

Delimited events in English and Spanish

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ABSTRACT

Tenny (1994) has pointed out that verbs may be delimited by inserting an NP which will measure out the event. Alternatively, the addition of a terminus delimits a manner of motion event (cf. *Carmen walked to school*). Research on motion events (Talmy 1985; Tenny 1994; Jackendoff 1990; Aske 1989; Slobin 1996; Mora 1999; among others) has shown that Spanish, as other Romance languages, does not conflate manner and motion in the verb. Thus, *The bottle floated out of the cave* becomes *La botella salió de la cueva (flotando)* ('the bottle moved-out from the cave'). However, an extensive search for motion events in the CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*) reveals numerous examples which conflate manner and motion in the verb. The pattern might have been introduced gradually, first with general motion verbs like *caminar* ('walk') or *correr* ('run'), which are more productive in a delimited sense, and has extended to events that mark the manner more saliently, like *saltar* ('jump'). Atelic path phrases are more compatible with Spanish manner of motion verbs but, *contra* Aske, telic path phrases are also attested.

1. DELIMITEDNESS

In the voluminous literature on aspect there is a certain amount of agreement on the distinction of events that can go on for an indefinite period of time from those having an end point. In Vendler's aspectual classification *states* and *activities* belong to the former group whereas *accomplishments* and *achievements* belong to the latter class. A similar distinction is drawn by Comrie, who employs the terminology *atelic/telic* to signal this dichotomy. Tenny explains this aspectual property in terms of delimitedness.

There is also a general consensus that this aspectual distinction does not involve only verbs, but also at least verb phrases. Thus, inherent end points can be added to activity verbs by simply introducing an internal argument:

- (1) Sonia danced.
- (2) Sonia danced a samba.

The intransitive verb *dance* in (1) describes an activity, following Vendler's aspectual classification, i.e. it has no inherent end point. In (2) the activity verb has been turned into an achievement by including an end point.

The aspectual distinction between atelic and telic situations has been compared to the distinction between mass and count nouns. Activities like mass nouns do not have minimal parts; as Wyngaerd (1998: 91) notes, sand can be divided into subparts of sand which are still sand, but if you divide a table into pieces you no longer have a table, because a piece of a table is not a table. Equally a subpart of the event of dancing is still an event of dancing, if you just dance a part of it you have performed the process of dancing; but if you only dance a part of a samba we can not conclude that you have danced a samba. Mass nouns like activity verbs can be delimited (*a bottle of beer, a piece of meat*). Tenny explains it in terms of space. She applies the concept of "spatial delimitedness" (1987: 113): a count noun like *apple* refers to a spatially delimited thing, while *snow* describes something which is undefined in extent; it has no clear boundaries. The latter property is shared by bare plurals, i.e. *eat apples*.

The distinction has also been taken to the adjectival domain. As Wyngaerd (1998) notes there are bounded and unbounded adjectives. An intensifier like *very* that qualifies unbounded scales shows the distinction: you may say *the door is very big*, but not **the door is very open*, since *big* is not bounded whereas *open* is. This bounded scalar property is not necessarily an inherent property of adjectives: *open* is unbounded when referring to an attitude (cf. *She had an open nature*). As Wyngaerd concludes "there would be hardly any adjective of the bounded scale variety that cannot be used in an unbounded fashion" (1998: 83)¹. The following examples from the Brown corpus illustrate this statement (*italics are mine*):

- (3) Chabrier's little one-act operetta, presented yesterday afternoon at Town Hall, is a fragile, precious little piece, *very French*, not without wit and charm. (Brown: C07 96)
- (4) It recalls those words of another psalm: "God is our refuge and strength, a *very present* help in trouble. (Brown: D07 104)

- (5) The maid was *very black* and very energetic, trim in a yellow pique uniform.
(Brown: K12 38)

On the contrary, verbs seem to be always open to a bounded interpretation. As Dowty notes “I have not been able to find a single activity verb which cannot have an accomplishment sense in at least some special context.” (1972: 28).

2. EVENT MEASURERS

Aspect has recently been claimed to play an important role in the syntax/semantics interface. Tenny claims that the direct internal argument can play the fundamental role of measuring out the event described by the verb:

Measuring-Out Constraint on Direct Internal Arguments:

- (i) The direct internal argument of a simple verb is constrained so that it undergoes no necessary internal motion or change, unless it is motion or change which ‘measures out the event’ over time (where ‘measuring out’ entails that the direct argument plays a particular role in delimiting the event’).
- (ii) Direct internal arguments are the only overt arguments which can ‘measure out the event’.
- (iii) There can be no more than one measuring out for any event described by a verb.

(1994: 11)

She explains the difference between sentences like (1) and (2) by viewing the NP as an event measurer: *a samba* is a measurer of the amount of dancing that has taken place. She claims that direct internal arguments measure out the basic verb meaning. Thus, *a samba* measures out and delimits the meaning of the verb; it measures out the dancing over the course of the samba and the event of dancing ends with the samba. Delimitedness can be tested by applying what is considered one of the most reliable tests: the use of adverbial expressions like *in x time* and *for x time*:

- (6) She danced a samba in three minutes/*for three minutes.
- (7) She danced for three minutes/*in three minutes.

Tenny postulates another principle concerning the aspectual organisation of argument structure. She focuses on how indirect internal arguments can participate in aspectual structure.

The Terminus Constraint on Indirect Internal Arguments

- (i) An indirect internal argument can only participate in aspectual structure by providing a terminus for the event described by the verb. The terminus causes the event to be delimited.
- (ii) If the event has a terminus, it also has a path, either implicit or overt.
- (iii) An event as described by a verb can only have one terminus. (1994: 68)

The verb *push* in (8) appears with a non-measuring internal argument, the object whose location changes during the event, *the car*. Since the event is not delimited, as seen in (9), we may add a terminus as an indirect internal argument (10) which will delimit the event (11).

- (8) John pushed the car.
- (9) John pushed the car *in an hour/ for an hour.
- (10) John pushed the car to a gas station.
- (11) John pushed the car to a gas station in an hour /*for an hour (Tenny 1994: 75)

The entity that moves may also show up as a surface subject. But as Tenny's *non-measuring constraint on external arguments* predicts, it cannot participate in measuring out or delimiting the event (1994: 94).

- (12) Carmen walked for an hour/*in an hour. (Tenny 1994: 77)

A terminus may be added to predicates without overt direct arguments:

- (13) Carmen walked to school *for an hour/in an hour. (Tenny 1994: 77)

The implicit path that measures out the event together with the terminus can also be made explicit:

- (14) Carmen walked the path to school. (Tenny 1994: 77)

Tenny distinguishes, therefore, three aspectual roles: the MEASURE, the TERMINUS and the PATH:

The MEASURE aspectual role:
is assigned to an argument of the verb, which (in the event as described by the verb) either undergoes some internal change of motion, along a single parameter;

or provides a scale or parameter without undergoing change or motion; that measures out and defines the temporal extent of the event.

The TERMINUS aspectual role:

is assigned to an argument of the verb, which (in the event as described by the verb) marks the endpoint of a course traversed in measuring out the event, and which defines the temporal endpoint of the event.

The PATH aspectual role:

is a defective MEASURE role, which is assigned to an argument of the verb that provides a scale or parameter along which the event is measured out, and along which the TERMINUS role marks the endpoint of the event. The PATH role accompanies the TERMINUS role, explicitly or implicitly. (1994: 95)

3. DELIMITED MOTION

As we have seen in the previous section, in their basic sense manner of motion verbs have no goal argument, thus no TERMINUS or delimiting event (cf. 12). Levin (1993: 106) notes that the insertion of a goal phrase implies an extension of the verb's sense, which might be paraphrased as 'go by V-ing'. Therefore, the addition of a goal argument conveys an extension of meaning besides the aspectual change already mentioned.

Consider, for example, the verb *walk*. In its basic sense it means 'move along fairly slowly by putting one foot in front of the other on the ground' (Cobuild). Thus, in (15) it means 'move on your feet', therefore, moving without a TERMINUS. Notice that the addition of a TERMINUS as in (16), *up to him*, does not only convey an aspectual shift but, as noted by Levin, it also adds a new sense: 'go by walking'.

(15) He's been warbling in severe pain; a medico's injection inflamed a nerve, and Johnny can barely walk. (Brown: A16 64)

(16) Ritchie walked up to him at the magazine stand. (Brown: A13 51)

To be more precise, the TERMINUS does not merely delimit the event and add a new sense; it actually changes the logical structure of the sentence. The idea of 'movement using your feet' becomes secondary information; the main process –directed motion– is expressed precisely by the telic path phrase 'to get somewhere' and *walk* is relegated to a secondary manner information. This semantic subordination process that the verb undergoes is, by no means, irrelevant, and it will prove to be crucial in the comparison with Spanish motion constructions.

Jackendoff (1990: 89) represents the conceptual structure of manner of motion verbs such as *wiggle*, *dance*, *spin*, *bounce*, and *jump* as follows:

- (17) [Event MOVE([Thing])]

The conceptual function MOVE encodes these simple intransitive verbs, whose only argument does not necessarily undergo displacement (18). They may, however, include the sense of movement along a path (19).

- (18) Willy wiggled/danced/spun/bounced/jumped for hours, without ever leaving the same spot. (1990: 223)
- (19) Willy wiggled/danced/spun/bounced/jumped into Harriet's arms. (1990: 223)

For Tenny (1994: 196), the difference between both readings 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 illustrates the difference with the verb *float* in the two readings the verb may have in the following ambiguous sentence (quoted from Carter):

- (20) The bottle will float under the bridge.
- (i) float (manner of motion)
aspectual grid: []
- (ii) float (motion along a path to a terminus)
aspectual grid: [PATH, TERMINUS]

Tenny (1994: 198) 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]

Jackendoff (1990: 224) establishes an adjunct rule that shows this lexical subordination process we mentioned earlier:

- GO-Adjunct Rule
[_{VP} Vh...PP] may correspond to
- GO([a], [_{PATH}])
AFF([]^a i,)
[WITH/BY [MOVE ([a]_h)]²

As we can see in this adjunct rule, the original sense of the verb, manner-of-motion, appears in a subordinate conceptual position, while a superordinate conceptual function is added without an overt grammatical marker.

Summing up, we find a productive rule in English which changes an atelic manner of motion event into a telic directed motion one by adding a PATH and a TERMINUS. This process also implies a mismatch between syntactic and conceptual structure since the main verb becomes a subordinate conceptual event³.

4. MOTION IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

Carter (quoted by Tenny) showed that a sentence like (20) would lose its ambiguity in French, where *la bouteille flottera sous le pont* can only have the first interpretation, manner of motion⁴. Similarly, Talmy (1985) showed that Spanish –as a perfect example of Semitic, Polynesian and Romance families type– lacks this system of *lexicalization doublets* which enables English verbs to appear with or without an incorporated idea of motion. According to Talmy, Spanish cannot express this typological pattern that expresses manner conflated in the verb. Instead, manner notions have to be represented as ‘independent, usually adverbial or gerundive type constituents’ (1985: 69). Thus, *The bottle floated out of the cave* becomes *La botella salió de la cueva (flotando)* (‘the bottle moved-out from the cave’). Similarly, Jackendoff (1990: 223) claims that “essentially the only way to express (29) [our 19] in Spanish” would be “to use the verb *go* or *get* plus a gerundive means or accompaniment phrase: *Willy went/got into Harriet’s arms (by) wiggling / dancing / spinning / bouncing / jumping.*” Spanish verbs, on the other hand, tend to incorporate the Path, which is usually expressed in English by a particle or preposition⁵. This difference is usually conceived –following Talmy– as the *satellite-framed* versus *verb-framed* typology.

Aske and Slobin have further developed this contrastive analysis of motion events in both languages. The former faces this inability of Spanish to conflate manner and motion in aspectual terms. The latter observes interesting differences in discourse and rhetorical style through examination of translated narrative data.

The expression of motion in Spanish differs from English in several ways. Slobin (1996: 200) indicates an interesting rhetorical difference in artificially elicited narratives: English-speakers tend to give more locative detail to motion verbs than Spanish-speakers do. He claims that in Spanish more bare verbs are used, i.e. verbs which yield no information about path beyond the inherent directionality of the verb itself. Besides, Slobin mentions a much more frequent use of motion in general in English speakers. This is at least, the impression he got when opening English and Spanish books at random:

I found that I often had to open a Spanish book several times to find a page with a motion event, whereas this was hardly the case for the English novels... “the English writers are quite concerned with moving their characters from place to place, whereas the characters in the Spanish novels often simply appear at a new place. (1996: 207)

A random look at English motion events and their translations into Spanish confirms Slobin’s impression: more presence of movement, both metaphorical (21)-(23) and physical (24)-(25), in the English text than in the Spanish translation:

- (21) ... darkness had quite closed in. (TS: 28)
... era ya completamente de noche. (VT: 142)
‘it was already completely night’
- (22) ...I was a long time coming to it (TS: 19)
...tardé mucho tiempo en decidirme (VT: 132-33)
‘I took a lot of time in deciding’
- (23) Something or other had brought nearer home to me that... (TS: 77)
...Algo me había hecho pensar que...(VT: 196)
...‘Something had made me think that’
- (24) We had arrived within sight of the church... (TS: 79)
...Estábamos ya a la vista de la iglesia (VT: 199)
...‘We were already in view of the church’
- (25) ...something that made me drop straight down on the stone slab... (TS: 80)
...otra cosa que hizo que tuviera que apoyarme en la losa de piedra... (VT: 199)
‘another thing which made me lean myself on the stone slab’

Translations give good evidence of the different typologies of motion verbs drawn by Talmy (1985: 113-114): Romance, Semitic and Polynesian language families together with Nez Perce and Caddo express motion + path in the verb root, while English together with other Indo-European languages, and Chinese, describe the motion in the verb, and the path in a satellite. The translation from the latter to the former languages will obviously imply a fusion of two lexical items into one. A lexical item is lost in the translation process but the meaning is preserved.

- (26) Then when am I going back? (TS: 79)
Entonces, ¿cuándo voy a volver? (VT: 198)
‘Then, when am I going to return?’

Another difference in the expression of motion in both languages is a reversed syntactic order. As Aske points out:

Every student of Spanish has had the opportunity to notice that expressions of motion and result in Spanish tend to be the reverse of their English counterparts. For instance, in Spanish, *I jumped down* becomes *Bajé de un salto*, literally ‘I went-down (descended) of a jump’. (1989: 2)

This intuitive impression of the second language learner is valid, though not exactly precise. If we take translations of English motion events, we find that it is very infrequent to find both elements translated into the Spanish version. Talmy remarks that manner in some languages, like Spanish, can be “stylistically awkward, so that information about Manner or Cause is often either established in the surrounding, discourse or omitted altogether” (1985: 69). The following translations of English manner/motion conflated events into Spanish have lost the manner information.

- (27) I dipped into my room (TS: 29)
Me metía en la habitación. (VT: 143)
‘I moved into the room’
- (28) I stepped out into the square. (QA: 160)
Me dirigí a la plaza. (AT: 271)
‘I went to the square’
- (29) I walked back with Phuong towards my flat (QA: 21)
Volví con Phuong a mi piso (AT: 73)
‘I returned with Phuong to my apartment’
- (30) He strolled across the room to the door
Se dirigió a la puerta...
‘He went to the door’ (Slobin: 211)
- (31) ...she moved out into the sun and across the stony clearing...
...la muchacha salió al claro rocoso...
‘the girl exited to the stony clearing’ (Slobin 1996: 211)

When both notions are maintained the translation is either unnatural (32), or emphatic (33).

- (32) ‘Why, when I went down...’ (TS: 78)
–Sí, cuando me bajé abajo...⁶ (VT: 198)
‘Yes, when I descended (down)’

- (33) She rustled out of the room...
 Salió del cuarto, acompañada del susurro siseante de sus ropas...
 ‘She exited from the room, accompanied by the swishing rustle of her clothing.’ (Slobin 1996: 213)⁷

Slobin’s analysis of translations does not only reveal this frequent loss of manner information in the Spanish translations –about half of the time– but, what is more surprising, the addition of manner information by English translators, as in (34).

- (34) Don Federico avanzó sin apresurarse...
 ‘Don Federico advanced without hurrying...’
 Don Federico walked unhurriedly towards her... (Slobin 1996: 213)

Certainly, the translator from Spanish into English not only has to reverse the syntax, as earlier discussed, but even introduce new details. In (35)–(38) we find manner information in the English translation which was not expressed in the Spanish original. In (39) the goal, *home*, is newly introduced in the English translation.

- (35) ...y salió dando tumbos. (CMA: 75)
 ‘and he exited tumbling’
 ...and staggered out. (CDF: 80)
- (36) Sentí que me había salido del espejo. (CMA: 72)
 ‘I felt that I had exited from the mirror’
 I felt like I’d stepped out of the mirror. (CDF: 75)
- (37) ...logró llevarlo a duras penas al dormitorio. (CMA: 76)
 ‘she managed to take him with great effort to the bedroom’
 ...she managed with great effort to drag him to his bedroom.
 (CDF: 81)
- (38) ...hasta que mi hermana la monja entró en el dormitorio. (CMA: 77)
 ‘until my sister the nun entered into the bedroom’
 ...until my sister the nun rushed into the bedroom. (CDF: 82)
- (39) Lo conocí poco después que ella cuando vine a las vacaciones de Navidad. (CMA: 33)
 ‘I met him a short while after she [did], when I came for Christmas vacation’
 I met him a short while after she did, when I came home for Christmas vacation. (CDF: 30)

This addition of information in the translation process seems to be necessary to adjust to the stylistic features of the target language. Notice, for instance, how in the following examples a literal translation does not sound quite natural in English. The addition of some manner information in the verb –for example *walk* instead of *go* or *come*– might have been preferred.

- (40) Iba para el puerto... (CMA: 28)
 ...who was going to the dock... (CDF: 25)
- (41) Mis hermanos menores empezaron a salir de los otros cuartos.
 (CMA: 28)
 My younger brothers began to come out of the other bedrooms.
 (CDF: 25)

In an attempt to explain the different structures used with path predicates in English and Spanish, Aske (1989: 10) proposes that the key to the difference may lie in the preferred order of information structure in Spanish, which does not use sentential stress and uses instead sentence final position to focus new information. Manner information is highly rhematic, therefore, it tends to be placed in final position in Spanish:

- (42)
- (i) How did you get to the island?
 I SWAM (to the island/there).
 - (ii) ¿Cómo llegaste a la isla?
 B': Fui a la isla NADANDO.
 B'': ¡NADANDO (fui a la isla)!
 B''': ?*NADÉ (a la isla) (Aske 1989: 10)

This certainly explains why manner is lost in many translations into Spanish, since its necessary position as an independent constituent gives it an undesired prominence. But it does not explain why the conflated pattern in B''' (*nadé a la isla*) should be ungrammatical.

There is a final case noted by Slobin in which English and Spanish coincide conflating motion and manner:

- (43) They ran downstairs...
 Corrieron escaleras abajo...

Mora offers the following examples in which Spanish translators “make use of several peculiar verbs that seem to incorporate both manner and the trajectory in their lexical meaning”⁸:

- (44) They ran widely up and down.
Se pusieron a corretear por todos lados. (Mora 1999: 40)
- (45) He walked Southward along Westland Row.
Se encaminó hacia el sur por Westland Row. (Mora 1999: 40)
- (46) She walked along the veranda.
Recorrió la terraza. (Mora 1999: 40)

As Aske concludes, what Spanish tends to avoid is the expression of manner plus telicity. In translations, the manner information is usually left apart. But this rule applies mostly when a telic motion is involved. In such cases, Spanish expresses telicity in the verb. In the following examples, English atelic manner verbs –*walk*, *pass* and *march*– followed by a telic path phrase incorporate the idea of motion. In the Spanish translation these verbs are changed into directional verbs, to make them compatible with the telic phrase.

- (47) ...walking into a room (QA: 104)
...se entra en una habitación (AT: 191)
'one enters into a room'
- (48) Mrs. Grose and Flora had passed into the church... (TS: 80)
La señora Grose y Flora ya habían entrado en la iglesia... (VT: 199)
'Mrs. Grose and Flora had already entered into the church'
- (49) ...and then marched off alone into church (TS: 80)
...y entró solo en la iglesia. (VT: 200)
'and he entered alone in the church'

5. NOW FOR THE REAL DATA

We have seen in the previous section that the translations of English motion events into Spanish rarely follow the same pattern. There is a general agreement on the inability of Spanish to conflate manner and motion (cf. Talmy 1985; Aske 1989; Slobin 1996; Jackendoff 1990: 223; 1995: 175; among others)⁹ We do not, however, find real corpus examples in their works. The most accurate and varied data are the examples presented by Slobin¹⁰. His analysis of translations reveals a general tendency towards omitting the manner information contained in English manner + motion conflation processes during the translation process¹¹.

Aske's hypothesis that Spanish bans telic phrases if this final point is not inherently expressed in the main verb or is part of the semantics of the verb

is not supported by examples. He uses introspection positively but not negatively¹². In fact, the only ungrammatical directed motion expressions he gives are not clearly ruled out because of the presence of a telic path phrase.

- (50) ?Nadaron adentro (*de la cueva) (Aske 1989: 5)
‘They swam in(to the cave)’
- (51) ?*Nadé (a la isla) (Aske 1989: 10)
‘I swam (to the island)’

(50) is claimed to be ungrammatical if the Ground –the reference point for the movement– is lexically specified (1989: 5). (51) is presented as a case of incompatibility with Spanish information structure (cf. the discussion of 42 above).

Another ungrammatical example is presented by Aske in a footnote as a counterexample to his example (10), reproduced here as (52), which might contradict his hypothesis, since it shows a manner of motion event followed by a telic path phrase. Aske turns the argument round claiming that “its imperfective nature downplays the telic aspect of the Goal phrase” (1989: 14 n.20). He remarks that the imperfective is better than the perfective, as in (53).

- (52) Mi ejercicio consiste en caminar a la biblioteca dos veces al día.
‘My exercise consists of walking to the library twice a day’
- (53) *Ayer caminé a la biblioteca.(14, fn. 20)
‘Yesterday I walked into the library’

However, the following corpus example, with the perfective *caminó* followed by a TERMINUS contradicts his hypothesis:

- (54) ...caminó a su cortijillo sin esperanza en la vida... (CREA)
‘he walked to his farmhouse without hope in life’

Similarly in another corpus example the verb *nadar* is followed by a telic path phrase which introduces the Ground, in evident contradiction to Aske’s claim for (50).

- (55) ... nadó a tierra y caminó a través de la isla de Soledad. (CREA)
‘he swam to land and walked across the isle of Soledad’

A thorough examination of the CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*) surprisingly shows that some manner of motion verbs in Spanish may appear with telic phrases. This process is not a productive rule of Spanish; it

is rather an exception. The questions that must be addressed now are how are they used, with what type of events, under what rules, if any; and, why is this conflation process possible.

We must start by assuming the hypothesis derived from the exhaustive research on the topic made from Talmy onwards that the manner + motion conflation process is an English pattern, foreign to Spanish. This conflated pattern is mainly attested with certain classes of manner of motion verbs, though English extends this pattern to verbs that do not imply any type of movement. Levin (1993: 105-106) distinguishes five classes of verbs which do not inherently involve displacement but that may express directed displacement when they are followed by a path phrase: verbs of sound emission, *run* verbs, *waltz* verbs, verbs of body-internal motion and *push/pull* verbs.

I have taken representative Spanish verbs of each class and searched for examples in the CREA. It is important to remark that many of the verbs listed by Levin do not have a Spanish verbal counterpart; mostly verbs zero related to nouns and onomatopoeic verbs. The reason for this lack of correspondence lies in the more rigid system of morphological derivation of Spanish, which does not permit free conversion of nouns into verbs, the way English does.

5.1. Push/Pull Verbs

The verbs in this group refer to the “exertion of a force on an entity” (Levin 1993: 137). In most cases the entity will move as a consequence of the force exerted.

- (56) Leona pushed the cart to the market. (Levin 1993, 106)

The Spanish verbs *empujar* and *arrastrar*¹³ have been attested with entities moving to an end point in the following representative examples:

- (57) Luego se vistió en otro segundo y me empujó a la puerta. –Ya vete. (CREA)
‘Then s/he got dressed in another second and pushed me to the door. –Go now.’
- (58) ...hasta el instante en que empujó a Pelé al vacío y le mató... (CREA)
‘until the instant when he pushed Pelé to the hollow and killed him’
- (59) ...devolviéndolos a la bandeja, que empujó a un lado. (CREA)
‘returning them to the tray, which he pushed to one side’

- (60) ...me arrastró a la puerta del piso... (CREA)
‘he dragged me to the door of the apartment’
- (61) Inés arrastró a Pablo a su cuarto. (CREA)
‘Inés dragged Pablo to her room’

5.2. Waltz Verbs

These verbs involve a certain type of movement, though not necessarily displacement unless a TERMINUS is inserted, as in the following example:

- (62) The couple waltzed to the window. (Levin 1993: 106)

From Levin’s list of *waltz* verbs (1993: 106) –*boogie, bop, cancan, clog, conga, dance, foxtrot, jig, jitterbug, jive, pirouette, polka, quickstep, rumba, samba, shuffle, squaredance, tango, tapdance* and *waltz*– only the generic *dance* seems to have Spanish counterparts: *bailar* or *danzar*. This absence of correspondence is mostly motivated by morphological reasons. Most of the English *waltz* verbs are zero-related to the name of a particular dance; and Spanish lacks this easy morphological conversion process. A periphrasis made out of *bailar* followed by the name of the dance is used instead (*bailar una rumba / samba* etc.). The only exceptional cases of nouns of dances that derive into verbs are *valsar* and *polcar*¹⁴.

I have not found Spanish *waltz* verbs expressing telic motion. Only random movement has been attested:

- (63) La niña bailó por entre las mesas... (CREA)
‘The girl danced between the tables’
- (64) ...danzó de aquí para allá... (CREA)
‘it [a bird] danced from one place to another’
- (65) ...y danzaron alrededor del muerto. (CREA)
‘...and they danced around the dead man’.

5.3. Verbs of Body-Internal Motion

These verbs describe movements of the body which, like the *waltz* verbs, do not imply displacement unless a goal phrase is added.

- (66) The clown wobbled down the hall. (Levin 1993, 106)

The verb *tambalearse* ('wobble') expresses manner and directed motion in the following example:

- (67) ...y se tambaleó hacia la puerta. (CREA)
'and s/he wobbled towards the door'

There is an interesting related phenomenon I have been able to attest in sports contexts, in which a verb of this class, *cabecear* ('head'), is followed by a TERMINUS. However, the displaced entity is not the Agent of the action but an unactualised participant, *the ball*. This use is listed as a special sense of the verb in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia* (DRAE, onwards): "En el fútbol, golpear la pelota con la cabeza" ('In football, to hit the ball with the head'). However, it is worth noting that it implies a conflation process of manner of motion and displacement of another object towards a terminus. This fusion of two events in one verb is very unusual in Spanish.

- (68) ...Soria cabeceó a las manos de König. (CREA)
'Soria headed [the ball] to König's hands.'

- (69) ...y José Mari cabeceó a la red. (CREA)
'and José Mari heads [the ball] into the net.'

5.4. Verbs of Sound Emission

Verbs of sound emission are frequently used to express motion in English. They are somehow related to the verbs of body internal motion, since the sound emitted has to be "internal" to the entity that moves. As Levin (1993: 236) notes the sound has to be "a necessary concomitant of the motion of some entity (**Shelly whistled down the street/The train whistled into the station*)." In Spanish sound emission verbs only involve the motion of the sound itself (70) and (71), but they, apparently, do not extend their meaning to express motion of an entity. Mora offers an example of a Spanish sound emission verb expressing directed motion (72)¹⁵.

- (70) La bofetada resonó por toda la estancia. (CREA)
'The slap (in the face) resounded all through the place'

- (71) ...explosión que resonó en múltiples ecos contra las montañas vecinas.
(CREA)
'an explosion which resounded in multiple echoes against the neighbouring mountains'

- (72) The carriage rattled swiftly along Blessington Street.
 El coche traqueteó rápidamente por la calle Blessington. (Mora, 1999: 40)

5.5. Manner of Motion Verbs

Manner of motion verbs are semantically closer to a directed motion reading. As Aske (1989: 3) points out, a path phrase is more compatible with Spanish verbs which “strongly imply motion” –*correr, nadar, rodar, flotar, arrastrar, empujar*– but, it is more difficult to find when the manner of the activity is more salient: *cojear, saltar*, etc. Aske, however, refers to manner of motion verbs with path complements, since he comes to the conclusion that “the inability of Spanish to express path outside the verb is limited to telic path phrases, i.e. path phrases which also predicate an end-of-path location of the moving object.” (1989: 11)

Levin (1993: 265) divides the *Run* Verbs into two classes: *Roll* verbs –“which relate to manners of motion that are characteristic of inanimate entities”– and, *Run* verbs –which mostly describe the manner of animate motion. There is another class of motion verbs which is closely related to the *Run* Verbs: verbs expressing motion with a vehicle. In sum, Levin distinguishes the following classes of English motion verbs which may take on a meaning that involves directed motion:

Manner of Motion Verbs

Roll Verbs

The ball rolled down the hill/over the hill/into the gutter (Levin 1993, 265)

Run Verbs

Audrey tiptoed to the door. (Levin 1993, 105)

Verbs of Motion Using a Vehicle

Verbs that are vehicle names

They skated along the canal/across the lake. (Levin 1993, 267)

Verbs that are not vehicle names

They rowed along the canal/across the lake. (Levin 1993, 268)

5.5.1. *Roll Verbs*

These verbs describe manner of motion of inanimate entities. The verb *float* is one of the most cited in the literature on manner-motion conflated constructions in English. The verb is, however, less productive than one might think. There are only 32 examples of the Spanish *flotar* in the CREA. None of them describe motion towards an end point, but displacement may be implied as in (73). The verb *flotar* may also refer to movement through the air, both physically (74), or metaphorically (75).

- (73) Como una pequeña barca blanca flotó llevada por la corriente hacia el sol rojizo. (CREA)
‘Like a small white boat it floated carried by the current towards the reddish sun’
- (74) ...y flotó hacia la estación espacial Mir... (CREA)
‘and it floated towards the Mir space station’
- (75) Hasta el último momento del partido flotó por el Manzanares el fantasma de la prórroga. (CREA)
‘Until the last moment of the match floated through the Manzanares the ghost of extra time’

A much more productive verb in this class –also very frequently cited– is the verb *roll*. In the following examples the Spanish verb *rodar* follows the English pattern conflating manner and telic motion:

- (76) El libro, rodó a los pies de Odón Dextre. (CREA)
‘The book rolled to the feet of Odón Dextre’
- (77) La cabeza de Robespierre rodó en el cesto de la guillotina... (CREA)
‘Robespierre’s head rolled into the guillotine basket’
- (78) Y su cabeza rodó dentro del cubo... (CREA)
‘And his head rolled inside the bucket’
- (79) Arriba, en el cuarto, algo rodó al suelo. (CREA)
‘Upstairs, in the room, something rolled to the floor’
- (80) ...le dio un puntapié al yacente, que rodó a su nueva morada... (CREA)
‘he gave a kick to the lying [man], who rolled to his new dwelling’
- (81) Se dobló sobre el caballo y rodó a tierra. (CREA)
‘He bent on his horse and rolled to the earth’

According to previous research, Spanish would have used a directed motion verb alone or with a second predicate expressing the manner *–caer / ir rodando*. Notice, however, that the split predicates would give too much emphasis to the manner information. A sentence like (82) would confer more weight to the rolling event than to the falling event.

- (82) La cabeza de Robespierre cayó rodando en el cesto de la guillotina...
‘Robespierre’s head fell rolling in the guillotine basket’

5.5.2. Run Verbs

The more generic motion verbs like *andar* or *caminar* frequently describe displacement, since the manner notion is not very salient. In the following example a TERMINUS has been inserted to the Spanish verb *caminar*.

- (83) ...luego caminé otra vez al salón. (CREA)
‘then s/he walked again to the sitting room’

Aske claims that *a* (‘to’) inserts a telic path phrase, while the preposition *hasta* (‘up to’) introduces atelic path phrases. To prove his assertion, he adds the telic durational *en dos horas* (‘in two hours’) to a sentence with an *hasta* path phrase (84). But Aske does not show that the phrase is also incompatible with an atelic phrase like *durante dos horas* (‘for two hours’) (85). Furthermore, in (86), a sentence with an *hasta* path phrase is followed by an expression that reveals its telicity. The phrase *una barbaridad* (‘it took [him/her] a long time’) is incompatible with atelic events, as we can see in (87).

- (84) Juan caminó hasta la cima (?*en dos horas) (Aske 1989: 7)
‘Juan walked up to the top (in two hours)’
- (85) Juan caminó hasta la cima (*durante dos horas)
‘Juan walked up to the top (during two hours)’
- (86) María Salvador salió y caminó hasta el lugar indicado. Tardó una barbaridad.
‘María Salvador went out and walked up to the recommended place. It took her a long time.’
- (87) *Tardó una barbaridad en caminar/leer/cantar...
‘It took her a long time to walk/read/sing’

Aske is right when he affirms that *en dos horas* (‘in two hours’) does not sound natural with these sentences, but the same is true of other clearly telic

events. Consider the delimited event of *correr* in (88). The addition of a telic durational, *en cinco segundos* ('in five seconds') also sounds unnatural (89).

- (88) Corrí a los cuartos de Cayetana por la sala solitaria y espectral.
(CREA)
'I ran to Cayetana's rooms through the solitary and ghostly lounge'
- (89) ??Corrí a los cuartos de Cayetana en cinco segundos.
'I ran to Cayetana's rooms in five seconds'

It seems that this incompatibility is due to pragmatic reasons: the duration of the event is not relevant, and the insertion of the temporal phrase emphasises it. Similarly, sentences (90)-(91) sound unnatural with a durational. It would be natural, for example, to express the duration in a competition context, as in (98).

- (90) ...la muchacha anduvo hasta la puerta del aparcamiento (?en cinco segundos) (CREA)
'the girl walked up to the parking door (in five seconds)'
- (91) ...anduvo hasta la única puerta abierta en el rellano (?en cinco segundos) (CREA)
's/he walked up to the only open door in the landing (in five seconds)'

Besides, in the following examples, an *hasta* path phrase is followed by a deictic, *allí* ('there'), signalling the final point that has been reached:

- (92) ...caminó hasta el coche, allí les esperó. (CREA)
's/he walked up to the car, there s/he waited for them'
- (93) ...caminó lento hasta la cerca de madreselva, desde allí... (CREA)
's/he walked slowly up to the honeysuckle fence, from there'

The activity verb *nadar* ('swim') may also express directed motion. In (94)-(96) the context shows that an end of path location has been reached.

- (94) ...nadó hasta la orilla opuesta y se perdió en la espesura (CREA)
's/he swam up to the opposite bank and s/he got lost in the thicket'
- (95) ...y nadó hasta la otra orilla, donde comió... (CREA)
'and s/he swam up to the other bank, where she ate'
- (96) ...la muchacha nadó hasta la roca y se vistió. (CREA)
'the girl swam up to the rock and got dressed'

The telic preposition *a* ('to') is also compatible with *nadar* (97) and (98). In (98) and (99) delimitedness is tested by the durational phrases inserted. Notice that (98) uses the telic *en 21 horas y 45 minutos* ('in 21 hours and 45 minutes'), whereas the atelic activity verb in (99) is followed by the atelic phrase *por varias horas* ('for some hours').

- (97) Después de llegar al agua nadó a tierra y caminó a través de la isla Soledad. (CREA)
'After reaching the water s/he swam to earth and walked across Soledad island.'
- (98) ...el capitán Mathew Webb nadó de Dover a Calais en 21 horas y 45 minutos. (CREA)
'captain Mathew Webb swam from Dover to Calais in 12 hours and 45 minutes'
- (99) ...y nadó por varias horas. (CREA)
'and s/he swam for several hours'

The aspectual role TERMINUS is also present in other sentences with more marked manner of motion verbs like *deslizarse* or *arrastrarse*:

- (100) Con gran facilidad se deslizaba a Cartagena y Mompox a negociar mercancía... (CREA)
'Very easily he would slip into Cartagena and Mompox to negotiate merchandise'
- (101) ...deslizándose a las habitaciones de las bailarinas... (CREA)
'slipping into the dancers' rooms...'
- (102) ...se deslizó a mi lado... (CREA)
's/he slid to my side'
- (103) Me deslizo a su lado... (CREA)
'I slide to her side'
- (104) Se arrastró a su lado... (CREA)
'S/he crawled to her/his side'
- (105) ...se arrastró a la pared conteniendo el dolor (CREA)
's/he crawled to the wall holding the pain'

Other verbs expressing more saliently the manner of activity have also been attested with telic path phrases. The verb *saltar*, which is not usually conceived as a manner of displacement event is frequently followed by a

TERMINUS (106) – (110). An example with the verb *renquear* ('limp') also offers this conflated pattern (111).

- (106) ...saltó a su lado (CREA)
's/he jumped to his/her side'
- (107) Trepó la valla y saltó a los pastos. (CREA)
's/he climbed the fence and jumped to the pastures'
- (108) ...y saltó a la tierra... (CREA)
's/he jumped to the ground'
- (109) ...saltó a cubierta. (CREA)
's/he jumped onto the deck'
- (110) ...saltó a otro taxi... (CREA)
's/he jumped into another taxi'
- (111) Retiró el asiento y renqueó hasta la ventana, apoyándose en una de las jambas. (CREA)
's/he removed the chair and limped up to the window, leaning on one of the jambs.'

The verb *volar* ('fly') is very productive with a TERMINUS in the particular context of flights (122) – (124). These examples involve motion in a vehicle, a plane, therefore they rather belong to the class of verbs of motion using a vehicle. I have not found examples like the English conflated pattern in (115), where the verb is used like a *run* verb.

- (112) ...volaron a Mar de Plata... (CREA)
'they flew to Mar de Plata'
- (113) ...volaron a Georgia. (CREA)
'they flew to Georgia'
- (114) ...volaron a Barcelona en lugar de aterrizar en Málaga. (CREA)
'they flew to Barcelona instead of landing at Málaga'
- (115) Aggie might fly into a closet, shut the door and bury her head in the clothes... (Brown, K06 134)
There are also cases of *run* verbs expressing atelic displacement, i.e. a PATH is expressed but not a TERMINUS:
- (116) Ben Yacún cojeaba a toda prisa detrás de él. (CREA)
'Ben Yacún limped quickly after him'

- (117) ...trotó de aquí para allá (CREA)
's/he trotted from one place to another'
- (118) ...[el perro] trotó con cautela hacia ella. (CREA)
'[the dog] trotted cautiously towards her'
- (119) Dos monjas trotaron desde el otro extremo de la biblioteca... (CREA)
'Two nuns trotted from the other side of the library'
- (120) ...gateó por el lomo del fuselaje hasta sentarse justo en el morro.
(CREA)
's/he crawled along the back of the fuselage till s/he sat down just on the nose'
- (121) Patricia gateó hasta la cumbre y se tumbó junto a él... (CREA)
'Patricia crawled up to the summit and lay down beside him'

5.6. Verbs of Motion Using a Vehicle

There is a large number of English verbs of motion involving a vehicle which are zero related to nouns that are vehicle names and express directed motion, i.e. 'to go using the vehicle'. Levin (1993: 268) points out that in English "it should be possible for any vehicle name to be used as a verb of this type". As noted earlier, Spanish lacks this productive derivational process and uses a periphrasis with *ir* ('go') followed by the noun of the vehicle. However, some nouns related to vehicles have adjoined the suffixes *-ar/-ear* which turn them into verbs (cf. *esquiar* 'ski', *patinar* 'skate', *pedalear* 'pedal'; *remar* 'row', etc.). Other verbs of motion using a vehicle which are not derived from the name of the vehicle have a lexical parallel in Spanish: *conducir* ('drive'), *volar* ('fly'), etc. Both languages may introduce a path phrase after these verbs to express displacement:

- (122) They skated/rowed along the canals (Levin 1993: 267)
- (123) ...esquió pendiente abajo desde el Collado Sur (CREA)
's/he skied down the slope from el Collado Sur'

Contrary to what has been claimed in the literature on Spanish motion events, we may find these verbs expressing motion towards an end point. Examples with the verb *remar* ('row') follow:

- (124) ...abandonó la playa y remó hasta el buque. (CREA)
 ‘...s/he left the beach and rowed up to the ship.’
- (125) ...subió a una chalupa y remó a su encuentro. (CREA)
 ‘...s/he got on a boat and rowed to his/her encounter (to meet him/her).

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been claimed by Tenny, among others, that the aspectual properties of an event play an important role in argument configuration. An atelic process (1), may be turned into a telic event by adding a delimited NP which will measure out the event (2). Motion events can also be delimited by adding a goal expression or telic path phrase, as in (13). This delimiting process conveys an extension of the verb’s sense, ‘go by V-ing’. This change in the conceptual structure of manner of motion verbs is represented by Jackendoff through the insertion of a PATH. At the same time, and adjunct rule will place the original sense of the verb in a conceptual subordinating position, while the main verb position is filled by GO. Tenny explains the process in aspectual terms: manner of motion verbs may acquire the aspectual roles PATH and TERMINUS in their conceptual structure.

Talmy has shown that Spanish, like other Romance languages, does not conflate manner and motion in the verb. Slobin’s analysis of English motion events and their translations into Spanish proves that Spanish translators tend to either split both notions into two predicates or omit the less informative notion.

Aske comes to the conclusion that the inability of Spanish to conflate manner and motion in the verb is restricted to telic motion, i.e. Spanish manner of motion events may incorporate a PATH, but not a TERMINUS –following Tenny’s terminology. Thus, Aske claims that *float* with a PATH keeps the same pattern in Spanish (126), but the insertion of a TERMINUS is banned, as in (127), unless we introduce a directed motion verb and express the manner in a separate gerundive phrase (128).

- (126) La botella flotó hacia la cueva.
 ‘The bottle floated towards the cave’ (Aske 1989: 3)
- (127) *La botella flotó dentro de la cueva.
 ‘The bottle floated into the cave’
- (128) La botella entró flotando en la cueva (Aske 1989: 11)
 ‘The bottle entered floating in the cave’
 The bottle floated into the cave

Summing up, there is a general consensus in the research on motion events from Talmy onwards that Spanish is unable to express (telic) path when the directionality is not inherently expressed in the main verb. Therefore, Spanish cannot delimit a manner of motion verb the way English does, i.e. extending the meaning of the verb to express 'motion in a certain manner', in a construction where the original sense of the verb is semantically subordinated to the idea of motion. Spanish, thus, establishes a strict correspondence between the conceptual structure and its syntactic structure, whereas English shows a severe mismatch between syntactic and conceptual structure in this conflation process.

The results of an extensive search for motion events in the CREA show that even though the previous theoretical assumption is valid, there are numerous Spanish examples which show the English manner + motion conflated construction. Evidence shows that manner of motion verbs like *correr*, *nadar* and even verbs with a more salient manner like *remar*, *rodar* and *saltar* may admit the insertion of a TERMINUS. This lexicalization pattern does not predominate within the semantic category of motion yet it coexists with the split manner and motion pattern. Verbs which do not imply motion are not attested in this pattern.

Translations of the English conflated pattern into Spanish lead to longer expressions with a reversed order: the direction is expressed by the verb and the manner information, if preserved, is encoded in an adverbial phrase. But the English conflated pattern condenses two events into one, without giving more prominence to either of them. By contrast, the Spanish split predicates which are presented as the canonical equivalent of the English pattern give the manner and final element more weight than what is originally intended; to avoid this undesired emphasis a notion must be omitted in the translation process. Therefore, we may conclude that there is a gap in the Spanish system which hinders the expression of the meaning contained in the English manner + motion conflated pattern. This deficiency might favour a borrowing process.

Talmy comments that in Nez Perce, a polysynthetic language of North America, motion verbs work as in Spanish, expressing motion + path. But there are manner prefixes that may adjoin the root to express manner of motion. Talmy suggests that this polysynthetic forms might have developed from a Spanish type: words expressing manner were placed next to the verb till they became affixes. Likewise, Spanish might develop the same polysynthetic forms (Talmy 1985: 111). I believe rather that Spanish will evolve in the direction of English. The growing contact between both languages will facilitate this change. Indeed, the number of Spanish speakers who use English in their everyday life is growing rapidly. Besides, there are many bilingual speakers in the USA and Puerto Rico who spread their Spanglish

through literature, lyrics and the media. Another source of influence is the enormous amount of translated English to which native speakers of Spanish are exposed in every day's life in TV, Internet, brochures, operating instructions, and so on.

The pattern might have been introduced gradually first with general motion verbs like *caminar* or *correr*, which are more productive, and has extended to events where the manner is more marked and which may not even necessarily involve displacement, like *saltar*. At the same time, the conflated pattern must have started with atelic path phrases and has extended to some telic path phrases, i.e. first the aspectual role PATH is inserted and once the displacement reading is accepted, a TERMINUS may be added. One can easily imagine how the pattern could gradually extend to other non-motion events like sound emission verbs, which could metonymically come to express sound + motion with the addition of a path phrase.

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NOTES

¹ However, as Wyngaerd notes, there are inherent unbounded adjectives. For example, those referring to size and speed (*big, fast*) or emotional and physical states (*glad, tired*).

² Jackendoff (1995: 164) defines the operator WITH as "one of a set of conceptual subordinating functions that map a State or Event into a modifier of another State or Event."

³ Jackendoff (1995: 169) shows three respects in which the syntactic and conceptual structure do not match, in a very similar construction, the WAY construction. Besides the conceptual subordination already mentioned, he notes a violation of the th-criterion since the PP argument is not licensed by the verb. Besides, the conceptual function GO is not lexicalised.

⁴ The inability of the French sentence to express an end point is not caused by syntactic restrictions but, rather, by lexical reasons: the preposition *sous* is locative not directional, therefore, it cannot be used to express directed motion. Asher and Sablayrolles (1996: 183) classify it as a positional preposition, which describes only a relation of localization, versus directional prepositions like *de, par* or *jusque'à*, which are used with directed motion events. Similarly, in Spanish, *la botella flotará bajo el puente*, can only have the locative reading. Notice the incompatibility of *sous/bajo* with a directed motion verb: **la bouteille est arrivé sous le pont/*la botella llegó bajo el puente*.

⁵ The English verbs which incorporate the Path –*enter, exit, descend, cross, separate*, etc.– are mostly borrowed from Romance (cf. Talmy 1985: 72).

⁶ Aske (1989: 11) finds more natural the use of a redundant end path phrase in the vernacular: *Juan subió arriba* 'Juan went up (above)'; *Juan bajó abajo* 'Juan went down (below)'; *Juan entró adentro* 'Juan went in (inside)'; *Juan salió afuera* 'Juan went out (outside)'. However, this redundancy is uncommon in literary style.

⁷ Slobin (1996: 213) points out that in this example the manner information, which is preserved in an adverbial clause, gains more narrative weight than in the original. He compares this translation with another, more natural, where the manner information is lost: *Mrs Tranter rustled forward... / Mrs Tranter se adelantó...*

⁸ “*Corretear* implies motion in random directions within a location, *encaminarse* includes the idea of inception of motion directed to a particular place, and *recorrer* carries the notion that the locational direct object has been traversed in its totality.” (Mora 1999: 40-41)

⁹ Neither does it exist in French and other Romance languages together with Japanese (cf. Tenny 1994: 198).

¹⁰ Mora carried out a similar project with 250 English motion events and their translations into Spanish, but he only offers 19 examples from his corpus since, as he notes: “Basically the same results as with Slobin’s smaller sampler were obtained” (1999: 36).

¹¹ Slobin emphasises the importance of corpus examples with this quotation from Fillmore: “Everybody who has worked with actual corpora has found things they couldn’t possibly have dreamed up merely by relying on their own linguistic introspections.”

¹² As Goldberg claims, the linguist needs to “supplement corpus data with data gained from introspection, one obvious reason being that corpora do not contain sentences marked as unacceptable.” (1996: 1.4.1)

¹³ This sense of the verb *arrastrar* –“Llevar a una persona o cosa por el suelo, tirando de ella” (DRAE)– fits in the *push/pull* class; there is another meaning related to the *run* verbs: “[intr.] Ir de un punto a otro rozando con el cuerpo en el suelo. Ú. m. c. prnl” (DRAE).

¹⁴ *Polcar* is not listed in the DRAE or the *Diccionario del Español Actual*, nor have I found any case in the CREA. Casares lists the following other *dance* verbs: *bailar*; *danzar*; *tripudiar*; *bailotear*; *jalear*; *jalearse*; *desplantarse*; *desgovernarse*; *desgoznarse*; *cabriolar*; *cabriolear*; *gambetear*; *zapatear*; *escobillar*; *trenzar*; *tejer*; *bornear* and *componer*.

¹⁵ Note, however, that the sentence is not originally produced in Spanish, and it might be influenced by the English original from which it is translated.

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CORPORA

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- CDF = García Márquez, Gabriel (1984). *Chronicle of a Death Foretold*. G. Rabassa (trans.) New York: Ballantine.
- CMA = García Márquez, Gabriel (1981). *Crónica de una muerte anunciada*. Barcelona: Mondadori, 1995.
- CREA = Real Academia Española *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*.
- MD = Woolf, Virginia (1976). *Mrs Dalloway*. London: Grafton Books.
- QA = Graham Greene (1962). *The Quiet American*. London: Penguin.
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