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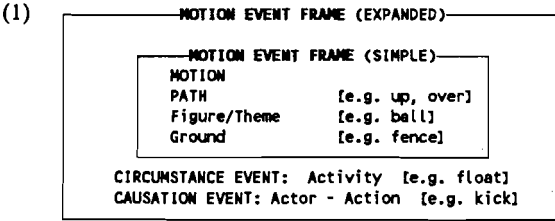
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PATH PREDICATES IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH: A CLOSER LOOK*

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1. Motion event lexicalization patterns

Len Talmy (1985) has proposed a new typological parameter regarding the type of verbs a language uses in clauses coding motion and location events. He argues that different languages express or lexicalize different aspects of the motion/location situation on the verb. Concentrating on the motion event, the aspects or components that are relevant for its linguistic coding according to Talmy are (1) the (abstract) predicate of MOTION; (2) the moving entity, the Figure phrase (also known as Theme or Trajector in other frameworks); (3) the reference point for the movement, or Ground (Landmark in Langacker's framework); and (4) the PATH of the motion with respect to the Ground object. In addition to these factors, which can be schematized as the inner frame in (1), other optional coding factors are (5) the circumstance event of the motion event, typically the activity or manner that accompanies the motion, e.g. *rolling*, *running*, or *floating*; and (6) the event originating the motion or causation event, e.g. *kicking* or *rolling*. Talmy's point is that languages differ as to what aspect of the frame the main verb lexicalizes (in addition to the abstract idea of motion).



According to Talmy, three patterns are found across languages depending on whether either the PATH, a related circumstance and/or cause event (C-event), or the Figure are lexicalized (together with the abstract predicate of MOTION) in the main verb. These three types are illustrated in (2) with examples from English, though only the first pattern is typical and pervasive in English (the examples are from Talmy's paper):

- (2) A. **Manner/Cause + Motion:** Indo-European (except Romance), Chinese, etc.
 e.g. The smoke squeezed through the opening (Manner)
 I kicked the ball over the fence (Cause)
- B. **Path + Motion:** Romance, Semitic, etc.
 e.g. John entered the room
- C. **Figure + Motion:** Atsugewi (& most northern Hoka), Navajo
 e.g. It rained in through the bedroom window

Talmy has succeeded in identifying the different types of lexicalization found in motion verbs crosslinguistically. However, there still remain many questions to be answered about this problem. This paper builds on Talmy's work by addressing the question of why a language accepts, or fails to accept, motion lexicalization patterns other than its predominant one, in particular I will contrast the situation in Spanish, the language used by Talmy to exemplify Type B languages, and with the situation in English, which he uses to exemplify Type A languages.¹

We have already seen how English has freely borrowed Type B lexical patterns, e.g. enter, exit, ascend, descend, etc. Vietnamese also allows both patterns, as we can see in (2). Notice that Vietnamese uses 'co-verbs', a type of serial verb, as prepositions. Here, though, it's harder to tell which pattern, A or B, is more basic since co-verbs can also be used as main verbs.

- (3) a. **Con cóc vào trong nhà**
CLASSIFIER frog go-in be-in house
=b. **Con cóc đi vào nhà**
CLF frog go go-in house
"The frog went into the house"

Talmy has noticed, however, that Spanish cannot translate verbatim English sentences representing certain events of motion along a path, such as *John walked out of the room* and *Mary ran out of the room*. This, he suggests, is because Spanish manner (activity) verbs cannot lexicalize motion, or, in other words, because path in Spanish has to be expressed on the verb. The picture is more complicated, though, for there appear to be cases in which the English pattern is present in Spanish, such as *El libro se deslizó hasta el suelo*, 'The book slid down to the floor'.

2. Spanish counterexamples

Every student of Spanish has had the opportunity to notice that expressions of motion and result in Spanish tend to be the reverse of their English counterparts. For instance, in Spanish, *I jumped down* becomes *Bajé de un salto*, literally 'I went-down (descended) of a jump'. And you cannot translate *John floated out of the room* word-for-word, but rather you must say *Juan salió de la habitación flotando*, literally 'John exited the room floating'. Similarly, *John pushed the door closed* can only be translated as *Juan cerró la puerta de un empujón*, literally 'John closed the door of a push'. The same goes for other English expressions like *She asked me out*, *He helped me up*, *Johnny grew out of his shoes*, and *They talked me out of going*. Thus if we look at an English-Spanish dictionary we notice that often the parts of English complex predicates involving a verb plus an additional word or phrase (Talmy calls these 'satellites') are 'reversed', as it were, in their Spanish translations, as in (4).²

(4) English expression	Spanish translation	Lit. translation
Run out	Sallar corriendo	go-out running
Rub in	Meter frotando	put-in rubbing
Drive away	Irse en coche	go-away in car
Scared to death	Muerto de miedo	dead of fright
Break open	Abrir por la fuerza	open by the force
Boil down	Reducir por cocción	reduce by boiling
Pull off	Quitar de un tirón	take-off of a pull
Float together	Juntarse flotando	join-RFLX floating
Sand off	Quitar lijando	take-off sanding

The fairly closed class of words like out and closed, which follow the verb in English, but which Spanish lacks, Talmy's satellites, can be of two types: path satellites and result satellites, as seen in (5) and (6).³

- (5) **English Path 'Satellites'**
in (to+), out (of+); on (to+), off (of+); up (+), down (+); above (+), below (+); back (from+), forth/forward (?of+); apart, together; through (+), across (+), over (+), along (+), around (+), past (+), by (+), away (from+)
- (6) **English Result 'Satellites'**
(cut) open, (flap) dry, (rust) stiff, (wear) thin, (freeze) stuck, under(fill), over(hang), re(fill), etc.⁴

Most path satellites can take a Ground complement (e.g. *out of the house*), and when one is not explicitly mentioned, some Ground entity can be reconstructed ('understood') from context, i.e. the Ground complement can be a Definite Null Complement (DNC), in Fillmore's (1988) Construction Grammar terminology.⁵

In spite of these facts, as we said earlier, we find that there are plenty of natural, colloquial examples in Spanish in which a manner-plus-motion verb such as run, swim, dance, etc., is used with a path phrase, as in examples (7-14).

- (7) **Juan bailó en círculos/de un lado para otro/hacia la puerta/hasta la puerta**
"John danced in circles(=around)/from one place to another(=about)/ towards the door/(all the way) to the door"
- (8) **La botella flotó hacia la cueva**
"The bottle floated towards the cave"
- (9) **El libro se deslizó hasta el suelo**
"The book slid down to the floor"
- (10) **Mi ejercicio consiste en caminar a la biblioteca dos veces al día**
"My exercise consists of walking to the library twice a day"
- (11) **La pelota rodó desde el tercer piso hasta el segundo**
"The ball rolled from the third floor to the second floor"
- (12) **La botella flotó por el canal**
"The bottle floated along/about the canal"
- (13) **Empujamos el coche cuesta arriba**
"We pushed the car up (the) hill"
- (14) **El globo flotó p'arriba, p'abajo, p'adentro y luego p'afuera**
"The balloon floated up, down, in, and then out"

These sentences contradict Talmy's formulation that Spanish doesn't have manner-plus-motion verbs with path complements. However, as we have seen, there are also plenty of cases for which Talmy's formulation seems to be accurate, that is, cases in which Spanish does not allow the English-like pattern. What could be influencing the availability of the English pattern in Spanish?

It could be that the restriction is lexically determined. The unavailability of a particular 'satellite' in Spanish might be a factor, for instance, since there are known to be lexical gaps of this sort in different English-type languages, according to Talmy (p.c.). I think that we can safely ignore this possibility in Spanish since there seems to be a path adverbial for just about every English path 'satellite' which could perform its function. Thus this does not seem to be where the problem lies. More important lexical determinants seem to be the verb and the basic prepositions, to which I turn next.

It seems that activity/manner verbs that strongly imply motion work best with the English-pattern, whether intransitive, e.g. correr, 'run', nadar, 'swim', rodar, 'roll', and even flotar, 'float', or transitive/causative, e.g. arrastrar, 'drag', empujar, 'push', rodar, 'roll'. Somewhat worse seem to be verbs in which the manner of the activity is more salient, e.g. cojear, 'limp', and saltar, 'jump', etc. Finally, verbs that do not imply motion do not seem to work at all. Thus we do not get in Spanish the equivalent of, e.g., *They squeezed through the crack*, *I twisted the cork out of the bottle*, or *I grabbed the book off the shelf*.

The Spanish prepositional system (like that of many languages) is known to make fewer distinctions than the rich system of English,⁶ and this might be seen as a handicap for the successful use of the English 'manner-verb plus path-phrase' construction. It doesn't seem however that this is the cause of our unmatchable sentences, for the distinctions can be made, as I will show in the next section, though it may a related phenomenon. Sometimes, however, the kind of preposition does seem to have something to do with the acceptability of the English-type pattern in

Spanish. Of the seven path prepositions in Spanish, all but *a*, 'to', and *de*, 'off', and sometimes *para*, 'to/for' (depending of whether it has an *a* sense or an *hacia* sense), produce good sentences with manner verbs.

(15) Spanish prepositions

- a) Location: *en*, in, *ante*, before, *bajo*, under, *contra*, against, *entre*, between/among, *por*, about, *sobre*, on, *tras*, behind.
 b) Path: *hacia*, towards, *hasta*, up-to, until, *desde*, from, *por*, through, **a*, to, **de*, off-of, ?*para*, towards.

Here I believe we have a major clue as to what is going on, but let's put off that discussion until we have taken a look at the Spanish system of locative/path phrases and path verbs to see that it is, or could be, sufficiently rich to do what English does.

3. Spanish path verbs vs. English path 'satellites'

As I said, one might argue that Spanish cannot do what English does because English has a rich set of path prepositions and adverbials (i.e. the path 'satellites' in (3) above), whereas Spanish and Spanish-type languages have rather impoverished systems of locative and path prepositions which cannot be used adverbially (i.e. without a prepositional object). This contrasts with the fact that Spanish and Spanish-like languages have a rich set of path verbs, i.e. verbs that indicate motion-plus-path (whereas the English path verbs are not native to English but are borrowings from Romance, e.g. *enter* = 'go in', *ascend* = 'go up'). The most basic of these path verbs can be seen in (16).

(16) Spanish Path verbs

INTRANSITIVE: *ir*, go, *venir*, come, *irse*, leave/take-off, *entrar*, go in, *meterse*, get in, *salir*, go out, *salirse*, get out, *subir*, go up, *bajar*, go down, *bajarse*, get off, *caer*, fall, *caerse*, fall down/off, *juntarse*, get/come together, *separarse*, come apart, *cruzar*, go through, *atravesar*, go across, *pasar*, go by/past, *avanzar*, go forward/forth, *retroceder*, go back.

TRANSITIVE: *poner*, put (on), *quitar*, take off, *meter*, put in, *introducir*, put in, *sacar*, take out, *extraer*, take out, *subir*, take up, lift, raise, *bajar*, take down (lower), *juntar*, put together, *separar*, take apart, ...

In view of the richness and basic nature of the path-verb system as opposed to the path-preposition/satellite system in Spanish (and vice versa for English), it is not too farfetched to conclude, as Talmy did, that Spanish is 'designed' to code path on the verb, and English on a path phrase. However, the deficiencies of the Spanish path preposition system cannot be the cause of these differences, for Spanish does have quite a rich set of locative/path adverbs, those in (16), which, just like the English path adverbs/prepositions can take a Ground complement (expanded from Whitley 1986).

(17) Spanish

- | Spanish | English |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1. fuera (de+), afuera | outside (of+) |
| 2. dentro (de+), adentro | inside (of+) |
| 3. arriba (de+) | up, above (+), on top (of+) |
| 4. debajo (de+), abajo | underneath (+), below (+) |
| 5. delante (de+), adelante | ahead (of+), in front (of+) |
| 6. detrás (de+), atrás | behind (+), in back (of+) |
| 7. a través (de+) | through (+) |
| 8. enfrente (de+) | in front (of+) |
| 9. al lado (de+) | on/to the side (of+); beside (+), next (to+) |
| 10. encima (de+) | above(+), over(head), on top (of+) |

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 11. lejos (de+) | far (away) (from+) |
| 12. cerca (de+) | near(by/+,) close (to+) |
| 13. más allá (de+) | beyond (+) |
| 14. a lo largo (de+) | lengthwise; along (+) |
| 15. alrededor (de+) | around (+) |
| 16. juntos | together |
| 17. junto a/con + | next to+, together with+ |

All of these adverbials are locatives when used with non-path verbs, as in (18a), and most of them can be used as directionals with path verbs, as in (18b). With manner-plus-motion verbs, like *run* and *swim*, however, these adverbials have a default locative (non-path) interpretation, but a path interpretation is possible if the Ground is *not* expressed lexically but is rather contextually determined, as seen in (19) and (20).

- (18) a. *Están (a)dentro (de la casa)*
 "They are inside (the house)"
 b. *Fueron/entraron adentro (de la casa)*
 "They went inside (the house)"
 (19) a. *Nadaron (a)dentro (de la cueva)*
 "They swam inside (the cave)" (locative)
 b. ? *Nadaron adentro (* de la cueva)*
 "They swam in(to the cave)" (directional)
 (20) a. *Nadaron lejos*
 "The swam far away" (ambiguous: locative/directional)
 b. *Nadaron lejos de la orilla*
 "They swam far from the shore" (locative/?directional)

In addition, most of these locatives can be turned into path adverbials when joined to the path prepositions *hacia*, *hasta*, *desde*, *para*, *por*, as well as *a* and *de*, where not already cliticized. The result with respect to the availability of the manner-path construction is the same as for the simple prepositions: *a* and *de* work with path verbs (e.g. *subir*, 'go up') but not with manner-plus-motion verbs (e.g. *nadar*, 'swim'); *hacia*, *hasta*, and *desde* work for all cases, e.g. (21), and *para*, 'for', has the same interesting result as in (19-20), namely that the path phrase seems to work a lot better if the Ground is not lexically specified, but rather is provided by context, e.g. (22) and (23) (with *para* reduced to *p*).

- (21) *Corrieron hacia adentro (de la cueva)*
 "They ran towards the inside (of the cave)"
 (22) *El coche rodó p'alante/p'atrás*
 "The car rolled forward/back(wards)"
 (23) *Empujamos el coche p'adentro/p'afuera (? del garaje)*
 "We pushed the car in/out (to/of the garage)"

An interesting aspect of the list in (17) is that of the first six, the versions starting with *a*, 'to', and *de*, 'from', were originally composite path adverbials which have been reanalyzed as locatives, either in all cases, as with *detrás*, 'behind' (from *de* 'from' + *tras* 'behind'; it never means 'from behind' anymore) or with non-motion verbs such as *abajo* (from *a* 'to' + *bajo* 'below'; cf. *ir abajo*, 'go below', and *estar abajo*, 'be below'). This contrasts with English, where locative adverbs have been known to acquire a path interpretation with non-locative (motion) verbs, e.g. *he walked inside the house*, an ambiguous sentence in which a locative phrase can receive a path interpretation. Although this fact is probably connected to the differences between Spanish and English, I will leave its elucidation for a later date.⁹

4. Two types of path phrases

We have seen that Spanish has a rich system of locatives which can be used as path phrases under certain circumstances. It is obvious then that if Spanish had the 'inclination' it could adopt the English pattern and exploit this rich system of locatives by removing the restrictions on their use as directionals. Thus we have to explain what this 'inclination' consists of and why there are instances of the English pattern in Spanish (as well as, presumably, why there are instances of the Spanish-type pattern in English).

I believe that the solution lies in recognizing the existence of two types of directional or path phrases in English--one of which translates into Spanish and one which doesn't--according to the function each performs: one basically modifies the verb, or predicates a location of the whole proposition, while the other does something else, namely it predicates an end-point location of the Figure argument. The mere **locative path phrase** is basically a locative, a one-dimensional locative (1Dim-LOC) as it were, which adds the 'location' (i.e. the path or one-dimensional region) in which the activity took place, e.g. *Lou ran in the park* (0Dim-LOC), *Lou ran through the park* (1Dim-LOC = PATH), *Pat went up the ladder*. Spanish has no problem with this type of sentence. The telic (Vendler, 1967) **path phrase** on the other hand, though similar in form, acts semantically as a special type of **non-verbal predicate** (NVP) of the kind discussed by Fillmore (1988), in that it predicates, besides the path of motion, an end-of-path location/state of the Figure, e.g. *Pat swam into the cave* (IN THE CAVE), *The leaf blew off the table* (OFF THE TABLE). It is these which Spanish cannot replicate.¹⁰ Notice that telic path phrases are not merely those that indicate bounded unidimensional regions, for locative path phrases may also be bounded, e.g. *Juan nadó de la playa a la isla*, 'Juan swam from the beach to the island'. Rather the telic path phrase must predicate a location (or 'un-location', e.g. *off the table*) of the Figure argument.

Fillmore recognizes two types of NVPs in English, primary NVPs (1NVPs) and secondary non-verbal predicates (2NVPs), both of which can be either depictive (DNVPs) or resultative (RNVPs). Primary NVPs in English can be adjective phrases (e.g. 'afraid of Lou'), noun phrases (e.g. 'a fool'), and locative prepositional phrases (e.g. 'under the bridge'), all of which require a copula ('be', 'become', etc.) for their expression in English sentences. By a simple extension of this analysis we can see that in English, as well as in Spanish to some extent, path phrases can also be used as primary NVPs, which must be used with special motion 'copula' verbs such as *come* and *go*. Secondary non-verbal predicates (2NVPs) on the other hand are parasitic on an independent verb, e.g. *he ate the meat raw* (DEPICTIVE, object controlled), *John ate the meat naked* (DEPICTIVE, subject controlled), *It knocked me dizzy* (RESULTATIVE).

What I am suggesting is that path phrases have different distributions in Spanish than in English because of the fact that there are two types of path phrases, one of which is a mere locative, e.g. *along the fence*, and the other one of which, in addition to expressing a path, is a telic secondary NVP which predicates an end-state of the Figure argument, e.g. *into the house*, *off the table*. Spanish has the first type, but not the second. Why should this be so? It seems to me that the answer is related to the fact that Spanish doesn't have resultative non-verbal predicates at all, it only has depictive ones.¹¹ That is, Spanish has depictive NVPs comparable to those of English, e.g. *Juan comió la carne cruda*, 'Juan ate the meat raw', *El paquete llegó roto*, 'the package arrived broken', but it has nothing comparable to *Pat kicked the door open*, *We stood the pole erect*, or *She knocked the door down*.¹² It is easy to see that telic path predicates form a natural semantic class with resultative predicates (they both indicate an end state/location, a 'culmination point', which results from a previous

activity), a class which Spanish lacks.

In other words, path phrases in English can be used in a way that their Spanish counterparts cannot, namely as predicators of a location of the Figure with respect to the Ground. Sometimes the location is at the Ground itself (goal or telic path predicates, e.g. *into the house*), sometimes it is the end point of a path defined with respect to the Ground (derived goal/telic path predicates, e.g. *over the fence*), and yet other times it is 'negatively' defined with respect to the Ground (source path predicates, e.g. *off the table*). The plain locative path phrase, on the other hand, is identical in Spanish and English, and poses no problems. It doesn't appear that all English path satellites are telic, i.e. predicators of the Figure, e.g. *along*. Others, such as *around*, *over*, *up*, etc. may or may not be end-point predicators in addition to path modifiers/predicates. Yet others, such as *in(to)* and *out (of)*, seem to always predicate a location of the Figure.

In sum, it seems that in order to understand the distribution and the semantics of Talmy's typological observation about lexicalization patterns for motion events, we must keep in mind the distinction between primary and secondary telic/result predicates, and the fact that some languages, such as Spanish, do not have the second category, whereas other languages either prefer to express the 'culmination point' of an event or situation outside the main predicate, such as English, or allow both possibilities, such as Vietnamese.¹³ In Spanish the basic telic or accomplishment path predicate has to be a verb, it cannot be a non-verbal predicate. The goal/source location (the Ground) is expressed as a complement of the verb preceded by the prepositions *a*, 'to' (*para*, 'for', also may have a telic sense), or *de*, 'off/from', respectively. In English on the other hand, except for borrowings, the basic path predicate is a secondary predicate (2NVP). And in Vietnamese the telic path can be expressed either as a main predicate or as a secondary predicate (co-verb), as we saw in (2) above.

One piece of evidence for the claim that some path phrases are predicational and telic while others are modificational and atelic (even if bounded) comes from the behavior of telic-compatible and atelic-compatible temporal phrases, e.g. *in two hours* and *for two hours*, respectively. Thus, clauses with manner-plus-motion (activity) verbs and directionals do not take telic durational adverbials, as can be seen in (24a-b). Non-path activity verbs can only take atelic bounding durational adverbials, as can be seen in (24c). Telic durationals are only sanctioned by path verbs, as in (24d), since only these verbs can have a telic interpretation. This is why the prepositions *de*, *a*, and *para*, which are characteristic of telic path verbs (and subcategorized only by them) clash with the atelic nature of activity manner-plus-motion verbs.¹⁴

- (24) a. *Juan caminó hasta la cima (?* en dos horas)*
 "Juan walked up to the top (in two hours)"
 b. *Juan caminó por/a-traves del tunel (?* en dos horas)*
 "Juan walked through the tunnel (in two hours)"
 c. *Juan caminó por/a-traves-de el tunel dos horas*
 "Juan walked through the tunnel for two hours"
 d. *Juan subió a/hasta la cima en dos horas*
 "Juan went to/up-to the top in two hours"

Thus the preposition *hasta*, 'up to', 'until', for instance, contrary to what one might have thought, is not telic and doesn't 'predicate' a final location of the Figure, that is, the final location is not asserted, though it certainly may be implied.¹⁵

This explanation also helps us see the relation between English path 'satellites' and the other type of satellite, the resultatives we saw in (5) above. In Talmy's formulation it is not clear why there should be two fairly closed classes of satellites, path satellites and resulting state satellites. Here I have argued that they are both

subtypes of the more general class of telic (telic-directional or resultative) non-verbal predicates (TNVPs). Thus, under this interpretation, the constructions exemplified by the sentences in (25) would be related semantically, or variants of each other, forming a family of constructions in the sense of Lakoff (1987) and Fillmore, Kay, & O'Connor (1988). It can also be seen in (25c-d) that sometimes a path satellite in English (out) can be used metaphorically as what is commonly seen as a result satellite.

- (25) a. I went out (of the house)
 b. I blew the paper out (of the box)
 c. The candle was/went out
 d. I blew the candle out
 e. The stick froze stuck (to the window)
 f. I sang the baby to sleep

Finally, this solution may also help account for the mysterious complex path phrases we saw earlier in (19-23), which work less well when the Ground object is lexically determined than when it is contextually determined. The reason for this would be similar to the one accounting for the fact that the same verbs do not readily take path phrases with the prepositions a, para, and de, namely that with an explicit Ground object this Source/Goal Ground object is foregrounded and the predicational nature of the path phrase is stronger. With a 'vague', contextually (pragmatically) determined Ground entity, the combination is more acceptable.

5. Complex path predicates: a case of restricted regularity

Although the goal of this paper is not to provide a detailed characterization of the English construction with TNVPs, I would like to make some comments on its status in the grammar. How should these (secondary) path and result 2TNVPs in English be dealt with by the grammar: as extensions of the valence of main verbs, as special constructions, or in some other way? It seems to me that the distribution of 2TNVPs is quite a bit more restricted than that of depictive ones or 2DNVPs. This suggests that although DNVPs might be seen as free additions (adjuncts) to clauses (cf. Fillmore, 1988) this solution would be less satisfactory for telic 2NVPs (cf. Goldberg, this volume).

The class of telic 2NVPs (2TNVPs) (both telic path and result 2NVPs) seems to be a rather closed class, with resistance to new additions, even if they fit the pattern. Also, the meaning of the resultative NVP is closely tied to that of the main verb (a cause-effect relation) and we find many fixed collocations in this category, e.g. *shoot someone dead*, but **shoot someone wounded*; *marry into the family*, but **divorce out of the family*; *bore someone to death*; *steal someone blind*; etc. This suggests that TNVPs and the constructions in which they participate should be seen as an intermediate case between a regular productive phenomenon and a lexically idiosyncratic, frozen, or idiomatic phenomenon. In other words, 2TNVPs are a type of semi-regular phenomenon which doesn't warrant a rule solution, but which is too regular for a mere listing of the patterns to be satisfactory. That is, this is something which traditional generative theories of grammar, which only have the rule-versus-list dichotomy available in their ontology (because of their commitment to the computer metaphor of language and mind) cannot easily account for. A closer look at language free of this prejudice reveals that little in language is totally regular or totally irregular, and that patterns vary a great deal in their degree of regularity. This suggests that we need a new model of language (and thus of the workings of language producing/processing minds), something along the lines proposed in the Construction Grammar framework as being worked out in Fillmore (1988), Fillmore,

Kay, & O'Connor (1988), and Lakoff (1987).

The class of path 2TNVPs seems to form a more regular pattern or subconstruction in this family of constructions, and we may want to offer a rather abstract schema (construction) of its inner workings. Oversimplifying quite a bit, the English construction that we have been looking at would look something like (26), where the main verb expresses the activity which is responsible for the final state or location of the Figure at the Ground, namely the causation event or the circumstance/manner event (C-event) of the motion frame in (1). Whatever is not explicitly mentioned in this schema follows from more general schemas or constructions, including the general schema for TNVPs. This construction is an abstraction from all the cases with path satellites/NVPs, and it is itself a member of a larger family of constructions with TNVPs.

(26) RESULTING STATE CONSTRUCTION (MOTION VERSION) (approximation)

Category complex predicate: V TNVP	
Semantics Motion frame: PATH, LOC, C-event	
cat V sem C-event	cat 2NVP sem Path, LOC
2/1 ø	1 [C] Fig Ground ø(1)

C-event: V expressing a C-event of the motion frame (see (1)).

2/1: object if there is one, otherwise subject.

ø(1): the upstairs ø phrase is the P-subject of this predicate.

[C]: omissible complement with a definite null interpretation.

A related problem in the statement of this construction is whether we will have to say something about the meaning (or semantic composition) of the manner verbs themselves, and how they differ when they are used in this construction from when they are used alone, which is what Talmy had in mind since his article is about lexicalization patterns. In his view a motion-plus-manner verb such as 'float₂' is derived from the manner verb 'float₁', which says nothing about motion and is equivalent to 'be afloat'. 'Float₂', on the other hand, adds the semantic component of MOTION. (In Fillmore's framework we might want to say that it adds a path or goal phrase to its valence.) It is because Talmy views the problem this way that he talks about different lexicalization patterns in different languages. Another way to look at this matter would be to say that, rather than two verbs 'float', there is just one activity verb which requires a motion interpretation in this construction with a path NVP. Talmy argues that his lexicalization solution accounts for the non-occurrence of some doublets, e.g. there is no such a thing as a motion version of lie (i.e. we cannot say **He lay down the hill*, meaning something like *He slid on his back down the hill*) or a non-motion version of drift and glide, which is a lexically based idiosyncrasy. Indeed there seem to be many idiosyncrasies of a lexical nature surrounding the phenomenon of TNVPs; however, the point does not seem to me to be whether the main verb has a motion interpretation or not. It seems odd to me to say for instance that squeeze in *We squeezed through the crack* has a motion interpretation, and that this is how it differs from the 'other' squeeze. That is why I think that perhaps we should say that it is the Path NVP predicate, and not an abstract MOTION component of the main verb, that contributes the motion sense to the construction.¹⁶

6. Some remarks on the typology and the ecology of Spanish

Finally I would like to make a speculative excursus into the reasons for and benefits of English and Spanish being the way they are, that is, about the ecology of these languages. First, as we already noticed, by borrowing path verbs like *enter* and *separate*, English has already become a lot more like Spanish. I do not know whether English resisted receiving these loans, but if my hypothesis is right there is no reason why this would have been so. Spanish, on the other hand, still strongly resists reinterpreting locative DNVPs as path TNVPs with motion verbs. In fact it totally rejects TNVPs altogether. Let us look at some possible reasons for why this is so.

6.1. The productivity of the pattern. One interesting observation in this respect is that the path TNVP construction in English relies heavily on the feeding action of a very productive process of English (which is practically non-existent in Spanish) by which denominal activity verbs, like *sail*, *bicycle*, etc., are produced which look like they are made specifically for this construction (*We sailed out of the harbor, I bicycled into town*). Spanish obviously would have less use for path 2TNVPs if they were adopted, since it lacks this morphological rule.

6.2. Interaction with information structure. Another interesting fact is that it seems to me that the English construction, if adopted into Spanish, would go against the preferred pattern of information structure in Spanish. English uses sentential stress to indicate the focus of new information, as in (27).

- (27) A: How did you get to the island?
B: I SWAM (to the island/there)

In Spanish however the focus of new information is signaled by word order, that is, the new information tends to go in sentence final position.¹⁷ But manner information tends to be highly rhematic, meaning that when it is mentioned at all it tends to be new information, otherwise it is usually not mentioned (which is why often to Spanish speakers instances of the English construction sound redundant or overspecified). (28) is the Spanish version.

- (28) A: ¿Cómo llegaste a la isla? how you-arrived to the island
B': Ful (a la isla) NADANDO I-went (to the island) swimming
B'': ¡NADANDO (fui a la isla)! swimming (I-went to the island)
B''': ?* NADÉ (a la isla) I-swam (to the island)

As we can see, the manner adverb must go at the end of the sentence if it is new information as in (28B'), or else in preverbal position in a special emphatic focus construction as in (28B''), but not on the verb as in (28B''').

6.3. Spanish manner adverbials. All of the relevant examples in Talmy's article have gerundial clauses indicating the manner in which a motion event takes place, as in (29).

- (29) Metí el barril a/en la bodega rodándolo
I moved-in the keg to/in the cellar rolling-it
"I rolled the keg into the storeroom"

From this one gets the impression that Spanish uses two different clauses to express the same information that English packs into one two-predicate clause. However, the status of this manner adverbial in motion clauses in the Spanish system seems to be different from the status it would have in the English direct translation: in Spanish it is much more integrated into the clause, as manifested by the following phenomena:

1. Quite often in Spanish instead of a clausal adverbial we find instrumental or other simpler (non-clausal) adverbial phrases, often nominalizations. For instance *de un*

empuñón, 'from a push', might be used instead of *empuñando(lo)*, 'pushing (it)'.

2. The ordering of the adverbial is much more free in Spanish than in English and, although it is true that when it is new information it goes at the end, as we saw above, when it is less in focus it tends to go next to the verb, which iconically reflects the semantic closeness of the two predicates, as seen in (30-31).

- (30) Metí de una patada el balón en la portería
I moved-in of one kick the ball in the goal
"I kicked the ball into the goal"
(31) La botella entró flotando en la cueva
the bottle entered floating in the cave
"The bottle floated into the cave"

3. Finally, notice that the integration of the path and the manner predicates is reflected in the ability to extract from the manner adverbial clause, e.g. (32), something one expects from complements of auxiliaries (e.g. the progressive) but not of adverbial clauses, which in general are islands. This suggests that, at least with basic path verbs, the accompanying adverbial clause is seen as more central to the meaning of the sentence than its English counterparts.

- (32) ¿Qué entró comiendo/empujando Juan?
what he-entered eating/pushing Juan
"What was John eating/pushing when he came in?"

6.4. Redundant path phrases. It is worth noticing that there seems to be a preference in Spanish, at least in the vernacular, not to have path verbs expressing path all by themselves when the identity of the Ground object is contextually determined. Thus it seems to me that it is more natural in these cases to use redundant end-path phrases, e.g. *Juan subió arriba*, 'Juan went up (above)', *Juan bajó abajo*, 'Juan went down (below)', *Juan entró adentro*, 'Juan went in (inside)', *Juan salió afuera*, 'Juan went out (outside)', instead of the path verbs alone, though this would not be ungrammatical: *Juan subió*, *Juan bajó*, *Juan entró*, and *Juan salió*.¹⁸ With commands the verb *ir*, 'go', is probably even more common than the path verb, e.g. *vamos adentro*, 'let's go in' (= *entremos*). What the functional motivation for these extensions might be is not clear to me, but it may be related to the development of path NVPs.¹⁹

7. Conclusion

In this paper I hope to have refined the differences noticed by Talmy between Spanish and English (and hopefully also between Spanish-type languages and English-type languages) and to have made some humble advances toward explaining his typology. It is true, as Talmy says, that basic path predicates tend to be main verbs in Spanish and secondary non-verbal predicates in English. But the inability of Spanish to express path outside the verb is limited to telic path phrases, i.e. path phrases which also predicate an end-of-path location of the moving object. This is so because such telic path predicates, together with resultative secondary predicates, with which they form a class, are, for some reason, not allowed in Spanish.²⁰

Notes

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1. I will have nothing to say about Type C languages, other than that all of them are American Indian languages well known for the similarity between their word classes, to the point that it has been claimed that these languages only have verbs in their lexicon.
2. Sometimes Spanish has just one word to express what English expresses with verb plus satellite, and some other times the order is the same in English and Spanish, e.g. *mirar p'arriba*, 'look up', *tirar a la basura*, 'throw away'.
3. Talmy also talks about the possibility of there being Ground satellites in English, e.g. the home of *I drove home*, but I think this is mistaken and I think my analysis will show that all 'satellites' share a common semantics.
4. The class of result 'satellites' certainly seems to be a closed but growing class in English. Other examples are: pull loose (from+), scrub clean, close shut, shoot dead, beat to death, sing to sleep.
5. In Fillmore's (1988) CG framework, null complements, also known as non-instantiation of 'understood' complements, can be of one of two types: definite null complements (DNC), as in, e.g. *I won*, where it is 'understood' that something was won, and the identity of that something is recoverable by the hearer from context, etc.; and indefinite null complements (INC), as in *I ate*, where the identity of the 'understood' complement (whatever was eaten) is not recoverable, but rather is taken to be irrelevant.
6. For instance, the Spanish preposition en translates the English prepositions at, in, and on. Cf. Whitley 1986:211.
7. Three basic prepositions en, a, and de translate nine English prepositions: in, on, at, into, onto, to, out of, off (of), and from. This 'vagueness' seems to be related to the richness of the path verb system. But Spanish-like languages do have complex prepositions which can express a richer set of spatial relations.
8. Other verbs could be added, e.g. traer, 'bring', traerse, 'bring along', llevar, 'carry/take', llevarse, 'take away', 'take off with', empujar, 'push', tirar, 'pull', echar, 'throw', mandar, 'send', etc., but more and more these verbs could be said to imply manner as well as path, though it is not clear where to make the cut off point. All these verbs, which have simple English parallels, seem to be basic motion-causing verbs in Spanish, for they, unlike manner-plus-motion verbs like flotar, subcategorize for a and de phrases.
9. The phenomenon of path adverbials being reinterpreted as locative ones seems to have been going on for quite a long time in Spanish. The most dramatic example I have been able to find is that of M.Sp. donde, 'where', which comes from de + onde, 'from where, whence'. But onde itself meant 'whence' in Latin. So the cycle has repeated itself at least twice. On the other hand, English where (locative) is used as a directional (*Where are you going?*). To be honest though we must say that in Spanish, like in English, donde is often used in directional phrases (*¿Dónde vas?*), which goes in the opposite direction from the earlier changes.

10. In Construction Grammar (cf. Fillmore 1988) syntactic relations are seen as formal counterparts of more basic semantic relations, such as **modification**, **complementation**, and **predication**. The predication relation is that "holding between a predicate phrase and whatever it is that instantiates the P[predicate]-subject of its head." (Fillmore 1988:167) Fillmore views the verbal predicate of the subject-predicate construction as a primary predicate. When the primary predicator is not a verb, a copula is used in English. Fillmore distinguishes between depictive secondary predicators ('He ate the meat raw/naked') and resultative ones ('He shot the man dead', 'We stood the pole erect').

11. Steve Guémann has pointed out to me some seeming counterexamples to this generalization, such as *Corté la hierba muy corta*, 'I cut the grass very short', and *Lo apretaste muy apretado*, 'You tightened it very tight'. As far as I can see all the examples of result 2NVPs are cognates of the verb and the 'feel' of them is more that of a manner adverbial than of a telic result predicate. Of course, this could also be the seed of a future construction.

12. As Fillmore has noticed, one difference between RNVPs (resultative) and DNVPs (depictive) is that the former must be about the direct object, whereas the latter may be about either the subject or the direct object, the constraint on interpretation being semantic/pragmatic. The restrictions on (what can be) RNVPs in English are quite strict, and it is not a fully productive phenomenon by any means, the actual RNVPs being a rather closed class. Thus for instance we cannot say 'I chewed the meat soft', meaning that the meat got soft as a result of my chewing on it, although the pattern is the same as that of 'It knocked me dizzy' or 'I ate it all-gone'.

13. One can speculate as to which one of the two predicates of these complex predications (e.g. 'walk in') is semantically the main predicate. Talmy has suggested (p.c.) that the path predicate (2TNVP) is the main predicate. This is supported for instance by the fact that the complex predication is telic, i.e. an **accomplishment** predicate in Vendler's (1967) sense, like the NVP, whereas the main verb is usually an atelic and unbounded **activity** verb.

14. English complex predicates with manner verbs, at least the ones that cannot be expressed in Spanish, are always telic or accomplishment predicates, e.g. *He walked through the tunnel in two hours*, although they can also be bounded atelic like the Spanish ones, e.g. *He walked through the tunnel for two hours*. Telic compatible temporal phrases on the other hand are typically available for the English pattern, e.g. *Pat walked up the mountain in two hours*. (But ?*He walked in the house in two seconds*.)

15. The same thing is true of non-telic, non-predicational path phrases in English which have Spanish equivalents. Thus we cannot say *Lou read comics all the way to New York in two hours*, because in two hours is incompatible with reading comics (an atelic activity) and all the way to New York is not a telic predicate, but a time-bounding modifier, which cannot be modified with a telic temporal phrase. This sentence (without the telic time adverbial) is not an example of the English pattern we've been looking at, and thus Spanish has no problem with it: *Luis leyó tebeos hasta Nueva York*.

16. Perhaps the 'lie out of the room' example is a possible, but so far unattested collocation like the 'divorce out of the family' one, just waiting for the right context to become a fixed construction in English, a fantastic context in which lying down

is a distinctive way to go places (especially if it is contrastive with other ways to get places) (cf. *marry into the family* vs. *be born into the family*).

17. An exception to this is a special construction which indicates surprise or unexpectedness: here the focus of new information is in preverbal position with special intonation (cf. Silva-Corvalán 1983).

18. In French the same thing seems to be going on, as Eve Sweetser reminded me, e.g. monter en haut, descendre en bas, and so on.

19. There are at least a couple of other cases in which Spanish prefers to express path+motion outside the verb, like English. The verbs avanzar 'go forward' and retroceder 'go backward', in colloquial Spanish, at least in peninsular dialects, tend to be rendered as ir/tirar/echar p' delante, 'go/pull/throw forward (lit. towards the front)' and ir/tirar/echar p' atrás, 'go/pull/throw backward (lit. towards the back)', respectively. A major difference with most English path satellites, though, is that these are plain directionals with no Goal or Source motion implied.

20. The perceptive reader may have noticed that example (10) has a manner verb of locomotion and a telic prepositional phrase. This sentence seems to me to be quite good, though this might seem to contradict my hypothesis. However, one could say that it actually corroborates my hypothesis. That is because its imperfective nature downplays the telic aspect of the Goal phrase. Notice that this sentence is much better than the perfective ?* *Ayer caminé a la biblioteca*, 'Yesterday I walked to the library'.

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