Manner-of-Motion Verbs and Subjectification*

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1. Introduction

Intransitive motion verbs typically denote actual changes of location of self-moving agents.

(1)　　　*This tourist **goes** from the station to the airport.*

(2)　　　*The wolves **run** through the forest.*

These verbs are also used to describe immobile linear entities as in (3) and (4) below.

(3)　　a.　*This road **goes** from Burney to Redding.*　（Talmy 1996：215）

　　　　b.　*That mountain range **goes** from Canada to Mexico.*　（Talmy 2000a：104）

(4)　　a.　*The highway **runs** through the mountains.*　（Matsumoto 1996a：183）

　　　　b.　*A scar **runs** from his wrist to his elbow.*　（Langacker 2008：538）

Sentences like (3) and (4), called *coverage path expressions*, are a type of *fictive motion expression*（Talmy 1996）*or subjective motion expression*（Matsumoto 1996a）. It is true that there is no physical movement in the external world, but such expressions reflect human conceptualization of linear entities; that is, the use of a motion verb mirrors visual or mental scanning along the path. On the other hand, these cognitively motivated expressions are linguistically restricted. For instance, the manner-of-motion verb *run* is used in coverage path expressions, whereas *walk* is not.

(5)　　　*The road {**runs** / ***walks** } along the shore.*

In other languages, however, it appears that the counterparts of these English verbs do not behave in exactly the same way.

(6)　　a.　*Der Weg {***rennt*** 　　／ ***läuft*** 　　　／***geht*** }　　　*an der Küste entlang.* 　[German]

　　　　　the road　　run-PRES / run/walk-PRES /walk/go-PRES at the shore   along

　　　　　'The road runs along the shore.'

　　　　b.　*La route {**court**　　／ ***marche*** ／ **chemine** } *le long de la côte.* 　[French]

　　　　　the road　　run-PRES / walk-PRES / walk-PRES the long of the   shore

　　　　　'The road runs along the shore.'

Furthermore, the German motion verb *gehen* 'walk, go' has more extended uses than the English verbs *walk* and *go*. In the following sentence (7a), another kind of fictive motion is

involved.

(7)　a.　*Das Zimmer **geht**　　　　nach Süden.*

　　　　　　the　room　　walk/go-PRES　to　　south

　　　　　　'The　room faces south.'

　　b.　**The room { walks / goes } south.*

　　In this paper, I will analyze semantic features of basic manner-of-motion verbs used in fictive motion expressions, focusing on German and French, and I will discuss the usage extension and semantic attenuation of unmarked motion verbs from the viewpoint of *subjectification*.

２．　Fictive motion expressions with motion verbs

２．１．　Conditions for coverage path expressions

　　Before examining motion verbs in German and French, I must first mention the contrastive study between English and Japanese by Matsumoto (1996a). His research includes suggestive statements unrelated to specific languages about the possibility of use of manner-of-motion verbs in coverage path expressions.

　　Motion verbs are generally classified into two types: path-conflating motion verbs (*pass, cross, enter, reach, rise, curve,* etc.) and manner-of-motion verbs (*walk, zigzag, run, hurry, stride, climb,* etc.). Since the former are suited to coverage path expressions, the question is what kind of manner-of-motion verbs can be used in such expressions. Matsumoto (1996a) examines various verbs closely, and presents the following two conditions which govern both English and Japanese in relation to subjective motion expressions.

(8)　a.　*The path condition*：Some property of the path of motion must be expressed.

　　b.　*The manner condition*：No property of the manner of motion can be expressed unless it is used to represent some correlated property of the path.

(Matsumoto 1996a：194)

These conditions impose certain restrictions on the types of motion verbs and concomitant adpositional and adverbial phrases that occur in subjective motion expressions. To cite some of his examples:

(9)　　　　*The road began to { **ascend** / **descend** / **curve** }.*

(10)　　　**The road began to **run**.*

(11)　　　*The road began to **run** { **straight** / **along the shore** }.*　　(*Ibid.*)

The difference in the acceptability of these three sentences (9-11) demonstrates that, unlike path-conflating motion verbs such as *ascend, descend* and *curve*, the manner-of-motion verb *run* does not imply any path feature of motion. Which means that, for this reason, *run* contravenes *the path condition*.

　　And in cases where this necessary condition is met, *the manner condition* is an absolute

requirement.

(12)   *The road { **walks** / **hurries** / **speeds** / **strides** } *through the park*.

(13)   *The road* { **rambles** / **roams** / **wanders** } *through the park*.   (*Ibid.*)

The comparison between manner-of-motion verbs in （12） and （13） brings the respective properties of manner of these verbs into relief. In contrast with *walk, hurry, speed* and *stride,* the similar verbs *ramble, roam* and *wander* evoke some shape or form relevant to the path. These facts show that most manner-of-motion verbs cannot represent subjective motion because they cannot be readily interpreted as having clear path features correlated with the manners they describe （see Matsumoto 1996a: 196-197）.

The rule prohibiting the use of certain manner-of-motion verbs in coverage path expressions seems to apply to German and French as well. For example, although intransitive *fahren* ʻdriveʼ and *rouler* ʻrollʼ are basic verbs which are the most often used in German and French respectively to express motion events in relation to cars or trains, the vehicles cannot be replaced by the roads or railroads on which they travel. This is the same as with the English verb *drive*.

(14)   *The highway **drives** to Tokyo*.   (*ibid.*: 199)

(15)   a.   { *Der Bus* / **Die Autobahn* } **fährt**   *von Berlin nach München.*

          the   bus /   the freeway   drive-PRES from Berlin   to   Munich

          ʻ{The bus / The freeway} runs from Berlin to Munich.ʼ

     b.   { *Le train* / **Le chemin de fer* } **roule**   *de Paris à Lyon.*

          the train /   the road   of   iron roll-PRES from Paris to Lyon

          ʻ{The train / The railway} runs from Paris to Lyon.ʼ

The unacceptability of using a linear entity as the subject is attributable to the fact that both the German verb *fahren* and the French verb *rouler* still specify a manner unrelated to the shape or form of the path, as does the English verb *drive*. I will go into more detail on the differences between various French manner-of-motion verbs for vehicles later in 2.2.2.

2.2. Basic manner-of-motion verbs in German and French

The English verb *run* and the Japanese verb *hashiru* for *run*, are the only two manner-of-motion verbs that can be used in subjective motion expressions by suppressing information about manner （see Matsumoto 1996a, 1997）.

(16)   a.   *The road* { **runs** / ******walks*** } *along the shore*.

     b.   *Sono michi wa kaigan ni sotte* { **hashitte iru** / ******aruite iru*** }.   [Japanese]

          the   road TOP shore   along   run   ASP / walk   ASP

          ʻThe road runs along the shore.ʼ

Upon analysis of manner-of-motion verbs in other languages, the following kind of phenomenon in Chinese, which works in the opposite way to English, gives a helpful clue.

(17)   *Zhè tiáo lù* { *yán* / *shùn* } *zhè hè* { ****pâo*** / ***zǒu*** }. [Chinese]
        this CL road along / with   PRT river run / walk/go
        'This road goes along the river.'

By pointing out that in Chinese, whereas the verb *pâo* 'run' cannot be used to represent subjective motion, the verb *zǒu* meaning 'walk' or 'go' can, as shown in (17), Matsumoto (1996a: 200) suggests that "it would seem to be a general tendency in languages that only relatively unrestricted and unmarked manner-of-motion verbs can be used to represent subjective motion." In fact, the kind of phenomenon seen here in Chinese is not unique and is observed in various other languages. Perhaps the predominance of the *run* type verb versus the *walk* type verb in fictive motion expressions varies depending on the language.

Now let us return to the German and French examples:

(18) a. *Der Weg* {****rennt*** / ***läuft*** / ***geht*** }   *an der Küste entlang.* [German]
        the road   run-PRES / run-PRES / walk /go-PRES at the shore along
        'The road runs along the shore.'

    b. *La route* { ***court*** / ****marche*** / ***chemine*** } *le long de la côte.* [French]
        the road   run-PRES / walk-PRES / walk-PRES the long of the shore
        'The road runs along the shore.'

The most basic English manner-of-motion verbs *run* and *walk* do not correspond literally to the German and French verbs. In the following sections, I will analyze such motion verbs in German and French separately.

2.2.1. German

In German, *rennen* 'run, race', despite being a cognate of the English verb *run*, cannot be used in fictive motion expressions. Note that *rennen* is more restricted than *laufen* 'run, walk' even in actual motion expressions.

(19) a. *Johann* { ***rannte*** / ***lief*** }   *schnell zum Ausgang.*
        Johann   run-PAST   run-PAST quickly to the exit
        'Johann ran to the exit quickly.'

    b. *Johann* { ?***rannte*** / ***lief*** }   *langsam zum Ausgang.*
        Johann   run-PAST run-PAST slowly   to the exit
        'Johann ran to the exit slowly.'

The difficulty of the collocation of *rennen* and *langsam* exemplifies the verb's lexicalization of the manner of rapidity in running. This difference in semantic constraint between *rennen* and *laufen* influences the possibility of their fictive use.

(20)　a.　*Der Wolf* { **rennt** 　/ **läuft** }　*durch den Wald.*

　　　　the　wolf　　run-PRES / run-PRES through the　forest

　　　　'The wolf runs through the forest.'

　　b.　*Die Autobahn* { ***rennt**　/ **läuft** }　*durch den Wald.*

　　　　the freeway　　　run-PRES / run-PRES through the　forest

　　　　'The freeway runs through the forest.'

The typical manner-of-motion verb *rennen* is not suited for coverage path expressions because it always specifies manner. On the other hand, *laufen* can be used to describe linear entities because it also functions as a motion verb without any manner.

　　Certainly *laufen* is, as it were, an all-around motion verb, but in coverage path expressions, the inseparable-prefix verb verlaufen 'pass, go off' tends to be used more readily than its stem verb.

(21)　　　*Die Bergkette* 　{ **läuft** 　/ **verläuft** } *von Osten nach Westen.*

　　　　the　mountain range run-PRES / pass-PRES　from east　　to　　west

　　　　'The mountain range runs from east to west.'

Intransitive *verlaufen* focuses on the outcome of the motion signified by *laufen*, and therefore has come to express the resultative state of an abstract motion. For this reason, the inseparable-prefix verb is naturally suited for coverage path expressions.

　　In addition to *laufen*, the verb *gehen* meaning 'walk, go' expresses not only walking manner without an adjunct of direction or path but also a simple change of location and a coverage path.[1]

(22)　a.　**Gehen** *ist*　　*gut für die Gesundheit.*

　　　　walk　be-PRES good for　the　health

　　　　'Walking is good for health.'

　　b.　*Hans* **geht**　*zu Fuß ins*　　*Büro.*

　　　　Hans　go-PRES on foot　into the office

　　　　'Hans goes to the office on foot.'

　　c.　*Dieser Zug* **geht**　　*nach Berlin.*

　　　　this　　train go-PRES to　　Berlin

　　　　'This train goes to Berlin.'

　　d.　*Der Radweg* **geht**　　*am*　*Fluß entlang.*

　　　　the　cycle path go-PRES on the river　along

　　　　'The cycle path goes along the river.'

Interestingly, *gehen* represents more abstract motion than *laufen* as follows.

(23)　　　*Mein Zimmer* { **geht**　　/ ***läuft** }　*auf die Straße.*

　　　　my　　room　　　go-PRES / 　run-PRES onto the　street

　　　　'My room faces the street.'

In (23), another kind of fictive motion is involved. I will discuss the usage extension of this verb in 3.2.

2.2.2. French

Let me now move on to the examination of French basic manner-of-motion verbs. In French, *courir* 'run' is polysemous enough to represent fictive motion, in the same way as the English verb *run*. In addition, *marcher* 'walk' and *rouler* 'roll' are used more often than the English verbs *walk* and *roll* respectively for cars or trains as shown below.

(24)   *Le train* { *court   / marche   / roule* }   *à 150 km/h.*

the train   run-PRES / walk-PRES / roll-PRES at 150 km/h

'The train runs at 150 km/h.'

Note that in such actual motion, *courir* has already eliminated manner from the motion, whereas *marcher* and *rouler* have not. The usage of *marcher* for machines to move is based on metaphor, while the usage of *rouler* for vehicles with rotating wheels is based on metonymy. This kind of metaphor and metonymy are not relevant to coverage path expressions, because the referent of the subject is neither a machine nor a vehicle. Therefore, *marcher* and *rouler* which conserve some manner cannot be used in fictive motion expressions.

(25)   *Le chemin de fer* { *court   / *marche / *roule* }   *à travers la plaine.*

the road   of iron run-PRES / walk-PRES / roll-PRES at cross   the plain

'The railway runs through the plain.'

Next, let us consider the properties of the verb *cheminer* meaning 'walk, advance' by comparing it with its synonym *marcher*. Like *marcher*, *cheminer* takes the auxiliary verb *avoir* 'have' in composed forms, as opposed to *être* 'be', and implies neither path nor direction. In order to depict the relation of path or direction in physical change of location, unlike *aller* 'go', these verbs need another preposition besides or instead of the GOAL marker *à* 'to'.

(26)   *Nous sommes allés   au   sommet.*

we   be-PRES go-PAST-PART to the summit

'We went to the summit.'

(27)   *Nous avons   { marché   / cheminé* }   { **au   / jusqu'au   /*

we   have-PRES walk-PAST-PART / walk-PAST-PART   to the   / as far as the   /

vers le }   *sommet.*   (Not intended 'on the summit')

toward the summit

'We walked { (all the way) to / toward } the summit.'

However, whereas *marcher* does not always require information about location, the denominal verb *cheminer*, derived from the noun *chemin* 'way', evokes some concrete location or path rather than walking manner.

(28)   { *Marcher / ?Cheminer* }, *c'est bon pour la santé.*

walk   / walk   it is   good for   the health

'Walking is good for health.'

Seemingly, in contrast with *marcher*, *cheminer* tends to attenuate the meaning of manner. In

fact, it can also function like a simple motion verb without information about manner as shown in（29）quoted from Stosic（2007：84）.

(29)   *Le car **chemine** à travers une vallée*（...） （Tournier M. 1975, *Les Météores*）
       the coach wend-PRES at cross   a   valley

       'The coach wends through a valley.'

It is obviously difficult to substitute *marcher* for *cheminer* in the actual motion expression with path information in（29）. There is no doubt that, in French, too, the elimination of manner from a motion verb allows it to represent fictive motion, as in the following sentence.

(30)   *Le sentier* {**chemine** / ***marche**} *à travers le jardin.*
       the path   walk-PRES / walk-PRES at cross   the garden

       'The path goes through the garden.'

When describing untravellable linear entities, however, *cheminer* is not preferable to *courir*, probably because of the etymological factor.[2]

(31)   *Le câble* {**court** / **chemine**} *15 km sous terre.*
       the cable   run-PRES / walk-PRES 15 km under ground

       'The cable runs 15 km under ground.'

(32)   *Les Alpes* {**courent** / ? **cheminent**} *de l'est à l'ouest.*
       the Alps   run-PRES /   walk-PRES   from the east to the west

       'The Alps run from east to west.'

3. Subjectification

3.1. Mental scanning and motion verbs

Fictive motion expressions, including coverage path expressions, are considered a product of *subjectification*. According to Langacker（1998：88）, "Subjectification is the 'laying bare' of conceptual operations which are immanent in the original lexical meanings and in that sense constitute their deepest properties". For instance, the extended usage of the motion verbs in（33b）and（34b）results from subjectification.[3]

(33)   a. *The balloon* {**rose** / **fell** / **ascended** / **descended**} *rapidly.*

    b. *Beyond the 2000 meter level, the trail* {**rises** / **falls** / **ascends** / **descends**} *quite sharply.*

(34)   a. *The hiker* {**went** / **ran** / **climbed**} *up the hill.*

    b. *The new highway* {**goes** / **runs** / **climbs**} *from the valley floor to the senator's mountain lodge.*   （Langacker 1990b：327）

Langacker（2006：26）illustrates the objective construal and the subjective construal involved in expressions such as（35a）and（35b）with the figures shown below.[4]

(35) a. *The balloon **rose** quite slowly.*

  b. *The trail **rises** steeply near the summit.*

(a)

(b)
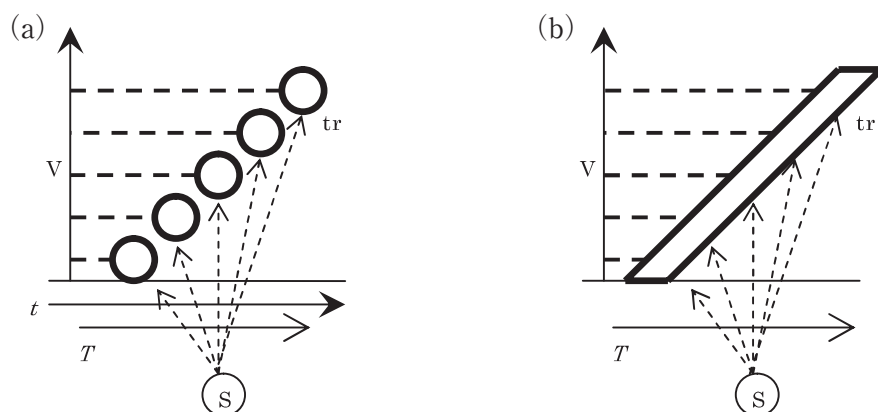
tr = trajector
V = vertical axis
t = processing time
T = time
S = subject of conception

(Langacker 2006∶26)

Figure 1

  These reveal that cognitive operations inherent in the kind of conception of spatial motion that takes place in the case of a dynamic event (Figure 1 (a)) are applied to the static scene (Figure 1 (b)) as a way of mentally accessing it. There is no processing time (*t*) in the static scene in the external world, but time (*T*) is involved in the conceptual world of the subject of conception (S) i.e. the conceptualizer who expresses the linear entity by means of visual or mental scanning. Concrete or abstract, motion necessarily involves time.


3.2. Toward more advanced subjectification

  Since subjectification is a universal cognitive phenomenon, fictive motion expressions are seen in different languages. However, the usage extension of motion verbs varies from language to language. As mentioned above, in German, the motion verb *gehen* has more extended uses than the English verb *go*.

(36) a. *Der Bus **geht**   nach Süden.*

      the   bus go-PRES to   south

      'The bus goes south.'

  b. *Der Weg **geht**   nach Süden.*

      the   road go-PRES to   south

      'The road goes south.'

  c. *Die Terrasse **geht**   nach Süden.*

      the   terrace   go-PRES to   south

      'The terrace faces south.'

Apart from the subject NP, there is nothing syntactically different between the three sentences

in（36）. Their conceptual bases could be depicted in Figure 2.

（a）   （b）   （c）
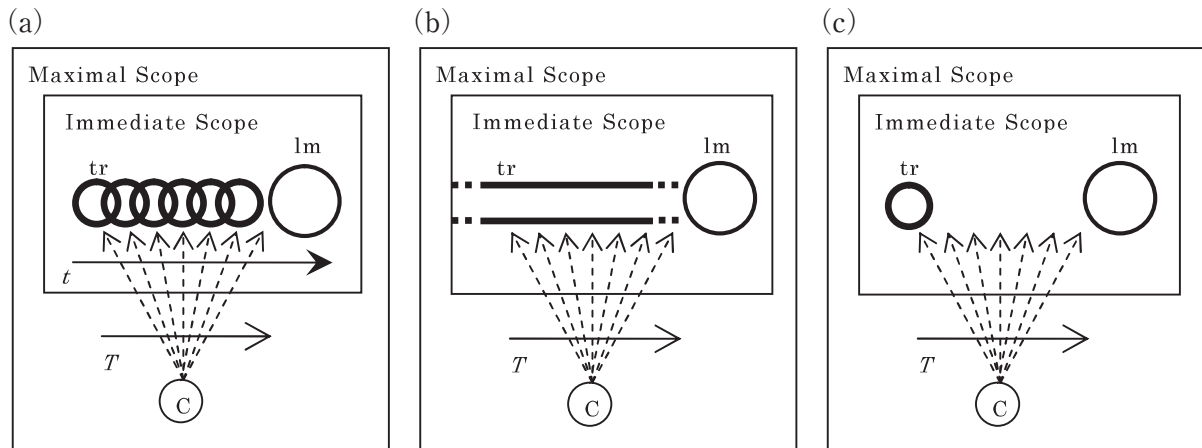
tr = trajector
lm = landmark
C = conceptualizer
t = processing time
T = time

Figure 2

These reveal similarities and differences between the three conceptual structures using expressions with *gehen*. Each figure represents the conceptualizer's construal of the relationship between the trajector（primary focal participant）and the landmark（secondary focal participant）; more specifically, Figure 2（a）describes a dynamic object moving south, Figure 2（b）a static linear entity continuing south, and Figure 2（c）a static individual entity facing south. The sentence（36c）is an emanation expression, not a coverage path expression（cf. *The cliff wall faces **toward** the valley.*（Talmy 2000a：108））and arises from more advanced subjectification. In its typical usage, shown in（36a）, the German motion verb *gehen* describes a motion event involving three semantic features: dynamicity, continuity and directionality. However, the more advanced the subjectification, the greater the semantic attenuation in terms of motion, as follows.

（36a'）: [＋ dynamicity, ＋ continuity, ＋ directionality]

（36b'）: [－ dynamicity, ＋ continuity, ＋ directionality]

（36c'）: [－ dynamicity, － continuity, ＋ directionality]

The conceptual operations involved in the motion event described by *gehen* when used prototypically as in（36a）are still harder to visualize in（36c）than in（36b）because there is no longer any physical connection between the trajector and the landmark. Even so, the direction from the trajector to the landmark alone remains in the conceptualization of the static scene.[5] For this reason, *gehen* also signifies 'face, look'. Such more extended use of the motion verb is motivated by the physical experience of visual emanation.

Finally, note that in French, this type of subjectification is observed in relation to a caused motion verb and not to a self motion verb: it is the three-argument verb *donner* 'give' that expresses fictive emanation.

(37) a. *Jean **donne** un livre à Marie.*

        Jean give-PRES a   book to Marie

        'Jean gives a book to Marie.'

    b. *La chambre **donne** au   sud.*

        the room   give-PRES to the south

        'The room faces south.'

Such a syntactic and semantic change is widely seen in Romance languages. I intend to examine the usage extension of self motion verbs and caused motion verbs through subjectification in different languages in the paper I am currently preparing.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the possibilities of using basic manner-of-motion verbs in fictive motion expressions, focusing on French and German, and I have analyzed their usage extension and semantic attenuation through subjectification.

Firstly, by examining the semantic properties of basic manner-of-motion verbs, I confirmed that the conditions which govern both English and Japanese in relation to fictive motion, as proposed by Matsumoto（1996a：194）, are also valid for German and French. Despite the apparent differences in usage of basic manner-of-motion verbs that exist between languages, elimination of manner from the verbs is indeed a prerequisite condition for fictive motion expressions.

Secondly, I discussed fictive motion from the viewpoint of subjectification, and pointed out that the German unmarked intransitive motion verb comes to extend its use further through subjectification. I demonstrated that, even in such extremely extended usage, at the very least, some kind of conceptual, semantic feature that was originally immanent in its lexical meanings remains. In addition, I pointed out that in Romance languages, including French, this kind of fictive emanation is represented by the unmarked transitive caused motion verb. This suggestion leads me on to my next study.

Finally, I would like to stress that the use of motion verbs in fictive motion expressions is cognitively motivated, that is, fictive motion expressions reflect our subjective construal of static scenes based on the conception of motion events. In as far as we, as human beings, perceive realities through our own sensory organs, it is only natural that subjectivity is involved to some extent in conceptualization and representation.

Notes

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1 ． The verb *laufen* also signifies 'walk'.

   （ⅰ） *Kann Ihr Kind schon* **laufen**?

         can   your child   already walk

         'Can your child walk yet?'

2 ． It is also worth mentioning that the Spanish and Italian cognates derived from the Latin verb *camminare* 'walk' cannot be used in coverage path expressions.

   （ⅰ） a. *El camino* ｛ **corre** ／ *camina ｝ *paralelo al río.* [Spanish]

          the road   run-PRES ／ walk-PRES parallel to the river

          'The road ｛ runs ／ walks ｝ parallel to the river.'

       b. *La strada* ｛ **corre** ／ *cammina ｝ *lungo il fiume.* [Italian]

          the road   run-PRES ／ walk-PRES along the river

          'The road ｛ runs ／ walks ｝ along the river.'

3 ． Instances of usage extension through subjectification are seen not only in verbs but also in prepositions （see Langacker 1990a, 1990b, 1998, 2006, etc.）.

4 ． Langacker （2006：25-26） treats the following metaphorical motion at the same time.

   （ⅰ） *Last year the price of coffee* **rose** *steadily.*

5 ． Langacker （1998：75-76） characterizes subjectification as follows："an objective relationship fades away, leaving behind a subjective relationship that was originally immanent in it （i.e. inherent in its conceptualization）".

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