



UDC 811.111'367.625=111

811.163.42'367.625=111

Original scientific article

Received on 24.04. 2014

Accepted for publication on 23.06. 2014

Maja Brala-Vukanović**Anita Memišević**

University of Rijeka

English path verbs: A comparative-contrastive English-Croatian analysis

Departing from Talmy's (2001b: 52) list comprising 20 English path verbs, we explore the semantic and syntactic properties of these verbs, focusing on their (im)possibility to select a prepositional phrase. Of particular interest in this respect are those combinations in which the (elements of) Path encoded in the PP share central semantic components with the (elements of) Path encoded in the verb (e.g. *enter into*). Furthermore, we explore the verbs, i.e. their various sentential realizations (taken from the corpus) from the crosslinguistic perspective, looking at the way the motional structures are realized in Croatian. We also compare and contrast the semantico-syntactic properties of the English translational equivalents for each Croatian structure under scrutiny. Interestingly, we notice that a subcategorization of English path verbs is possible on the basis of whether, in Croatian, they are rendered by a prefixed verb followed by a prepositional phrase where the form of the prefix and preposition is repetitive (e.g. *ući u*), or not. In conclusion, we try to systematize the crosslinguistic picture pertaining to semantico-syntactic properties of path verbs, identifying four levels of crosslinguistic systematicity (with what we call 'the Source – Goal axis' being the most coherent i.e. systematic one).

Key words: path verbs; manner verbs; English; Croatian; crosslinguistic analysis; semantic universality.

1. Introduction

Talmy's well-known notion of verb framing (see Talmy 1985, 2001a, 2001b), which divides languages into two groups on the basis of the typical patterns for ex-



pression of motion events, has so far attracted a great deal of scholarly interest, both theoretical and experimental (e.g.: Maguire et al., 2010; Cadierno, 2008; Hickmann, 2008; Papafragou, 2008; Pruden, 2008; Pulverman, 2008; Slobin 2008; Allen et al., 2007; Cadierno & Ruiz, 2006; Cifuentes-Ferez & Gentner, 2006; Slobin, 2006; Navarro & Nicolaidis, 2005; Slobin 2005; Cadierno, 2004; Slobin, 2004; Slobin, 2003; Slobin, 2002; McNeill & Duncan, 2000; Özyürek & Özçalışkan, 2000; Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2000, Özçalışkan & Slobin, 1999; Özyürek & Kita, 1999; Naigles and Terrazes, 1998; Slobin, 1997; Slobin, 1996, Bowerman et al., 1995). The findings of these studies can be summed up in the following way:

1. path verbs, which are typical of verb-framed languages, require a syntactic pattern in which the Manner of motion can optionally be expressed by an additional sentential component (most commonly an adverb), while manner verbs, which are typical of satellite-framed languages, require a syntactic pattern in which the Path of motion is expressed in a sentential element that Talmy calls the satellite;
2. the different types of verbs also lead to the use of different gestures when talking about motion events;
3. children use sentence structures typical for the verbs that are dominant in their language (path or manner verbs) from the very beginning;
4. when presented with novel verbs of motion, both adults and children tend to interpret them as those belonging to the type dominant in their language (e.g. Spanish speakers tend to interpret them as path verbs, while English speakers tend to interpret them as manner verbs);
5. the typology of language also influences the discourse; texts in Spanish tend to include more descriptions of the background compared to texts in English which tend to include more detailed descriptions of the manner of motion.

This paper, too, departs from Talmy's typology, and examines it from the English-Croatian perspective, in relation to English path verbs (and their translations into Croatian), focusing on syntactic systematicity at the intra- and crosslinguistic level. The aim of the approach is to systematize English path verbs on the basis of their semantic content, find the Croatian equivalent(s), and then compare and contrast the syntactic properties of the verbs in the two languages, looking for systematic patterns i.e. trying to see whether verbal subcategories constructed on meaning distinctions present intra- or crosslinguistic syntactic pattern consistencies (or both). Any systematic patterns could be seen as support for the original analysis



proposed by Talmy. Any inconsistencies might be viewed as indicators of the need for further elaboration, or subcategorization.

Let us briefly be reminded: the first group of languages proposed by Talmy (see 2001) referred to the so-called ‘verb-framed languages’ which include: Romance languages, Semitic languages, Polynesian languages, Japanese, Tamil, Bantu, some branches of Mayan languages, Nez Perce and Caddo. The remaining were termed ‘satellite-framed languages’ and included all the languages that do not belong to the aforementioned language families/branches. Motion events themselves were described (ibid.) as consisting of four components: 1) Figure – the physical object whose path is being characterised; 2) Ground – the physical object which has the function of a reference point with respect to which the Figure’s Path or site is characterised; 3) Motion – the process of activation which consists of the transition of the Figure in relation to the Ground; and 4) Path – the path along which the Figure moves in relation to the Ground (Talmy, 2001a). The core schema of the motion event usually consists of the Path (e.g. in English). As a rule, the core schema is expressed in the main verb in verb-framed languages and appears alongside the activating process, and it is usually expressed only in the satellite in satellite-framed languages. It should be emphasised that the speakers of verb-framed languages show a tendency towards not expressing the Manner of motion in the sentence because it is subordinate to the main verb. In such languages the root of the verb conflates the fact of the Motion and the Path and thus the Manner of motion must be expressed in an additional sentential element. Languages of this type have a number of verbs that express motion along various Paths. In satellite-framed languages the main verb expresses the fact of motion and the co-event¹, and languages of this type have a number of verbs that express Motion characterised by a certain Manner or a certain cause.

Based on this typology of languages, Talmy introduces a division within the category of motion verbs into path verbs (those that express the Path of motion, but not the Manner of motion), and manner verbs (those that express the Manner of motion, but not the Path, and require an additional lexical unit to express the Path, i.e. a satellite²). The first type of verbs typically occurs in verb-framed languages, and the second in satellite-framed languages.

¹ According to Talmy, the co-event is the supporting relation in the motion macro-event, such as the Manner or cause of motion.

² The satellite itself could either be an affix or a free-standing unit. Talmy defines it as “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” (2001a: 486).



Talmy's typology of languages is based on the most typical and frequent lexicalization patterns used in a certain language, meaning that both path and manner verbs may appear in the same language. According to his classification, English is a satellite-framed language, but he also lists 20 path verbs that are part of the English vocabulary: *exit, enter, ascend, descend, cross, pass, circle, leave, advance, proceed, approach, arrive, depart, return, join, separate, part, rise, near, follow* (Talmy, 2001b: 52).

A recent study (Memišević, 2012) that focused on how Croatian speakers of English process eight English path verbs the counterparts of which are Croatian prefixed manner verbs followed by a preposition where the prefix and preposition have the same form, has revealed some interesting findings. The study included two experiments – a behavioural one, which revealed that proficient Croatian speakers of English make significantly more errors when it comes to the production of prepositions with path verbs compared to manner verbs, and an ERP experiment. The ERP experiment revealed that the English structures containing a path verb without a preposition are processed as syntactic violations, while English sentences containing a typically Croatian structure (verb + preposition) are processed as correct and preferred structures. These results bring us to Slobin's (1996) 'thinking-for-speaking' hypothesis which states that each language trains its speakers to pay attention to those aspects of motion events that have to be encoded in their language. The hypothesis would imply that English speakers receive two kinds of training when it comes to motion verbs: one for manner verbs, which are dominant in English, and one for path verbs, which, although not particularly numerous, form an important part of English vocabulary. It would also suggest that Croatian speakers of English use the Croatian form of 'thinking-for-speaking' when dealing with English path verbs in those cases when their Croatian counterparts are prefixed manner verbs followed by prepositions that have the same form as the prefix. Since this is not always the case (i.e. not all English path verbs have as their Croatian counterparts prefixed manner verbs followed by a preposition that has the same form as the prefix), we decided to try and see if the crosslinguistic perspective might help us better understand the nature of English path verbs.

2. Study

2.1. Method and aim

In order to analyse the semantic and syntactic properties of English path verbs, we compiled our own corpus, based primarily on various dictionaries of English lan-



guage (both printed and on-line versions). We also collected examples of use of path verbs from various web-sites. The goal was to see which path verbs can appear in combination with which spatial prepositions, and in which contexts. We completed this task for English first, and then translated all the sentences that we collected for English into Croatian. Having compiled the list, we inserted each verb+preposition corpus item into a corpus search engine (COCA and the British National Corpus for English and the Croatian National Corpus for Croatian). The electronic corpora were used as a way to triangulate the proposed translations³ (for this suggestion we thank an anonymous reviewer).

The corpus search included both the Croatian verbs i.e. translations of the English path verbs as well as the original English path verbs + English prepositions (that came out as translations of the Croatian prefixed verb + cognate preposition pair translational equivalents of English path verbs). All our translational combinations were verified and attested in this way.

Finally, we conducted a comparative-contrastive analysis of English path verbs (and the syntactic patterns they exhibit with relation to taking or not taking a preposition), and their Croatian counterparts (focusing on the same aspect of verbal behaviour with respect to PP selection). The aim of the crosslinguistic analysis was to verify whether there is syntactic consistency of patterns within single semantic subgroups of verbs. Given that the preliminary inspection of data showed lack of total consistency at the intra- and crosslinguistic levels, we decided to group the verbs on the basis of their meaning, to see whether we could find at least some consistency within subgroups of path verbs obtained in such a way (which might suggest that perhaps, some elements of meaning were 'more powerful' in terms of leading to some syntactic verbal behaviour, than others). In fact, we hypothesize that it might just be the case that some path verbs are more 'cognitively constrained' in terms of their semantic patterns (leading to less variation i.e. more syntactic regularity in terms of syntactic behaviour), whereas others are less 'cognitively constrained' i.e. allow for a greater freedom in terms of conceptual structuring (thus allowing for a greater degree of syntactic freedom). Our results seem to confirm, at least in part, such a hypothesis.

³ The corpora were used to check the possibility of usage rather than look into frequency of usage, this latter component not being in our analytical focus. However, for each verb-preposition pair, no usage seemed anomalous or non-/substandard, as shown by the examples chosen to illustrate each combinatorial pair in this text.



2.2. Results

In our analysis we started from the Path component expressed in the English verb, which allowed us to divide the verbs into semantic categories. Further analysis led to the grouping of these categories according to the semantic components and syntactic properties of the path verbs and their Croatian counterparts. The results for each group and its categories are laid out below.

2.2.1. Source and Goal verbs

Table 1. Source verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| exit | (from) + | + | + (izići iz) | all combinations |
| leave | (from) + | + | + (otići od) | bare, from |
| depart | (from) + | + | + (otići od) | all combinations |

As can be seen from the Table 1 when it comes to the Source path verbs all of them can be used with a semantically cognate preposition⁴ in English when they are used in both the motional and the metaphorical sense:⁵

a) Motional sense:

*As Folly **exited from** the changing-rooms, the sound came from behind her, and she swung round to see Luke leaning against the wall, looking across at*

⁴ We would like to point out here that we have looked at cognate prepositions in Croatian only, as the possibility of having a preposition which is cognate in form – the issue under scrutiny here - exists only for Croatian. Of course, it would have been possible to consider also the semantically cognate English prepositions, but such a task would be outside the scope of our paper. What is in focus here i.e. in the case of form cognate prefix-preposition pairs is the form(al) redundancy itself. This, at least apparent redundancy, led us to the question of whether there exists a reason for the repetition of form.

⁵ This is not surprising since the semantically cognate preposition in this case is *from*, for which Talmy states that it cannot be a satellite. This also holds true for other verbs analysed that belong to other categories.



the scenes of relaxation in the Seraglio with a look of malicious amusement on his face. (British National Corpus)

*She said Sean's funeral cortege would **leave from** his mother's house in west Belfast because he had hundreds of friends in the area.* (British National Corpus)

*We **depart from** Heathrow at ten o'clock tonight.* (Oxford Collocations Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*To **exit from** this page, press the return key.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*Free guided snowshoe tours **leave from** the Nature Discovery Center at 3 p.m. daily.* (Corpus of Contemporary American English)

*Researchers should therefore give more attention to its negative effects on their conduct, especially in the way it requires researchers to make a number of pragmatic compromises which **depart from** the textbook portrayal of ideal research practice.* (British National Corpus)

Also, their Croatian counterparts can take a preposition that has the same form as the verbal prefix. Here are some examples:

a) Motional sense:

*U nedjelju ujutro **izašla** je **iz** kuće po prvi put nakon dugo vremena, kako bi kupila kavu i novine na benzinskoj postaji preko puta ulice.* (Jutarnji list, 15 November 2013)

*Vjekoslav Majerić (85) nestao je u utorak u ranim prijepodnevnim nakon što je **otišao od** kuće u Ulici 3.* (24 sata, 4 December 2012)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Portugal **izašao iz** recesije zahvaljujući turističkoj sezoni* (Večernji list, 15 September 2013)

*Glas je malo **otišao od** fešte, a više od vikanja na zadnjoj utakmici protiv Talijana - nasmijao se izbornik Ivica Tucak, koji će uskoro napuniti godinu dana na klupi "barakuda".* (24 sata, 5 August 2013)

The analysis of possible combinations of these path verbs with various spatial prepositions in English reveals that *exit* and *depart* can appear with all English spa-



tial prepositions, while *leave* appears either bare or in combination with *from*.

Table 2. Goal verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| enter | (into) - | + | + (ući u) | bare, from |
| arrive | (at) + | + | + (doći do) | all combinations |

a) Motional sense:

*Someone **entered** the room behind me.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*We **arrived at** the hotel late.* (Oxford Collocations Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Let's not **enter into** details at this stage.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*How did your calculations **arrive at** this figure?* (Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs)

The Croatian counterparts of both verbs can take a cognate preposition that has the same form as the prefix.

a) Motional sense:

*Vojnik Robert **ušao** mi je **u** sobu i držeći nož tresao krevet.* (Večernji list, 4 July 2012)

*Kako bi **došao do** svog zemljišta, od naselja Čokolino prema Montovjerni ... poznati Dubrovčanin Jako Šabadin bagerom je prokrčio put.* (Croatian National Corpus)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Basel pobijedio Chelsea, Messi hat-trickom **ušao u** povijest* (Večernji list, 18 September 2013)

*Kako samo **došao do** 24 milijarde eura?* (Jutarnji list, 17 November 2013)



When we look at the combinatory possibilities in English, we can notice that the use of prepositions with *enter* is limited to *from*.

2.2.2. Lowering and Elevation verbs

Table 3. Lowering verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|---------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| descend | (down) - | - | + (sići s) | all but through |

The only lowering path verb cannot take a cognate English preposition either in the motional or in the metaphorical sense.

a) Motional sense:

*She **descended** the stairs slowly.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*The path **descends** steeply to the village.* (Oxford Collocations Dictionary)

Its Croatian counterpart can take a cognate preposition that has the same form as the prefix.

a) Motional sense:

*Mladen je tada bacio mikrofon, počeo luđački psovati i demonstrativno je **sišao s** pozornice.* (24 sata, 4 October 2013)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Prvi primjerak treće generacije BMW-ova luksuznog terenca X5 (F15) **sišao je s** proizvodne trake tvornice u Spartanburgu u Južnoj Karolini, prenosi portan WorldCarFans.* (Večernji list, 6 August 2013)

Finally, when it comes to combinations with other spatial prepositions in English, it can combine with all except *through*.



Table 4. Elevation verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|--------|---------------------|--------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| ascend | (up) - | - | + (popeti po) / - (uzdići se) | bare, from |
| rise | (up) - | - | - (ustati, dići se) | bare, to, from |

Neither of the two elevation path verbs can take a semantically cognate preposition either in motional or in metaphorical sense.

a) Motional sense:

*The air became colder as we **ascended**.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*She **rose to** her feet.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*The road **ascends** steeply from the harbour.* (Oxford Collocations Dictionary)

*She **rose to** power in the 70s.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

When it comes to their Croatian counterparts, ascend may be translated as *popeti po*, in which case the prefix and preposition are cognates. However, this translation is appropriate only under limited circumstances (the emphasis is on the Path, not completion, and the object can only include entities such as stairs, ladders and mountains).

a) Motional sense:

*Hrabri susjed iz stana ispod se pak, ne misleći na opasnost, odmah **popeo po** fasadi i primio dijete za noge.* (24 sata, 7 June, 2012)

We were unable to find examples of metaphorical usage for 'popeti (se) po'.

In English, both verbs can combine with *from*, but rise can also take a PP beginning with *to*.



2.2.3. Continuation and Approaching Target verbs

Table 5. Continuation verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|---------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|---|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| proceed | (to) + | + | - (nastaviti prema) | bare, to, from, along, down, through, towards |
| advance | (toward(s)) + | + | - (napredovati prema) | bare, on/upon, to, from, towards |

Both Continuation verbs can take a semantically cognate preposition in English both in the motional and in the metaphorical sense:

a) Motional sense:

*Passengers to Rome should **proceed to** Gate 32 for boarding.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*The Russians **advance towards** Berlin.* (Oxford Collocations Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*If you wish to **proceed to** the MA, be sure to inform the university of your choice.* (Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs)

*The world political system is **advancing towards** disorder.* (Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs)

Their Croatian counterparts cannot take a preposition that is a cognate of the prefix:

a) Motional sense:

*Bajkeri kod crvenog fiće zapalili svijeće pa **nastavili** karavanu **prema** Vukovaru* (Večernji list, 17 November 2013)

*Libijski pobunjenici **napreduju prema** Bregi* (vijesti.hrt.hr, 7 August 2011)



b) Metaphorical sense:

*Nijemci pregazili blijede Grke i **nastavili** put **prema** naslovu europskog prvaka!* (SportCom.hr)

*Radovi na gradnji vrtića **napreduju prema** planu.* (rhzk.hr, 17 September 2013)

Finally, both verbs can combine with a variety of spatial prepositions in English, but not all of them.

Table 6. Approaching Target verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|----------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| approach | (to) - | - | - (približiti) | bare |
| near | (to) - | - | - (približiti) | bare |

Neither of the two verbs in the Approaching Target category can take a semantically cognate preposition in English:

a) Motional sense:

*As you **approach** the town, you'll see the college on the left.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*We **neared** the top of the hill.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*What's the best way of **approaching** this problem?* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*She was **nearing** the end of her life.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

The same holds true for their Croatian counterparts:

a) Motional sense:

*Ovaj prosvjednik se previše **približio** helikopteru.* (Dnevno, 1 August 2013)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Vettel se novom pobjedom još više **približio** obrani naslova...* (24 sata, 8 September 2013)



Also, when used in the motional sense in English both of them can only appear without a preposition.

2.2.4. *Merger and Division verbs*

Table 7. Merger verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|------|---------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|------------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| join | (with) + | + | + (spojiti s) / - (pridružiti se) | all combinations |

This verb can take a semantically cognate preposition in English both in the motional and in the metaphorical sense:

a) Motional sense:

*I **joined** Fred **with** the others.* (The Free Dictionary)

c) Metaphorical sense:

*In an unusual move, the Bundesbank agreed to **join with** Scandinavian central banks to support the Finnish currency.* (British National Corpus)

Depending on the context and sense, its Croatian counterpart can be a prefixed motion verb followed by a cognate preposition:

a) Motional sense:

*Endeavour se **spojio s** ISS-om.* (Danas.hr, 17 November 2008)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Dries Van Noten nojevo perje je **spojio s** ležernim krojevima.* (24 sata, 28 February 2013)

Finally, when used in the motional sense in English it can combine with all prepositions.



Table 8. Division verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|----------|---------------------|--------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| separate | (from) + | + | + (odvojiti od) | bare, from |
| part | (from) + | + | + (odvojiti od / - razdvojiti (od)) | bare, from |

Both verbs in this category can take a cognate preposition both in the motional and in the metaphorical sense:

a) Motional sense:

*Those suffering from infectious diseases were **separated from** the other patients.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*The puppies were **parted from** their mother at birth.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*He **separated from** his wife after 20 years of marriage.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*We cannot **part from** the argument without expressing our belief that some trial judges would be troubled if they were told that their view, unguided as it is by any established practice and expressed in confidence, was to be determinate of the period to be served by a prisoner.* (British National Corpus)

Both have as their counterparts Croatian verbs followed by prepositions that are cognates of their prefixes, although *part* is also frequently translated by a verb and a preposition where the verbal prefix and preposition are not cognates:

a) Motional sense:

*Dragon se **odvojio od** ISS-a, sad treba samo pasti na zemlju.* (Dnevno, 31 May 2012)



b) Metaphorical sense:

*U Istri se život nije **odvojio od** stvarnosti.* (Glas Istre, 19 January 2013)

Both verbs can appear either bare or followed by *from* when used in motional sense.

2.2.5. Target Distance, Circular and Area verbs

Table 9. Target Distance verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| pass | (by) + | + | + (proći pored) | bare, through, around, into, |
| follow | - | - | - (slijediti) | bare, along |

The verbs in the Target Distance category express the meaning of maintaining a certain distance from the target. The two verbs behave in diametrically opposite ways – *pass* can take a cognate preposition both in the motional and in the metaphorical sense, its Croatian counterpart is a prefixed verb followed by a preposition which is a cognate of the prefix, and in the motional sense it can be used in combination with a number of prepositions. On the other hand, *follow* can never take a cognate preposition, its Croatian counterpart is a path verb, and in the motional sense it can only appear bare or followed by *along*.

English:

a) Motional sense:

*The procession **passed** right **by** my front door.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

*Sam walked in, with the rest of the boys **following** closely behind.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*She feels that life is **passing** her **by**.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)



There ***followed*** a short silence. (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

Croatian:

a) Motional sense:

*Veliki asteroid noćas ***prošao pored*** zemlje* (Večernji list, 8 November 2011)

*Pas ***slijedio*** vlasnika trčeći za kolima hitne pomoći* (24 sata, 11 November 2013)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Naravno da su se usredotočili na nebitne stvari jer je ono glavno ***prošlo pored*** njih, a oni to ne mogu 'čuti'.* (Croatian National Corpus).

*Astronom Mark Showalter ***slijedio*** je svoj osjećaj i na slikama Neptuna pratio bijelu točku.* (24 sata, 16 July 2013)

Table 10. Circular verbs.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|--------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| circle | (around) + | + | +/- (okružiti oko) | all combinations |
| return | (from) + | - | - (vratiti se) | all but for |

The two verbs in the Circular verbs⁶ category exhibit some differences in their behaviour – while *circle* can take a cognate preposition in both the motional and the metaphorical sense, *return* can take it only in the motional sense:

a) Motional sense:

*Seagulls ***circled around*** above his head.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

⁶ The name 'circular' for this category was chosen on the basis of the characteristic semantic trait and the fact that the feature 'circle' appears as a basis for lexical distinction in a number of languages, and has been proposed as a potential semantic primitive (see e.g. Bowerman and Choi, 2003).



*I **returned from** work to find the house empty.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*His doubts **circled around** two elements of Estabrook's story: the assassin himself (this Mr Pie, hired out of nowhere) and more particularly, around the man who'd introduced Estabrook to his hired hand: Chant, whose death had been media fodder for the past several days.* (British National Corpus)

*Her suspicions **returned** when things started going missing again.* (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary)

When it comes to their Croatian counterparts *circle* can be translated by a prefixed verb followed by a cognate preposition. However, in many cases this is not a suitable translation. On the other hand, the Croatian counterpart of *return* is a path verb:

a) Motional sense:

*Putnik je tri puta **okružio oko** piste, i tek je iz četvrtog pokušaja sletio.* (Jutarnji list, 9 October 2013)

*Nije **se vratio** iz komune u koju je otišao 'srediti život'* (Večernji list, 30 September 2013)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Moj sin (9) **vratio se** iz mrtvih.* (24 sata, 25 November 2013)

We were unable to find examples of metaphorical usage for 'okružiti oko'.

Both verbs can appear in combination with all prepositions (the only exception is that *return* cannot appear with *for*) when used in motional sense.

Table 11. Area verb.

| VERB | Cognate preposition | | Cognate preposition in Croatian | Motional sense |
|-------|---------------------|--------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | MOTION | METAPH | | |
| cross | (across) - | - | + (prijeći preko) | bare, over, through, into, to |



The only verb in the Area category cannot take a cognate preposition in either the motional or the metaphorical sense:

a) Motional sense:

*She **crossed** to the door.* (Oxford Collocations Dictionary)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*He had been **crossed** in love.*

Its Croatian counterpart is a prefixed motion verb that can be followed by a cognate preposition:

a) Motional sense:

*Zvonimir joj autom **prešao preko** noge* (24 sata, 10 December 2013)

b) Metaphorical sense:

*Neću **prijeći preko** uvreda i izmišljenog intervjua* (Jutarnji list, 30 May 2013)

When used in the motional sense it can appear either bare or followed by one of the three prepositions listed in the table.

3. Discussion

On the basis of the analysis of verbal subcategories as presented in 2.2.1. through 2.2.5. above, we decided to isolate, first, the subgroups of path verbs that seem to present the most systematic syntactic behaviour crosslinguistically. In this sense, the two categories that stand out are SOURCE and GOAL path verbs. These two categories are consistent in their syntactic ability to combine with a preposition at the intralinguistic level (+MOT, +MET for English, + for Source, +/- for Goal in Croatian), as well as the crosslinguistic level (comparable patterns in English and Croatian). The Source – Goal axis represents the basic axis of our systematization, and the one with verbs exhibiting the greatest degree of systematicity. In other words, SOURCE verbs and GOAL verbs are completely systematic in their behaviour, which might represent further argumentation in support of the ‘primitiveness’ or ‘cognitive primacy’ of Source and Goal, two (semantic) elements that have already been identified in the cognitive linguistic literature as having paramount importance (and power). Let us add to this that *otići* (leave, depart) and *doći* (arrive), are two Croatian verbs that require a preposition (i.e. prepositional phrase) when the motional



sense is in focus, while leaving the option without a preposition for those cases in which the focus is on the verbal result component⁷.

The SOURCE and GOAL categories are coupled (followed in terms of the degree of intra- and crosslinguistic systematicity) with the DIVISION category (same level of consistency) and LOWERING and ELEVATION (-- English, and + Croatian for Lowering and +/- Croatian for Elevation).

All these five categories are very systematic both at the intra- as well as at the crosslinguistic levels in terms of syntactic properties ('all or nothing criterion').

The remaining categories present a combination of systematicity and arbitrariness. The next most systematic are CONTINUATION and APPROACHING TARGET, since they present one pattern for English only, and one pattern for Croatian only (CONTINUATION is of the ++ Engl. and – Croatian type, and APPROACHING TARGET is - - for Engl. and – for Croatian). We should note here that these categories bear stronger elements (components) of semantic relation to the notions of Source and Goal than the rest of the subcategories. In fact, in order to be conceptualized each of these categories needs a reference point (viewed as a Source or Goal). In other words, they are semantically codified *in relation* to a Source or Goal, and thus found on the next level of complexity, immediately following the SOURCE and GOAL categories.

Next, the TARGET DISTANCE category combines both characteristics seen so far, i.e. the ++ Eng + Cro crosslinguistic model for *pass*, and - - Eng – Cro for *follow*. This is, in terms of intra- and crosslinguistic complexity patterns, followed by two categories CIRCULAR and MERGER. These two categories are of particular interest since they frequently exhibit an 'all combinatorial' pattern in English which, in Croatian, translates into the possibility of 'alternate (+ or - preposition)' patterns. We observe that, semantically, these subcategories are less 'dependent' (or relying) on the notions of Source and Goal than the previous categories (but are still, at least in part, linked to the notion of a point-like reference object, e.g. to continue from where (not necessarily the Source but from a point on the trajectory), or merge with, or approach something/-one – which is less 'Goal bound' than the 'TARGET DISTANCE' subcategory).

⁷ In order to exemplify this let us just consider *otići / doći od / do majke* - leave / arrive from / to mother GEN, which lexicalizes the Path initial (Source) or Path final (Goal) component (in the PP) and contrast it with *otići / doći majci* – leave / arrive mother DAT, which lexicalizes (or focuses on) the result of leaving or arriving to the mother, thus the mother being impacted (for a detailed analysis of this phenomenon see Brala-Vukanović and Rubinić, 2011).



The most puzzling and, it would appear, the most arbitrary category, is AREA which does not fall into any of the above systematizations. One possible explanation might be that this category is systematically the least related to the notions of Source and Goal intended as points, which, at the same time, seem to be the ‘strongest’ features in terms of ‘guiding syntactic intra- and crosslinguistic systematicity’ (see also below).

On the basis of the discussion proposed above, we can try and organize the categories identified in our analysis so as to place the most intra- and crosslinguistically systematic ones at the base, and build the schema upwards, all the way up to the least systematic, as shown in Figure 1:

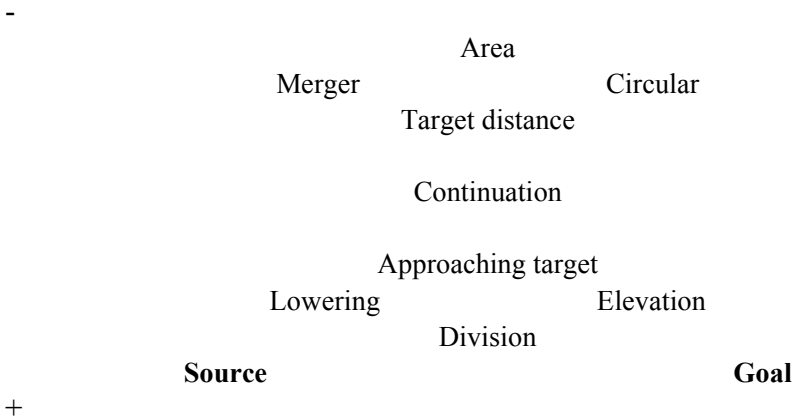


Fig 1. Schematic representation of path verb subcategories in terms of crosslinguistic syntactic systematicity with respect to prepositional selection (from most systematic (bottom) to least systematic (top)).

4. Conclusion

We would like to conclude our analysis by stating that, while the overall picture of syntactic systematicity – both intra- and crosslinguistic - that emerged from our analysis was perhaps somewhat less coherent than we had expected it to be (given the typological nature of the phenomenon under examination), we nevertheless find the results very interesting and possibly worth investigating further. First of all, we would like to reiterate the proposal that the Source – Goal axis represents the basic



axis of our systematization, and the one with verbs exhibiting the greatest degree of systematicity.

Following the SOURCE and GOAL subgroup, we have DIVISION, LOWERING and ELEVATION, which represent the next level of syntactic systematicity both at the intra- as well as the crosslinguistic levels (+ + + or - - -). These categories are followed by APPROACHING TARGET, which exhibits a - - - pattern, typical of the ELEVATION category. Let us be reminded that these categories bear stronger elements (components) of semantic relation to the notions of Source and Goal than the rest of the subcategories.

The next level of systematicity is presented by the CONTINUATION and TARGET DISTANCE subcategories (+ + E, - C, and - - E, - C pattern), followed by MERGER and CIRCULAR. As suggested above, these categories, while bearing an underlying relation to the notions of Source and Goal, seem to be less semantically 'dependent' on these notions than the other categories identified in the analysis.

Finally, the most complex pattern category is AREA. One speculative explanation that we would like to propose in order to explain the great degree of arbitrariness associated with this category is that it bears the least relation to Source and Goal elements (*cross* is the verb that is, semantically, in relation to all other path verbs the one that is least linked to the notions of Source and Goal, and this might be underlying the fact that it presents such an unsystematic picture of syntactic behaviour with respect to PP requirements).

We would like to conclude this paper by proposing our analysis as further evidence of the 'semantic primitiveness' of the concepts of Source and Goal. We would also like to suggest that it might be interesting to see whether the syntactic patterns exhibited by the Croatian path verbs, are also those exhibited by their translational equivalents in other Slavic languages, but also whether the general pattern of systematicity (where SOURCE and GOAL are the most systematic, and AREA is the least systematic) hold across other (non-Slavic) languages as well.

References

- Allen, Shanley, Asli Özyürek, Sotaro Kita, Amanda Brown, Reyhan Furman, Tomoko Ishizuka, Mihoko Fujii (2007). Language-specific and universal influences in children's syntactic packaging of Manner and Path: A comparison of English, Japanese and Turkish. *Cognition* 102: 16–48.
- Bowerman, Melissa, Soonja Choi (2003). 'Space under construction: Language-specific spatial categorization in first language acquisition'. Gentner, Dedre, Susan Goldin-



- Meadow, eds. *Language in mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 387–427.
- Bowerman, Melissa, Lourdes De León, Soonja Choi (1995). Verbs, particles, and spatial semantics: Learning to talk about spatial actions in typologically different languages. Clark, Eve V., ed. *Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Child Language Research Forum*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information, 101–110.
- Brala-Vukanović, Maja, Nensi Rubinić (2011). Prostorni prijedlozi i prefiksi u hrvatskome jeziku. Kognitivnosemantička analiza. *Fluminensia: časopis za filološka istraživanja* 2: 21–37.
- Cadierno, Teresa (2008). Learning to talk about motion in a foreign language. Robinson, Peter, Nick C. Ellis, eds. *Handbook of cognitive linguistics and Second Language Acquisition*. New York – London: Routledge, 239–275.
- Cadierno, Teresa, Lucas Ruiz (2006). Motion events in Spanish L2 acquisition. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 4: 183–216.
- Cadierno, Teresa (2004). Expressing motion events in a second language: A cognitive typological perspective. Achard, Michel, Susanne Niemi, eds. *Cognitive Linguistics, Second Language Acquisition, and Foreign Language Teaching*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 13–49.
- Cifuentes-Férez, Paula, Dedre Gentner (2006). Naming motion events in Spanish and English. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17.4: 443–462.
- Courtney, Rosemary (1998). *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. Longman.
- Deuter, Margaret, James Greenan, Joseph Noble, Janet Phillips, eds. (2003). *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hickmann, Maya (2008). *Children's Discourse. Person, Space and Time across Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maguire, Mandy J., Kathy Hirsh-Pasek, Roberta Michnick Golinkoff, Mutsumi Imai, Etsuko Haryu, Sandra Vonegas, Hiroyuki Okada, Rachel Pulverman, Brenda Sanchez-Davis (2010). A developmental shift from similar to language-specific strategies in verb acquisition: A comparison of English, Spanish and Japanese. *Cognition* 114: 299–319.
- McNeill, David, Susan Duncan (2000). Growth points in thinking-for-speaking. McNeill, David, ed. *Language and Gesture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 141–161.
- Memišević, Anita (2012). *Croatian Prefixed Motion Verbs and their Influence on the Processing of English Motion Verbs and Prepositions in Croatian-English Bilingual Speakers*. Zagreb: Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Naigles, Letitia R., Paula Terrazas (1998). Motion-verb generalizations in English and Spanish: Influences of language and syntax. *Psychological Science* 9.5: 363–369.



- Navarro, Samuel, Elena Nicoladis (2005). Describing motion events in adult L2 Spanish narratives. *Selected Proceedings of the 6th Conference on the Acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese as First and Second Languages*. Somerville, M.A.: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 102–107.
- Özçalışkan, Seyda, Dan I. Slobin, D. (2000). Climb up vs. ascend climbing: Lexicalization choices in expressing motion events with manner and path components. Howell, Catherine S., Sarah A. Fish, Thea Keith-Lucas, eds. *Proceedings of the 24th annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. Vol. 2. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 558–572.
- Özçalışkan, Seyda, Dan I. Slobin (1999). Learning how to search for the frog: Expression of manner of motion in English, Spanish and Turkish. Greenhill, Annabel, Heather Littlefield, Cheryl Tano, eds. *Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 541–552.
- Özyürek, Asli, Seyda Özçalışkan (2000). How do children learn to conflate manner and path in their speech and gestures? Differences in English and Turkish. Clark, Eve V., ed. *The Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Child Language Research Forum*. Stanford. CA: CSLI Publications, 77–85.
- Özyürek, Asli, Sotaro Kita (1999). Expressing manner and path in English and Turkish: Differences in speech, gesture, and conceptualization. Hahn, Martin, Scott C. Stoness, eds. *Proceedings of the Twenty-first Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*. Mahwah, NJ. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 507–512.
- Papafragou, Anna, Justin Hulbert, John Trueswell (2008). Does language guide event perception? Evidence from eye movements. *Cognition* 108: 155–184.
- Pruden, Shannon M., Kathy Hirsh-Pasek, Roberta M. Golinkoff (2008). Current events: How infants parse the world and events for language. Shipley, Thomas F., Jeffrey M. Zachs, eds. *Understanding Events: From Perception to Action*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 160–192.
- Pulverman, Rachel, Roberta Michnick Galinkoff, Kathy Hirsh-Pasek, Jennifer Sootsman Buresh (2008). Infants discriminate manners and paths in non-linguistic dynamic events. *Cognition* 108: 825–830.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2008). The child learns to think for speaking: Puzzles of crosslinguistic diversity in form-meaning mappings. Ogura, Tamiko, Harumi Kobayashi, Shunji Inagaki, Makiko Hirakawa, Setsuko Arita, Yasushi Terao, eds. *Studies in Language Sciences* 7. Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers, 3–22.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2006). What makes manner of motion salient? Explorations in linguistic typology, discourse and cognition. Hickman, Maya, Stéphane Robert, eds. *Space in Languages: Linguistic Systems and Cognitive Categories*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 59–81.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2005). Linguistic representations of motion events: What is signifier and what is signified? Maeder, Costantino, Olga Fischer, William J. Herlofsky, eds. *Ico-*



- nicity Inside Out: Iconicity in Language and Literature 4*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia. John Benjamins, 307-322.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2004). The many ways to search for a frog: linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. Strömquist, Sven, Ludo Verhoeven, eds. *Relating events in Narrative: Typological and Contextual Perspectives*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 219–258.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2003). Language and thought online: Cognitive consequences of linguistic relativity. Gentner, Dedre, Susan Goldin-Meadow, eds. *Language in Mind: Advances in the Study of Language and Thought*. Cambridge, MA : MIT Press, 157–192.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2002). Cognitive and communicative consequences of linguistic diversity. Strömquist, Sven, ed. *The Diversity of Languages and Language Learning*. Lund: Lund University, Centre for Languages and Literature, 7–23.
- Slobin, Dan I. (1997). The universal, the typological, and the particular in acquisition. Slobin, Dan I., ed. *The Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition. Volume 5: Expanding the Contexts*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1–39.
- Slobin, Dan I. (1996). From ‘thought and language’ to ‘thinking for speaking’. Gumperz, John Joseph, Levinson, Stephen C., eds. *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 17–70.
- Talmy, Leonard (2001b). *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Vol. 2*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Talmy, Leonard (2001a). *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Vol.1*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Talmy, Leonard (1985). Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. Shopen, Timothy, ed. *Language typology and syntactic description: Grammatical categories and the lexicon. Volume III: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57–149.
- Turnbull, Joanna, ed. (2010). *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Corpora:

- British National Corpus
- Corpus of Contemporary American English
- Croatian National Corpus

**Authors' address:**

Maja Brala-Vukanović
Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci
Sveučilišna avenija 4
51 000 Rijeka
e-mail: mbrala@ffri.hr

Anita Memišević
Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci
Sveučilišna avenija 4
51 000 Rijeka
e-mail: amemisevic@ffri.hr

**ENGLJSKI GLAGOLI KOJI IZRIČU PUT:
POREDBENO-KONTRASTIVNA ENGLJSKO-HRVATSKA ANALIZA**

Polazeći od Talmyjevoga (2001b: 52) popisa koji sadrži 20 engleskih glagola koji izriču put, u ovome radu istražujemo semantička i sintaktička svojstva tih glagola fokusirajući se na to mogu li ili ne uzeti prijedložnu frazu. U ovome su smislu od osobitoga interesa one kombinacije u kojima (elementi) Puta kodirani u prijedložnoj frazi dijele središnje semantičke komponente s (elementima) Puta kodiranim u glagolu (npr. *enter into*). Nadalje, glagole, odnosno njihova različita semantička ostvarenja, istražujemo iz međujezične perspektive promatrajući sintaktičke realizacije struktura koje izriču kretanje u hrvatskome. Također, uspoređujemo i kontrastiramo semantičko-sintaktička svojstva svih hrvatskih prijevoda ciljanih engleskih struktura. Zanimljivo je da je moguće provesti kategorizaciju engleskih glagola koji izriču Put temeljem toga mogu li se na hrvatski prevesti prefigiranim glagolom nakon kojega slijedi prijedložna fraza u kojoj su oblik prefiksa i oprijedloga isti (npr. *ući u*), ili ne. U zaključku nudimo sistematizaciju međujezične slike glagola koji izriču Put i identificiramo četiri razine međujezične sistematičnosti (s time da je ona koju nazivamo 'Ishodišno-Ciljna Os' najkoherentnija, odnosno, najsystematičnija).

Ključne riječi: glagoli koji izriču Put; glagoli koji izriču način; engleski; hrvatski; međujezična analiza; semantička univerzalnost.