A. (2007) "The Exhaustive Lexicalisation Principle", *Nordlyd: Tromsø Working Papers in Linguistics* 34:2, 165-199.
- Filipović, L. (2007) *Talking about Motion: A Crosslinguistic Investigation of Lexicalization Patterns*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Folli, R. (2002) "Resultatives: Small Clauses or Complex VPs?", in Claire Beyssade, R. Bok-Bennema, F. Drijkoningen, P. Monachesi, eds., *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2000*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 153-170.
- Folli, R. and H. Harley (2015) "A Syntactic Alternative to Deficiency Approaches to the Manner-Alternation Parameter", unpublished ms., University of Ulster, and University of Arizona.
- Folli, R. and G. Ramchand (2005) "Prepositions and Results in Italian and English: An Analysis from Event Decomposition", in H. Verkuyl, H. De Swart, and A. van Hout, eds., *Perspectives on Aspect*, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht, 81-105.
- Gaines, R. (2001) "On the Typology of Directional Verbs in Bantu", in R. Botne and R. Vondrasek, eds., *Explorations in African Linguistics: From Lamnso' to Sesotho*, Indiana University Working Papers in Linguistics 3, Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington, IN, 25-35.
- Gehrke, B. (2006) "Putting Path in Place", in E. Puig-Waldmüller, ed., *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 11, 244-260.

- Gehrke, B. (2008) *Ps in Motion: On the Semantics and Syntax of P Elements and Motion Events*, LOT Dissertation Series, Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Harrison, S.P. (1976) *Mokilese Reference Grammar*, University Press of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI.
- Ibarretxe Antuñano, I. (2006) “*Tiipi-ttapa, tiipi-ttapa ... korrika!!!: Motion and Sound Symbolism in Basque*”, *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca ‘Julio de Urquijo’* 40, 499-518.
- Ibarretxe-Antuñano, I. (2009) “Lexicalisation Patterns and Sound Symbolism in Basque”, in J. Valenzuela, A. Rojo, C. Soriano, eds., *Trends in Cognitive Linguistics: Theoretical and Applied Models*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt, 239-254.
- Jones, M.A. (1983) “Speculations on the Expression of Movement in French”, in J. Durand, ed., *A Festschrift for Peter Wexler*, Univ. of Essex Language Centre Occasional Papers 27, 165-194.
- Jones, M.A. (1996) *Foundations of French Syntax*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Kim, Y.-J. (1997) “Verb Lexicalization Patterns in Korean—with Focus on Motion Conflation in Complex Verb Constructions”, in H.-M. Sohn and J. Haig, eds., *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 6, CSLI Publications, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 495-511.
- Kopecka, A. (2009) “L’expresssion du déplacement en français: l’interaction des facteurs sémantiques, aspectuels et pragmatiques dans la construction du sens spatial”, *Langages* 173, 54-77.
- Levin, B., J. Beavers, and S.W. Tham (2009) “Manner of Motion Roots Across Languages: Same or Different?”, handout, Workshop on Roots: Word Formation from the Perspective of ‘Core Lexical Elements’, Universität Stuttgart, Stuttgart. (Online at <http://web.stanford.edu/~bclevin/stutt09mot.pdf>)
- Levin, B. and M. Rappaport Hovav (1991) “Wiping the Slate Clean”, *Cognition* 41, 123-151.
- Levin, B. and M. Rappaport Hovav (1992) “The Lexical Semantics of Verbs of Motion: The Perspective from Unaccusativity”, in I.M. Roca, ed., *Thematic Structure: Its Role in Grammar*, Foris, Berlin, 247-269.
- Malblanc, A. (1968) *Stylistique comparée du français et de l’allemand*, Didier, Paris.
- Martínez Vázquez, M. (2001) “Delimited Events in English and Spanish”, *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense* 9, 31-59.
- Mateu, J. (2008) “On the I-Syntax of Directionality/Resultativity: The Case of Germanic Preverbs”, in A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, and R. Nouwen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 221-250.
- Mateu, J. (2010) “On the I-Syntax of Manner and Causation”, in M. Duguine, S. Huidobro, N. Madariaga, eds., *Argument Structure and Syntactic Relations: A cross-linguistic perspective*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 89-112.
- Mateu, J. (2012) “Structure of the Verb Phrase”, in J.I. Hualde, A. Olarrea, and E. O’Rourke, eds., *The Handbook of Hispanic Linguistics*, Wiley, Chichester, 333-353.
- Mateu, J. and V. Acedo-Matellán. (2012) “The Manner/Result Complementarity Revisited: A Syntactic Approach”, in M.C. Cuervo and Y. Roberge, eds., *The End of Argument Structure*, Emerald Books, Bingley, 209-228.
- Mateu, J. and G. Rigau (2010) “Verb-Particle Constructions in Romance: A Lexical-Syntactic Account”, *Probus* 22, 241-269.
- Matsumoto, Y. (2003) “Typologies of Lexicalization Patterns and Event Integration: Clarifications and Reformulations”, in S. Chiba et al., eds., *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language: A Festschrift for Masaru Kajita*, Kaitakusha, Tokyo, Japan, 403-418.
- Melka, F. (2003) “Verbes de mouvement et verbes résultatifs en langues romanes et germaniques”, in F. Sánchez Miret, ed., *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística y Filología Romanica* vol 2/2, Niemeyer, Tübingen, 55-63.
- Nikitina, T. (2008) “Pragmatic Factors and Variation in the Expression of Spatial Goals: The Case of *into* vs. *in*”, in A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, and R. Nouwen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 175-209.
- Rappaport Hovav, M. and B. Levin (2010) “Reflections on Manner/Result Complementarity”, in M. Rappaport Hovav, E. Doron, and I. Sichel, eds., *Syntax, Lexical Semantics, and Event Structure*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 21-38.
- Sapir, E. and M. Swadesh (1932) *The Expression of the Ending-Point Relation in English, French and German*, Language Monographs 10, Linguistic Society of America.

- Schaefer, R.P. (1985) "Motion in Tswana and its Characteristic Lexicalization", *Studies in African Linguistics* 16, 57-87.
- Schaefer, R.P. (1986) "Lexicalizing Directional and Nondirectional Motion in Emai", *Studies in African Linguistics* 17, 177-198.
- Schaefer, R.P. (2001) "Ideophonic Adverbs and Manner Gaps in Emai", in F.K.E. Voeltz and C. Kilian-Hatz, eds., *Ideophones*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 339-354.
- Shibatani, M. (1990) *The Languages of Japan*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
- Slobin, D.I. (1996) "Two Ways to Travel: Verbs of Motion in English and Spanish", in M. Shibatani and S.A. Thompson, eds., *Grammatical Constructions: Their Form and Meaning*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 195-219.
- Slobin, D.I. (1997) "Mind, Code, and Text", in J. Bybee, J. Haiman, and S.A. Thompson, eds., *Essays on Language Function and Language Type*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 437-467.
- Slobin, D.I. (2000) "Verbalized Events: A Dynamic Approach to Linguistic Relativity and Determinism", in S. Niemeier and R. Dirven, eds., *Evidence for Linguistic Relativity*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 107-138.
- Slobin, D.I. (2004) "The Many Ways to Search for a Frog: Linguistic Typology and the Expression of Motion Events", in S. Strömquist and L. Verhoeven, eds., *Relating Events in Narrative 2: Typological and Contextual Perspectives*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, 219-257.
- Slobin, D.I. (2006) "What Makes Manner of Motion Salient? Explorations in Linguistic Typology, Discourse, and Cognition", in M. Hickmann and S. Robert, eds., *Space in Languages: Linguistic Systems and Cognitive Categories*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 59-81.
- Slobin, D.I. and N. Hoiting (1994) "Reference to Movement in Spoken and Signed Languages: Typological Considerations", *BLS* 20, 487-505.
- Snyder, W. (2001) "On the Nature of Syntactic Variation: Evidence from Complex Predicates and Complex Word-formation", *Language* 77, 324-342.
- Snyder, W. (2012) "Parameter Theory and Motion Predicates", in V. Demonte and L.E. McNally, eds., *Telicity, Change, and State: A Cross-Categorial View of Event Structure*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 279-299.
- Son, M. (2007) "Directionality and Resultativity: The Cross-linguistic Correlation Revisited", *Nordlyd: Tromsø Working Papers in Linguistics* 34:2, 126-164.
- Song, G. (1997) *Cross-Linguistic Differences in the Expression of Motion Events and Their Implications for Second Language Acquisition*, Doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.
- Stringer, D. (2001) "The Syntax of Paths and Boundaries", *CLS 37: The Panels*, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, IL, 139-153.
- Stringer, D. (2003) "Acquisitional Evidence for Universal Syntax of Directional PPs", in P. St. Dizier, ed., *Proceedings of the ACL-SIGSEM Workshop: The Linguistic Dimensions of Prepositions and their Use in Computational Linguistics Formalism and Applications*, IRIT, Toulouse, France, 44-55.
- Stringer, D. (2006) "Typological Tendencies and Universal Grammar in the Acquisition of Adpositions", in P. Saint-Dizier, ed., *Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions*, Springer, Dordrecht, 57-68.
- Stringer, D. (2011) "Phonomimesis and directional predication in the acquisition of L1 Japanese and L2 English", *Japanese and Korean Linguistics* 18, 16-27.
- Sugiyama, Y. (2005) "Not All Verb-Framed Languages are Created Equal: The Case of Japanese", *BLS* 31, 299-310.
- Talmy, L. (1975) "Semantics and Syntax of Motion", in J.P. Kimball, ed., *Syntax and Semantics* 4, Academic Press, New York, NY, 181-238.
- Talmy, L. (1985) "Lexicalization Patterns: Semantic Structure in Lexical Forms", in T. Shopen, ed., *Language Typology and Syntactic Description 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 57-149.
- Talmy, L. (2000) *Towards a Cognitive Semantics II: Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

- Talmy, L. (2009) "Main Verb Properties and Equipollent Framing", in J. Guo, E. Lieven, N. Budwig, S. Ervin-Tripp, K. Nakamura, and Ş. Özçalışkan, eds., *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language: Research in the Tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*, Psychology Press, New York, 389-402.
- Tesnière, L. (1966) *Éléments de Syntaxe Structurale*, Librairie C. Klincksieck, Paris.
- Thomas, E. (2004) "On 'Syntactic' versus 'Semantic' Telicity: Evidence from *in* and *on*", *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 18, 145-166.
- Tungseth, M. (2005) "PP, FP, and Telic/Atelic Distinction in Norwegian Motion Constructions", in P. Kempchinsky and R. Slabakova, eds., *Aspectual Inquiries*, Springer, Dordrecht, 147-168.
- Tungseth, M.E. (2008) *Verbal Prepositions and Argument Structure: Path, Place and Possession in Norwegian*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Tutton, M. (2009) "When *In* Means *Into*: Towards an Understanding of Boundary-crossing *in*", *Journal of English Linguistics* 37, 5-27.
- Wienold, G. (1995) "Lexical and Conceptual Structures in Expressions for Movement and Space: With Reference to Japanese, Korean, Thai, and Indonesian as Compared to English and German", in U. Egli, P.E. Pause, C. Schwarze, A. Von Stechow, and G. Wienold, eds., *Lexical Knowledge in the Organization of Language*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 301-340.
- Winford, D. (1990) "Serial Verb Constructions and Motion Events in Caribbean English Creoles", *Working Papers in Linguistics* 39, Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, 109-148.
- Yoneyama, M. (1986) "Motion Verbs in Conceptual Semantics", *Bulletin of the Faculty of Humanities* 22, Seikei University, Tokyo, Japan, 1-15.
- Vinay, J.-P. and J. Darbelnet (1958) *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais*, Didier, Paris.
- Washio, R. (1997) "Resultatives, Compositionality and Language Variation", *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6, 1-49.
- Zlatev, J. and P. Yangklang (2004) "A Third Way to Travel: The Place of Thai in Motion-Event Typology", in S. Strömquist and L. Verhoeven, eds., *Relating Events in Narrative 2: Typological and Contextual Perspectives*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, 159-190.
- Zubizarreta, M.L. and E. Oh (2007) *On the Syntactic Composition of Manner and Motion*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.