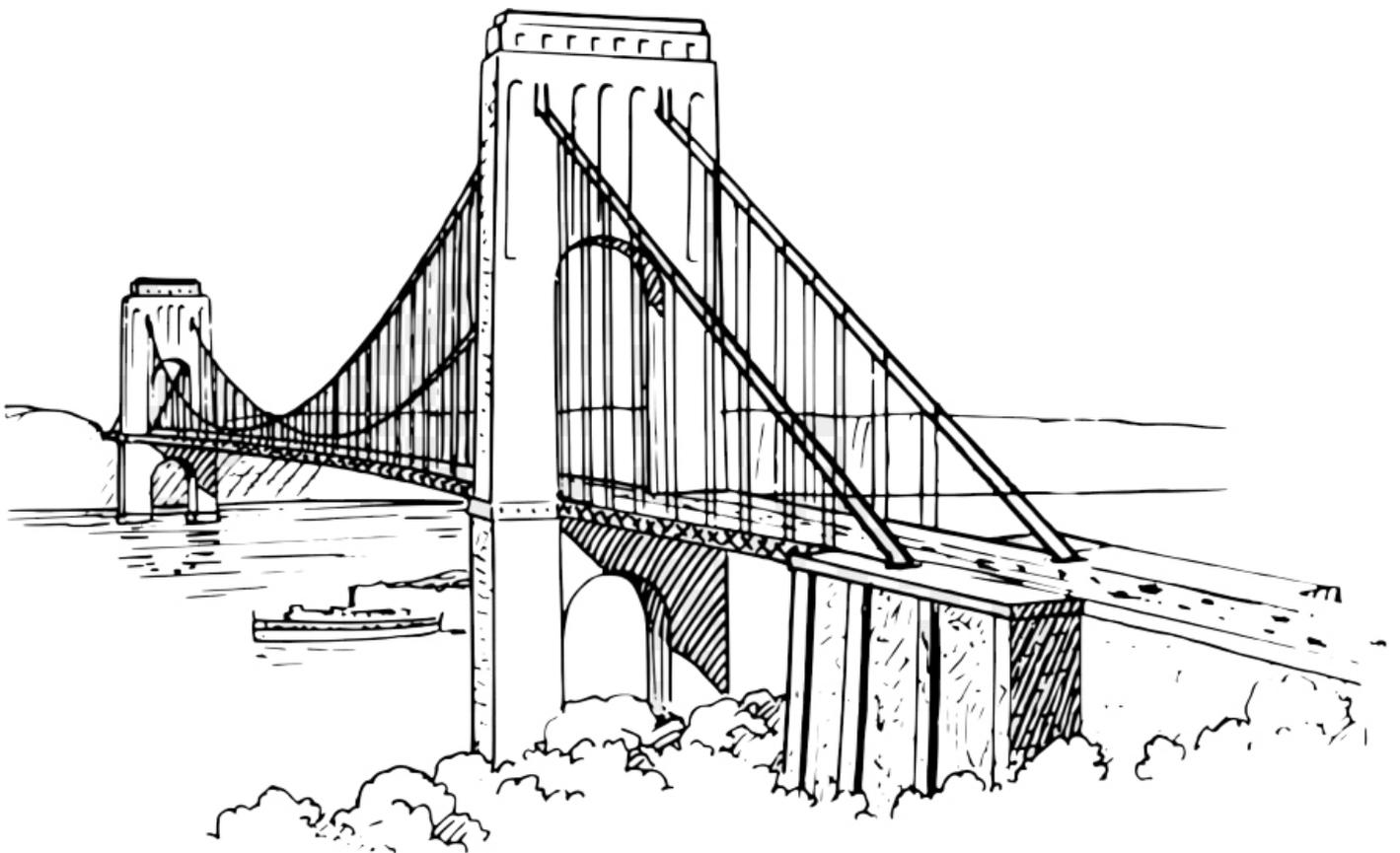


**Book of Abstracts**

**NAMED 2019**

**On fictive Motion in Language**

**May 23rd-24th, 2019 – Paris, France**





## PROGRAM

Thursday May 23

9:30-10:00 am Welcome

**10:00-11:00 am Plenary talk**

**Jean-Michel Fortis (HTL, CNRS & Université Paris Diderot, France) *Motion and the cognitive perspective on language: historical and critical notes***

11:00-11:30 am *Coffee Break*

11:30-12:00 am **Fabien Capelli (CLLE-ERSS, CNRS & Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès, France) *Some figures and grounds about fictive motion in French***

12:00-12:30 am **Daria Lapenkova (National Research University 'Higher School of Economics', Moscow, Russia) *Motion verbs in Avar***

12:30-2:00 pm *Lunch Break*

**2:00-3:00 pm Plenary talk**

**Tuomas Huumo (University of Turku | UTU · School of Languages and Translation Studies, Finland) *Scalarity, scanning, and fictive motion: What degree modifiers reveal about the meaning of Finnish adpositions***

3:00-3:30 pm **Rusudan Gersamia (School of Arts and Sciences, Institute of Linguistic Studies, Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia) *Fictive Motion Construction in Megrelian (Road, Sun, Time)***

3:30-4:00 pm **Alexandre François (Lattice, CNRS-ENS PSL & Université Sorbonne Nouvelle) *Literal and figurative motion in some Oceanic languages***

4:00-4:30 pm *Coffee Break*

4:30-5:00 pm **Anastasia Yakovleva (National Research University 'Higher School of Economics', Moscow, Russia) *Cardinal points and fictive motion strategies: a diachronic perspective***

5:00-5:30 pm **Castrenze Nigrelli (Università degli Studi di Palermo (Palermo, Italy) – Dipartimento di Scienze Umanistiche) *Aspectual features of the verb and fictive motion event encoding in Homeric Greek***

6:45 pm *Social program: Entrance at the musée d'Orsay for visit and dinner*

**Friday May 24**

**9:30-10:30 am Plenary talk**

**Yo Matsumoto (NINJAL, Tokyo, Japan)** *A closer look into the fictive motion of vision: A crosslinguistic study*

10:30-11:00 am **Christine Lamarre (CRLAO, Inalco & USPC, France)** *Ventive orientation in the encoding of sensory path and radiation path in Japanese and Chinese narratives*

11:00-11:30 am *Coffee Break*

11:30-12:00 am **Tianshu Zhang (Université Paris Diderot, France)** *The Chinese morpheme *cóng*: from polyfunctional element to introducer of virtual trajectory*

12:00-12:30 am **Arnaud Arslangul (CRLAO, Inalco & USPC, France)** *Manner verbs in Chinese motion events patterns*

12:30-1:00 pm **Abdullah Topraksoy & Emine Yarar (Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey)** *Motion Predicates in Turkish: A Morpho-syntactic Treatment*

1:00-2:00 pm *Lunch*

*End of Workshop*

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Plenary talk

**Jean-Michel Fortis**

(HTL, CNRS & Université Paris Diderot, France)

***Motion and the cognitive perspective on language:  
historical and critical notes***

In the past decades, the field of linguistics has witnessed a surge of interest for matters related to the expression of spatial relations and their implication in the structuring of nonspatial semantic and grammatical fields, including thematic roles.

Our first concern will be to recount the advent of the concept of fictive motion within this global trend and to retrace its origin in the work of Gruber, Talmy and Langacker. As will be shown, this concept emerged in the context of neolocalist views, at a time when, in the US, semantics was revitalized and mentalist notions legitimized again. It was during the same period that ideas from gestalt psychology found their way into linguistics, especially in Talmy's work.

The second part of the paper will strike a more critical note and will question whether fictive motion characterizes a clearcut set of phenomena. Some claims made by cognitive accounts are also in need of clarification. What is, in particular, the import of fictive motion, and generally speaking, linguistic conceptualization, for elucidating the *meaning* of linguistic descriptions? In the past, this kind of question had formerly been a bone of contention for Marty and the cognitive (esp. Wundtian) linguistics of his time. It remains worthy of discussion today.

Finally a few words will be said on the place of fictive motion in contemporary cognitive research. Fictive motion belongs to a family of notions which are assumed either to underlie it or to bear a kinship to it, such as induced motion, metaphor, empathy and embodied simulation. Of these the latter (embodied simulation) offers the widest context in which to evaluate the relevance of fictive motion in present cognitive research and its connection with past theories.

## **Fabien Capelli**

(CLLE-ERSS, CNRS & Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès, France)

### ***Some figures and grounds about fictive motion in French***

Why and how study fictive motion in French? Fictive motion has been put to the fore by cognitive linguistics studies in English (Langacker, 1986; Talmy, 1983), but stative uses of motion verbs had been previously documented, including in French, by researchers from other schools of thought (e.g. Boons et al. 1976). In all cases, no systematic study of the phenomenon was undertaken, and very little explanation of the semantic mechanisms at play was proposed (notable exceptions were Honda, 1994, and Matsumoto, 1996).

In order to give a wide and unbiased perspective on the phenomenon in French, a corpus has been constituted (Cappelli, 2013) by projecting a list of 521 verbs on 68 texts from the database Frantext (ATILF, 1998-2019). These 521 verbs have been analysed and classified with the concepts developed by Boons (1987) and Aurnague (2011).

This allowed to show significant discrepancies in the distribution of motion predicates between factual and fictive uses. At a general level, the less dynamic verbs have a more important weight in fictive motion uses than in factual ones. A finer level of analysis of the discrepancies between categories reveals some of the semantic features (including functional properties as identified by Vandeloise 1986, 2003) that enable fictive motion uses, e.g. minimal coverage, or link between containment and perception.

The nature of the entities involved also contrasts with the widely promoted idea that targets (located entities) in fictive motion sentences are elongated, or at least long enough to trigger the need for a sequential scanning of the object. The manner and path conditions established by Matsumoto (1996) will be examined in detail, which will show the importance of force dynamics, intrinsic vertical orientation (Emirikian, 2008) and formal continuity of the motion predicate.

Finally, some features of the discursive context of fictive motion predicates will be presented, as the corpus allowed to investigate a supra-sentential dimension. Nominal sentences, tense switching (between past and present), preposed adverbials, “locative inversion” (or postposed subject) regularly co-occur with fictive motion predicates. Fictive motion is probably itself a major feature of *descriptions*, involving a stative lexical aspect of motion verbs, while factual motion uses are soliciting the three other Vendlerian modes (Le Pesant, 2012). Hence, the study of this alleged non-literal use of motion verbs might be crucial for a full understanding of “motion verbs” semantics.

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## Daria Lapenkova

(National Research University 'Higher School of Economics', Moscow, Russia)

### *Motion verbs in Avar*

The usage of motion verbs in Avar language (ISO 639-3 ava) is analyzed in this study. Despite being the largest indigenous language spoken in Daghestan - population of ethnic Avars is 912,000 people (Ethnic census data 2010) - there is no comprehensive study of motion verbs in this language.

An application of Talmy's verb framing classification to Avar has shown, that the language could be defined as a "verb-framed" (example (1)). However, there are specific examples of another Path encoding strategy: the main verb encodes Motion, but Path is expressed in a NP, rather than in a satellite (example (2)).

- (1) До-в    раГІал-д-е        лъедо-н        в-ачІа-на.  
He-I    edge-LOC-LAT    swim-CONV    I-come-PAST  
'He swam (= swimming + come) to the shore'
- (2) Цо    сагІатал-да-сан        б-орж-уна        Москваял-д-е        самолёт  
One    hour-LOC-TRANSL III-fly-FUT    Moscow-LOC-LAT    plane  
'The plane for Moscow leaves in one hour'.

There is a pair of motion verbs that fits into Oshima's generalization on the distribution of GO and COME in different languages. The pair of corresponding motion verbs was found: ИНЕ/БАЧИИНЕ. However, when the verb БАЧИИНЕ 'come' has the direction "here", the verb ИНЕ 'go' can be both directed in the meaning of 'leave/from here' and non-directed in the meaning of 'go'.

Two main strategies of directional motion expression were identified and described during this study. They are: 1) MANNER VERB + DIRECTIONAL VERB (~ 'here' БАЧИИНЕ 'come' or ~'from here' ИНЕ 'leave') and 2) DIRECTIONAL ADVERB + MAIN VERB.

Also, during the analysis of the verbs of motion, some cases of fictive motion usage were defined. There is a group of fictive motion in which the verb ИНЕ 'go' is used: Нух рохъосан унеб буро 'The road passes through the forest'.

To sum up, this study contains a complex description of motion verbs usage in Avar and contributes to the research, description and documentation of neglected aspects of this lexical-semantic group.

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Plenary talk

**Tuomas Huumo**

(University of Turku | UTU · School of Languages and Translation Studies, Finland)

***Scalarity, scanning, and fictive motion:  
What degree modifiers reveal about the meaning of Finnish adpositions***

Talmy (2017: 315–316) analyzes scalar meanings of English prepositions such as *near* and *above*. He points out that their scalarity can be brought to the foreground by intensifiers (degree modifiers, DM) such as *very* (*near*) or *way* (*above*). According to Talmy, scalar prepositions fall into two categories based on whether a degree modifier places the Figure (F) closer to or further from the Ground (G). **Centripetal** prepositions do the former (consider *very near, nearer*), while **centrifugal** ones do the latter (e.g. *way above*). According to Talmy, this is related to **fictive motion**, in the sense that F has fictively moved respectively toward or away from G to reach its location.

In my presentation, I will give an account of Finnish adpositions from the point of view of scalarity: their compatibility with different kinds of DMs, the different manifestations of scalarity and fictive motion in different semantic groups of adpositions, and the nature of their search domain (the area where the Figure can be located; cf. Langacker 1999: Ch. 3).

Finnish adpositions are a semi-open class with both more and less grammaticalized items, many of which have a historical background as either case-inflected nouns (e.g., *pää-llä* [head/top-adessive] ‘on top of’) or verbs (e.g. *lähti-en* [leave-inf] ‘since [temp.]’); for a historical account, see Grünthal (2003). Most Finnish adpositions are postpositions, but there are also prepositions and a few bipositions. Most postpositions take a genitive G (e.g. *pöydä-n pää-llä* [table-gen top-adess] ‘on top of the table’), while most prepositions take a partitive G (e.g., *ennen ilta-a* [before evening-par] ‘before evening’). Some adpositions, in particular bipositions, allow both genitive and partitive Gs, and sometimes this correlates with their use as a preposition (+par) or a postposition (+gen); e.g. *kirko-n lähellä* [church-gen near] vs. *lähellä kirkko-a* [near church-par] ‘near the church’. It has been observed (e.g. in the grammar ISK 2004) that some Finnish adpositions allow DMs while others reject them. In Talmy’s (2017) terminology, the former are thus scalar and the latter non-scalar adpositions. DMs express scalar meanings such as ‘somewhat’, ‘very’, ‘extremely’ (open-scale DMs; cf. Paradis 2001; Kennedy & McNally 2005), or ‘almost’, ‘completely’, (closed-scale DMs). For example, the Finnish centripetal adposition *lähellä* ‘near’ is compatible with both open-scale and closed-scale DMs. The conceived nature of the scale as open or closed depends on the case marking of G: open-scale DMs are only felicitous if G is in the partitive and the adposition is used as a preposition (e.g., *hyvin lähe-llä kirkko-a* [very near-adess church-par] ‘very near the church’) but not with a genitive G, which requires the adposition to be a postposition (\**hyvin kirko-n*

[gen] *lähe-llä*). The genitive G only allows closed-scale DMs such as *ihan* ‘quite’, which are also felicitous with the partitive G (*ihan kirkko-n* [gen] *lähe-llä* and *ihan lähe-llä kirkko-a* [par], both meaning ‘quite near the church’). This demonstrates that the case marking of G and the use of the adposition as a preposition or a postposition correlate with the conceptualization of the scale as open or closed.

In my presentation I analyze uses of open-scale and closed-scale DMs with three classes of spatial adpositions: 1) topological (e.g. *lähellä* ‘near’ and *luona* ‘at’), 2) directional (*kohti* ‘towards’, *ohi* ‘past [in the directional sense]’), and 3) projective (*edessä* ‘in front of’, *takana* ‘behind’, *yllä* ‘above’ and *alla* ‘below’). I argue that in Group 1) (see example 1), scalarity relates primarily to the distance between F and G, as in Talmy’s examples. In Group 2) (ex. 2), the scale relates to the direction of a vector or a path traversed by a moving F. The scale then measures how directly this vector or path points towards G or deviates from a direct ideal vector. Group 3) is the most complicated case in point, since alternating frames of reference (FoR), i.e. field-based, relative or intrinsic (see Levinson 2003, Talmy 2000), contribute to the scalarity. In a field-based FoR (ex. 3) there is an encompassive G (see Talmy 2000: 213) with an inside displaying a front–back asymmetry (consider the inside of an auditorium with its front located where the platform is). In locating F, scalarity is then measured as a decreasing distance between F and one extremity of G. With the intrinsic FoR (ex. 4), projective adpositions commonly evoke a centripetal meaning with a scale of increasing closeness to G. In the relative FoR (example 5), projective adpositions behave more like directional ones (in Group 2), and the scale evoked by a DM relates to the alignment of F on a sagittal axis with G as its origo and the viewer situated on the front segment of the axis at some distance from G.

### **Examples**

- (1) Talo-ni on hyvin lähellä kirkko-a.  
house-1SG be.PRES.3SG very near church-PAR  
‘My house is very near the church.’
- (2) Heit-i-n lumipallo-n melkein kohti opettaja-a.  
throw-PST-1SG snowball-ACC almost toward teacher-PAR  
‘I threw the snowball almost toward the teacher.’
- (3) Teatteri-ssa Liisa istu-i ihan edessä.  
Theatre-INE name sit-PST.3SG quite in.front  
‘In the theatre, Liisa was sitting at the very front.’
- (4) Liisa seiso-i ihan edessä-ni  
name stand-PST.3SG quite in.front-1SG  
‘Liisa was standing right [‘near’] in front of me.’
- (5) Kirkko on ihan vuorenhuipu-n edessä.  
Church be.PRES.3SG quite mountain.top-GEN in.front  
‘The church is right [‘directly’] in front of the mountain top.’

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## Rusudan Gersamia

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Tbilisi, Georgia)

### *Fictive Motion Construction in Megrelian (Road, Sun, Time)*

Megrelian is a language of the Kartvelian group. According to the type of lexicalization, it is a Satellite-framed Language, whereas, according to the stem structure, the Megrelian language is of agglutinative typology. Satellites are represented either outside the agglutinative stem (postpositions, adverbial modifiers of place in the locative case, spatial adverbs), or inside the agglutinative stem (preverbs, adverbial particles).

In Megrelian, the root encodes the figure or moving entity, the manner of motion, dynamics/statics, cause, the speed of movement, aspect and tense. The complex preverbs (Deix + PTC : Loc) added to the root provide information regarding the beginning and end of the motion, the path or trajectory of motion, orientation, space and place topology;

PRV {path + TR + Orient / Deix + Loc} – manner (Vmvt)

Factual motion in Megrelian is represented in the horizontal and vertical space, the orientation point is either given or absent. The moving entity is either animate and moves by itself (motion per se), or inanimate and moves under the influence of another body (which causes motion). Fictive motion is expressed by the same semantic and syntactic constructions, albeit with certain restrictions.

The given paper is focused on the „moving figures“ *road*, *sun* and *time*. These figures are compatible with prefixal verbs denoting motion and transfer *on the land surface*. They are differentiated by deixis, the trajectory of movement, direction, orientation and place topology.

- a. Road {walk, come out, enter, go down, go up, stop, turn around, turn, cross..} - with every variation of the preverb:

side} šara 'road'	}	<i>me-urs _ mo-ur-s</i>	{path + TR:hor+Deix}
		<i>elm-ur-s _ dilm-ur-s</i>	{path: up_down+ TR: bending + Orient: from the
		<i>mišm-ur-s _ gušmur-s</i>	{path + TR:hor+Deix+ Orient: in the middle}
		<i>gin-ur-s _ mun-ur-s</i>	{path + TR:hor: arch+Deix+from above}
		<i>eš-ur-s _ gim-ur-s</i>	{path + TR:vert+ Orient} etc.

- b. Time {walk, run, turn, turn around, stop, make way, go out, take somebody out...} – with a limited variation of preverbs:

century, year, seasons months, weeks day-night cycle hour, minute, second	}	<i>me-urs _ mo-ur-s</i>	'go'	{path + TR:hor+Deix}
		<i>mik'm-urs _ muk'm-urs</i>	'go'	{path+TR:hor+Deix+Orient:beside}

- c. *Sun* {rise, set, raise, move aside, appear, disappear} – also with a limited variation of preverbs; the verb roots differ depending on the landscapes.

*Road, sun and time* are figures of fictive motion. However, the sense of visuality and/or dynamism, sequence/change allows syntactic compatibility of motion verbs and satellites within the stem or outside the stem in the syntactic construction representing the following:

1. The trajectory of movement: horizontal (a, b), vertical (a, c), bent (c)
2. The direction of movement: forward - backward, upward- downward, inside - outside...
3. Orientation: deictic, passing by, walking in the middle, from the surface – to the surface...
4. Phase of motion [initial (a, b), middle (a,c), final (b)].

The phases of motion and their sequence are morphosyntactically denoted by the preverb, affirmative and aspect, ablative and allative markers, as well as verb roots in different tenses.

For instance,

SN	Traj – Vmvt+manner	N : Loc-Traj	N : Loc -Traj
šara-Ø	ek'm-ur-s	rzeni-še	gvala-ša
R-NOM	PRV-go-PRS.S3.SG	R-ABL	R-ALL
<i>The road goes upwards (= walking up the road) from the plain to the mountain</i>			

[ABL – Ablative, ADV-Adverb, ALL – Allative, DEIX – Deixis, LOC – place of Location, n – Noun, NOM – Nominative, PRS – Presens, PTC – Particel, PRV – Preverb, R – Root, SG – Singular, s – Subject, v – Verb, 3 – 3<sup>rd</sup> person.]

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## Alexandre François

(Lattice, CNRS-ENS PSL & Université Sorbonne Nouvelle)

### *Literal and figurative motion in some Oceanic languages*

In most Oceanic languages, spatial orientation is built on an absolute frame of reference: a geocentric system based on the topography of the island, combined with a single cardinal axis oriented NW–SE (François 2004). Spatial directions, whether topological (*in, out, up, down*) or geocentric (*inland, seawards, NW, SE*), are embodied in a whole array of linguistic devices to encode motion in space: deictics, prepositions, motion verbs, directionals...

Oceanic languages often solve the dialectics between verb-frame and satellite-frame using verb serialization, as exemplified here for the language Teanu (Solomon Is.):

- (1) TEA Li-**katei** bavede i-**VE**NE ne iuro peini ...  
3PL-pull sail 3SG-go.up LOC mast PURP  
... me le-**vesu** i-**KE** i-**LE**.  
SUB 3pl:IRR-sail 3SG-go.out 3SG-go

‘They hoisted [the sail] UP on the mast so they could sail OUT and AWAY.’

While such serial structures could be analyzed as “equipollent framing” (Slobin 2004), the discussion in Talmy (2016:148-159) suggests they can still be described as satellite-framed.

The motion depicted may be literal or fictive / figurative:

- (2) TEA Li-**koie** ne moe mata dapa i-**KE**.  
3PL-go.in LOC house eye(s) 3PL 3SG-go.out

‘They came in the house, and looked OUT(side).’ [lit. their eyes *went out*]

Along with strictly spatial meanings, various linguistic devices have also developed non-spatial senses, often through metaphorical extensions. Thus ‘(go) up’ and ‘(go) down’ are linked, respectively, to the notions of *start* and *finish*; ‘go [neither up nor down]’ encodes continuous action:

- (3) TEA Dapa wopine li-**anu** i-**dai** i-**LE** i-**LE** awoiu, ka dapa gete.  
PL PL:adult 3PL-drink 3SG-go.round 3SG-go 3SG-go finish and PL PL:boy

‘First, the adults drank in turn, *on and on*... — and then, the boys.’

‘First, the adults drank in turn, *on and on*... — and then, the boys.’

Notice here the fictive motion *i-dai* ‘go round’: while everybody in the assembly is seated, the ritual cup circulates among drinkers; it’s as if the drinking itself were ‘moving along’.

Mwotlap (Vanuatu) has grammaticalized special constructions for Static and Kinetic Presentative (François 2003:139-162), combining a verb with a directional:

- (4) Tita **lak** **TŌ** **hay** en.  
 Mom dance STATPRST inland DEM  
 ‘Mom is dancing over there inland.’
- (5) Tita **lak** **VATAG** **hay.**  
 Mom dance KINPRST inland  
 ‘Mom is heading inland, dancing.’

With the Static presentative (4), the verb does not encode a motion along a path, but rather an event – whether static or dynamic – localized in a single scene; the directional expression (*hay en* ‘over there inland’) simply locates that scene with respect to the deictic center. By contrast, the Kinetic presentative in (5) treats the event itself (‘dancing’) as the Manner component of a motion event. The vector encoded by the directional refers to the Path followed by the agent of that motion (‘Mom is dancing [and moving] towards the heights of the island.’). What is deictic is not the directional vector in itself (since it does not depend on the speaker’s location), but the temporal coordinates encoded by the presentative, referring to the moment of utterance: *Look, Mom is heading inland dancing...*

While it generally refers to motion in space, the Kinetic Presentative is also used with temporal semantics. The motion across space becomes, figuratively, a form of motion in time (X *vatag* → ‘the event X has been going on for a while’):

- (6) Wolwotu, ino **VATAG.**  
 world.war.2 1SG KINPRST  
 ‘During WW2, I was [born] *already*.’
- (7) Vēvet **VATAG.**  
 four KINPRST  
 ‘That’s four *so far*.’

Based on firsthand data collected by the author on 23 previously undocumented languages of Vanuatu and the Solomons, this paper will build on a 250,000-word corpus of spontaneous speech consisting of narratives, procedural texts and conversations. I will review the various linguistic devices used in these corpora to describe motion, focusing on their figurative uses – whether they encode fictive motion or non-spatial meanings.

The main question I wish to address is this one: Is the whole array of grammatical structures used to encode literal spatial meanings also employed towards figurative, non-spatial senses? Or is figurative motion rather restricted to only a subset of these linguistic devices, in ways that cannot be predicted? In other terms, does the cognitive mapping from literal to figurative motion take place freely and productively in these languages, or does it depend on processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization?

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### ***Cardinal points and fictive motion strategies: a diachronic perspective***

Static spatial locations are often expressed by dynamic means, especially with cardinal direction terms, cf. *villages <...> to the west of Paris*. Such constructions can be classified as access path -- a fictive motion strategy for marking location, specifying how one can reach the Figure’s location if they start from the Ground (see Talmy 2000: 1, 136-137; Nikitina 2017: 85-88). This study shows that in Ancient Greek, the most popular strategy of marking location in terms of cardinal points is by means of the allative marker *pros* ‘towards’, cf. (1):

(1) Tēn        arch-ēn        hōriz-en        aut-ōi        pros        men heō  
ART:ACC.SG empire-ACC.SG border-PST.IPFV.3.SG he-DAT.SG towards PRT east.ACC.SG  
hē        Eruthr-a        thalatt-a  
ART:NOM.SG red-NOM.SG sea-NOM.SG

‘his empire was bounded on the east by the Red Sea <...> [Xen. Cyrop. 8.6.21]

A major part (81%) of static contexts are marked by this allative means; moreover, locative markers are attested only in temporal contexts (e.g. *en mesēmbria* ‘at noon’, but *pros mesēmbrian* ‘in the south’).

According to Brown 1983, cardinal direction terms in the world’s languages have four lexical sources: celestial bodies and events (sunset/west), atmospheric features (south wind/south), other more general directions (e.g. ‘front’ in some languages means south), environment-specific features (e.g. ‘sea’ or ‘mountains’ means ‘east’). Presumably these terms served as landmarks for orientation and later developed abstract directional meanings. I suggest that the preference for dynamic marking of static location in terms of cardinal points can be related to so-called hodological narrative (representing location as a route to a destination), cf. Xenophon (Anab. 6.4.1): ‘this portion of Thrace begins at the mouth of the Euxine and extends as far as Heracleia, *being on the right as one sails into the Euxine*’. This practical orientation strategy was typical of the Greek periplus -- instructions for seafarers; it is juxtaposed to cartographic representation of space (Gehrke 1998: 189). Importantly, first maps served only as a supplement to a verbal description (Rood 2012: 133).

The Hodological narrative strategy corresponds to the “access path” strategy in grammar; cardinal direction terms in Ancient Greek served as extraterrestrial landmarks in hodological narratives, along with other geocentric Grounds. One cannot live “in” or “on” the Bear constellation, if this lexical item has only the literal meaning; in this case we can expect ‘access paths’ or constructions with ‘under’ or ‘near’. All the dynamically marked locative contexts attested in my sample (8-3 BC) allow for a literal interpretation of cardinal terms as

concrete landmarks (‘towards the sunset/west’, ‘under the Great Bear/the north’, etc.). However, in Claudius Ptolemy’s geographic texts (2 AD) we observe traces of decline of this system. Here the ablative access path strategies are attested with explicit Grounds, so the cardinal points terms are not ambiguous: they can be interpreted only as abstract directions (‘east of the river, but not ‘sunrise of the river’):

(2) Apo de anatol-ōn tou potam-ou nomos Antioitēs  
 From PRT east-GEN.PL ART:GEN.SG river-GEN.SG nome Antinoōë  
 To the east of the river [is] the nome of Antinoë (Geographia 4.5.62)

It can be hypothesized that cardinal terms in Ancient Greek became cognitively salient and acquired abstract meaning with the development of cartography and science, when the two-dimensional, cartographic way of describing large-scale spatial relations gradually replaced hodological descriptions. A similar process could have taken place in conventional spatial constructions: systems of access path expressions in modern descendants of Latin and Ancient Greek have been considerably reduced in favor of static strategies (Nikitina 2017: 79). These facts can be interpreted as evidence for parallel development and point to a common cognitive basis underlying language-specific narrative and the choice of morphosyntactic strategy.

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***Aspectual features of the verb and fictive motion event encoding in  
Homeric Greek***

The principle of the so-called ‘linguistic uniformitarianism’ allows typological studies to extend to ancient languages, in order to find further evidence which can also lead to a deeper understanding of many issues, such as motion event description.

This paper aims at investigating neglected aspects of the encoding of motion events in Homeric Greek, mostly focusing on the connection between fictive motion events (Talmy 1996 ; 2000) and aspectual features of verbs, i.e. lexical (*Aktionsart*) and grammatical aspect. According to Talmy (2000), Ancient Greek is considered a satellite-framed language, as well as other ancient Indo-European languages. Despite some researchers showing typological diachronic changes in Ancient Greek, including lexical stratifications, Homeric Greek seems to be coherent to the satellite-framed type, at least for specific verbal classes – i.e. manner-of-motion as well as non-conflating verbs – since it expresses Path through satellites, such as spatial particles (see Baldi 2006; Skopeteas 2008; Imbert 2010; Nikitina 2013; Verkerk 2014).

The Homeric state of Greek represents an interesting study object due to its peculiar features, such as its own linguistic stratification, which synchronically shows different diachronic phases of the grammaticalization process undergone by particles (see, among others, Schwyzer 1959; Pompei 2014). Furthermore, as well as the other oldest Indo-European languages, Homeric Greek shows evidence of the importance of lexical aspect, namely verb-inherent telicity, which is, as it is known, the semantic-aspectual feature that characterizes those actions or events entailing an endpoint (Vendler 1967; Depraetere 1995). Morphological evidence has shown that telicity, as an inner semantic feature of verbal roots, played a crucial role in the development of verbal morphology – in reference to the categories of tense and (grammatical) aspect – among the oldest Indo-European languages, such as Homeric Greek, and in Proto-Indo-European itself (Bartolotta 2009; 2016).

By a textual analysis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the paper aims at providing evidence about the role of aspectual properties of the verb in fictive motion event encoding. Working on a broader interpretation of the satellite, also including prepositions (see Talmy 2009), the analysis involves verbs belonging to the above-mentioned class of manner-of-motion as well as their co-occurring path-encoding satellites. More specifically, the analysis takes into account the case of the Homeric distribution of three manner verbs, i.e. the atelic verbs *théō* and *trékhō*, and the telic (aorist) *édramon*, which constitute the Homeric paradigm for *run*, due to their

aspectual opposition. Besides highlighting the role of verbal aspect, the analysis of Homeric fictive motion constructions also provides data about their actual frequency and kind.

The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG 2000) is the main digital tool used in this study as a digital corpus of Homeric Greek texts.

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Plenary talk

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***A closer look into the fictive motion of vision: A crosslinguistic study***

tbc

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***Ventive orientation in the encoding of sensory path and radiation path  
in Japanese and Chinese narratives***

This study explores the use of a ventive (centripetal, hereafter glossed as VEN) component in complex predicates to express sensory path and radiation path in Chinese and Japanese narratives. Although the Experienced is construed in such sentences as the source of the stimulus, this ventive component adds a deictic orientation to the path meaning, which expresses the viewpoint of the narrator or of the main character, and allows the narration to keep the Experiencer at the center of the perception event, as the Goal of the motion (“Experiencer” and “Experienced” are used in the sense of Talmy 2000, Vol. I, Chapter 2).

The corpus consists in samples of Chinese and Japanese contemporary narratives, which include Chinese and Japanese translations of English or French novels, and Chinese and Japanese novels which have been translated into English or French. We mainly investigate sentences expressing **sensory perception** in the **olfactive** and **auditory** domains, but also look at what happens in the visual domain and for **radiation path** (often construed as “Experienced as source type” in these languages).

Here are two sentences taken from the Chinese and Japanese translations of Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets. Japanese verb **kikoeru** in (1) falls into “perceptibility verbs that code the stimulus as their subject” (Huumo 2010), as shown by the use of *ga* after the noun “laugh”. In (1) and (2), Chinese uses a presentational sentence (a detopicalizing device, in the meaning of Lambrecht 2000), where the stimulus NPs are located after the verb.

(1) Aunt Petunia’s high, false laugh **sounded from** the living room. (Chap. 2)

[Jap.] *Pechunia obasan=no kandakai tsukuri-warai=ga ima=kara kikoe-te-ki-ta.*

Petunia aunt=GEN high false-laugh=NOM living.room=**from** **be.audible**-GER-VEN- PST

[Ch.] *Kètīng chuán-lai Pèini yímā xūwěi de gāo-shēng dà-xiào.*

Living.room **spread**-VEN Petunia aunt false NMLZ high-voice big-laugh

(2) A delicious smell of food **was wafting from** the Great Hall... (Chap. 5)

[Jap.] *Oo-hiroma=kara oishisoo=na nioi=ga tadayot-te-ki-ta.*

Great-hall=**from** delicious=COP:ATT smell=NOM **waft**=GER=VEN=PST

[Ch.] *cóng dà lǐtáng piāo-lai-le shíwù de xiāngwèi,...*

**from** great hall **waft**-VEN-PFV food GEN good.smell

The paper first describes the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of the verbs typically used in the expression of sensory path (referring to the classification put forward in Viberg 1983 and Huumo 2010: experience, perceptibility and activity verbs), and the constructions they appear in, from the point of view of agentivity and argument structure. It

also investigates the covert/overt expression of the Ground, and the role of adpositions, if any, in the encoding of the Source (note the absence of source-marking adposition in Chinese in (1)). We also look at sentences using path directionals (such as “in” or “out”), frequent in sentences expressing **radiation path**, with or without ventive morphemes, as in (3).

- (3) *Jiù-zhe chuāng-wài tǒu-jīn-lái de yuèguāng yí kàn -- tā jīngdāi-le.* (The Song of Youth II-2)  
 face-stat window-outside **leak-in-ven** nmlz moonlight one look 3sg be.stunned crs  
 “The pale moonlight streaming in through the window [suddenly revealed a big stain on....]”

Then we discuss to what extent our data confirm the tendency observed in Huumo (2010) for Finnish, i.e. that “hearing and smell, more systematically than vision, are conceptualized as involving the motion of a ‘perceptive signal’ from the stimulus towards the experiencer”.

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***The Chinese morpheme cóng:  
from polyfunctional element to introducer of virtual trajectory***

In this paper we will present our study of the Chinese morpheme *cóng*, a polyfunctional element in Chinese language which has a verbal function as well as a prepositional function; we will study in particular the construction that *cóng* forms with *dào*, an element manifesting similar grammatical behaviors as *cóng*. We aim to highlight the fact that as a verb, *cóng* ('to follow') implies the idea of displacement, and as a preposition, *cóng* ('by', 'from', 'since') shares with its verbal function the semantic features of 'itinerary', which implies both spatial and temporal dimension. Furthermore, when *cóng* is combined with *dào*, they form a construction [*cóng* N1 *dào* N2] (ex. *tā bú shì měi běn shū cóng tóu dào wěi de dú* 'He does not read every book from beginning to end'). This construction indicates the appearance of a potential or virtual motion, expressed by the related verb which is intrinsically non-dynamic, such as *look*, *think* or *count*. Our analysis is based on the research in two corpora, one is a corpus of classical Chinese literature, the other one is a corpus of modern Chinese (see references). We will address the general properties of *cóng* related to the notion of displacement from a diachronic point of view, and we will study the prepositional usage of *cóng* in contemporary Chinese in contrast with the polyfunctional preposition *zài* which introduces a static location of an action. We will then analyze the construction [*cóng* N1 *dào* N2] in which the nouns N1 and N2 are called "morphemes of orientation", such as *shàng* ('above'), *xià* ('below'), *qián* ('front'), *hòu* ('behind'), they allow to form phrases like *cóng shàng dào xià* ('from top to bottom'), *cóng qián dào hòu* ('from front to back'), *cóng tóu dào wěi* ('(literally) from head to tail', meaning 'from beginning to end'). We note that when the construction [*cóng* N1 *dào* N2] appears as a verb modifier connotating sensory or cognitive experiences, it introduces the idea of a displacement which includes a virtual trajectory.

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### *Manner verbs in Chinese motion events patterns*

This study bears on the interaction between morphology, syntax and semantic in motion event expressions in standard modern Chinese. The categorization of Manner verbs is not the subject of consensus. Several proposals have been put forward (Chu 2004, Slobin 2006, inter alia), none of which is really authoritative. They all suffer from the vagueness that covers the concept of Manner. I adopt the perspective of Stosic (forthcoming), which offers a detailed description of Manner: 13 features were identified (“body motion pattern”, “speed”, “shape of the trajectory/path”, “environment”, “instrument”, etc.). The presence of at least one of these features is considered to be responsible for the interpretation of a verb as a Manner verb in a motion event. The classification of Chinese in the typology of motion events proposed by Talmy (1985, 2000) has given rise to some debate. Some authors consider Chinese as a verb-framed language (Tai 2003) or an equipollently-framed language (Chen & Guo 2009, Slobin 2004), but it is generally agreed that Chinese is primarily a satellite-framed language (Lamarre 2003, Shi & Wu 2014, inter alia). Its characteristic encoding is the lexicalization of Motion and Manner semantic components in a monomorphemic verb (e.g., 走 *zǒu* “walk”, 跑 *pǎo* “run” or 飞 *fēi* “fly”), whereas the Path component is lexicalized in the satellite, a closed class of eleven items, commonly called “directional complement” in Chinese linguistics (上 *shàng* “up”, 下 *xià* “down”, 进 *jìn* “in”, 出 *chū* “out”, etc.) (ex. 1). However, we observe two phenomena that are different from this typical encoding: Manner verbs can appear in the subordinate clause of a complex sentence, whereas the Path semantic component is lexicalized in the verb of the main clause, which is a typical Verb-framed language structure (ex. 2); furthermore, there is a significant amount of multimorphemic verbs (Lin 2019), as 爬行 “crawl”, 滑翔 “glide” or 飞舞 “flutter”, that seem to be most of the time used without a directional complement (ex. 3-4). Given these two observations, I try to answer the following questions: 1) Is there a relation between the Manner feature of the verb (“body motion pattern”, “speed”, “shape of the trajectory/path”, etc.) and its syntactic place in the utterance? 2) Is there a relation between the morphology of the verb (monomorphemic vs. multimorphemic) and its co-occurrence with a directional complement? To answer these questions, I conducted an analysis based on the contemporary Chinese CCL corpus of Peking University (Zhan, Guo & Chen 2003). I observed the following trends. Within monomorphemic verbs, unlike “body motion pattern” and/or “speed”, the “instrument” feature verbs frequently appear in subordinate durative clauses (ex. 5). Because those are transitive verbs, and cannot take two complements (object and locative), the object has to occur with the Manner verb in the subordinate clause, whereas the locative

and the Path, as the framing event of the motion event, appear in the main clause. Multimorphemic verbs are mostly used without a directional complement, to describe events that do not involve change of locative relation (Aurnague 2011). They belong to a more formal register and seem rather used to characterize the properties/capacities of the agent-Figure. These results confirm that the category of Manner verbs is very heterogeneous and that it is not possible to establish a one-to-one correlation between the lexicalization of the Manner semantic component and a type of motion event expression in Chinese.

1. 张全喜跑进卧室。

Zhāng Quánxǐ pǎo-jìn wòshì

Zhang Quanxi **run-in** bedroom

Zhang Quanxi ran into the bedroom.

2. 我付清车费，就跑着进了大门。

wǒ fùqīng chēfèi, jiù pǎo-zhe jìn-le dàmén

I pay fare and **run-DUR enter-PFV** door

I paid the fare and entered the gate running.

3. 因为蝙蝠不用眼睛，可以在黑暗中飞行。

yīnwèi biānfú bù yòng yǎnjīng, kěyǐ zài hēi'àn zhōng fēixíng

because bat neg. use eye can prep. dark in **fly**

Because bats don't use their eyes, they can fly in the dark.

4. 泰卡鸡 [……] 不会飞翔，只会奔跑。

tàikǎjī [...] bù huì fēixiáng, zhǐ huì bēnpǎo

teka chicken neg able.to **fly** only able.to **run**

Teka Chicken [...] cannot fly, only can run.

5. 他骑着车进工厂。

tā qí-zhe chē jìn gōngchǎng

he **cycle-DUR** bike **enter** factory

He rode into the factory.

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***Motion Predicates in Turkish: A Morpho-syntactic Treatment***

Despite some differences among languages in the ways it is reflected, the concept of motion is omnipresent in all languages around the world. In accordance with the patterns found in their language, speakers focus on and think about motion through its own available devices such as elements of path, manner or both and even in the form of serialized verb constructions (Beavers et al. 2010). The present study aims to analyze motion event structures in Turkish with a complementary perspective through the consideration of actual and non-actual (i.e. fictive) motion. This study is divided into two main parts: a) analysis of actual motion based on the elaboration of path and elaboration of manner and b) analysis of fictive motion. The participants of the study are thirty adult natives of Turkish who voluntarily took part in the experiments. For the analysis of actual motion, three tasks will be carried out: *Oral Narration Task*, *Verbal Judgment Task* and *Verb-Sentence Matching Task*. In the oral narration task, in order to see whether participants use any motion structure in their descriptions, each participant watches on a PC a short movie called ‘Pear Film’, which includes a series of motion events, and then they are asked to narrate the story in their own words while their descriptions are videotaped. In the second task, i.e. verbal judgment task, from the verbal classification of Özçalışkan and Slobin (1999; 2003) in Turkish, each participant is given sixteen verbs among which manner (n=8) and path (n=8) verbs are randomly assigned. Each verb is coupled with a target sentence whereby participants are requested to give judgments about sentential appropriateness for the idea evoked by the verbs on a 5-point scale (1=no match, 2=rarely match, 3=no idea, 4=good match, 5=perfect match). In the verb-sentence matching task, each motion verb is provided with a sentence-long context and the participants are given four sample sentences related to the context and the verb. The participants are asked to rate on a 1-4 scale (1=perfect match, 2=good match, 3=rarely match, 4=little or no match) the closeness of each given sentence to the context sentence related to each motion verb. For the analysis of fictive motion, one drawing task will be employed. In this task, taking Talmy (2000)’s categorization on fictive motion as a reference point, 16 pairs of sentences, one with fictive motion, the other with no motion in each pair and each is similar in sentence length and in meaning, are given on a blank paper. Participants are requested to read each pairs and then to draw on the same paper to describe scenes depicted with sentences in the pairs to test if participants feel a simulating sense of motion upon reading sentences with fictive motion. The preliminary findings have shown that participants used complex clauses with subordination in most of their descriptions and sequential sentences to a lesser degree while expressing motion events. Though path verbs were rated higher than manner verbs, manner verbs were also

scored high, but slightly lower than path verbs, which makes a clear typology of V-framed hard to say for Turkish. Moreover, participants mostly preferred single main clause constructions without boundary crossing events and those single ones with boundary crossing events in their matchings, which may be read as a hint that complex patterns of motion events bring more processing load for the language users while comprehending and differentiating among a set of sentences. For the time being, it is still early to be sure if verbs in the form of fictive conditions are in line with the findings regarding those in actual motion conditions in the study, even though some of the participants treated fictive constructions as a part of actual motion. The overall results of this study will shed light on new understandings regarding how the concept of motion is comprehended in Turkish and which linguistic devices Turkish speakers use to express events including motion.

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## Practical information

On Thursday 23rd, there will be a dinner at the Musée d'Orsay, including a visit of the museum. The visit is non-guided but be sure to be on time at 6:45 at entrance B of the museum to be included in the group ticket (1, rue de la Légion d'Honneur, 75007 Paris ). Late arrivals will be refused access to the dinner.

6:45 pm Access to the Musée d'Orsay 1, rue de la Légion d'Honneur, 75007 Paris (Entrance B : pre-booked adult groups)

8:30 pm Dinner at the restaurant of the museum

From l'Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS), you have three transport options:

1. bus 27 from Feuillantines (rue Gay Lussac) to Saint-Michel (5 stops); then RER C from Saint-Michel Notre Dame to Musée d'Orsay (1 station).
2. RER B from Luxembourg to Saint-Michel Notre Dame (1 station); then RER C from Saint-Michel Notre Dame to Musée d'Orsay (1 station).
3. By foot (approx. 30 min. along the Seine), with map below. In **green**: ENS • in **red**: Musée d'Orsay

