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Expressing Manner and Path in English and Japanese

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Abstract:

In this paper, I take motion predicates as a starting point and I explore a variety of expressions where we observe that the adverbial force of *manner* or *means* is incorporated into the verb in English, while in Japanese a rich variety of overt adverbials are used to express similar concepts. In addition, a contrast is seen where *path* is expressed by satellite expressions in English, especially prepositional phrases, but is incorporated into the verb in Japanese. I then explore a number of other types of predicates in Japanese, beginning with McCawley's 1978 analysis of clothing verbs, and then argue that what has been described as a rather specific typological difference between the two languages in terms of motion predicates alone is, in fact, a consequence of a far more extensive difference in the nature of verbal expression. I argue that a rather general typological difference that extends beyond narrow considerations of motion predicates in Japanese and English accounts for striking differences in the lexical composition of the two languages.

1. Preliminary considerations:

In typological studies of motion predicates, English has been described as a manner language as compared to Japanese, which is described as a path language. Weinold (1995) argues that languages such as Japanese and Korean are path languages, and that others, such as English and German, are manner languages. Talmy (1983) describes a second contrast in motion predicates as a difference

between verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. The perspectives are slightly different but the phenomena they describe are interrelated.

From Weinold's perspective, motion verbs in English commonly incorporate the notions of motion and the means of motion into single verbs as, for example, with verbs like *fly* or *drive* meaning 'to go by airplane' and 'to go by car' respectively. In Japanese the means of motion is normally expressed separately with an adverbial phrase in combination with a verb depicting the path only. For instance, the phrase *kuruma de iku*, literally 'go by car,' expresses the concept of *driving somewhere*, consisting of an adverb plus verb construction. While *go by car* is a possible expression in English, *drive* alone would be preferred unless there were some added implicature intended such as the fact that travel was by car rather than another means of transportation. *Go by airplane* sounds odd. Japanese has a verb expression *untten-suru* 'drive or operate a vehicle' as well as *doraibu-suru* 'go for a drive' borrowed from English *drive*, but these expressions refer strictly to the activity of operating a vehicle or of going on a drive for pleasure respectively, and do not describe motion to or toward any particular destination or goal. These expressions would be peculiar in combination with a phrase expressing a destination, e.g. **Tokyo e doraibu shita.*, ??'We went on a drive to Tokyo.'

Talmy takes a slightly different perspective in that he focuses on the path or directionality of motion. While English and German incorporate the means of motion into the verb, directionality or the actual path of motion is expressed externally to the verb. Hence they are called satellite framed languages. Languages like Japanese and Spanish, on the other hand, incorporate directionality or path into the verb and hence they are called verb-framed languages.

By way of illustration we can note that the above expression *kuruma de iku* 'go by car' is still not exactly like the English expression *drive*, because the motion verb *iku* 'go' shows directionality away

from a reference point, while *drive* alone does not. In Japanese, one of three deictic verbs are normally required to complete motion clauses that show means of motion toward a place, namely *iku* 'go,' *kuuru* 'come' and *kaeru* 'go or come home or to one's place of origin.' *Drive* might better be described as meaning 'to come/go/return by car,' with no indication of direction and an additional phrase, often a prepositional phrase, is needed to show directionality or path, e.g. 'here, to church, home, etc.'

Of course, English *go* and *come* show directionality, but there are innumerable verbs of motion that do not. In addition, even *go* and *come* seem peculiar if used alone without some additional information showing path. In reply to a question such as, *Where is John?* a reply such as *He went*, rather than say, *He went away/home*, would seem incomplete, whereas in Japanese something like *Moo itchatta!* '*He went (already),' would be fine. Moreover, in English, it is easy to elaborate with a string of additional path phrases, whereas Japanese does not work this way. Compare 1. and 2. below.

1. John went down the hall and around the corner to the exit.
2. John wa rooka o massugu itte, kado o magatte,
John Top. hall Obj. straight go corner Obj. turn
deguchi e itta
exit to went

The Japanese close translation is actually pretty unnatural Japanese, but we can note that the path in 1. is shown with prepositions and one verb whereas to the extent that a parallel expression might be allowed, path is shown in 2. by the use of three verbs. Phrases are commonly used to specify a destination in both English and Japanese, but in English, prepositional phrases can be strung together to show path whereas in Japanese, verbs carry out this function. *He went to Tokyo* would seem to be exactly parallel to *Tokyo e itta* (Tokyo to went). However, if we speak of an elaborated path, the complex path is commonly expressed with added prepositional phrases in English

and added verbal material in Japanese.

Let me summarize where we are at this point. There are at least three aspects to be taken into consideration with motion predicates. First, there is the expression of the very fact of motion. Second, there is the possible expression of the manner of motion. Third, there is the possible expression of the path of motion. English verbs allow the incorporation of manner of motion into the verb. This function is covered mostly by adverbial phrases in Japanese. Japanese verbal expressions of motion incorporate the notion of path. Path is expressed externally to the verbal expression in English, mostly by prepositional phrases. There are additional differences in verbs of motion that are typologically significant, e.g. telicity (Kindaichi 1950, Kudo 1995, Sugimoto 2001), but I will confine my observations in this paper to the aspects of expressions of motion, manner and path discussed above. One more thing we might ponder is whether there could be languages where motion, manner and path are each expressed in separate phrases, i.e. with no incorporation, or conversely, whether there might be languages where all three features are incorporated into a single lexical item. This too is an interesting question that I will put aside for the moment.

As a word of caution, we must keep in mind that the typological differences we are considering are not absolute differences. Some overlap can be expected, but by and large, the differences are prevailing. Clearly, some prepositional meanings can be expressed as verbs in English as well. For instance, English has the preposition *across* and also the verb *to cross*. The proverbial question *Why did the chicken cross the street?* employing the verb *cross*, seems similar to what we would expect in Japanese, i.e. *Naze niwatori ga doroo o watatta/oudanshita no desu ka?* (why chicken Sbj. street Obj. crossed?).¹⁾ The

1) It has been pointed out to me that an alternative translation might use the verb *yokogiru* 'to cut across' might come closer to drawing attention to the process of crossing but as far as I can tell, the expression still carries the sense of completion of the act (over a particular path).

corresponding expression with the preposition *across*, namely, *Why did the chicken walk across the street?* would seem more in keeping with the satellite framing that we might expect in English. However, even though seemingly parallel constructions are possible, we can still find some differences in the English and Japanese verbal expressions. In the first example, *Why did the chicken cross the street*, the focus is on the act of crossing over the surface of the street, which is why the standard answer to the question, *To get to the other side*, seems unexpectedly mindless and funny. (We must remember that the act of crossing is risky for chickens.) In the second example, with the preposition *across*, the focus is on reaching the other side, so the standard reply would seem pointless or redundant in some way. The joke fails. In Japanese the joke also fails because the verb *wataru* incorporates the sense of path, i.e. 'to the other side of the road = across,' which the English verb does not. It is almost like asking why the chicken ended up on the other side of the road as opposed to asking why the chicken would want to risk its life simply to reach the other side of the road.

2. Category workload.

2.1 Prepositions and verbs. We have seen that typological differences between languages can result in the use of different lexical categories to express similar notions from language to language. With the assignment of different workloads, we might expect differences in the membership of different categories as well. This indeed seems to be the case. Since path is expressed with prepositional phrases in English, it is perhaps not surprising that English has a large number of prepositions that express spacial relations, in the order of one hundred or so, as compared to Japanese. The number of postpositional particles in Japanese that express spacial relations is more in the order of ten. Jackendoff (1996a) observes that "One of the most salient facts about prepositions is that there seem to be

surprisingly few of them in comparison to the number of names for different kinds of objects (p. 107)," but this number in English is rather large when compared to the number in Japanese (and even more so in comparison to a language like Thai which has virtually none). Jackendoff argues that the reason for the limited number of prepositions in English is that prepositions "express considerable constraints on how they express spatial relationships (p. 110)." From our more limited focus on path, only a subcomponent of concepts of spatial relations, it would seem that cognitively, expressions of path are likewise subject to considerable constraints, but even so, we should expect to find a larger number of verbs depicting path in Japanese to compensate for a greater number of prepositions depicting path in English. Indeed, this is the case.

To make this point, Matsumoto (1997) lists the following path verbs in English and Japanese.

Path verbs in English:

depart, leave, arrive, reach, enter, exit, cross, pass, pierce, traverse, escape, bypass, ascend, climb, rise, descend, drop, fall, return, go, come

Path verbs in Japanese:

iku, kuru, noboru, kudar, agaru, sagaru, oriru, ochiru, shizumu, modoru, kaeru, susumu, koeru, wataru, tooru, sugiru, nukeru, yokogiru, magaru, kuguru, mawaru, meguru, yoru, hairu, deru, itaru, tassuru, tsuku, tochakusuru, saru, hanareru, syuppatsu suru

The path satellites Matsumoto lists are the following.

Path satellites for English:

to, onto, into, from, off, out of, via, across, along, around, beyond, over, past, through

Path satellites for Japanese:

kara, yori, ni, made, e

2.2 Verbs and adverbs. A second contrast that we might expect between English and Japanese is in the number of different adverbial expressions available in the two languages to express manner of

motion. Since manner can be easily incorporated as part of the verb in English we should expect a large number of adverbial expressions in Japanese not necessary in English to take up the slack. Conversely, we should expect a large number of verbs in English that express manner that are not found in Japanese. Turning again to Matsumoto, we find the following lists of motion verbs that express manner in English and Japanese.

Manner verbs in English:

amble, bowl, canter, clamber, climb, crawl, creep, dance, dash, flit, fly, gallop, glide, hasten, hobble, hop, hurry, inch, jog, jump, leap, limp, lumber, lurch, march, meander, mosey, nip, pad, parade, plod, prowl, race, ramble, roam, rove, run, rush, saunter, scramble, scud, scurry, scuttle, shamble, shuffle, skip, slide, slither, slouch, sneak, speed, stagger, stray, streak, stride, stroll, strut, swagger, sweep, swim, tiptoe, toddle, totter, tramp, trek, troop, trot, waddle, wade, walk, wander, zigzag, drift, float, revolve, roll, slide, slid, swing, whirl

Manner verbs in Japanese:

aruku, hashiru, kakeru, hau, suberu, korogaru, haneru, mau, oyogu, tobu, moguru, nagareru, isogu

Indeed, Japanese has a large number of adverbial expressions that do not have easy English counterparts. Especially noticeable are the large number, possibly an open set, of onomatopoeic expressions that are used to describe all kinds of activities, and these expressions are employed to depict many of the means of motion described in English motion predicates.²⁾

As an example, consider ways to describe motion on foot in English such as *hop*, *skip* and *jump*. When you hop, both feet must be off the ground at the same time in the course of motion, although you can hop on either one foot or two. If you hop with two feet, both feet must leave the ground and land together. Skipping is done

2) A recent discussion on the robust nature of onomatopoeic expressions relating to emotions in Japanese and related references is found in Hasada (2001), but much remains to be done in this area of study.

one foot at a time, each foot striking the surface twice before the other foot comes down. Four legged animals do not hop or skip. When you jump both (or all) feet must be off the ground at the same time as with hopping and skipping, but the focus is on the span covered, the height achieved or the time elapsed while off the ground rather than on the mechanics of motion. For instance, a person can jump and land on one or two feet or not even make it., e.g. *I jumped over the creek and landed on my butt.* But what is of interest here is that these three verbs may also be used to express motion in a certain direction with the addition of a satellite expressing a goal, i.e. motion along a path, not simply the motion in itself. Consider the following examples.

3. a. Billy skipped/hopped across the street and down the hill.
- b. Sally jumped from the roof of the porch to the ground.
- c. The store is just a hop, skip and a jump from here. (deverbals)

As we have observed above, expressions in English describing manners or methods of physical activity can be used to express motion as well. By contrast, motion and manner are distinct in Japanese. For instance, the *New Anchor* translation for *hop* is *pyon pyon tonde iku*.³⁾ This phrase consists of a verb combination, *tonde iku* (jumping motion (V) + go(V)) preceded by the adverbial expression *pyon pyon*, which has no adverbial counterpart in English. The meaning of the adverbial *pyon pyon* in the dictionary is unapologetically shown by example in combination with *tobu* 'jump' and is translated as 'skip' or 'hop,' e.g. *shinobu wa ureshisoo ni pyon pyon tonde kaetta* 'Shinobu went home skipping with joy.' Note also that the Japanese to English translation for *tobu* 'jumping motion,' alone still does not imply forward motion. Note the addition of *iku* 'go' to *tobu* above, i.e. *tonde-iku*. The entry for *tobu* lists *jump*, *leap*, and *hop* with the stipula-

3) Unless otherwise cited, the dictionary examples I give are from the *New Anchor* dictionaries on the *Cannon Wordtank* electronic dictionary.

tion that hop is a jumping motion with one foot or with both feet together. One example given in the dictionary is *neko wa mizo o tonda* (= *tobi -koshita*) 'The cat jumped the ditch (= jump-crossing).' My guess is that the editors added the entry in parenthesis because the expression ending with *tonda* alone is unnatural and they wanted to show the more precise Japanese translation by adding the verb *kosu* 'cross' to *tobu* (i.e. *tonda*) to indicate that the jumping was also motion in a particular direction. The result is still rather unnatural sounding according to my informants. The single verb translation, *tonda*, has a peculiar ring to it in that it fails to express the forward motion that should accompany the jumping activity. It appears that although the verb *tobu* does express manner, it is not a verb of motion. Motion and path are expressed by compounding the verb with a true verb of motion.

2.3 Adverbial phrases and de-nominal verbs. The means of motion, especially the instruments used for motion are often expressly described in Japanese. The most common form of expression employs the instrumental phrase with the particle *de* 'by means of' as was seen in the translation of *to fly* = *hikooki de iku* 'airplane by go.' Following are three additional examples.

4. a. drive We drove to Chicago. Shikago e kuruma de itta.
'Chicago to car by went'
- b. ride We rode home. Kuruma ni notte kaetta.
'Vehicle on ride return'
- c. bike We biked to Hokkaido Hokkaido ni jitensha de itta.
'Hokkaido to bicycle by went'

Note that example 4c. differs from 4a. and 4b. in that the verb *bike* is a de-nominal that in itself describes the manner of motion. In fact, a seemingly endless list of examples like those in 4b. can be constructed employing nouns that depict a conceivable manner of motion. Such examples would include *cycle*, *roller-skate*, *ice-skate*, *skate-*

board, motor, balloon, and a seemingly open ended list of possible means of motion. True verbs in English that depict motion such as *fly, drive*, and *ride* are no doubt fewer in number than verbs that derive from nouns that depict manner of motion. I know of no parallel process in Japanese where the names of instruments provide a source for verbal expressions of motion

2.4. Motion by mention of manner. English has a number of motion verbs with fairly clear adverbial meaning. Examples include *hurry, meander, scurry, scamper, fly* (meaning to hurry), *rush*, etc. When these verbs are used to express motion to a particular location they regularly occur with phrases expressing path. Parallel expressions in Japanese normally assume the form of an adverbial expression followed by a verb expressing motion. For example, one translation for *scamper* is *awatete nigeru* (startled escape). On the other hand, Japanese does have some verbs with adverbial meaning that sometimes can express motion. Compare *isogu* 'to hurry,' *awateru* 'to act hastily (in a panic)' and *shissoosuru* 'scamper, dash along.'

- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 5. a. | tesuto ni | ma ni | au yoo ni | isoida | He hurried to be |
| | test | for | on time | for to hurried | on time for the test. |
| b. | gakkoo e | isoida. | | | He hurried off to school |
| | | school to | hurried | | |
| b. | isoide | gakkoo e | itta | | He hurried to school. |
| | | quickly | school to | went | |
| c. | *gakkoo e | awateru na | | | Don't hurry (to school). |
| | | school to | hurry | don't | |
| d. | gakkoo e | shissooshita | | | He hurried off to school |
| | | school to | hurried off | | |

In particular, some verbs in Japanese that express speed that can be used with the added implicature of motion. This can be seen as parallel to a special use of the verb *tobu* 'to fly,' which can be used in the sense of 'to hurry along to.' An example would be, *gakkoo e tonda* (school to flew) meaning 'He hurried/flew off to school.' It should

be noted, however, that parallel constructions augmented with a verb of motion, e.g. *gakkoo e tonde itta* (school to flying went), 'He flew off to school,' are more common.

2.5 Motion by self-locomotion in English and Japanese. English has a number of verbs that depict motion by what we might describe as self-locomotion (in a particular way). Examples include *walk* and *run* and also a large number of more descriptive verbs such as *amble*, *skip*, *saunter*, *stroll*, *jog*, *limp*, *bobble*, etc. Each of these verbs can be used to describe simple motion in no particular direction. In these usages, there are some seemingly equivalent simple Japanese verbs available. For example, *walk* and *aruku*, *run* and *hashiru*, *jog* and *jogingu (o) suru*, etc. Others can be expressed with additional adverbial modification. For example, *saunter* can be translated *nombiri sampo suru* 'to take a stroll in a relaxed fashion,' *limp* as *kataashi o hikizutte aruku* 'walk dragging one foot,' etc. However, these and the seemingly equivalent Japanese verbal expressions require the addition of a verb of motion such as *iku* 'go,' *kuru* 'come' or *kaeru* 'return home' to complete the notion of motion in a particular direction. A verb that describes locomotion without the added implication of path will not work as a motion predicate alone. Expressions such as *aruita* 'I walked' or *hashitta*, 'I ran,' can be used alone, but without the addition of a true verb of motion, they cannot be used to express motion in a particular direction. This can be seen in the following examples.

6. a. I walked home

uchi ni	aruite	kaetta		*uchi	ni	aruita
home to	walk	go Past		home to	walked	

b. Mary ran to school.

Mary	ga	gakkoo ni	hashitte	itta
Mary	Sbj.	school to	run	went
*Mary	ga	gakkoo ni	hashitta	
Mary	Sbj.	school to	ran	

- c. Bill hobbled to the clinic. (= went-walking dragging a bad leg)
 Bob ga fujiyuu na ashi o hikizurinagara byooiin ni
 Bob Sbj. bad leg Obj. pulling-along clinic to
 aruite itta.
 Walk went
- d. Bob hobbled to the clinic. (= walked dragging a bad leg)
 *Bob ga fujiyuu na ashi o hikizurinagara byooiin ni
 Bob Sbj. bad leg Obj. pulling-along clinic to
 aruita.
 walked

3. Clothing verbs:

McCawley (1978) noted that Japanese clothing verbs are distinguished by the way in which particular articles of clothing or other objects are put on or applied to (parts of) the body. His arguments are motivated by the fact that Japanese exhibits a variety of verbs that are expressed as a single construction in English, namely, *to put on*. Commonly, the distinction in meaning between the various forms is described in terms of the objects (of clothing) that are "put on." For example, *haku* is rendered as "put on" or "get on" in *Kenkyusha's New Japanese English Dictionary* (1954), with examples including objects such as shoes, stockings or trousers (but, "pull on one's stockings" for *kutsushita o haku*). McCawley points out that the verb *haku* can be more accurately described as meaning "to put something on by pulling it over the feet," not simply to cover the body below the waist. A wrap-around skirt is put on by wrapping, so the verb *maaku*, 'to wrap,' is preferable even though the skirt covers the lower part of the body. Similarly, if one puts on some sort of chaps over one's pants, the appropriate verb would be *hameru*, roughly meaning 'to clamp on' or 'to strap on.' If we attempt to paraphrase other verbs along the same lines, we might come up with examples such as *kaburu* 'to place over (one's head),' *hameru* 'to secure snugly or tightly,' and *kiru* 'to put on by wrapping over the upper torso,' etc. Appropriate objects for each of these verbs would be a hat or lid for

e.g.) *kaburu*, gloves, a ring or bracelet or false teeth for *hameru*, and a kimono or shirt or vest, but not something you would drape over your shoulders for *kiru*. I will not take the space to do justice to McCawley's discussion and arguments, but I think the implications are clear enough. Each of the clothing verbs in Japanese arguably depicts the way in which, or can we say, the path by which an item is placed on or attached to a part of the body.

Further evidence for McCawley's argument can be seen in the fact that some of the clothing verbs he describes can also be used for other purposes. Examples in the dictionary for the verb *kaburu*, for instance, include 'every morning Grandfather stood in the bath and dashed cold water over himself (presumably over his head),' and 'the desk was covered with dust.'

I take as further evidence that clothing verbs describe the path used in putting things on or attaching things to the body the fact that, for the most part, the single verb *nugu* 'take off' suffices to refer to the removal of items of clothing from the body. We can note that the path of removal is not of particular importance to having things removed. If verbs of dressing were subcategorized according to the object of clothing, then we might expect a similar subcategorization in terms of undressing e.g., different verbs for removing a shirt and removing gloves, but this is not the case.

It should be apparent at this point that there is a parallel between clothing verbs and the motion predicates discussed above. Namely, clothing verbs in Japanese incorporate the notion of path. We might next consider expressions of manner.

Unlike Japanese, English has a number of verbs that refer to the manner in which clothing is put on. Some examples are, *pull on/over*, *slip on/into*, *jump into*, *snap on*, *button on*, *zip into*, *latch on* and *buckle into/on*. All of these expressions depict rather specifically the way in which an item of clothing or other object is attached. For example, *to pull something on* suggests the physical motions required to put something

on to the exclusion of fastening with buttons or a zipper or even a sash. *To slip something on* or *to slip into something*, suggest putting something on easily and in a casual fashion. Equivalent expressions Japanese are more complex descriptive constructions and require either some kind of complex verbal construction or an adverbial expression to depict the manner in which the particular item is put on. For example, *pull on* is translated *hippatte kiru*, which means 'to put on by pulling.' The expression is further described as 'putting something on (*suppori chakuyoo suru* = to wear completely) without buttons or fasteners.' *Slip on* is translated, *surusuru to kiru, hameru* 'put on with a sliding motion/smoothly.' It is hard to find completely satisfactory translations for English verbal expressions like those above, but this is what we should expect if the distinction is a typological distinction and not merely a contrast found in individual lexical items. That is, the differences reflect a fundamental difference in the lexical composition of the two languages, similar to that found in motion predicates.

Nouns or verbs that describe items or the means (e.g. fasteners or fastening motions) by which things are attached to the body can serve as sources for verbs of dressing in English because verbs of dressing can incorporate notions of manner. This does not work in Japanese because verbs of dressing incorporate the notion of path and notions of manner are expressed separately, as is the case with motion predicates.

4. Pandora's Box of lexical preferences:

We now come to the main point I wish to make in this paper. Namely, the typological differences found between English and Japanese in motion predicates are only symptomatic of a much more general difference in the way the lexicons of the two languages are constructed. The question can be framed as follows: If the typological contrast found in motion predicates in Japanese has parallels in

clothing verbs, what about other types of verbs?

4.1 Verbs of packaging. Because of the similarity to clothing verbs, we might consider verbs of packaging. If a parallel contrast is to be found, we should expect verbs of packaging in Japanese to depict a path of some sort and verbs of packaging in English to depict the manner of packaging. I cannot find much difference between the verb *wrap* in English and *tsutsumu* in Japanese. The first dictionary example for *wrap* is *A (mono) o B (paper etc.) de tsutsumu* = wrap (up) a gift in [with] paper or *purezento o kami ni tsutsumu* (present Obj. paper Ins.(with) paper). We might note that in the first formulaic expression, the instrumental particle *de* is translated 'in [with].' However, in the example, the locative particle *ni* 'in' is used. In the subsequent entries the locative particle is used, but the instrumental again appears in the formulaic expression. We would expect the instrumental use in Japanese and the locative use in English if an exact parallel were found with motion predicates. I prefer *in* in the English example rather than *with*, since the latter draws attention to the process rather than the material used. However, these two observations provide scant evidence that *tsutsumu* incorporates the path of wrapping and that *wrap* incorporates the means or manner.

A greater contrast is seen if we consider other verbs of packing. In English, the names of containers provide a number of de-nominal verbs for packing. Examples include *pack*, *package*, *box*, *crate*, *bag*, etc. Japanese equivalents require a locative phrase plus a verb that describes the path of packaging. The example for *pocket* is *kagi o poketto ni ireru* (keys Obj. pocket in insert), 'pocket one's keys.' Hence it appears that packaging expressions exhibit the same contrast touted for motion predicates.

Parallel examples can be found relating to means of transport such as *shipping* or *trucking* goods as well as *loading* and *packing*. An example for *pack* is *kaban ni nimotsu o tsumeru* (bag in goods Obj. pack/fill/stuff) 'pack a bag.' It is hard to find an exact translation for *tsumeru*.

The expression *to stuff* comes close since it implies the actual physical process of pressing things into a container, but the added inference that the container is already full is not present. However, it should be clear again that English and Japanese expressions for managing goods differ in the same way motion predicates do. In English, manner of dealing with the goods is incorporated into the verb. In Japanese, the manner is expressed separately from the verb and the verb describes the path or physical motions needed to complete the task such as inserting or lifting and the likes.

4.2 Additional processes. Many other processes that are described with verbs fit the framework I have developed here. At this point, I will simply list a few more examples that appear to lend support to the argument that we are dealing with a very wide ranging typological difference between English and Japanese that works in much the same way as the contrast formerly pointed out for motion predicates.

Activities involving the use of tools describe processes that can be depicted in terms of method or manner and path. Each tool has its own use and purpose. In English, the name of the tool is typically used to describe its use. Examples are *drill*, *saw*, *hammer*, *chisel*, etc. As an example, the verb *drill a hole* is translated (*kiri nado de*) *ana o akeru*. ((with a drill etc.) hole Obj. open). The verb *akeru* 'to open' can be seen as describing the circular path by which a point is converted to an opening. The instrumental *de* is used to mark the tool used in the process.

The by-product of an activity can be seen at the result of motor activity. For instance, in sewing, one can *patch*, *hem*, *shorten*, etc. An example of the verb *patch*, is *uwagi ni tugi o ateru*, (coat to patch Obj. apply), 'patch up a coat.' The verb *ateru* 'put,' does not specifically describe a path or process. Rather the process must be inferred from the context. Nevertheless, the kind of activity or the manner of activity (if I may) is specified externally to the verb.

Without listing further examples, it should be clear that we have a rather robust contrast between the way that processes and activities involving some kind of motion are expressed. This being the case, the next step should be to give formal description to this phenomenon and test it out with a more detailed analysis of the lexical structures of English and Japanese and other languages as well.⁴⁾

5. Concluding discussion.

In his monumental work on cognitive semantics, Talmy (2000b) addresses the issue of lexicalization patterns in languages and shows how crosslinguistic comparisons can point to more general principles of patterning from language to language. He states that his study "has determined certain semantic components that comprise morphemes and assessed the crosslinguistic differences and commonalities that these exhibit in their patterns of surface occurrence (p. 134)." In the short informal discussion of manner and path expressions in English and Japanese presented here, I have provided further evidence that contrastive patterns found in one type of expression probably can be extended to a much more general contrast in patterning based on underlying cognitive semantic phenomena.

I argue that clothing verbs and other process-action verbs in English and Japanese share certain contrastive characteristics that have been described in terms of motion predicates in the past. The contrast is seen when describing what has been called manner or means and path. Adverbs in Japanese carry more weight when it

4) Matsumoto (November 4, 2002) gave a paper in which he discusses causative motion expressions in relation to other motion expressions. He explores a number of expressions that might be paraphrased as 'to cause something to move by some means.' Such verbs include, *kick, roll, toss, bounce*, etc. In addition he explores expressions that express line of vision such as *look up* and *look into*, etc. He concludes that causative motion expressions are not as clearly verb framed as regular motion expressions, and that expressions that express line of vision are even less so. I will reserve comment on his claims for another time.

comes to describing aspects such as the means of locomotion, speed or physical aspects of the activity and attitude. The relevant verbs in Japanese describe the path of motion or physical activity. Put in this much more general framework, we need to take a closer look at the functional load carried by adverbs (manner, means or location) in Japanese and by verbs in English and the implications in terms of the lexical composition of the two languages.

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