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**THE EXPRESSION AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MOTION THROUGH
SPACE AND MANNER OF MOTION IN PERSIAN AND ENGLISH:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

A Thesis in

Applied Linguistics
by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a comparative analysis of English and Persian expressions of motion events. More specifically, using a discourse analytic approach, the study investigates how speakers of Persian and English express motion through space, as well as manner of motion, in elicited narratives based on two short films. The analytic unit in this dissertation is that of the “motion event” based on Talmy’s (1991, 2000) framework. The cross-linguistic design of the study is intended to uncover the similarities and differences between the expressions of motion in English and Persian as well as to help investigate the standing of Persian with respect to Talmy’s binary typology of Satellite- and Verb-framed languages, particularly as it compares to English. The discourse analytic nature of the study in the uncovering of patterns of motion description is similar to Berman and Slobin (1994) and Slobin’s (1987, 1996, 2000) line of research.

The analysis in this study illustrates that the rhetorical style exhibited in the Persian narratives is similar to what linguists would expect of prototypical V-languages in the expression of manner, static scene setting, and ground description. The analysis also uncovers the salience of the deictic center as a grounding element and a significant factor in the conceptualization of motion through space in the Persian narratives. However, as observed, the Persian narratives contain seeming anomalies with respect to path expressions, and as such present a mixed picture of Talmy’s typology.

Specifically, this study has revealed a considerable number of path expressions that are encoded through path satellites in Persian (thereby resembling S-framed languages) as well as expressions of path with conflation of fact of motion (thereby

resembling V-framed languages). In addition, it is only through the predominant focus on the discourse in the Persian narratives that this study has revealed a third medium through which path conceptualizations emerge: the medium of *inference*, where path is neither encoded by a satellite or conflated within a verb; rather, in such instances, path is contextually implied.

The findings of this dissertation illustrate that the concept of path conflation cannot account for the complex nature of path conceptualization within actual discourse. In other words, the discourse-based nature of this study has been crucial to the uncovering of such fine-grained conceptual distinctions in path expressions that morpho-syntax alone could not reveal.

I hope this dissertation inspires further studies on Persian language in general, and discourse analytic approaches to Persian in particular, the latter of which are rare at best.

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I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my four grandparents

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Focus of the study

This dissertation is a comparative analysis of English and Persian expressions of motion events as they emerge in elicited narratives produced by native speakers of these two languages. More specifically, using a discourse analytic approach, the study investigates how speakers of Persian and English express motion through space, as well as manner of motion, in elicited narratives based on two short films. The analytic unit in this dissertation is that of “motion event” based on Talmy’s (1991, 2000) framework. Briefly, a “motion event,” in Talmy’s framework describes the “physical motion” or “locatedness” of an object and consists of four basic components: the fact of motion, the moving entity (Figure), Path of motion, and a reference point (Ground). A motion event can also include the co-events of Cause and Manner. Based on how Path, the “core schema,” is characteristically lexicalized within languages, Talmy categorizes the languages of the world into two main groups: Satellite-framed and Verb-framed.

While English has been illustrated to be a prototypical Satellite-framed language, Persian has thus far not been investigated in this regard. In fact, Persian is a less commonly studied language in general, and more specifically, in the currently existing literature there is a paucity of discourse based approaches to Persian. Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is fourfold: 1) to investigate the standing of Persian with respect to

Talmy's binary typology, using English as a point of reference, 2) to analyze the expression of motion events in Persian in general, using the actual discourse produced by native speakers of Persian, 3) to contribute to the existing body of literature on Persian language, and 4) to contribute to the literature on language and conceptualization.

The study of how speakers of different languages express the concept of motion through space as well as manner of motion has provided useful insights regarding the possible and types of relationships between linguistic and conceptual diversity. In spite of the variety of ways in which the motion of an entity through space and time can be encoded in any given language, it seems that the actual expressions of these phenomena tend to pattern in language specific ways – patterns that are closely related to linguistic typology. Discourse analytic approaches to a variety of genres of spoken and written language reveals that the speakers of typologically similar languages tend to express motion in similar ways.

Therefore, despite a number of co-existing means or possibilities of describing motion events, speakers of S-framed and V-framed languages tend to generally follow what is typical in their language. This notion reveals the possible role of typology in the conceptualization of motion events and conceptual categories in general, echoing Whorf's interpretation of mind-language relationship. The following statement illustrates:

Users of markedly different languages are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of externally similar acts of observation, and hence not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world (Whorf 1956: 221).

The influence of such *routine* ways of speaking on *habitual* thought is generally known as the linguistic relativity hypothesis, a highly debated concept. A less controversial version of this hypothesis is the “thinking-for-speaking” framework, is suggested by Slobin (1987, 1996, 1997, 2004). This framework was arrived at through numerous cross-linguistic analyses of motion events in discourse. According to the thinking for speaking framework, language influences thought at least during the very moment of framing one’s thoughts for the sake of uttering them. Using thinking for speaking as a framework in this study, I will attempt to illustrate the differences in the conceptualization of motion events in English and Persian.

A multitude of languages that have been studied thus far using Talmy and Slobin’s frameworks include the following: English, Spanish, Russian, Dutch, German, Korean, Chinese, Thai, Japanese, Icelandic, Swedish, Hebrew, Basque, Turkish, French, Tzeltal, and Arrente. Some of these languages have been illustrated to be typical or representative of their typological group, some exhibit peculiarities and some, raise fundamental questions with respect to the binary typology.

1.2 The organization of the study

This dissertation is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the previous research on language and conceptualization, with a focus on the area of linguistic relativity generally regarded as studies on linguistic relativity. The chapter is organized according to the particular semantic domains that the seminal studies investigate. These domains constitute major

semantic categories such as: time, space, motion, and the nominal reference. The category of motion is elaborated in the chapter to match the focus of this dissertation. I discuss in depth studies that investigate various languages based on Talmy's and Slobin's frameworks. This chapter sets the groundwork for the relationship between the expression and conceptualization of motion events.

Chapter 3 presents the data and methodology of this dissertation. The chapter introduces the films used as data elicitation tools, the data collection methods used, the transcription conventions, and the participants, including the rationale participation selection. The chapter also explains the coding of the datasets for the overall analytic dimensions of the chapters that follow.

In Chapter 4, I provide an overview of the inventory of motion verbs located in the English and Persian datasets. This chapter examines the similarities and differences in the types and number of motion verbs habitually used by native speakers of English and Persian in the description of the events of the same story. In this chapter I also explicate the unique patterns of verb use in each language, i.e., the frequent use of idiosyncratic manner-of-motion verbs in English and the use of light verb constructions by Persian speakers. I also provide a general overview of the literature on light verb constructions in Persian is also provided in this chapter.

Chapter 5 presents a detailed analysis of the expression of motion events in the English and Persian narratives. In this chapter, I analyze the four basic components of motion events in the English and Persian datasets. The chapter presents the following analyses: the expression of path through path satellites and path verbs in both languages; manner of motion, as realized in the discourse of the speakers of the two languages –

through both manner verbs and alternative discursive expressions of manner and ground descriptions in the English and Persian datasets.

Chapter 6 presents a comparative analysis of the deictic verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the English and Persian narratives. These deictic verbs are by far the most frequently used verbs by Persian speakers in the description of motion events. Thus, the main purpose of the chapter is to determine whether these two deictic verbs simply encode translational motion, as suggested in the literature, or whether they encode other aspects pertaining to the conceptualization of motion events. To this end, the use of the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ in Persian is compared to their use and function in the English narratives.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion to the dissertation and includes remarks with regard to the typology of Persian as it compares to English, the unique characteristics of the expression of motion events in this language, and the implications of the study.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

LANGUAGE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION

2.1 Introduction

The question of linguistic influences on thought and cognition has generally been studied under the broader concept of linguistic relativity. The original idea of linguistic relativity is attributed to Humboldt, Boas, and later to, Sapir and Whorf, hence the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*. Although there are various versions and interpretations of the hypothesis, the generally accepted notion among the proponents is that language *classifies* experience and that languages vary with respect to the ways in which they perform this classificatory function. That is, while expressions relating to broad cognitive categories such as time, space, and motion are universal and exist across languages, the narrower characteristics and more specific elements within such categories tend to pattern in language specific ways. Thus, the *routine* ways of speaking about such concepts influence the ways in which speakers of different languages conceptualize and *habitually* think about those concepts; in turn, linguistic structures, such as grammatical categories, reveal certain cognitive categories. (Berman and Slobin 1994; Boroditsky 2001; Bowerman 1996; Bowerman and Choi 2001, 2003; Davidoff et al 1999; Hanks 1996; 2006; Lucy 1992, 1996; Slobin 1987, 1996, 1997, 2000; Levinson 1992, 2003;

McNeill 1997, 2000; Negueruela et al 2004; Ozyurek and Kita 1999; Perederson et al. 1998; Strauss et al. 2002; Strauss, to appear; among others).

The diversity of human languages and the vast range of possibilities for talking about the world across cultures is remarkable. This notion was observed as early as 1918 by Boas who, in his *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, catalogued a number of obligatory grammatical categories in Native American languages and marveled at the variety of the “aspects of experience that must be expressed” in each language (Slobin 1996: 71). The influence of such diversities on how those experiences are conceptualized has been investigated in the empirical studies of linguistic anthropologists such as, Sapir, Whorf, and, more recently, by Lucy, Levinson, Brown, Kay, etc. In addition, works of cognitive linguists, Talmy, Langacker, Sweetser, Lakoff and others, have uncovered a wider range of grammatical categories and the nuances of meanings conveyed by apparently similar grammatical structures (Chafe 1994; Langacker 1991, 2006; Strauss 2006, to appear a; Strauss, Lee, and Ahn 2006; Sweetser 1997; Talmy 1991, 2000; Tomasello 1998, among others). Grammar, according to these scholars, is a “meaningful system” – some go as far as *equating* grammar with conceptualization (e.g., Langacker 1991) – a meaningful system which reflects “conceptual partitioning” (Talmy 1991: 481).

As noted by Langacker (2006: 17):

...language is all about meaning. Crucially, meaning resides in conceptualization. It does not just mirror objective reality; it is a matter of how we apprehend, conceive, and portray the real world and the myriad worlds we mentally construct.

While the scholars cited above vary with respect to their approaches and specific assumptions underlying the language-mind relationship, they all share the basic principle that linguistic structures influence and are influenced by cognition.

In the sections that follow, I will provide an overview of studies that investigate the relation between mind and language from some of these different perspectives. The studies are categorized according to their domain of focus and suggest a positive relationship between mind and language. In Section 2.2 I present studies related to the domain of time. Section 2.3 centers on studies of noun categorization. Section 2.4 focuses on space. In Section 2.5 I present an overview of the literature on motion events. Section 2.6 is the conclusion to this chapter.

2.2 Time

A classic example of the investigation of the concept of time, which is also considered the first empirical study in the field of linguistic relativity, is Whorf's (1956) comparative analysis of American English and Hopi. Whorf argued that the differences in conceptualization of *time* among Hopi and English speakers stems from differences in temporal marking in the two languages (Lucy 1992a, 1995; Foley 1996). Unlike English, which classifies time as an *object* and thus quantifies it, as in *two years, three days, etc.*, Hopi does not *objectify* time as such. Hopi makes use of "ordinal number + singular noun," e.g., *(by) the second year, (by) the third day, etc.*, to talk about time intervals. As a result of such differences in categorizing time linguistically, Hopi speakers tend to conceptualize time not as *objects* but as *recurrent events*, as also evidenced in their

related cultural practices and beliefs. This contrasts with those of English speaking communities. Thus, in Whorf's view:

We *dissect nature* along lines laid down by our native language. The categories and types that we isolate from the world of phenomena we do not find there because they stare the observer in the face; on the contrary, the world is presented in a kaleidoscope flux of impressions which has to be organized by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems of our minds. (Whorf 1956: 213 in Gentner & Goldin-Meadow 2003)

Therefore, according to Whorf, the world does not “present” us with events and situations to be verbalized, but experiences are “filtered through language,” which, in turn, classifies our experiences (Slobin 1996b).

Cognitive semanticists have observed that all languages use *spatial* terms to talk about time (Lakoff 1999). However, the “orientation” of the sequence of events is not universal. For example, “the past being behind us is not” a universal concept. Nunez et al (1997 in Lakoff *ibid*) state that in Aymara, a Chilean language, the past is in the front and the future is behind us. This is due to the general conception in Aymara that the past is known and thus “seeable” but the future cannot be seen and therefore is behind us. This distinctive conceptualization of time is reflected in temporal markers in Aymara. For example, *maymara* literally means ‘eye year’ and refers to ‘last year.’ By the same token, *q'ipa marana*, translates as ‘back/behind year-in’ and refers to ‘in the coming year (or the next year)’ (Lakoff *ibid*: 141).

The relationship between variations in talking about time and conceptualization of time has been empirically investigated by Boroditsky (2001) in a comparative study involving English and Mandarin. English predominantly uses “front/back” spatial terms,

e.g., ahead, behind, forward, etc. to mark the temporal sequence of events, pointing to a *horizontal* concept of time. Mandarin, on the other hand, in addition to using horizontal spatial morphemes, i.e., the equivalents of ‘back’ and ‘front,’ makes systematic use of *vertical* spatial metaphors, *shang* ‘up’ and *xia* ‘down,’ used as the English equivalents of *last* and *next* (Boroditsky *ibid*).

Through a number of experimental studies that measure the participants’ reaction time to a series of TRUE/FALSE questions regarding event sequences, Boroditsky (*ibid*) illustrates that differences in speaking about time correspond to the speakers’ time concept. That is, Mandarin speakers had a vertical bias even when speaking in English, suggesting the influence of their native language on their categorization patterns. In another related experiment within the same study, Boroditsky observed that the extent to which Mandarin English bilinguals thought about time vertically was related to the age at which they learned English. Subsequently, it was observed that native speakers of English who were taught to think about time vertically showed the same vertical bias in performing the above tasks as did the Mandarin speakers. Boroditsky concludes that language has a strong (but not “determining”) influence on shaping thought, especially for abstract domains, i.e., the ones that are not salient to sensory experience.

2.3 Nouns

Languages vary with respect to making grammatical distinctions between objects and substances. That is, languages differ regarding where the boundaries are drawn on the continuum of nouns (ranging from objects to substances) or how they are categorized

(Goldin-Meadow 2003). This categorization influences how languages individuate nouns or count them. For example, in English discrete nouns typically have distinct singular and plural forms, e.g., ‘one banana,’ ‘two leaves,’ etc., but pluralization is typically inhibited for unformed substances, e.g., ‘rice’ or ‘mud.’ However, unlike English, in Yucatec, only *animate* nouns are (optionally) pluralized, but neither inanimate objects nor unformed substances are marked for pluralization. In other words, Yucatec does not make a distinction between the two latter types of nouns. In fact, most nouns are referred to using a combination of a classifier, which includes some information about the shape of the object plus the composing *substance* of the item (Lucy1992). For example, *2-dimens banana*, refers to ‘banana leaf,’ while *a 3-dimens banana* means ‘banana fruit’; or, *long thin wax* refers to ‘a candle’ in Yucatec. Therefore, most nouns in Yucatec are “semantically unspecified as to quantificational unit – almost as if they all referred to unformed substances,” pointing to the *saliency* of substance in the language. (Lucy and Gaskins 2003: 471).

Such differences in the grammatical structures of English and Yucatec correspond to speakers’ performance in cognitive tasks. When describing pictures and also in non-linguistic tasks, such as recall and recognition, English speakers are constantly aware of the number of discrete items. Yucatec speakers, however, do not express numbers and are systematically insensitive to number in the above tasks. Similarly, English speakers sort items systematically based on *shape*, while Yucatec speakers categorize them according to *substance*. For example, when given a scrap of metal, a metal nail, and a wooden pencil, Yucatec speakers consistently place the scrap of metal and metal nail in the same group (based on their substance) and leave the pencil out. The reverse is true about

English speakers, i.e., they categorize the nail and the pencil in the same group (based on their shape) and leave the scrap of metal out. The results seem to establish what Levinson (2003) terms “experiencing-for-thinking,” i.e., “coding for memory for non-linguistic tasks being influenced by language patterns” (p.304).

A digression occurs with children. Similar to English speaking children, a large proportion of younger Yucatec children sort non-malleable objects like tools according to their shape. However, by the age of nine, Yucatec children demonstrate sensitivity to material similar to the adults in their language group. That is, as children become linguistically competent, the cognitive influences of the local language becomes more apparent (Lucy and Gaskins 2003).

Classifier languages provide significant insights into the relationship between linguistic structures and conceptual categories since the basic function of classifiers is to categorize nouns into different classes. As noted by Lakoff (1987), in order to understand how human beings generally categorize the world, “one must at least understand human categorization in the case of natural language.” Studies that center on classifiers in various languages, e.g., Dyribal (Dixon 1983 in Lakoff 1987), Swahili (Contini-Morava 2000), Korean (O. Lee 1994), Thai (Hundius and Kolver 1983), demonstrate that while speakers of such languages are rarely aware of the principles of their classification systems, there are complex cognitive models that underlie the rules of noun classification.

2.4 Space

Spatial conception is central to human cognition, not only as a significant concept in its own right, but also since it influences human mobility and affects other conceptualization systems, such as motion and time (Levinson 1996, 1997, 2003a). And yet, spatial frames of reference are not universal. Levinson (2003a: 10-11) identifies three basic frames of reference (FoR) used across human languages and cultures: relative (anthropocentric, e.g., left, right), intrinsic (object-centered, e.g., in front of, at the nose of, etc.) and absolute (fixed bearing, e.g., north, east, etc.). Some languages use only one, some, a combination of two, and some all three FoRs, in order to specify the relationship between an object (figure) and a landmark (ground). For example, unlike English, which uses relative and intrinsic FoRs, Guugu-Yimidhirr (GY), an aboriginal Australian language, does not utilize any relative or anthropocentric coordinates, like the equivalents of left/right, to locate objects in space. Instead, GY utilizes a system of absolute spatial references, whether the distance is as large as miles or as small as millimeters (Levinson 1992, 1997, 2003a).

Such differences in linguistic encoding of spatial relations correspond to variations in spatial cognition (Levinson 2003a; Pederson et. al 1998; Asifa et al. 2004). First, unlike speakers of relative languages (such as Dutch) absolute language speakers are accurate navigators, i.e., linguistic structures in GY have equipped the speakers with “cultural software” for navigation by imposing certain types of spatial computations (Levinson 2003a). Second, in recall and recognition tasks, speakers of absolute languages consistently remember spatial positions in terms of absolute directions in which the

objects are placed. That is, they remember how objects are arranged on the table in various relations to each other according to absolute coordinates. These results contrast sharply with performance results of Dutch speakers who remember the position of objects only in terms of their own bodies' relative position with respect to the objects. Levinson (ibid) concludes that the speakers of the two types of languages perceive and encode their experience with space in "language-driven ways," suggesting that the speakers of different languages "inhabit different spatial worlds" (Hanks 2006).

Levinson's line of research points to a strong influence of linguistic categories on conceptualization:

There are robust correlations between frames of reference used in language and frames of reference used in non-linguistic memory and reasoning, suggesting a major 'Whorfian' effect of language on cognition. (Levinson 2003a: xix)

Research in comparative cognitive linguistics has uncovered a wide variety in the semantics of spatial terms across languages, suggesting possibilities for cognitive diversity with respect to space (Munnich and Landau 2003). Although certain spatial relations such as "containment" and "attachment" seem to be marked universally, the underlying semantics of such spatial relations vary cross-linguistically. This suggests that space is not carved up along the same geometrical axes across languages (Bowerman 1996). This variation is true even in the case of seemingly closely related languages. Bowerman's (ibid) cross-linguistic analysis of spatial terms in English, Finnish, Dutch, and Spanish revealed that there are certain distinctions between prepositions/postpositions denoting containment and attachment among the four languages. For example, English uses 'in' to denote 'an apple in the bowl,' but 'on' to

express ‘a book on the table,’ or ‘a door on the cupboard.’ Spanish, on the other hand, uses a single preposition, *en*, to describe all three events and Dutch has three different terms for each event, *in*, *op*, and *aan*, respectively.

Korean has a different partitioning system from the other four languages in that it “crosscuts” the categories of *in* and *on* and distinguishes between tight and loose attachment or containment (Bowerman and Choi 2001, 2003). *Kkita* in Korean is used to denote tight-fitting spatial relations, e.g., putting ‘a ring on the finger’ or ‘a cassette in the case.’ *Nehta*, denotes putting something into a loose container, e.g., putting ‘an apple into a bowl’ or ‘books into a bag.’ A series of studies involving English speaking adults and infants as well as Korean adults and infants illustrated striking cross-linguistic patterns (Bowerman and Choi 2001, 2003). Pre-linguistic infants, around the age of 9-11 months, make a number of general distinctions. All infants recognize “containment,” but are not sensitive to the categories of “support” and “tight fit” events. That is, all infants at this age “notice” certain types of spatial relations, regardless of their native language. However, by the age of 20 months infants make distinctions between spatial relations in accordance with the grammatical structures of their language, similar to the adult speakers in their own language groups. For example, while English speaking children distinguish and are sensitive to events involving containment and support, Korean infants recognize tight and loose fit or containment. The results suggest a strong influence of linguistic structures on the development of semantic categories and “as semantic categories are formed, the speaker becomes skilled at making the rapid automatic judgments they require” (Bowerman and Choi 2003: 417).

The same type of early specialization in accordance with the local language has also been reported with infant speech perception. While all infants are sensitive to the speech sounds around them, by the age of six months infants lose their sensitivity to sounds they do not hear often and gradually become only sensitive to the sound distinctions of their native language (Kuhl and Meltzoff 1996). In other words, by this age, children have acquired a “cultural acoustic landscape” (Levinson 2003b). This “perceptual tuning and attention,” as was noted with respect to spatial concepts, is considered one possible mechanism of the “Whorfian effect” (Asifa et al 2004).

2.5 Motion – Introduction

In this section I will first present Talmy’s cross-linguistic typological approach to the linguistic representation of motion events. I will then note a number of empirical studies that involve the application of Talmy’s framework to discourse and the influence of this typology on the conceptualization of motion, by using Slobin’s “thinking for speaking” framework.

2.5.1 Talmy’s framework of motion events

Talmy (1991, 2000) describes the systematic cross-linguistic variations in the expression of motion and introduces a binary typological system based on the semantic domain of motion. According to Talmy’s categorization, all languages grammatically mark certain aspects of motion. However, languages vary with respect to how they

express particular semantic features relating to motion in their syntax and lexicon.

Talmy (2000) makes the following statement about the morpho-syntactic representation of semantic features:

A combination of semantic elements can be expressed by a single surface element, or a single semantic element by a combination of surface elements. Or again, semantic elements of different types can be expressed by the same type of surface element, as well as the same type by several different ones (21).

Talmy's categorization is based on how languages encode the "core schema" or core information of a domain. Here, we will focus on the typology as it relates to motion.

A motion event, according to Talmy (2000), is "a situation containing motion and continuation of stationary location alike" (p.25). That is, the concept of motion event describes the "physical motion" or "locatedness" of an object. A prototypical motion event based on this framework consists of four basic or "internal" components (Talmy 2000: 25-26):

- *Motion*: the presence per se of motion or location in the event.
- *Figure*: a physical object that is moving or located at a particular point in space with respect to another object.
- *Ground*: Another physical object, which serves as a reference frame with respect to which the figure moves or is located.
- *Path*: The path followed or the position occupied by the figure or the "core feature" of a motion event.)

A motion event, by definition, includes all of the above components. In addition, a motion event can be associated with “external co-events,” consisting of *manner* or *cause*, which modify or cause the motion event, respectively.

2.5.2 S-framed vs. V-framed languages

On the basis of the predominant pattern in which the path of motion or the “core schema” of motion events is mapped onto the syntactic structure of the language, Talmy (1991, 2000) categorizes most of the world’s languages into two major types: satellite-framed and verb-framed languages.

Satellite-framed languages (S-languages) are languages that express path of motion through a satellite connected to the verb. Satellite, according to Talmy (1991), is: “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root” (p.486). English verb particles and Latin or Russian verb prefixes constitute examples of satellites (Talmy 2000: 222). Some examples of S-languages include: Indo-European languages (minus Romance), e.g., Germanic languages, such as English and Dutch; and Slavic languages, such as Russian; Chinese; Finno-Ugric.

Another common characteristic of satellite framed languages is the way the co-event of manner is generally expressed in these languages. That is, S-languages conflate manner with fact of motion, such that manner is encoded within the verb, e.g., *stride*, *stroll*, *skip*, etc. These languages have a large inventory of manner verbs that are commonly used (Talmy 2000: 27).

On the other hand, in verb-framed languages (V-languages), path of motion is expressed within the verb, i.e., the language conflates fact of motion and path information. For example, in the English verbs, *enter*, *exit*, *ascend*, and *descend*, path is encoded within the semantics of the verb. These verbs, however, are not commonly or colloquially used in English and other S-languages, while they are the predominant verbs used in V-languages for the description of motion events. Included among these languages are: Romance, e.g., Spanish and French; Semitic, e.g., Arabic and Hebrew; Japanese; Polynesian, etc. In addition, V-languages cannot conflate the co-event of manner with the verb within a single clause. Manner, if mentioned, is expressed separately through an adjunct.

To illustrate, the intransitive expression *run out of* expresses the path of motion separately from the verb through the satellite. The example pair in 1 demonstrates the expression of path through a satellite in English, an S-language, and the conflation of path and motion in French, a typical V-language.

(1a) The children ran out of the classroom.

(1b) Les enfants sont sortis de la classe en courant .

The children exited the classroom, running.

As seen in 1a, English, an S-language, encodes path in a satellite connected to the verb, *out*. Also, the co-event of manner is expressed through the verb, run (=go, running). However, in French, a V-language, the path is encoded in the verb *sortir* ‘to exit’ and manner ‘running’ is expressed through the participle, *en courant*, separately from the clause which denotes the fact and path of motion.

Thus, according to Talmy, while all languages do express certain aspects of the experience or semantic domain of motion, they differ in their “lexicalization patterns,” i.e., how they encode the features morpho-syntactically.

2.5.3 Motion events and discourse analysis

Talmy’s typological framework, an essentially theoretical one, has been applied to the actual discourse of the speakers of a large number of languages, a tradition established by Slobin (1987) and Berman and Slobin (1994). The comparative analysis of a variety of discourse samples, including written and oral elicited narratives, novels, translations, etc., has illustrated the significant influence of linguistic typology on the expression of motion events (Slobin 1987, Berman and Slobin 1994, Slobin 1996a,b, 1997, 2000, among others). Some of these studies will be discussed below.

2.5.3.1 Path and Ground

Slobin (1987, 1996a, b, 1997) and Berman and Slobin (1994) observe that in telling narratives¹, speakers of various languages generally conform to the morpho-syntactic structures of their language and only rarely use structures that “differ from the norm” (Slobin 1987: 439). The tendency is true of children as young as three years old.

¹ The narratives are based on the story of a picture book entitled *Frog where are you?*. The narratives are referred to as “frog stories” in the literature.

A particularly striking pattern emerges in the expression of path of motion. In this regard, S- and V-language types exhibit distinctive patterns, which are in accordance with Talmy's theoretical framework. Narratives of S-language speakers are similar to each other in the description of path and different from the narratives of V-language group. For example, in German and English narratives, both S-languages, path is expressed independently of the verb, through a satellite. This contrasts with the V-language narratives of Spanish, Turkish, and Hebrew, which are rich in path verbs (Slobin 1987).

Sentences 2a and 2b illustrate the description of a single scene from the frog story by speakers of two S-languages, English and Dutch, and two V-languages, French and Turkish (Slobin 2000: 112-113).

(2a) S-languages

English: *An owl **popped out**.* [age 5]

Dutch: *omdat er een uil **uitvliegt**.* (=because an owl **flies out** of there)
[age 9]

(2b) V-languages

French: *Le hibou **sort** de son trou* (=the owl **exits** from his hole) [age 4]

Turkish: *kus **cikyor** yuvadan* (=bird **exits** nest) [age 5]

As seen in the above examples, while in English and Dutch path of motion is expressed through satellites, *out* and the verbal prefix *uit* 'out,' it is encoded within the semantics of the path verb, 'exit,' used by French (*sortir*) and Turkish (*cikmak*) speakers. This pattern reflects the general lexicalization patterns of these two language types (S and V) as specified in Talmy's framework.

The notion of path can be expanded from a component expressed in a single clause into a series of “linked paths or path with way-stations,” or what Slobin calls a “journey” (Slobin 1996a: 202). That is, a number of subtrajectories or “path segments” can combine to create a larger trajectory (Slobin 2004: 238). S- and V-languages also differ in how they segment the path of motion as well as the number of path components they “compact” into a clause (Slobin 1997). S-languages typically break the path into a larger number of segments and compact several path components into a single clause, building “complex-path constructions.” This is unlike V-languages that tend to use a different verb to express each segment (Slobin 1997 and 2004).

To illustrate, example (3a) below is an original excerpt from a novel, *The Hobbit*, in English, and (3b), its translation in French, a V-language. Examples are from Slobin (1997: 439-440).

(3a) English original:

*He still wandered **on, out of** the little high valley, **over** its edge, and **down** the slopes ...*

(3b) French translation:

*Il continua d'**avancer** au hasard, **sortit** du haut vallon, en **franchit** le bord et **descendit** la pente au-delà ...*

‘He continued to *advance* haphazardly, *exited* from the high, small valley, *crossed* the edge of it and *descended* the slope beyond ...

As seen here, English expresses the extended path through a number of satellites connected to a single verb ‘wandered,’ while the French translation requires several different path verbs in separate clauses to trace the same path, e.g., *avancer* ‘advance,’ *sortir* ‘exit,’ etc. The reverse is true when moving from a V-language into an S-language, namely, what occurs is the “compacting” of path verbs into satellites associated with verbs (Slobin 1997: 440). Slobin (ibid: 448) concludes that:

Speakers of S-languages are more likely to break up the event into a larger number of components, based on ‘narrative habits’ of compacting several path components in a single clause. Speakers of V-languages, by contrast, have developed a narrative style that makes more sparing use of individual motion verbs to encode path components.

Therefore, the type of lexicalization pattern that requires “compacting” several features of motion into a single clause in S-languages, as opposed to V-languages, has led to the development of distinct narrative “habits” and “styles” in each language category.

In addition, as seen in the above example, in English, there is a larger number of ground elements associated with a single verb, *wandered*. This seems to be the general tendency in the majority of the narratives produced speakers of S-languages. That is, S-languages tend to combine more than one ground element with a single verb (Slobin 1997, 2004).

Comparative analysis of larger corpora of oral frog stories and novels written in S-languages (German, English, Dutch, and Russian), and V-languages (Turkish, Spanish, French, and Japanese) illustrates that V-languages mention fewer path segments and elaborations and fewer ground elements in the overall structure of the narrative. V-

languages use a comparatively large number of bare verbs, i.e., “verbs that provide no elaboration of path beyond the inherent directionality of the verb” (Slobin 1996a: 200). For example, Spanish frog narratives include a large number of tokens of *se cayeron*, ‘they fell,’ without any locative elaboration of path or ground. Instead, V-language narrators or writers prefer to provide elaborate scene- setting, “static,” descriptions that would allow for the inference of the details of motion, including the ground, rather than in clauses with motion verbs (Slobin 2004: 244; Ikegami 1991; Strauss in progress).

In addition, S- and V-languages differ in the expression of *boundary crossing* (Aske 1989; Slobin 1996a,b). In V-languages, “universally” (Slobin 1996a) boundary crossing, or moving from one side of a boundary to the other, is conceived as a *change of state* and is therefore expressed with a separate verb because “the state-change from one side of the boundary to the other will be expressed by a separate verb, with its associated ground” (Slobin *ibid*: 441). As a result, in V-languages, it is not possible to accumulate series of grounds in one single clause. The concept is referred to as the *boundary crossing constraint* (Slobin 2004).

2.5.3.2 Manner

While path of motion is an obligatory component of a motion event, manner is considered a “co-event” in Talmy’s framework and is thus, optional. Research involving comparative analysis of manner of motion description in a wide range of S- and V-languages illustrates that these two language types also vary considerably with respect to the expression of this component in actual discourse.

For example, the analysis of motion events in frog narratives, involving three V-languages (Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish) and two S-languages (English and German) reveals certain consistent patterns (Berman and Slobin 1994). Unlike the narratives produced by the speakers of the three V-languages, narratives of both S-languages are rich in the description of manner. That is, while S-languages “tend towards greater specification of manner,” in V-languages “such elaboration is more of a “luxury” (Berman and Slobin 1994: 118).

It has also been noted that even when manner of motion verbs are used in S-languages, they do not cross boundaries, i.e., manner of motion verbs can only be used to describe non-boundary crossing situations (Aske 1989; Slobin 2004). In other words, manner verbs in V-languages tend to be “telic” (Aske *ibid*; Slobin *ibid*). For example, the equivalent of ‘the owl *flew out* of the hole,’ is not a possible construct in a V-language, since the verbal construction *flew out of* encodes both manner and boundary crossing, which requires a separate verb in this language type. In order to convey the same information, a V-language uses the equivalent of ‘the owl *exited* the hole, *flying*’ (Slobin 2000: 112)

Larger scale analyses involving a wide range of languages, V-languages – Spanish (Romance), Turkish (Turkic), and Hebrew (Semitic)—S-languages – English (Germanic), Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan), and Russian (Slavic) and a wide range of narrators (children in the age range 3-11 and adults) reveal similar tendencies: Manner verbs are more frequently used in S-languages and the mean number of manner verbs per person is considerably higher in these languages. For example, the mean number of manner verbs used by Hebrew speakers is 4 versus 16 in Russian (Hsiao 1999; Ozcaliskan and Slobin

1999 in Slobin 2003: 165-166). Note that the same pattern was observed in all age groups, ranging from three-year old children to adults. The findings are particularly remarkable since the languages that exhibited similar patterns are seemingly unrelated.

The question remains regarding the reason why, despite the fact that it is *possible* to talk about manner in V-languages, this dimension of motion is generally not elaborated (and often not even mentioned) in the discourse of the speakers. Slobin's (1987, 1996a,b, 2000, 2003, 2004) "thinking-for-speaking" framework, suggests that this is the result of a type *Whorfian* effect, i.e., the influence of linguistic structures on cognition

2.5.4 Thinking for speaking

Similar to the linguistic relativity hypothesis, the basic claim in the *thinking-for-speaking* framework is that "if a domain is elaborated in linguistic expression, users of that language will continually attend to and elaborate that domain cognitively" (Slobin 2006). However, thinking for speaking constitutes a more "cautious and manageable" formulation of linguistic relativity (Slobin 1996b, 1997). Rather than seeking to investigate the influence of language on "habitual thought," or general world views, the framework focuses on the mental processes that take place during speech formulation or during the "*online* activity of thinking for speaking." This is a "particular" type of thinking, defined by Slobin (1987: 435) as:

The activity of thinking takes on a particular quality when it is employed in the activity of speaking. In the evanescent time frame of constructing utterances in discourse, one fits one's thought into available linguistic forms ...

The process of thinking for speaking involves selecting those characteristics that (a) fit some conceptualization of the event, and (b) are readily encodable in the language (Slobin *ibid*: 435). In psycholinguistics, a more *codable* expression is the one that is “more easily and automatically said in a particular language” (Slobin *ibid*: 435). That is, a codable expression is short, of high frequency, and part of a “small set of options in a paradigm or small set of items” (Slobin 2003: 161). Therefore, for example, *run out (of the classroom)*, is more readily encodable than *exit (the classroom), running*.

During the process of thinking for speaking, speakers *attend* to particular aspects of the events that are more readily and automatically encodable in the grammar of their language and tend to ignore aspects that are not conventionalized in the grammar of their language (Slobin 1996b: 83). In this way, grammatical constructs influence thought during the process of formulating one’s utterances.

Ease of codability explains predominant patterns of manner description in S- and V- languages. The relative scarcity of manner of motion in V-languages in contrast with rich manner description in S-languages is due to the notion that while in V-languages, the “verb slot is occupied by path,” in S-languages, this slot is available for combining with “manner” (Slobin 2000). Therefore, unlike V-languages, which require an adjunct as a separate clause to express manner, manner in S-languages is automatically and easily encodable.

It follows that due to the automatic and habitual expression of manner, this semantic component has become particularly salient in the conceptualization of motion events in S-languages (Slobin 2003: 5). As a result of this sensitivity, S-languages have developed a large inventory of manner verbs, which describe motion with a fine level of

granularity. On the other hand, speakers of V-languages tend not to be sensitive to manner and thus mention manner only when it is a salient aspect of the event or when it is conspicuously foregrounded in the scene. Consequently, V-languages have a smaller inventory of manner verbs (Slobin *ibid*). A study of 115 English manner-of-motion verbs found only 79 equivalent verbs in French, which in contrast with English verbs, were very low- frequency (Jovanovic and Kentfield 1998 in Slobin 2003). On the other hand, a similar comparative analysis of Russian and English found comparable number of manner verbs in Russian (Dukhovny and Kaushsakya 1998 in Slobin *ibid*).

The majority of the studies mentioned so far focus on spoken language. It must, however, be noted that thinking for speaking is not limited to speaking *per se* (Slobin 2000, 2003, 2004). Rather, it incorporates all activities that involve speech production: speaking, writing, and translating, as well as those of language reception, i.e., listening and reading. That is, the significance of grammatical systems comes into play in all of the above activities and not only during speaking.

In addition, although the original thinking for speaking framework refers to “language in use” like the linguistic activities mentioned above, it is now expanded to include, memory, habitual attention, and perception, suggesting a long-term “ripple effect” of linguistic encoding on cognition (Slobin 2000, 2003).

Slobin (2003) introduces specific characteristics for “thinking-for-speaking research” as enumerated below:

1. The research addresses a *selection of languages* and a *semantic domain* that is encoded with some frequency in all of the languages.

2. The semantic domain is encoded by *special grammatical constructions* or *obligatory lexical selections* in at least some of the languages under comparison.
3. The domain is relatively *more codable* in some of the languages to be compared.
4. The research addresses a selection of discourse situations in which semantic domain is regularly accessed.

(Slobin *ibid*: 161, italics original)

Slobin's thinking for speaking framework constitutes the main framework in this dissertation. The specific elements will be mentioned later in the dissertation.

2.5.5 Other studies on motion

In the past several years there have been a large number studies investigating the lexicalization patterns of motion events based on Talmy's framework across various languages. I categorize these studies into four main groups, based on their focus and methodologies. It must be noted that the list is not intended as a comprehensive one.

1. Studies that investigate the expression of motion events in actual discourse, using discourse analysis, in the tradition of Slobin and Berman and Slobin. For example, motion events as used in route directions – Japanese, English, and Korean (Strauss, Katayama, and Eun 2002; Strauss to appear b); expression of manner and path in elicited narratives – English and Turkish (Ozyurek and Kita

1999), codability effects on the expression of manner – Turkish and English (Ozcaliskan and Slobin 2003); path and manner in elicited oral narratives – Swedish and Icelandic (Ragnardottir and Stromqvist 2004), Basque (Ibarretxe-Antunano 2004), Thai (Zlatev and Yangkang 2004), and Tzeltal (Brown 2004); motion events in the discourse and gesture of second language learners -- (Negueruela et al 2004).

2. Studies that involve cognitive-semantic analysis of motion events, e.g., Hindi (Narasimhan 2003), English (Levin and Rappaport-Hovav 1992), and French (Kopeca 2006).
3. Studies that adopt a diachronic perspective and analyze the historical development of motion events within specific languages: history of manner of motion in Greek and Indo-European languages (Baldi 2006), Chinese (Payraube 2006).
4. Comparative studies in developmental psychology which investigate the role of language typology (S- and V-framed) on the development of the concept of motion in children, e.g., Korean and English (Choi and Bowerman 1991), English, Russian, German, Spanish, Hindi, etc. (Bowerman et al 2002).

The majority of the studies mentioned above confirm the significance of Talmy's typological system in gaining understanding of the general aspects of the concept of motion as it is lexicalized across languages. However, some scholars introduce intra-typological factors and some pose challenges to the binary categorization of satellite versus verb- framed.

In the section that follows, I will provide a brief overview of some of the findings from several studies in the first group, under which this dissertation can also be categorized. Further, I will mention the caveats that the studies raise with respect to the binary classification of S- and V- languages, suggesting gray areas concerning the expression of motion.

2.5.6 Satellite- vs. Verb-frames, true dichotomy?

Thai is categorized as a V-language due to its large variety of path verbs. Path verbs in Thai can either appear alone or in combination with other verbs in a *serial verb construction* (Zlatev and Yangklang 2004). Thus, Thai is categorized as a serializing language. Serializing languages are languages “where two or more verbs, with or without arguments, co-occur in a clause, apparently expressing the same event” (ibid: 160).

Thai also has a rich inventory of manner verbs, ranging from typical manner verbs found in other V-languages, e.g., walk, run, etc., to more fine-grained manner verbs found in S-languages, e.g., ride, limp, etc. Translational motion in Thai can be expressed through four semantically and structurally distinct classes of motion verbs: Manner, Manner + Path, Path, and Deictic-path (Zlatev and Yangklang ibid: 186). Since Thai can express motion through a combination of manner and path verbs, Thai speakers are not necessarily forced to *choose* between a path and a manner verb; both verbs can appear in a serial verb construction. Combining manner verbs with path verbs means that, unlike other V-languages, manner verbs in Thai can cross boundaries. In other words, Thai does

not obey the “boundary crossing constraint,” by other V-languages. In addition, since several path verbs can combine in a single clause, Thai does not conform to the general pattern of single-path segment-per clause. As such, Thai demonstrates features of both S- and V-language groups (Zlatev and Yangklang *ibid*).

Other serializing languages, such as Mandarin, can also combine a path verb and a manner verb in a single clause (Slobin 2004). Thus, Slobin (*ibid*) suggests a third class of languages, “equipollently-framed” languages, under which serial verb languages can be categorized. Equipollently-framed languages are the ones in which “both manner and path are expressed by ‘equipollent’ elements, i.e., elements that are equal in force or significance” (Slobin *ibid*: 228, but see Payraube 2006). Serializing West-African languages exhibit similar properties, which can place them in this third category (Slobin *ibid*).

Similar to Thai, Basque has been categorized as a V-language. Typically in Basque, path and motion are conflated and manner is conveyed through a separate component (Ibarretxe-Antunano 2004). Analysis of motion events in frog narratives revealed that, as expected, these narratives are scarce in manner description. However, with respect to path description, the language exhibits a somewhat unpredictable pattern, which involves a pervasive and detailed path elaboration. For example, the *source* and *goal* of motion explicitly is a common pattern in Basque narratives. In addition, there is little static scene-setting, unlike prototypical V-languages. Ibarretxe-Antunano (*ibid*) attributes such features to the particular lexical system of the language. Basque has “five locational cases and more than thirty postpositions also inflected for these cases” (*ibid*:

95). Therefore, due to its specific morphosyntactic structures, Basque cannot be neatly categorized as a V- or S-language.

Tzeltal, another language categorized as V-framed, also exhibits ‘atypical’ characteristics with respect to motion event description (Brown 2004). Tzeltal, according to Brown (ibid) uses four grammatical resources to describe motion events. Three of these grammatical resources are: 1) a considerable number of path verbs, similar to other V-languages, 2) a series of *directionals*, adverbials that follow the motion verb and specify the orientation of the trajectory, e.g., toward self, away from self, inwards, outward, etc. Directionals are grammaticized from motion verbs, e.g., exit *coming* (moving toward speaker). As seen here, the adverbial *coming* plays the role of a satellite. Therefore, in this regard, Tzeltal behaves similar to S-languages, and 3) a large inventory of *positionals*, i.e., “a class of verbal roots, which convey position of animate and inanimate things (in stasis, or concurrent- with, or as-a-result-of-motion)” (Brown ibid: 39). Example 4 illustrates positionals used by two Tzeltal speaking children (about six years old) in the description of one of the scenes in the frog story:

(4a)

Chawalik ko 'el

‘They [the boy and the dog] are lying-face-up-arms-outstretched arriving there

(4b)

pakal ko 'el i ala tzi' i

‘The little dog is lying-face-down arriving there.

(Brown 2004: 50)

Positionals are used frequently in Tzeltal frog narratives and, according to Brown (ibid: 55), “provide some of the graphic visual detail for which, in satellite-framed languages, manner of motion verbs are used.” In this respect, Tzeltal can be considered to be an S-language. Similar to Basque, Tzeltal presents a mixed picture.

In addition, as seen in the above examples, positionals express somewhat complex postures and spatial descriptions of the figure, i.e., positions that can only be described through a series of words in English. Despite this visual complexity, Brown’s research reveals that children as young as three to five years of age are attuned to such spatial features. This suggests a significant influence of linguistic structures on cognition, at least in the online process of “thinking-for-speaking” (Brown 2004: 56).

The last language explained in this section is Korean, which has also been demonstrated to have mixed characteristics (Choi and Bowerman 1991). In describing caused motion, Korean patterns well with typical V-languages, i.e., it conflates motion with path. However, translational motion presents a more language-specific picture: path, motion, (optionally) manner or cause are expressed through separate constituents, Example 5 illustrates this structure.

(5) Translational motion in Korean

John-i pang-ey (ttwui-e) tul-e o-ass-ta.

J.SUBJ room-LOC (run-CONN) enter-CONN come-PAST-DECLARATIVE MARKER..

[Figure] [Ground] ([Manner]) [Path] [Motion + Deixis]

(Choi and Bowerman ibid: 88)

Therefore, the pattern for describing translational motion is: [Manner] [Path] [Motion + Deixis], a pattern termed “exploded” by Choi and Bowerman (ibid). Such

structures have not been mentioned in Talmy's framework. Thus, once again we find intra-typological variation within verb-framed languages.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a number of studies in the field of linguistic relativity. The studies are categorized based on the semantic domain that they investigate, namely time, nouns (objects and substances), space, and motion. The majority of the studies described in the domains of time, nouns, and space, sought to investigate the linguistic relativity hypothesis in its broad sense. That is, these studies center on investigating the relationship between linguistic and conceptual categorization or the way we "dissect nature" is influenced by our grammatical categories.

In the section on motion, I introduced a more limited interpretation of the linguistic relativity hypothesis, i.e., Slobin's "thinking for speaking" framework. This framework was derived from the studies on motion that involved the application of Talmy's lexicalization patterns of motion events to actual discourse. Through discourse analysis, it was revealed that the aspect of motion events that the speakers of S- and V-languages pay attention to is generally consistent with the lexicalization patterns of their respective languages. The results led to Slobin's "thinking-for-speaking" framework, which indicates that language influences thought, at least in the online process of formulating one's thoughts for verbalizing them. I also mentioned Slobin's framework for research in thinking for speaking, which will be used in this dissertation. Finally, I provided an overview of some of the studies that raise questions with respect to the

binary classification of S- and V-framed languages. Chapter 3, will explain the data methodology used in this dissertation.

Chapter 3

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will present the details concerning the data collection and the methodology used for analysis. The data for this study consist of Persian and English elicited narratives from native speakers of each language. These narratives are based on two short films, i.e., *The Banjo Frog* and Chafe's *Pear Film*.

In section 3.2 I will provide an overview of the data and details concerning the participants. In section 3.3 I will describe the data elicitation tools, i.e., the two short films, and provide a synopsis of each. Section 3.4 presents the data collection procedure. Section 3.5 explains the transcription conventions. Finally, in section 3.6 I will outline the coding system used for this study. Section 3.6 is the conclusion.

3.2 Data – General

The data consist of 60 elicited oral narratives. Thirty of these are in Persian and 30, in English. For each language I collected 15 storyline narratives based on *The Banjo Frog* and 15 on Chafe's *Pear Film* as shown in Table 3.1.

3.1: Types of narratives and totals

	Banjo Frog	Pear Film	Total
Persian	15	15	30
English	15	15	30
Total	30	30	60

3.2.1 Participants

The selection of Persian speakers was based on the following: 1) all are adult native speakers of Tehrani Persian; 2) all have resided in the US for a period of no longer than five years, and 3) all use Persian in their daily activities with some exceptions involving workplace and/or university interactions. The Persian speakers were typically graduate students residing in the US and studying in a US university. Participants were split nearly equally according to gender: eight were male, and seven were female.

The selection of English speakers was based on the following: All are adult native speakers of standard English and none speaks Persian as a foreign/second language. The English speaking participants were all graduate students or lecturers in a large Northeastern public university in the US. The gender distribution of English native speakers was: nine males and six females.

3.3 Data elicitation tools

As a data elicitation tool, I used short two films that were absent of dialogue. The purpose of using this type of stimulus was to control the storyline content of the narratives across all speakers, without the influence of explicit linguistic input. That is, all participants expressed the events of the same story, but were able to make choices with respect to form and details. Cross-linguistic variation in these storyline narratives is the focus of analysis in this study.

This general method of data elicitation has been extensively used in discourse-analytic typological studies, e.g., Chafe et al (1980), Berman and Slobin (1994), and subsequent studies designed using Slobin's methodologies. As noted by Chafe (1980), the tradition can be traced back to Bartlett (1932). In the case of Bartlett's study, numerous participants were asked to read a folktale and later write what they remembered of the story. This research focused predominantly on memory and recall and targeted English speakers only. Chafe adapted this general data elicitation methodology by altering it such that the elicitation device would be devoid of language and the linguistic output provided by respondents would be oral rather than written. Further, Chafe and his colleagues used this tool to elicit narratives from speakers of a number of different languages, e.g., English, Greek, Japanese, and so forth (Chafe 1980: xii). The practice was then adapted by Slobin (1987) and Berman and Slobin (1994) among many others to elicit a wide range of cross-linguistic language samples.

3.3.1 The Banjo Frog

The first film used for narrative elicitation is *The Banjo Frog*. This is a six-minute clay animation film for children. It has no dialogue, only background sounds and music. The summary of the plotline is as follows:

A frog takes a trip to the garbage dump. Strolling in the garbage dump, he trips on an abandoned banjo, picks it up, and finds he's a natural musician. However, his singing style does not fit in with the frog trio that he happens upon. His voice is just too different from those of the other three. The frog slinks away only to find that there's a place for him after all. – The frog finds two more frogs who have the same kind of voice that he does. (from Appendix B, Strauss IRB proposal, x-ling pear/frog, August 2003).

As seen in the plot description, the story is based on the frog's journey, from his home to an unknown territory, and on the frog's experiences throughout this journey. Most events in the story involve various aspects of motion, e.g. climbing up the trash can, falling into the dump site, and tripping over the banjo. The film was chosen by Strauss (in progress) as a narrative elicitation tool for cross-linguistic, cross-cultural study on aspects of storyline narrative in English, French, Korean, Chinese, Persian, and Japanese.

3.3.2 The Pear Film

The second film is Chafe's *Pear Film*. The film was produced in the late 1970s by Wallace Chafe in collaboration with a number of other linguists who were then at UC Berkley. It is a six-minute film, with no dialogue, just background sounds of nature and other contextual elements. The film was originally produced as a prompt for a cross-cultural, cross-linguistic investigation of "cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of

narrative production” (Chafe 1980). What Chafe (ibid) and his colleagues intended was to produce a film that would contain a series of sequential as well as simultaneous events with a number of different participants, in addition to a film that would be “easily interpretable in some way by people in a variety of different cultures” (Chafe ibid: xii).

The *Pear Film* has been summarized as follows:

The story opens with a man picking pears in a pear orchard. He is up in a tree and then comes down his ladder to fill one of his baskets with the pears that he had picked and placed in his apron. After he unloads his apron, he goes back into the tree to pick more. Meanwhile, a boy comes by on his bicycle and steals an entire basketful of pears. As he rides off, with the basket of pears on the front of his bike, he sees a girl riding a bike toward him. He is distracted for a moment and his hat blows off. Then, as he continues to ride, there is a rock in the road which he doesn't see. The front tire of the bike hits the rock and the bike falls down as does the boy and his entire basket of pears. Three other boys witness this and they come over to the boy to help him pick up the pears and put them back into the basket. In thanks for the three boys' help, the first boy gives them each a pear and he rides back off on his bike. The three boys then pass the man who was picking the fruit and as they pass, they are each eating a pear that was given to them by the boy. The film ends as the boys pass by the man who has a very quizzical look on his face. (from Appendix A, Strauss IRB proposal, x-ling pear/frog, August 2003).

Similar to *The Banjo Frog*, the *Pear Film* involves a rich array of motion events, e.g., riding a bicycle, spilling pears, and falling off the bike, and climbing up and down a tree. However, the motion events in the *Pear Film* are different from those of *The Banjo Frog* in that: 1) they involve actual human beings rather than clay animation animal characters, which affects aspects of translational motion and/or locatedness, 2) there is a greater number of characters in the *Pear Film* who are involved in a greater number of activities, 3) the story line of *The*

Banjo Frog is linear, i.e., it begins at one particular location and ends at a different one; the story line of the *Pear* Film begins at one place and ends at that same place after a complex series of episodes, and 4) The *Banjo Frog* contains more elaborate and more complex depictions of place than does the *Pear Film*.

3.4 Data collection

Data collection for each set of narratives, i.e., *The Banjo Frog* and *Pear Film*, was conducted separately over the course of approximately one year. The data were collected in a private office on the campus of a large public university in the Northeast of the US.

For both sets of narratives, each participant was asked to watch the film while the researcher was outside of the room. After the participant watched the film, the researcher went back into the room and asked the participant to relate the story of the film in as much detail as possible. The researcher audio and videotaped the interaction, as the participants were narrating the events.

3.5 Data transcription

The data were transcribed according to the conventions of Conversation Analysis (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984). These conventions allow for the narrow transcription of paralinguistic elements such as pauses and micropauses (up to 0.2 of a second), in addition to prosodic contours, such as pitch peaks, the marking of emphasis, contrast, etc.

See Appendix 1 for a list of these conventions. The Persian data were transcribed in the Roman alphabet to allow for this level of transcription as well as to render the data accessible to non-Persian speakers. The Romanization conventions were developed by the author and are phonetically based. The Persian stories were then translated by the researcher into English.

3.6 Coding of the data

The unit of analysis in this dissertation is the “motion event,” defined by Talmy (2000) as “a situation containing motion” or “continuation of a stationary location” (25). As noted in Chapter 2, every motion event consists of four basic semantic components: an object that is moving or located (figure) with respect to another object (ground), space occupied or followed (path), and the fact of motion or locatedness (motion). Based on this definition, verbs of motion can be categorized into two types (Talmy *ibid*: 25-26):

1. *translational motion*, which involves the change of location of the figure in a particular time frame. For example, in the sentence: *He walked home*, the verb “walked” encodes intransitive translational motion, since it describes the change of location of the figure, i.e., *he*, from point A to point B (‘home’). In this case, the figure is the same as the sentential subject. As another example, in the sentence *He threw the trash into the truck*, the verb “threw” expresses transitive translational motion, because it too involves change of location of the figure, i.e., *the trash*. In this case, the sentential object or patient is the figure.

2. *location* or *locatedness* does not involve change of location of the figure over time and refers both to:

- a) self-contained motion, where, in spite of the movement of the figure, its overall location does not change over time; in other words, there is no physical displacement of the figure to a new point in space. Examples of this type of motion verbs are: rotate, circle, and tremble; and changes of posture, such as sit, stand, kneel, and recline.

And,

- b) static locatedness of the figure with respect to the ground element, as in *the banjo IS in the dump*.

All verbs encoding translational and self-contained motion were identified in the data. The above definitions were used to distinguish verbs of motion from other types of verbs. That is, they provided for distinctions such that: ‘walk’ and ‘run’ would be considered verbs of translational motion, ‘sit’ and ‘kneel’ would be considered verbs of self-contained motion, and ‘look,’ ‘see,’ and ‘cry’ are excluded from the category of motion verbs.

Instances of static location, as noted in 2b), expressed through the verbs “be” in English and *boodan* ‘be’ in Persian are not analyzed or considered here since they do not encode the type of motion that this dissertation seeks to investigate. Such instances, while still verbs of “motion” in Talmy’s framework, are considered as beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Talmy (1991, 2000) makes an additional distinction with regard to “spontaneous motion” versus “caused motion.” For Talmy, spontaneous motion is self-induced, in that the figure moves on its own without external force or cause. Caused motion, on the other hand, involves motion and/or displacement that results from an external force. Within this framework, cause is considered to be a co-event. That is, caused motion refers to the type of motion verb that conflates “Motion + Cause.”

Talmy (2000) illustrates this distinction in the following way: The verb *blow*, used in an unmarked context, such as ‘The wind blew’ constitutes a spontaneous motion verb. On the other hand, the same verb, *blow*, in the sentence ‘The napkin blew off the table’ constitutes caused motion. According to Talmy, the motion event here can be conceived as two separate events: the napkin leaving the surface of the table, with the cause of the wind blowing it. Thus, in cases of caused motion, motion and the co-event of cause are conflated². However, as noted by Choi and Bowerman (1991), conflation of motion and cause in intransitive verbs in English is limited. Given this, I appeal to the more conventional concept of transitivity for the concrete categories of motion verbs, following Choi and Bowerman (1991), Narasimhan (2003), Slobin (2004), among others. I thus categorized all motion verbs that appeared in the data as either transitive or intransitive.

² It must be emphasized that a motion verb expressing caused motion is one that *morphosyntactically* conflates fact of motion and cause within the verb. Thus, in response to a question posed by one of my committee members involving the sentence ‘The frog walked through the dump with a gun to its head,’ the verb ‘walk’ is considered as translational and not caused, since Talmy’s framework is built upon morphosyntax and not context. No morphemes of cause exist in the example sentence presented by the questioner.

3.6.1 Transitive and intransitive motion

Transitivity here is defined as an activity that is “carried over” or “transferred” from one participant (agent) to the other (patient). That is, a transitive verb involves at least two participants, an agent and a patient, i.e., the direct object (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 251). Conversely, an intransitive verb involves only one participant, i.e., the subject/agent.

3.6.1.1 Intransitive motion

An intransitive motion verb refers to a verb with a single participant, which constitutes both the subject of the clause and the figure of motion.

Excerpts (1a) and (1b) illustrate examples of intransitive motion in the English narratives.

(1a) Intransitive motion in English (The Banjo Frog) -- [verb: walk]

a:s he (the frog) was **walking** through the du^mp site

(.) he saw a stu^ffed fro^g, that >kinda< loo^ked like him

Here, the verb *walk* represents an intransitive motion verb, since *he* (the frog) is both the subject of the clause and the figure of motion. Similarly, ‘the boy’ in (1b) is also the subject and the moving figure.

(1b) Intransitive motion in English (Pear Film) – [verb: ride away]

en he (the boy) **ri^des awa:^y**, en he’s not even looking

back to see if the gu:^y i:^s looking at him,=

Excerpts (2a) and (2b) are examples of intransitive motion verbs used in the Persian dataset.

(2a) Intransitive motion in Persian (Pear Film) [verb: *oftaadan* ‘to fall’]

ghoo^rbaaghe ham mio^fte too kaamione vo:^

the frog **falls** into the truck and

mi^ofte laa be laaye aa^shghaalaa:^,

falls amongst the trash

(2b) Intransitive motion in Persian (Banjo Frog) –[verb: *raftan* ‘to go’]

ghoorbaaghehe mire oo^njaayi ke^ ee aa^shghaalaaaro

nega^h mida^ran.

The frog **goes** to the place where they keep the trash

Here, the verbs *miofte* ‘falls’ and *mire* ‘goes’ have a single participant, i.e., *he* (*the boy*) and *the frog*, respectively, which constitute both the subject of the clause and the figure of motion.

3.6.1.2 Transitive motion

A transitive verb involves, at the very least, an agent and a patient, whether expressed overtly or simply implied. Therefore, according to the framework used for this

study, in transitive clauses, the moving entity i.e., the figure, is the direct object of the clause.

Excerpt (3) below represents examples of transitive motion verb in the English narratives.

(3) Transitive motion in English (Pear Film) [verbs: **take and **load**]**

he decides instead to **take** a who^{le} ba^{sk}et (.)
so he **loa^{ds}** it onto his bi^{ke},

The moving figure is the *basket*, which is also the direct object of the verb *take*. The same relationship holds for the verb *loads*.

Excerpt (4) below also includes an instances of transitive motion verbs from the Persian dataset.

(4) Transitive motion in Persian (Pear Story) – [verb: *rikhtan* ‘to pour’]

chand taa sa^{ba}^d oonjaa boo:^d, (0.2)

there were a couple of baskets there

ke in golaabia ro:^{ri}^{kht} too oon sabadaa⁼

that he (the pear picker) **poured** these pears in those baskets

In this example, the subject of the verb *rikht* ‘poured’ is *he (the pear picker)*, while the figure of motion is the *golaabia* ‘the pears.’ Note that the noun *golaabia* ‘the pears’ is followed directly by the accusative postpositional marker, *raa* realized here as *ro* (the colloquial form).

3.6.2 Path and Manner

According to Talmy (1991, 2000) and Berman and Slobin (1994), the two distinguishing features of S- and V- languages involve the encoding of path and manner. In order to investigate the typology of Persian and conduct a comparative analysis of the expression and conceptualization of manner and path in Persian and English, I identified and coded path and manner of motion within the entire dataset, according to criteria as noted in 3.6.2.1 and 3.6.2.2.

3.6.2.1 Path

The prototypical characteristic of S-languages is that they typically express path through a set of verb particles or affixes connected to the verb as a satellite (Talmy 2000). I identified the path satellites within the data.

Satellite in Talmy's framework is defined as "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun phrase or prepositional phrase-complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root" (Talmy 2000: 102). Satellites can be bound affixes or free morphemes, e.g., English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, and Latin or Russian verb prefixes (Talmy *ibid*: 102).

Since both verb particles and prepositional phrases in English occur post-verbally, the two constituents are not always easy to identify from one another. Talmy (1985:105) suggests a syntactic strategy for distinguishing satellites from prepositions: satellites can occur intransitively, e.g., 'He ran by,' but prepositions require a complement e.g., *He

ran to. Thus, ‘by’ constitutes a satellite, but ‘to’ is a preposition. I used the same criterion to identify path satellites in the data.

Excerpts (5a) and (5b) illustrate examples of path satellites in English.

(5a) Path Satellite in English (Pear Story)

and then he (the pear picker) **climbs down** the la[^]dde[^]r.=

it's up next to the tree:[^],

In this example, the trajectory of the motion, *climb*, is encoded within the adverb *down*, which is connected to the verb as a satellite.

(5b) Path satellite in English (Pear story)

A:nd e: so they walk- three boys wa[^]lk **back** towards where the o[^]ld ma:[^]n -

the mi[^]ddle aged ma:[^]n is pi[^]cking pea:[^]rs,

In this excerpt, the particle ‘back’ constitutes a satellite, while ‘toward’ is a preposition: ‘Walk back’ does not require a complement, but ‘*walk (back) towards’ cannot stand alone and requires an NP.

(5c) Path satellite in Persian (Pear Story)

ba[^]d oon ma[^]rd – ma[^]r*di* ke go[^]laabi michido neshoon mide:[^] (.)

and then they show that man – the man that was picking pears,

ke:[^] (.) **miaad paa[^]yi:[^]n**,

who **comes down**

Here, similar to the English example, the path followed by the figure, i.e., the pear picker, is expressed through the adverb *paayin* ‘down,’ which is connected to the verb *miaad* ‘comes’ as a satellite.

In addition to noting the satellites, I also identified all path verbs within the narratives. Path verbs, according to Talmy (2000:49), are verbs that combine the fact of motion with the trajectory or path of motion. For example, the verb *descend* consists of two ideas: the fact of motion and the trajectory (down). Similarly, the verb *enter* conflates the fact of motion and the trajectory (into). These types of verbs, i.e., verbs that can be semantically analyzed into simple fact of motion with the inherent incorporation of a path component were categorized as path verbs.

Excerpts (6a) and (6b) represent examples of path verbs in English and Persian, respectively.

(6a) Path verb in English (Pear Story) [verb: *pass*]

and e:: as she **pa[^]sses** he starts to loo[^]k at her

In this English excerpt, the verb *passes* is a path verb, since it conflates the fact of motion with one component of the path. That is, the semantics of the verb *pass* consists of “move + by.”

(6b) Path Verb in Persian (The Banjo Frog) [verb: *residan* ‘to arrive’]

ba[^]d re[^]sid be ye satle aa[^]shghaa:[^]l o:;

Then he **arrived** at to a trash can

.hh ba[^]d did gha[^]zaa onjaa hast o:;

then it saw there's food there

Here, the verb *resid* 'arrived' conflates the fact of motion with an element of the path, i.e., the destination.

3.6.2.2 Manner of motion

The second distinctive feature of S- and V-languages involves the expression of manner. That is, S- and V-languages differ with respect to the way in which they encode the co-event of manner as well as how frequently manner is mentioned in these two types of languages.

In S-languages, manner is generally expressed within the verb. "Manner verbs," consist of two ideas: the fact of motion and an element that encodes how that action was carried out.

Excerpts (7a) and (7b) below illustrate examples of manner verbs in the English dataset.

(7a) Manner verb in English (The Banjo Frog) – [verb: *crawl*]

he (the frog) see[^]s a nice jui[^]cy[^] fly:[^], en **cra[^]wls** up

In this example, the verb *crawl* encodes the manner in which the figure, *he* (the frog), goes up the trash can. This is a verb of translational motion.

(7b) Manner verb in English (Pear Story) – [verb: **toss**]

they sorta **to:ˆss** the pea:ˆrs into the baˆsket.

Here, the verb *toss* is considered a manner verb, since it encodes both the basic motion of “throw” and the manner “lightly” or “casually.”

For the Persian data, instances of manner of motion verbs are rare. Excerpt (8) represents one of the few tokens of this type of verb.

(8) Manner verbs in Persian (Frog) – [verb: **raghsidan** ‘to dance’]

did ke seˆ taa ghoorbaagheye dige az ye noe diˆge (.)

he saw that three other frogs, from a different kind

oonjaa:ˆ, daashˆtaˆn bare khodeshoon miraghsidan. (0.8)

there, (they) **were dancing** with each other

In this example, the verb *raghsidan* (realized in this excerpt as *daahstan miraghsidan* ‘were dancing’) a verb of self-contained motion meaning ‘to dance,’ expresses the way in which the frogs were moving.

For the Persian data, I also identified other forms of manner expressions, such as the use of adverbials, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a Persian *Pear* narrative.

(9) Other forms of manner expression – Persian *Pear*

[adverbial: **bodo bodo**, literally, ‘run run,’ or ‘running’]

baˆr midaare kolaaˆharo:ˆ

he picks up the hat

bodo bodo mire be pesare mi^de kolaaharo.

Running, goes gives the hat to the boy

In this excerpt, the adverb *bodo bodo* ‘run run,’ is an adverb consisting of the reduplication of the imperative form of the verb *davidan* ‘to run’ and it can be translated as ‘running’ in English. This expression modifies the manner of the general motion *mire* ‘goes.’ In Chapter 5 I will discuss the expression of path and motion in English and Persian narratives.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the datasets and methodology of the present study. Specifically, I explained the data, the data elicitation tools, and the participants in the study. I also described the data collection and transcription procedures. Further, I explained the data coding system, based on Talmy’s “motion event” framework and the rationale for coding the data for details such as, path and manner. These concepts provide the theoretical / methodological foundation for the entire dissertation.

Chapter 4

DATA ANALYSIS

MOTION VERBS IN ENGLISH AND PERSIAN

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present an overview and a general comparative analysis of the inventories of motion verbs in the English and Persian narratives based on the two films, the *Pear Film* and *The Banjo Frog*. The purpose of the chapter is to analyze the similarities and differences in the type and number of motion verbs habitually used in the actual discourse of native speakers of English and Persian in the description of the same events as well as to explicate the unique patterns of verb use in each language.

In Section 4.1, I will present a general overview of the findings. In Section 4.3, I will present the types and numbers of motion verbs used in the retelling of the *Pear Film*, henceforth, *Pear*, by the native speakers of English and Persian. I will then provide a comparison of the results. Section 4.4 presents the inventory of motion verbs used in English and Persian narratives based on *The Banjo Frog*, henceforth *Frog*. In section 4.5 I will explain light verb constructions in Persian, as they are the most frequent types of verbs used in the entire dataset. [Note: Chapter 5 will focus on motion event constructions in English and Persian with a view to investigate the structure of Persian in the light of Talmy's (1991, 2000) typology of S- and V-languages. From this perspective, I will provide a comparative analysis of conceptualization of space (i.e., path and ground) and manner of motion in English and Persian.]

4.2 English and Persian – General notes

Inventories of motion verbs presented in this chapter reflect aspects of the “rhetorical styles” of English and Persian speakers in the description of motion events and thus provide insights into the thinking-for-speaking patterns of the two groups. The basic tenet within Slobin’s (2004) thinking-for-speaking framework is that in the “evanescent” time period of formulating utterances, we fit our thoughts into linguistic expressions that are more readily and easily encodable in our language. An encodable expression does not necessarily refer to what is *available* in a language; rather, it refers to an expression that is immediately and readily accessible. Therefore, accessibility in this sense is reflected in the habitual choices of the speakers in the linguistic encoding of certain semantic components.

Thus, the inventory of motion verbs used by speakers of a particular language reflects the more readily accessible verbs within this semantic domain, constituting the habitual preferences of the speakers for describing motion events. These preferences become all the more salient when we compare and contrast the inventory of motion verbs habitually used by speakers of one language with the inventory of motion verbs habitually used by speakers of another language in the course of describing the same events. Such “diversity in linguistic coding provides the basic data for speculations about relativity, and habitual use of linguistic forms” (Slobin 2003: 179).

A comparative analysis of the motion verb inventories in the English and Persian *Pear* and *Frog* narratives reveals certain systematic contrasts between the conventional or habitual description of motion events by the speakers of the two languages. Compared to their Persian counterparts, the English repertoires of motion verbs from both films are

consistently larger; they contain a greater variety of verbs, fewer verb tokens in each category, fewer repetitions of a certain verb by individual speakers, and more instances of idiosyncratic verb choice. The Persian verb inventories, on the other hand, contain a limited number of total motion verbs. Some of these verbs express the general motion of the figure and we find these verbs repeated by the speakers throughout the data. The more specific motion events in the narratives are described through “light verb constructions.” Overall, Persian speakers demonstrate a more limited and uniform pattern of verb choice compared to that of English speakers.

4.3 Pear stories – General

In this section I will first describe the results of the coding of motion verbs in the English and Persian *Pear* stories, respectively, and provide a general analysis of the verb inventories, which have been summarized in separate tables. I will then compare the two datasets.

For a full list of all motion verbs from the English and Persian *Pear* stories, see Appendices 2 and 3, respectively. The verbs are listed in descending order based on frequency.

4.3.1 English Pear stories

As indicated in Chapter 3, I collected a total of 15 English *Pear* narratives. The average length of these narratives is approximately 560 words. In the entire dataset, I

located a total number of 86 motion verbs, of which 40 are intransitive and 46, transitive. I have summarized the results for the most frequent verbs in each category in Table 4.1.

The five most frequent verbs in each category of transitive and intransitive verbs are as follows (total 10 verbs):

- intransitive: *walk*, *come*, *ride*, *go*, and *fall*. Two of these verbs encode manner³: *walk* and *ride*. The other three verbs, i.e., *come*, *go*, and *fall*, encode general directionality of motion.
- transitive: *put*, *pick*, *take*, *pick up*, and *give*, among which only one verb, *pick*, expresses some degree of manner, and *pick up*, *take*, and *give*, express general directionality.

Table 1 also illustrates a somewhat gradual decline in the number of verb tokens from one verb type to the next. For example, there is a decline in the total number of tokens from the first most frequent verb, i.e., *walk* (71) to the second most frequent verb, *come* (46) and a gradual decline from *come* (46) to *ride* (45), to *go* (39), to *fall* (29). A similar pattern can be observed in the transitive verb category. This feature becomes particularly relevant when one compares the English table of frequency with that of the Persian *Pear* data.

³ See Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis of manner, path, and ground.

Table 4-1: English Pear stories – frequent motion verbs

	Narrative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
INTRANSITIVE																	
1	walk (by, back, past, away, down)	4	2	9	2	6	6	2	7	5	4	5	4	9	4	2	71
2	come (bare, by, along, over, down, back)	3	7	5	0	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	4	2	1	4	46
3	ride (down, off, by, away, past, along)	3	2	3	4	3	3	4	2	3	1	5	1	7	3	1	45
4	go (bare, on, by, down, up, off, over, along)	3	4	3	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	0	4	2	4	4	39
5	fall (off, out, over)	3	1	6	3	4		1	2	1	2	1		1	1	1	27
TRANSITIVE																	
1	put [(back) in, into, down, on, away, up, upright]	1	2	4	1	3	2	2	2	6	1	4	1	7	3	3	42
2	pick	2	3	2	2	3	3	3		2			4	3	4	2	33
3	Take (out, over, to, back)	2	5			2		2	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	3	27
4	pick up	1		5	3	5		1	2	2		1	2	1	1	2	26
5	give (back)	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1		4	1	1	23

As noted in the extended table in Appendix 3, after the first eight most frequent intransitive verbs on the list, i.e., *walk, come, ride, fall, pass, stop, get*⁴, the use of verbs gradually becomes rare in terms of the number of participants using a particular verb. That is, a large proportion of the verbs are used by only a fraction of the participants. For example, 71% of the verbs are used by only three or fewer than three participants, reflecting a considerable diversity or idiosyncrasy of verb choice in the description of motion events in the English *Pear* narratives. Some examples are: *limp (off), smack (into), wobble*, etc. Such selectively used verbs are predominantly finer-grained manner of motion verbs. The same pattern of decline is observed in the transitive category.

4.3.2 Persian *Pear* stories

The dataset for the Persian *Pear* stories also consists of 15 narratives. The average length of the Persian *Pear* narratives is approximately 540 words – close to the average length of English *Pear* stories (i.e., 560 words). Within the entire dataset I located a total number of 53 verb types, consisting of 27 intransitive and 26 transitive verbs. Clearly, the inventory of motion verbs in the Persian *Pear* data is smaller than that of the English *Pear* data with 86 verb types.

A summary of the motion verb inventory in the Persian *Pear* narratives is presented in Table 2 for ease of discussion. This table contains the five most frequent verbs (total 10) from the intransitive and transitive categories, which are as follows:

⁴ The tokens of ‘get’ that are noted here reflect the use of this verb as a lexical verb expressing translational motion as in, ‘to arrive at a place’ [get to], ‘to move from a place’ [get away], etc.

- intransitive: *aamadan* ‘come,’ *raftan* ‘go,’ *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ *rad shodan* ‘pass by,’ and *khordan* ‘collide’ None of the verbs encode manner; *rad shodan* ‘pass by’ is a path verb.
- transitive: *bardaashtan* ‘pick up,’ *gozashtan* ‘put,’ *daadan* ‘give,’ *chidan* ‘pick,’ *bordan* ‘take away,’ among which one, i.e., *chidan* ‘pick,’ encodes some degree of manner; *bardaashtan* ‘pick up’ and *bordan* ‘take away’ are prototypical path verbs, and *daadan* ‘give’ encodes directionality.

The striking feature of the inventory is the large number of the total tokens of the first two verbs in the intransitive category, i.e., *aamadan* ‘come’ (132) and *raftan* ‘go’ (94). Table 4.2 also indicates that the first four verbs, *aamadan* ‘come,’ *raftan* ‘go,’ *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ and *rad shodan* ‘pass by,’ are generally used repeatedly by all (or the majority of) participants. In addition, we observe a sharp decrease from *aamadan* ‘come,’ with 132 tokens, to *raftan* ‘go’ with 94 tokens and an even more dramatic decline from *raftan* ‘go’ to *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ with 51 tokens. The number of tokens sharply drops again from *rad shodan* ‘pass by’ (49 tokens) to *khordan* ‘collide’⁵ (14 tokens). However, this is not the case in the transitive verb category. That is, the decline is not at all as sharp as in the intransitive verb category.

⁵ *Khordan*, literally means ‘to eat,’ but it has been grammaticalized to mean ‘to collide suddenly or unexpectedly.’

Table 4-2: Persian Pear stories – frequent motion verbs

Narrative		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
INTRANSITIVE																	
1	<i>aamadan</i> : come (bare, down)	9	11	7	5	5	7	18	14	4	13	11	8	6	9	5	132
2	<i>raftan</i> : go (bare, up, down)	5	12	4	4	8	8	9	9	8	6	7	5	4	3	2	94
3	<i>oftaadan</i> : fall	2	5		6	4	2	4	4	3	5	5	2	4	1	4	51
4	<i>rad shodan</i> : pass by	2	6	1	2	2	5	5	4	2	3	4	2	2	7	2	49
5	<i>khordan (be)</i> : hit, collide (into)		1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1		1	14
TRANSITIVE																	
1	<i>bardaashtan</i> : take, pick up	3	5	3	3	6	6	3	6	2	6	5	3	2	4	3	60
2	<i>gozaashtan</i> : put	2	3		2	4	5	8	5	7	2	5	1	3	5	2	54
3	<i>daadan</i> : give	2	3	2	2	3	4	1	2	3	1	2	1		1	1	28
4	<i>chidan</i> : pick		4	4	3		4	2	1		2	2	2		2	1	27
5	<i>bordan</i> : take		3	1		1	3	3	2	4	2	1	3			2	25

Furthermore, we observe fewer instances of idiosyncratic verb choice in the Persian *Pear* inventory of verbs. For example, the numbers of verbs in the Persian narratives that are used by three or fewer than three participants constitute approximately 46% of the verbs. This percentage is considerably lower than what was reported for the English *Pear* data (71%), especially given the smaller number of total verb types in the Persian *Pear* dataset. Therefore, the Persian narrators tend to provide a more uniform description of motion events in terms of verb choice compared to the English narrators for the same storyline.

Some examples of the verbs that are used more idiosyncratically by the Persian participants are: *dar raftan* ‘escape,’ *boland shodan* ‘get up,’ *deraaz kardan* ‘extend,’ *chape shodan* ‘tip over,’ etc. The majority of these verbs are light verb constructions and encode path of motion. I will discuss light verbs in Persian in section 4.4.

A comparison of Tables 4.1 and 4.2 reveals certain similarities among the most frequent verbs that appear on the two lists. These verbs are the ones that encode general directionality, such as *come*, *go*, and *fall*. However, the notable difference lies in the numbers of total tokens of each verb type in the two languages. Table 4.3 represents a comparison of the number of tokens of the most frequently used verbs in the English and Persian *Pear* narratives.

Table 4-3: Comparison of most frequent verbs: English and Persian *Pear*

English		Persian	
Intransitive			
walk	71	<i>aamadan</i> : come	132
come	46	<i>raftan</i> : go	94
ride	45	<i>oftaadan</i> : fall	51
go	39	<i>Rad shodan</i> : pass by	49
fall	27	<i>khordan</i> : collide	14
Transitive			
put	42	<i>bardashtan</i> : pick up	60
pick	33	<i>gozashtan</i> : put	54
take	27	<i>daadan</i> : give	28
pick up	26	<i>chidan</i> : pick	27
give	23	<i>bordan</i> : take away	25

The verbs indicated in bold represent verbs that appear in both languages. Note the contrast in total tokens, for example, of *come*, *go*, and *fall* in the English and Persian data: English *come* (71) v. *aamadan* ‘come’ (132), English *go* (39) v. *raftan* ‘go’ (94)⁶, English *fall* (27) v. *oftaadan* ‘fall’ (51). Since both English and Persian speakers are recounting details pertaining to an identical storyline, such drastic differences in numbers

⁶ Differences and similarities between English and Persian deictic verbs COME and GO will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

of tokens underscores the fact that these verbs are performing a range of different functions in the two sets of narratives.

4.4 Frog stories

In this section I will explain the verb inventories from narratives based on the *Banjo Frog* retold by the native speakers of English and native speakers of Persian. The full lists of English and Persian verb inventories appear in Appendices 4 and 5, respectively.

4.4.1 English Frog stories

Similar to the *Pear* stories, I collected a total of 15 English *Frog* narratives. The average length of the English *Frog* stories is approximately 470 words. In the entire dataset set of 15 narratives I located a total number of 91 motion verb types. 48 verbs are intransitive and 43, transitive. I have summarized the results for the five most frequent verbs in each category (total ten) in Table 4.4 below. These ten most frequent verbs are the following:

- intransitive: *go*, *walk*, *come*, *climb*, and *wander*. Three verbs, *walk*, *climb*, and *wander*, encode manner. *Go* and *come* encode general directionality.
- transitive: *play*, *dump*, *pick up*, *chase*, and *compact*. Three of these express manner of motion: *dump*, *chase*, and *compact*.

The number of manner verbs in this abbreviated list is larger than what we observed in the abbreviated list of the ten most frequent verbs in the English *Pear* narratives. This is related to the types of motion events occurring in the plotline of *The Banjo Frog*.

The table also reveals that, similar to the English *Pear* dataset, the decline in the number of tokens follows a relatively subtle pattern in the *Frog* narratives, especially after the first most frequent verb, *go*. For example, the frequency declines from the verb, *go* (42) to *walk* (30), and then more gradually from *walk* to *come* (25), to *climb* (17), to *wander* (10). The same pattern can be observed in the transitive category. Thus, the distributional pattern of these verbs exhibits little skewing.

As noted in the extended inventory in Appendix 4, after the fifth most frequent verb in the intransitive category, i.e., *wander*, and the seventh most frequent verb in the transitive category, i.e., *drag*, the use of verbs gradually becomes selective or idiosyncratic. That is, approximately 73% of the verbs are used by three or fewer than three participants. As with the *Pear* inventory, the point at which the use of verbs becomes more idiosyncratic occurs where the majority of finer grained manner verbs occur. The verbs, *pop (off)*, *amble (around)*, *squish*, and *toss* represent some of these idiosyncratic or detailed expressions of manner.

Table 4-4: English Frog stories – frequent motion verbs

Narrative		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Intransitive																	
1	go (bare, to, over, back, up, up to, in, into, around, out, through)	7	5	0	9	2	2	4	3	1	1	2	1		3	1	42
2	walk (around, forward, away, inside, through, up, over, up to further, up)	1	3	1	3	2	1		2	1	3	3		1	3	6	30
3	come (bare, along, back, out,, upon, over, at , across)	1	5	3	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2		2		25
4	climb (to the top, up, into)	1		1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	16
5	wander (around)	2						1		1	1		2	1		2	10
Transitive																	
1	play	3		4	1	4	2	3	3	1	2	3			1	3	30
2	dump (into, out)	1	1	3	1	4			/	2	1				1	2	17
3	pick up	1		1	2	1	2		/						1	2	11
4	chase (up the tree, off, away)	1		1		1			/	1	1	1	1		1	2	11
5	compact	1		1	2	1		1	/			1	1				9

4.1.2 Persian Frog stories

The average length of the Persian *Frog* stories is approximately 440 words. In the entire dataset I located a total of 50 motion verbs, 27 intransitive and 23 transitive verbs. The repertoire of motion verbs in the Persian *Frog* narratives is considerably smaller than that of its English counterpart with 91 verb types. Table 4.5 presents the five most frequent verbs in each category of intransitive and transitive verbs (total ten) in the Persian *Frog* dataset. These are summarized below.

- intransitive: *raftan* ‘go,’ *aamadan* ‘come,’ *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ *residan* ‘arrive,’ *raghsidan* ‘dance.’ Only one verb, *raghsidan* ‘dance,’ encodes manner. *Residan* ‘arrive,’ is a prototypical path verb; the other three verbs encode general directionality.
- transitive: *zadan* ‘beat, play,’ *khaali kardan* ‘empty,’ *aavardan* ‘bring,’ *dar aavardan* ‘make emerge,’ *gereftan* ‘take.’ None of these verbs encodes manner. Two verbs, *aavardan* ‘bring,’ *gereftan* ‘take,’ encode general directionality. *Dar aavardan* ‘make emerge’ is a path verb.

As noted above, similar to the Persian *Pear* narratives, only one manner verb appears on the list of the ten most frequent verbs (*Pear*—manner verb: *chidan* ‘pick,’ *Frog* – manner verb: *raghsidan* ‘dance.’) In addition, the first three verbs are exactly the same verbs that appear in the list of the most frequent verbs in the *Pear* inventory. These verbs are the general motion verbs: *raftan* ‘go,’ *aamadan* ‘come,’ and *oftaadan* ‘fall.’

Table 4-5: Persian Frog stories – frequent motion verbs

Narrative		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
INTRANSITIVE																	
1	<i>raftan</i> : go (bare, up, out, inside, forward, down, ...)	1 1	1 2	7	8	5	5	11	12	9	4	7	6	11	10	10	128
2	<i>aamadan</i> : come (out, down, up, on top of)	6	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	7	4	4	3	6	54
3	<i>oftaadan</i> : fall (into, out, down)	1			1			4	1	1		3		7			18
4	<i>residan</i> : arrive	1	3	1	3			1	1		2					3	15
5	<i>raghsidan</i> : dance		2	1						1				1	3		8
TRANSITIVE																	
1	<i>zadan</i> : beat, strike	2	3	3	3	4	3	4	5	3	4	5	2	3	2	3	49
2	<i>khaali kardan</i> : empty	1	3	1	1		2	2	1	2	4	1		4	1	2	25
3	<i>aavardan</i> : bring	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1		1	1	2	19
4	<i>dar aavardan</i> : take out	3	4			2				2		3		1	1		16
5	<i>gereftan</i> : hold, take, catch				2		2	1	1			1		3	1		11

Similar to the *Pear* datasets, a number of overlapping verbs can be observed in the most frequent verbs in the English and Persian *Frog* stories. Two of these verbs are in the intransitive category: *go* and *come* and their Persian equivalents: *raftan* and *aamadan*, respectively.

Table 4-6: Comparison of the most frequent verbs: English and Persian *Frog*

English		Persian	
INTRANSITIVE			
go	42	<i>raftan</i> : go	128
walk	30	<i>aamadan</i> : come	54
come	25	<i>oftaadan</i> : fall	18
climb	16	<i>residan</i> : arrive	15
wander	10	<i>raghsidan</i> : dance	8
TRANSITIVE			
play	30	<i>zadan</i> : hit, play	49
dump	17	<i>khaali kardan</i> : empty	25
pick up	11	<i>aavordan</i> : bring	19
chase	11	<i>gereftan</i> : take, hold	11
compact	9	<i>bordan</i> : take away	9

As in the *Pear* data, the striking feature of the Persian *Frog* inventory, especially in the intransitive category, is the density of tokens of the first two verbs, i.e., *raftan* ‘go’ and *aamadan* ‘come,’ and a sudden decline from the second most frequent verb, *aamadan* ‘come’ (54) to the third frequent verb, *oftaadan* ‘fall’ (18).

The extended table in Appendix 5 illustrates that the idiosyncrasy in verb choice in the Persian *Frog* narratives is notably lower than that in the English *Frog* stories. For example, approximately 51% of the verbs are used by three or fewer than three

participants. Given the lower number of verbs in the Persian repertoire, the percentage represents a considerably smaller number of verbs. The majority of these verbs in the Persian *Frog* narratives are light verb constructions, such as, *khaarej shodan* ‘to exit,’ *pyaade kardan* ‘to dismount,’ *feshaar daadan* ‘to press’ etc., which I will discuss in Section 4.5.

4.5 Light verb constructions

In this section I provide a description of the motion verbs in Persian that emerge as light verb constructions in the narratives. This is important because in the Persian *Pear* data, 34 out of 53 of the total motion verbs are light verbs – 63%, and in the Persian *Frog* narratives 32 out of the total of 50 motion verbs are light verb constructions, or 62%.

4.5.1 Light verb – Overview

Light verb constructions, also known as “complex predicates,” are constructions consisting of a *light verb* and a non-verbal element (Goldberg 1996; Karimi-Doostan 2004; Butt 2003). Light verbs are a class of verbs which are “semantically bleached and lacking enough thematic force to function as predicates independently” (Karimi-Doostan 2005: 1737). The term “light verb” was originally used by Jespersen (1965: 117) to refer to the verbal elements in English constructions of V+ NP as in the following: *have* a rest, *give* a sigh, *take* a walk, *take* a plunge, and *take* a bath. In these constructions, the verbs do not express their literal meanings. For example, one does not physically “give” a sigh, or “take” a plunge or walk. However, these verbs are not completely bleached of their

semantics either. As noted by Butt (2003: 1), there is, for example, a clear difference between *take* a bath and *give* a bath. Goldberg (1995: 2) suggests “non-compositional semantics” for complex predicates, arguing that the semantics of such constructions is the result of the combination of the semantics of the constituents.

While such constructions constitute a minor system in English grammar, they are frequently used in Persian (Karimi-Doostan 2004, Goldberg 1996, Folli et al 2004), Korean (Ahn 1991, Sato 1994), Japanese (Grimshaw and Mester 1988), Urdu (Butt 1995, 2003), Hindi (Mohanani 1994), and a number of Southeast Asian languages.

4.5.2 Light verbs in Persian

Persian has a productive system of light verb constructions (henceforth LVCs) or “compound verbs” (Folli, Harley, and Karimi 2005; Karimi-Doostan 2004; Goldberg 1995; Thackston 1993; Givi and Anvari 2003), through which a wide variety of verbal concepts are expressed. As noted by Folli, Harley, and Karimi (ibid: 1369), “the productivity is such that it has replaced the former morphological rule of simple verb formation in Persian.” In other words, citing the verb pair *raghsidan* ‘to dance’ (simple) vs. *raghs kardan* ‘dance doing’ (compound), Folli et al (ibid) illustrate the process by which LVCs are coming to replace the simple verb in Persian.

LVCs in Persian are typically formed through a combination of two elements, the first of which is not a verb, e.g., a noun (N), an adjective (A), a particle/adverb (Prt), and a range of light verbs, i.e., simple verbs which have become semantically bleached or whose meanings are inherently general (Butt 2003). Some of the most frequent light

verbs and their corresponding realizations as LVCs in Persian are represented in Figure 4.1 below.

Light Verb		Light Verb Constructions	
<i>kardan</i>	‘to do’	<i>baazi kardan</i> (game doing)	‘to play’
<i>shodan</i>	‘to become’	<i>fout shodan</i> (past becoming)	‘to die’
<i>daashtan</i>	‘to have’	<i>doost daashtan</i> (friend having)	‘to love’
<i>zadan</i>	‘to hit’	<i>harf zadan</i> (letter hitting)	‘to talk’
<i>khordan</i>	‘to collide’	<i>ghosse khordan</i> (grief colliding)	‘to grieve’
<i>aamadan</i>	‘to come’	<i>pish aamadan</i> (forward coming)	‘to occur’
<i>raftan</i>	‘to go’	<i>raah raftan</i> (way going)	‘to walk’
<i>keshidan</i>	‘to pull’	<i>tool keshidan</i> (length pulling)	‘to last’
<i>daadan</i>	‘to give’	<i>tarjih daadan</i> (preference giving)	‘to prefer’

Figure 4.1: Light verbs and LVCs in Persian

As observed in the above examples, the meanings of some LVCs are transparent, e.g., *baazi kardan* (game doing) ‘to play,’ and some are less transparent, e.g., *harf zadan* (letter hitting) ‘to speak.’

The most frequent lexical verbs that appear in LVCs in Persian are *kardan* ‘to do’ and *shodan* ‘to become.’ These tend to alternate in terms of transitivity, whereby (N), (A), or (Prt) + *kardan* ‘to do’ expresses a transitive LVC and (N), (A), (Prt) + *shodan* ‘to become’ expresses an intransitive LVC. Similarly, the construction (N), (A), Part +

zadan ‘to hit’ expresses a transitive LVC and (N), (A), (Prt) + *khordan* ‘to collide’ expresses an intransitive LVC. Figure 4.2 below provides examples of this type of alternation.

Transitive LVCs with <i>kardan</i>	Intransitive LVCs with <i>shodan</i>
<i>gom kardan</i> (hidden doing) ‘to lose’	<i>gom shodan</i> (hidden becoming) ‘to get lost’
<i>garm kardan</i> (warm doing) ‘to warm up’	<i>garm shdan</i> (warm becoming) ‘to get warm’
<i>boland kardan</i> (high/tall doing) ‘to raise’	<i>boland shodan</i> (high/tall becoming) ‘to rise’
<i>bidaar kardan</i> (awake doing) ‘to awake’	<i>bidaar shodan</i> (awake becoming) ‘to awaken’
Transitive LVCs with <i>zadan</i>	Intransitive LVCs with <i>khordan</i>
<i>dast zadan</i> (hand touching) ‘to touch’	<i>dast khordan</i> (hand touching) ‘to be touched’
<i>lagad zadan</i> (kick hitting) ‘to kick’	<i>lagad khordan</i> (kick colliding) ‘to be kicked’
<i>gool zadan</i> (deceive hitting) ‘to deceive’	<i>gool khordan</i> (deceive colliding) ‘to be deceived’

Figure 4.2: Transitive and Intransitive LVC Alternations

However, the *kardan* ‘do’ / *shodan* ‘become’ and *zadan* ‘hit’ / *khordan* ‘collide’ alternations are not categorically linked to transitive/intransitive distinctions. That is, LVCs that are formed with the *kardan* ‘do’ or *zadan* ‘hit’ constituent, though typically transitive, are not always so, as in Figure 4.3.

Intransitive Expressions with <i>kardan</i>
<i>parvaaz kardan</i> (fly doing) ‘to fly’
<i>gir kardan</i> (interlock doing) ‘to get stuck’
<i>harekat kardan</i> (motion doing) ‘to move’
<i>sabr kardan</i> (wait doing) ‘to wait’
<i>gerye kardan</i> (cry doing) ‘to cry’
Intransitive expressions with <i>zadan</i>
<i>laafzadan</i> (brag hitting) ‘to brag’
<i>yakh zadan</i> (ice hitting) ‘to freeze (intrans)’

Figure 4.3: Intransitive LVCs with *kardan* and *zadan*

In contrast, LVCs with *shodan* ‘become’ and *khordan* ‘collide’ are never transitive.

4.5.3 Motion events with light verbs – *Pear* and *Frog*

As noted above, the majority of the motion verbs in the *Pear* and *Frog* narratives are LVCs, 62% and 63%, respectively. Thus, also as noted, only a small fraction of the Persian motion verbs are simple verbs. The simple verbs are represented in Figure 4 below.

raftan ‘go,’ *aamadan* ‘come,’ *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ *residan* ‘arrive,’ *raghsidan* ‘dance,’
daadan ‘give,’ *khordan* ‘collide,’ *neshastan* ‘sit down,’ *gashtan* ‘revolve,’
charkhidan ‘circle,’ *istaadan* ‘stand up,’ *dauidan* ‘run,’ *zadan* ‘hit,’ *aavardan*
‘bring,’ *gereftan* ‘take, hold,’ *bordan* ‘take away,’ *rikhtan* ‘pour, spill (trans and
intrans.),’ *andaakhtan* ‘throw,’ *gozaahstan* ‘put,’ *charkhaandan* ‘circle (trans.),’
gozashtan ‘cross,’ *chidan* ‘pick,’ *kandan*, *keshidan* ‘pull’

Total: 22

Figure 4.4: Simple verbs in the Persian dataset (Pear and Frog combined)

These simple verbs contrast with the LVCs from the full Persian dataset as indicated in Figure 4.5, in that the majority of these simple verbs tend to be more semantically general⁷. The LVCs, on the other hand, capture more detailed information with regard to the motion being expressed.

⁷ Some more specific verbs include: *charkhidan* ‘to circle,’ *bordan* ‘to take away,’ and *gozashtan* ‘to cross,’ which clearly encode path of motion.

Light verb	Light verb constructions
<i>kardan</i> , ‘to do’	<i>rad kardan</i> (pass doing) ‘to pass by s.t.’, <i>pyaade kardan</i> (dismount doing) ‘to dismount’, <i>savaar kardan</i> (mount doing) ‘to mount’, <i>deraaz kardan</i> (long doing) ‘to extend’, <i>faraar kardan</i> (escape doing) ‘to escape’, <i>donbaal kardan</i> (behind/tail doing) ‘to chase’, <i>baar kardan</i> (load doing) ‘to load’, <i>khaali kardan</i> (empty doing) ‘to empty’, <i>gir kardan</i> (entanglement doing) ‘to get stuck’, <i>part kardan</i> (away doing) ‘to throw’, <i>harekat kardan</i> (motion doing) ‘to move’ (intrans.) <i>paak kardan</i> ([completely] clean doing) ‘to clean off’, <i>tamiz kardan</i> (clean doing) ‘to clean’
<i>shodan</i> ‘become’	<i>rad shodan</i> (pass becoming) ‘to pass by’, <i>pakhsh shodan</i> (spread/diffused becoming) ‘to spread’, <i>pyaade shodan</i> (dismounted becoming) ‘to dismount oneself’, <i>savaar shodan</i> (mounted becoming) ‘to mount oneself’, <i>boland shodan</i> (tall/high becoming) ‘to rise’, <i>nazdik shodan</i> (close becoming) ‘to approach’, <i>door shodan</i> (distant becoming) ‘to distance’, <i>vaajgoon shodan</i> ‘to invert’ (intrans.), <i>chape shodan</i> ‘to tip over’, <i>khaarej shodan</i> (exited becoming) ‘to exit’, <i>paa shodan</i> (on foot/leg becoming) ‘to get up (on one’s feet)’, <i>vaared shodan</i> (entered becoming) ‘to enter’
<i>zadan</i> ‘hit’	<i>lagad zadan</i> (kick hitting) ‘to kick’, <i>dast zadan</i> (hand hitting) ‘to touch (with hands)’, <i>dahan zadan</i> (mouth hitting) ‘to touch (with mouth)’
<i>oftaadan</i> ‘fall’	<i>raah oftaadan</i> (way falling) ‘to get on one’s way’, <i>gir oftaadan</i> (entanglement falling) ‘to get stuck’ (suddenly), <i>donbaal oftaadan</i> (behind falling) ‘to chase’ (suddenly)
<i>keshidan</i> ‘pull/stretch’	<i>deraaz keshidan</i> (long pulling / stretching) ‘to lie down’
<i>daadan</i> ‘give’	<i>feshaar daadan</i> (pressure giving) ‘to push, press’, <i>tekaan daadan</i> (shake giving) ‘to shake’
<i>aamadan</i> ‘come’	<i>dar aamadan</i> (door coming) ‘to emerge’
<i>raftan</i> ‘go’	<i>dar raftan</i> (door going) ‘to escape, flee’, <i>raah raftan</i> (way going) ‘to walk’ (steadily)
<i>aavardan</i> ‘bring’	<i>dar aavardan</i> (door bringing) ‘make emerge’
<i>gashtan</i> (intrans.), <i>gardaandan</i> (trans.) ‘revolve’	<i>bar gashtan</i> (over revolving) ‘to return (intrans.)’, <i>bar gardaandan</i> ‘to return (trans.)’
<i>daashtan</i> ‘have’	<i>bar daashtan</i> (over having) ‘to pick up’, <i>nagah daashtan</i> (keep having) ‘to hold’

4.5: Light verb constructions in the Persian dataset (Pear and Banjo combined)

As indicated in Figure 4.5, the most frequently used light verbs in motion LVCs that appear in the Persian narratives are *kardan* ‘do’ and *shodan* ‘become.’ Some examples are transitive *boland kardan* (high doing) ‘to raise’ and intransitive *boland shodan* (high becoming) ‘to rise;’ and, transitive *savaar kardan* (mount doing) ‘to mount’ vs. intransitive *savaar shodan* (mount becoming) ‘to mount oneself,’ etc.

The verbal component of the remainder of the motion LVCs – with the exception of combinations with *daashtan* ‘have’—consists of some of the simple motion verbs represented in Figure 4.4. That is, the simple motion verbs *raftan* ‘go,’ *aamadan* ‘come,’ *aavordan* ‘bring,’ *zadan* ‘hit,’ *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ *daadan* ‘give,’ *gashtan/gradaaandan* ‘revolve,’ and *keshidan* ‘pull,’ appear both as simple motion verbs and as light verbs in compound verbs. However, in the LVCs, the literal meaning of these motion verbs has diminished. For example, the simple verb *oftaadan* ‘fall,’ figures in the following three motion LVCs (from Figure 4.5) as a light verb:

- *gir oftaadan* (entanglement/interlock falling) ‘to get stuck (at once)’
- *donbaal oftaadan* (tail falling) ‘(start) to chase,’
- *raah oftaadan* (way falling) ‘get on one’s way.’

Clearly, the verb *oftaadan* ‘fall’ in these compounds has lost its literal meaning as “downward motion.” In spite of the various nominal elements, what all of these three motion LVCs have in common is the concept of “incipience.” That is, all three encode “start doing X,” which semantically separates them from other motion LVCs with the same nominal components. For example, *donbaal kardan* (behind doing) refers to the continuous motion of “chasing someone/something,” as apposed to *donbaal oftaadan* ‘to

start chasing s.o. or s.t.’ Similarly, *raah raftan* (way going) expresses ‘walking’ or ‘moving along a path’, and not *beginning* to walk, as in *raah oftaadan* ‘start walking/moving⁸.’

As another example, the verb *zadan* ‘to hit’ is prototypically used to mean ‘beat.’ But note the LVCs *dast zadan* (hand hitting) ‘to touch (with one’s hand)’ and *dahan zadan* (mouth hitting) ‘to touch (with one’s mouth).’ In these compounds the verb *zadan* refers to a quick or instantaneous motion involving contact and using one’s hands or mouth.

The non-verbal components of the LVCs (i.e., the (N), (Adj.), or (Prt.) component) provide various details with respect to motion. For example, in the verbs *raah raftan* (way going) ‘to walk’ and *raah oftaadan* (way falling) ‘get on one’s way,’ the nominal component *raah* ‘way,’ provides information about the path of motion. Similarly, the adverb *donbaal* ‘behind’ in the compound *donbaal kardan* (behind doing) ‘to chase’ and *donbaal oftaadan* (behind falling) ‘(start) to chase,’ also express the path of motion. In fact, the majority of the non-verbal components in the motion LVCs used in the Persian narratives.

On the other hand, in the verbs *dast zadan* (hand hitting) ‘touch with hand,’ *dahan zadan* ‘touch with mouth,’ and *lagad zadan* (kick hitting) ‘to kick,’ the nominal components *dast* ‘hand,’ *dahan* ‘mouth,’ and *lagad* ‘kick’ provide information with respect to manner of motion. A relatively small number of motion LVCs in the inventory are of this type.

⁸ *Raah raftan* ‘move along a path’ and *raah oftaadan* ‘get on one’s way’ are both indifferent to the nature of the figure. Thus, they can be used to express the motion of a variety of animate and inanimate entities, e.g., humans, cars, planes, etc.

The non-verbal elements of LVCs can also encode ground information. For example, the nominal component *dar* ‘door’ in the compound verb *dar raftan* (door going) is derived from “going through the door” and has been grammaticalized to mean ‘get away’ or ‘escape.’ *Dar* ‘door’ also figures in *dar aamadan* (door coming), which is derived from “coming through the door” and means ‘to appear, emerge’ In these compounds, the noun *dar* encodes ground information. Such LVCs constitute an even smaller fraction of motion LVCs in the Persian narratives.

I discuss the expression of path, manner, and ground in detail in Chapter 5.

4.6 Conclusion and discussion – *Pear and Frog* – Persian and English

In this chapter I presented a comparative analysis of the inventory of motion verbs used by Persian and English speakers in this study. The two languages exhibit clear contrastive tendencies in their habitual preferences or “thinking-for-speaking” patterns in the description of motion events. As noted in both storyline narratives, Persian speakers make use of a considerably smaller collection of motion verbs, reflecting a smaller inventory of readily accessible or encodable motion verbs in their lexicon. If we count the total number of verbs used by all speakers in all narratives, not including overlaps within each story, we find only 64 different motion verbs. This contrasts with the total number of motion verbs used by all English speakers in the 30 narratives, also not including overlaps, i.e., 143. What is also noteworthy is that in Persian, simple verbs, i.e., single-word verbs, constitute less than half the number of total motion verbs. That is, of the 64 total motion verbs in both datasets, only 22 are simple verbs. The remainder of

the verbs are light verb constructions, which include some of the simple verbs in the former category as their verbal component.

Thus, compared to English, the Persian inventories of motion verbs include considerably fewer number of verbs that encode the “fact of motion.” As noted by Grinevald (2006), “[Differences in] the inventory of elements within systems is considered one of the first indicators of contrast between systems” (34). Thus, in this sense, Persian and English illustrate clear typological differences in their expression of motion.

I also provided an overview of “light verb constructions” or “complex predicates” in Persian. These constructs include a general verb of motion and certain detailed information about motion, including, path, ground, and manner.

Chapter 5 presents an analysis of both English and Persian from the point of view of S-framing and V-framing (Talmy 1991, 2000) with a detailed discussion of manner, path, and ground and how these elements appear in the expression of motion events in both languages.

Chapter 5

DATA ANALYSIS

THE EXPRESSIONS OF PATH, MANNER AND GROUND IN ENGLISH AND PERSIAN NARRATIVES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the expressions of space, realized in the encoding of path and ground, as well as an analysis of manner of motion in the discourse of the English and Persian speakers. The discourse samples consist of elicited narratives, based on the two films, *The Banjo Frog* and the *Pear* film. The purpose of the chapter is to investigate the standing of Persian with respect to Talmy's binary typology of S- and V-framed languages. To this end, I compare the Persian narratives to the narratives produced by the English speakers. Since English represents a prototypical S-language, the English narratives will serve as a basis for the analysis of Persian in the light of S- or V- type framing.

In Section 5.2 I will present an overview of Talmy's typology. Section 5.3 investigates the expressions of path in the English and Persian narratives. Section 5.4 focuses on manner. Section 5.5 explores manner expression in the two languages. Section 5.6 is the conclusion.

5.2 Satellite framed and Verb framed languages

As noted in Chapter 2, Talmy (1991, 2000) categorizes the majority of the world's languages based on their lexicalization patterns of motion events into two main groups: Satellite-framed and Verb-framed languages. This categorization is primarily based on the type of information that is “conflated” within the root of motion verbs. That is, S-languages generally conflate the fact of motion with the co-events of manner or cause. As a result of this conflation pattern, S-languages tend to have a rich lexicon of manner of motion verbs, commonly used by the speakers. Some examples of S-languages are: Indo-European (except for post-Latin Romance languages), Finno-Ugric, Warlpiri, Chinese, Ojibwa, and English. According to Talmy (2007), English represents a “perfect example” of an S-framed language.

In V-languages, on the other hand, the component that is lexicalized within the verb of motion is path. Manner, if mentioned, is expressed through an adverbial, and not as a part of the verb root. V-languages, according to Talmy (2000), have a large variety of path verbs in their lexicon that are commonly used by the speakers of these languages. According to Talmy (2007), the majority of the world's languages are V-framed. Examples of Verb-framed languages are: Romance, Semitic, Japanese, Korean, Turkish, Tamil, Polynesia, Nez Perce, and Caddo. Where English is a “perfect example” of an S-framed language, Spanish is a “perfect example” of a V-framed language (Talmy 2007).

According to Talmy (2000), in the classification of a language as S-framed or V-framed, one should consider the “characteristic expression of motion” in that particular language. Talmy (ibid: 27) defines “characteristic expression” as an expression that is (1) colloquial in style, rather than literary or stilted, (2) frequent rather than only

occasional in speech, and (3) pervasive, rather than limited—that is, it expresses a wide range of semantic notions.

In the discussion that follows, I will investigate the characteristic expressions of path and manner as they occur English and Persian narratives.

5.3 Path

Path constitutes the “core schema” within Talmy’s framework and is defined as the “course followed” (trajectory) or the “site occupied” by the figure with respect to the ground element (Talmy 2000). Further, Talmy (ibid: 53) expands the notion of path as a “simplex constituent” to include three basic components: the Vector, the Conformation, and the Deictic (Talmy ibid: 53). Briefly, the Vector refers to the direction of motion with respect to the ground element (source, endpoint, or midpoint) and thus, incorporates “the basic types of arrival, traversal, and departure that a Figure can execute with respect to a Ground schema” (Talmy ibid: 53, emphasis added). Using Talmy’s (2000) example: “The napkin blew off the bed/out of the box,” the path satellites ‘off’ and ‘out’ express the Vector of the Figure as moving away from the Ground or “departure. In other words, what is salient in the conceptualization of this type of Vector is the *source* location. Alternatively, in “The ball rolled across the crack/past the lamp,” the path satellites ‘across’ and ‘past’ express the motion of the Figure through or along another point, i.e., what is salient in the conceptualization of path is the “traversal” motion of the Figure. Finally, an arrival Vector makes salient the goal or endpoint of a trajectory as in “The

ball rolled toward the lamp,” where “toward⁹” foregrounds the conceptualization of the *endpoint* or *goal* of motion.

The Conformation encodes the geometric features of the ground. For example, it encodes whether or not the ground is an enclosure. In the case where the ground is an enclosure, conformation is expressed through the path satellite ‘in’ or path verb ‘enter.’ In the cases where the ground is not an enclosure, e.g., a flat surface, it is encoded in path verbs, such as ‘reach.’

The Deictic component of path involves two elements of directionality. In the first case, deictic directionality involves *movement toward the speaker* as encoded through such deictic verbs as ‘come’ and ‘bring.’ In the second case, the directionality involves *movement other than toward the speaker*, as encoded through such deictic verbs as ‘go’ and ‘take.’

An expanded concept of path is also suggested by Slobin (1996a). Slobin (ibid: 202) notes that in linguistic analyses, path is generally perceived as a *trajectory* that lies between a “source” and a “goal.” Slobin (ibid) suggests the notion of complex path,” or a “journey” that includes not only the *source* and the *goal*, but also the “subgoals or milestones” throughout the journey as well as the “medium” through which the figure moves. Thus, Slobin’s definition of expanded path crosscuts the Vector and Conformation components defined by Talmy (2000). However, this framework does not include “direction” or Deixis as a separate component.

⁹ This example by Talmy seems contradictory to the definition of path satellites. Talmy (2000: 102) explicitly excludes *toward* from the category of path satellites.

In the following sections I will analyze the expression of path from the point of view of foregrounding the sub-components of goal / endpoint, source, midpoint, and directionality. English and Persian expressions of path in discourse are investigated in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2, respectively.

5.3.1 Path satellites in English

As noted in Chapter 3, in order to identify path satellites from prepositions I used the criteria suggested by Talmy (1985), i.e., the “NP-omission” criterion: Verbs + satellites can stand alone (e.g., ‘She went up’), but verbs + prepositions require a complement (e.g., *‘He came from’).

In the English narratives, path of motion is predominantly expressed through path satellites. 56 out of 86 (65%) verbs of motion in the English *Pear* narratives, and 49 out of 90 verbs (55%) in the English *Frog* data co-occur with path satellites. Table 5.1 lists the majority of the motion verbs and their satellites from both narratives.

5.1: English verbs and their satellites (Pear and Frog combined)

Verb	Satellite
go +	over, back (in), up, down, around, through, out, along, by, off, across
come +	by, along, over, down, back (in), upon, out
walk +	around, forward, away, inside, through, over, up, further, by, back, past
climb +	up, (back) in, up into, (back) up, down
crawl +	up, around, out, under
ride +	down, along, off, up, by, away, past
step +	over, across, on
fall +	off, out, over
cross +	past, over
limp +	off, away,
fly +	around, off
put +	(back) in, down, on, away, up
pull +	off, on, up, out
toss +	in, around, out
push +	away, down, out
dump +	in, out
spill +	all over
amble +	around
pop +	off

A count of the different satellites occurring above yields a total of 20. The variety of path satellites in the English inventories is striking, both in terms of the number of verbs with which path satellites combine and the array of spatial positions or “segments of the path” that they encode. For example, *away* and *off* encode the motion of the figure away from the source point. *In*, *inside*, and *on* designate the goal. *Forward*, *down*, and *up* express general directionality. *Past*, *across*, *around*, and *by* involve traversal from a midpoint. And, *everywhere* expresses a multidirectional path. In addition, a number of path satellites can combine into a “verb complex” (Talmy 2000: 103) to express an even more detailed description and complex array of spatial relations. Excerpt 1 illustrates.

The verb phrases in the target utterances have been marked with boldface type; the multiple path satellites have been underlined.

(1) Multiple path satellites in English – Pear story – Speaker #10

he: ^ **came do^{wn} off** of the ladde: ^r, (.)

he was wearing a red sca: ^rf, (.)

he used the scarf to clea: ^n off the pea: ^rs, (0.4)

a:nd he **climbed back u^p into** the tree: ^,

In the first sentence: *he came down off of the ladder*, the first path satellite *down*, encodes the direction of the figure's motion, and the satellite *off* expresses the motion of the figure away from the source, *the ladder*. In the second marked sentence in the excerpt, *he climbed back up into the tree*, three path satellites are connected to the verb *climbed*: *back*, which encodes the directionality of returning toward the source point, *up* the vertical direction, and finally, *in* expresses the relation of the figure to the endpoint or the goal. Thus, in one clause the salience of the source point, direction, and endpoint have been foregrounded¹⁰.

The last line in excerpt (1) described the motion of the figure, the pear picker, as he resumed his work in the tree. The expression *climbed back up into the tree* uses *back* to denote his return in an upward direction. The opposite spatial relations are expressed in the three satellites connected to the verb *come* in excerpt (2) below.

¹⁰ The speaker might have also omitted 'up' and described the path as 'back in(to)'. In this case, the general trajectory of *upward* motion would have been *inferred* rather than explicitly expressed.

(2) Multiple path satellites in English – Pear data – Speaker #11

in the meantime the pi[^]cker **comes back do:[^]wn out** of the tree:[^],
with more pea:[^]rs, en he looks down en realizes he's mi[^]ssing a
bushel ba[^]sket of pea:[^]rs,

Here, the satellite *back* expresses the return of the pear picker to the initial source point, i.e., the bottom of the tree, which is the goal of the motion. *Down* encodes the direction he takes in order to reach the goal, and *out* expresses the relation of the figure to the ground, i.e., *the tree*.

Therefore, in English, as with other S-languages, such complex and detailed expressions of space through “constellations of spatial morphemes” (Raganrasdottir and Stromqvist 2004) constitute *characteristic* expressions (Talmy 2000) of space. In other words, such features are readily encodable and frequently attended to by the speakers of S-languages, such as English, Dutch, Russian, Swedish, etc. (Slobin 1987, 2004).

5.3.2 Persian satellites – General discussion

Similar to the English satellites, Persian path satellites were determined through the application of the NP omission criterion. Table 5.2 lists the complete set of the path satellites used by Persian speakers in both inventories of *Pear* and *Frog*.

5.2: Persian path satellites (Pear and Frog combined)

Verb	Satellite
<i>raftan</i> ‘go’ +	<i>balaa(ye)</i> ‘up’ (48), <i>paayin</i> ‘down’ (1), <i>too(ye)</i> ‘inside’ (10), <i>biroon</i> ‘outside’ (2), <i>jelo</i> ‘front’ (15)
<i>aamadan</i> ‘come’ +	<i>balaa(ye)</i> ‘up’ (2), <i>paayin</i> ‘down’ (25), <i>biroon</i> ‘outside’ (4), <i>zire</i> ‘underneath’ (2)
<i>oftaadan</i> ‘fall’ +	<i>paayin</i> ‘down’ (1), <i>too(ye)</i> ‘inside’ (9), <i>biroon</i> ‘outside’ (1)
<i>gozaashatan</i> ‘put’ +	<i>too(ye)</i> ‘inside’ (21), <i>roo(ye)</i> ‘on’ (4), <i>jelo (ye)</i> ‘front’ (5)
<i>rikhtan</i> ‘pour, spill’ +	<i>too(ye)</i> ‘inside’ (12)
<i>aavardan</i> ‘bring’ +	<i>biroon</i> ‘outside’ (2)
<i>khaali kardan</i> ‘empty’ +	<i>too(ye)</i> ‘inside’ (10)
<i>keshidan</i> ‘pull’ +	<i>paayin</i> ‘down’ (1)

As noted in Table 5.2, the variety of path satellites in the Persian data and the types of verbs with which they co-occur are limited compared to the English path satellites. In fact, a closer look at the Persian satellites reveals a total of only seven (cf. English path satellites: 20) and these seven distribute themselves according to the following binary spatial locations:

<i>baalaa(ye)</i> ‘up, on top (of)’	<i>paayin</i> ‘down’
<i>too(ye)</i> ‘inside’	<i>biroon</i> ‘outside’
<i>jelo(ye)</i> ‘forward, front’	<i>x</i> ¹¹
<i>roo(ye)</i> ‘on, over’	<i>zir(e)</i> ‘under(neath)’

Figure 5.1: Persian satellites

All seven satellites in Persian function both as locative markers with verbs of existence or location and as path satellites with a specific set of deictic or directional verbs. The path locative/prepositional system in Persian makes far fewer spatial distinctions than does English. This is also the case in Spanish and many other languages (Aske 1989: 3).

What is notable in Persian is that the motion events that are considered in the literature to be expressed through path verbs in prototypical V-languages, such as, *enter*, *exit*, *ascend*, *descend*, etc., are all expressed in Persian through a combination of a deictic verb and path satellite. For example, instead of a single verb encoding the motion of ‘to ascend,’ Persian expresses such motion through the verbs *raftan* ‘to go’ or *aamadan* ‘to come’ plus the path satellite *baalaa* ‘up.’ This is not to suggest that Persian does not possess this type of path verbs: In fact, they do exist in the language. However, they tend to appear in formal or literary contexts and are also typically borrowed from Arabic.

The next section will provide a closer analysis of the individual Persian satellites mentioned here.

5.3.3 Persian path satellites – A closer look

In this section I will address the following path satellites: *baalaa* ‘up,’ *paayin* ‘down,’ *too* ‘inside,’ and *biroon* ‘out.’ Where applicable, I will compare the Persian examples with English.

5.3.3.1 *baalaa* ‘up, top’

One of the most frequently used path satellites in the Persian data is the adverb *baalaa* ‘up’ (50 total tokens). While the function of this marker is typically that of an adverb or preposition, it also carries the meaning of ‘top.’ In this sense, it occurs as a common noun and encodes locatedness. Example (3) will illustrate the latter function:

(3) Locatedness with *baalaa* ‘up,’ top’ – Persian *Pear* data – Speaker #12

oon aaghaayi ke **baalaaye** dera^kht bood ...

‘The man who was in the tree [lit.: on top of the tree] ...’

Baalaa is used here as a locative with the existential verb *boodan* ‘to be [located].’

However, in the data, *baalaa* ‘up’ predominantly occurs in combination with the verb *raftan* ‘to go.’ Persian speakers use this deictic verb + satellite construction to describe motion events that are otherwise expressed through a single path verb in V-languages, e.g., *cikmak* in Turkish, *subir* in Spanish, *monter* in French, etc., all of which generally mean ‘ascend.’ The combination of *raftan* ‘to go’ + *baalaa* ‘up’ occurs in a number of contexts, each of which makes salient a different nuance of the general motion event of *ascent*.

For example, excerpt (4) illustrates the most common form of the combination of *raftan+baalaa* ‘to go + up.’ The expression in (4) consists of *raftan* ‘to go’ + *baalaa* ‘up/top’- *ye* (GEN) + NP (ground). The episode involves the final scene of the *Frog* story, where the protagonist, the banjo frog, climbs up a tree to escape from the bull frogs who are chasing him. Thirteen of the 15 (87%) Persian speakers used the same construction to describe this episode. The clause in question is indicated in bold.

(4) raftan+ baalaa ‘to go+ up/top’ – Persian Frog data – Speaker #7

bad >kholaase< inam az ta^rse inaa da^r mire:^,

then, anyway, he escapes out of fear from them

→*mire* *baalaaye* *de^ra:^kht.=*

go-3rd-sing top-GEN tree

‘goes to the top of the tree’

bad oo^njaa:^ chand taa ghoorbaagheye de^rakhti mibine^ (.)

there he sees some tree frogs.

As noted, while *baalaa* ‘up’ expresses the adverbial direction of upward motion, it also exists in Persian as a common noun meaning ‘top.’ Thus, in the highlighted clause, we observe that *baalaa* ‘up, top’ + genitive marker + *derakht* ‘tree’ (the ground), encode the endpoint or goal of motion, indicating where the figure ends up, i.e., the top of the tree. In this sense, the expression is telic; that is, it underscores a bounded path. What is highlighted in the path-based conceptualization of this event is the goal of the motion. In other words, the actual process of going up the tree is only *inferred* or *imagined*. This type of construction implies a vertical motion upward.

In contrast, in the English narratives the same scene is described in a variety of ways. However, in all cases, the description is such that the upward motion is explicit rather than inferred. Excerpt (5) illustrates one such example from the English data.

(5) Climbing up – English Frog data – Speaker #1

and they cha:se him up a tree:^.

en he **goes u^p the tree:^,**

e: he's very sad and lonely,

Here, *goes up the tree* explicitly encodes the trajectory, whereas *mire baalaaye derakht* 'he goes to the top of the tree' only implies it.

In Persian it seems that any time that one specifies the ground NP *after* the path marker *baalaa* 'up,' the path is telic, encoding the endpoint, and the upward trajectory itself can only be inferred, i.e., *baalaa*(*ye*) + NP 'to the top of the x.' However, at times the speakers use two other structures to express the Vector with the same linguistic components: *raftan* 'to go' and *baalaa* 'up, top.' One of the structures is illustrated in excerpt (6) from the *Frog* data. This is the opening episode of the story, where the frog climbs up a trash can in search of food.

(6) climbing up the trash can – Persian *Frog* data – Speaker #9

ba:^d mirese be ye satle aashghaa:~^l,

then he gets to a trash can,

mibine ke em ha^share dor o bare sa^tle aashghaala:n,

he sees there are flies around the trash can

→**mi^re** **baa:^laa:,**

go-3rd Sing. up

(he) goes up

do^ taa ha^share mi^khore:,

he eats two insects

In this example, the deictic verb *raftan* ‘to go,’ realized here in the 3rd person singular as *mire* ‘(he) goes,’ combines with *baalaa* ‘up’ in a single clause. In the target utterance (marked with an arrow and in bold), the speaker makes no explicit reference to the ground, i.e., the trash can; however, he did mention it in the previous two clauses. In this sense, the upward trajectory of the frog’s motion is both explicit and atelic. That is, the focus is not on the endpoint, as we saw in example (4), but on a sequence of events: going up the trash can and immediately thereafter, eating two flies. This contrasts nicely with the telic example in (4), where the frog climbs the tree (‘goes to the top of the tree’) and stays there, in refuge from the bull frogs who had been chasing him. Only four of the 30 Persian narratives (13%) contain this type of construction, where the ground has already been established and the combination of *raftan* + *baalaa* overtly encodes the path.

The third structure involving the combination of *raftan* + *baalaa* occurs in the form of: *az* ‘from’ + *NP* + *raftan* ‘to go’ + *baalaa* ‘up.’ This structure is illustrated in example (7) from the *Pear* data and example (8) from the *Frog* data. What both excerpts have in common is the fact that the expression *az* + *NP* + *raftan* + *baalaa* encodes path of motion and the ground explicitly.

(7) climbing up the tree – Persian *Pear* data – Speaker #2

ke^, e:: ye nafaro neshoon mide

‘that it shows someone

ke	az	de^rakhte	golaabi	mire	baalaa	
who	from-Ablative	tree-GEN		pear	goes	up

go[^]laabi bechine

pear pick-SUBJUNC

who goes up the pear tree to pick pears.’

The structure *az +NP + baalaa+ raftan* ‘from NP to go up’ is similar to the *raftan + balaa- ye (GEN) + NP* ‘going on top of NP’ construction, explicated in example (4), in that the ground is mentioned in both structures. However, the relation between the path and the ground in the two structures is different. That is, while in (4) the relation is expressed by a genitive marker *(y)e*, in example (7) the path-ground relation is marked by the ablative preposition *az* ‘from.’ As a result, unlike the expression in (4), where the path is only inferred, it is explicit in (7). Thus, *goes up from the tree* overtly marks the figure’s attachment to the ground while moving upwards rather than simply encoding the endpoint. What renders the path explicit here is the fact that in this expression, the figure is traversing the ground, hence path emerges clearly.

Interestingly, the attachment of the figure to the ground, expressed through this structure, adds a visual aspect or a manner-like component to the motion event. Note that this structure was used by only two of the speakers to describe the pear picker’s motion of climbing the tree in the *Pear* data, which contrasts with eight of the 15 speakers who used the structure to describe the frog’s motion going up the trash can. Example (8) illustrates the latter.

8) Climbing up the trash can – Persian Frog data – Speaker #11

*nazdike ye sa^tle aashghaa^li ke maale satle aashghaalaaye:^^, (.) o^moomie
parke zendegi mikard ...*

he lived close to a trash can which is – a public trash can in the park

bad az sa^tle aashghaale raft baa:^laa:^

he went up from the trash can

ke ye^ doone magas baa^laaye satle aashghaal boo:d, begire:^, (.)

to catch a fly which was above the trash can

What becomes clear in path expressions such as these is the fact that the conceptualization of this upward climbing motion suggests the frog's using all four limbs to reach his goal.

In contrast, 13 of the English speakers (87%) used an actual manner verb to describe the scene, as in (9).

(9) climbing up the trash can – English Frog data – Speaker #5

en there were flie^s swa^rming arou^nd it (the trash can)

= En he: **cra^wled u^p** the tra:sh ca:n (.),

en a^te one of the fro– one of the flie:^s,

The combination of *crawled* and *up* expresses the manner and Vector of motion, respectively.

In sum, unlike typical V-languages, which generally encode upward trajectory with the equivalents of the verb *ascend*, Persian speakers use a combination of *baalaa* 'up, top' and the deictic verb *raftan* 'to go.' As I have demonstrated, the speakers in this

study used this combination in a variety of syntactic forms, each of which highlights a particular feature of the upward Vector. As noted by Slobin (2004), these types of phenomena represent what Sinha and Kuteva (1995) have termed “distributed spatial semantics.” That is, “the spatial meaning of an element does not reside in a single lexical item; rather, it is distributed over form and constructions” (Slobin *ibid*: 248).

5.3.3.2 *paayin* ‘down’

The path satellite *paayin* typically denotes the diametrically opposite direction of *baalaa*. The root of this word is *paa* meaning ‘foot.’ Like *baalaa*, *paayin* also functions multiply as a Vector, meaning ‘down’ or ‘downward,’ and as a locative meaning ‘bottom.’ That is, it occurs variably as a preposition or adverb and as a common noun. Examples (10) and (11) will illustrate as a locative and Vector, respectively.

(10) Frog (speaker 4)-- function of *paayin* as a locative

bad oo^n vazaghaa ke paayin derakhtam boodan ke:^ oo^naa:

‘and then the toads who were also at the **bottom** of the tree’

vaghti sedaaye i^naa ro >didan inaa< se^taayi daaran mi^khoodan,

‘when they heard- saw that the three of them were singing...’

(11) – Pear (speaker 10) –function of *paayin* as a Vector

aa^n ba^d ha^moon mogham miaa^d paa^yin oo^n aadame roostaayi

then at that very time the farmer **comes down**

ke serie ba^die golaabaa ro berize, mibine

to pour the next round of pears

mibine ke yeki az sabdaa nist

he sees (realizes) one of the baskets isn't there.

In the data, *paayin* 'down' predominantly occurs with the verb *aamadan* 'to come.' This is exemplified in (11) above.

Persian speakers use this deictic verb + satellite construction to describe motion events that are otherwise expressed through a single path verb in V-languages, e.g., *inmek* in Turkish, *bajar* in Spanish, *descendre* in French, etc., all of which generally mean 'to descend.' Unlike what we observed with the combination of *raftan* 'go' + *baalaa* 'up,' the expression *aamadan* 'come' + *paayin* 'down' encodes path in a consistent and straightforward manner.

The combination of *aamadan* + *paayin* is realized in the data in two ways. The most common structure is *miaad/oomaad paayin* 'he comes/came down,' where no ground is overtly mentioned. This parallels the expressions used by the English speakers to depict the same event. Excerpt (12) is a typical example from the English data, which describes the same event as that in (11).

(12) come down in English data – Pear data – Speaker #9

they walked by: ^ the ma: ^n in the tree: ^,

who **comes do ^wn** en

realizes that one of his ba ^skets of pea: ^rs is go ^ne

When comparing Persian (11) and English (12) we can see that there is no apparent semantic difference between the two structures.

In the second type of occurrence of *aamadan* + *paayin* the ground element is overt. In this type of construction the expression occurs in the form of *az* ‘from’ + NP + *aamadan* ‘come’ + *paayin* ‘down.’ Example (13) represents the use of this structure.

(13) *aamadan* + *paayin* ‘come + down’ with overt ground – Persian *Pear*– Speaker #3

ma^rde az derakht oomad paa^yin

the man **came down from** the tree

did do taa sabadaa yeki khaa^lie yeki po::^r,

saw that one of the two baskets in empty,

In this example, the ground object, *derakht* ‘tree’ is explicitly mentioned. This Persian construction appears to parallel the English structure as in (14):

(14) come + down with overt ground – English *Pear* data – Speaker #9

he’s picking frui:^t, -- but that’s not the point.=

the guy has **come down the tree** en no^ticed that he’s one bushel sho^rt. (0.2)

He cou^nts them, one two^ en three:^ (.)

That is, both excerpts contain overt realizations of the ground element, the tree. However, the Persian construction that syntactically matches what we see in (14) would be *oomad paayine derakht*, or ‘he came’ + ‘foot/down’-GEN + ‘tree’. This would

translate into English as: “He came to the foot/bottom of the tree.” In other words, there is no downward Vector encoded here—simply any trajectory from place A to place B, where place B represents the foot of the tree, be it vertically downward, horizontally straight, and so forth.

5.3.3.3 *Too* ‘in, inside’ and *biroon* ‘out, outside’

Too ‘in/inside’ co-occurs with the deictic verb *raftan* ‘go’ to express the motion event generally described with a path verb in V-languages, e.g., *girmek* in Turkish, *entrer* in French, *entrar* in Spanish, all of which are generally equivalent to the verb ‘to enter’ in English. An example of *too* + *raftan* ‘to go in’ is illustrated in (15).

(15) Entering the trash can – Frog data – Speaker #2

ye satle aashghaal did(.),

he saw a trash can

raft ***tooye*** *satle aashghaa::l*,

go-3rdSING *in-GEN*

(he) **went inside** the trash can

ye chand taa ma^gas she^kaar kard,

hunted some flies

The path satellite *too* ‘in’ occurs with the genitive marker *-ye*. We observed similar morphology in section 5.3.2.1.1. with the discussion of path satellite *baalaa* ‘up,’

and noted that this combination of satellite + genitive marker serves to highlight the ground element in the scene. In this way, the expression in (15) is also telic where the goal is in focus. That is, by virtue of the overt presence of the ground as goal, the path becomes relevant. The other verbs with which *too* occurs in the data are *gozashtan* ‘to put’ and *rikhtan* ‘pour’ as well as the LVC *khaali karadan* ‘to empty,’ all of which encode elements of directionality.

The path satellite *too* in Persian is indifferent to a static versus dynamic interpretation i.e., the same locative adverbial is used to describe *dynamic* motion as well as *static* location or containment. These two usages of *too* are juxtaposed in (16). The three target lines for the Persian samples are marked with arrows.

(16) *too(ye)* in static locatedness and dynamic motion –Frog – Speaker #11

in daastaa^ne ye ghoo:^rbaaghe bood

This was the story of a frog

→ *ke **tooye** ye ja:^ngale*

→ who is **in** the woods [static]

do^mbaale ghazaa^:st,

he’s after food, ...

maa^shine:.^ kaa^mione aashghaali^ miaa^d o:

the trash truck comes and

→ *aa^shghaala ro khaa^li mikone **tooye** kaa^mion.* [dynamic]

→ empties the trash **in** the truck

→ *ghoo^rbaaghe ham mire too m-mio^fte **tooye** kaamione vo:^*

→ the frog goes in, falls in the truck and¹² [dynamic]

We see that the speaker uses *too(ye)* ‘in’ with the verb *boodan* ‘to be’ to express the location of the frog’s home; in this sense, *too* has a static interpretation. In the second and third clauses marked with arrows, *tooye* co-occurs with the motion verbs *khaali mikone* ‘empties’ and *miofte* ‘falls’ to encode a dynamic action. As noted by Bowerman, Brown, Eisenbeiss, Narasimhan, and Slobin (2002), Hindi functions in much the same manner. That is, Hindi is indifferent to this type of distinction. This contrasts nicely with English, which is indeed sensitive to the distinction. The excerpt in (16’) will illustrate.

(16’)

maa^shine: : ^ kaa^mione aashghaali^ miao^d o:

the trash truck comes and

→ *aa^shghaala ro khaa^li mikone tooye kaa^mion.*

→ empties the trash in the truck vs. into the truck

Note that the last sentence could be ambiguous in English with respect to what precisely was being emptied and where.

The ‘in’ versus ‘into’ distinction, non-existent in Persian and Hindi, is also not morphologically distinctive in Dutch, as noted by Slobin (2004: 248). That is, the Dutch satellite *in* ‘in’ differentiates the conceptualization of path from a non-path locative on the basis of syntax, as in (17) and (18):

(17) Dutch example adapted from Slobin (2004: 248)

De jonge loopt het bos in

[path]

‘The boy walks into the woods.’

(18) Dutch example adapted from Slobin (2004: 248)

De jonge loopt in het bos [non-path; locatedness]

‘The boy walks in the woods.’

According to Slobin (ibid), this phenomenon represents *distributed spatial semantics*. That is, when “aspects of a meaning component are expressed by more than one form” (Bowerman et al 2002: 19), as also discussed in the case of *baalaa* ‘up.’

The path satellite that encodes the diametrically opposite direction of *too* is *biroon* ‘out.’ However, in contrast with the 62 tokens of *too* in both the *Pear* and *Frog* data, the satellite *biroon* ‘out’ appears only eight times in all 30 narratives. In the current dataset, this satellite occurs five times in combination with the verb *aamadan* ‘to come,’ to express the general meaning of ‘to exit’ or literally, ‘to come out.’ The remaining three tokens of *biroon* occur with *oftaadan* ‘to fall’ (1 token) and *avordan* ‘to bring’ (2 tokens), meaning, ‘to fall out’ and ‘bring out,’ respectively. In V-languages, the concept of ‘coming out’ or ‘exiting’ is typically expressed through a single verb, such as *cikmak* in Turkish, *sortir* in French, and *salir* in Spanish.

In contrast with *baalaa* ‘up,’ *paayin* ‘down,’ and *too* ‘in,’ all of which occur in both dynamic and static contexts, the tokens of *biroon* in this dataset only occur in dynamic contexts. That is, none of the tokens of *biroon* is used as a locative¹³. Example (19) illustrates a typical example of *aamad + biroon* from the data.

(19) *aamadan + biroon* ‘to come + out’ – Persian *Frog* data – Speaker #1

Ye^ghoorbaa^ghe bood ...

There was a frog ...

ke:^, ne^shoon daad >albate< khe^ili sari ke az aa^b oomad bi^roono:,

that showed—very quickly—that he **came out** of the water

Note that in Persian two other verbs exist to express seemingly similar motion events as *too + raftan* ‘to go in’ or ‘enter’ and *biroon + aamadan* ‘to go out’ or ‘exit.’ These are the LVC constructions *khaarej shodan* ‘to enter’ and *vaared shodan* ‘to exit.’

The distinctions between the LVC construction and the compound construction of path + deictic verb will be discussed in detail later in the chapter.

5.3.4 Path verbs in Persian

Of the 62 total verbs appearing in the Persian narratives, 32 encode path (52%). From the 32 path-encoding verbs, only six encode path through a single root morpheme. These are: *residan* ‘arrive,’ *bordan* ‘to take away,’ *charkhidan* ‘to circle,’ *gozashtan* ‘to cross,’ *gashtan* ‘to revolve,’ and *neshastan* ‘to sit down.’¹⁴ The remaining 25 path verbs in the data are light verb constructions (LVCs). Table 3 below presents a list of the LVCs in the Persian data that encode path.

Recall from Chapter 3 that LVCs are compound constructions consisting of a non-verbal element, such as a noun, adjective, or adverb plus a verb that is semantically general—one that encodes only the most basic elements of actions or states. The verbal

components of LVCs denoting path in the current dataset are *kardan* ‘to do,’ *shodan* ‘to become,’ *raftan* ‘to go,’ *aamadan* ‘to come,’ *oftaadan* ‘to fall,’ *daashtan* ‘to have,’ *avordan* ‘to bring,’ and *gashtan* ‘to revolve.’ What is noteworthy in the list of intransitive path verbs is the preponderance of LVCs that are comprised of non-motion verbs, such as *kardan* ‘to do’ and *shodan* ‘to become.’ In fact, of the 18 intransitive path LVCs, 13 (72%) consist of a non-verbal element plus the verb *shodan* ‘to become.’

5.3: Path verbs in the Persian narratives

Intransitive path verb	Transitive path verb
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>rad shodan</i> ‘pass (by)’ • <i>faraar kardan</i> ‘escape’ • <i>bar gashtan</i> ‘return’ • <i>khaarej shodan</i> ‘exit’ • <i>vaared shodan</i> ‘enter’ • <i>dar aamadan</i> ‘emerge, come out’ • <i>raah raftan</i> ‘walk’ • <i>raah oftaadan</i> ‘get on one’s way’ • <i>jam shodan</i> ‘gather around’ • <i>dar raftan</i> ‘run away’ • <i>savaar shodan</i> ‘mount oneself’ • <i>pyaade shodan</i> ‘dismount oneself’ • <i>nazdik shodan</i> ‘approach’ • <i>door shoadan</i> ‘distance’ • <i>vaajgoon shodan</i> ‘turn upside down’ • <i>chape shodan</i> ‘tip over’ • <i>paa shodan</i> ‘get on one’s feet, stand up’ • <i>boland shodan</i> ‘get up’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>bar daashtan</i> ‘pick up’ • <i>boland kardan</i> ‘raise’ • <i>dar aavordan</i> ‘take out, make emerge’ • <i>savaar kardan</i> ‘mount s.o. or s.t.’ • <i>deraaz kardan</i> ‘extend’

For example, such verbs include: *nazdik shodan* (lit. close becoming) ‘to approach,’ *rad shodan* (lit. passed becoming) ‘to pass by,’ *boland shodan* (lit. high / tall

becoming) ‘to get up,’ *khararej shodan* (lit. exit becoming) ‘to exit,’ and *vaared shodan* (lit. enter becoming) ‘to enter.’ As a lexical verb, *shodan* means ‘to become’ and inherently denotes the general meaning of *change of state*. By extension, the actual meanings of these path verbs encode change of state rather than encoding path in and of itself. Again, we see in these Persian realizations of motion event descriptions that the path is *inferred* or *imagined* through this concept of change of state.

What is particularly noteworthy here is the fact that Persian speakers represent these types of elements related to motion events as *changes of state* rather than *changes of location*. Thus, while the expression *nazdik shodan* ‘to approach (lit. ‘to become near’)’ appears to encode the figure’s change of location, it actually encodes its change of state, from distant to less distant or more near. We note the identical conceptual focus with such verbs as *chape shodan* ‘to tip over,’ *paa shodan* ‘to stand up,’ and *boland shodan* ‘to rise, to get up.’

Interestingly, the concept of the figure’s change of state also becomes relevant in the discussion of motion events when boundaries are crossed or new spaces are entered. Verbs encoding “boundary crossing situations,” e.g., *exit*, *enter*, *cross* (Slobin 2004), are all expressed in the Persian narratives through LVCs that clearly express change of state, e.g., *vaared shodan* ‘to enter,’ *khaarej shodan* ‘to exit,’ and *rad shodan* ‘to cross, to pass.’

This finding is in line with the discussion put forward by Levinson and Wilkins (2006). Levinson and Wilkins propose a conceptual system for the representation of motion events such that the concept of *change of locative state* is considered to be either durative and hence translocational as in the case of English and Dutch or non-durative as

in the case of Yucatec and Japanese (p. 531-532). The phenomenon uncovered for the majority of the Persian path verbs seems to parallel much of the same characteristics as reported for Yucatec and Japanese with regard to change of locative state.

It was noted earlier that in the Persian dataset the general concepts of ‘to enter’ and ‘to exit’ are also expressed through a combination of deictic verbs and path satellites. That is, *raftan* ‘to go’ + *too* ‘in’ is used to express the general concept of ‘to go in’ or ‘to enter,’ and *aamadan* ‘to come’ + *biroon* ‘out’ to denote ‘to come out’ or ‘to exit.’ Thus, it seems that two competing structures are at work to express the same general motion event: *vaared shodan* ‘to enter’ on the one hand, and *raftan* ‘to go’ + *too* ‘in’ on the other; and *khaarej shodan* ‘to exit’ vs. *aamadan* ‘to come’ + *biroon* ‘out.’ In the dataset only one instance of the LVC *vaared shodan* ‘to enter’ was found. Therefore, any comparison between the usage of the two structures expressing this notion would be inconclusive, based on the present data. However, *khaarej shodan* ‘to exit’ as an LVC and *oomad biroon* ‘come out’ occur with the same frequency, i.e., five times each in the total dataset. A close analysis reveals that the two forms actually encode different nuances of meaning.

When speakers used *khaarej shodan* ‘to exit,’ it invariably marked a major shift in the setting of the story, i.e., a change of locative state. That is, all five tokens of *khaarej shodan* occurred in the *Frog* narratives when speakers marked a shift in the storyline from a location that had previously been well-established as an integral part of the setting to a new location, also important to the storyline. In fact, this LVC invariably co-occurs in the data with the anaphoric determiner *oon* ‘that’ as in: *bad az oon mo^havate khaa^rej sho:d* ‘then he exited that area’ (speaker #2); and *az oon ghesmate zo^bale haa*

khaa^rej sho:^d ‘he exited **that** trash section’ (speaker #4). Thus, the conceptual focus here is on a locative shift and not necessarily the path.

In contrast, when the speakers used *aamadan biroon* ‘to come out,’ they did so to indicate the emergence of an entity from a specific location, the previous mention of which is irrelevant to the story. For example, speaker 1 opens the story with the following line: *Ye^ ghoorbaa^ghe bood, ke:^, ne^shoon daad ... ke az aa^b oomad bi^roon*, ‘There was a frog, and they showed that, ..., he came out of the water.’ The other three speakers used the expression *aamadan biroon* ‘to come out’ to focus on the frog’s being dumped out of the trash truck and into the trash site, with a focus not on the change of setting but on the action that took place involving the frog. Thus, while both *khaarej shodan* and *aamadan birron* mean ‘to exit.’ *aamadan biroon* underscores the translational motion of an entity and its concomitant emergence, and *khaarej shodan* focuses on a change of locative state.

5.4 Manner of motion – General overview

In addition to differences in the encoding of path, S- and V-languages also differ with respect to the lexicalization patterns of the co-event of manner: S-languages conflate this element with the fact of motion and V-languages (optionally) express it through an adverbial. Therefore, based on Slobin’s (1987, 2003, 2004, 2006) notion of “codability,” manner is more readily encodable for speakers of S-languages. In Slobin’s (2003: 162) terms, speakers of S-languages, such as English, “get manner for free:” That is, every clause requires a verb and the processing effort of choosing a neutral verb of motion is

the same as the effort required for expressing motion + manner. Therefore, for example, *he ran out of the room* or *he tiptoed out of the room*, are just as easy to say as *he went out of the room*. By contrast, for speakers of V-languages, the expression of manner through a separate adjunct requires additional cognitive effort. For example, the expression of *he exited the room* is cognitively less “costly” than *he exited the room, running/ on the tips of his toes* (Slobin 2007). As a result of such differences in the lexical encoding of manner,

... these languages [S-languages] make habitual use of manner verbs when encoding motion events, and have developed *large lexicons* with many *fine-grained* distinctions of manner, in comparison with smaller and less differentiated manner lexicons in V-languages. One can say that the semantic space of manner of motion is “highly saturated” in S-languages, in comparison with V-languages (Slobin 2003: 163, emphasis added).

The habitual use of “fine-grained” manner of motion verbs by speakers of S-languages has cognitive consequences in terms of *manner salience* (Slobin 2003, 2004, 2006). That is, as a result of the linguistic elaboration of manner, speakers of S-languages “continually attend to and elaborate [manner] cognitively” (Slobin 2006: 77). This notion is demonstrated in a summary by Slobin (2003: 175; and 2006: 70) of work on this topic.

- *Ease of lexical access*: In S-languages, manner verbs are more easily accessed.

For example, in the space of one minute English speakers are able to list more verbs in general and many more manner verbs, in particular, than are the speakers of V-languages, such as French.

- *Understanding of manner verbs*: Speakers of S-languages understand manner verbs faster and more automatically than speakers of V-languages. English

speaking adults and even children as young as three years of age can accurately act out about twenty different manner verbs. On the other hand, in a pilot study involving adult French speakers, it was found that the participants could only demonstrate a limited number of manner verbs from their own language and had to consult the dictionary in order to demonstrate larger numbers of manner verbs.

- *Building semantic domains in acquisition:* English speaking preschoolers use and are able to distinguish at least 32 types of manner of motion verbs. These include manner verbs such as bump, chase, climb, crawl, creep, hop, jog, sneak, march, etc., some of which distinguish fine-grained or “expressive nuances of manner.” In contrast, Spanish, French and Italian preschool children use only seven to ten manner verbs, e.g., run, walk, swim, and jump, the majority of which are involve basic representations of manner (Slobin 2006).
- *Mental imagery, memory, and attention:* In recall tasks involving the telling back of the events in film clips and stories speakers of S-languages remember and attend to more details with respect to manner of motion than do speakers of V-languages.

These studies suggest that as a result of differences in *habitual* ways of talking about manner of motion in S- and V-languages, manner of motion is conceptualized differently in the two language types, at least in the on-line process of “thinking for speaking.” As suggested by Slobin (2003: 175),

As one consequence, it seems that V-languages perceive of manners of motion as activities that take place in specific geographical regions, while S-language speakers seem to conceive of manner and directed motion as a

single conceptual event, making it difficult to have a mental image of one without the other.

These differences are reflected in the discourse styles of the two language types, e.g., in everyday conversation, written literary texts, and oral elicited narratives.

In the following sections I will investigate the expression of manner in the English and Persian elicited *Pear* and *Frog* narratives. The analysis here, based on Slobin's framework, reflects the type and level of attention paid by the speakers to aspects of manner of motion in the online process of "thinking for speaking."

5.4.1 Manner Expression in English narratives

Of the total 142 motion verbs used in the two sets of English narratives, more than half, i.e., 82 (58%) encode manner of motion. Figure 2 represents the manner verbs in the entire set of 30 English narratives.

Intransitive -- Total: 42

walk +, climb +, run +, wander, crawl+, amble +, ride +, bike +, bicycle+, stroll +, hop, peddle +, drive +, limp +, smack +, jump +, splat, teeter +, fly +, bump +, spill, bounce +, blow +, wobble, trip +, dance, buzz +, kneel, step +, hide+, stumble +, wave, hide +, snap, lie +, rummage +, swarm +, pop +, tumble +, crash, glide

Transitive – Total 40

wipe +, brush +, catch, grab, grasp, dust +, push +, roll +, dump +, tip +, pluck +, pick, polish, knock +, fluff +, brush, lay +, toss +, paddle, scrape, walk +, run +, chase +, compact, strum, drag +, crush, squish, squash, kick +, poke, eject +, tap, crunch, strike +, smash +, wave, tug +, spill,

Figure 5.2: Manner verbs in the English dataset

As seen in the above Figure, manner verbs in the English *Pear* and *Frog* narratives are varied and express a wide range of nuances of motion, e.g., *walk*, *amble*, *stroll*, and *wander* in the intransitive category and *grab*, *grasp*, and *catch*, in the transitive category. Slobin (1997: 459) categorizes manner verbs into two major groups: “first-tier” manner verbs that are more neutral, general, and less expressive, and “second-tier” manner verbs that are more expressive and encode fine-grained manners of motion. Based on this distinction, manner verbs in the English dataset range from first-tier verbs, which are among the more frequently used ones, e.g., *walk*, *climb*, *run*, *fly*, and *ride*, to the more expressive manner verbs, such as *wobble*, *teeter*, *smack*, *strum*, and *squash*. Second-tier manner verbs are not frequently or systematically used; rather they are idiosyncratically selected by the speakers.

In addition to the range and variety of manner verbs in English, what is also striking about these verbs is that verbs such as *fluff*, *dust*, or *rummage*, that are not generally considered as encoding translational motion, do express translational motion when connected to a path satellite, i.e., *fluff off*, *dust off*, and *rummage through*. In other words, as noted by Narasimhan (2003: 124), “[p]ath phrases in English, can extend the verb’s semantic profile.” This is in contrast with path satellites in Persian that connect only to a selective number of verbs, as we observed previously.

The salience of manner of motion among the English speakers in the present database is not only reflected in the large inventory of manner verbs, but also in the details of manner to which the speakers attend. The three excerpts below, i.e., (20), (21), and (22) illustrate the high level of attention that the English speakers pay to the elements of manner. In all cases, details regarding manner are underlined and appear in boldface.

(20) Manner of motion in English *Frog* data – Speaker #4

O^kay (.) so at the be^ginning of the story we see a fro:^g **standing** in a fore:^st,

En (.) he’s **walking on all fou^r le^gs**, (.)

en then he **sta:^nds up** en starts **walking on his hi:^nd le^gs**, (.)

a:nd is kinda **a^mbling alo:^ng**,

The speaker in (20) has clearly focused on details that pertain to the frog’s manner of motion as well as changes in manner. That is, the first motion verb *standing*, encodes the general manner of the frog’s locatedness in space. In the second clause, the speaker indicates the change in motion from standing to walking. This clause, *he’s walking on all*

four legs, not only includes the verb *walk* as a manner verb, but provides additional specific information about *how* the walking was carried out by the frog, i.e., *on all four legs*. The third clause, *stands up*, expresses a another change of motion, and in the immediately contiguous clause the speaker specifies the frog's manner of *walking*. That is, he walks differently than before, i.e., *on his hind legs* – an unusual way for a frog to walk. The last motion verb, *ambling (along)*, specifies manner of motion from the point of view of the frog's attitude – walking in a carefree way. This concept of “attitude” as encoded through manner verbs was suggested by Slobin (2006: 62).

Manner salience in the speakers' attention and memory is also illustrated in example (21) below, where the speaker self-corrects in two consecutive lines in order to express the “precise” manner verb. The self-repair is marked by arrows and the manner descriptions are indicated in bold type.

(21) manner salience in English – Frog data – Speaker #5

So it begins with a: fro:g, **crawling arou:nd** on the grou:nd,

→>I'm not sure< if he was **ho^ppi^ng**=

→>no< **crawling** on the grou^nd (.) **sta^nds u^p**, (.) on **his hind le:^gs**, (.)

Here, clearly the speaker's attention is focused on the nuances and changes involving the frog's manner of motion. At the beginning of the excerpt, the speaker mentions that the frog was crawling on the ground, which is in fact what the frog was doing in the film. However, in reality, frogs do not generally “crawl.” They move in ways that are described in English as ‘hopping’ or ‘jumping.’ The speaker's initiation of

self-repair here reflects this canonical way of conceptualizing the motion of a frog – which was clearly different from what was represented in the film. Further, the speaker goes on to underscore the non-canonical way in which the frog moved, i.e., *crawled on the ground* and *stood on his hind legs*.

Example (22) below, while less detailed than (20) and (21), illustrates the attention that the speaker paid to the frog's legs.

(22) Manner salience in English – Frog data – Speaker #14

Yea^h (.) so it starts out (.)

en there's a:: sort of e: **stra:^nge bi^pedal fro:^g, wa:^lking arou:nd,**

e:n he's attracted to:^, this (.) tra^sh can

Interestingly, 5 of the 15 English speakers (33.3%) explicitly pointed out the frog's or the bull frogs' *walking* or *standing on two legs* and *all* English speakers characterized the frog's motion with the verb “walk.” This is in sharp contrast with the Persian narratives, where none of the speakers mentioned or perhaps even registered the oddness of the frog's movement on two legs. Instead, all the Persian speakers used the two general deictic motion verbs, i.e., *raftan* ‘go’ or *aamadan* ‘come’ to express the frog's translational movement.

5.4.2 Manner expression in Persian

5.4.2.1 Manner verbs in the Persian narratives

From the 64 total motion verbs used in both narratives, only 12 encode manner (19%). The Persian manner verbs are reproduced in Figure 5.3 below.

Total: 12

Raghsidan ‘to dance,’ *davidan* ‘to run,’ *chidan* ‘to pick,’ *kandan* ‘to pluck,’ *faraar kardan* ‘to escape,’ *deraaz keshidan* ‘to lie (down),’ *parvaaz kardan* ‘to fly,’ *part kardan* + ‘to throw (forcefully),’ *lagad zadan* ‘kick,’ *donbaal oftaadan* ‘to chase,’ *dahan zadan* ‘to touch with mouth,’ *dast zadan* ‘to touch with hand,’

Figure 5.3: Inventory of manner verbs in the Persian narratives

As seen here, all manner verbs in Persian are of the first-tier type and encode general distinctions in manner of motion, e.g., *davidan* ‘to run,’ *raghsidan* ‘to dance,’ and *parvaaz kardan* ‘to fly.’ In other words, manner verbs in the Persian inventory do not make the fine-grained manner distinctions which we saw in the English inventory of manner verbs. For example, the verbs *walk*, *hop*, and *crawl* used to describe the frog’s translational motion in the English narratives were not found in the Persian *Frog* stories; this is in spite of the fact that the equivalents of these verbs, i.e., *ghadam zadan* ‘to walk, to stroll,’ *jahidan* ‘to hop’ and *khazidan* ‘to crawl’ do exist in the Persian lexicon.

What is also noteworthy about the Persian manner verbs is the fact that none, with the exception of *partaab kardan* ‘throw forcefully,’ co-occurs with a path satellite or expresses translational motion within the narratives. In other words, manner verbs in Persian do not express change of location, but states or self-contained motion. This finding is in concert with Pederson’s (2006) report on Tamil manner of motion verbs and Zlatev and Yangklang’s (2004) findings on Thai. However, in two instances within the data, manner verbs do encode change of location, and this is when the verbs appear contiguously with the verb *raftan* ‘to go,’ in a chain of verbs, as illustrated in (23) below.

(23) translational manner of motion in Persian – Frog – Speaker #15

Bad dige^ in majboor shod ke be^re^ (.)

Then he (the frog) was forced to leave,

barenke do^mbaalesh kard^n (.)

because they chased him

az ta^rsesh fa^raar kard raft baalaaye derakht.

Out of his fear he **escaped went** on top of the tree

The speaker clearly indicates the frog’s manner of going to the top of the tree, i.e., while escaping. However, the use of the manner verb *faraar kardan* ‘to escape’ does not on its own signal a translocational interpretation. That is, the verb itself without the “auxiliary verb” *raftan* ‘go,’ would mean ‘the frog escaped while/because he was on top of the tree.’ Thus, the use of *faraar kardan*¹⁵ ‘escape’ + *raftan* ‘to go’ in the same clause, creates the conceptualization of translational motion.

Another example appears in (24) where a manner verb is used in conjunction with the verb *raftan* ‘to go’ to express translational motion.

(24) translational manner of motion in Persian – Frog – Speaker #8

asabani shodan az daste i^n.=

they got mad at him

oomadan gitaresho gereftan o zadane:^sh, (0.2)

they came beat him and took away his guitar

***doid** az ye derakht **raft** baa^laa. (0.4)*

he **ran went** up from a tree

As we see here, the speaker uses two contiguous verbs, i.e., a manner verb *davidan* ‘to run,’ realized here in the 3rd person singular past, and the deictic verb *raftan* ‘to go’ to encode both manner and translocation.

The use of a deictic verb or deictic verb in conjunction with manner verbs has been reported in prototypical serial languages, such as Chinese (Slobin 2004) and Thai (Zlatev and Yangklang 2004). For example, Zlatev and Yangklang (ibid: 164) note that in Thai, manner verbs can either appear alone, in which case they denote “self-contained” motion or in conjunction with a deictic verb to encode “translocative” motion. Such languages, are categorized by Talmy (2000) as S-framed, since the manner is expressed through a satellite type construction connected to the verb encoding the fact of motion.

The last point to be discussed in terms of manner verbs in Persian concerns light verb constructions (LVCs). As noted in the inventory of Persian manner verbs, only four

of the 12 total manner verbs in Persian encode manner through a single morpheme, i.e. *raghsidan* ‘to dance,’ *davidan* ‘to run,’ *chidan* ‘to pick,’ and *kandan* ‘to pluck.’ The remainder, i.e., eight out of 12, are LVCs, where the concept of *manner* is constructed through the combination of the semantics of the verbal and non-verbal component.

For example the verb *zadan* ‘to hit’ appears in the verbs *lagad zadan* (lit. kick hitting) ‘to kick’ and *dast zadan* (lit. hand hitting) ‘to touch with (the) hand.’ As noted in Chapter 4, *zadan* ‘to hit’ appears in various LVC’s and refers to a number of different object manipulations, all of which have in common the concept of quick and brief motion. Thus, the concept of manner in the two LVCs is the result of the combination of the non-verbal components *lagad* ‘kick’ and *dast* ‘hand,’ plus the quick motion conveyed by the verb *zadan* ‘hit.’ As another example, in the verb *deraaz keshidan* (lit. long stretching) ‘lie down,’ the manner of motion is conveyed through the semantics of *deraaz* ‘long’ and *keshidan* ‘to stretch, to pull.’

Thus, what is notable in the majority of the motion verbs in the Persian narratives is that manner is not “conflated” with the fact of motion, i.e., within the verb. Rather, the meaning is achieved as a result of the combined semantics of the components. This notion is in contrast with Talmy’s definition of a manner verb, which refers to a verb that conflates both the fact and manner of motion.

5.4.2.2 Alternative manner expressions in Persian narratives

As discussed in the previous section, Persian speakers use far fewer manner verbs in their descriptions of motion events and make far fewer distinctions with respect to

nuances of motion. However, manner in Persian is expressed through alternative linguistic means. One example is the use of adverbials of manner. Persian speakers use a variety of adverbials to convey the manner of motion, which typically encode fine-grained elements of aspect. Excerpt (25) below represents one of the examples from the *Pear* data.

(25) Manner expressed through an adverbial in Persian – *Pear* data – Speaker #11

ba^r midaare kolaa^haro:^

he picks that hat up

***bodo bodo** mire be pesare mi^de kolaaharo.*

Run run (running), (he) goes gives the hat to the boy

Here, using the adverbial *bodo bodo* (lit. run run) ‘running hastily,’ the speaker describes the manner of the verb *raftan* ‘to go,’ realized here in the 3rd singular present *mire* ‘he goes.’ Examples of other adverbials used in the narratives are *salaane salaane* ‘moving while taking one’s time (strolling),’ *yavaashaki* ‘stealthily,’ *be sakhti* ‘with difficulty,’ *baa khoshoonat* ‘violently,’ *baa sorat* ‘quickly,’ *baa shedat* ‘severely,’ *kheili sari* ‘very fast,’ and *baa deghat* ‘carefully.’ More systematic is the use of aspectual markers in conjunction with motion verbs. Examples are: *haminjoori* ‘(lit. just like this) constantly,’ *ye ho* ‘suddenly,’ *hey* ‘repeatedly,’ and *hamoon moghe* ‘at that very moment.’

An additional alternative expression of manner in the Persian narratives is the description of the “protagonist’s inner states,” thoughts, or feelings. Slobin (1997 & 2004) considers the description of the protagonist’s inner state of mind as an alternative

or “compensatory” mechanism, by which manner is expressed in the narratives of V-languages.

In the present study it was found that the Persian speakers tend to elaborate on the characters’ feelings, thoughts, as well as on what the characters notice or what they see. Also, what is particularly striking in the Persian narratives is the preponderance of “quotations,” which animate the characters’ thoughts or assumed utterances – in spite of the fact that both the *Pear* film and *The Banjo Frog* film are devoid of dialogue. When used in conjunction with motion events, such descriptions of the protagonists’ inner states and /or assumed utterance can imply manner of motion.

One clear example occurs in the description of the last episode of *The Banjo Frog*. In this episode, after being expelled from the music group of the bull frogs, the small frog climbs up a tree to seek refuge. In the majority of the English *Frog* narratives (12 out of 15), the frog’s movement to the top of the tree is characterized with a manner verb, e.g., *he crawled up the tree*, *he ran up the tree*, and *they chased him up a tree*. On the other hand, in the majority of the Persian narratives, this motion event is expressed through the general deictic verb *raftan* ‘go.’ However, a large number of (11 out of 15) Persian speakers prefaced this episode by describing how the frog “felt” prior to and/or after going up the tree, and almost half of the speakers (seven of 15) express what he was purportedly “told” by the angry bull frogs. Excerpt (26) illustrates.

(26) Alternative manner description – Persian *Frog* data – Speaker #1

>*dobaare*< *asabaani shodano*:^

they got angry again and,

bes̄h goftan ke bo[^]ro baabaa, ne[^]mikhaaim

they said go away, we don't want you

i[^]nam naa[^]raa[^]hat shodo:[^],

he (the frog) got sad and

bi[^]chaare delesh gere[^]ft.

poor thing, his heart darkened (he got upset)

(0.8) *raft baalaaye ye dera[^]khto:[^]*

he went up a tree and

In this description, the clause *raft balaaye derakht* 'he went to the top of the tree,' is preceded by a number of utterances that describe the situation. That the frog was kicked out of the group is expressed by this Persian narrator through imagined words uttered by the bull frogs. Subsequently, this speaker describes how the frog felt as a result. Thus, the manner of the frog's going up the tree can be imagined or inferred in this excerpt. Recall from example (4) that the path is also inferred by virtue of the construction *raft* 'went' + *baalaaye* 'up-Gen.' + NP. However, the exact motor patterns or details of the English equivalent of *crawling up*, as a single conceptual event may not actually have been registered by the speaker.

English narrators in the study also provide descriptions of the frog's feelings in this episode, and the protagonists' inner states. In other words, in addition to using a large variety of manner verbs, English speakers use descriptors that express the protagonist's inner states. For example, one English speaker describes the same episode discussed in (26), as: "they wanted him ou[^]t, then he got very sa:[^]d. = Ve[^]ry sa[^]d. = En

so he crawled u^p a tree:. And emm croa^ked (.) I think ...” As noted by Slobin (2004: 232), such descriptions add to the manner “richness” of narratives in S-languages, further underscoring the strong salience of manner in the conceptualization of motion events in these languages.

5.5 Ground description

As a further distinction between the discourse styles of Satellite-framed and Verb-framed languages, Slobin (1996a & 2004), notes the differences between ground descriptions in the narratives produced by speakers of the two language groups. According to Slobin (ibid), V-language narrators tend to use fewer clauses with motion verbs and ground elements in their narratives, compared to speakers of S-languages. In a contrastive analysis of English and Spanish, Slobin (1996a) investigates the use of the verb *fall* in the frog narratives¹⁶ produced by the speakers of these two languages. According to Slobin’s (1996a) study, Spanish speakers tend to use the verb *caer(se)* ‘fall’ as a bare verb, i.e., without any locative additions, far more frequently than English speakers use the verb *fall* in its bare form; 38% in Spanish vs. 18% in English. In other words, unlike English speakers who provide additional locative information, Spanish speakers tend to rely on the inherent directionality of the verb *caer(se)* ‘fall.’¹⁷

In order to further investigate the possible differences between Persian and English narratives, I analyzed the use of ground elements in the two narrative groups. First, a brief look at the tables representing the most frequent verbs in Persian and English reveals striking contrasts with respect to the number of bare deictic verbs in the

English and Persian datasets. Table 4.4 below illustrates the total number of bare deictic verbs used in the Persian and English narratives.

Table 5.4: Bare deictic verbs in Persian and English

Persian		English	
<i>raftan</i> ‘to go’	143	to go	17
<i>aamadan</i> ‘come’	144	to come	24

The contrast in the number of bare verbs in the two datasets is glaringly obvious. This indicates that Persian speakers used a much smaller number of ground elements per clause.

Further, following Slobin (1996a) and Ibrarrexte-Antunano (2004), I analyzed the “falling scenes” in the *Pear* narratives in order to determine the how many times the verbs ‘fall’ and *oftaadan* ‘to fall’ occur in their bare form. Four episodes within the *Pear* film involve a falling motion event where the verbs *fall* or *oftaadan* ‘to fall’ are used: 1) a pear falls from the tree, 2) the boy falls off his bike, 3) the boy’s hat falls to the ground, and 4) the pears fall to the ground. It must be noted that not all participants referred to all four of these scenes and not all who referred to them used the verb *fall* or *oftaadan* ‘fall’ to describe the scene. However, the inventory is sufficient for basic comparison. The total number of tokens of the verb ‘to fall’ in English and *oftaadan* in Persian narratives as well as the percentage of instances of this verb used in its bare form are represented in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5: Comparison between bare verbs in English and Persian *Pear* stories

	Total tokens of <i>fall</i>	Bare form
English	28	12%
Persian	50	35%

In sum, Persian seems to pattern well with V-languages with respect to the relative paucity of ground elements mentioned in the narratives. As noted by Slobin (2006: 174-175), speakers of V-languages, on the other hand, tend to pay more attention to “scene setting.” That is, speakers of V-languages provide details about the physical and emotional aspects of the context in which the motion event takes place and in this way, they allow for the inference of the details of motion (Slobin 1997). Thus, the description of motion events in V-languages is considered “static,” compared to the more “dynamic” description in S-languages, all resulting from the lexicalization patterns of these two language types.

One outstanding difference between the Persian and English narratives is the general description of the terrain in the two stories. For example, in the *Frog* narratives, 12 of the Persian speakers specified and described the frog’s habitat as ‘a wooded area,’ ‘a jungle-like place,’ or ‘a park;’ this contrasts with the English narratives, where only four speakers referred to the larger setting of the frog’s whereabouts.

However, the more striking difference with respect to scene setting emerges in the *Pear* narratives. Nine of the 15 Persian narratives begin with rather elaborate

descriptions of the scenery. In addition, 13 of the Persian narrators, mentioned the time when the story took place, i.e., early in the morning.

(27) Scene setting in Persian – Pear data – Speaker #6

Daastaane in fi:lm e: (1.0) d-darbaa too^ye ma^zrae etefaagh mio^fte.

The story of this film is about – happens in a farm

yaa^ be^htare begim tooye ye mo^hite: roo^staayi.

Or I'd better say in a rural area

e: fe^k mikonam ye zamaa^ni nazdike so^be zoo^de, (.) tooye mazrae

I think it's some time close to early morning in the farm

be khaatere i^nke to sedaaye kho^rooso mi^tooni be^shnavi.

Because you can hear the rooster

(0.4) va:^ e: ye rooze roostaayi khe^ili saadaro shoroo mikone oonjaa:^,

and it starts a very simple rustic day

va baa ye aa^damiam shoroo^ mishe ke daare:^ az derakht golaabi

golaabi michine

and it starts with a person who is picking pears from a pear tree

None of the English narrators described this level of detail. However, the scene setting description in at least five of the Persian narratives was comparable or close to this one, revealing the attention that the Persian speakers paid to this larger setting where the story took place.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I analyzed the expressions of path, manner, and ground in the Persian and English *Pear* and *Frog* narratives, particularly in order to examine the standing of Persian with respect to Talmy's binary typology of Satellite-framed and Verb-framed languages.

Persian speakers express a considerable number of motion events through the combination of path satellites + verbs. This feature is unlike the prototypical V-languages, cited in the literature and closer to path expression in S-languages. However, in contrast with the robustness of the inventory of path satellites in English I located only seven path satellites in the Persian narratives, which denote basic spatial locations. Unlike in English, path satellites in Persian tend to co-occur with a selective number and types of motion verbs, i.e., verbs that inherently encode deixis or directionality. These combinations are in used several different syntactic contexts. In addition to such combinations, the Persian speakers used a large number of path verbs within their narratives. A close analysis of the inventory of Persian path verbs revealed that the majority of the verbs consist of LVCs and a large number of these path LVCs encode change of state, rather than change of location. In both types of path expression in Persian, it was found that the actual path or translocation is generally inferred rather than explicitly mentioned.

With respect to manner expression, it was noted that the English speakers attend and are sensitive to a variety of nuances of manner of motion; this is evident both in the number and types manner verbs used by the speakers, and the changes of manner of motion that they attend to within the narratives. On the other hand, the Persian speakers

used a smaller number of manner verbs, the majority of which were LVCs. Manner encoding LVCs do not conflate manner with the fact of motion, but express it through the combination of the semantics of the two components. The Persian speakers used other means of expressing manner, e.g., describing the protagonist's inner states or use of assumed quotations, which would allow for the inference of manner. Even considering all means of manner expression, it seemed that the component of manner was not a salient aspect of the conceptualization of motion events among the Persian speakers. In this sense, Persian seems to pattern well with V-languages.

Paucity of ground elements, prevalence of bare verbs, and elaborate scene-setting in the Persian narratives are other aspects that place Persian closer to verb-framed languages, rather than S-languages.

Chapter 6

DATA ANALYSIS

COMING AND GOING IN ENGLISH AND PERSIAN

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ and *aamadan* ‘come’ and *raftan* ‘go’ as they pattern in the English and Persian narratives. It was noted in Chapters 4 and 5 that *aamadan* and *raftan* are overwhelmingly the most frequent motion verbs used across all speakers in the Persian *Pear* and *Frog* narratives. Chapter 4 focused on the frequency and pervasiveness of these verbs as well as their occurrence in light verb constructions. In Chapter 5, I examined the combination of the two deictic verbs with path satellites in addition to their patterning with manner of motion verbs to convey translational motion.

Building on these observations and on the previous literature on ‘come’ and ‘go,’ I will conduct a comparative and contrastive analysis of ‘come’ and ‘go’ in English and *aamadan* and *raftan* in Persian. The purpose of this chapter is to investigate whether these two verbs in Persian simply express translational motion with no manner specification or whether they encode other aspects pertaining to the conceptualization of motion events. Section 6.2 will present the literature on deictic verbs; Section 6.3 presents a review of cross-linguistic studies on deictic verbs; In Section 6.4 I discuss the use of ‘come’ and *aamadan* in English and Persian narratives;

Section 6.5 investigates the verbs ‘go’ and *raftan* in the datasets, and Section 6.6 is the conclusion to this chapter.

6.2 Deixis and ‘come’ and ‘go’¹⁸,

Deixis is generally defined as “the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns the ways in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance” (Levinson 1983: 54). In other words, deixis pertains to aspects of language, the interpretation of which is relative to the situational or speech context. As noted by Hausondorf (2003: 251), the context is not necessarily a “physical entity, but [...] a social as well as cognitive construal depending on the participants’ activities of attention direction.” The most typical deictic expressions are *here, now, there, then, this, that, today, tomorrow*, and so forth. For example, the word *now*, when used as a temporal adverb, refers to the moment at which the utterance was said. Similarly, *today* specifies the very day during which the utterance took place.

In the same vein, the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ encode different motion events in different instances. That is, these verbs can only be understood if the deictic center is specified or known. The classical interpretation of the meaning of ‘come’ and ‘go’ pre-supposes a dichotomy of directionality between the two verbs, such that in the simplest terms, ‘come’ expresses “motion toward” the speaker (or deictic center) and

'go' encodes "motion away from" or "motion other than toward the speaker or (deictic center)" (Fillmore 1966, 1971; Lyons 1977; Talmy 2000; Gathercole 1978; Goddard 1997). Furthermore, it appears to be a common assumption that languages of the world all possess a class of verbs that express motion, with these two verbs representing the minimal members of this class (Wilkins and Hill 1995).

In this sense, 'come' and 'go' are generally regarded as "universal," "basic," "core," or "fundamental" motion verbs (Levinson and Wilkins 2006; Wilkins and Hill 1995). According to Wilkins and Hill (1995: 210), the special status attributed to these verbs is partially due to their 1) physical and perceptual salience; the majority of human activities involve the acts of 'coming' and 'going,' and, 2) their "ontogenetic primacy;" these verbs are found to be among the first to be acquired across languages. However, in spite of the early acquisition of these verbs, children do not fully understand the complexity of their meanings until later (Clark and Garnica 1974; Danzinger 1993; Macrae 1976), which perhaps is related to the semantic and pragmatic complexities of these two verbs.

Fillmore (1966, 1971) explicates the meanings for 'come' and 'go' in English on the basis of "speaker-addressee" deixis and specifies "supposition rules" for the use of each verb. The main defining feature in this framework is the location of the speaker and/or the addressee at the time of the utterance known as the "coding time," or the time when the action expressed in the utterance takes place, i.e., the "arrival time." The supposition rules for the verb 'come' indicate that either the addressee or the speaker is located at the "goal" or ending point of motion at the coding or arrival time. For example, in the sentence, *I will come see you tonight*, the use of 'come'

indicates that the deictic center is the addressee (not the speaker) and that the addressee will be at the goal at the arrival time (i.e., tonight).

Thus, “arrival” is an important component of the verb ‘come’ in English, encoding the arrival of the figure at the goal. For example, one cannot say *She came home, but she has not arrived yet*. In other words, as noted by Miller and Johnson Laird (1973: 531), “[s]omeone who is coming will not have come until he has reached the destination.” Implicit in the rules is also the notion that the arrival point or goal in ‘come’ is a known or “proper location” (Fillmore 1971: 223): *Where did he come to?* would be an odd utterance under normal circumstances (Goddard 1997: 156).

In contrast, in Fillmore’s framework, ‘go’ is defined as a more generic verb, with fewer distinctive supposition rules. That is, ‘go’ can either be source-oriented (marking motion away from the source point) or neutral with respect to both the goal and source of motion. The supposition rule for the verb ‘go’ indicates that the speaker is not located at the goal of the motion at the time of the utterance (Fillmore 1971: 221). Thus, *Go here!* is a marked utterance. As pointed out by Goddard (1997: 155), unlike ‘come,’ the verb ‘go’ can co-occur with an undefined or “indefinite” location, e.g., *She went somewhere* (cf. **She came somewhere*). As another basic difference, Goddard (ibid) adds that “*go* seems more focused on leaving or ‘moving on’ than on the possibility of arriving,” unlike the verb ‘come.’

Clearly, the involvement of speaker-addressee deixis is not always relevant to the use of ‘come’ and ‘go.’ In other words, in certain instances the choice of ‘come’ or ‘go’ is not based on the actual location of the speaker or the addressee, but the perspective or “point of view” (Fillmore 1971: 224) that the speaker wishes to take.

This phenomenon is what Lyons (1977: 579) terms “deictic projection.” Deictic projection, i.e., imagining a perspective different from one’s own, is particularly common in third person discourse. Thus, in the sentence *The men came into her bedroom*, the deictic center is projected onto the person inside the room (Fillmore 1971: 227). The use of ‘came’ in this sentence also implies that she was actually in the room when the men arrived. In contrast, the use of ‘went’ in this case would have been neutral as to whether she was inside the room or not.

The notion of speaker-addressee deixis is expanded by Clark (1974) to cover a larger domain of phenomena. Clark (ibid: 331) defines deictic center as “constructed through an opposition of EGO and NON-EGO, between HERE and NOT-HERE/THERE and between NOW and NOT-NOW/THEN.” This conception of deictic center can, according to Clark, explain all types of deixis (place, motion, time) as well as non-literal or idiomatic extensions of deictic expressions. The latter, i.e., the idiomatic or metaphoric uses of deictic verbs is discussed in detail by Clark (ibid). The most notable metaphoric extension of these two verbs is in the expressions of change of state, e.g., *go crazy*, *come to/around*, etc. In such instances, the deictic center is the “normal state of affairs,” which is close to EGO. Thus, ‘come’ as a goal-oriented verb has as its destination “how things should be” and idiomatic expressions with ‘come’ always encode a positive meaning of “entry into some normal state,” as in *come back to one’s senses* or *come out of a coma*. Conversely, idioms with ‘go’ connote a negative change of state, i.e., departure from the normal state of being, as in *go mad* or *go into a coma*.

Talmy's (2000) analytical framework categorizes Deixis as a component of path and therefore, considers deictic verbs as a type of path-conflating verb. According to Talmy (2000: 56): "the Deictic component of path typically has only two member notions 'toward the speaker' and 'in a direction other than the speaker.'" Thus, the Vector of motion in 'come' is *toward* the speaker and the Vector in 'go,' is *away* from the speaker. In this framework, the Ground or the deictic center is considered to be the speaker and the notion of 'arrival,' as explicated in Fillmore's framework, is not at issue based on this definition.

Langacker (1987) discusses deictic verbs as part of his larger notion of "deixis." However, while the focus in Fillmore's framework is on both goal orientation and arrival and the focus in Talmy's is on the Vector, the focus in Langacker's framework is the notion of a reference point or "ground" as a defining element. According to Langacker (ibid: 126), a deictic expression is "defined as one that includes some reference to a ground element within the scope of its predication." Thus, deictic verbs "profile" the relationship between the Figure and the ground element (Langacker 2002). In this way, Langacker considers "grounding" primary to the semantics of 'come' and 'go' and defines the basic sense of 'come' and 'go' as encoding motion toward a goal and motion away from a point of origin, respectively.

6.3 ‘Come’ and ‘go’ cross-linguistically

The analysis of ‘come’ and ‘go’ verbs in different languages reveals variations with respect to the semantics of these two verbs across languages (Gathercole 1977; Sinha 1973; Nakzawa 2006; Kita 2006; Pederson 2006; Botne 2005; Wilkins and Hill 1995). For example, Gathercole (1978) illustrated variations in ‘coming’ verbs in 11 languages from different language families. Gathercole found that in English, German, Turkish, and Tamil ‘come’ expresses motion toward the speaker or the addressee. However, in Japanese, Spanish, and Thai ‘come’ can only be used to encode motion toward the speaker. That is, in these languages, the deictic center can generally not be projected to the addressee. Thus, the equivalent of ‘I’ll come with you’ *watshi wa anata to kimasu* would be an odd utterance in Japanese. Similarly, Lyons (1977: 579) points out that deictic projection does not occur with the French verb *venir* and the Italian verb *venire* as freely as it does with the English ‘come.’

Using Talmy’s framework of motion events, Nakazawa (2006) conducted a similar comparative study of deictic verbs involving English, Japanese, Korean, and Mandarin. Nakazawa found that while ‘come’ in Japanese, English, and Korean points to a *telic* path, i.e. highlights the arrival of the figure, in Mandarin, *lai* ‘come’ simply encodes motion *toward* the deictic center. In other words, in Mandarin the *arrival* of the figure is not a necessary or required component of the verb ‘come.’ For example, *He came to the library, but he hasn’t arrived yet*, is an acceptable utterance in Mandarin but not in the other three languages.

Pederson (2006) reports that in Tamil, the verb *poo* ‘go’ has a less generic or neutral usage than English ‘go.’ That is, if the figure is not at least partially moving away from the deictic center, the verb ‘go’ cannot be used in Tamil. This is unlike English ‘go,’ which can encode neutral motion with respect to the deictic center. For example, in Tamil, an entity moving in a circle or “travelling around and around the deictic center” would be described with the verbs ‘wrap, circle’ + ‘come,’ and not ‘circle’ + ‘go.’ This is unlike in English where the same motion event can be expressed with *he was going around and around us* – cf. **he was coming around and around us* (Pederson *ibid*: 418).

While the above studies point to variations in certain aspects of the usage of ‘come’ in various languages, they also confirm similarities in the core semantics of these verbs. However, in a comparative analysis of deictic verbs in Arrente and Longgu, Wilkins and Hill (1995) found clear contrasts in the semantics of the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the two languages, casting doubt on the “universality” of these verbs. Wilkins and Hill found that the speakers of these languages have different conceptions of whether ‘come’ or ‘go’ should be used to describe a certain scene. That is, “GO in one language corresponded to COME in another” (Wilkins and Hill *ibid*: 218). This explains the title of their paper: “When ‘go’ means ‘come.’” The researchers relate this contrast in meaning to the fact that ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the two languages are different with respect to their base semantics. Thus, the points of reference that are considered as central or peripheral as they relate to ‘come’ and ‘go’ do not always overlap in Arrente and Longgu. For example, the Arrente verb *petye* – ‘come’ encodes motion toward the deictic center, i.e., the verb does not require that

the figure reach the deictic center. In contrast, the Longuu verb *la mai* ‘come’ entails that the figure arrived at the deictic center. In this way, compared to the Longuu verb ‘come,’ Arrente ‘come’ covers a larger set of motion events. One significant difference between the two languages emerges in the description of a scene where the figure moves toward the deictic center, but just short of arriving at the deictic center, it stops at another point along the same path. Arrente speakers use the verb *petye* ‘come’ to describe the motion event in this scene. However, Longuu speakers cannot use the verb *la mai* ‘come’ in this case, since the use of ‘come’ in this language requires that the figure reach the deictic center and not simply move toward it. Instead, Arrente speakers use the verb *la* ‘go, travel,’ or (preferably) the verbs *tavurake* ‘leave’ and *sara* ‘arrive.’ Thus, this scene is a ‘come’ scene in Arrente but a ‘go’ scene in Longuu (albeit a non-central one) (Wilkins and Hill 1995).

Wilkins and Hill conclude that (among other findings): 1) it seems that all languages have a way of morphologically marking motion toward the speaker (or the deictic center), whether it entails arrival at the goal, i.e., it is telic, or not. However, in certain languages ‘go’ is not inherently deictic; the sense of “away from the deictic center” with this verb, is achieved through its opposition with ‘come,’ which encodes motion toward the speaker, and 2) “languages vary at the lexical semantic level as to what is entailed by these (‘come’ and ‘go’) expressions, as well as differing as to what constitutes the prototype structure for such expressions” (Wilkins and Hill *ibid*: 209).

Botne (2005) builds on the findings of Wilkins and Hill’s study and investigates the use of ‘come’ and ‘go’ verbs in Chindali. It was found that in Chindali there are multiple verbs that can be translated as ‘go’ in English and that

none “codes for deixis at the semantic level. Rather, the deictic effects are the result of pragmatic implicatures arising from the systematic opposition of motion verbs in the language and from the particular context of use.” For example, the Chindali verbs *-tiila* and *-fuma*, can both be translated as ‘go’ in English. However, in narratives both can be translated as either ‘come away’ or ‘go away,’ depending on the context in which they appear. Thus, Botne’s findings on ‘go’ confirm those of Wilkins and Hill discussed above.

6.4 ‘Come’ and *aamadan* in English and Persian narratives

In this section I will discuss the uses of the verb ‘come’ and *aamadan* (come) in the English and Persian narratives, respectively. I will investigate the usage of these verbs as they pattern in the *Pear* and *Frog* narratives separately, since they seem to occur with different frequencies and for different purposes in each set of narratives.

6.4.1 The verb ‘come’ in the English narratives

6.4.1.1 ‘Come’ in English *Pear*

In this section, I will discuss the two most systematic uses of ‘come’ in the English *Pear* narratives. Excluded from this discussion are common instances of translational motion with ‘come,’ e.g., ‘come down.’

Recall from Chapter 4 that the *Pear* film involves a number of different characters who are introduced into the plotline, gradually and one by one. That is,

with the exception of the pear picker who is present at the scene from the beginning of the film, the remainder of the characters emerge at various instances within the story. The majority of the instances of ‘come’ in the English *Pear* data occur in the “introduction” episodes, i.e., when new characters are introduced into the plotline. These instances constitute 57% of the total tokens of the verb ‘come’ in the English *Pear* dataset, i.e., 26 out of 46 total tokens. The film includes four introduction scenes which depict the appearance of: the man with a goat; the boy on the bike; the girl on the bike; and the group of three boys, one of whom has a paddle ball toy.

Table 6.1 below illustrates the distribution of the instances of ‘come’ used for introducing new characters across the speakers.

Table 4-1: Distribution of ‘come’ in introduction scenes in Pear

Narrative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
come	2	4	3	0	2	2	3	2	0	2	0	2	0	1	3	26

As noted in the Table, 11 of the 15 participants (73%) used ‘come’ to introduce new characters at least in one instance. Excerpts (1), (2), and (3) illustrate.

In (1) we observe the use of ‘come’ to describe the appearance of the man with a goat at the beginning of the film. At this point, the only character depicted in the film is the man who is picking pears in the tree.

(1) Introducing the man with a goat with *come* – English *Pear*– Speaker #1

a:nd there's a ma:ˆn who **is co^ming** with a goa^t (.) who's making
some very lou:d sounds.= I think it's the goa:ˆt.

In (2) the speaker marks the appearance of the main protagonist, the boy on the bike.

(2) Introducing the boy on the bike *come* – English *Pear* – Speaker #3

A kid with a bi[^]ke, (.) **comes alo:[^]ng**, (...). O[^]kay so the ki[^]d's on a new bi[^]ke, a[^]lso wearing a red scarf and a ha[^]t.

And, in (3), the speaker notes the appearance of the girl who is riding by at the point when the bike boy had just stolen a basket of pears and rides away on his bicycle.

(3) Introducing the girl on the bike with *come* – English *Pear* –

Speaker #15

He ri[^]des o:[^]ff. (0.2) O[^]ne pea:[^]r fa:lls ou:[^]t,= but then mostly he's going alo[^]ng (.) But then **this gi:[^]rl's coming**. (0.2)

You think O[^]H! I hope they run into each o[^]ther ((Laughter))

In all three excerpts, the use of 'come' highlights the visible approach and arrival on scene of the figure. In all cases the figure enters the visual field of the narrator and the use of 'come' represents a form of visual deixis.

The preponderance of 'come' co-occurring with the introduction of new characters as they arrive on scene is further underscored by the fact that the characters are all framed as "new" (Chafe 1999; Fillmore 1997). Note that the target NPs are marked with the indefinite article *a* as in "there's a man who's coming" and "a kid with a bike comes along." The third example, "then this girl's coming," also indicates

a “new” entity. Strauss (2002) discusses “this” used nonphorically as in (3) as an indicator of new and non-shared information.

In addition, the use of ‘come’ by four of the speakers occurs in the episode where the three boys (already introduced to the plot) approach the bike boy after he had fallen in order to help him get up and collect his pears¹⁹. Excerpt (4) illustrates this episode.

(4) The three boys -- Pear – Speaker #5

en there're these three: ^ bo^ys (.) varying a^ges,
 who are loo^king at hi:m ...
 en so:^ the^y **come** en they pick the bo^y up

The three boys are introduced in the first line of the excerpt in (4). The verb ‘come’ in the last line indicates the boys’ approaching the main protagonist. The speakers who used ‘come’ in this episode reflect an instance of “deictic projection” (Fillmore 1971: 224) such that the deictic center is now projected onto the injured boy. This could also be a case of “empathetic deixis²⁰” (Lyons 1977: 677), where the speaker projects the deictic center onto the character who is “identifying himself with the attitude or viewpoint” of the character. Excerpt (5) below illustrates another instance of empathetic deixis with ‘come.’ The excerpt describes the same episode as in (4).

(5) The three boys – English *Pear* – Speaker #2

and e: en then we no^tice tha:t, there are three bo^ys
 that are there sta^ring at hi^m, (.) they saw him cra:^sh.
 and u:: o^ne bo^y **comes over** en helps dust him o::ff,

In (5) the speaker uses the phrasal expression ‘come over’ which expresses the identical deictic projection or empathetic deixis mentioned in (4), with an added feature of extending the path through the particle ‘over.’

6.4.1.2 The verb ‘come’ in the English *Frog* narratives

The total number of instances of the verb ‘come’ in the English *Frog* narratives is considerably smaller than that of the *Pear* narratives, i.e., 46 in *Pear* vs. 24 in *Frog*. The *Banjo Frog* film includes almost the same number of characters as the *Pear* film: the banjo frog, the garbage collector, the three bull frogs, and the tree frogs. However, with the exception of the garbage collector, the characters do not suddenly emerge onto the scene; rather, they are noticed by the protagonist, i.e., the banjo frog.

In this dataset, 12 of the 15 narratives describe the arrival of the garbage collector with *come*. Excerpts 6 (a), (b), and (c) illustrate.

(6) The appearance of the garbage collector with *come* – *Frog* data(a) Speaker #3

but >unfortunately< whi^le he was in the tra^sha ca:n,
 the garbage man **ca:me**

(b) Speaker #4

= en su^ddenly the tra^sh ma^**n comes**, en (.)
pi^cks up the trash can

(c) Speaker #5

en then the tra^sh man **co^mes**, (.) en dumps him into the
ba^ck of a ga^rbage tru:^ck,

In all of these instances the use of ‘come’ highlights the arrival of the new character, the garbage collector. Even though the referent involves the definite article ‘the,’ the character is new on scene – not having been part of the story previously. The definite article here occurs through association with the ‘trash can.’

6.4.2 The verb *aamadan* ‘to come’ in the Persian narratives

Recall from the tables in Chapter 4 that 132 tokens of *aamadan* ‘come’ were identified in the *Pear* narratives. As noted in Chapters 4 and 5, of the 132 total tokens of *aamadan* in the *Pear* narratives, 25 co-occur with *paayin* ‘down,’ expressing the general notion of ‘coming down.’ The remaining instances of *aamadan*, with the exception of three idiomatic expressions with this verb, appear as bare verbs. The following section examines the use of *aamadan* as a bare verb in the *Pear* narratives.

6.4.2.1 *aamadan* in Persian *Pear*

Similar to English, *aamadan* ‘come’ in Persian occurs frequently in episodes where new characters are introduced into the plotline. That is, 57 out of the total 132

tokens (43%) of *aamadan* appear in the introduction scenes. This number is more than twice the number of instances of ‘come’ used in similar episodes by the English narrators. Table 6.2 below presents the frequency and distribution of *aamadan* ‘come’ among the 15 narratives.

Table 4-2: Distribution of *aamadan* in the introduction scenes in Pear

Narrative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
<i>aamadan</i>	4	4	3	3	3	3	8	6	3	3	4	4	3	3	3	57

As seen in the table, all participants, without exception, use *aamadan* in the introduction episodes at least three times. Thus, compared to English, we see more instances of the verb usage by each speaker. Also, unlike the English narratives where 11 out of 15 contained the verb, here all speakers used it at least three times²¹. Excerpts (7) and (8) illustrate the use of *aamadan* for introducing new characters. The excerpts introduce the bike boy and the little girl, respectively.

(7) Introducing the bike boy with *aamadan* – Pear – speaker #15

bad ye pesare do^charkhe savaa^ri oomad

then a boy with a bicycle **came**

va yeki az sabadaa roo bardaasht bo:^rd,

and picked up took one of the baskets

(8) Introducing the girl on the bike with *aamadan* – Pear – #13

vaghti mibare too raa:^h, ye do^khtare digei baa docharkhash az roo be roo miaa^d.=

as he's taking the basket with him, another little girl **comes** from the front with (on) her bike

In both excerpts the verb *aamadan* 'come' highlights the visible appearance or arrival of the characters on scene. This usage of *aamadan* seems to be similar to that of the verb 'come' in the English narratives. The difference here, as noted earlier, concerns the overwhelming frequency with which *aamadan* is used in the Persian *Pear* data.

Also, similar to English, *aamadan* is used to describe the three boys' approaching the protagonist to help him after he falls off his bike. Excerpts (9) and (10) depict this scene.

(9) The three boys – *aamadan* in Persian *Pear*

se^ taa pesare dige ke be nazar miaad doostaash baasha:^n, oonjaa ha^sta:^n

three other boys who seem to be his friends are there

kholaase miaan ko^makesh mikona:^n, golaabaaa ro^ dobaare hamaro mizaaran tooye:^ sabadesho:^,

anyway, they **come** help him, put all the pears back in his basket

(10) The three boys – Pear – Speaker #9

too ha^min haal se taa ba^chei ke – se taa pe^sar

bachei ke zaaheran az oonjaa ra^d mishoda:^n,

at this very moment, three kids who – three little boys who
were apparently passing by that place

oo^madan be komake in pesa^re. (1.0)

came to help this boy

Here, similar to the English excerpts in (4) and (5), the use of *aamadan* ‘come’ represents an example of deictic projection. That is, the deictic center is projected onto the protagonist. The approaching of the three boys is viewed empathetically from the perspective of the boy who had fallen off his bike. However, again the difference from the English narratives lies in the number and consistency of the use of these tokens: All 15 of the Persian narrators expressed this event with *aamadan* ‘come’ + purpose (e.g., helped him, collected his pears, etc.). This is in contrast with the English *Pear* data, where only four, i.e., less than one third, of the participants used the verb ‘come’ for this event.

In addition to the above instances, the Persian narratives include patternings of *aamadan* that are not similar to the English uses of ‘come.’ The most frequent of these patterns involves the contiguous chain-like combination of the verb *aamadan* with the verb *rad shodan* ‘pass by.’ In the 15 *Pear* narratives, 26 tokens of *aamadan* + *rad shodan* were identified and all speakers used the combination at least once.

One of the episodes in which this combination emerges is where the man with the goat appears in the scene. Recall that in this episode, a man with a goat walks by the pear tree. Excerpts (11) and (12) illustrate the description of this scene by two different speakers.

(11) The man with a goat – Persian Pear – Speaker #4

ye dori ke mire:^ baa:laa:^ ye ka^m dige golaabi bechine:^, (.)

Once when he goes up once to pick more pears

*ye^ doone pesar bache:^, baa docharkhe **miaad ra:^d mishe^**,*

a little boy **comes passes** by with his bike

(12) The man with a goat – Persian Pear – Speaker #10

*ha^m zamaan ye ho neshoo^n daad ma^rdome mokhtalef **mioomadan***

ra^d mishoda^n.=

meanwhile, (in the film)they showed that different people

would come pass by

*ye^ aa^ghaai **oomad** baa bo^zesh **ra^d shodo:^**,*

a guy **came passed** by with his goat

In these instances the speakers are introducing a character, i.e., the man with a goat, who becomes visible and then follows a horizontal trajectory across the screen. The Persian speakers encode this motion with clear reference to the deictic center. This combination of *aamadan* ‘come’ + *rad shodan* ‘pass by’ does not only occur with new

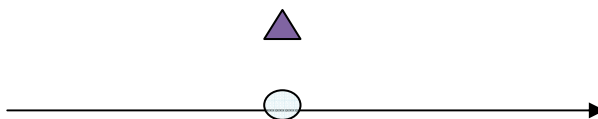
characters but we also we find the identical construction in the final episode, when the three children walk by the pear picker eating pears. This is illustrated in example (13).

(13) Final episode with *aamadan* – Persian Pear – Speaker #14

Vali in bache haa^ miaan az jeloye ma^rde rad mishan, ...

But these kids **come pass by** from in front of this guy, ...

Again, we see in this episode that *aamadan* + *rad shodan* ('to come + to pass by') encodes the gradual horizontal trajectory in front of the pear picker, from one side to the other.



The **triangle** designates the location of the pear picker, the deictic center

The **oval** designates the group of three boys, the Figure

(adapted from Wilkins's (1993) COME and GO questionnaire, in Pederson 2006: 419)

Figure 6.1: Graphic representation of *aamadan* + *rad shodan*

Note in the diagram that the approach of the Figure toward the deictic center is marked with the verb *aamadan*. This is in contrast with the English narratives which describe

this episode with ‘the boys go past the man,’ ‘the boys walk by/past/away (the man),’ but never ‘come by the man.’

The repeated occurrence of *aamadan* in a chain-like construction with *rad shodan* can be explained as follows: *Rad shodan* ‘(lit. past becoming) pass by’ is a light verb signaling “change of locative state,” much like the two other boundary-crossing verbs discussed in Chapter 5, i.e., *khaarej shodan* ‘to exit’ and *vaared shodan* ‘to enter.’ Such change of locative state is effected by the verbal component *shodan* ‘to become.’ In combination with *rad shodan*, the verb *aamadan* acts as an animator of the verb or, as noted by Kita (1999: 319), “a dynamic phase inducer.” According to Kita (ibid), Enter/Exit verbs in Japanese encode change of locative state without semantically encoding the transition phase in between. Adding the verb *iku* ‘go’ or *kuru* ‘come’ as an auxiliary verb can add a dynamic phase to the motion event, as in the following example:

(14) Auxiliary Come/Go verbs as dynamic phase inducer in Japanese

(Kita 1999: 319)

Jon-ga heya-ni hait-te {ki/it}-ta

John-NOM room-LOC enter-CONN come/go-PAST

‘John {came / went } into the room.’

Here, as noted by Kita, the Come/Go auxiliary verbs add a deictic perspective to the motion event as well as a dynamic phase” to the overall motion event. Similarly, the addition of *aamadan* ‘come’ to *rad shodan* ‘pass by,’ not only adds a dynamic phase to

the motion event but also provides the vector of motion, thus highlighting the deictic center. Choi and Bowerman (1991) report a similar combination of deictic verbs and boundary-crossing verbs Enter/Exit in Korean.

In addition, *aamadan* is used in other instances where English ‘come’ is not used. For example, five of the speakers use this verb in a chain-like construction with the verb *daadan* ‘to give’ to describe the episode where one of the three boys who had just received three pears from the protagonist, returns to his friends and shares the pears with them. Excerpt (15) illustrates.

(15) *Aamadan* in Persian Pear – Speaker #6

in pe^sara^m golaabaa ro gerefto:^,

and this boy got the pears and,

oo^mad daadeshoon be oon doo^staasho:^,

he **came gave** them to his friends and,

yekisham kho^desh bardaasht,

he took one (for) himself

In this excerpt the use of the verb *aamadan* in conjunction with the verb *daadan* ‘to give,’ marks the approaching of the figure to the deictic center, in this case, the friends. The verb ‘come’ was not used in this episode by any of the English speakers²².

6.4.2.2 *aamadan* in Persian *Frog*

Like English ‘come,’ *aamadan* is often used to introduce the arrival of the new character onto the scene, i.e., the garbage collector. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate.

(16) The appearance of the garbage collector – Frog—Speaker #3

yaaroo oomad

the guy **came**

ino baa aashghaalaa ri^kht too sa^tle too on

maa^shine zo^baale.

Poured him with the trash into the trash truck

(17) The appearance of the garbage collector – Frog—Speaker #5

ghoo^rbaaghe he daashte too sa^tle aashghaa^l

donbaale ghazaa^ miga^shte;

The frog was searching for food in(side) the trash can,

aa^shghaali miaad varesh midaare;

the garbage man **comes** picks him up

In both of the above excerpts, speakers use *aamadan* to express the appearance of the garbage collector, as the new character on scene. This function of *aamadan* is similar to the function of ‘come’ in the *Frog* narratives.

In addition, about half of the speakers, i.e., seven out of 15, use *aamadan* to describe the scene in which the protagonist, the banjo frog, is attacked by the bull frogs, as indicated in (18) and (19).

(18) Empathetic deixis with *aamadan* – Frog – speaker #2

bare ha^min baa^zam i^n chon behtar az oo^naa sho^d,
 therefore, because he got better than them again,
oo^madan behesh ha^mle kardan (.) za^dan too sa^resh.
 they **came attacked** him, they hit him in the head.

(19) Empathetic deixis with *aamadan* – Frog – speaker #7

oonaa nemitoonestan ha^mraahi kona^n, kha^ste shoda^n,
 They couldn't follow along and got tired,
 >kholaase< *oo^madan ko^takesh zadan (.)goftan ba^se.*
 Any way, they **came beat** him up, said that's enough

In both of these excerpts the speakers use the combination of *aamadan* and another verb in a chain-like construction: *aamadan* + *hamle kardan* ('come' + 'attack') and *aamadan* + *kotak zadan* ('come' + 'beat up'). These constructions express the bull frogs' first approaching the protagonist and then hurting him. This is an additional example of empathetic deixis in Persian, similar to the episode from the *Pear* narrative depicting the scene in which the three boys come to the aid of the bike boy.

What is interesting is that in the English narratives, none of the speakers used the verb 'come' in this episode. Example (20) illustrates.

(20) Bull frogs' attacking the protagonist – English Frog – Speaker #7

but then he starts to do some cra^zy stu^ff with
 ((LAUGHTER)) i:t,

e:n thee: o^ther fro:^gs get ma:^d,
 en they **cha^se him awa^y** from the ba^njjo:^, en up a tree:^,

The verb *aamaadan* in Persian also occurs in other types of expressions that are completely unlike English ‘come.’ In these cases the verb *aamadan* encodes *perceptual deixis*. With regard to sensory perception, we observed a preponderance of *aamadan* tokens with visual perception as in examples (16) and (17), where the speakers indicate the appearance of characters on the scene. We also find instances of perceptual deixis as it pertains to sounds. An example of perceptual deixis with *aamadan* as it pertains to sounds is illustrated in excerpts (21) and (22) below.

(21) Perceptual deixis with *aamadan* – Frog

*bad di^d ke daare se^daa^ miaa:^d, ye seri se^daa mese masalam
 moo^zik miaad.*

then he saw that a sound **is coming**, some sound like the sound of
 music **is coming**

(22) Perceptual deixis with *aamadan* – Frog

*bad mibine sedaaye chand taa – se^daaye masan ghoo^rbaaghe
 miaa^d. (0.4)*

then he sees that the sound of some – the sound of some other frogs **is
 coming**

ye se^ri ghoorbaaghe booda:^n,

there were a couple of frogs there

In both of the above examples the speakers indicate that the frog ‘saw’ (or noticed) that ‘a sound is coming,’ expressing the notion of the frog *hearing* a sound. This

is quite similar to what one would say in the case of visual perception, i.e., when indicating that a visible entity is approaching. For example, one of the speakers used the following expression to describe the approaching of the garbage collector, occurring at the beginning of the film: *did yeki daare mi^aad, zire bo^shghaab kaa^ghazi khodesho ghaa^yem ka:rd* ‘he saw someone’s **coming**, he hid himself under a paper plate.’ Note that the identical construction used for the visual appearance of a physical entity as well as audible emergence of sound noticed by the protagonist. In all of these cases the verb *aamadan* ‘come’ does not encode an actual motion, but, as noted by Lakoff (1987: 511), it “indicates activation,” the activation of some type of sensory perception. In (21) and (22), the activation pertains to the sensory perception of hearing. The same construction can be used in Persian to denote the activation of olfactory perception – though not used in the present dataset. Thus, one generally says: *ye booyi miaad* ‘a smell is coming.’ According to Lakoff (1987: 511), the conceptual metaphor underlying such expressions is that “Non-visual perceptual space is physical space; percepts are entities ... Activation is motion.” Five of the 15 speakers used the combination of *sedaa* + *aamadan* ‘sound’ + ‘come’ to indicate the frog’s hearing the sound of the bullfrogs.

To summarize briefly, English ‘come’ and Persian *aamadan* seem to function in certain similar ways in the narratives. In both datasets these verbs were used to introduce new characters and in deictic projection. However, the use of *aamadan* is considerably more frequently and systematically in the Persian narratives than was the case with ‘come’ in English narratives. In addition *aamadan* was used in instances where English ‘come’ was not, pointing to a difference in conceptualization patterns with deictic verbs in English and Persian.

6.5 ‘Go’ and *raftan* in English and Persian narratives

In this section, I will examine the use of the verbs ‘go’ in English and *raftan* ‘to go’ in Persian. Because the verb seems to pattern similarly in both the *Pear* and the *Frog* narratives, I will examine the full set of data together.

6.5.1 ‘Go’ in English

‘Go’ in the English narratives predominantly expresses translational motion. Some examples include: *he goes back*, *he goes down the ladder*, *he goes back up the ladder*, *he went up into the trash can*, *he goes over to the frogs*, *he goes out of the dump site*, etc. In these instances ‘go’ expresses translational motion without manner specification.

In addition, ‘go’ in these narratives encodes the simple physical displacement of an entity. Such physical displacement can involve a minute degree of movement as in “budge” or extended movement as in “continue on,” as illustrated in (23) and (24), respectively.

(23) ‘go’ expressing a limited degree of movement (budge) – *Pear* – #1

you see another gu^y wa:l^k by[^], with a goa^t, a:[^]nd the goa^t’s
kind of st[^]bbo:rn.=

It doe[^]s’nt wanna go[^] = so he’s kind’a tu[^]gging on i[^]t.

(24) 'go': extended movement ("continue on, proceed") – Pear—#8

A ma:n with a goa^t walks by:^, = en walks by the pea:^rs, (.)
 doe^sn't sto^p (.)
just keeps go^ing. (0.2)

'Go' is also used in narratives to express aspectual meaning as in (25).

(25) 'Go' expressing aspectual meaning – Pear – #6

So his bi^ke, (.) hits the ro:^ck
 and the pears **go fly^ing ou^t** of the ba^sket

Here, the use of 'go' in conjunction with 'flying out' amplifies the incipient motion as well as underscores the haphazard scattering of the pears as they leave the basket. This aspectual amplification becomes clear when the utterance is contrasted with 'the pears fly out of the basket,' which is more neutral with regard to the image of the pears leaving the basket.

The final use of 'go' carries the sense of "disappear" as in (26) and (27).

(26) 'Go' expressing "disappearance" – Pear – Speaker #10

they walked by:^ the ma:^n in the tree:^,
 who comes do^wn en
 realizes that one of his ba^skets of pea:^rs **is go^ne.**

(27) 'Go' expressing "disappearance"

I'm sure he's wondering if they took his pea:^rs out of
 the ba^ske:t,

but the whole basket **is go:ne**, so (0.2)
 they just walk away en he's –

In these excerpts 'go' is used in its adjectival past participle form, "be gone," to express disappearance of the basket.

Therefore, 'go' is generally used in the English narratives to express non-manner translational motion, simple physical displacement (as in the sense of "to move" or "to continue"), aspectual features of an event, and the disappearance of characters from the scene.

6.5.2 *Raftan* 'go' in Persian

As noted in Chapter 4, the verb *raftan* 'go' is the most frequently used verb in the *Frog* narratives and the second most frequent verb in the *Pear* narratives. Chapter 4 discussed the use of *raftan* in light verb constructions and Chapter 5 investigated the pervasive use of this verb in conjunction with path satellites such as *baalaa* 'up' and *too* 'in,' to express 'going up' and 'going in,' respectively. In this section I discuss the other uses of the verb *raftan* in the *Pear* and *Frog* narratives. The occurrences of Persian *raftan* in the data follow two predominant patterns: 1) to mark translational motion, and 2) to mark the departure of the Figure from a particular location.

Like English 'go,' Persian *raftan* is used to express translational motion as in excerpts (28) and (29).

(28) Raftan as translational motion in Persian – Frog – Speaker #4

va:ˆ e: az oonjaa chaˆndtaa ghoˆrbaaghe ya vaˆzaghe digaro diˆd,
and from there he saw some other frogs or toads

e: ke:ˆ daaˆran >daaˆshtan< aaˆvaaz miˆkhoonda:ˆn,

who were singing together

baˆd **raˆft** be saˆmte ooˆnaa:ˆ, ke baa ooˆnaa: e aaˆvaaz beˆkhoone:ˆ:,

then he **went** toward them to sing along with them

(29) raftan as translational motion – Banjo—Speaker #9

baaz dobaare mire jeˆlotar

he **goes forward** again

ye taaˆre koˆhne miˆbine

he sees an old guitar

Unlike English ‘go,’ Persian *raftan* is also used frequently to mark the departure of the figure from a particular location. That is, speakers typically use *raftan* to express the figure’s leaving its current point. In this sense, *raftan* is semantically similar to French *s’en aller* and Spanish *irse*, both of which can be translated as ‘go away’ in English. Excerpts (30), (31), and (32) illustrate the use of *raftan* in this sense in Persian narratives.

(30) raftan encoding “departure” – Frog – Speaker #5

goftan **boˆroˆ**. = Biroonesh kardan oˆ

They said **go**. They kicked him out and

inam dobaare **raˆftesh**

so, he **went (i.e., left)** again

(31) raftan encoding departure – Pear – Speaker #6

ye^ sabade kaa^mele golaa^bi ro ba^r midaare o:: mizaare je^lo
docharkhasho:^,

he takes a whole basket of pears and puts in front of his bicycle and

(.) *mi^re.*

(he) goes

In both excerpts, we see the bare form of the verb *raftan* being used to express the concept of “leaving” or “going away” without any specification of destination; simply “quit this place.”

This sense of *raftan* meaning ‘to go away’ used in its bare form can also be extended to mean “disappear” as in (32).

(32) raftan expressing “go away” – Frog – Speaker #12

a^valesh ye zare do:^m daasht, ... bad do^me **ra:ft**,

at first he had a little tail, later the tail **went**

dige ghoorbaagheye kaa^mel shod. (0.4)

then he became a mature frog

Here, the narrator describes the opening episode in which the tadpole loses its tail and then develops into the frog that becomes the protagonist of this film. The expression ‘the tail went’ is perhaps better expressed in English as a) ‘his tail fell off’ or b) ‘his tail was gone,’ though these two sentences are quite different aspectually. Interestingly, the Persian expression *dome raft* ‘the tail went’ seems to be closer to the sentence in a) in

spite of the fact that this utterance contains no morphological component of ‘go’ whereas b version does.

In the Persian narratives, the meaning of *raftan* is further extended into metaphorical usages. In the *Frog* narratives *raftan* occurs four times to describe the episode in which the bullfrogs exhaust themselves by dancing to the banjo music and almost faint. The narrators describe the bullfrogs’ state with the expression *az haal raftan* ‘(lit. to go from consciousness) to faint,’ as in examples (33) and (34).

(33) Metaphorical extension of *raftan*: ‘faint, lose energy’- *Frog*, #15

e^nghad khodesh ma^hve chi^ miga:^n, oo^ n mooseghi

shode boo^d , dige e^nghad tond ton mizad

he was so into the music that he was playing and he was \
playing so fast that

oon bad bakhtaa az haa:l raftan.

those poor things (bullfrogs) **went from consciousness** (fainted)

(34) Metaphorical extension of *raftan*: ‘to faint, lose energy’ *Frog*, #12

enghad to:^nd miza:^d ke oonaa dige^ kha^ste shoda^ n,

He was playing (the banjo) so fast that those other guys got
really tired

az haal rafta^ n o dige naa^raahat shodan

They **went from consciousness** (fainted) and got mad at him

This use of the verb *raftan* ‘go’ in this context can be explained by Clark’s (1974) framework for metaphorical uses of the English deictic verbs ‘come’ and ‘go.’ As noted in Section 6.1, according to Clark’s definition, in English metaphorical expressions denoting changes of state with deictic verbs, the “normal state of affairs” is regarded as the deictic center. Thus, ‘go’ as a verb encoding the notion of *away* from the normal state expresses this very deviation, as in the Persian expression *az haal raftan* ‘going from consciousness.’

6.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I analyzed the use of the deictic verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ in the English and Persian narratives. As for English ‘come’ and Persian *aamadan*, it was found that both verbs are used predominantly in introduction episodes where new characters are added to the plot and appear on scene, illustrating the case of visual deixis. It was also pointed out that the two verbs pattern similarly with respect to empathetic deixis. The most salient example of this parallelism involving empathetic deixis in the two languages was noted in the *Pear* narratives, specifically the episode in which the three boys approach the protagonist who had fallen off of his bike.

The Persian *Frog* narratives (and not the English) exhibited the same type of empathetic deixis to depict the bullfrogs’ approaching the Banjo Frog to hurt him. Essentially, the primary difference in these episodes involves the frequency and distribution of occurrences, such that *aamadan* occurs more than twice as often as ‘come.’

It was also pointed out that *aamadan* was used in instances where English ‘come’ was not. The primary example involved the use of *aamadan* in conjunction with the light verb *rad shodan* to denote the horizontal trajectory as well as the deictic perspective of the depicted motion. Finally, the use of *aamadan* in these narratives was observed as a means by which speakers express other elements of perceptual deixis, namely the emergence of sounds.

Overall, Persian *aamadan* clearly captures the notion of “movement toward deictic center” and the preponderance of these tokens in the current data underscores precisely to what degree Persian grammar is sensitive to the salience of the deictic center.

As for ‘go’ and *raftan*, it was noted that these verbs pattern in rather similar ways, particularly with respect to the expression of general translational motion, with no specification for manner. However, *raftan* in its bare form was also used by Persian speakers to indicate the notion of “departure” from a particular location or the “disappearance” of an entity. In this sense, Persian *raftan* and English ‘go’ do not pattern similarly. In addition, it was noted that *raftan* emerged in the *Frog* narratives denoting the metaphorical extension of ‘departure from a normal state.’

In sum, the pervasiveness of *aamadan* and *raftan* in the Persian dataset points to the remarkable salience of the deictic center in the conceptualization of motion events in Persian. This is particularly significant since, as noted in Chapter 5, the Persian narratives do not include elaborate path and ground descriptions. Using Langacker’s (1987) concept of deixis as “grounding,” it can be stated that in Persian narratives it is partially through the use of deictic verbs that the characters or figures are spatially situated with respect to one another and/or with respect to the deictic center.

Chapter 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Summary

This dissertation constitutes a comparative analysis of the expression of motion through space and manner of motion in English and Persian elicited narratives produced by native speakers of the respective languages. The data were analyzed primarily from the standpoint of motion events as defined by Talmy (1991, 2000). As such, I focused the analysis on the fundamental components of motion events: motion verbs, path, manner, and ground. The design of the study follows the framework of the “thinking for speaking” research developed by Slobin (1987, 1996a, 2000, 2004). The linguistic patterns that I uncovered in the analysis of storyline narratives constitute the habitual expressions of motion events in both language groups, i.e., those that are the most “readily encodable.” In this framework, a more *codable* expression is the one that is “more easily and automatically said in a particular language” (Slobin 1987: 435). As such, the study, takes a psycholinguistic approach to language analysis. That is, by appealing to a discourse-based analysis of the narrative content, I set out to uncover not what is *possible*²³ in one of the two target languages, but what has been empirically determined to be: natural, spontaneous, and representative of immediately accessible linguistic structures as patterns of conceptualization in the particular genre of elicited narratives. Through the combination of Talmy’s motion event framework and Slobin’s psycholinguistic “thinking for speaking²⁴” approach to cross-linguistic analysis, I have

also illustrated the commonalities and differences in the description and conceptualization of motion events in English and Persian.

In the paragraphs that follow, I summarize the findings of each of the three analytic chapters. In Section 7.2, I present implications of my findings from the point of view of Talmy's typology of S- and V- type languages, with a focus on the notion of inference as it pertains to the framework. In Section 7.3, I discuss the binary distinction of S- vs. V-framed languages and analyze this from the point of view of linguistic typology. Section 7.4 presents implications for future research, particularly with respect to the intersection of motion event research with research on gestures as well as the intersection with L2 pedagogy and research. Section 7.5 presents some limitations of the study.

Chapter 4 opened the study with the examination of the inventories of motion verbs used in the English and Persian *Pear* and *Frog* narratives. These inventories were demonstrated to be strikingly different, both in terms of the number and types of verbs used by the narrators. This was determined to be the first sign of typological contrast between the two languages that emerged in the study. The differences can be summarized as follows: 1) The inventories of motion verbs in English were approximately twice as large as the Persian inventories, 2) the English inventories included a large number of manner of motion verbs, and 3) the number of tokens of verb types on the frequency lists in English followed a gradual decline. In addition, a large number of the verbs were found to be used idiosyncratically or selectively by the speakers.

In sharp contrast, the Persian inventories of motion verbs included a considerably smaller number of verbs and there seemed to be a strong tendency by the majority of the participants to use the same verb types repeatedly. More importantly, more than 63% of the motion verbs used in the Persian narratives consisted of light verb constructions, LVCs. This means that only 22 out of the total of 64 verb types (34%) used in all Persian narratives were single-morpheme verb roots.

Chapter 5 presented a close analysis of the expression of all elements of motion events, i.e., path, ground, and manner of motion, in the English and Persian datasets. It was noted that in English, path of motion is generally described through path satellites, a predictable feature of S-languages. The inventory of English path satellites, considered in isolation, as well as the constellations of spatial morphemes used in verb complexes in the narratives revealed detailed and complex expressions of spatial relations in this language; again, an expected characteristic of an S-language.

On the other hand, path expressions in Persian did not pattern according to what would generally be expected in V-languages. It was found that a considerable number of motion events in Persian narratives were expressed through a combination of motion verb, encoding deixis or directionality (e.g., *aamadan* ‘to come’ and *raftan* ‘to go’) and a path satellite, somewhat similar to S-languages. However, unlike S-languages, manner specification is absent. Moreover, these path satellites are limited in terms of the spatial relations that they encode and the types of verbs to which they connect. However, these morphemes appear in various syntactic contexts, each construction highlighting a different aspect of the motion event²⁵.

In addition, it was illustrated that the majority of path verbs in Persian consist of LVCs. More than 70% of these path LVCs include the verb *shodan* ‘to become,’ generally encoding *change of state*. It was illustrated particularly in the case of boundary-crossing verbs, e.g., *enter* and *exit*, that these LVCs primarily encode *change of locative state*. Thus, it would appear that path as a durative concept is irrelevant to the semantic focus of these verbs. In this sense, the semantics of these Persian verbs is similar to the exit/enter verbs in Japanese (Kita 1999, 2006) and enter/descend verbs in Yucatec (Levinson and Wilkins 2006). Overall, with respect to path expressions, Persian does not reflect the characteristics of either S- or V-languages.

The expression of manner in Persian brings the language closer to V-languages. Manner verbs in the Persian narratives are few in number and generally encode self-contained motion, unless they appear in conjunction with the verb *raftan* ‘to go.’ However, the existing manner verbs in Persian are generally LVCs where the concept of manner is conveyed through a combination of the semantics of the components of the LVC. That is, in these constructions manner is not “conflated” with the fact of motion; rather, it is the overall meaning of the constituents that expresses manner. It was also noted in Chapter 5 that the paucity of ground elements in Persian reflects what has been generally reported for typical V-languages.

Moreover, chapter 5 uncovered additional differences between English and Persian narratives styles. It was pointed out that Persian speakers attend more frequently to details pertaining to the larger context of the narrative, including the time when the story took place, the setting of the narratives, and even the imagined internal thoughts of some of the characters. Additionally, Persian speakers tend to use quotations to animate

the characters' thoughts or presumed utterances, which can imply the manner of motion²⁶. This finding points to macro level issues of context and elements relating to the speakers' focus of attention that underscore differences between speakers of English and speakers of Persian. Thus, not only are we finding linguistic differences in isolation, we also note that such differences reflect cultural preferences in narrative telling.

Chapter 6 compared and contrasted the use of 'come' and 'go' verbs in English and Persian. It was noted that despite similarities in their basic semantics, these verbs pattern differently in the two languages. Predominantly, such differences center on the degree of salience of the deictic center. This chapter pointed out that this salience is significant with respect to Langacker's (1987) concept of "grounding," whereby the characters in the narratives are spatially located from the perspective of the deictic center as a ground element. This is particularly of significance since path elaborations and ground descriptions were demonstrated to be scarce in Persian narratives.

7.2 Implications of the findings from the point of view of Talmy's framework

The analysis in this study has illustrated that the rhetorical style exhibited in the Persian narratives is similar to what linguists would expect of prototypical V-languages in the expression of manner, static scene setting, and ground description. The analysis also uncovered the salience of the deictic center as a grounding element and a significant factor in the conceptualization of motion through space in the Persian narratives. However, as observed, the present Persian narratives contain seeming anomalies with

respect to path expressions. In this sense, the Persian narratives analyzed for this dissertation present a mixed picture of Talmy's typology.

Specifically, this study has revealed a considerable number of path expressions that are encoded through path satellites (thereby resembling S-framed languages) as well as expressions of path with conflation of fact of motion (thereby resembling V-framed languages). In addition, it is only through the predominant focus on the discourse in the two Persian narrative sets that this study has revealed a third medium through which path conceptualizations emerge: the medium of *inference*, where path is neither encoded by a satellite or conflated within a verb; rather, in such instances, path is contextually implied, as I noted in the construction *raftan baalaaye* NP 'to go on/(to the) top of NP,' where *baalaa* 'up/top' functions as a noun and thus points directly to the endpoint of motion. In this sense, the concept of actual path is merely inferred by virtue of explicit reference to the goal of motion. Recall from Chapter 5 that this construction was, by far, the most frequently used convention to map upward direction of movement in the Persian narratives.

In addition, it was observed that 63% of the total number of path verbs in the Persian dataset consist of light verb constructions, more than half of which include the verb *shodan* 'to become' as their verbal element. The pervasiveness of such LVCs also underscores the significance of *the inference of path in the conceptualization of motion events* in Persian. In particular I explicated such verbs as *khaarej shodan* 'to exit,' *vaared shodan* 'to enter,' and *rad shodan* 'pass by.' It was illustrated that semantically and contextually, these expressions in the Persian data encode *change of locative state*. Such *locative change of state* was also noted by Kita (1999, 2006) with respect to the

Japanese verb *hairu* ‘to enter,’ and its aspectual combination with the auxiliaries *kuru* ‘come’ and *iku* ‘go,’ as discussed in Chapter 5. Thus, once again, in these verbs, path is *not conflated* with the fact of motion, but inferred based on contextual elements and/or general world knowledge.

The findings of this dissertation illustrate that the concept of conflation alone cannot account for the complex nature of path conceptualization within actual discourse. In other words, the discourse-based nature of this study has been crucial to the uncovering of such fine-grained conceptual distinctions in path expressions that morpho-syntax alone could not reveal.

The findings in the present study, are in line with those of Bowerman et al. (2002), also a psycholinguistic one, which point out three major factors in “complex form-meaning mapping”: 1) conflation, 2) distribution, and 3) inference, the latter two of which are not taken into account by Talmy’s framework. However, unlike Bowerman et al.’s study, which focuses only on sentence-level production of placement verbs (i.e., verbs expressing the concept of “to put”) in a number of languages, this dissertation illustrates the influence of inference in a range of motion events described within long stretches of naturally produced discourse and thus adds to the literature on how motion through space is conceptualized and expressed.

In addition, given the mixed nature of path expression in the Persian narratives, i.e., through satellites, path verbs, and inference, this study suggests a *gradience* with respect to the system of encoding path in S- and V-framed languages in lieu of a strictly bipartite system. In this system, Persian clearly exhibits characteristics of both Satellite and Verb-framed languages in path expression.

In light of the findings synthesized above, I now turn the discussion to Talmy's binary distinction between S-framed versus V-framed languages.

7.3 The binary distinction: S-framed vs. V-framed languages

The primary goal of linguistic typology is to examine and classify particular areas of diversity across languages. In contrast with the study of linguistic universals, which seeks to limit the possible and /or necessary features of all human languages, linguistic typology seeks to uncover the nature of variations within this limit and to establish what is actually present—as opposed to what is logically possible, and to categorize languages based on the types of distinctions they make (Comrie 1981, Croft 1995, Hickman 2006).

Typologies can be “holistic” or “partial,” depending upon their scopes and limitations, (Shibatani and Bynon 1995). The goal of a holistic typology is to characterize a language in its entirety based on a small number of parameters and subsystems of related properties, i.e., to make a whole array of predictions based on one or a limited number of features, similar to what is done in scientific typology (Comrie 1981: 40). Partial typologies, on the other hand, focus on particular linguistic domains, i.e., “partial typological studies are confined in their predictive power to specific domains, but make far-reaching cross-linguistic predictions (Shibatani and Bynon 1995: 12).” Partial typologies then, while limited in the scope of their domain of focus, seek to cover as large a number of languages as possible.

Talmy's approach to linguistic analysis, a “conceptual approach,” is essentially “concerned with the patterns in which and the processes by which conceptual content is

organized in language” (Talmy 2000: 2). In Talmy’s framework what is considered as the basis for analysis is conceptual or semantic categories. Thus, unlike typologies such as word order typology (Greenberg 1966, Hankins 1983), lexical typology (Berlin and Kay 1969), and morphological typology (Schleicher, in Croft 1995), which start with a morpho-syntactic category as their basic “parameter” (Comrie 1981), Talmy’s departure point is the conceptual category of motion. Within this domain, Talmy defines a number of basic components, Motion, Figure, Path, and Ground, as well as Manner and Cause, and makes certain generalizations and predictions with respect to how different components of this domain are mapped onto syntactic structures in languages.

One of the most significant predictions or implications of the typology, clearly stated by Talmy himself (1991, 2000) and empirically demonstrated by a large number of scholars, is that if a language lexicalizes path of motion through satellites (S-language), it tends to express manner of motion within the verb root. Conversely, the typology predicts that if a language conflates path of motion within verb root, it (optionally) expresses manner of motion through an adverbial. The typology also predicts that the first group of languages possesses a large lexicon of manner verbs commonly used by the speakers²⁷. Again, this prediction has been empirically demonstrated to hold true in a large variety of languages. For example, Slobin (2006) points out that English, German, Dutch, Hungarian, and Russian each have several hundred manner-of-motion verbs in their lexicon, while Spanish, Turkish, and French have fewer than 100, and far fewer manner verbs in everyday use²⁸ (p. 71).

Moreover, Talmy’s typology has been found to have implications related to the overall narrative structure or the *rhetorical style* of the speakers of S- and V-languages –

commonly referred to as *dynamic* vs. *static* style, respectively. The classical study in this regard is that of Berman and Slobin (1994), which investigated the narrative structures of three Verb-framed languages (Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish) and two Satellite-framed languages, i.e., English and German. Berman and Slobin (ibid: 118-119) summarize the results of their analysis of the rhetorical styles of the two language types in the oft-quoted statement:

Satellite-framed languages allow for detailed description of paths within a clause, because the syntax makes it possible to accumulate path satellites to a single verb, along with prepositional phrases that add further specifications (e.g., *the deer threw them off over a cliff into the water*). The satellite-framed languages in our sample also tend towards greater specification of manner, probably because the lexicon provides a large collection of verbs that conflate manner with change of location ... In verb-framed languages, such manner specification is more of a “luxury,” since path and manner are elaborated in separate expressions, which are generally optional, and which are less compact in form ... As a consequence of these differences, it seems at least in our data that English and German narrations are characterized by a great deal of *dynamic* path and manner description, while Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish narrations are less elaborated in this regard, but are often more elaborated in descriptions of locations of protagonists and objects and of endstates of motion.

These *dynamic* versus *static* descriptions, which constitute the characteristic *narrative styles* of S- and V-languages, respectively, have now been studied in a number of other discourse-based works, e.g., in Basque (Ibarretxe-Antunano 2004), Arrente (Wilikins 2004), West-Greenlandic (Engberg-Pederson and Blytman Trodhjem 2004), etc.

Moreover, the framework has been influential in first language acquisition research. The influence of the S- and V-framed linguistic structures on first language acquisition has been demonstrated in a number of studies on various languages, e.g.,

Berman and Slobin (1994), Choi and Bowerman (1991), Bowerman, Brown, Eisenbeiss, Narasimhan, and Slobin (2002), Slobin (2003), and Hickman (2006).

For example, Bowerman et al's (2002) research examines the acquisition of the verbs of "putting" in four V-framed languages (Tzeltal, Spanish, Turkish, and Hindi) and four S-framed languages (English, German, Finnish, and Russian). The results reflect the developmental consequences of Talmy's typology, such that:

In encoding placement events, children tune in to the typological characteristics of their language at an early stage of their development. Children acquiring Hindi, Tzeltal, Spanish, and Turkish [V-languages] typically use verbs, focusing on the action of putting. Children acquiring Finnish, English, German, and Russian [S-languages] tend to use satellites, paying relatively more attention to the Vector and Relational elements of the placement scenario (Bowerman et al. *ibid*: S50).

None of the studies mentioned above overlook intratypological factors, e.g., the influence of the particular morphosyntactic features of the language or cultural preferences on the overall narrative structures in a language. A number of studies referring to the peculiarities of certain languages were discussed in Chapter 2, e.g., Thai (Zlatev and Yangklang 2004), Tzeltal (Brown 2004), Korean (Choi and Bowerman 1991), etc.

The systematic peculiarities of languages in which manner and path are expressed through "equivalent grammatical forms" led Slobin (2004: 249) to add a third type to the framework: "Equipollently-framed languages," discussed in Chapter 2. Examples of such languages are serial verb languages, e.g., Chinese and Thai, and bipartite verb languages, e.g., Athabaskan and Hokan. In serial verb languages path and manner are expressed in two consecutive verbs²⁹ and in bipartite verb languages the motion verb

encodes path and manner simultaneously, and thus the term “*Equipollently*-framed languages.” Thus far, the most updated version of the typology includes this third type of languages, generally referred to as E-languages. However, all of the scholars refer to Talmy’s framework as a typology.

Thus Talmy’s framework, even with such variations in S- and V-framing as E-languages and the importance of inference illustrated in this study, is still strongly considered a typology in that it predicts with far greater than “chance frequency” (Greenberg, in Shibatani and Bynon 1995) the lexicalization patterns of motion events in a large variety of languages. The few exceptions as noted for Persian, Thai, and Athabaskan are not sufficient to call into question the validity of Talmy’s typology. Typologies are not without exception and/or deviations from what is straightforwardly predictable³⁰—the ideal situation surrounding any linguistic typology can be encapsulated as follows:

But what an achievement would it be were we to be able to confront a language and say to it: ‘you have such and such a specific property and hence also such and such further properties and such and such an overall character’ – were we able, as daring botanists have indeed tried, to construct an entire lime tree from its leaf (Gabelentz 1901: 481, in Shibatani and Bynon 1995).

Moreover, the application of discourse analysis to this type of established typology can and does uncover aspects of language that morphosyntax in isolation cannot. As noted by Hickmann (2006: 9): “Although different ways of expressing space may co-exist in a given language system, some may be scarcely used in discourse, while others... may be obligatory and even overexploited. This

variation results from the fact that languages choose particular strategies about which elements they consider to be most *salient* for the description of situations.”

In the following section, I develop implications for this research as they relate to possible future work on the same topic.

7.4 Implications of the study for future research

This study represents a micro-level analytic approach to discourse, which has uncovered the intricate and subtle relationship between language and cognition—especially with respect to motion events as viewed through the lens of the “thinking for speaking” framework. The observations and discoveries that this dissertation has revealed can be further developed through a number of related approaches, including the study of gestures as applied to motion events. The findings from this study also have clear implications in L2 pedagogy with English as a second language and Persian a second language. In Section 7.4.1, I discuss the value of analyzing gestures in conjunction with these types of narrative elicitations. In 7.4.2, I present evidence that supports the value of conducting this type of analytic work and its application to second language research.

7.4.1 Gestures

Given the deictic salience in Persian motion events, particularly as noted in the distributional patterns of *aamadan* and *raftan* in the 30 narratives examined here, a study

of the accompanying gestures could provide a more detailed perspective of this phenomenon, specifically with respect to Slobin's "thinking for speaking" framework (Slobin 1987, 1996, 2000).

For example, in a pilot study reported in Feiz (2005), one Persian speaker recounting the *Frog* narrative produced a total of 12 path gestures, of which six synchronized with the deictic verbs *aamadan* and *raftan*. Example (1) illustrates gesture synchronized with the verb *aamadan*, where the gesture unequivocally indicates "toward the speaker" or points to her deictic field.

(1) Gesture with *aamadan* – signaling "toward speaker"

e: [*oo^n ghoorbaa^ghe paayin*]iaam (1) [*oomadan zire derakhto:^*] (2)

those frogs-GEN down-also **came**-3pl. under-GEN tree-and

'The frogs in the bottom came under(neath) the tree and'

1. *Deictic: RH – thumb pointing to the right and visibly downward, pointing to the frogs in the bottom.*
2. *Iconic: RH – fingers downward sweep toward left and toward the speaker: path*

What is noteworthy here is the second gesture, i.e., the iconic gesture that co-occurs with the verb *oomadan* '(they) came.' As we can see by the description of the gesture, the speaker sweeps her right hand toward her body and into the gesture space in front of her. This points squarely to Langacker's concept of "grounding," in that the dislocation of the moving figure in the narrative is spatially located from the perspective of the deictic center.

Conversely, the same narrator produced gestures signaling “away from speaker” that synchronized with the verb *raftan*, as in (2):

(2) Gesture with *raftan* – signaling “away from speaker”

= Ba[^]d e [ra[^]ft] az oon mohavate bi[^]roono

then **went-3S** from that area out-and

‘then he went out of that area’

Iconic: RH traces a small arc with index and middle finger starting from her

body outward: path

Here, it is clear that it is the deictic verb *raft* ‘went’ that coincides with a gesture showing the figure moving away from the speaker.

The results of the study in Feiz (2005) coincide with the analysis presented in this dissertation, especially with respect to the salience of deictic center, and clearly point to the value of studying gesture in conjunction with linguistic production. However, it must be noted that the single speaker analyzed in Feiz (2005) was the only one of the 15 narrators of the current dataset who produced gestures with any type of frequency or systematicity.

Another area of inquiry that gesture might nicely elucidate is the area of “distributed spatial semantics,” especially as noted in regard to the three-way combination of *baalaa* ‘up + *raftan* ‘to go.’ Gesture, in these expressions, would possibly inform us as to the particular aspects of path and/or manner that might be conceptually salient in each case.

A larger dataset or a more controlled experiment involving a different type of data elicitation tool would perhaps yield a greater degree of gesture production, thereby shedding additional light on the conceptualization of deixis as well as on manner of motion in Persian. will yield more comprehensive insights into the “thinking for speaking” patterns of motion expression.

7.4.2 Applications of micro-level linguistic analysis to L2 research and pedagogy

The foregoing analysis has revealed some similarities and a number of significant differences between Persian and English, from a variety of viewpoints. It was only through a meaning-focused, micro-level linguistic analysis that such differences emerged. Otherwise, on the surface, both groups of speakers seem to tell the same general story. In the field of L2 research, such findings raise the question of how or whether these conceptualization or “thinking for speaking” patterns are transferred from L1 to L2. For example, the study revealed that the expressions of manner in English and Persian are systematically different. Persian has a small inventory of manner verbs and, as noted in Chapter 5, those manner of motion verbs that do exist in Persian typically express self-contained motion on their own. Thus these manner verbs must be used in conjunction with a deictic verb to convey translational motion, e.g., *doid raft* ‘ran + went up, ‘(the frog) *ran up the tree*. This is in sharp contrast with the English narratives that not only are replete with manner verbs in conjunction with path satellites, but even those manner verbs that are not generally considered to be translational motion, can combine with path satellites to convey translational motion. Further study on this topic might include in-

depth analysis of English and Persian L2 data from speakers at a variety of proficiency levels to examine such issues as: the degree of transfer, the type of transfer, and the specific linguistic domains of how such transfer is taking place. According to Neguerela et al (2004), even for advanced level speakers of manner-rich S-languages, it is especially difficult to move to a V-language in which manner verbs are far more limited. Neguerela et al (2004) noted that it was also difficult for the Spanish speakers to express manner in English L2. While the authors found no evidence in a shift in “thinking-for-speaking,” they did make the prediction that it would be more difficult for speakers to go from S- to V- rather than from V- to S-. This may be due to the fact that S-languages provide evidence of manner verbs in the input.

At a deeper level of analysis, as I have noted in Chapter 6, frequency differences aside, the notions of “come” and “go” in English are similar to the meanings of *aamadan* and *raftan* in certain ways, yet they are vastly different in others. It was noted that *raftan* essentially means “to go” or “to go away” or “disappear,” differing in terms of semantic scope with English ‘go’. Such differences in the semantics of these two superficially synonymous verbs, *raftan* and ‘go,’ have clear implication for L2 learning and teaching. For example, this analysis of Persian *raftan* explains the following service encounter miscommunication, the essence of which is based largely, if not entirely, on the differing semantics of *raftan* and ‘go,’ in the respective languages.

Example (3) is taken from a conversation that took place between a native speaker of English, i.e., the cosmetics counter clerk, and a native speaker of Persian, i.e., the client, who was communicating in English as her L2:

(3) From a department store cosmetics counter

((client is experimenting with lipstick samples))

Client: “does this **go**?”

Clerk: “excuse me?”

Client: “does this **go** soon?”

Clerk: “I’m sorry. I don’t understand your question.”

In this excerpt, the Persian speaker uses the English verb ‘go’ in an identical context where she would use Persian *raftan*. That is, she is using this verb to indicate the notion of “disappearance” or “fading away,” a concept clearly not expressed through the semantics of the verb ‘go’ in English.

It is only through a micro-level analysis of discourse that 1) such subtle differences between the seemingly synonymous words or similar constructions in various languages can be uncovered, 2) the L2 learners’ systematic misuse of certain words or constructions can be explained, and 3) pedagogical interventions can be developed to facilitate the learning of these grammatical and discursive features that are not typically reflected in language textbooks or reference grammars.

While ESL and EFL textbooks abound, few, if any are structured around a conceptual-grammatical framework. The situation for Persian is even worse. That is, reference grammars for Persian tend to be based solely on intuition and invented sentences. With regard to textbooks, few appeal to natural discourse and authentic language use.

This study has underscored the value of analyzing language from the perspective of conceptual patterns with a central focus on meaning. This type of analysis and

application within pedagogical materials – both classroom-based activities and as textbook content, can serve to help raise awareness on the part of language teachers and students of language alike. “Explicit awareness of these conceptual phenomena might lead to more thorough learning and greater ability to exploit them productively” (Langacker 2006: 37).

For the grammatical/pragmatic concepts discussed in this dissertation, I envision an approach to the design and implementation of pedagogical materials based on Strauss, Lee, and Ahn’s (2006) and Strauss’ (2006) notion of *conceptual grammar*. Unlike data-driven learning, which has its roots exclusively or nearly exclusively in corpora and concordance patterns, conceptual grammar is a tripartite approach to language pedagogy that combines elements of: discourse analysis, corpus, and cognitive linguistics. Underlying all three paradigms is the notion of the *linguistic pattern*. Pedagogical materials that are designed on this basis exploit such patterns in systematically planned ways such that the target forms appear in carefully selected and ordered discursive excerpts and lead students to discern and discover the core meanings of the target linguistic forms.

7.5 Limitations of the present study

When I initially undertook this study, I was under the impression that Persian was a V-language. However, the analysis of path expressions in the narratives gradually revealed that Persian does not pattern straightforwardly as a V-language in this regard.

Once I noticed the apparent anomalies noted in Section 7.2, I might have considered the addition of a prototypical V-patterning language, such as Spanish, French, or Turkish. However, while I am conversant in both Turkish and French, I would feel confident enough to include these languages in a study of this scope and importance. A future development of this topic might include a cross-linguistic analysis of one or more V-languages in conjunction with a native or highly proficient speaker. This would allow for the calibration of findings on Persian, which is currently appearing to pattern in hybrid ways. For example, including a V-language like Spanish or Turkish would reveal sharper insights into the usage of bare deictic verbs plus satellites (as noted earlier in this chapter). The inclusion of V-type languages in a discourse-based psycholinguistic study such as this one would also provide a clearer perspective on the types of motion-related expressions that emerge in concert with what is predicted by the typology and in contrast with what is predicted by the typology.

In addition, the findings of this study are based on the patterns discovered in the specific genre of the oral elicited storyline narrative. Data collected in other media (e.g., written, computer mediate, etc.) and/or involving other genres (e.g., everyday conversation, lectures, news broadcasts, essays, advertisements, etc.) would reveal a broader perspective with regard to the actual workings and predictability factors of the typology in question.

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Appendix 1**Transcription Conventions**

- = a “latch” sign, that is, the next turn/utterance follows the first with no discernible pause
- (.5) length of pause
- (.) micropause
- ? rising intonation, not necessarily a question
- , continuing intonation
- a cut-off or self-interruption
- > indicates that the immediately following talk is “jump-started”
- hhh hearable aspiration
- () uncertainty on the transcriber’s part

Appendix 2

Motion Verbs in English Pear Narratives

Narrative	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	Total
<i>INTRANSITIVE</i>																
walk (by, back, past, away, down)	4	2	9	2	6	6	2	7	5	4	5	4	9	4	2	71
Come	3	7	5	0	3	3	3	4	3	3	1	4	2	1	4	46
<i>bare verb</i>	2	2	2	-	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	13
<i>by</i>	0	1	0	-	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	7
<i>along</i>	0	1	1	-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	5
<i>over</i>	0	1	0	-	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
<i>down</i>	1	2	2	-	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	2	2	0	1	16
<i>back</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Ride (down, off, by, away, past, along)	3	2	3	4	3	3	4	2	3	1	5	1	7	3	1	45
Go	3	4	3	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	0	4	2	4	4	39
<i>bare verb</i>	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	-	2	0	2	1	12
<i>on</i>	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	1
<i>by</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	1	0	2	0	4
<i>down</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1	0	0	2
<i>(back) up into</i>	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	-	0	1	0	0	5
<i>back</i>	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	1	0	0	0	3
<i>off</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	0	2
<i>over</i>	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	0	0	2
<i>along</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	-	0	0	0	3	4
<i>other</i>	0	0	2	0	0		0	1	0	2	-	0	1	1	0	7
Fall (off, out, over)	3	1	6	3	4		1	2	1	2	1		1	1	1	27
pass (by)	1	1	1	4		1	1	2	1	1	1	1			2	17

appear						1											1
Bump into									1								1
Spill (all over)									1								1
bounce									1								1
Lean (back)									1								1
Blow off												1					1
Wobble													1				1
<i>TRANSITIVE</i>																	
Put [(back) in, into, down, on, away, up, upright]	1	2	4	1	3	2	2	2	6	1	4	1	7	3	3		42
pick	2	3	2	2	3	3	3		2			4	3	4	2		33
Take (out, over, to, back)	2	5			2		2	3	3	1	2	1	2	1	3		27
Pick up	1		5	3	5		1	2	2		1	2	1	1	2		26
Give (back)	1	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1		4	1	1		23
Pull (off, on, up, out)	2			1	1				4					1			9
Wipe (off, up)			1	2	2				1		1		1				8
Empty (out, into)	1		2		1				1			1					6
drop				2	1						2						5
Brush off	1							1					2	1			5
grab	1		2					1									4
Dust off			1		1					1							3
Clean off								1		1				1			3
stop			1			1							1				3
Push (away)									2						1		3
Roll (up, down)						1			2								3
dump						1			1					1			3
Get (back)	2							1									3
Take off	1													1			2

Appendix 3

Motion Verbs in Persian Pear Narratives

Narrative	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	Total
INTRANSITIVE																
<i>aamadan</i> : come	9	11	7	5	5	7	18	14	4	13	11	8	6	9	5	132
<i>bare</i>	7	9	6	3	3	5	14	12	3	10	9	7	6	6	5	105
<i>idiomatic</i>	1	1						1								3
<i>paayin</i> : down	1	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	1	3	2	1		3		24
<i>raftan</i> : go	5	12	4	4	8	8	9	9	8	6	7	5	4	3	2	94
<i>bare</i>	4	9	3	2	7	6	7	7	6	6	6	4	3	2	2	74
<i>baalaa</i> : up	1	3	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	0	1	1	1	1		19
<i>paayin</i> : down						1										1
<i>Oftaadan</i> : fall	2	5	1	6	4	2	4	4	3	5	5	2	4	1	4	52
<i>rad shodan</i> : cross	2	6	1	2	2	5	5	4	2	3	4	2	2	7	2	49
<i>khordan (be)</i> : hit, collide (into)		1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1		1	14
<i>raa oftaadan</i> : get on one's way		3		1			2			2						8
<i>residan</i> : arrive	1	1	2			1		1		1					1	8
<i>bargashtan</i> : turn around, return		2	1	1					1		1		1	1		8
<i>rikhtan</i> : spill										1	2		1	1		5
<i>vaay saadan</i> : stand up, stop			1		1			1						1		4
<i>savaar shodan</i> : get on	1						1				1					3
<i>gir kardan</i> : get stuck							2			1						3
<i>part shodan</i> : get thrown	1	1					1									3
<i>pakhsh shodan</i> : spread						1	1						1			3
<i>pyaade shodan</i> : get off		1											1			2

<i>gozashatn</i> :pass by	1							1								2
<i>neshstan</i> :sit (down)									1		1					2
<i>boland shodan</i> :get up					1									1		2
<i>nazdik shodan</i> :approach													2			2
<i>door shodan</i> :distance											1	1				2
<i>zadan</i> : hit		1														1
<i>dar raftan</i> :escape					1											1
<i>davidan</i> : run											1					1
<i>vaajgoon shodan</i> : get inverted									1							1
<i>chape shodan</i> :tip over													1			1
<i>tekie daadan</i> : lean back										1						1
<i>harekat kardan</i> :move											1					1
TRANSITIVE																
<i>bar daashtan</i> :take, pick up	3	5	3	3	6	6	3	6	2	6	5	3	2	4	3	60
<i>gozaashtan</i> :put	2	3		2	4	5	8	5	7	2	5	1	3	5	2	54
<i>daadan</i> :give	2	3	2	2	3	4	1	2	3	1	2	1		1	1	28
<i>chidan</i> : pick		4	4	3		4	2	1		2	2	2		2	1	27
<i>bordan</i> :take		3	1		1	3	3	2	4	2	1	3			2	25
<i>kandan</i> :pluck	3				3			4	1				6		2	19
<i>jam kardan</i> : collect	2	1	1	1	4	1	1		2	1					2	16
<i>khaali kardan</i> :empty out			1		1	1	1	2		1	2		1	1		11
<i>rikhtan</i> :pour	1		1					3		1	4					10
<i>keshidan</i> :pull		1	1		1		2	3			1				1	10
<i>gereftan</i> :take, hold, get		1	1		1	2	1								1	7
<i>aavordan</i> :bring	2				2				1		2					7
<i>tekoon daadan</i> :dust off	1			1		1						1		1	1	6

<i>paak kardan</i> : wipe					1					1	1	1		1	1	6
<i>tamiz kardan</i> : wipe, clean			1	1						1	1		1			5
<i>boland kardan</i> : raise		1				1					2			1		5
<i>pas daadan</i> : give back						1			1	1			1		1	5
<i>dar aavordan</i> : take out	1							1	1							3
<i>bar gardoondan</i> : return (trans.)					1								1			2
<i>negah daashtan</i> : hold, stop		1														1
<i>savaar kardan</i> : mount				1												1
<i>dahan zadan</i> : touch with one's mouth					1											1
<i>part kardan</i> : throw					1											1
<i>deraaz kardan</i> : extend											1					1
<i>keshidan</i> : pull															1	1
<i>andaakhtan</i> : throw													1			1

Appendix 4

Motion Verbs in English Banjo Frog Narratives

	Narrative	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	Total	
	INTRANSITIVE																	
1	go	7	5		9	2	2	4	3	1	1	2	1		3	1	42	
	<i>bare verb</i>	1	1		1			1	1								5	
	<i>to</i>	1	1		1						1			-			4	
	<i>over (to)</i>	2			2	1			1					-	1		7	
	<i>back (in)</i>	1				1				1	1	1	1	-	1	1	8	
	<i>up (into)</i>	1	1					1						-			3	
	<i>up to</i>		1				1							-			2	
	<i>in (to)</i>		1		1		1	1						-			4	
	<i>around</i>										1				-			1
	<i>other</i>	1			4										-			5
	<i>out</i>								1						-	1		2
	<i>through</i>									1					-			1
2	walk (around, forward, away, inside, through, up, over, up to further, up)	1	3	1	3	2	1		2	1	3	3		1	3	6	30	
3	come	1	5	3	2	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	2		2		25	
	<i>bare verb</i>			1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1		-	1	-	9	
	<i>along</i>	1									1			-		-	2	
	<i>back (in)</i>		1											-		-	1	
	<i>out</i>		1						1					-	1	-	3	
	<i>upon</i>			1										-		-	1	
	<i>over</i>				1			1						-		-	2	

	<i>other</i>		2	1										-		-	3
	<i>at</i>							1						-		-	1
	<i>across</i>		1									2		-		-	3
4	climb (to the top, up, into)	1		1	2		1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	16
5	wander (around)	2					1		1	1		2	1			2	10
6	get (in, to, out)		2		1			2		2	1						8
7	crawl (up, around, out)		1			1			2		1				1		6
8	trip (over)	1	1		1					1			1				5
9	stand (up)							1				1				3	5
10	dance	1				1	1					1					4
11	drive (away, to)			1		1									2		4
12	Buzz (around)	1												1		2	4
13	stop							3							1		4
14	step (over, across, on)					1			1						1		3
15	run (up)					1			1							1	3
16	stumble (over)			1								1					2
17	ride (along)				1					1							2
18	appear				1								1				2
19	pull up (to)							1							1		2
20	fall (onto)							1		1							2
21	wave							2									2
22	open										1				1		2
23	hide (down)											1		1			2
24	point (to)	1	1														2
25	move									1							1

Appendix 5

Motion Verbs in Persian Banjo Frog Narratives

	Narrative	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	Total
	INTRANSITIVE																
1	<i>raftan</i> : go	11	12	7	8	5	5	11	12	9	4	7	6	11	10	10	128
	<i>bare verb</i>	6	5	6	5	1	2	7	8	4	2	2	4	7	5	5	69
	<i>baalaa</i> (<i>ye</i>): up	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	1	3	2	3	1	1	3	3	29
	<i>biroon</i> : out	1				1											2
	<i>tooye</i> : inside		1		1		1	1	2	1			1	1		1	10
	<i>jelo</i> : forward	1	3		1	1	1		1	1		2			2		13
	<i>paayin</i> : down																0
	<i>idiomatic</i>	1	1						3					2			7
	2	<i>aamadan</i> : comes	6	3	2	2	3	2	3	3	2	4	7	4	4	3	6
<i>bare verb</i>		2	3	2	2	3	1	3	2	1	4	5	3	2	2	4	39
<i>biroon</i> : out		2				1										1	4
<i>paayin</i> : down															1		1
<i>baalaa</i> : up												1				1	2
<i>rooye</i> : on												1					1
<i>idiomatic</i>		2							1				1	2			6
3	<i>Oftaadan</i> (<i>too</i> , <i>biroon</i> , <i>paayin</i>):fall (into, out, down)	1			1			4	1	1		3		7			18
4	<i>residan</i> : arrive	1	3	1	3			1	1		2					3	15
5	<i>raghsidan</i> : dance		2	1						1				1	3		8
6	<i>faraar kardan</i> : escape		1		1	1	1		1		1					1	7
7	<i>khordan</i> : hit, collide into	1		1				1	1	1	1		1				7

8	<i>khaarej shodan</i> : exit		3							3				1			7
9	<i>dar aamadan</i> : come out			2						1	1			1	1	1	7
10	<i>rad shodan</i> : pass (by)	1										1	1			1	4
11	<i>neshestan</i> : sit		1			1					2						4
12	<i>gashtan</i> : go around, wander									2					2		4
13	<i>raah raftan</i> : walk													4			4
14	<i>raa oftaadan</i> : get on one's way			2	1												3
15	<i>gir kardan</i> : get stuck				1	1							1				3
16	<i>charkhidan</i> : circle	1														2	3
17	<i>deraaz keshidan</i> : lie (down)									1		1		1			3
18	<i>istaadan</i> : stand (up)													2		1	3
19	<i>gir oftaadan</i> : suddenly get stuck						1			1							2
20	<i>parvaaz kardan</i> : fly										1			1			2
21	<i>bar gashtan</i> : return										1					1	2
22	<i>paashodan</i> : get up													2			2
23	<i>jam shodan</i> : move toward center, gather				1												1
24	<i>harekat kardan</i> : move									1							1
25	<i>dar raftan</i> : run away												1				1
26	<i>vaared shodan</i> : enter													1			1
27	<i>davidan</i> : run													1			1
TRANSITIVE																	
28	<i>zadan</i> : beat, strike	2	3	3	3	4	3	4	5	3	4	5	2	3	2	3	49
29	<i>khaali kardan</i> : empty	1	3	1	1		2	2	1	2	4	1		4	1	2	25
30	<i>aavardan</i> : bring	1	1	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1		1	1	2	19
31	<i>dar aavardan</i> : take out	3	4			2				2		3		1	1		16
32	<i>gereftan</i> : hold, take, catch				2		2	1	1			1		3	1		11
33	<i>bordan</i> : take away	2			1							1	2	1	2		9

34	<i>bar daashtan</i> : pick up, take			1	1	2					4			1		9
35	<i>dast zadan</i> : touch using hand	1	1					1			1	2				6
36	<i>rikhtan</i> : pour, spill			1	3						1	1				6
37	<i>andaakhtan (biroon, tooye)</i> : drop (purposely)		1			2					1					4
38	<i>jam kardan</i> : collect						1	1			1				1	4
39	<i>donbaal kardan</i> : chase									1		1		1	1	4
40	<i>feshaar daadan</i> : press									1		1				2
41	<i>pyaade kardan</i> : dismount				1											1
42	<i>part kardan</i> : throw				1											1
43	<i>lagad zadan</i> : kick				1											1
44	<i>gozaahtan</i> : put						1									1
45	<i>rad kardan</i> : pass						1									1
46	<i>boland kardan</i> : raise												1			1
47	<i>tekaan daadan</i> : shake (off)												1			1
48	<i>baar kardan</i> : load													1		1
49	<i>charkhaandan</i> : revolve														1	1
50	<i>donbaal oftaadan</i> : chase												1			1

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Education

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Publications

- Strauss, Susan, Parastou Feiz, Xuehua Xiang, and Dessislava Ivanova. (2007). The dialogic construction of meaning: Bakhtinian perspectives. In H. Byrnes (Ed.) *Advanced Language Learning: Contributions of Vygotsky and Halliday* Continuum.
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Conference Presentations

- Feiz, Parastou. And she said: "Mom is there a for real Santa Claus?" American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL) Arlington, VA. March, 2003. (paper deals with direct and indirect speech in spoken discourse).
- Feiz, Parastou. Why Questions? Georgetown University Roundtable. February, 2003 (paper deals with the use of rhetorical questions in ESL and professional essays).
- Strauss, Susan; Feiz, Parastou; Ivanova Dessislava; Xiang, Xuehua. Multi-Faceted Dialogue in ESL Writing Instruction: An Experimental Approach. American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL). Portland, Oregon. May, 2004
- Strauss, Susan; Feiz, Parastou; Ivanova Dessislava; Xiang, Xuehua. An experimental approach to second language writing instruction: Using multi-faceted dialogue. Georgetown University Roundtable. March, 2005
- Feiz, Parastou. Language socialization in a first-grade Iranian classroom (A sociocultural theoretical approach). The 14th World Congress of Applied Linguistics. (AILA). Madison, WI. July 2005
- Feiz, Parastou. Language and conceptualization: A cross-linguistic analysis of motion, manner of motion, space, time, and aspect in Persian and English narratives. LALS Roundtable. March, 2006.
- Feiz, Parastou. Language and conceptualization: A cross-linguistic analysis of motion, manner of motion, space, time, and aspect in Persian and English narratives. Graduate Exhibition, Penn State University. March, 2006