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Summary

Are path and manner appropriate analysis tools?
Searching for the conceptual bases of motion eventualis in French

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For the past twenty-five or thirty years, and following Talmy's (1985, 2000) seminal work on lexicalization patterns, analyzing motion processes or eventualities in language (and across languages) in terms of path and manner has become a nearly universal approach that has generated a tremendous amount of studies –both in linguistics and psycholinguistics. Yet, in the conclusion of a collective book investigating the "grammars of space" of a dozen languages in the world (including non-European ones), Levinson and Wilkins (2006: 527-530) highlighted the problems and limitations of the path vs. manner contrast for the cross-linguistic analysis of motion expression and indicated that "we need a better understanding of the **underlying components of motion conceptualization**, before we can get much further with a typology of how these are differentially conflated in different language types" (my emphasis). They even insisted that a crucial issue is "the notion of motion itself" (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: 531).

In echo with the latter statements, this contribution will trace the main outlines of a framework developed the last ten-twelve years (see e.g. Aurnague 2008, 2011) in order to scrutinize the expression of motion processes in French. The notions of change of placement and change of basic locative relation (Boons 1987) used for analyzing motion eventualities will first be recalled, as well as the categories of verbs and processes that follow from their interaction. This conceptual apparatus leads to subdivide the movement and motion domain into two **macro-categories** and four **basic categories** of verbs and processes.

The presentation will then focus on the macro-category of "motion/displacement in the broad sense" and will review the basic categories of "motion in the weak sense" (simple change of placement) and "strict motion" (change of relation and placement) included in this macro-category. **Subcategories** will be distinguished within these basic categories, among which the motion processes matching the property of "tendentiality" that allow a change of placement to combine with a change of relation in an adequate construction (e.g. *Max a couru/rampé/reculé/glissé dans le jardin* 'Max ran/crawled/backed/slid in(to) the garden').

The theoretical framework makes also possible to arrange the verbs along a continuum of dynamicity (vs. staticness) that, in particular, illustrates how important the concept of "update of location" is for the movement and motion domain. The conclusion of the presentation will emphasize various specificities of the approach proposed and will come back to the path vs. manner opposition, in relation to which several ontological weaknesses will be pointed out.

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· Aurnague, M. (2011). How motion verbs are spatial: the spatial foundations of intransitive motion verbs in French. *Lingvisticae Investigationes, 34*(1), 1-34.

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«Pounding up the stairs» and «slamming into the wall»: English hitting verbs in motion event descriptions

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English allows directed motion events to be described using manner of motion verbs, a set of verbs which don't inherently lexicalize direction. Manner of motion verbs are a subclass of a much larger and more varied class of manner verbs, and members of some other manner verb subclasses also can be used in the description of directed motion events; most discussed among these are verbs of sound emission. It is not surprising that members of other subclasses show such uses as the same morphosyntactic resources that allow English manner of motion verbs to be used to express directed motion events — i.e. that make it satellite framed — should in principle allow verbs from other manner classes which may seem further removed from motion to be also used in the expression of such events. However, not all manner verbs show this option: *Smith laughed into the room*. To better understand the sufficient conditions on such uses, this talk investigates a subset of contact verbs, hitting verbs (e.g., *hit*, *bump*, *pound*, *slap*, *slam*). These verbs are noteworthy as they show two distinct directed motion uses: (i) as in *The truck bumped along the trail* or *The angry customer pounded over to the service center*, where there is displacement involving multiple instances of contact over a spatially extended ground, and (ii) as in *The runaway truck bumped into the retaining wall* or *A ball slammed through the window*, which describe the directed motion of an entity with one instance of contact with the ground.

This talk aims to explain why hitting verbs show these two directed motion uses on the basis of their lexicalized meaning. First, I examine the range of uses of English hitting verbs in order to determine the components of hitting events. Based on this examination, I argue that each hitting verb lexicalizes a particular type of force vector, which must be instantiated in a participant in the event, the force bearer. Such force vectors occur in a variety of different scenarios, and it is due to their shared inclusion of this force vector that a set of events can be named by the same hitting verb. The type (i) directed motion uses are the hitting verb analogue of motion event descriptions with verbs of sound: by its very nature, the way the relevant figure moves inextricably involves repeated contact with the ground of the type lexicalized by the verb. The type (ii) directed motion uses arise because the force bearer, due to an imparted force, moves along a path determined by the force until it makes the type of contact lexicalized by the relevant verb with the ground. Time permitting, these uses will be briefly compared to the directed motion uses of another subset of contact verbs, wiping verbs (e.g., *wipe*, *rub*, *scrape*, *sweep*, *wash*).

From Motion to Success[1]

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A surprisingly large number of verbs expressing success across the Indo-European language family derive from metaphorical extensions of the same verbal meaning, namely that of motion. This fact, in and of itself, is not necessarily noteworthy, as semantic change often proceeds from concrete to abstract (Kronasser 1968, Sweetser 1991) and recurrent metaphors reflect certain shared cognitive frames (Fortson 2003). However, these recurrent metaphorical verb uses in the Indo-European languages, and specifically across the Germanic languages, share a deviant syntactic structure as well: they occur with non-canonically case-marked subjects in one daughter language after the other (cf. Johnson et al. 2019). The co-occurrence of these two facts leads to the consideration of two interconnected questions: i) given the recurrent semantic and syntactic patterns, what can be reconstructed for the proto-stage of the these languages, and ii) what is the relation between semantic change and argument structure?

The data presented here are gathered as a part of a larger ERC project on non-nominative subject marking in the Indo-European languages (EVALISA 2013–2018). However, the exact same data may also be used to throw light on semantic change, in this case the change from MOTION to SUCCESS. Most of the verbs participating in this development are basic intransitive motion verbs like 'go', but also more specific motion verbs like 'fare', 'climb', 'step', 'turn' and 'follow', which often occur with directional adverbials like 'under' and 'forward', qualifying adverbials like 'go well' and 'go fast', as well as with motion verbs with comitative meaning like 'go together', 'move together' and 'go/fall together'.

Hence, these data provide a basis for several reconstructions for both Proto-Germanic and Proto-Indo-European, including a) a reconstruction of the verb-specific argument structure construction NOM-goes, with the meaning 'go', as well as DAT-goes-well, with the meaning 'succeed', b) a partial reconstruction of a verb-class-specific DAT-'succeeds' construction, and c) the reconstruction of a conceptual metaphor, SUCCESS IS MOTION FORWARD, and its mapping to the Dative Subject Construction in Proto-Indo-European. While the conceptual metaphor, SUCCESS IS MOTION FORWARD, is most likely universal, its idiosyncratic mapping to the Dative Subject Construction in Indo-European may only be explained through the concept of historical linguistic inheritance.

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1 Based on joint work with Leonid Kulikov, Esther Le Mair, Cynthia A. Johnson and Peter Alexander Kerkhoff.

La manière, une composante de mouvement négligée ?

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Le concept de manière a fait couler beaucoup d'encre dans la littérature consacrée à l'expression du mouvement dans la langue. Depuis son inscription parmi les cinq composantes de base des événements de mouvement par Talmy (1985, 2000), la manière occupe une place centrale dans un grand nombre de recherches en linguistique, mais aussi en psychologie et psycholinguistique. En effet, avec la notion de « trajectoire » (path, cf. Talmy 1985, 2000), la manière a permis de départager les langues en deux types majeurs selon la façon dont elles lexicalisent et combinent ces composantes (voir, entre autres, Slobin 1996, 2004, 2006). Dans ma conférence, je me propose de montrer qu'en dépit de son caractère omniprésent dans les travaux sur l'expression du mouvement réalisés les trois dernières décennies, la manière reste une composante mal définie (cf. Levinson & Wilkins 2006 : 527-530, Aurnague & Stosic 2019 : 19) et qu'une définition sémantique précise de ce concept permettrait une description plus fine de données linguistiques afférentes et ouvrirait la voie à des comparaisons de langues plus nuancées.

Dans la première partie de ma communication, je ferai une présentation synthétique de principales approches de la notion de manière en syntaxe et en sémantique lexicale et soulignerai leurs insuffisances, dont la principale est une définition à la fois imprécise et trop puissante (ex. 'un mode de réalisation particulier du procès'). A cela est directement corrélée la tendance persistante en linguistique à l'utiliser de façon intuitive. La deuxième partie consistera en un développement d'une définition plus pointue, élaborée à partir d'une approche onomasiologique de la manière et permettant de l'envisager, non comme une valeur monolithe et très hétérogène, mais comme un concept composite exploitant à la fois un ensemble de mécanismes à l'œuvre aux différents niveaux d'analyse linguistique et un faisceau de paramètres en nombre limité qui l'activent dans l'interprétation de nombreuses formes et structures linguistiques (cf. Stosic 2009, 2011, 2020 ; Moline & Stosic 2016).

Dans la troisième partie, je présenterai les résultats d'une étude empirique d'un corpus d'environ 500 verbes de manière de se mouvoir en français (ex. marcher, courir, voler, errer, s'enfuir, danser, patiner), répertoriés dans la base DinaVmouv (Stosic & Aurnague 2017). M'appuyant sur la définition proposée et le modèle de décomposition du sens lexical des verbes de mouvement de Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1998), je montrerai qu'un nombre très réduit de paramètres sémantiques est à même de rendre compte de la composante de manière inscrite dans leur sémantisme (cf. Stosic 2019).

Cette approche permet à la fois d'échapper à l'abandon du concept de manière à une idiosyncrasie sans limite tout en maintenant une certaine variabilité (modérée et contrôlée) et de dégager sa fonction sémantique qui est celle de modifieur d'un prédicat de mouvement général. Elle invite aussi à repenser l'articulation de la manière avec les autres composantes de mouvement, comme la trajectoire, ou encore à revisiter les contrastes sémantiques entre les langues à un niveau d'analyse plus profond.

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Distributed path coding in Quechua: The case of the 'directional' suffix -yku

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Quechua is one of the indigenous languages spoken in the Andean region. It is an agglutinating language with rich verbal morphology and has various path expressions. More specifically, this language employs path verbs, case suffixes, and a variety of directional verbal suffixes for expressing path, such as -yku 'into, down', -rqu 'out', and -mu 'hither'. It remains to be seen how path is encoded in such a morphologically rich language with various path coding devices.

In this paper, I examine patterns of motion event descriptions in Quechua with special reference to the coding position of path (head path coding vs. head-external path coding). In the head path-coding patterns, path is coded by the main verb root; in the head-external path-coding patterns, it is coded by case suffixes and/or verbal suffixes (Matsumoto 2017: 16–17).

The data examined in this paper were collected from 11 speakers of Ayacucho Quechua by means of an experimental method developed through the NINJAL Motion Event Descriptions across Languages (NINJAL-MEDAL) project. The experiment kit is comprised of 27 video clips. Each clip differs in the type of path (TO, TO.IN, and UP), manner (WALK, RUN, and SKIP), and deixis (TOWARD SPEAKER, AWAY FROM SPEAKER, and NEUTRAL). Experiment participants were asked to verbally describe the events depicted in the video clips after watching them on a computer screen.

There are three major findings in this paper. First, Quechua is a prime example of a head path-coding language (Matsumoto 2017: 7; Matsumoto & Kawachi 2020: 5), in which path tends to be encoded by the main verb root, as in (1).

(1)   *wak*   *warmi-cha-qa*   *wasi-y-man*   **yayku**-chka-n …
       that   woman-DIM-TOP   house-1SG-DAT   **enter**-PROG-3SG …
'That lady is entering my house' (ID: 01, A9-10, /TO.IN, WALK, TOWARD SPEAKER/)

In (1), the main verb root *yayku* 'enter' encodes the path TO.IN. Such a head path-coding pattern was observed more frequently (60.3%) than a head coding pattern of manner or deixis (see Figure 1).

Second, Ayacucho Quechua is likely to display distributed path coding (cf. Sinha and Kuteva 1995). For example, the path TO.IN was encoded by both the main verb root and a head-external device in 31.3% of the utterances describing the path TO.IN. See (2).

(2)   *kay*   *warmi-m*   …   **yayku-yku**-n   *huk*   *wasi-man*
      this   woman-FOC   …   **enter**-YKU-3SG   a   house-DAT
'This woman … enters into the house' (ID: 06, A9-12, /TO.IN, WALK, NEUTRAL/)

In (2), the path TO.IN is expressed by the main verb root *yayku* 'enter' and also by the verbal suffix yku 'toward its inside'. In this sense, the meaning of path TO.IN is distributed over path verbs and the directional suffix -*yku*.

Last, in Ayacucho Quechua, -*yku* is used PRIMARILY IN COMBINATION WITH OTHER PATH-CODING DEVICES. Among 99 utterances that describe TO.IN clips, -YKU WAS EMPLOYED IN 20 UTTERANCES. WITHIN THOSE 20 UTTERANCES WITH -YKU, MOST OF THE UTTERANCES (16 UTTERANCES, 80.0%) ALSO CONTAIN OTHER CODING DEVICES OF TO.IN, AS IN (2). IN (3), -YKU WAS EMPLOYED AS A SINGLE CODING DEVICE OF TO.IN, BUT THE PATTERN IS RARE. Thus, -*yku* is mainly used as a part of distributed path coding as in (2) rather than used as a single path coding device as in (3).

(3)   HUK   MAQTIKU   …   BRINCA-**YKU**-N   SAMANA WASI-MAN
      A   BOY   …   RUN-**YKU**-3SG   RESTING HOUSE-DAT
'A BOY RUNS INTO THE RESTING HOUSE' (ID: 10, A9-13, /TO.IN, WALK, TOWARD SPEAKER/)

To conclude, this paper argues that Ayacucho Quechua is a head-path coding that intensively employs distributed path coding. It is a head path-coding language. However, speakers of this language are unlikely to express path with the main verb root alone. Ayacucho Quechua shows a tendency to distribute

path coding to main verb roots and head-external devices.
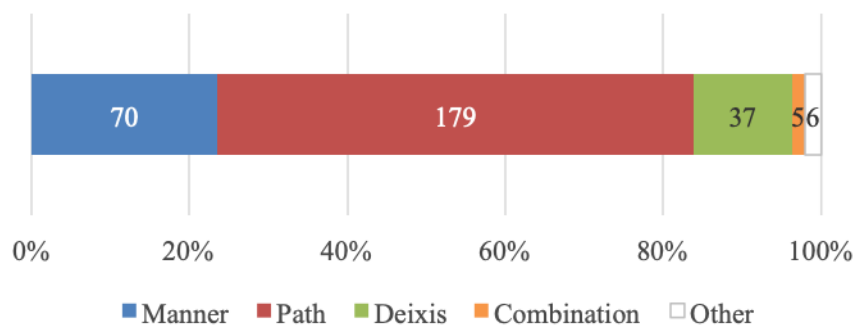
Figure 1. Semantic component expressed by the main verb root

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The expressive meaning of 'come' and 'go'

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This paper focuses on the expressive meaning of *come* and *go* in English, i.e. on a meaning that departs from the original motion meaning of these verbs. *Go* has been extensively studied as an auxiliary specialized in future time reference. However, both *come* and *go* may be used as semi-auxiliaries to convey an expressive meaning that is unrelated to time reference. The aim of this paper is to offer an account of these uses and to determine the impact of the deictic component of each verb on their respective expressive potential.

Come and *go* are often assumed to differ with respect to the goal of the motion they denote (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976). Fillmore (1966) has further argued that *come* has the deictic center as its destination, as opposed to *go*, which does not specify a destination. The deictic center is taken to include either the speaker's or the addressee's location. As pointed out by Fillmore (1966), the use of *come* 'to take the other fellow's point of view' (e.g. *The thief came into her bedroom*) sets *come* apart from ventive verbs in other languages, such as French and Italian. *Come* allows deictic projection (Lyons 1977) and may be used 'in reference to the viewpoint of someone other than the speaker' (Goddard 1997). Our contention is that this semantic property of *come* accounts for the restrictions on its expressive potential (as opposed to *venir* in French, see (Celle 2020)). The expressive use of *come* has essentially been identified as a Black English variant. It is regarded as a mood marker and dubbed 'come of indignation' by Spears (1982). As observed by Lansari (in press), this use is extremely infrequent in standard spoken English and limited to the structure *come* + V-*ing* (e.g. Don't come complaining to me, BNC). We further argue that it is limited to contexts where the point of view expressed is unmistakably the speaker's (# *the thief came complaining into her room*).

Go has been acknowledged to be an evaluative marker. Clark (1974) has discussed several idiomatic uses in which *go* indicates 'departure from a normal state' (such as *go bald*), the normal state serving as the deictic center. *Go* is much more frequently used as an expressive marker than *come*. It may convey the speaker's disapproval of a past, present, future or hypothetical situation. In constative uses (Larreya 2005), we argue that expressivity overlaps with mirativity. Expressive *go* is found in two structures: the binomial phrase *go* and V described in Huddleston & Pullum (2002) (e.g. *There's your coffee. Now don't go and spill it all over the photos!* BNC) and *go* + V-*ing* described in Bourdin (2003) and Celle & Lansari (2015) (e.g. *So don't go looking too neat!* BNC). In line with Nicolle (2009; 2007), we argue that the binomial phrase is found both in declarative clauses and negative imperatives. In contrast, *go* + V-*ing* is mostly associated with non-finite uses, more specifically in vetative contexts. While expressive *go* is stripped of its motion meaning, we argue that it has acquired various aspectual values (Bourdin (2003), Wulff (2006)) conveyed in specific constructions.

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Path and Deixis as distinct concepts in Burmese, Thai, and Chinese

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Path, described by Talmy (1985) as the trajectory of a Figure with respect to a Ground in a motion event, is a complex notion composed of three components: the Vector, the Conformation, and the Deixis (Talmy 2000: 53). However, other analyses consider that Deixis should be treated separately from Path and split the two notions apart (Slobin, Levinson cited by Grinevald 2011, Morita 2011, Matsumoto et al., forthcoming). This study aims to show evidence that Path and Deixis are distinct notions using data from East and South-East Asian languages (Thai, Burmese, and Standard Chinese). We show that the two notions of Path and Deixis are not included in one another but are distinct and can be expressed individually. In Thai, Burmese, and Standard Chinese, morpho-syntactical elements encoding Path and Deixis belong to different syntactic slots in serial verbs constructions and may co-occurs (examples 1-3[1]).

1 一位女士从玉米地里走了出来。(Standard Chinese)
yí wèi nǚshì cóng yùmǐdì lǐ zǒu=le=chu-lai
NUM CL woman from cornfield inside walk=PFV=out-CTP
'A woman walked out of the cornfield (toward DC2).' (Song, TRAJECTOIRE)

2 ผู้ห ญิงเดินออกมาจากทุ่งขา้ วโพด (Thai)
pʰûːjĭŋ dɤːn ʔɔ̀ ːk maː tɕàːk tʰûŋ.kʰâːwpʰôːt
woman walk exit come:CTP from field.corn
'The woman goes/went out from the corn field (toward DC).' (Thai, Seifen TRAJECTOIRE)

3 ကောၣ်မေလး&ဟၣ်းခၣ်ထဲကွ_ ပန္တ့ထက့ုလၢတယ္၊။ (Burmese)
kaɔN2ma1le3 pyɔN3-KhiN2 thɛ3=Ka1ne2 pyaN2 thwɛʔ la2=Tɛ2
woman corn-area interior=ABL back exit come:CTP=REAL
'The woman came out back from the [inside] the cornfield (toward DC).' (Vittrant, TRAJECTOIRE)

Path and deixis verbs also contribute differently to the predicational aspect. While the combination of a manner verb and a deictic verb, or a manner verb used on its own, result in an atelic event (4-5), the combination of a manner verb with a path verb results in a telic event (6).

4 เขาเดินในบา้ น (Thai)
kʰáw dɤːn naj bâːn
3 walk in house
'S/He walks in the house.' (atelic) (Elicitated)

5 และเดินไปตามถนน (Thai)
lɛ́ʔ dɤːn paj taːm tʰànŏn
and walk go along road
'and [he] walked back down the street.' (lit. 'away from DC') (atelic) (Seifen, HARRY POTTER)

6 นางเดอรส์ ลียเ์ ดินเขา้ มาในหอ้ งนั&งเล่น (Thai)
naːŋ dɤ̀ːtliː dɤːn kʰâw maː naj hɔ̂ ːŋnâŋlên
Mrs Dursley walk enter come inside living-room
'Mrs Dursley came into the living-room.' (telic) (Thai, Seifen, HARRY POTTER)

Finally, while Path is given in relation to the Ground, Deixis is in relation to the viewpoint. For a given motion event, the viewpoint can be moved without altering the trajectory of the Figure nor its relation to the Ground. Examples 7 and 8 describe the same event ('a man walks out of the grove') but have different viewpoints. The independence of the viewpoint to Path contradicts the idea that Deixis is a structural component of Path and confirms our hypothesis that Path and Deixis are distinct components of motion events.

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1 Abbreviations: 3 Third person, ABL Ablative, CL Classifier, CTF Centrifugal (motion towards the deictic center), CTP Centripetal (motion towards the deictic center), NUM Numeral, PFV Perfective, REAL Realis

7 一个女孩儿从山洞中走出去。(Standard Chinese)

*yí gè nǚháir cóng shāndòng=zhong zǒu=chu-**qu***

NUM CL woman from cave=inside walk=out-**CTF**

'A woman walks out [from the inside] of a cave (away from DC)' (Chinese, Song, TRAJECTOIRE.)

8 一个女孩儿从山洞中走出来。(Standard Chinese)

*yí gè nǚháir cóng shāndòng=zhong zǒu=chu-**lai***

NUM CL woman from cave=inside walk=out-**CTP**

'A woman walks out [from the inside] of a cave (towards DC)' (Chinese, Song, TRAJECTOIRE.)

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ABOUT motion events, or AROUND motion events ?
The semantics of ABOUT and AROUND particle verbs

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This presentation aims at providing elements for the analysis of the role of the particles ABOUT and AROUND in phrasal verbs expressing movement in contemporary English. Such verbs may be encountered in examples (1) and (2):

(1) *[…] she had hard work to keep back her tears as her companion **ran about** collecting the scattered pieces of luggage.*

(2) *For a time [the birds] **fluttered around** and scolded in their pert, boisterous manner.*

To our knowledge, neither ABOUT nor AROUND have received much attention from linguists so far. This study will :

- Examine the adverbial, the prepositional and the particle uses of ABOUT and AROUND and propose that they can be analysed similarly in spite of their syntactical differences :

(3) *If I hadn't got it I would be either dead or in jail or **running** about the streets robbing and stealing.*

(4) *On the TV in front of us, Miss Kier dances by the roadside and, when we peer closely, we can see butterflies **fluttering around her**.*

- Highlight the semantic differences between ABOUT and AROUND, which are often given as synonyms. To do so, we will consider a few utterances in which motion is not involved and show that the reference of the NP is centered with AROUND but not with ABOUT :

(5) *We shall be alike – brothers of one father and one mother, with one sky above us and one country **around** / * **about** us, and one governement for all.*

(6) *Climbing higher, we continued on up to AO-wen Da with just **about**/ * **around** enough time to do some birding.*

- Explore the way ABOUT and AROUND participate in the construction of the meaning of the motion verb it takes part in :

(7) *We finally figured out itw as acceptable to just touch the bowl of vodka to our lips rather than downing the whole thing each time it **came around** / ? Ø.*

(8) *Once upon a time, Chuang Tzu dreamed that he was a butterfly, **flying about** / *Ø enjoying itself.*

Since the 2000's, motion events have been dealt with mostly by cognitive linguistics and construction and construction grammar. However, the TOPE (Théorie des Opérations Prédicatives et Enonciatives) has also undertaken an analysis of English prepositions. This study will resort to the latter theoretical framework, though with light use of technical terms and resort to other frameworks.

We will propose that ABOUT and AROUND both have to do with the relation of two terms, one being located by the other. However, this relation works differently depending on the syntactical status of the marker. Nonetheless, the semantic value of the operation of location remains the same: that of differentiation, which is associated in the TOPE with the ideas of contiguity and adjacency.

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Relations between verb and noun in the domain of motion : arrive/arrival in English and French

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This paper explores the semantic features of a specific motion event 'arrive' by contrasting two categorial domains (verbal with nominal) and two languages (English with French).

Table 1 Matrix of lexemes under study

	French	English
Noun	*arrivée*	*arrival*
Verb	*arriver*	*arrive*

Drawing on the motion verb classification of Aurnague (2011), we consider the verb *arriver*$_{fr}$ as depicting a final change of locative relation with presupposed prior motion. This spatial property correlates, at least to some extent, with the aspectual lexical property of being an achievement (Vendler 1967). However, aspectual interpretations of its occurrences vary in context, leading to a focus on either a pre-processual phase (*aller arriver*), on the change of relation itself (*en arrivant*) or on the post processual phase (*venir d'arriver*) (cf. Gosselin 2020, 2021, Apothéloz 2008).

Our corpus study provides annotations of constructions, including meaning and aspectual properties, for the matrix of lexemes given in Table 1 to address the following two questions:

(i) To what extent has the verb frame for *arriver*$_{Fr}$ been brought into English *arrive*?

(ii) To what extent do the nominal motion events related to *arrival* and *arrivée* conserve the argument and semantic structures of the verbs?

Following Hanks' (2004) corpus pattern analysis, for each noun and verb we took a random selection of 200 instances from EnTenTen15 and FrTenTen12 (SketchEngine, Kilgariff et al 2014) for English and French respectively, giving a total of 800. Each instance was annotated for a variety of semantic and formal properties. For the nouns specifically, we drew on Huyghe et al (2017) and Ferret & al. (2010) to annotate ontological status (state/event/object), quantification (count/mass), lexical aspect (activity, achievement, accomplishment) and presence/absence of argument (Figure/Ground).

As a French borrowing (c1250), *arrive*$_{En}$, provides evidence that Talmy's typological distinction between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages may be partially neutralised, as *arrive*$_{En}$ mainly combines with prepositions rather than satellites. The French verb *arriver*$_{Fr}$ was originally spatial, referencing a boat reaching shore ('rive'). Figure types diversified along with Ground complements as the meaning of 'rive' was progressively bleached. However, if *arriver*$_{Fr}$ has become highly polysemic in French (only 40% of our dataset was spatial), *arrive*$_{En}$ in English remains mainly spatial (62% spatial). The analysis of verbs reveals differences between French and English spatial uses on which we concentrate.

Drawing on Gosselin (2020), we also describe the interacting factors which enable us to identify the profiled phases in each language. Our results show that *arriver*$_{Fr}$ and *arrive*$_{En}$ have a different distribution of profiled phases (p=0.0480) but that the nouns *arrivée*$_{Fr}$ and *arrival*$_{En}$ do not (p=0.1039). The most significant variation concerned *arriver*$_{Fr}$ and *arrivée*$_{Fr}$ (p=0.0015), which suggests that the nominal form in French displays a greater semantic range. For English, there were no significant differences in the profiled phases of the verbs and nouns (p=0.094). These results seem to reflect the greater polysemy of the French root, whether as a noun or a verb, whereas for English, the nominal form retains more of the event meaning of the verb. Therefore, while the typical verb frame for *arriver*$_{Fr}$ is clearly conserved in the English verb, *arrive*$_{En}$ does not display the same semantic range. We also find that *arrival*$_{En}$ is far more conservative in relation to the verb than is the case for French.

In this talk we also examine the multifaceted nature of motion events through these results together with our complementary qualitative analysis of a range of lexicogrammatical and semantic features (mentioned above) in order to explain the potential composite nature of 'arriving'.

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Constructional variation in motion events encoding: a comparative study on Italian, French and Spanish in three time stages

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In recent years, the typological classification of motion events encoding set forth by Talmy (2000) has received many integrations aimed at accounting for the semantic and constructional variation existing among and within languages (cf., a.o., Goschler & Stefanowitsch (ed.) 2013, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (ed.) 2017). This has led to the definition of a non-dichotomic typology described in terms of constructional and semantic clines (cf., a.o., Slobin 2004, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, Croft et al. 2010, Mosca 2010, Filipović 2013), whose extents vary across languages. The crosslinguistic variation of such clines stems from language-specific lexical and morphosyntactic constraints (Beavers et al. 2010), as well as from inferential, cognitive, discursive, usage-related, and cultural factors (cf. Iacobini & Vergaro 2014, Buoniconto 2020b) which govern the distribution of semantic units within syntagmatic linguistic forms (Sinha & Kuteva 1995). The pairing of such forms with motion-related meanings determines different constructions (cf. Croft et al. 2010; Fortis & Vittrant 2011, 2016), which can more or less significantly be adopted by languages in the encoding of motion events.

A well-known example of constructional variation in the encoding of motion events is represented by the languages of the Romance family which, despite being traditionally described as verb-framed, not only do allow for satellite-framed constructions (cf., a.o., Aske 1989, Slobin & Hoiting 1994, Slobin 1996, Filipović 2007, 2013, Kopecka 2013, Iacobini, 2015) but also differ in the level of complexity of verbal and constructional encoding of Path and Manner (cf., Slobin 2004, 2005, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2009, Hijazo-Gascón & Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013; Buoniconto 2020a).

The aim of this contribution is precisely to systematize the degree of constructional variation shown by Italian, French, and Spanish in motion event encoding by crosscutting four analytical dimensions (diachronic, synchronic, interlinguistic, and crosslinguistic). The idea of intertwining comparative synchronic and diachronic analysis is grounded on the assumption that synchronic variation often reflects gradual diachronic processes which are derived from a slow and dense succession of microchanges (cf., a.o., Traugott & Trousdale (eds.) 2010; Giacalone Ramat et al. 2013). These latter are in turn motivated by the competition of overlapping synchronic constructions, existing at the root of major diachronic changes such as typological shifts (consider, for instance, the drift from satellite-framed Latin to verb-framed Romance; cf. Iacobini & Fagard 2011, Stolova 2015).

For the purposes of this work, a corpus-based analysis was carried out on 10 parallel texts (62,424 words), of which one is the source text from Latin and the other nine are translations in Italian, French and Spanish in three different temporal stages, covering cc. 14th–15th (Stage 1), 16th–17th (Stage 2), 18th–19th (Stage 3), respectively. Thanks to the punctual reading of the texts, a total of 1,283 motion-encoding occurrences were extracted and later annotated following the constructionist annotation scheme proposed by Iacobini et al. (2020).

The analysis yielded 17 types of motion expressing constructions. Their different level of formal and semantic complexity allows to place them along a continuum ranging from synthesis (e.g., purely verb-framing) to analysis (e.g., directional verb plus prepositional phrases, adverbal items, adjuncts) to synthesis again (e.g., light verbs or covert encoding). The most attested construction type – overall and in each language and stage – features a directional verb followed by a directional prepositional phrase (e.g., It. *giunse dapprima in Macedonia* 'he first arrived in Macedonia', Fr. *il passa en Sicile* 'he moved on to Sicily', Sp. *sube al Capitolio* 'he goes up to the Capitol'). However, a diachronic increase in the number of construction types is observed crosslinguistically. Such a constructional diversification unfolds differently across the three languages. Italian shows both the largest number of constructional types, many of which are lexically and semantically complex, and the highest degree of attention to Manner (e.g., *ne balzano fuori all'istante i Romani* 'the Romans instantly spring up out of there'). French shows similar tendencies to Italian, although with a lower incidence of constructions with directional adverbal elements, which determines a lower capacity of expressing complex Paths, especially in the presence of Manner verbs (e.g., It. *s'era lanciato giù dalla rocca* 'he had thrown himself down the citadel' vs. Fr. *descendu de la citadelle* '[he had]

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Spanish verb-particle constructions from a verb-centred perspective

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According to Talmy's (2000, 64f.) typological works on verb- and satellite-framing in the encoding of directed motion events, Spanish shows a preference for verb-framed patterns, i.e. the path of motion is conflated in the verb meaning (e.g. *volver* 'go back'). Yet certain manner verbs can be combined with prepositional phrases and/or adverbial particles in Spanish motion constructions that convey a path- or even a (telic) goal-marking interpretation (cf. Aske 1989; Slobin & Hoiting 1994; Wiesinger 2020; 2021). So far, the admittance of these verbs in Spanish has been attributed to some sort of association with a directional meaning (cf. Mateu & Rigau 2010; Pedersen 2016; Lewandowski & Mateu 2020).

In the present contribution, I will adopt a more fine-grained diachronic and synchronic perspective on the verbs in verb-particle constructions in European Spanish on the basis of qualitative and quantitative corpus data obtained from CORDE, CORPES XXI and *Corpus del Español*. In doing so, I will argue that the two-fold distinction between manner and path verbs, which is found in almost all existing studies on Spanish, as well as the focus on intransitive motion verbs, is neither sufficient to account for the verb-motion construction combinability in present-day Spanish, nor to explain the analogical extension effects that may have taken place from a diachronic perspective.

In this vein, I will show in the first part of this contribution that motion verbs such as *echar(se)* 'throw' or *tirar(se)* 'throw/pull', for which there is no consensus in the literature on their classification as path and/or manner verbs (e.g. Cadierno & Ruiz 2006; Cifuentes Férez 2010; Matsumoto 2020), are the verbs with the highest frequency and collostructional strength in present-day verb-particle constructions (e.g. *echar(se) (para) atrás* 'throw back; back down; reject; repel'). Moreover, the diachronic data reveals that these force-dynamic verbs, which can be used intransitively, in middle voice as well as transitively, also play a central role for extending the productivity of Spanish verb-particle constructions beyond (mostly) intransitive path verbs. I will further argue that this extension can be accounted for by specific (frame-) semantic and syntactic characteristics related to these motion verbs. In the last part of the contribution, I will compare my results for Spanish to findings on English, Italian and French motion constructions (e.g. Iacobini 2010; Aurnague 2011; Fagard et al. 2013; Sarda 2019) in order to examine possible (intra- or inter-) typological tendencies at the level of specific motion verb groups.

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Walking *events from the point of view of Russian and Hungarian verbal prefixe*

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In attempts to go beyond Talmy (1975, 1985, 2000)'s two-way typology of motion events, several linguists have stressed that the manner vs. path distinction as expressed by the verb root should be broadened to include other types of lexicalizations, and that a language's choice of patterns depends on its morpho-syntactic resources available. (Beavers *and al.* 2010, Levin & R. Hovav 2019). In this paper, we first describe the use of verbal prefixes in two satellite-framed languages, Hungarian and Russian, for the expression of directed motion events, compared to English. For this intra-typological exploration (based on a parallel corpus made up of three translated English novels), the semantic domain of manners of *walking* (the verbs *walk*, *step*, *march*, *stride*, *limp*, *hobble*) was selected. The study shows that:

- the manner of motion lexicon is rich both in Russian (Beliakov & Stosic 2018) and Hungarian;
- both languages use directional (path-encoding) prefixes, with comparable semantics;

but:

- the prefix-verb "combinatory potential" (Filipović 2010) is very different. For translations of *walk* (169 occurrences in all), in Russian, prefix + verb combinations are mainly limited to first-tier manner of motion verbs (1); in contrast, Hungarian not only displays more (four) manner roots, but also significantly more prefix-root types (2):

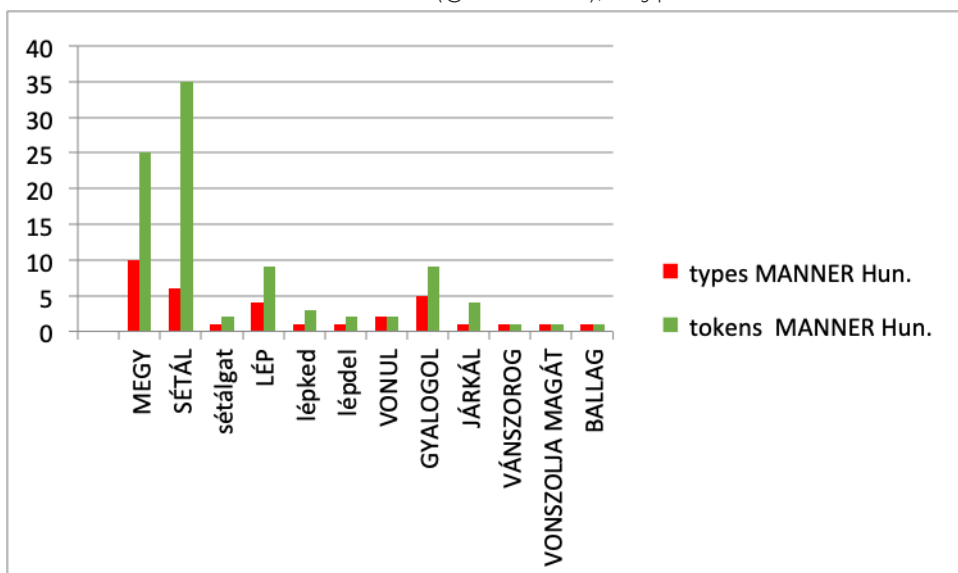(1) **IDTI / XODIT**' ('go, walk' ± determinate) 14 types with prefixes
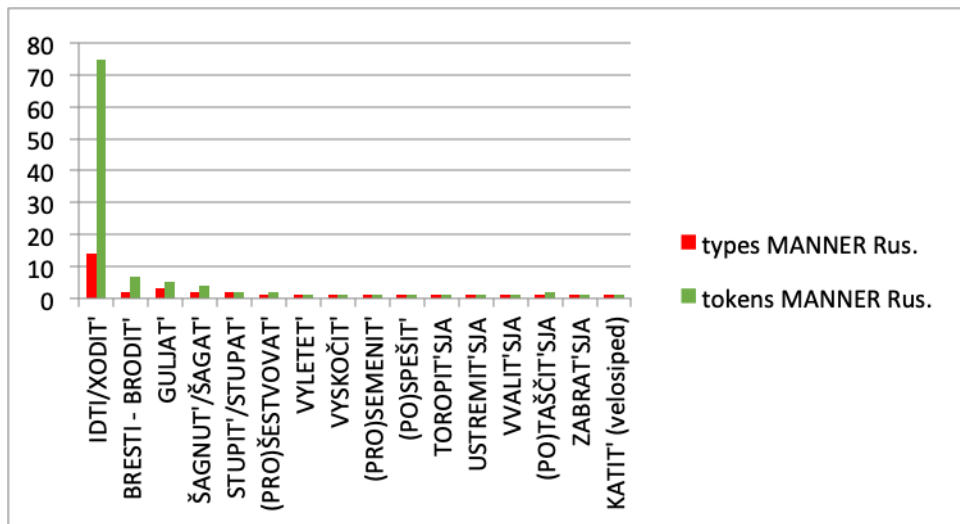
(2) **MEGY** ('*go/walk*'), 10 types
SÉTÁL ('*walk*'), 7 types
LÉP ('*step*'), 7 types
GYALOGOL ('*go on foot*'), 5 types

The next step consists in connecting these differences to other grammatical phenomena, including change of state events (Levin & R. Hovav 2019, Horrock & Stavrou 2003, Strigin & Demjjanov 2001). Russian has morphologized aspect, and its undetachable 20 prefixes ensure perfectivization (telicization) of the imperfective root, for directed motion and change of state events; Hungarian has about 45 detachable, telic as well as atelic, prefixes and quasi-prefixes, and no morphologized aspect. In Hungarian, the prefix essentially marks topic/focus structure (Bende-Farkas 2002): in (3a), *be-* ('into') is the focus (the direction taken by the understood subject), whereas in (4a) the focus slot is filled by the new subject on the scene ('a German soldier') and the prefix can be omitted. This is impossible in Russian: the prefix vo- ('into') is required in both (3b) and (4b) ; supressing it would automatically make the sentences aspectually imperfective (*he was stepping into...*):

(3) He **stepped into** the train and shuffled past her without a glance.

(a) ***Be*** *-lépett*, *majd … nélkül elcsoszogott mellette…*
   PRF^{1}_{into}-stepped

(b) **On vo** **-šël** *poslednim. Probralsja mimo…*
   he PRF_{into}-walked

(4) A German soldier **stepped into** her home

(a) *Egy német katona* ***lépett*** *a lakás-ba.*
   a German soldier Ø stepped the home-ILL

(b) *V* ***dom vo*** ***-šël*** *nemeckij voennyj.*
   into home PRF_{into}-walked German soldier

The preverbal focus slot in Hungarian can also be filled by adjectives in the sublative case, followed by the aspectless root *itták*, '*drink*' (ex5a), yielding English-like resultative constructions. This option is unavailable in Russian, in which the *na-* prefix with the imperfective stem *–pivat'sja*, '*drink*' simply indicates excess (5b) and no such resultative construction is found (Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998, Smith 2003):

(5) [They] **drank themselves blind** *on fermented mare's milk*

(a) ***Eszméletlen-re itták magukat*** *erjesztett kancatejjel*
   unconscious-SUBL drink-PST them-REFL-ACC

(b) ***Na- pivalis'*** *do bespamjatsva perebrodivšim konskim molokom.*
   PRF- drink- IPF-PST-REFL until unconsciousness-GEN

This paper is a study in intra-typological variation, as well as an attempt to investigate possible interdependencies among construction types for two satellite-framed languages (L&H, 409).

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1 Abbreviations | ACC= accusative case ; GEN= genitive case ; ILL= illative case ('into') ; IPF= imperfective morpheme ; PRF= verbal prefix ; PST= past tense ; REFL= reflexive morpheme ; SUBL= sublative case ('onto').

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The distributed expression of motion in German – satellites, morphosyntactic case-marking and pragmatic factors

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Since Talmy's (2000) seminal work on satellite-framed vs. verb-framed languages it is well established that German constitutes a prototypical representative of satellite-framed languages, as it expresses the path of motion preferably with satellites (Matsumoto 2020; Meex 2020) and the manner mainly by the verb (Akita & Matsumoto 2020; De Knop & Gallez 2011; Olofsson fc.; Slobin 2006, 2017; Talmy 2000, 2017). The preference for satellites in German becomes obvious in the following constructions: (i) so-called 'verbless directives' (Jacobs 2008; De Knop 2019), i.e. motion constructions without a verb, which mainly consist of satellites (see example 1) or (ii) pleonastic motion constructions in which a satellite is duplicated (De Knop fc. 2021; Diedrichsen 2017; Rehbein & van Genabith 2006) (see examples 2 and 3).

(1) Ins Boot bitte!
     (lit. 'Into the boat please')
(2) Die Mutter setzt das Kind auf das Pferd drauf.
     (lit. 'The mother sets the child on the horse upon')
(3) Wir gehen alle auf den Berg hinauf.
     (lit. 'We go all on the mountain upon')

In these examples the satellites are instantiated either as prepositions, e.g. *in* in (1) and *auf* in (2) or double particles like *drauf* (2), which sometimes feature deictic constituents like *hin-* in *hinaus* (3) (see also Dewell 2011, 2015; Lüdeling 2001; McIntyre 2001; Olsen 1999a; Thurmair 2008; Wunderlich 1983).

With examples collected in the Kernkorpus of the Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache and the DeReKo from the Institut für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim, but also in French and German comic strips, we provide evidence for the complex nature and the prevailing role of the satellites both in German verbless directives and pleonastic constructions. The German satellites integrate a path semantics, but also deictic and pragmatic aspects (compare Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2017). Former contrastive studies (De Knop 2019; De Knop & Mollica 2019) have shown that German as compared with other languages like French use verbless directives much more frequently. The analysis also elaborates on the major role of the morphosyntactic case-marking system in German which sustains the semantics of verbless structures. In the above examples the accusative case is used after the two-way preposition for the expression of an incipient directional motion event (see Baten & Willems 2012), as opposed to static, not yet established location (which would require the dative case). Moreover, German verbless directives as compact expressions instantiate directive speech acts in specific (mostly oral) contexts.

German pleonastic examples like (2) and (3) (Olsen 1996a, 1999b, 1999c) duplicate the preposition of the prepositional group in the prepositional adverb thereby conveying an intensification semantics. Such examples have hardly any equivalents in Romance languages – as checked with the translation of German examples into French (compare Olsen 1996b). This is grounded in the typological differences between Germanic vs. Romance languages, but it means that French equivalents omit the intensification semantics expressed in German with the prepositional pronoun. Our study deals with the nature, the anadeictic vs. catadeictic role of the German satellites as opposed to French.

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Talking about object location during motion: how front-back axes are generated when *using* in front of, behind, leading *and* following

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In *The red ball is flying through the air in front of the blue ball* the red ball's location is described in relation to a blue ball, which acquired a 'front' through motion direction. We for the first time investigated the relative contribution of three motion parameters (in isolation and combination) for generating front-back axes when talking about object location during motion: translational motion (co-ordinate changes of objects in space), intrinsic motion (object part motion, for example, turning car wheels), and motion control (externally imposed co-ordinate changes). 28 native English speakers indicated the acceptability of the adpositions *in front of* and *behind*, and the verbs *leading* and *following*, while watching two moving objects through a virtual reality headset. Acceptability ratings showed that axis strength decreased according to our hypotheses: translational motion combined with intrinsic motion, with agreement in direction > translational motion > translational motion combined with intrinsic motion, with conflict in direction > intrinsic motion. Also, according to predictions, the front-back axis was stronger for adpositions than verbs if motion control applied. Over and above previous studies we not only show that translational motion can generate front-back axes, but that also intrinsic motion can do that, and that the translational motion parameter needs refinement into motion due to an external force or due to self-motion. We explained a weaker axis for intrinsic motion as being due to inferencing motion direction (as in, for example, *the wheels are turning right, and therefore the object must be going right*), whereas axes generated during translational movement are generated directly by visual input. We also introduced a new method in calculating axis strength.

Intratypological differences in motion event descriptions: Information packaging and information density in L1 and L2 acquisition

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Cross-linguistic differences in motion event descriptions are well documented, regarding *information focus* (which elements of the motion event are typically selected for verbalization) and information locus (which linguistic means are typically used for verbalization; cf. Slobin 1996). These differences in information packaging have been shown to influence both first (L1) and second language (L2) acquisition, as language-specific lexicalization patterns direct language users' selective attention (*Thinking for Speaking*/TfS; Slobin 1996). Entrenched L1 routines may lead to deviant L2 information packaging, primarily with respect to the expression of manner and path (Ellis/Cadierno 2009).

However, research into more fine-grained aspects of motion event encoding, e.g., in terms of information density or intratypological differences, is only emerging (cf. Pavlenko/Volynsky 2015). For information density, Harr/Hickmann (2016) show gradual development between ages 2 and 4 for verb-framed French and satellite-framed German. Author et al. (2017) show that for German, information density actually gradually develops well into middle childhood (from light utterances like "she ran away" to information-dense, complex utterances like "the little girl ran across the street to the playground"), although target-like lexicalization patterns are available early on.

The present study combines a TfS-inspired approach focusing on information packaging with a usage-based approach focusing on information density in order to investigate effects of *intra*typological differences on L2 use. It focuses on English and German, which are typologically closely related and share the relevant satellite-framed lexicalization patterns. Six native speakers of English (L2 German) and six native speakers of German (L2 English) retold 20 wordless cartoons and 2 picture books in their respective L1 and L2. Motion event descriptions (n=3019) were coded for semantic and syntactic complexity at the *figure*, *verb*, *path* and *ground* slots (e.g., deictic/prepositional/multi-stage paths) and for extra manner information; this allowed for global information density estimations at the utterance level (i.e., combinatorial preferences/complexity across conceptual slots).

The results show (1) significant intratypological variation in L1 motion event encoding in terms of information density and (2) significant effects on L2 motion event encoding:

(1) **L1 German users** display significantly higher levels of global information density in motion event descriptions than L1 English users (W=374534, p<0.001), due to higher numbers of manner verbs (cf. Pavlenko/Volynsky 2015), more complex path/ground realizations and more combinations of the two in L1 German as compared to L1 English.

(2a) **L2 German users** produce significantly less complex motion event clauses than L1 German users (W=261558.5, p<0.001), indicating L1 influence, possibly enhanced by general interlanguage trends. Importantly, L2 German figure-verb-path-ground patterns are significantly less complex than both L1 baselines, suggesting that L2 users particularly tend to reduce information density at the utterance level for more complex, challenging constructional patterns.

(2b) **L2 English users** do not differ from English L1 users (W=341645.5, p=0.814 n.s.), indicating that information density reduction from L1 to L2 is more easily available. Yet the fact that, both in their L1 and L2, L1 German speakers produce highly complex motion event descriptions much more frequently than L1 English users in both their languages still indicates subtle L1 influence.

Effects on the conceptualization of motion events: Insights from similarity judgments, verbalization, and mouse tracking

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The way in which motion events are encoded is shaped by different factors such as the absence or presence of grammatical aspect across different languages (e.g., Athanasopoulos & Bylund 2012). Von Stutterheim & Lambert (2005), among others, argue that speakers of aspect languages (e.g., English) prioritize the process of an event whereas speakers of non-aspect languages (e.g., German) tend to focus on endpoints.

Language-specific differences in event encoding become manifest when speakers verbalize messages linguistically, which obliges them to use constructions available in their language (von Stutterheim et al. 2012). It remains unclear, however, why certain components are preferred considering that all languages provide the opportunity to express every detail. Recent studies have given rise to a multi-factorial explanation for these differences, in which non-grammatical factors are considered to systematically affect event conceptualization, too. Bepperling & Härtl (2013) argue that non-habitual aspect marking in German causes increased cognitive costs, which leads to the omission of process-markers. Thus, an explanation for the observed cross-linguistic effects could be based on a combination of linguistic and non-linguistic factors influencing event perspectivization. I propose that a certain number of slots in all utterances needs to be filled to produce a grammatically complete sentence. Due to the necessity of progressive forms in certain situations in English, all slots of a meaningful sentence are filled, resulting in the omission of endpoints. Since this category is optional in German, the capacity to include endpoints is still available.

Following Feinmann (2019), the fact that languages differ in the way they encode motion events does not entail that speakers of different languages also form distinct conceptual representations of these events. The study at hand probes this claim from an experimental perspective. Native speakers of German and English as well as three groups of learners of English with a low, advanced and proficient competence level (n = 20 each) participate in two similarity judgment tasks and a verbalization task flanked by a mouse-tracking task. The task using verbal interference aims at revealing the nature of the differences in motion event construal. While cognitive biases should resist a verbal interference manipulation, effects hypothesized to appear due to language use should disappear when the linguistic system is suppressed (Feinmann 2019). Thus, this part aims at revealing whether participants rate motion events as alike based on the events' endpoints or movements (1). In the second part, participants are asked to verbalize animated videoclips and to click on an endpoint-related area (2). This part aims at analyzing whether differences in event descriptions are related to differences in attention allocation. Due to the expected high frequency of verbalized endpoints in German, endpoint regions should be accessed faster by German speakers than speakers and learners of English, who are hypothesized to verbalize fewer endpoints. Consequently, the results of this study will give insight into the conceptualization of motion events and provide answers for the question whether the expression of certain linguistic categories affects the speakers' visual attention on components of an event.
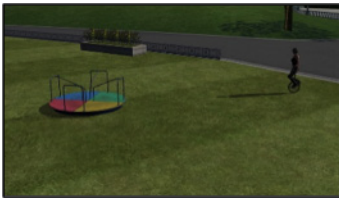
(1)   Similarity judgement task

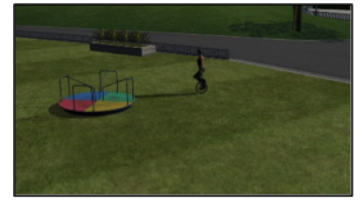Critical item   Option A   Option B

(2)   Verbalization task and mouse tracking

0:00 min   0:02 min   0:04 min

Critical word

Picture with clickable area of interest

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J'ai couru au bar *'I ran to the bar': a purpose-oriented verb of manner of motion*

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It is frequently argued that French is a verb-framed language, while English is a satellite-framed language. To support this hypothesis, well-known examples are often cited: in English, activity verbs such as *to walk*, *swim*, *jog*, etc. can be followed by a PP designating a goal, while in French, such verbs cannot. One way of describing this difference consists in assigning different lexical-semantic decompositions to these verbs in the two languages. According to Rappaport Hovav & Levin (1998, 2010), a root can lexicalize at most one constant like a MANNER in addition to the primitive predicates. Under this hypothesis, verbs of manner of motion in French arise from lexicalizations of the *MANNER* component (Moline & Stosic 2016), modifier of the primitive predicate ACT. It is also well known, though, that certain French verbs of this class are constructible with a goal PP (Aurnague 2011, Sikora 2009). In this study, we examine examples of the verb *courir* 'run' constructed with a goal, such as *courir* (*au bar, à la librairie, à l'hôtel...*) 'run to (the bar, the bookshop, the hotel...)' found in the Frantext corpus and we characterize the conditions of use of *courir* with a goal and possibly other modifiers, to answer the following question: can't these constructions be assigned to different uses of the same verb, only one of them being a verb of manner of motion? Indeed, they show differences such as:

- Restrictions on modifications:
  (a) *Luc a (doucement + vite) couru (10 m) (de la table) jusqu'à sa chambre.*
      'Luc ran (mildly + rapidly) (10 m) (from the table) to his room'
  (b) vs. *Luc a (*doucement + vite) couru (*10m) à sa chambre.*
      'Luc ran (mildly + rapidly) (10 m) to his room'

Thus, *courir* as a manner of motion verb (let's call it *courir*1) accepts 1) manner adverbs, 2) a measurement modifier and 3) a complex adjunct designating a trajectory, whereas *courir* with a goal (let's call it *courir*2) accepts only an adverb of high velocity (see Sarda 2019 for the importance of this factor). In (b), the goal PP cannot be accompanied by a source PP without a slight meaning change:

  (b') vs. *Luc a couru de la table à sa chambre.*
      'Luc ran from the table to his room'

It recovers the interpretation of a verb of manner of motion.

- Purpose:
  (c) *Luc a couru de chez lui jusqu'au bar (pour) faire un peu d'exercice physique.*
      'Luc ran from his house to the bar to do some physical exercise'
  (d) vs. *Luc a couru au bar (# (pour) faire un peu d'exercice physique + (pour) prendre un verre).*
      'Luc ran to the bar (to do some physical exercise + to have a drink)'

*Courir*1 can be used with any purpose phrase, while *courir*2 cannot.

- Restrictions on coordination:
  (e) *L'employé courut à l'appareil, (appela et parla + #et le nettoya).*
  (f) vs. *L'employé alla à l'appareil, (appela et parla + et le nettoya).*
      'The employee (ran + went) to the phone, (made a call and talked + and cleaned it).'

The goal element being the same, while the VP with *aller* can be coordinated to whatever VP, the VP with *courir*2 can only be coordinated with VPs describing actions related to the goal N.

- VP = *courir*2 à N describes a complex event:
  (g) *L'employé courut à l'appareil, en vain. Le docteur n'était pas joignable.*
      'The employee ran to the phone, in vain. The doctor was not reachable.'
  (h) vs. *L'employé courut (#à + vers) l'appareil, en vain. Il trébucha sur un tapis.*
      'The employee ran to the phone, in vain. He stumbled over a carpet.'

If *en vain* 'in vain' is added to the VP *courir*2 à N, the failure does not concern the event of motion itself but the purpose of the motion (cf. 'tendentiality', Aurnague 2011), whereas *courir*1 can be modified by the same

adverbial to describe the failure of the motion activity.

- The goal is contextually determined:

(i) *Le chat est sorti dans le jardin, a couru à l'arbre et a attrapé un moineau posé sur une branche.*
'The cat went out into the garden, ran to the tree and caught a sparrow on a branch.'

(j) vs. *#Le chat est sorti dans le jardin, a couru à l'arbre et est revenu à la maison.*
'The cat went out into the garden, ran to the tree and came back to the house.'

The goal complement is not limited to a *site intégré* 'integrated site', a noun designating a location but interpreted in relation to an activity which usually takes place at that place (cf. *être à l'école* 'attend a school', Vandeloise 1988). It can be any place, provided that an appropriate scenario can be thought of, in which *courir* à *N* is a first part of the complex event, the main one being what the subject executes once he/she is at N. The scenario of a cat's catching a bird in (i) permits *courir*2 but not the one of a cat's strolling around in the garden (j).

These tests show that the acceptability of *courir* with a goal PP with *à* 'to' depends on a subsequent event: the existence of a clear scenario composed of at least two events is required to license the construction of *courir* with a goal. Then, the valency of *courir*2 is not (only) determined by its lexical semantics, but rather by a larger interpretative framework of discourse.

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How do choreographers construct movement through language ? A deconstruction of contemporary dance motion instructions

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The work presented here is a pilot study of a particular kind of motion event description: contemporary dance movement instructions. Contemporary dance lessons provide abundant, spontaneous and detailed motion descriptions. However, few technical terms are used, as contemporary dance hasn't developed its own specific vocabulary. Therefore, it can be assumed that a thorough analysis of the different lexicalization patterns involved in choreographers' discourse give insights not only into the peculiarity of these specific motion descriptions, but also into the way choreographic movement can be created through language.

For this study, three advanced level contemporary dance classes were video-recorded and the utterances of the three French choreographers were transcribed. The analysis of the multimodal corpus (1200 motion instructions, 10348 words) relied on semantic, syntactic, referential and functional parameters (Talmy 1983, Vandeloise 1986, Kleiber 1997). First, the focus was on the nature of the entities involved in motion instructions, especially dancers, body parts and the different regions where they can be localized (*haut* 'top', *arrière* 'back') (Aurnague 2004, Aurnague et al. 2007). Second, the use of spatial prepositions (*vers* 'towards', *sur* 'on') was studied (Aurnague & Vieu 2013, Aurnague 2019) and the semantics of verbs of spontaneous motion (*aller* 'to go', *marcher* 'to walk') was analysed relating to Aurnague (2011), which framework was further applied to causative verbs of motion as well (*lancer* 'to kick', *déplacer* 'to move something'). Third, following Stosic (2019), the highly present manner component was taken into account, both in its lexical manifestations among verbal items (*courir* 'to run', *tourner* 'to turn'), and on the syntactic level (*relâchez doucement* 'release gently').

Confronting the aforementioned parameters, four lexicalization patterns emerged from the analysis. The first expresses the spontaneous motion of the dancer (*you go left*). The second displays the same kind of verbs but expresses the self-governed motion of body parts (*the arms go up*). The third construction, on the contrary, expresses body parts motion as being controlled by the dancer (*you raise your arms*), through causative constructions. Finally, the fourth pattern expresses again body parts motion but it shares some features with the first construction, as the dancer is the subject of an autonomous verb of motion (*you go up with your arms*). Indeed, in this pattern, the moving entity is made explicit through the manner adjunct *with your hands*, which is considered to have an instrumental value.

Besides outlining a linguistic characterization of the procedural motion descriptions in contemporary dance, this talk will raise some important – and still open – general questions in spatial semantics. Among these, I investigate the factors underlying the choice of the lexicalization pattern, the variations on the reference frame that these structure alternations lead to, and the complex interplay between the dancers and their body parts (Talmy 1988, Yamamoto 1999). Finally, following the hypothesis that language can reflect thought (Nuyts & Pederson 1997), this work can pave the way for further investigations on the conceptualization of choreographic movements, thus bringing the linguistics contribution to researches on cognitive aspects of artistic creation (Fernandes 2016).

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Morphosyntactic manifestations of Goal bias in Mandarin Chinese: Insights from non-standard Mandarin varieties

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Although motion events are now hotly debated in the field of Chinese Linguistics, the topic of of Source-Goal asymmetry remains largely understudied. Regier & Zheng (2007) and Song (forthcoming), to mention a few studies, mainly deal with frequency of Goal expressions. In order to discuss whether Goals are expressed with more fine-grained linguistics resources than Source and whether languages develop more morphological material in order to code goal with more precision, resulting in bigger goal inventories (see Verkerk 2017), the present study draws insights from data from substandard and nonstandard varieties of Mandarin (among which spoken Pekingese and the Baoding dialect spoken in Hebei), and looks into some morphosyntactic manifestations of Goal-bias in Northern Mandarin. Our study focusses on two issues, for which the non-standard varieties of northern Mandarin we investigated show more salient "Goal bias" than the written standard that we call "Modern Written Chinese" (see Feng 2009 on this notion):

1) The varieties of northern Mandarin we investigated show a clear-cut distinction in the marking of Goal-Attainment and that of Goal-Approximation (see Bourdin 1997), in that prepositional phrases (PPs) encoding Goal-Attainment are located after the verb, whereas PPs encoding Source, Medium (or Trajectory in Verkerk 2017) and Goal-Approximation are located before the verb. This distinction (which can be characterized as a bounded vs. a non-bounded type of Path, see Cappelle & Declerck 2005) is less systematic in Modern Written Chinese. These Mandarin varieties are thus quite similar with Hungarian, in the sense that they encode the distinction between Goal-Attainment and Goal-Approximation through grammatical means – a type that was considered to be typologically uncommon in Bourdin (1997). The syntactic position dedicated to Goal-Attainment sometimes allows for the optionality of Goal markers, which can be analyzed as a more straightforward expression of goal, e.g., in the following sentences in Baoding Mandarin (with and without goal marker):

(1) Baoding (Jilu Mandarin, Hebei, China)
(1a) $k\gamma^{45}=ti$ $tsuo^{45}ts\gamma=s\tilde{a}=pa$ (1b) $k\gamma^{45}$ $tsuo^{45}ts\gamma=s\tilde{a}=pa$
Put=to   table=on= ADVI   put   table=on= ADVI
'Put [it] on the table.'   'Put [it] on the table.'

2) If we focus on the left side of the verb, we see that the Goal preposition 'towards' exhibits more morphological productivity (through compounding): it combines with bound morphemes related to postpositions derived from relational nouns with locative meaning such as 'in(side)' to produce a set of preverbal Path adverbials such as 'inwards' (see Lamarre 2013). Source prepositions do not display this kind of compounding, as shown in (2b).

(2) Baoding (Jilu Mandarin, Hebei, China)
(2a) $v\tilde{a}^{213}-li^{213}$ $te^{45}\sim te$
toward-inside   push~REDU
'Push [it] inside.'

(2b) * $ta^{213}-li^{213}$ $lo^{45}-ts^hu-l\varepsilon$
from-inside   scoop.up-out-hither
Expected meaning: 'Scoop it out (of a liquid body).'

After providing a detailed account of these two phenomena and discussing their significance in terms of goal-over-source principle, we develop on a possible correlation between the saliency of Goal-bias with satellite-frame (in terms of Talmian typology, see Verkerk 2017) on one hand, and with the status of locative PPs on the other hand (i.e., the Argument-Adjunct distinction, see Sarda 2019). Data on nonstandard Mandarin come from fieldwork.

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A comparative study of motion-cum-purpose in English, French, and Polish

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This study addresses the embedding of PURPOSE in the conceptual structure of motion events. The concept of PURPOSE is typically used in reference to complex subordinated sentences wherein the event expressed in the main clause "*is performed with the goal of obtaining the realization of another one*", the latest being expressed in the subordinate clause (Cristofaro, 2013). Our focus is on *motion-cum-purpose* constructions (cf. Aissen, 1984), in which the realization of the purposive event depends on the initial motion event. Cross-linguistically, such constructions are characterized by a high degree of syntactic integration of the purposive clause into the main clause encoding a motion event, as compared to purposive clauses dependent on the main clause expressing a non-motion event (e.g. Schmidtke-Bode, 2009). From the semantic perspective, the question that arises is then how PURPOSE relates to the conceptual structure of motion events. To investigate this question and capture the diversity of constructions languages use to express *motion-cum-purpose*, we tackle PURPOSE from a conceptual rather than a syntactic perspective (see Cristofaro's definition above).

Our study focuses on English, French, and Polish. It aims to (1) examine the diversity of constructions that convey a *motion-cum-purpose* meaning in these languages, (2) explore the semantic types of PURPOSE typically associated with motion, and (3) investigate the spatial conceptual structure of these constructions (e.g. types of motion predicates, the semantic affinity between the main motion predicate, and types of PURPOSE).

The study is based on three novels: *Le Petit Prince* (St Exupéry, 1946) in French, *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 1945) in English, and *Wiedźmin: ostatnie życzenie* (Sapkowski, 1993) in Polish. All Motion events, including caused and spontaneous motion (e.g. *John drove the children to school* and *Diana moved to another city*), and motion with and without purpose were extracted from these texts (e.g. *I brought that here **for my personal use**, She came here **to rescue him*** vs. *The drove them out, She entered the castle*).

We extracted a total of 1593 motion events and found 126 constructions conveying the meaning of *motion-cum-purpose* (henceforth McP constructions), which represent 7.9% of the corpus (Table 1). Among the three languages, the English corpus comprises the highest number of McP constructions.

MOTION events	FRENCH *Le Petit Prince* (PP) *N* = 113	ENGLISH *Animal Farm* (AF) *N* = 328	POLISH *Wiedźmin* (WZ) *N* = 1152	TOTAL *N* = 1593
NON-McP	86.7% (98)	77.7% (255)	96.7% (1114)	92.1% (1467)
McP	13.3% (15)	22.3% (73)	3.3% (38)	**7.9% (126)**

Table 1 - Motion events per language

Regarding the diversity of McP constructions, we identified 3 main types that we labelled for the sake of clarity 'conjunctive' (e.g. *go **to** see*), 'prepositional' (e.g. *go **for** help*), and 'tight' constructions (e.g. *go get*). Table 2 shows that each language reveals a different preference as to these 3 types: English favors 'conjunctive' constructions, while Polish favors 'prepositional' constructions and French 'tight' constructions.

TYPE OF McP CONSTRUCTION	ENGLISH *N* = 73	POLISH *N* = 38	FRENCH *N* = 15	TOTAL *N* = 126
'CONJUCTIVE'	**76.7% (56)**	31.6% (12)	20% (3)	**56.3% (71)**
'PREPOSITIONAL'	13.7% (10)	**47.4% (18)**	---	**22.2% (28)**
'TIGHT'	1.4% (1)	21% (8)	**80% (12)**	**16.7% (21)**
OTHER	8.2% (6)	---	---	4.8% (6)

Table 2 – Most frequent McP constructions

With regard to PURPOSE, we could identify 13 different types. Table 3 illustrates the 3 most frequent types: MOTION (18.3%, e.g. *come to **take away***), ACTION (12.7%, e.g. *go to **do***), and PERCEPTION (11.1%, e.g. *go to **see***). We may note, however, that the frequency of occurrence of these types varies among the three languages.

TYPE OF PURPOSE	ENGLISH N = 73	POLISH N = 38	FRENCH N = 15	TOTAL N = 126
MOTION	11% (8)	34.2% (13)	13.3% (2)	**18,3% (23)**
ACTION	12.3% (9)	15.8% (6)	6.7% (1)	**12,7% (16)**
PERCEPTION	9.6% (7)	---	46.7% (7)	**11,1% (14)**
OTHER	67.1% (49)	50% (19)	33.3% (5)	57,9% (73)

Table 3 – Three most frequent types of PURPOSE

In this talk, we provide a systematic account of the McP constructions found in the dataset in order to better understand their spatial conceptual structure in the languages under study. To do so, we examine the types of motion predicates and the types of PURPOSE they are associated with, and investigate the use and the distribution of spatial elements (e.g. PATH satellites, GROUND entities) in the different types of constructions identified.

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