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CONSTRUCTIONS IN LEARNER LANGUAGE

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Abstract

This paper examines the degree to which learners' L1 typology may affect the comprehension and production of L2 constructions. It has been suggested that English makes more use of constructional meaning than other languages (Goldberg, 2006: 120). Spanish learners of English have been found to face difficulties interpreting constructional meaning when it does not match the verb sense. One of the reasons for this failure may be the lack of a comparable construction in their native language (Martínez Vázquez, 2004).

The caused-motion construction is common to satellite-framed languages but almost inexistent in verb-framed languages. I will hypothesize that learners of English with a source language that has a similar construction will make a better use of constructional meaning than learners whose native language does not contain this form-meaning correspondence. In order to test this hypothesis I made an extensive search for Motion

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verbs in the ICLE (*International Corpus of Learner English*). The writing produced by native speakers of three satellite-framed languages (German, Dutch and Swedish) was contrasted with the production of native speakers of verb-framed languages (Spanish, French and Italian). The results supply evidence of how the typology of the source language may facilitate or hinder the learning process.

Key words: Motion events, learner language, constructions.

1. Introduction

Talmy (1985, 2000) defines the basic Motion event as a "situation containing movement or the maintenance of a stationary location" (1985: 60). It involves the following four basic internal components: Figure, Ground (which may include Source, Medium and Goal), Path and Motion. Besides these elements, he considers two properties that add semantic information: Manner of Motion/Location −*the pencil rolled off the table/the pencil lay on the table*− and cause of Motion/Location −*the pencil blew off the table/the pencil stuck on (to) the table (after I glued it)*. (1985: 61)

Slobin (2005) finds the following shared components in his analysis of Motion events of different languages: Figure, Motion, Path, Manner, Goal, and Deixis. All but the last are common to all the languages analysed. Following Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) he generalizes Goal to Ground including, thus, Source, Landmark, and Medium of Motion (2005: 3).

Motion may be faced from an aspectual angle. In her approach to argument realization Tenny postulates that events without overt direct arguments may be delimited by the addition of an aspectual role, the Terminus, which signals "the endpoint of a course traversed in measuring out the event, and which defines the temporal endpoint of the event." (1994: 95)

For Tenny (1994: 196), the difference between the intransitive verbs with an argument which does not necessarily undergo displacement, and the structures which include Motion along a Path lies in the lack or absence of aspectual roles: the Manner of Motion event has no aspectual roles, whereas the sense of motion along a path entails a Path and a Terminus. She defines the following productive rule in English:

Rule for acquiring aspectual roles:
[ ] → [PATH, TERMINUS]
for verbs with Manner-of-Motion in their conceptual structure.
Audrey tiptoed. [ ]
Audrey tiptoed to the door. [PATH, TERMINUS] (Tenny, 1994: 198)

This aspectual change produces more than just an extension of meaning. The new verb, as Levin (1993: 106) points out, may be paraphrased as 'go by V-ing', (i.e. go by tiptoeing). This new sense involves a change in the logical structure of the sentence. The idea of 'tiptoeing' becomes secondary information; the main process –directed Motion– is conveyed by the telic Path phrase 'to get to an endpoint' and *tiptoe* is relegated to secondary Manner information. This mismatch between syntactic and conceptual structure does not naturally occur in Romance languages, which maintain the underlying conceptual structure at a syntactic level. Thus, when we add a Path and a Terminus to a Spanish sentence with a Manner of Motion verb, as in (1), the new pattern, shows the resulting main conceptual event (Motion) in the verb slot whereas the secondary semantic predicate (Manner) appears in an oblique position,

(1) Andrés corrió (Manner of Motion)
'Andrew ran'

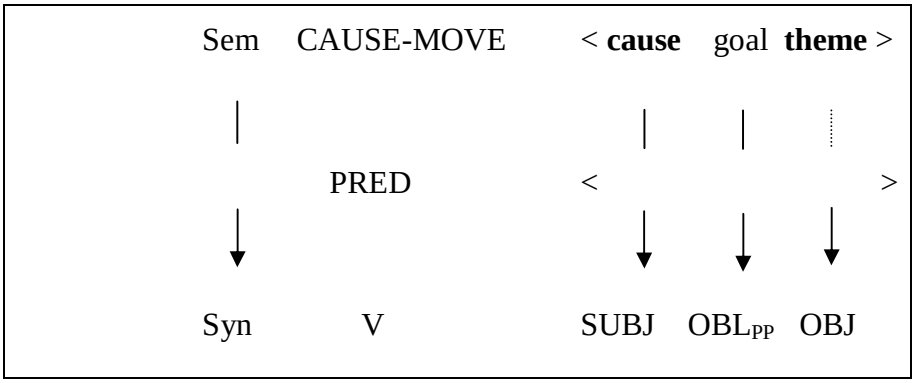
(2) Andrés fue(Motion) a la puerta(Terminus) corriendo (Manner)
'Andrew went to the door running'

Construction Grammar provides an analysis that integrates these mismatches by considering both the semantics of the verb and the construction. For example, a ditransitive pattern implies a sense of transfer or "giving", which is also present in the meaning of the verb *give*. However, this sense of transfer is not implicit in a verb like *kick*. But if we insert *kick* in a ditransitive pattern the sense of transfer will immediately emerge. As Bencini and Golberg state, in a sentence like *Kim kicked Pat the ball*, "the construction contributes the overall meaning of "X causes Y to receive Z", while the

verb specifies the means by which the transfer is achieved, i.e., the act of kicking." (2000: 642). Thus the meaning of the construction may not match the meaning of the verb.

Goldberg's analysis of the caused-motion construction includes the following semantic elements: CAUSE-MOVE, cause, goal and theme**.** When a verb like *kick* fuses with the caused-motion construction, it expresses the Means[1] by which the CAUSE-MOVE relation is achieved, whereas the construction contributes a Theme and a Goal role to the verb's semantics.

Caused-Motion Construction (Goldberg 1995: 88)



"Joe kicked the bottle into the yard"

The element responsible for the causative reading, i.e., what makes a verb like *kick* become a "CAUSE-MOVE" verb, is the presence of a Goal role, which is contributed by the construction.

2. Motion events across languages

Empirical evidence has proved this important difference in the way people express Motion crosslinguistically (Talmy, 1985, 1991, 2000; Slobin 1996, 2004, 2005; among others). Speakers of the so-called "satellite-framed" languages, like English,

[1] As Goldberg points out (1995: 232 n. 20) in most conflation patterns with Manner verbs, the "Manner" is also the means of Motion. Thus, *The bottle rolled down the hill* entails both "it moved down *while/by* rolling".

express Path in a particle, whereas speakers of "verb-framed" languages, like Spanish, use Path verbs. Besides, speakers of satellite-framed languages usually add a Manner component in the description of events, (3), which is usually absent in the description of the same event by speakers of verb-framed languages, (4).

(3) He ran in.
Verb (Motion + Manner) Satellite (Path)

(4) Entró. ('He entered')
Verb (Motion + Path)

There is a general consensus about the fact that Spanish does not permit this conflation of Manner and Motion in the verb (cf. Talmy, 1985, 2000; Aske, 1989; Slobin, 1996; Jackendoff 1995; Mora, 1999, and Martínez Vázquez, 2001). While in English the construction may contribute a specific meaning to the interpretation of the sentence –directed Motion– which is not implied by the verb itself, this fusion does not seem to be felicitous in Spanish.[2] In fact, Slobin's analysis of translations shows that Spanish translators omit Manner information half of the time, whereas a Manner component is actually added by English translators (1996: 212). When both Manner and Motion are translated the result is either unnatural or emphatic, as Slobin illustrates with the following example.

(5) She rustled out of the room.
Salió del cuarto, acompañada del susurro siseante de sus ropas... (Slobin 1996: 212)

Thus, the translation of a recurrent structure in English –*he walked in*– would give a pragmatically odd sentence in Spanish –*entró andando*, 'he entered walking'– unless we imagine a situation in which walking would be emphasised (i.e. he was in a wheelchair).[3]

[2] See, however, Martínez Vázquez (2001: 48) for exceptions. Cifuentes (1999: 127 & ff.) also points out that this conflation is infrequent but not inexistent in Spanish.

[3] See Martínez Vázquez for more contrastive data (2001).

2.1. Learners Acquisition of Argument Structure

This main difference in the conceptualization of Motion poses a problem for Spanish learners of English. Spanish speakers tend to rely more on lexical meaning, failing to see the Motion component provided by the construction. Martínez Vázquez (2004), replicated the sorting task in Bencini and Goldberg (2000)[4] to find out if Spanish learners of English only pay attention to the meaning of lexical items, or if they also rely on the semantics provided by a certain word order in the sentence, as a further source of content. All participants were native speakers of Spanish in an intermediate English University course and ranged from 19 to 23 years of age. They were given the *stimuli* used by Bencini and Goldberg (2000) in their sorting experiment: sixteen English sentences obtained by crossing the verbs *throw, slice, get* and *take* and four constructions, *ditransitive, caused-motion, resultative* and *transitive*:

Transitive
Anita threw the hammer
Michelle got the book
Barbara sliced the bread
Audrey took the watch
Ditransitive
Chris threw Linda the pencil
Beth got Liz an invitation
Jennifer sliced Terry an apple
Paula took Sue a message
caused-motion
Pat threw the keys onto the roof
Laura got the ball into the net
Meg sliced the ham onto the plate
Kim took the rose into the house
Resultative
Lyn threw the box apart
Dana got the mattress inflated
Nancy sliced the tire open
Rachel took the wall down

(Bencini and Goldberg, 2000)

[4] In order to support the idea that constructions aid in the interpretation of sentence meaning, Bencini and Goldberg (2000) conducted an experiment were adult participants were asked to sort sentences according to their meaning. The subjects were asked to sort the sentences into four piles of four sentences each, based on the general meaning of the sentence; 7 out of 17 sorted entirely by construction and the other 10 produced mixed sorts. This would prove that people recognize constructional meanings and suggests that constructions may be 'natural' linguistic categories easily recognized by speakers.

The subjects were asked to translate the examples into Spanish first, and then sort them into four piles of four sentences each, based on the semantics of the sentence. Four out of sixteen participants sorted entirely by constructions while only two sorted entirely by verbs. The rest made mixed sorts. In order to analyze the mixed piles, I calculated the deviation score from an entirely verb classification to an entirely constructional classification (as in Bencini and Goldberg, 2000). The deviation score from an entirely verb-based sort was 6.0, which signals the average number of changes required to have a classification entirely by verbs; the constructional deviation score was 6.75, which shows the average number of changes needed for a constructional organization. These results show that Spanish learners recognized English constructional meaning.[5]

The analysis of translations, however, revealed a different degree in the comprehension of constructions; some constructions were less recognizable than others. This was the case with constructions that were not redundant with the verb meaning and which did not have an equivalent in Spanish: the resultative and the cause-Motion constructions.

As Fauconnier and Turner state "Many languages have a form analogous to NP V NP PP for verbs of caused-motion like "throw", but only some of those languages, like English, have developed a cause-Motion construction to express the more general integration of a causal sequence of action and Motion." (1996: 118). Goldberg (2006: 120) also remarks how English relies more on constructional meaning than other languages:

> "The verbs in many languages are more restrictive than they are in English, only appearing in constructions that match their meanings. Verbs in Latinate languages, Turkish, and Hindi, for example, do not appear in anything like the range of constructions that they do in English even though they have quite parallel meanings".

[5] Goldberg (2006) mentions two other studies which replicated this experiment with second language learners: Liang (2002), with Chinese learners of English (early, intermediate and advanced learners), and Gries and Wulff (2004) with German advanced learners of English. Both reported that learners relied heavily on constructions. Martínez Vázquez (2004) also preformed a similar sorting task with American learners of Spanish, who also recognized Spanish constructions.

In Spanish it is not possible to integrate a verb which does not imply Motion, like *slice*, in a caused-motion construction, as in the following English example used in the sorting experiment:

(6) Meg sliced the ham onto the plate
'X MANNER Y into PATH'

The analysis of the translation that the students in the experiment were asked to do prior to the sorting process reveals this fact. Most students opted for a sentence in which the Manner component was maintained, thus failing to comprehend the constructional meaning. Thus, 13 students out of 30 kept Manner and ignored the Motion component, as in (7), 9 of them translated only the Path, (8), and 8 kept both the Path and the Manner components, (9).

(7) Meg cortó el jamón en el plato. (Manner)
(8) Meg metió el jamón en el plato. (Path)
(9) Meg cortó el jamón y lo metió en el plato. (Path + Manner)

The caused-motion construction is not explicitly included in the English L2 curriculum, and learners who have not been exposed to enough input will not have enough information as to make the right generalization, so they fail to get the constructional meaning. Such is the case of the students who only translated the Manner component and failed to see the Motion meaning contributed by the construction.

2.2. Motion Events in Interlanguage

We have reported above on the difficulties faced by Spanish learners of English in the interpretation of Motion constructions with verbs that do not entail Motion. In what follows we are going to examine the production of Motion events by learners of

English from different native languages. The aim is to investigate the influence of L1 typological patterns in L2[6].

As pointed out in section 2, Talmy's typological proposal has been empirically supported by several studies. However, the consequences of this typological difference have not been fully examined in the L2 acquisition literature. Navarro and Nicoladis (2005: 103) state that to their knowledge "no previous study has investigated the lexicalization of Motion events in interlanguage." Their research is thus presented as "a first attempt to investigate crosslinguistic effect in L1 English-L2 Spanish adult speakers". Their analysis of Spanish oral narratives produced by adult English native speakers showed that they had almost completely succeeded in acquiring the Spanish typology. This success, in spite of the lack of explicit inclusion of Motion events in the Spanish L2 curriculum, is explained as a natural consequence of the pervasiveness of Motion in human communication (Talmy 1985, 2000). Thus, these researchers propose that learners are implicitly supplied with enough input in their daily interaction with instructors or native speakers to acquire the lexicalization pattern. (p.107)

Cadierno and Ruiz (2006) conducted another empirical study of Motion events in L2 Spanish. They focused on the elicited narratives produced by advanced University learners of Spanish from two typological different native languages: Danish and Italian. Their production was compared to the writing of a control group of Spanish native speakers. Their fine-grained categorization of Motion incorporates physical and fictive Motion (with visual verbs). The former includes non-Translational and Translational Motion, which sub-divides into three categories: Displacement, Change of Position and Manner of Motion. The latter, which is the focus of this research, is divided into "a telic construction" with +Directionality, +Spatial incidence and +Directional complement, as in "*correr hasta/hacia la playa* 'run up to/towards the beach'" and "atelic constructions" with the features -Directionality, -Spatial incidence and ±Directional complement as in "*correr en el parque* 'run in the park' and *correr todos los días* 'run every day'"[7] (pp. 196-197). The analysis of the data takes them to the following conclusion:

[6] L1 refers to native language, and L2 stands for foreign language throughout this paper.

[7] It is misleading, however, their use of the term "telic" for constructions with directional phrases which do not entail an endpoint as in *correr hacia la playa* 'run towards the beach': *Corrió hacia la

> The hypothesis posited at the outset of the study, which stated that the Danish learner of Spanish would exhibit a higher degree of elaboration of the semantic components of Path and Manner of motion given the influence of the L1 thinking for speaking patterns, were, for the most part, not supported by the results of this study. (p. 207)

The studies mentioned above focus on a verb-framed language: Spanish. No analysis, as far as I know, has investigated caused-motion constructions in the interlanguage of learners of English. The present study, thus, takes a different perspective: the acquisitional process of L1 (French, Spanish, Italian, German, Swedish or Dutch) – L2 English.

3. Experimental procedure

For the analysis of the interlanguage of learners of English, researchers have a valuable computer corpus, the ICLE (*International Corpus of Learner English*), compiled by Sylviane Granger and a team of researchers from different European Universities at the Louvain Centre for English Corpus Linguistics. The ICLE contains over two million words of writing (3640 learner texts) by higher intermediate to advanced learners of English as a foreign language from eleven different mother tongue backgrounds (Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish).[8]

The texts written by native speakers of three satellite-framed languages – German, Swedish and Dutch– and three verb-framed languages –Spanish, French and Italian– were extracted from the ICLE. The number of words of the two language families in these subcorpora is shown in table 1.

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playa en cinco minutes ((‘s/he ran towards the beach in five minutes’) / Corrió hacia la playa durante cinco minutes ((‘s/he ran towards the beach during five minutes’).

[8] The corpus used here is version 1.1. (2002). The research team has continued compiling learner texts since then, but they are only available to the researchers involved in the project.

L1 typology	L1	No. of words
Satellite-framed	German	238.567
	Swedish	282.591
	Dutch	233.791
Verb-framed	Spanish	198.474
	French	205.892
	Italian	228.926

Table 1. Size of subcorpora

I chose 20 Manner-of-Motion verbs from the list of *run*-verbs presented in Levin (1993: 265-266). As a subclass of Manner-of-Motion verbs these verbs describe the Motion of animate entities "in a particular Manner or by a particular means" without implying a specific direction, unless there is a directional phrase (1993: 267). The Concordance application of *WordSmith Tools* was used to extract all the sentences with these verbs. They were then introduced in a database, classified by sentences.

All the instances without a clear Motion meaning had to be discarded. Motion verbs have developed a great variety of different senses. Thus, for example, the initial list of instances with the verb *run* in the German L1 subcorpus contained 73 sentences. After discarding instances of the resulting copulative verb – *run wild*– and other sentences which did not entail Motion, such as *run a business, run out of, run the risk,* etc., only 16 Motion events were left.

Sentences with a novel figurative sense were kept. The use of these expressions presupposes a creative formation process on the part of the speaker, as opposed to fixed figurative expressions, which are used as stored lexical units and, therefore, do not involve any type of constructional creation. It has been argued that conventional metaphors use the more salient target meaning as opposed to novel metaphors, which activate first the source domain. Thus, in a conventional metaphor like "grasp the situation" the more salient figurative meaning –to understand– would be activated first, while the literal meaning would not need to be accessed.[9] If this is correct, the literal, source domain of conventional figurative expressions with the verb run – *She ran out of*

[9] Quoted by Norman Holland in Cogling-L from Lisa Aziz-Zadeha, and Antonio Damasio. Embodied semantics for actions: Findings from functional brain imaging. PMID: 18472250 [PubMed - as supplied by publisher].

sugar – would not activate the source Motion meaning, whereas in novel figurative expressions, as in (10)-(14), the literal Motion sense would be accessed first.

(10) …infiltrators are expected to climb in the criminal organisation… (DU)
(11) A born dealer will swim the turbid waters of Wall-Street like… (GE)
(12) If we jump back to the fifteenth century… (FR)
(13) …and this can't permit fly their imagination… (SP)
(14) …and all my lines seemed to float around in a mess in my head. (SW)

The main objective of this corpus analysis was to examine the way learners produce a constructional meaning which does not necessarily match the semantics of the verb; more precisely, the aim was to see if learners add directional phrases to verbs which do not involve directed Motion, creating thus a constructional meaning. This construction is alien to verb-framed languages. The element responsible for the directed Motion sense, as pointed out in section 2, is the presence of a Goal or Terminus. Thus, if the prediction is correct, a Spanish, French or Italian learner would express Motion in English through constructions with a structure resembling their L1 typology, as in (15). The native speaker of satellite-framed languages, on the other hand, would be expected to produce L2 sentences with a richer variety of Manner of Motion verbs plus a Satellite expressing the Path, as in (16).

(15) NP V $_{(Path)}$ Non-finite V $_{(Manner)}$
(16) NP V $_{(Manner)}$ PP $_{(Path)}$

4. Results

The total number of instances with the selected Manner of Motion verbs in our corpus was 375 (tokens), with 15 types, ranging from high frequency verbs like *run* to verbs implying a more salient Manner of Motion, like *stumble, amble, sneak* or *creep*, which showed a lower productivity. There were 5 of the initially selected list of Manner of Motion verbs which never occurred in the corpus: *bounce, glide, skip, slide,* and *tiptoe*. Table 2 shows the types and tokens distribution.

types	number of tokens	percentage of tokens
amble	1	0,3%
climb	30	8.0 %
crawl	8	4,8%
creep	6	1,6%
float	11	2,9%
fly	47	12,5%
hurry	13	3,5%
jump	33	8,8%
roll	11	2,9%
run	67	17,9%
sneak	5	1,3%
stroll	17	4,5%
stumble	4	1,0%
swim	16	4,3%
walk	109	29,0%

Table 2. Types and tokens of Manner of Motion verbs in the corpus

The distribution by language typology reveals a higher production of constructions with Motion verbs by the satellite-framed L1 speakers (see table 3)

L1 typology	L1	number of tokens	rate per 1000 words[10]
Satellite-framed	German	136	57
	Swedish	78	28
	Dutch	75	32
Verb-framed	Spanish	19	10
	French	19	9
	Italian	46	20

Table 3. Motion verbs in the corpus

As discussed in section 1, caused-motion constructions imply the presence of an endpoint. It is the addition of this argument what changes the general scene from Manner of Motion to caused-motion. It is precisely at this point where learners of verb-framed languages get confused and stick to the original Manner of Motion sense, failing to see the new constructional meaning, as discussed in section 2.1. From the 375

[10] A rate has been calculated to equalize the results of the different subcorpora (tokens ÷ number of words in the subcorpus) x 1000.

examples of Motion constructions produced by learners of English, 94 examples contained a Goal. Native speakers of verb-framed languages produced only 11, while native speakers of satellite-framed languages wrote the other 83 constructions. Table 4 shows the distribution of caused-motion constructions by L1.

L1 typology	native language	NP V $PP_{(goal)}$	rate per 1000 words
Satellite-framed	German	35	14.67
	Swedish	28	9.90
	Dutch	20	8.55
Verb-framed	Spanish	3	1.51
	French	2	0.97
	Italian	6	2.62

Table 4. Caused-Motion constructions in corpus

5. Discussion

The quantitative corpus analysis confirms that learners of satellite-framed languages make more use of caused-motion constructions than learners with a verb-framed L1, as was predicted. This might suggest an influence of the mother tongue typology in their codification of caused-motion constructions.

A qualitative analysis of the corpus data will throw more light on the role of L1 in L2 constructional production. Learners with a satellite-framed L1 did not only produce more caused-motion construction but also with a richer variety of Manner of Motion verbs (see table 5). This agrees with Slobin's (2004) assessment that the lexicon of satellite-framed languages includes more, and more salient Manner of Motion verbs.

L1	types
German	*climb, fly, hurry, jump, roll, sneak, stroll, run* and *walk*
Swedish	*climb, crawl, fly, jump, run, sneak and walk*
Dutch	*creep, float, run, sneak, stumble* and *walk*
Italian	*fly, hurry, walk, run*
French	*Fly*
Spanish	*Fly*

Table 5. Distribution of verbs in caused-motion constructions

Native speakers of Spanish and French made a very poor use of constructional meaning. In fact, from the list of Manner of Motion verbs in the corpus the only verb with a Goal was *fly*. Notice that all but (17) imply a figurative use of the verb:[11]

(17) … to buy a beautiful new car, to fly to the tropical islands for the holidays… (FR)

(18) Do you have time to dream, to fly away just a few minutes while staring out from your office window? (FR)

(19) … we could fly to another worlds which could offer us satisfactions without material things. (SP)

(20) The masses fly from reality to dreams of passion, happiness, richness and pleasure; (SP)

(21) Constance and Hastings are flying away but Mrs. Hardcastle knows before their go and takes her to another place. (SP)

Native speakers of Italian were more creative; they made use of 4 different verbs in the caused-motion construction: *fly, run,*[12] *hurry*, and *walk*. Both occurrences of the verb *fly* exhibit a figurative sense, as in the Italian and Spanish L1 subcorpora.

[11] The examples from the corpus have been shortened but kept literal, with the mistakes learners may have made.

[12] In Italian, the verbs *run* and *fly* may express just Manner of Motion or Manner + directed Motion. What is interesting is that they are used as unergative (with the auxiliary *avere*) when they express Manner of Motion, and unaccusative (with the auxiliary essere) when they entail change of position. Alonge (1995) illustrates this difference with the following corpus examples:

(22) And what about books? Some of them just make you fly to another world … (IT)

(23) Dreams are important, we can fly away with fantasy but we must come back and make a distinction of what is real and what is not. (IT)

The only example with the verb *run* in the Italian subcorpus involves non-specific Motion, and is, in fact, a mirror of the Italian expression *correre da una parte all'altra*:

(24) …or the doctors, who have to run from a place to another … (IT)

The constructions found with the verbs *hurry* and *walk* are used in a more native-like fashion. Notice, however, that the use of *hurry* in a caused-motion construction, (25), alternates in the corpus, with the non-conflated pattern, (26), which contains two separate predicates, one for Manner of Motion (*hurry*) and another expressing the Goal (*arrive at school*), in the same way verb-framed languages do.

(25) … the typical description of modern man is certainly sad: always hurrying to work, always trying to earn as much money as possible and … (IT)

(26) Since childhood we have been accustomed to hurry up to arrive on time at school. (IT)

Finally, we find two caused-motion constructions with the verb *walk*, though both were produced by the same student:

(27) I finally found enough courage to walk into a store, and demanded to see one. (IT)

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1. Sono corso da mio padre (unaccusative)
2. Ho corso come un cavallo (*da mio padre) (unergative)
3. Alessandro Conforto e` volato a Seattle (unaccusative)
4. Il senatore che ha volato con lo Shuttle (*sulla luna) (unergative).

(28) I got it in 45 minutes, less than it took me to walk back to the store, from the department of motor vehicles. (IT)

Learners of satellite-framed languages wrote the other 83 examples of caused-motion constructions. Germans were the speakers who created most of these constructions, a total of 35 examples, with 9 different Manner-of-Motion verbs: *hurry, jump, walk, roll, climb, fly, sneak, stroll* and *run*. An example of each verb type is given under (29)-(37).

(29) It would be quite uncomfortable to hurry to the phone box… (GE)
(30) Slowly I walk to my wardrobe, take out the old suitcase. (GE)
(31) … she too must be able to jump into her flashy, red "Ford Fiesta… (GE)
(32) … they roll off to a disco … (GE)
(33) Everyone was in a hilarious mood when they climbed up and demolished the Berlin Wall. (GE)
(34) Deers, birds, rats have to flie into one of the few streets and areas without traffic. (GE)
(35) At first you feel like an intruder, a spy, like someone who sneaked in and…(GE)
(36) … somebody who has to run into the bathroom in order to…(GE)
(37) So I strolled to the "Christkindlesmarkt" … (GE)

The Swedish L1 learners produced 28 caused-motion constructions, with the verbs *jump, climb, run, walk sneak, crawl* and *fly*.

(38) … the East will jump on the train of a united Western… (SW)
(39) I never hesitate to climb out of my bed and walk to the… (SW)
(40) …you will find that you don't have to run to the garbage disposal area. (SW)
(41) …who is banished from the house, has to sneak in to see her. (SW)
(42) The russian mafia is crawling into Finland, are we able to stop it. (SW)
(43) Walking into the theatre alone and being stared at is something… (SW)

(44) …envied the birds and their freedom to fly away wherever they want. (SW)

Finally, the Dutch L1 learners formed 20 caused-motion constructions with six different verbs of Motion: *run, sneak, creep, float, stumble* and *walk*.

(45) He spends a lot of time in the open and sometimes sneaks out at night to sleep there. (DU)
(46) The question mentioned above creeps in: what exactly is terrorism and … (DU)
(47) …the income out of tourism in the Third World countries floating back to, the Western economies. (DU)
(48) Too many people think that a teacher's task is to walk into the classroom, give his lesson and leave the classroom again. (DU)
(49) …when he is fortunate enough to stumble upon a shop selling specialities from his own country, he is bound to go…(DU)
(50) …when he gets to far separated from his wife and children he runs off, at the same time Huck does. (DU)

These results confirm the idea that speakers of satellite-framed languages pay more attention to Manner of Motion than speakers of verb-framed languages, and that the former are more familiar with the caused-motion construction than the latter. This would indicate that their different L1 typologies influence the way they express Motion events in English.

At first sight, our data may appear to be inconsistent with the findings of Cadierno and Ruiz (2006) and Navarro and Nicoladis (2005) on the interlanguage of advanced learners of Spanish, who showed a better level of achievement than our verb-framed L1 speakers of English. However, the differences may be explained by the fact that the learning process between the two typologically different languages is not necessarily reciprocal. Verb-framed typological patterns are easier to learn than satellite-framed patterns, since the former are lexically based while the latter involve a conflation pattern. The incorporation of both the lexical meaning of the verb and a

constructional meaning implies a higher level of abstraction, which makes it more difficult to learn:

> "Unlike verbs, argument structure constructions are very abstract; in languages like English, there is typically no overt morphological cue, and their existence can only be induced by a combination of argument types and word order facts." (Goldberg, Casenhiser and Sethuraman, 2004: 15)

The acquisition of constructional meaning in L1 is viewed as a process of generalization over the semantics of patterns used with general purpose verbs (Brooks and Tomasello 1999; Tomasello 2003; Goldberg, Casenhiser and Sethuraman 2004, Golberg 2006).

This leads to another important issue: the input the learner receives. Learners of a foreign language are not exposed to as much input as children learning their native language are. Besides, as pointed out by Navarro and Nicoladis (2005), Motion events are not included in the L2 curriculum. However, they suggest that since Motion is a recurrent topic in conversations, in their communication with their language instructors or native speakers "L2 learners have multiple possibilities of negotiating meaning that involves movement or its description." (2005: 106-107). This input may be enough for acquiring the Spanish typology, which, as pointed out before, expresses motion patterns at a lexical, not constructional level. However, the L2 learner of English requires a higher cognitive effort to fully comprehend constructional meaning.

Another important issue besides the amount of input learners receive, is the type of English they are exposed to. Frawley makes a very interesting warning about Talmy's typological dichotomy:

> The difference in encoding between Spanish and English apparently holds only for colloquial speech. More formal English does have a number of verbs that inherently express the path, *ascend, descend, enter, join, cross,* though these are all borrowed from French, which is like Spanish. (1992: 178).

If the learner is exposed to formal English, i.e. Academic English, she might be confronted with, at least, both typologies. And when it comes to writing, as is the case in our corpus, the student may use the Romance typology with success. The fact that most Romance path verbs have an English equivalent facilitates the learners' production of English motion events. Since the transfer turns out to be felicitous, and sometimes even more appropriate, especially in Academic English, the learner will not get the feedback required to change into a new pattern.

The Learners' level of English is also another element not to be overlooked. Lian (2002) reported that advanced Chinese learners of English produced more constructions-based sorts than intermediate or early learners (cited by Goldberg, 2006: 116-117). Both Navarro and Nicoladis (2005) and Cadierno and Ruiz (2006) investigated the interlanguage of advanced students. The ICLE contains the interlanguage of intermediate to advanced learners. A search for motion conflation patterns in learner English at different levels should throw more light on the acquisition of the new typology.

6. Concluding remarks

The quantitative and qualitative analyses of the texts extracted from the ICLE confirm the initial prediction that learners are influenced by their mother tongue typology in their codification of caused-motion constructions in English.

Constructions are considered to be the result of integrating the verb with the construction. This abstraction level is achieved after a process of generalization beyond verb-centered constructions. The comprehension of constructional meaning requires a higher cognitive effort for foreign language learners whose native language lacks a similar constructional pattern. It has been proved that Spanish learners find problems in the decodification of English constructional meaning, especially when the constructional meaning is not redundant with the verb meaning and when it does not have an equivalent in Spanish. (Martínez Vázquez, 2004).

When it comes to production, more difficulties arise. The analysis of motion constructions in the interlanguage of learners of English shows a greater achievement of

the caused-motion construction by learners whose native language contains this typological pattern than by native speakers of verb-framed languages. Since the caused-motion construction is not the only way of achieving a felicitous communication when describing motion events in English, but is more a rhetorical option (Frawley, 1992; Berman and Slobin, 1994), learners of verb-framed languages stick to their typological patterns, which express a less salient Manner of Motion and, thus, fit better their thinking for speaking model.

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