

Chapter 3

The expression of motion events in Haitian Creole

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This paper investigates the expression of motion events in Haitian Creole. A bipartite typology has been proposed by Talmy (1991), sorting languages into verb-framed and satellite-framed languages, depending on where they express the Path component of motion events. Slobin (2004) expanded the typology by a third type, equipollently-framed languages, to include verb-serializing languages which can express the Path as well as the Manner component in a serial verb construction. Creole languages have so far received little to no attention in regard to this typology. Creole languages are especially interesting because they were formed in a situation of language contact. The investigation of their morphosyntactic features can shed light on the question of which features of the languages involved are passed on and which are not. This can in turn offer clues for the study of the markedness of these features. The languages which were relevant to the formation of Haitian Creole, French and Kwa languages, present different patterns here. In French, verb-framed patterns are predominantly used, but in some cases Manner verbs constitute the main verb of the sentence (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005). In contrast, Kwa languages can use verb serializations to encode motion events (Ameka & Essegbey 2013; Lambert-Brétière 2009), a pattern not found in French. In this paper, I describe a small study conducted in Berlin, Germany, in 2017, investigating the expression of Motion events by four native speakers of Haitian Creole. They narrated a picture story and described drawings depicting different combinations of Manner and Path components. A wide range of different morphosyntactic structures encoding motion events was elicited. Verb-framed patterns were frequently used, as well as different Manner-Path verb serializations. Only a few satellite-framed constructions were elicited, but using different Manner verbs and Path-PPs. Further research will need to test the acceptability of different Manner and Path elements in the particular structures.



1 Introduction

The expression of motion events in different languages has been of great interest to many linguists since Talmy (1991) proposed his typology of them, sorting languages into two types depending on whether they typically express the Path of motion in the main verb or a so-called satellite, some other element that is closely associated with the main verb. Romance languages are often cited as typical members of the first group, called verb-framed languages, whereas Germanic languages represent the second group, named satellite-framed languages. Later, Slobin (2004) proposed a third type that he calls equipollently-framed languages to describe languages expressing both the Path and the Manner component in a verb serialization, a structure that is found e.g. in Mandarin Chinese. Even though many languages have been investigated with regard to the morphosyntactic structures used to encode the different components of motion events, there is still no research on this question for Romance-based Creole languages. As Creole languages were formed in a situation of language contact, their investigation can show which features of the languages involved were passed on. The present paper looks at the morphosyntactic expression of Motion events in Haitian Creole. A small pilot study was conducted with four native speakers of Haitian Creole in Berlin, Germany. After a short sociolinguistic interview to determine their language ideologies and habits of language use (which were deemed necessary as the speakers all lived away from their home country and in a multilingual environment), the speakers completed two different tasks. First, they narrated a picture story about a little bird flying out of its cage and house to explore the outside world. After that, they provided descriptions for single pictures which were assembled in order to control for several combinations of Manner and Path components of motion events. The results show that Haitian Creole possesses a rich inventory of morphosyntactic structures to express motion events. A preference exists for the use of verb-framed constructions, but Manner-Path verb serializations were also used frequently. Satellite-framed constructions were rare, but do not seem to be totally ungrammatical.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 first gives a definition of motion events and then describes the three types of motion event encoding mentioned above. Then, the concept of Manner salience, which describes the frequency with which Manner elements are used in different languages, is introduced. Sections 2.3 and 2.4 provide an insight into the expression of motion events in French and some African languages which were relevant to the formation of Haitian Creole. After that, a first light is shed on motion event encoding in Haitian Creole from previous works on the Haitian Creole language. Section 3

then outlines the study conducted by the author and explains how the data was classified. Section 4 gives a broad overview of the different structures that were elicited, which are then discussed in Section 5.

2 Motion events

In this study, a motion event is understood as defined by Talmy (1991: 60–61):

The basic motion event consists of one object (the “Figure”) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference object or “Ground”). It is analyzed as having four components: besides “Figure” and “Ground”, there are “Path” and “Motion”. The “Path” [...] is the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object. [...] In addition to these internal components a Motion event can have a “Manner” or a “Cause”, which we analyze as constituting a distinct external event.

In sentence (1), the components of the motion event are distributed as follows:

- (1) Tom is running down the stairs.
Manner Path

Tom represents the Figure, *running* the Manner, *down* the Path, and *the stairs* the Ground of the motion event described.

Different lexicalization patterns are found in the languages of the world concerning the motion event component expressed in the verb. A first type encodes Motion and Manner in the verb, which is typical e.g. in English, as seen in sentence (1). A second type, which is typically found in Romance languages like French or Spanish, encodes Motion and Path in verbs, such as *descendre/bajar* (‘go.down’) (Talmy 1985: 62–68). These differences lead to different patterns of encoding motion events, described in the following.

2.1 Motion event typology

In his 1991 paper, Talmy develops a typology of motion event encodings, sorting the languages of the world into two types depending on the morphosyntactic element in which they express the Path component: verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (Talmy 1991: 486–487). Verb-framed languages, such as Romance languages, express the Path component in the main verb of the sentence.

(2) Spanish (Talmy 1985: 69)

La botella salió de la cueva flotando.
The bottle went.out of the cave floating
Path Manner

Other languages, such as English or German, express the Path component in a so-called satellite, a term defined by Talmy (1985: 102) as “immediate constituents of a verb root other than inflections, auxiliaries, or nominal arguments, [related] to the verb root as periphery (or modifiers) to a head”. These languages are therefore named satellite-framed languages. The English counterpart to (2) can be seen in (3).

(3) The bottle floated out of the cave.
Manner Path

Slobin (2004) revises this binary typology by adding a third type, equipollently-framed languages, suited to describe languages with serial verb constructions where both Path and Manner can be expressed in a verb, as illustrated by the Mandarin Chinese example in (4).

(4) Mandarin Chinese

Hǎiōu cóng dòng lǐ fēi chū.
seagull from hole in fly exit
Manner Path

‘The seagull flew out of the hole.’

Much work has followed the papers of Talmy (1991) and Slobin (2004), classifying many different languages into the different patterns. Many of these works have used the so-called “Frog Stories” also used in Slobin (2004). In sections 2.3 and 2.4, a short overview will be given of the work on motion event encoding in Kwa languages as well as French, which have been relevant to the formation of Haitian Creole.

2.2 Manner salience

Slobin (2004) takes a more detailed look at the expression of Manner, that is to say the frequency with which it is expressed in different languages. To this end, he compares the encoding of one certain event in the Frog Stories, namely an owl flying out of a knothole (Slobin 2004: 224–225). In the verb-framed languages Spanish, French, Italian, Turkish and Hebrew, virtually no Manner verbs are used, see (5) for French.

- (5) French (Slobin 2004: 224)

D'un trou de l'arbre sort un hibou.

from.a hole in the.tree exits an owl

Path

Between different satellite-framed languages, more variation can be found regarding the expression of Manner. In German and English, Manner verbs are not used very frequently (only by about 17–32% of the speakers) to express the motion event in question. This is due to the fact that often deictic verbs are used with Path satellites, as in the German example in (6).

- (6) German

Aus dem Astloch kommt eine Eule raus.

from ART.DEF.DAT knothole comes ART.INDEF owl out

Path

In the equipollently-framed languages Mandarin Chinese and Thai, Manner is expressed more frequently (by 40% of the Mandarin and 59% of the Thai speakers). In the SF language Russian, the Manner component of this event is expressed by 100% of the speakers. In all these cases, either a deictic (*pri-letet* 'fly here') or a Path-prefix (*vy-letet* 'fly out') is added to the Manner verb *letet* 'to fly'.

Slobin comes to the conclusion that the frequency with which the Manner component is expressed depends on the language type as well as the morphosyntactic possibilities to encode Manner. He proposes to align languages along a scale of Manner salience, where languages expressing Manner in the main verb typically have a high Manner salience, whereas languages where Manner is subordinate to Path typically have low Manner salience (Slobin 2004: 250).

2.3 Motion events in French

As already mentioned above, French is classified as a verb-framed language, encoding Path in the main verb and Manner in a gerund.

- (7) French

Elle entrait à la maison en.courant.

3SG.F entered PREP ART.DEF house run.GER

Path

Manner

An extensive study of motion event encoding in French can be found in Pourcel & Kopecka (2005). They analyze a total of 1800 written and 594 oral descriptions of motion events and, on this basis, describe five different patterns frequently found in French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145–149). The most frequent

is the verb-framed type, as already shown in (7). Another frequent pattern is the coordination of two verb phrases, one containing a Manner verb and the other containing a Path verb:¹

- (8) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145)

Il	court	dans une rue	puis rentre dans une maison.
He runs	on	a street	then enters into a house
	Manner		Path

The authors find a third pattern which they call “reverse verb-framed pattern” because it is structurally identical with a verb-framed pattern but Manner and Path “switch places”, so that the Manner component is expressed in the main verb and the Path component in a gerund, see (9).

- (9) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145)

Il	court	en traversant la	rue.
He runs	crossing	the	street
	Manner		Path

The fourth type, in which Manner is expressed in the verb and Path in a PP, is also called reverse verb-framed pattern by the authors. This fourth type can also be described as a satellite-framed construction, see (10).

- (10) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 145)

Il	court	dans le	jardin.
He runs	into	the	garden
	Manner		Path

The fifth pattern is a hybrid type because the verbs here encode Path as well as Manner. There are two subtypes to this pattern: In the first, both elements are expressed in the verb, as in (11); in the second, Path is expressed in an incorporated prefix of the verb, as in (12).

- (11) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 146)

Marc	a plongé dans le	lac.
Marc	dived into	the lake
	Manner.Path	

¹Motion events expressed in a single phrase are the main interest of the study, but because the coordinated pattern is so frequent in the data, it is nevertheless listed here.

- (12) French (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 149)
 L’oiseau s’est en-volé du nid.
 The bird has away-flown from the nest
 Path-Manner

Besides the description of these five patterns, the authors show by using acceptability judgments that in French it is dispreferred to express the Manner component of a motion event as long as it is inferable from the context. Only when the Manner of motion is not typical for the Figure or Ground of the event, it is acceptable to express it (Pourcel & Kopecka 2005: 148). This finding is in line with the observation of Berthele (2013) that Manner is seldomly expressed in French motion event encodings.

2.4 Motion events in Kwa languages

Kwa languages form part of the Niger-Congo language family, members of which show a general tendency to lexicalize Path in verbs, such as *enter*, *pass*, or *ascend* (Schaefer & Gaines 1997: 200–202). As for the expression of Manner, much variation is found between the members of this language family (Schaefer & Gaines 1997: 209).

A more detailed study on the expression of motion events has been carried out for two different Kwa languages, viz. Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2013) and Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009).

In Ewe, serial verb constructions combining a Path verb and a Manner verb can be used to express motion events, see (13).

- (13) Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2013: 24)
 Devi-a tá yi xɔ-a me.
 child-DEF crawl go room-DEF in
 ‘The child crawled into the room.’

It is possible to combine a Manner verb with more than one Path verb, each indicating movement in respect to a different ground object, see (14).

- (14) Ewe (Ameka & Essegbey 2013: 30–31)
 Kofi tá tó ve-a me do yi kpó-á dží.
 Kofi crawl pass ditch-DEF in exit go hill-DEF top
 ‘Kofi crawled through the ditch and emerged at the top of the hill.’

In Fon, motion events can also be expressed using verb serialization, as in (15).

- (15) Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 14)

xèví ò zòn gbò tá nǔ é
bird DEF fly pass head for 3SG
‘The bird flew over his head.’

As in Ewe, a Manner verb can be combined with more than one Path verb, as in (16).

- (16) Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 22)

Cùkú ó lǒn tón sín xò mè gbòn flété ó nù.
dog DEF jump exit from room in pass window DEF edge
‘The dog jumped out of the room through the window.’

Available for motion event verb serialization is a closed class of ten Path verbs (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 9). All of these can also be used outside of verb serializations, but not all Path verbs are available for serialization, like e.g. *xá* ‘go.up’ (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 16). Similarly, not all Manner verbs are available for serialization, see (17).

- (17) Fon (Lambert-Brétière 2009: 15)

* yě dǔ-wè tón sín xwé ó mè
3PL move-dance exit from house DEF in
‘They danced out of the house.’

Whereas Ameka & Essegbey (2013: 36) classify Manner-Path verb serializations in Ewe as equipollently-framed constructions, Lambert-Brétière (2009: 19) argues that the Fon Manner-Path verb serializations are satellite-framed constructions with the Path verbs acting as satellites. She reaches that conclusion because certain inflectional elements can only appear in front of the Manner verb, which marks them, in her point of view, as the main verb of the sentence.

In fact, the question how Manner-Path verb serializations should be classified in the typology described above is controversial. It depends mainly on the question whether the verbs are co- or subordinated. The discussion of this problem is outside of the scope of the present study. More details on the topic can be found in Talmy (2009).

2.5 Motion events in Haitian Creole

To my knowledge, no study has aimed at investigating the expression of motion events in Haitian Creole² until now. Nonetheless, some insights can be obtained from the literature on Haitian Creole. The language possesses an inventory of Path verbs, many of French origin, like in the example in (18).

- (18) (Fattier 2013: 203)
 Dlo antre anndan kay.
 water enter LOC house
 ‘Water came into the house.’

Besides that, of all French-based Creole languages, Haitian Creole is the one that exhibits the most serial verb constructions (Mutz 2017: 44). Many of those constructions found in the literature do not express motion events, but a few examples of Manner-Path verb serializations can be found, such as the one in (19).

- (19) (Valdman 2015: 244)
 Tidjo kouri ale lakay li.
 Tidjo run go home POSS.PRON
 ‘Tidjo ran over to his house.’

The dissertation on Haitian Creole verb serialization by Bucheli Berger (2009) does not offer examples of Manner-Path verb serialization, but lists the possible combinations of Manner and Path verbs, a shortened version of which is reproduced here in Table 1 (on the following page).³

3 Study design

The present study investigates the expression of motion events as presented above in Haitian Creole. The main purpose is to describe the morphosyntactic elements used to express the components Manner and Path and the preferences

²In the following, all examples are from Haitian Creole, so this will not be indicated in the rest of the paper.

³Her results are derived from online research. Marked as possible are those combinations for which she could find examples online. If a combination is not marked as possible, this does not necessarily mean that it is impossible but simply that the author could not find an example for it during her research. No acceptability study was carried out. An anonymous reviewer of this paper notes that some combinations, especially the ones with *tonbe*, sound strange to them.

Table 1: Manner of Motion V1 + Path of Motion V2 in Haitian Creole after Bucheli Berger (2009: 202)

	<i>al(e)</i> 'go'	<i>vin(i)</i> 'come'	<i>sòt(i)/</i> <i>sot(i)</i> 'go out'	<i>antre</i> 'go in'	<i>rive</i> 'arrive'	<i>monte/</i> <i>moute</i> 'go up'	<i>desann</i> 'go down'	<i>(re-) tounen</i> 'come back'
<i>kouri</i> 'run'	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
<i>mache</i> 'march'	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>naje</i> 'swim'	+		+					
<i>woule</i> 'roll'	+	+	+				+	
<i>koule</i> 'flow'			+				+	
<i>vole</i> 'fly'	+	+	+				+	
<i>glise</i> 'glide'			+				+	
<i>tonbè</i> 'fall'			+		+			

of their use. For this purpose, four Haitian Creole speakers living in Berlin, Germany, took part in interviews that consisted of three parts: an interview on their habits of language use and attitudes towards all their languages, a narration of a picture story, and descriptions of single pictures representing different motion events that were drawn by the author of this study. The entire interviews were held in Creole. One of the participants, P1, helped realize the other three interviews as well as transcribe and translate the language data recorded. She will henceforth be referred to as the main participant. More information on participants and tasks is given in the following sections.

3.1 Participants

The four participants were aged between 34 and 56. P1 is female; P2, P3 and P4 are male. P1 is a B.A. student, P2 is a mechanical engineer, P3 is a salesperson and photographer and P4 is a political scientist and educator in development cooperation. They were all born in Haiti and completed most of their education there. P1, P2 and P3 come from the area of Port-au-Prince, P4 moved there from the North of the country when he was ten years old. All four emigrated between 20 and 30 years of age. P2 and P4 regularly work in Haiti. The four participants all speak Haitian Creole, French, German, Spanish, and English. They learned Haitian Creole as their first language from their parents and later learned French in school. They received education almost entirely in French; only P1 had Creole language classes for one year. All four report they are able to converse fluently in Creole but have problems with writing, as they have never learned a norm. As the

four participants all live in Germany, they speak German on a daily basis.⁴ P1, P3 and P4 report that they speak French often, mostly with their family, especially with their children. P4 also speaks French (as well as Creole) at work. Creole is spoken with friends and family in Haiti and abroad, e.g. with their parents and siblings. P2 is the only participant that reports that he speaks Creole often, mainly with his children but also the rest of the family, as well as when working in Haiti. He is also the only one to name Creole as the language he finds most elegant; for the three others that language is French. When asked what the Creole language means to them, all four replied that it is an important part of their identity and their origin. P3 and P4 also say that they feel that Creole is the most important one of their languages.

3.2 Tasks

There were two tasks aiming at eliciting motion events, the narration of a picture story and the description of single pictures drawn for the purpose of this study. The picture story selected was *Die Geschichte vom Vogel* ('The bird story') (from Rettich & Rettich 1972).⁵ Even though the Frog Stories have been used to elicit motion events in many previous studies, they were not used here, first because they were considered difficult to narrate by the author of this study and her supervisor, and second because many of the Frog Story pictures do not contain motion events. The bird story is about a bird that flies out of its cage and then out of its house. Outside, he meets different animals that all chase him away. Finally, he flies back to his house and into his cage. The story was chosen because it contains many different motion events which could help determine how frequent the Manner component would be expressed in order to investigate the Manner salience of Haitian Creole.

The description of single pictures aimed at exploring the morphosyntactic elements that could be used to express different Manner-Path combinations. Therefore, seven Manner elements (*run, swim, fly, jump, crawl, dance, roll*) and ten Path elements (*out, away, to, into, up, down, along, past, after somebody, through*) were used to create a total of 48 motion events, as in (20), which were then portrayed in simple pictures by the author of this study.

⁴Of course, the fact that the four participants all live in a non-Creole-speaking country and use other languages on a daily basis could influence the Creole they speak causing it to be different from the Creole spoken in Haiti. Because the present study was carried out as an MA thesis, getting fieldwork data was not possible. Possible contact phenomena will not be investigated in the present study, but this has to be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

⁵Unfortunately, the image of the picture story cannot be reproduced here due to copyright reasons.

- (20) He runs out of the burning house.
Manner Path



Figure 1: Depiction of the motion event ‘to run out of’

The combination of the 17 motion event components would have yielded more than 48 events, but it was decided not to overwhelm the participants with too many pictures. The 48 drawings were divided into two groups of 24, which were presented to two participants each. When dividing the pictures, the different Manner and Path components were divided as equally as possible between the two groups. Within the two groups, the pictures were arranged in such a way that two following pictures never contained a component already depicted in the previous picture. During the interview, the participants were told to describe what the person in the picture was doing.

3.3 Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed and translated into German by the main participant. Transcriptions and translations were later checked by the author of this paper and revised together.

At the beginning of the data analysis, the number of sentences was counted for the picture story narrations. Every unit containing a subject and (at least)

one verb was counted as one sentence. Coordinated clauses were counted as two sentences, but subordinated clauses like complement clauses, relative clauses, causal clauses, temporal clauses and the like were counted as part of the matrix clause.

P1's narration contains 26 sentences, P2's contains 46 sentences, P3's contains 55, and P4's narration contains 42 sentences. In total, 169 sentences were elicited.

After counting the number of sentences, the number of motion events encoded was determined. Every sentence expressing directional motion was analyzed as a motion event encoding.

P1's narration contains 18, P2's 20, P3's 29, and P4's 27 motion event encodings. Altogether, the four participants encoded 94 motion events in their picture story narrations. With a total of 169 sentences, more than 50% of the sentences contained a motion event encoding.

The motion events were then sorted by means of the morphosyntactic structure they used to encode different motion event components. They were sorted into six different categories: Path verbs only, see (21), Path verbs with Ground-PP/NP, see (22), Manner verbs only, see (23), Manner verbs with path elements, see (24), serial verb constructions, see (25), and motion events without a motion verb, see (26). The remaining cases were classified as "Other".

- (21) Li rantré.
3SG enter.again
'He goes back in.'
- (22) Epi li rantré nan kay la.
and 3SG enter LOC house DEF
'He enters the house.'
- (23) E zwazo a kouri.
and bird DEF RUN
'And the bird runs/flies fast.'
- (24) [...] zwazo a vole sou do yon erison.
bird DEF fly LOC back INDEF hedgehog
'The bird flies onto the back of a hedgehog.'
- (25) Li kouri retounen nan kay [kote li te ye a].
3SG run return LOC house [REL.PRON 3SG PST COP DEF]
'He goes back into the house where he was before.'

- (26) Epi li kraze rak.
 then 3sg destroy forest
 ‘Then he beats loose.’

The results of the analysis will be given in the following section.

The first step of the picture description analysis was to determine the number of descriptions. As 48 pictures were described by two participants each, 96 descriptions should have been elicited, but as one of the participants failed to describe two of the pictures, only 94 descriptions were elicited. Some of the descriptions consist of a simple sentence, whereas others consist of a complex sentence or even more than one sentence. A total of 119 sentences were elicited in both tasks.

If more than one sentence was used for the description of a picture, they were counted and analyzed separately. The same holds for complex sentences if they contained more than one motion event, e.g. a sequence of two relative clauses, as in (27), or sentences with *pou* ‘in order to’, as in (28).

- (27) Yon zwazo k ap vole k ap pase bò kot yon
 INDEF bird REL.PRON PROG fly REL.PRON PROG PASS beside side INDEF
 pyebwa.
 tree
 ‘A bird which is flying, who is passing next to a tree.’⁶
- (28) Yon mesye k ap naje sòti nan plaj pou l ale bò
 INDEF man REL.PRON PROG swim exit LOC beach for 3sg go beside
 rivaj.
 coast
 ‘A man who is swimming away from the beach in order to swim to the coast.’

Sentences which did not express motion (13 of 119) were not analyzed.

In a few cases, modal verbs were used, see (29) and (30). These were ignored for the analysis and the event encodings of the motions were treated as if they did not contain a modal verb.

⁶Mostly P2, but also P4, described several of the pictures with utterances of the form NP + relative clause. Even though these do not constitute regular sentences, it is possible to analyze them as elliptic versions of sentences like *This is [NP] who is moving* which are also found in some descriptions. They were therefore included in the analysis.

- (29) Yon gason ki vle monte sou yon tab.
 INDEF boy REL.PRON want ascend LOC INDEF table
 ‘A boy who wants to go up onto a table.’
- (30) Yon mesye ki dwe travèse dyagonal yon chanm.
 INDEF man REL.PRON must cross diagonal INDEF room
 ‘A man who has to cross a room diagonally.’

The motion events expressed in the picture descriptions were then sorted into eight categories, seven of which are equivalent to those for the picture story. A new category was established for this part of the data: Manner verbs with Ground elements, as exemplified in (31).

- (31) Yon moun k ap rale kote yon mi.
 INDEF person REL.PRON PROG crawl beside INDEF wall
 ‘A person who is crawling next to a wall.’

The results of the analysis are given in the following section.

4 Results

An overview of the results is given in Table 2. In the following subsections, the results are discussed in detail.

Table 2: Motion event expressions in picture story narrations and single picture descriptions

	Picture story		Single pictures		Total	
Path verb only	10	10.6%	4	3.4%	14	6.6%
Path verb + ground PP/NP	25	26.6%	29	24.4%	54	25.4%
Manner verb only	18	19.1%	19	16.0%	37	17.4%
Manner verb + ground	0	0.0%	13	10.9%	13	6.1%
manner verb + path element	2	2.1%	5	4.2%	7	3.2%
SVC	16	17.0%	36	30.3%	52	24.4%
Motion event without motion verb	7	7.4%	1	0.8%	8	3.8%
Other	16	17.0%	12	10.1%	28	13.1%
Total	94		119		213	

Path verbs only were used ten times in the picture story narrations (10.6% of all occurrences). In most cases, the Ground was mentioned in the preceding or following context but not in the same clause, see (32) and (33).

- (32) E li ouvri pòt kalòj la pou li kapab sòti.
and 3SG open door cage DEF for 3SG able.to exit
'And she opens the door of the cage so that he can go out.'
- (33) Epi zwazo a tounen. L al nan menm kay la [...]
and bird DEF return 3SG go LOC same house DEF
'And he returns. He goes into the same house.'

In one case, no ground is mentioned at all, see (34).

- (34) Papiyon an ale.
butterfly DEF go
'The butterfly goes/flyes away.'

At this point, the picture story shows a butterfly flying away from the bird. Therefore, *ale* seems to express not simply 'go' but 'go away' here.

In the single picture descriptions, Path verbs only occurred in four motion events (3.4%). As in the narrations, the Ground was usually mentioned in the context, see (35).

- (35) Yon moun k ap rale kote yon mi. L ap pase
INDEF person beside REL.PRON PROG crawl beside INDEF wall 3SG PROG
[...]
pass
'A person is crawling next to a wall. He is passing [it]...'

Again, there was one case where no Ground was mentioned at all, again with the verb *ale*, which seems to mean 'go away' (36).

- (36) Yon zwazo ki sòti nan kalòj pou ale.
INDEF bird REL.PRON exit LOC cage for go
'A bird who leaves the cage in order to go/fly away.'

4.1 Path verb + Ground NP/PP

The most frequent pattern used to express motion events in the picture story is a Path verb with a Ground NP or PP, which was used in 25 cases (26.6%). The verbs *antre* 'enter', *pase* 'pass', *atèri* 'land', *tonbe* 'fall', *ale* 'go', *poze* 'sit down', and *sòti* 'go out' were used with PPs (37).

- (37) Li atèri sou flè a.
 3SG land LOC flower DEF
 ‘He lands on the flower.’

The verbs *jwenn* ‘reach’, *suiv* ‘follow’, *kite* ‘leave’, *tounen* ‘come back’ were used with object NPs (38).

- (38) Li kite do erison an.
 3SG leave back hedgehog DEF
 ‘He leaves the back of the hedgehog.’

The verb *rive* ‘arrive’ was used with a PP three times (by P2 and P3) and with an object NP once (by P1), see (39) and (40). Because of the small number of occurrences, nothing can be said about whether this is simply due to individual preferences.

- (39) Lè l rive sou pyebwa [...]
 when 3SG arrive on tree
 ‘When he arrives on the tree...’
 (40) Zwazo a rive lakay li.
 bird DEF arrive home POSS.PRON
 ‘The bird arrives at his house.’

In the single picture descriptions, Path verbs with Ground NPs or PPs present the second most frequent pattern with 29 occurrences (24.4%).

Used with an object NP were the verbs *depase*, *desann*, and *kite* (41).

- (41) Tidjo kite lekòl la.
 Tidjo leave school DEF
 ‘Tidjo leaves the school.’

The verbs *antre*, *rantrè*, *pase* and *al(e)* were used with PPs. *Antre* and *rantrè* were used with *nan* ‘into’, *al(e)* with *bò* ‘next to’ and *nan direksyon* ‘in the direction of’, and *pase* also with *bò*, see (42).

- (42) L ap pase bò yon kay.
 3SG PROG pass beside INDEF house
 ‘He is passing a house.’

The verbs *monte* and *sòti* were used with both NPs and PPs. *Sòti* was used with three different prepositions, *nan*, *sou* and *a travè*. See (43) for an example with *a travè*, and (44) for the use with an NP.

- (43) Sa se yon moun ki sòti a travè yon fenèt [...]
DEM COP INDEF person REL.PRON exit through INDEF window
'That is a person who leaves through a window.'
- (44) Yon timoun ki sòti lekòl.
INDEF child REL.PRON exit school
'A child that leaves school.'

As there are only a few occurrences for each verb, often just one but six at the most, it remains unclear whether the use with NP or PP attested here is a general preference of the verb or whether all verbs can appear with both.

4.2 Manner verb only

A Manner verb alone cannot, strictly speaking, express a motion event as it is defined above, but because they occur so frequently in both picture story narrations and single picture descriptions, they are taken into account here.

In the picture story task, in the 18 cases counted for this category (19.1%), only three different Manner verbs were used, *vole* 'fly', *kouri* 'run', and *mache* 'walk'. The last of the three is used only once where a hedgehog continues walking after the bird has landed on his back. The most frequently used of these verbs is *vole*. This is not surprising when taking into account that the story is about a bird and also features other flying animals like owls or butterflies. *Kouri* was used six times to describe the motion of the bird, see (45).

- (45) Lè chwèt la kouri dèyè zwazo a, sa k pase, zwazo
when owl DEF run behind bird DEF DEF REL.PRON happen bird
a kouri.
DEF run
'When the owl flies behind/after the bird, the bird runs/flies away fast.'

As the story shows several instances of an animal chasing another animal (mostly the little bird) away, the cases where *vole* and *kouri* are used alone always describe a situation where the animal flees. Apparently, in these cases, a directed motion away from the place of action seems to be described. The Path

‘away’ seems to be inferable from the context and is therefore left out. *Kouri* obviously does not express the Manner ‘run’ in these cases, but rather an accelerated manner of movement.

In the single picture descriptions, Manner verbs were used alone in 19 cases (16% of all occurrences). In seven of these, no further information on the motion event was given, see (46).

- (46) Yon mesye ki ap naje.
 INDEF man REL.PRON PROG swim
 ‘A man that is swimming.’

These cases do not express a motion event as it is understood here, but an activity.

In the remaining twelve cases, more information on the motion event is given in the preceding or the following context. In five cases, the manner verb is followed by a construction with *pou* ‘to’ in which Path is expressed, see (47).

- (47) Tidjo ap naje pou l depase lòt la.
 Tidjo PROG swim for 3SG pass other DEF
 ‘Tidjo is swimming in order to pass the other.’

In three cases, information on the Path is given in the preceding or following sentence, see (48) and (49). As the translations show, it is possible to interpret these cases as single complex motion events.

- (48) Tidjo ap naje. Li kite il la.
 Tidjo PROG swim 3SG leave island DEF
 ‘Tidjo is swimming. He leaves the island./Tidjo is swimming away from the island.’
- (49) Tidjo antre nan kay. [...] L ap danse.
 Tidjo enter LOC house 3SG PROG dance
 ‘Tidjo enters the house. He is dancing./Tidjo is dancing into the house.’

In two cases, Path and Manner are expressed in two precedent relative clauses, see (50). Again, it is possible to interpret this as a single complex motion event.

- (50) Yon zwazo k ap vole k ap pase bò yon mi.
 INDEF bird REL.PRON PROG fly REL.PRON PROG pass beside INDEF wall
 ‘A bird who is flying, who is passing beside a wall./A bird who is flying past a wall.’

In one case, two main clauses, one containing a Manner and the other a Path verb, are combined with the conjunction *pandan* ‘while’, see (51).

- (51) L ap danse pandan l ap monte mach eskalye a.
 3SG PROG dance while 3SG PROG ascend step stairs DEF
 ‘He dances while he goes up the stairs./He dances up the stairs.’

All these examples seem to represent complex motion events whose components were not expressed in a single clause, meaning that they were not conflated into one event.

4.3 Manner verb + Ground element

Similar to the previous category, Manner verbs combined with a Ground element in the same clause do not constitute motion events as defined by Talmy (1985), because the Path element obligatory for motion events is not encoded. Such a pattern does not occur in the picture story narrations, but there are 13 such occurrences in the single picture descriptions (10.9%). Six of the seven manner verbs tested in this task were used in this pattern, see (52) for an example with *naje* ‘swim’.

- (52) Yon moun k ap naje nan lanmè.
 INDEF person REL.PRON PROG swim LOC sea
 ‘A person who is swimming in the sea.’

4.4 Manner verb + Path element

The least frequent of the patterns is the use of a Manner verb in combination with a Path element. Such cases constitute instances of the satellite pattern described above.

In the picture story descriptions, two such cases (2.1%) occurred with the verb *vole*, once with the preposition *sou* ‘onto’, see (53), and once with *deyò* ‘out of’, see (54).

- (53) [...] zwazo a vole sou do yon erison.
 bird DEF fly LOC back INDEF hedgehog
 ‘A bird flies onto the back of a hedgehog.’
- (54) Li vole deyò.
 3SG fly outside
 ‘He flies outside.’

In the single picture descriptions, this satellite-framed pattern is used in five cases (4.2%), three of them with the verb *vole*, see (55), one with *naje*, see (56), and one with *woule* ‘roll’.

- (55) Yon zwazo k ap vole a travè nyaj yo.
 INDEF bird REL.PRON PROG fly through cloud PL
 ‘A bird that is flying through the clouds.’
- (56) Tidjo ap naje [...] sou lòt bò lak la.
 Tidjo PROG swim LOC other side lake DEF
 ‘Tidjo is swimming to the other side of the lake.’

4.5 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions are used frequently in both the picture story narrations and the single picture descriptions. As for the story narrations, they present the second most frequent pattern with 16 occurrences (17%). Most of these consist of a serialization of two Path verbs: *sòti kite* ‘leave go away’, *al(e) poze* ‘go sit down’, *vin poze* ‘come sit down’, *al tonbe* ‘go fall’ and *al antre* ‘go enter’. In two cases, a Manner verb is followed by a Path verb: *vole poze* ‘fly sit down’ and *kouri retounen* ‘run return’. One single verb serialization consists of three verbs: *leve pran kouri* ‘get up take run’. *Pran* most probably acts as an aspectual marker here, encoding inchoativity (see also Valdman 2015: 231). Besides the fact that this serial verb construction consists of three verbs, it is also different from the others because the order of the Path and Manner verb is inverted here in regard to the other cases: the Path verb is the first, the Manner the last verb of the serialization.

The different serial verb constructions occur either with a Ground NP, a Ground PP, or with no Ground element in the same clause. In the last case, Ground is mentioned in the surrounding context.

In four serial verb constructions, *vole poze*, *vin poze*, *al(e) poze* and *al tonbe*, the same kind of action is expressed: the bird flying to a certain place and coming to rest. It is not clear whether these are sequential or simultaneous verb serializations, the first meaning ‘he flies and then sits down’ and the latter meaning ‘he flies onto [the tree]’. The same problem exists with *al antre* ‘go enter’, where it is unclear whether it is said that the bird first goes and then enters or whether he ‘goes into’.

The case of *sòti kite* is described by Bucheli Berger (2009: 79–81) as a serialization of two verbs that are close to synonyms and which she interprets as a simultaneous serial verb construction expressing one simple motion. It is also

possible that the verbs have different meanings here, expressing the Paths ‘out of’ and ‘away’, which would make this a sequential serial verb construction.

In *kouri retounen*, which once again describes the motion of the verb, *kouri* cannot be interpreted as expressing the Manner ‘to run’, but rather a fast way of moving.

Leve pran kouri is probably a sequential serial verb construction, expressing that the bird first gets up and then flies away fast, where the Path ‘away’ is left unexpressed and to be inferred from the context.

In the single picture descriptions, serial verb constructions were the pattern most frequently used by the participants to encode a motion event. With 36 occurrences in total (30.3% of all occurrences), 31 different verb combinations can be described. The different internal structures of these serial verb constructions are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Frequency of different serial verb constructions in the single picture descriptions

Type of SVC	manner-path	manner-manner	path-path	path-Other	3 verbs		
					MMP	PPP	PMP
Frequency	19	2	1	6	1	1	1

By far the most common verb serializations are those consisting of a Manner and a Path verb. Six different Manner verbs were used in such constructions: *kouri* ‘run’, *naje* ‘swim’, *vole* ‘fly’, *rale* ‘crawl’, *woule* ‘roll’, and *glise* ‘glide/slide’ (used once instead of ‘roll’). Two of the Manner verbs investigated were not used in Manner-Path serializations, *sote* ‘jump’ and *danse* ‘dance’. Table 4 shows the different Path verbs that these Manner verbs were used with. Nothing can be said about the possibility to form serial verb constructions other than the ones attested in the data of this study.⁷

These Manner-Path serial verbs also occur both with NPs and PPs, see (57) and (58).

- (57) Tipyè rale monte mòn nan.
 Tipyè crawl ascend mountain DEF
 ‘Tipyè crawls up the mountain.’

⁷An anonymous reviewer of this paper notes that more combinations than the ones attested in this study should be possible, especially with *rale*. Also, all manner verbs should be able to combine with *ale*.

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Table 4: MANNER-PATH-SVC in the single picture descriptions

	<i>sòti</i>	<i>kite</i>	<i>antre</i>	<i>monte</i>	<i>desann</i>	<i>pase</i>	<i>travèse</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>poze</i>	<i>suiv</i>
<i>kouri</i>	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
<i>naje</i>	+									
<i>vole</i>	+		+					+	+	+
<i>rale</i>	+			+						
<i>woule</i>					+	+				
<i>glise</i>	+				+					

- (58) Zwazo a vole antre nan kizin nan.
 bird DEF fly enter LOC kitchen DEF
 ‘The bird flies into the kitchen.’

In one case, no ground element is given in the same clause, see (59). As the Path verb is *ale* in this case, the Path can probably again be interpreted as ‘away’ in this case.

- (59) Yon zwazo [...] k ap vole ale.
 INDEF bird REL.PRON PROG fly go
 ‘A bird that is flying away.’

In two cases, two Manner verbs were serialized, see (60) and (61). In (60), it is obvious that again *kouri* cannot be interpreted as ‘run’, but most probably means that the motion takes place fast. In (61), it is unclear what the exact meaning of *vole* is. It could possibly be interpreted as having a figurative meaning expressing something like jumping into the water in a high arc. This hypothesis cannot be tested here.⁸

- (60) Tipye kouri naje dèyè yon lòt.
 Tipye run swim behind INDEF other
 ‘Tipye swims fast behind/after another.’
- (61) Li vole sote nan dlo a.
 3SG fly jump LOC water DEF
 ‘He jumps into the water (in a high arc).’

⁸An anonymous reviewer suggests that the two verbs act like synonyms here.

The only Path-Path serialization in the single picture descriptions is *sòti kite*, which also occurred in the picture story narrations.

In six cases, the participants used serial verb constructions consisting of a Path and a non-motion verb, like in (62).

- (62) Yon moun ki ap antre kache nan yon gwòt.
INDEF person REL.PRON PROG enter hide INDEF LOC cave
'A person who is going into a cave in order to hide.'

In three of these six cases, the verb *ale* was used, but cannot be interpreted as a Path verb, see (63). It could be interpreted as an analytical future, but such a structure with this function has not been described for Haitian Creole (see for example, Valdman 2015, DeGraff 2007). This structure cannot be further analyzed at this point.

- (63) [Sa se Johana k ap kouri] pou l al pran bis la nan stasyon an.
for 3SG go take bus DEF LOC station DEF
'[That's Johanna who is running] in order to take a bus at the station.'

In three cases, three motion verbs are serialized. The first of them is a Manner-Manner-Path serialization, see (64). As this sentence is about a swimming person, *kouri* probably once again express a fast motion.

- (64) Li kouri naje kite il la.
3SG run swim leave island DEF
'He swims away from the island fast.'

The second of these serializations consists of three Path verbs (65). *Rive* and *jwenn* are close to synonyms and are therefore interpreted as expressing the same meaning here. Together with *avanse* 'move forward' they probably present a sequential serial verb construction.

- (65) Li avanse rive jwenn demwazèl la.
3SG advance arrive reach lady DEF
'He advances towards and reaches the lady.'

In the last of the three cases, we find a Path-Manner-Path verb serialization, see (66). Interestingly, V1 and V3 are the same verb, *sòti*. As this is the only case where we find such a structure in the data, nothing can be said about whether this is a common pattern of serial verb constructions in Haitian Creole.

- (66) Boul la sòti woule sòti nan bwat katon.
 ball DEF exit roll exit LOC box cardboard
 ‘The ball rolls out of the cardboard box.’

Even though many of the serial verb constructions elicited in this study are single cases that need to be described separately, some patterns can also be found. One frequent strategy to express complex motion events in Haitian Creole is the use of a Manner-Path verb serialization, which in a few cases also occurred in serializations of three verbs. In other cases, two Path verbs or a Path and a non-motion verb were serialized to encode a motion event depicted in one of the drawings.

4.6 Motion events without a motion verb

In the picture story narrations, seven cases occurred where a motion event was expressed without a motion verb (7.4%). Five of these were uttered by P3, when he used the idiom *kraze rak*, which has the meaning ‘to beat loose’. The two other cases were uttered by P2 using *jwenn direksyon* and *pran direksyon* to say that the bird was going into a certain direction, see (67).

- (67) [...] kounye a la li jwenn direksyon fenèt la
 moment DEF DEM 3SG reach direction window DEF
 ‘Now he takes the direction of the window.’

In the single picture descriptions, there is only one case where a motion event is expressed without a motion verb (0.8%), also using *direksyon*, see (68).

- (68) Li pran nan direksyon machin nan.
 3SG take LOC direction car DEF
 ‘He takes the direction of the car.’

4.7 Other

The remaining encodings of motion events had to be sorted into a separate category because it was not possible to analyze them as any of the other categories.

For the picture story narrations, all of the 16 cases sorted into this category (17%) use the preposition *dèyè* ‘behind’ or ‘after’, 13 with *kouri*, see (69), and 3 with *pati*, see (70). In all of these cases, one animal is chasing another.

- (69) Chwèt la kouri dèyè zwazo a pou l pran l.
 owl DEF run behind bird DEF 3SG take 3SG
 ‘The owl flies behind/after the bird in order to catch him.’
- (70) Koukou a pati dèyè zwazo a.
 cuckoo DEF leave behind bird DEF
 ‘The cuckoo flies behind/after the bird.’

The problem here is the preposition *dèyè*: If it expresses ‘behind’, the PP can be analyzed to encode the Ground and locate the place where the motion is taking place. If it expresses ‘after’, it can be analyzed as expressing the Path of motion.

The main participant translated all of these cases with *chase away*. This could be the implication of flying fast behind someone. In one case, however, P4 uses *kouri dèyè* where the subject isn’t moving at all. The picture shows a group of birds sitting in a tree chasing away the little bird by screaming at him (71).

- (71) Zwazo sa yo genlè pa renmen li. Yo kouri dèyè li. E lè
 bird DEM PL seem NEG like 3SG PL run behind 3SG and when
 sa li vole.
 DEM 3SG fly
 ‘These birds seem to not like him. They chase him away. And then he flies away.’

Another problem is the semantics of *pati*. P1 uses *kouri dèyè* and *pati dèyè* in a similar way. When the owl is chasing the little bird by flying after him, she uses *pati dèyè*. The semantics of *dèyè* are obscure here, because the Path ‘away from X’ is not relevant here. It is neither shown in the pictures nor expressed in the narration.

For the single picture descriptions, twelve descriptions had to be sorted into the category “Other” (10.1%). Three cases were equivalent to those in the picture story narrations where *dèyè* was used. In two other cases, hybrid verbs were used which could not be clearly identified as Manner or Path verbs as they contain both components: *plonje* ‘dive into’ and *tonbe* ‘fall’.

In (72), a Path verb is combined with a further description of the Path.

- (72) Yon mesye ki dwe travèse dyagonal [...] yon chanm.
 INDEF man REL.PRON must cross diagonal INDEF room
 ‘A man who must cross a room diagonally.’

In (73), the Manner component is expressed in a PP, which is the only occurrence of this type.

- (73) Tidjo ap monte mòn ak kat pat.
 Tidjo PROG ascend mountain with four paws
 ‘Tidjo is crawling up the mountain.’

The four remaining occurrences contain a gerund construction, all used by the same participant, P1. In two of these cases, a structure equivalent to the French structure *V en V.GER* is used, see (74). This structure has not been described for Haitian Creole.

- (74) Li desann eskalye a an dansan.
 3SG descend stairs DEF PREP dance.GER
 ‘He/She goes down the stairs dancing.’

In the other two cases, the Path verb is followed by a gerund form of ‘to be’, *etan*, and then a full sentence consisting of subject, aspect marker and manner verb, see (75). This structure has also not been described for Haitian Creole.⁹

- (75) Tipyè antre etan l ap danse nan chanmnam.
 Tipyè enter be.GER 3SG PROG dance LOC room DEF
 ‘Tipyè is dancing into the room.’

5 Discussion

In the previous section, the morphosyntactic patterns used to express motion events in the present study were described. Most commonly used were three different structures: a Path verb with a Ground NP or DP, a serial verb construction, or a Manner verb only. Path verbs with Ground elements are verb-framed structures in the sense of Talmy (1991). In all of those cases, the Manner component of the event was not expressed. Serial verbs often consisted of a Manner and a Path verb, which could be labelled an equipollently-framed construction in the sense of Slobin (2004). Other verb serializations were also found, mostly of two Path verbs, but also combinations of Path and non-motion verbs. These are also verb-framed constructions. The third most frequent pattern is the use of a Manner verb only, with no Path element encoded in the same clause. According to Talmy’s (1985) definition, the latter is not a motion event. These cases are nevertheless taken into account here, primarily because of their relatively high

⁹Both a native speaker present at the talk at the SPCL Meeting in Tampere as well as an anonymous reviewer of this paper noted that this structure is very uncommon in Haitian Creole and most probably due to other language influence.

frequency. Besides that, it is possible that at least some of them do, contrary to Talmy's definition, express complex motion events, because the Path component is possibly left to be inferred in these cases but implicitly present. This was the case in some examples from the picture story narrations, where the participants uttered sentences like *Zwazo a kouri/vole* 'The bird flies (fast)', meaning that the bird is flying away. Most of the uses of a sole Manner verb in the single picture descriptions are probably due to the fact that the depicted motion event was too difficult to recognize as such, as in *swimming along the coast*. In these cases, the participants simply expressed a motion activity instead of the event.

Besides these three main patterns, three further but marginal patterns were found in the data: a Manner verb with a Path element, a Path verb alone and a motion event without any motion verb. Manner verbs with Path elements constitute satellite-framed constructions in the sense of Talmy (1991), which were rare but are still attested in the present data. They occurred with few, but different Manner verbs and also different Path elements. When Path verbs were used alone, information on the Ground was usually given in the context. The expression of motion events with idioms or constructions like *pran nan direksyon* 'take a certain direction' is most probably not typical for Haitian Creole but occurs in many languages.

The different patterns described above show that Haitian Creole possesses a rich inventory of morphosyntactic structures available to express motion events. It is therefore not classified here as a language of one of the three types described above, VF, SF and EF languages. All of these three patterns are found in the Haitian Creole data, VF and EF patterns being more frequent than SF patterns.

Some problematic cases were also described above which need further investigation. In the cases where *dèyè* was used, it was not clear whether it expresses 'behind' or 'after' and it could therefore not be decided whether it constitutes a Ground or a Path element. This shows that clear semantic criteria to identify the components of motion events are needed. Such criteria could also help to further investigate hybrid verbs like *plonje* 'dive' which are said to express both Manner and Path. Two other cases were also problematic as they presented completely different structures from the ones described earlier. The structures where a gerund of a Manner verb or of the verb 'to be' were used, neither of which has been described for Haitian Creole. As the participants of this study all lived outside of Haiti and were using other languages such as German or French on a daily basis, it is possible that these structures are due to language contact, most probably with French. More research needs to be done in this area.

The second aim of this study was to investigate the Manner salience of Haitian Creole, that is the frequency with which the Manner component is encoded in

motion event expressions in comparison with other languages. In the data described above, Manner was expressed either in a Manner-Path verb serialization or in a satellite construction.¹⁰ In the picture story, both Manner-Path verb serializations and satellite constructions were very rare, which means that Manner was often left unexpressed. As the story was about a bird, whose Manner of motion typically is to fly, it is not necessary to encode Manner in every motion event, as it can easily be inferred. In the single picture descriptions, Manner-Path verb serializations are used in 24.7% (21 of 85) and satellite-framed constructions in 5.9% (5 of 85) of the motion event expressions. With a total of 30.6%, the frequency of Manner encodings is much higher here than in the picture story narrations. Considering the fact that all of the pictures showed a specific Manner component, this number is nevertheless rather small. Both the picture story as well as the single picture descriptions therefore indicate that Haitian Creole has low Manner salience.

In comparison to the French motion verb expressions described in the first part of the paper, some similarities and some differences can be observed. Just like French, Haitian Creole possesses a rather large inventory of Path verbs, most of which probably go back to their French counterparts. This is why VF constructions are common in both languages. However, their percentage is larger in French than in Haitian Creole, as the latter possesses another structure not available in French: verb serialization, particularly the serialization of a Manner and a Path verb. This is a feature that Haitian Creole shares with various African languages, Kwa languages in particular, which are said to have played a significant role in the formation of Haitian Creole. Just as in the Kwa languages described above, the Manner verb precedes the Path verb in the Haitian Creole motion verb serializations. Another interesting observation is the fact that in the present data, no serializations with the Manner verb *danse* 'to dance' are attested, a Manner-Path serialization which is ungrammatical in Fongbe according to Lambert-Brétière (2009). The (un)grammaticality of such serializations in Haitian Creole needs to be tested in a subsequent study. The preliminary result of the ongoing research on this question is that the morphosyntactic patterns used in Haitian Creole to express motion events seem to be a mixture of the patterns found in the languages that were relevant to its formation.

In further research, more data will be elicited. As some of the drawings used for the single picture descriptions proved to be difficult to interpret, these rep-

¹⁰ As Manner verbs only and Manner verbs with ground expressions are not considered motion events as defined by Talmy (1985), they are not included here. This leaves us with 76 motions event expressions in the picture story narrations and 85 motion event expressions in the single picture descriptions.

representations of motion events need to be revised. If possible, videos showing motion events would be preferred for data elicitation. In addition, acceptability judgments will be elicited to investigate which Manner and Path elements are possible in which pattern, mostly in serial verb constructions and satellite-framed constructions.

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