

- RUDE, N. (1986). 'Topicality, Transitivity, and the Direct Object in Nez Perce,' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 52: 124–53.
- ROSCII, E. (1977). 'Human Categorization,' in N. Warren (ed.), *Studies in Cross-cultural Psychology* i, 1–49. London: Academic Press.
- SHIBATANI, M. (1994a). 'Benefactive Constructions: A Japanese–Korean Comparative Perspective,' *Japanese/Korean Linguistics* 4: 39–74.
- (1994b). 'An Integrational Approach to Possessor Raising, Ethical Datives and Adversative Passives,' *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 401–56.
- Z. QIN, and L. TAO (1994). 'Chinese Benefactive Constructions: Toward a Formal Analysis of the Schema-Based Cognitive Approach,' in M. Chen and O. Tzeng (eds.), *In Honor of William S.-Y. Wang: Interdisciplinary Studies on Language and Language Change*, 459–77. Taipei: Pyramid Press.
- SIMPSON, J. (1991). *Warlpiri Morpho-syntactic: A Lexical Approach*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- WIERZBICKA, A. (1988). *The Semantics of Grammar*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

From M Shibatani + SA Thompson, eds. 1996
Grammatical Constructions: Their Form & Meaning
 Clarendon Press, Oxford

8

Two Ways to Travel: Verbs of Motion in English and Spanish

Dan I. Slobin

Any aspect of the study of usage which requires mention of particular linguistic forms—as opposed to merely mentioning meaning—belongs properly to the study of grammar.

Charles J. Fillmore (1989: 35)

Fillmore has broadened our vision of semantics, placing word meanings in cognitive frames. In a recent formulation, Fillmore and Atkins (1992: 76) propose—and demonstrate—that 'a word's meaning can be understood only with reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning.' The present study is an attempt to apply the insights of cognitive linguistics to uses of verbs of motion in two types of language. I propose to extend the notion of 'frame' in two ways: a motion verb is situated in the *discourse frame* of an account of a *journey*; and, at the same time, it is situated in a *typological frame* that provides and limits the means of expressing components of a motion event in a particular language. In order to characterize the linguistic encoding of such events, then, one must attend to usage, as constrained by typology.

The usage context that I will be concerned with is that of *narrative*—both artificially elicited narratives and the work of novelists. In both types of narrative, the form and content of descriptions of journeys are heavily shaped by the typology of lexicalization patterns. The typological contrast at issue is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of English and Spanish. These two languages represent opposite poles of a typological dichotomy that Leonard Talmy (1985; 1991) has characterized as *satellite-framed* versus *verb-framed*. Consider Talmy's prototypical example—descriptions of a bottle floating out of a cave:

The bottle floated out versus *La botella salió flotando* 'the bottle exited floating.' In English, a satellite to the verb, *out*, conveys the core information of the path of movement, whereas in Spanish it is the verb itself, *salir* 'exit,' that conveys this information. Note also that 'supporting information' about manner of movement is conveyed by the verb in English but by the gerundive *flotando* 'floating' in Spanish. These patterns are quite pervasive in the two languages (with the exception of the use of Latinate verbs of motion in English). Thus English has a large collection of verbs of motion which convey manner, but not directionality (*walk, run, crawl, fly*, etc.), combinable with a large collection of satellites (*in, up to, across*, etc.). Spanish prefers verbs of inherent directionality (*entrar* 'enter,' *bajar* 'descend,' *subir* 'ascend,' etc.), with more restricted use of nondirectional verbs of motion and some verbs of manner (as discussed below).

The typological contrast explored here with regard to verbs of motion is part of a larger set of contrasts analyzed by Talmy, including the conceptual domains of aspect, change of state, action correlation, and event realization. In addition, Talmy proposes that the typological dichotomy is a universal one, dividing languages into those that express the 'core schema' (in this instance, motion) by means of verbs or satellites (Talmy 1991: 486):

Languages that characteristically map the core schema into the verb will be said to have a *framing verb* and to be *verb-framed* languages. Included among such languages are Romance, Semitic, Japanese, Tamil, Polynesian, most Bantu, most Mayan, Nez Perce, and Caddo. On the other hand, languages that characteristically map the core schema onto the satellite will be said to have a *framing satellite* and to be *satellite-framed* languages, and included among them are most Indo-European minus Romance, Finno-Ugric, Chinese, Ojibwa, and Warlpiri.

The present examination of English and Spanish verbs of motion, then, is part of a broader typological framework that embraces a range of conceptual domains and presumably applies to all languages. However, detailed narrative analysis requires two additions to this framework. We will see that Spanish does not always behave like Talmy's characterization of a verb-framed language. And we will see that a new set of issues arises when we go beyond the isolated clause. An examination of narrative data requires one to attend to the extended depiction of motion across clauses, and to go beyond the simple motion event to what I will call the 'journey.' Analysis of elicited picture-book narrations in English and Spanish sets the stage

for a comparison of novels written in several English- and Spanish-speaking countries, with some unexpected literary consequences.

8.1. MOTION EVENTS IN ELICITED NARRATIVES

My colleagues and I have devoted a good deal of attention to the study of a special collection of texts that we have come to call 'the frog stories' (Berman and Slobin, 1994). These stories now exist in a number of languages, though they are not translations of an original text. Rather, they have all been elicited by the same wordless, picture storybook, *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer, 1969). The texts provide a unique body of data for comparative linguistic and narrative analysis, in that there is no 'original version' from which the others derive, yet all follow the same events and plotline. Our original interest was in language development, and we have gathered frog stories from children of preschool and school age, in addition to adults, in a number of countries. However, my focus here is not on development but, rather, on the typological comparison described above.¹

The events depicted in *Frog, Where Are You?* invite a rich array of motion descriptions. A pet frog escapes from its jar and a boy and his dog go looking for the lost frog. Their search involves falling from a window, climbing and falling from a tree, climbing a rock and getting entangled in the antlers of a deer who throws the boy and dog over a cliff into some water, and finally climbing out of the water and over a log to discover the runaway frog. (As the reader may have noticed,

¹ The overall study ('A Crosslinguistic Investigation of the Development of Temporality in Narrative') was designed by Dan I. Slobin, in collaboration with Ruth A. Berman, Tel Aviv University, Israel, using a method developed by Michael Bamberg (1987). It is reported in detail in Berman and Slobin (1994) as well as in numerous papers and several dissertations. Of particular relevance to the current paper are Sebastián and Slobin, 1994; Slobin, 1991; Slobin and Bocaz, 1988. *Method:* The person was first shown the book, informed that it 'tells a story,' and then allowed to look through the entire series of 24 pictures. Following that, s/he was asked to tell the story to the investigator, again following the book picture by picture. *Investigators:* Spanish data were gathered in Madrid by Eugenio Sebastián and in Santiago de Chile and Buenos Aires by Aura Bocaz. *Support:* The study was supported by the US-Israel Binational Science Foundation (Grant 2732/82, to R. A. Berman and D. I. Slobin), the Linguistics Program of the National Science Foundation (Grant BNS-8520008, to D. I. Slobin), the Sloan Foundation Program in Cognitive Science (Institute of Cognitive Studies, University of California, Berkeley), the Max Planck Institut für Psycholinguistik (Nijmegen, The Netherlands), the Institute of Human Development (University of California, Berkeley), and the University of Chile (Grant H2643-8712 to Aura Bocaz).

this summary is packed with typical satellite-framed constructions.) The data come from stories elicited in Berkeley and Madrid, with 12 narrators in each of the following age groups: 3, 4, 5, 9, and adult (college students).

8.1.1. Verbs

First consider the entire collection of motion verbs used in the 60 stories in each language. These include verbs of self-movement and caused movement. A plus sign following an English verb indicates that it was used with one or more satellites (verb particles).

- (1a) *English verbs:* buck+, bump+, buzz+, carry, chase+, climb+, comet+, crawl+, creep+, depart, drop+, dump+, escape, fall+, float+, fly+, follow, get+, go+, head+, hide, hop+, jump+, knock+, land, leave, limp+, make-fall, move, plummet, pop+, push+, race+, rush+, run+, slip+, splash+, splat+, sneak+, swim+, swoop+, take+, throw+, tip+, tumble+, walk+, wander+
- (1b) *Spanish verbs:* *acerarse* ‘approach,’ *alcanzar* ‘reach,’ *arrojar* ‘throw,’ *bajar(se)* ‘descend,’ *caer(se)* ‘fall,’ *correr* ‘run,’ *dar-un-empujón* ‘push,’ *dar-un-salto* ‘jump,’ *entrar* ‘enter,’ *escapar(se)* ‘escape,’ *hacer caer* ‘make fall,’ *huir* ‘flee,’ *ir(se)* ‘go,’ *llegar* ‘arrive,’ *llevar(se)* ‘carry,’ *zarchar(se)* ‘go,’ *meterse* ‘insert oneself,’ *nadar* ‘swim,’ *perseguir* ‘chase,’ *ponerse* ‘put oneself,’ *regresar* ‘return,’ *sacarse* ‘remove oneself,’ *exit,’* *salir* ‘exit,’ *saltar* ‘jump,’ *subir(se)* ‘ascend,’ *tirar* ‘throw,’ *traspasar* ‘go over,’ *venir* ‘come,’ *volar(se)* ‘fly,’ *volver(se)* ‘return’

A comparison of (1a) and (1b) shows a greater variety in English: there are 47 types, in comparison with 27 types in Spanish. This is due to the variety of English verbs that conflate motion and manner (*crawl*, *creep*, *plummet*, *splat*, *swoop*, etc.). But the imbalance is even greater when we consider all of the possible combinations of English verbs with satellites. Talmy (1991: 486) defines ‘satellite’ as ‘the grammatical category of any constituent other than a nominal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root.’ In English, satellites are verb particles. For example, in *He ran out of the house*, *out* is a satellite and *of the house* is a prepositional phrase. Combining the verbs in (1a) with the satellites that are used in the 60 English frog stories results in 123 types, as shown in (2).

(2) English verbs + satellites

- buck + off
- bump + down

buzz + out
 chase + after, in
 climb + down, on, out, over, up, up in, up on
 come + after, down, off, on, out, over, up
 crawl + out, over, up
 creep + out, up
 drop + down, off
 dump + in, off
 fall + down, in, off, on, out, over
 float + off
 fly + after, away, off, out, over, up
 get + away, down, in, off, on, out, over, past, up, up on
 go + down, down out, home, in, off, out, outside, over, through, up
 head + for, to
 hop + in, on, out, over
 jump + down, off, out, over, up
 knock + down, down out, in, off, out
 limp + in
 pop + out, up
 push + down, off, off in, out
 race + after, away
 run + after, along, away, by, from, in, off, out, over, through
 rush + out
 slip + on, over
 sneak + out, over, up
 splash + in
 splat + in
 swim + out, over
 swoop + down
 take + away, off with
 throw + down, down in, in, off, over, over in
 tip + off over
 tumble + down, out
 walk + along, down, over to
 wander + out

The diversity of English verb + satellite constructions is impressive. Does this diversity, however, make for English narratives that are richer in movement description? This possibility can be explored in several ways, beginning with the use of locative phrases in association with verbs. In addition to ‘bare verbs’ such as *fall* or *caer(se)* ‘fall,’ both languages use prepositional phrases to indicate source and goal—regardless of the language-specific means of expression for

paths. For example, (3a) and (3b) are roughly equivalent expressions in the two languages:

- (3a) They fell in the water. [age 9]
 (3b) *Se cayeron al agua.* 'They fell to the water.' [age 9]

Do both languages show comparable tendencies to prefer such constructions to the use of bare verbs such as *They fell* or *Se cayeron*? Table 8.1 compares the two languages in this regard, examining the episodes in the frog story in which a character or object falls or is thrown downward (dog from window, beehive from tree, boy from tree, boy and dog over cliff into pond). The analysis includes all of the verbs used to describe downward motion and caused motion in these scenes (mainly versions of 'fall' and 'throw'). At issue is whether the verb occurred alone or with some kind of locative addition—a particle, prepositional phrase, or adverbial expression indicating downward direction, source, or goal of motion. 'Bare verbs' thus provide no elaboration of path beyond the inherent directionality of the verb itself.

TABLE 8.1. Percentages of downward motion descriptions with bare verb

	Preschool (3–5 yrs.)	School (9 yrs.)	Adult
English	16	13	15
Spanish	56	54	36

At all ages, English-speakers add locative detail to motion verbs far more often than Spanish-speakers. Although there is essentially no change with age in English, Spanish adults provide elaboration more frequently than children. Nevertheless, they use bare verbs more than twice as often as English-speaking adults. It would appear, then, that descriptions of movement tend to be richer in English than in Spanish.

8.1.2. Phrases

The comparison can be made in another way. Table 8.1 lumps together expressions such as *fell down* and *fell in the water* as instances of path elaboration (non-bare verbs). In a sense, however, *fall* and *fall down* are both equivalent to Spanish *caer(se)*, since nothing is communicated about the *ground* (source or goal of movement). Another

analysis, therefore, sorts verbs as to whether they are accompanied by prepositional phrases referring to the ground (e.g. *fell out of the window, fell into the water*). Table 8.2 presents figures based on *all* verbs of motion in the frog stories, along with comparable figures from novels (described in detail below). 'Minus-ground clauses' consist of bare verbs or verbs with satellites indicating direction of movement; 'plus-ground clauses' have, in addition, one or more prepositional phrases encoding source and/or goal.

TABLE 8.2. Percentages of minus-ground and plus-ground clauses

Age (yrs.)	English		Spanish	
	Minus-ground	Plus-ground	Minus-ground	Plus-ground
3	47	53	48	52
4	46	54	56	44
5	40	60	50	50
9	38	62	39	61
Adult	18	82	37	63
Novels	4	96	19	81

The overall tendency is for English narratives to use more ground adjuncts with regard to verbs of motion than Spanish narratives. The differences between the languages are most marked for mature speakers/writers: for adult frog-narrators the comparison is 82 per cent versus 63 per cent of motion verbs, and for novel-writers it is 96 per cent versus 81 per cent. The developmental patterns are also interesting, showing an advantage for English at several points. There is no difference at age 3, but English-speaking children begin to develop towards more ground-marked clauses during the preschool period, whereas Spanish-speaking children show no development until school age. They do not develop further between age 9 and adulthood, whereas there is a considerable English growth spurt after 9. So, overall, it appears that English-speaking narrators may pay more attention to path details than do Spanish-speakers.

8.1.3. Journeys

Up to this point we have taken the verb or the clause as the unit of analysis for motion description, following a long linguistic and psycholinguistic tradition. However, in narrative discourse the movements of

a protagonist from place to place are *situated* in a physical setting and temporal flow of events. Narrators need not limit a path description to a single verb and its adjuncts. Linguistic analyses typically deal in terms of a *path* or *trajectory* lying between *source* and *goal* ('ground,' 'landmark'). In describing real-world or fictional events, however, a narrator may present a series of linked paths or a path with way-stations. I will call a complex path a *journey*—that is, an extended path that includes *milestones* or *subgoals*. In addition, a path can be situated in a *medium* (*along a road, through the water, etc.*). A good example of a journey with several components is offered by one of the falling scenes from the frog story. The boy is standing on a rock holding onto what he thinks are branches and sets off on an unexpected journey. A journey can be narrated in a sequence of clauses, as in the following very elaborate adult English version.

- (4) What the boy took to be branches were really antlers of a deer on which he gets caught. The dog, oblivious to all this, is looking behind the rock. The deer takes off with the boy strewed across his antlers, and the dog runs at his feet yelling at him to stop it. They're approaching a cliff, and the deer stops abruptly, which causes the boy to lose his balance and fall with the dog down into the stream. [age adult]

The segment in (4) is highly analytical. The narrator makes specific mention of the cliff as a milestone along the way to the goal of the stream. It is also possible for a narrator to compact components of a journey into a single clause, as in the satellites and prepositional phrases appended to the verbs *tip* and *throw* in the following examples from a 9-year-old and a 5-year-old. Here *milestone* and *goal* are appended to a single verb.

- (5a) He [= deer] starts running and he tips him off over a cliff into the water. And he lands. [age 9]
 (5b) He threw him over a cliff into a pond. [age 5]

Using these two means—clause-chaining and clause-compacting—it is possible to distribute attention to path segments that make up a journey. The Spanish approach seems to be rather different from the English. The two languages can be compared in terms both of *what* is said and of *how* it is said.

First consider how Spanish makes use of locative prepositional phrases with verbs of motion. There is nothing about verb-framed typology that should prevent Spanish speakers from using similar expressions to those in (5); yet, although they are common in English,

there are only two examples in the entire corpus of 60 Spanish frog stories. In addition, we have recently more than tripled the Spanish sample with data gathered by Aura Bocaz in Chile and Argentina, covering ages 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, and adult. In 156 Latin American frog stories, there is only one clause that mentions both source and goal in relation to a single verb. The three Spanish examples are given in (6). They come from a 5-year-old, a 9-year-old, and an adult—suggesting that this is not a developmental issue.

- (6a) *Se cayó de la ventana a la calle.*
 '[The dog] fell from the window to the street.' [age 5, Spain]
 (6b) *El perro . . . hace un movimiento tal que se precipita al suelo, desde la ventana . . .*
 'The dog . . . makes a movement such that he plummets to the ground, from the window . . .' [adult, Chile]
 (6c) *Lo lleva campo a través hasta un barranco.*
 '[The deer] carries him across (the) field to a cliff.' [age 9, Spain]

It appears, then, that Spanish speakers tend to limit themselves, when using a prepositional phrase with a verb of motion, to one piece of information about the ground (source, goal, or medium).

I will return, in discussing novels, to propose why Spanish narrators make such little use of the extended construction type represented in (6). But first let us see if Spanish provides other means for providing details of paths and journeys. Do the languages differ with regard to *what* is narrated? One possible difference might lie in the degree of analysis of a journey into separate clauses, as in the English example in (4). The scene of the fall from the cliff is a useful one to examine from this point of view. It consists of six narrative segments, separately expressed in various versions: deer starts to run; deer runs, carrying boy; deer stops at cliff; deer throws boy (off of antlers/down); boy and dog fall; boy and dog land in water. Perhaps Spanish narrators mention *more segments* of the journey, rather than expressing the journey compactly in English fashion. But this is not the case. Here we consider only 9-year-olds and adults, since preschoolers do not tend to provide many details in their stories. Only 40 per cent of Spanish 9-year-olds provided three segments, and none of them provided more than three. By contrast, 92 per cent of American 9-year-olds provided three or more segments, and, of these, almost half provided more than three segments. Of the adult narrators, 100 per cent of the Americans and only 75 per cent of the Spaniards provided three or more segments of the journey. In sum, Spanish speakers do not seem to 'compensate'

for minimal use of source-goal clauses by means of a series of separate action clauses that analyze a journey into its components.

8.1.4. Settings

To sum up thus far: in comparison with English-speakers, Spanish narrators use a smaller set of motion verbs; they mention fewer ground elements in individual clauses; and they describe fewer segments of a journey. Yet their narratives, overall, seem to 'tell the same story' as English accounts. Although we have extended the analysis from verbs of motion to include associated locative phrases, and have gone from individual motion verbs to series of clauses, the focus has remained on descriptions of *movement*. However, movement always takes place within a physical setting. The two languages seem to differ, further, in relative allocation of attention to movement and setting. English, with its rich means for path description, can often leave setting to be inferred; Spanish, with its sparser path possibilities, often elaborates descriptions of settings, leaving paths to be inferred. For example, the trajectories described in (5a) and (5b) allow one to infer that there is a cliff located above some water: *over a cliff into a pond*, *over a cliff into the water*. Compare this to the following Spanish narrative segments:

- (7a) *Los tiró a un precipicio donde había harta agua. Entonces se cayeron.*
'[The deer] threw them at a cliff where there was lots of water. Then they fell.' [age 7, Chile]
- (7b) *El ciervo le llevó hasta un sitio, donde debajo había un río. Entonces el ciervo tiró al perro y al niño al río. Y después, cayeron.*
'The deer took him until a place, where below there was a river. Then the deer threw the dog and the boy to the river. And then they fell.' [age 9, Spain]
- (7c) *Lo tiró. Por suerte, abajo, estaba el río. El niño cayó en el agua.*
'[The deer] threw him. Luckily, below, was the river. The boy fell in the water.' [age 11, Argentina]

In these accounts, we are told that the deer 'threw' them and that they 'fell', ending up in the water. We can infer that the trajectory went from some elevated place to the river because of the *static* descriptions: 'a cliff where there was lots of water,' 'a place where below there was a river,' 'below was the river.' In comparison with English, Spanish frog stories have an abundance of such static descriptions of settings, suggesting a different allocation of attention between description of

movement and description of states. In a sense, the Spanish narrators are providing ground information—but it is in separate clauses rather than adjoined to verbs of motion. However, it should be noted that even by this criterion Spanish frog stories devote less explicit attention to movement and ground—broadly conceived—than do English versions. Table 8.3 summarizes the percentages of the 12 narrators in each age group in Spain and the US who provided static scene setting descriptions in the scene of the fall from the cliff. There is essentially no development in English, and this option is not taken by any adult narrators at all. In Spanish there seems to be a major development from ages 5 to 9, but only three of the adult narrators take this option.

TABLE 8.3. *Percentage of narrators providing extending locative elaboration in describing the fall from cliff*

	5 yrs.	9 yrs.	Adult
English	8	8	0
Spanish	8	42	25

In sum, analysis of the frog stories reveals a distinct contrast in *rhetorical style* between English and Spanish. English-speakers may devote more narrative attention to the dynamics of movement because of the availability of verbs of motion (often conflated with manner) that can readily be associated with satellites and locative prepositional phrases to trace out detailed paths in relation to ground elements. Spanish-speakers, by contrast, seem to be led (or constrained) by their language to devote less narrative attention to the dynamics and perhaps somewhat more attention to static scene-setting.² These are, however, bold claims to advance on the basis of an artificial task, in which narratives were elicited to a single picture storybook. Therefore I have begun to explore literary fiction—with

² These differences in rhetorical style may apply to satellite-framed and verb-framed languages generally. The English patterns seem to be true of the other satellite-framed languages in our frog-story data—German and Russian—and the Spanish patterns seem to be repeated in the other verb-framed languages—Hebrew and Turkish (Berman and Slobin, 1994; Slobin, 1991). In a recent NSF-sponsored workshop (Linguistic Institute, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, July 1995), the patterns reported here seem to appear in frog stories in the following range of languages: *satellite-framed languages*: Dutch, English, German, Icelandic, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Swedish, Warlpiri; *verb-framed languages*: Arabic (Moroccan), French, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish.

preliminary results that seem surprising. (As Chuck Fillmore once said: 'Everybody who has worked with actual corpora has found things they couldn't possibly have dreamed up merely by relying on their own linguistic introspections.')

8.2. MOTION EVENTS IN NOVELS

The findings reported below are tentative, based on a limited sample. Thus far, however, the differences that have shown up in the frog stories are also present in comparing the narration of motion events in ten twentieth-century novels.³ The choice of novels was unsystematic, partly determined by availability of translations (which also figure in the analysis below). The authors come from a range of English- and Spanish-speaking countries:

English

- Daphne Du Maurier (England): *Rebecca* (1938)
 John Fowles (England): *The French Lieutenant's Woman* (1969)
 Ernest Hemingway (US): *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1941)
 Doris Lessing (Southern Rhodesia, England): *A Proper Marriage* (1952)
 James Michener (US): *Chesapeake* (1978)

Spanish

- Isabel Allende (Chile): *La Casa de los Espíritus* [The House of the Spirits] (1982)
 José Donoso (Chile): *Coronación* [Coronation] (1983)
 Gabriel García Márquez (Colombia): *Cien Años de Soledad* [One Hundred Years of Solitude] (1967)
 Ernesto Sabato (Argentina): *El Tiempo entre costuras* [The Tunnel] (1988)
 Mario Vargas Llosa (Peru): *La Tía Julia y el Escribidor* [Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter] (1977).

The unit of analysis is a *motion event*, defined as the description of the movement of a protagonist from one place to another. Simple appearances and disappearances from the scene were excluded, as were nondirectional paths (e.g. turning around, pacing up and down). Motion events could be either a simple trajectory or a journey. The

³ In a seminar at Berkeley in 1995, the patterns reported here for English and Spanish novels were found in another satellite-framed language (3 Russian novels) and 3 more verb-framed languages (1 French novel, 2 Japanese novels, 3 Turkish novels).

only criterion was thus that the protagonist ended up in a different place within an uninterrupted stretch of narrative. My procedure was to open a book at random and read until finding a motion event, collecting twenty such events from each novel (thus resulting in 100 motion events in each language). There were no striking differences between the five novels in each language; therefore the 100 English and Spanish events are treated as two databases in the following analyses.

As a first, impressionistic observation, I found that I often had to open a Spanish book several times to find a page with a motion event, whereas this was hardly ever the case for the English novels. I have not quantified this impression, but it seems clear that—at least for this sample—the English writers are quite concerned with moving their characters from place to place, whereas the characters in the Spanish novels often simply appear at a new place.

We have already seen in Table 8.2 that English novelists, like English frog-narrators, rarely move their protagonists without mentioning some ground object relative to the path. Only 4 per cent of the motion events in the English novels are represented by bare verbs, compared to 19 per cent in the Spanish novels. Table 8.4 shows that when an author does make reference to ground (source, goal, medium), English authors are far more likely than Spanish authors to refer to two or more ground locations, and Spanish authors never refer to more than two.

TABLE 8.4. *Percentages of motion events with ground references*

Language	No. of ground elements referred to			
	0	1	2	3+
English	4	61	26	9
Spanish	19	73	8	0

When we turn to the verbs themselves, it is curious that the number of *tokens* is almost identical for the two samples of 100 motion events: 165 in English and 163 in Spanish. However, recall that the English motion events tend to have more locative phrases per verb. In addition, the motion events tend to include more ground elements in English. Quantitatively, the English novels mention an average of 2.24 ground elements per motion event and the Spanish novels mention an

average of 1.52. Thus the novels, like the frog stories, show English narrations to be richer in encoding path details—both per verb and per motion event.

Furthermore, as in the frog stories, there is a considerable difference in terms of *types* of verbs of motion: 60 in English to 43 in Spanish. (The type-token ratios [TTR] are .36 for English and .26 for Spanish.) English shows greater lexical diversity than Spanish—primarily due to the richness of verbs that conflate motion and manner. Compare, for example, the verbs used to simply indicate motion on foot in the two languages:

- (8a) crawl, creep, go, hasten, hurry, march, move, run, rustle, scurry, slip, speed, step, stomp, storm, stride, stroll, walk, wander
- (8b) *andar* 'walk,' *caminar* 'walk,' *correr* 'run,' *deslizarse* 'slip,' *dirigirse* 'go,' *ir* 'go,' *lanzarse* 'dash'

These several comparisons are all the more interesting in that the fiction-writers, unlike the frog-narrators, are not constrained by a common set of events to narrate. Each of the novelists happens to be writing about whatever motion events are important to the particular narrative, yet writers using English seem to attend more to this semantic domain—in several different ways.

As an initial qualitative comparison, consider the following two narrations of journeys that lead the protagonist into a new room or building. In Du Maurier's *Rebecca*, the narrator uses four verbs—*went*, *turn*, *pass*, *went*—to move along a path with seven milestones. Note constructions such as *went through . . . and up, passed through . . . and along . . . to*. There are no static descriptions of the locations of the milestones, but their locations relative to one another can be easily inferred:

- (9) I went through the hall and up the great stairs, I turned in under the archway by the gallery, I passed through the door to the west wing, and so along the dark silent corridor to Rebecca's room. I turned the handle of the door and went inside. (p. 225)

In Allende's *La Casa de los Espíritus* we find the longest journey presented in any of the five Spanish novels. The protagonist gets off of the train in an unknown town. There are four motion verbs: two pairs of near synonyms—*andar* 'walk,' *caminó* 'walked,' *acerca* 'approach,' *se aproximó* 'approached'—and a 'negative' motion verb, *se detuvo* 'stopped.' These five verbs relate to five milestones. (Some of the non-locative, inner-state descriptions are omitted.)

- (10) *Tomó sus maletas y echó a andar por el barrial y las piedras de un sendero que conducía al pueblo. Caminó más de diez minutos. . . Al acercarse al caserío vio humo en algunas chimeneas. . . Se detuvo a la entrada del pueblo, sin ver a nadie. En la única calle cercada de modestas casas de adobe, reinaba el silencio. . . Se aproximó a la casa más cercana, que no tenía ninguna ventana y cuya puerta estaba abierta. Dejó sus maletas en la acera y entró.* (p. 49)

'He took his suitcases and started to walk through the mud and stones of a path that led to the town. He walked more than ten minutes . . . On approaching the hamlet he saw smoke in several chimneys . . . He stopped at the entrance to the town without seeing anybody. In the only street lined with modest adobe houses, silence reigned . . . He approached the closest house, which had no window and whose door was open. He left his suitcases on the sidewalk and entered . . . '

In this narration, path and ground march along together, verb by verb. There is a characteristic Spanish use of a relative clause to predicate part of the path of a noun, rather than adjoin it to a verb: *un sendero que conducía al pueblo* 'a path that led to the town' (cf. English *walked along a path to the town*). The path itself is described as one that would be difficult to walk on, but where an English writer might make use of a verb of manner, such as *stumble*, *plod*, or *trudge*, the verbs of motion themselves are neutral as to manner, and the reader can infer the type of walking required by such a path from the description.

8.2.1. Translations

The statistical comparisons point clearly to overall cross-linguistic differences, but one must be wary of qualitative comparisons of selected examples. A more useful way to explore the 'rhetorical slants' of two languages is to compare a translation with an original, asking how each language accommodates itself to the demands of the other with regard to the same content. In examining motion events, the most informative comparisons come from Spanish translations of English. How do Spanish translators cope with the abundance of English locative detail? By contrast, English translators of Spanish should have an easier job (and may even seek to enrich the original version). I have examined translations of four of the English novels (with the exception of Hemingway) and three of the Spanish novels (with the exceptions of Donoso and Sabato). Thus we can compare 80 English motion events with their Spanish equivalents and 60 Spanish

motion events with their English equivalents.⁴ Translations can be compared in terms of fidelity to both path-ground and manner descriptions. For both categories, English loses more in translation than does Spanish. The overall comparisons are summarized in Table 8.5.

TABLE 8.5. *Percentages of faithful translations of motion events*

	Trajectory	Manner
English to Spanish	76	51
Spanish to English	92	77

8.2.1.1. *Trajectories*. English translators have an easy task: they almost always follow the original, and sometimes even add a bit. Spanish translators, however, make changes to English trajectories 24 per cent of the time, and of these changes the majority are reductions of the full path-ground depiction. My impression is that a faithful translation is either not readily accessible, due to lexical and syntactic constraints, and/or it would be too extended, thereby foregrounding material that is naturally backgrounded in the original. Consider several examples in which path segments are omitted in translation.

In the following two examples, the reader knows that the path moves upwards, on the basis of preceding description. The translator simply omits vertical directionality. (Translations are given in italics.)

- (11) Gradually he worked his way up to the foot of the bluffs . . . (Fowles, 1969: 136)
Poco a poco, fue acercándose hasta el pie de los riscos . . .
'Gradually he was approaching the foot of the bluffs . . .' (Fowles, 1981: 143)
- (12) I . . . climbed up the path over the cliffs towards the rest of the people. (Du Maurier, 1938: 236)
Tomé el sendero que conducía al lugar donde estaba la gente.
'I took the path that led to the place where the people were.' (Du Maurier, 1959: 339)

The Du Maurier translation also omits a milestone, the cliffs. This translation is 'bumpy' enough without adding the additional information contained in the original. Note also that—like the Allende passage in (10)—the translator describes the 'path' as a static entity,

⁴ Citations for translations follow references to the originals in the bibliography.

by means of a relative clause, rather than using a verb to predicate motion along that path.⁵

The problem facing the Spanish translator, in these instances and many others, is whether or not to allot a separate clause to each of the path segments that are associated with a single verb in the English original. This is due not only to the verb-framed nature of Spanish, but also to the lexicon, which contains verbs that conflate motion and path. In short journeys it is sometimes felicitous to simply break up one English construction into two:

- (13) I went through the drawing-room to the morning-room. (Du Maurier, 1938: 221)
Pasando por el salón, fui al gabinete.
'Passing through the drawing-room, I went to the morning-room.' (Du Maurier, 1959: 318)
- (14) Martha walked through the park and along the avenues . . . (Lessing, 1952: 71).
Martha cruzó el parque y paseó a lo largo de las avenidas . . .
'Martha crossed the park and promenaded along the avenues . . .' (Lessing, 1979: 84)

Sometimes, however, the translator is more concerned to move the protagonist on, without slowing the pace of the narration with 'obvious' or 'unnecessary' detail, as in the following two examples. In such cases, the Spanish reader simply is not informed of the entire journey.

- (15) He strolled across the room to the door . . . (Du Maurier, 1938: 329)
Se dirigió a la puerta . . .
'He went to the door.' (Du Maurier, 1959: 446)
- (16) . . . she moved out into the sun and across the stony clearing . . . (Fowles, 1969: 165)
... la muchacha salió al claro rocoso . . .
' . . . the girl exited to the stony clearing . . .' (Fowles, 1981: 173)

At some points in a translation, however, a particular journey is too important to be seriously reduced. The following example is from a

⁵ Such relative clauses are especially frequent with regard to words meaning 'path.' In fact, it could be that English locative prepositional phrases following 'path' words are perceived by Spanish speakers as relative clauses. Compare for example: 'We walked up the drive to the front door . . .' (Du Maurier, 1938: 340) and its Spanish translation, *Echamos a andar por el camino enarenado que conducía a la puerta de la casa . . .* 'We started to walk along the sanded drive that led to the door of the house . . .' (Du Maurier, 1959: 482). It wasn't until reading this translation that I realized that the English version is amenable to an alternate structural analysis: ((We) (walked up) ((the drive) (to the front door))).

critical episode in *Rebecca*. In order to maintain reference to six of the seven milestones (omitting 'the door to the west wing'), the Spanish translator requires six verbs to the original four.

- (17) I went through the hall and up the great stairs. I turned in under the archway by the gallery. I passed through the door to the west wing, and so along the dark silent corridor to Rebecca's room. I turned the handle of the door and went inside. (Du Maurier, 1938: 225)

Pasé el hall y subí la escalera principal, dobré la esquina, pasé bajo el arco apuntado junto a la galería, por el pasillo, oscuro y silencioso, hasta llegar al cuarto de Rebeca. Hice girar el picaporte y entré.

'I went through the hall and ascended the main staircase, turned the corner, passed under the pointed archway by the gallery, along the corridor, dark and silent, until arriving at Rebecca's room. I turned the door handle and entered.' (Du Maurier, 1959: 323)

Nothing of this degree of path elaboration occurs in any of the five Spanish novels. We will return to this paradox in the discussion: Spanish writers do not seem to make full use of the devices that are available in their language, as evidenced in such translations.

8.2.1.2. *Manner*. As suggested by the percentages in Table 8.5, manner of movement is far more salient in English narratives than in Spanish. Spanish translators omit manner information about half of the time, whereas English translators actually *add* manner to the Spanish original in almost a quarter of their translations. This is due both to the considerable lexical differences between the two languages and the associated syntactic means of expressing manner. Lexical gaps in Spanish can account for translations such as:

- (18) The three women drifted inertly down the hot street . . . (Lessing, 1952: 17)

Las tres mujeres siguieron, pausadamente, calle abajo . . .

'The three women continued, slowly, down the street . . .' (Lessing, 1979: 25)

- (19) He stomped from the trim house . . . (Michener, 1978: 607)

Salió de la pulcra casa . . .

'He exited from the trim house . . .' (Michener, 1980: 452)

- (20) . . . he bounded up the stairs after her, overtaking her in the bedroom . . . (Michener, 1978: 615)

. . . subió tras ella, alcanzándola en el dormitorio . . .

' . . . he ascended after her, reaching her in the bedroom . . .' (Michener, 1980: 458)

In addition, the English preference for non-Latinate vocabulary can account for translations *from* the Spanish such as the following. (Note also the translator's addition of a more vivid expression in (22).)

- (21) Don Federico avanzó sin apresurarse . . .

'Don Federico advanced without hurrying . . .' (Vargas Llosa, 1977: 181)

Don Federico walked unhurriedly towards her . . . (Vargas Llosa, 1982: 150)

- (22) Se dirigió a la casa, abrió la puerta de un empujón, y entró.

'He directed himself [= went] to the house, opened the door with a push, and entered.' (Allende, 1982: 51)

He walked up to the house, gave the door a single forceful push, and went in. (Allende, 1985: 49)

In other instances of translation into Spanish, the translator has to decide whether to simply omit a detail of manner or to preserve it in an adverbial clause, thereby giving it more narrative weight than in the original.⁶ In the following examples, two translators came to different solutions for the verb *rustle*.

- (23) Mrs Tranter rustled forward, effusive and kind. (Fowles, 1969: 101)

Mrs Tranter se adelantó, efusiva y amable.

'Mrs Tranter moved forward, effusive and kind.' (Fowles, 1981: 109)

- (24) She rustled out of the room . . . (Du Maurier, 1938: 204)

Salió del cuarto, acompañada del susurro siseante de sus ropas . . .

'She exited from the room, accompanied by the swishing rustle of her clothing.' (Du Maurier, 1959: 293)

Finally, it should be noted that some verbs that conflate motion and manner can be used in identical fashion in both languages, even though Spanish is a verb-framed language:

- (25) They ran downstairs . . . (Lessing, 1952: 133)

Corrieron escaleras abajo . . .

'They ran stairs downwards . . .' (Lessing, 1979: 152)

⁶ As Talmy (1985: 122) has pointed out: 'A theoretical perspective that encompasses both sections 1 [verbs] and 2 [satellites] pertains to *salience*, the degree to which a component of meaning, due to its type of linguistic representation, emerges into the foreground of attention or, on the contrary, forms part of the semantic background where it attracts little direct attention. In this regard, there appears to be a universal principle. Other things being equal . . . a semantic element is backgrounded by expression in the main verb root or in any closed-class element (including a satellite . . .). Elsewhere it is foregrounded.'

- (26) ... he slipped among the trees ... (Michener, 1978: 23)
... se deslizó entre los árboles ...
 '... he slipped among the trees ...' (Michener, 1980: 14)
- (27) Suddenly she was walking, almost running, across the turf towards the path. (Fowles, 1969: 124)
De pronto, echó a andar, casi a correr, a través del prado hacia el camino.
 'Suddenly she started to walk, almost to run, across the meadow towards the path.' (Fowles, 1981: 131)

8.3. DISCUSSION

It is important to try to distinguish those characteristics of Spanish that are definitional of a verb-framed language from those that may result from typological factors but not be a necessary consequence of them. Spanish is verb-framed in that the core meaning of a motion event—its directionality—tends to be expressed by the verb itself (e.g. *entrar* 'go in,' *bajar* 'go down,' *cruzar* 'go across'). We have already noted, though, that Spanish also has verbs that are neutral with regard to directionality, and that some of these also encode manner of movement (e.g. *ir* 'go,' *correr* 'run'). Some of these verbs also occur with what appear to be satellites (e.g. *correr abajo* 'run down'). As is almost always the case, typologies leak. In addition, both types of language—verb-framed and satellite-framed—have constructions in which locative phrases can be used with verbs of motion to indicate landmarks. Why, then, are there such large differences in the degree of narrative attention paid to motion events in the two languages?

I think the answer can be found in another type of constraint in Spanish. Jon Aske (1989: 6), in a qualification to Talmy's typology, has pointed out that there are two types of path phrase: (1) a *one-dimensional locative path phrase* 'which adds the "location" (i.e. the path or one-dimensional region) in which the activity took place' and (2) a *telic path phrase* which 'predicates ... an end-of-path location/state of the Figure.' Both types are possible in English—e.g. (1) *He ran along the road/across the lawn/through the tunnel;* (2) *He ran into the house/off of the bridge.* Only the former, however, are possible in Spanish. (Aske points out (p.c.): 'The problem in Spanish is expressing the resulting state—the telic state—in the same clause' as a non-telic verb of motion.) Aske attributes this to a general constraint in Spanish. The telic path phrase acts as a *non-verbal predicate* (Fillmore, 1988)—that is, it predicates both path and the location of the figure

(he ran into the house *and* he is in the house as a consequence). Aske proposes that Spanish has a general restriction against resultative nonverbal predicates, accordingly excluding these motion constructions along with others. He notes, for example, that Spanish 'has nothing comparable to *Pat kicked the door open*, *We stood the pole erect*, or *She knocked the door down*' (Aske 1989: 6). Thus, in addition to being a verb-framed language, Spanish also has a further restriction on the types of path phrases that can occur with verbs of motion.⁷

The consequence for the encoding of motion events is that a single verb can accumulate path phrases only if they are nontelic. This seems to be true both of the Spanish novels and of the Spanish translations, as well as of the frog stories. In the novels there are only three instances of a verb of motion occurring with phrases indicating two ground elements. All three are nontelic, describing only the path itself or the arrival at a goal, without predicing an end-state (or crossing a boundary).

- (28) *Los llevó a través de un laberinto de helados corredores hasta la sala que había preparado ...*
 'He led them through a labyrinth of icy corridors to the room that he had prepared.' (Allende, 1982: 213)
- (29) *Miguel se arriesgaba a entrar de día, arrastrándose entre los matorrales, como un ladrón, hasta la puerta del sótano ...*
 '... Miguel dared to enter by day, crawling through the bushes, like a thief, to the door of the basement ...' (Allende, 1982: 294)
- (30) *... pude caminar, sin grandes dificultades, por el callejón de entrada, entre los eucaliptos.*
 '... I was able to walk, without great difficulty, along the entry lane, between the eucalyptus trees.' (Sabato, 1988: 129)

Note that, in all three instances, the first ground is the medium (and also the second in 30)—that is, it constitutes part of the path itself ('through a labyrinth of corridors,' 'through the bushes,' 'along the entry lane between the trees'). The goal in (28) and (29) is only approached, and therefore its particular locative features are neutral

⁷ More recently, Slobin and Hoiting (1994), following a suggestion from Talmy (p.c.) have proposed that Aske's telic verbs all involve paths in which the figure crosses a boundary, such as 'exit,' 'enter,' and 'cross.' They find that, across a range of verb-framed languages, verbs of manner can occur with path expressions as long as the path does not cross a boundary (American Sign Language, French, Japanese, Korean, Sign Language of the Netherlands, Turkish). In this same collection of languages, resultative changes of state must also be expressed in separate clauses, as in Spanish: *El hombre abrió la puerta de una patada* 'The man opened the door of [= with] a kick.'

with regard to the verb. The phrase is marked by *hasta*, which means 'up to' or 'as far as' ('up to the room,' 'up to the door'). These journeys are thus nontelic in Aske's sense, or non-boundary-crossing in the sense of Slobin and Hoiting. (The same is true of (6c) from a frog story.)

There are an additional eight Spanish examples of such descriptions of journeys in the translations. All of them either encode details of the path itself, as in (30), or only approach the goal—indicated by *hasta* or *hacia* 'towards.' Some of these even specify three ground elements—indicating that this is possible in Spanish, though it does not occur in any original Spanish examples. For example:

- (31) ... *echó a correr sendero abajo, entre los setos, hacia el coche.*
 '... started to run down the path, through the bushes, towards the car.' (Lessing, 1979: 72).
- (32) ... *los tres hombres caminaron... por las calles, desde la cárcel, hasta el extremo de la marisma...*
 '... the three men walked... through the streets, from the jail, to the tip of the marsh...' (Michener, 1980: 764)

Such accumulations of locative phrases are not possible with a single motion verb in Spanish if the phrases are telic. Thus the following English journey is broken up into two separate telic phrases in Spanish translation:

- (33) I went into the hall and through to the dining room. (Du Maurier, 1938: 243)
Entré en el hall y pasé al comedor.
 'I entered in the hall and passed to the dining room.' (Du Maurier, 1959: 348)

Aske examines isolated clauses and presents his constraint in syntactic terms. However, in the analysis of multiclause journeys, it seems to be a rhetorical constraint as well. Consider the journeys described in (13) and (14) above. The first clause in each, taken alone, seems to have a nontelic path phrase: *went through the drawing-room, walked through the park*. That is, there is no nonverbal predicate that indicates a particular 'end-of-path location/state of the Figure' (Aske, 1989: 6). Yet these phrases become telic by virtue of the following phrase, which begins another path segment: *went through the drawing-room → to the morning-room; walked through the park → and along the avenues*. The second segment assigns an end-state to the first, thus providing a nonverbal predicate by implication. (Following the suggestion of Slobin

and Hoiting, 1994, these paths involve a boundary crossing, as indicated by the arrows in the examples.) Accordingly, these single-verb journeys are translated with two-clause constructions: *Pasando por el salón, fui al gabinete* 'Passing through the drawing-room, I went to the morning-room;' *Martha cruzó el parque y paseó a lo largo de las avenidas* 'Martha crossed the park and promenaded along the avenues.'

Given these constraints, Spanish speakers and writers have apparently developed a 'rhetorical set' that favors separate clauses for each segment of a complex motion event. A series of separate clauses, however, retards the fluent depiction of a journey, perhaps leading to a preference to limit the specification of path details unless absolutely necessary. This may be why the average number of verbs per motion event is the same for the Spanish and English novels: something like one to two verbs may represent a comfortable narrative rhythm. Because manner generally requires an additional verb in Spanish, depiction of manner is also curtailed in comparison with English, where it can come along as part of the verb of motion. In addition, each separate main clause demands attention as a foregrounded proposition, thus militating against a proliferation of main clauses, and perhaps favoring subordinate and adverbial clauses in order to maintain a foreground/background contrast. These rhetorical constraints may lead Spanish speakers to make more use of adverbial constructions to encode manner, and more use of descriptive locative constructions such as relative-clause constructions to encode setting.

Once such a rhetorical set has become established in a language, speakers may be loath to go beyond the norm even when there are no syntactic or semantic constraints that block particular expressions. This may explain the findings that only two out of 216 Spanish and Latin American frog-story narrators used the equivalents of 'the dog fell from the window to the ground/street'; that only one used the equivalent of 'he carried him across the field to a cliff'; and that only 8 per cent of motion events in Spanish novels mention two ground elements in one clause. These few examples, along with more extended examples from the translations, demonstrate that some types of construction with two or more locative phrases in a clause are, indeed, possible in Spanish. Yet they 'go against the grain' of the rhetorical use of the language.

There is thus a multifaceted answer to the question of why Spanish narrations of motion events seem so sparse from an English point of

view. Part of the answer has to do with characteristics of a verb-framed language. These characteristics also interact with the particular type of lexicon in the language and with general constraints on the types of construction that are licensed. Finally, all of these factors 'train' the speakers - at least from late preschool age onwards - in the development of a particular rhetorical style (Berman and Slobin, 1994). Once established in the discourse and literature of a language, such a style can apparently maintain itself across dialects, and probably across discourse types and genres as well.

Fillmore has pointed to various types of evidence for 'the connection between linguistic forms and matters of rhetoric and usage' (1989: 35). I offer this analysis of the constructions associated with motion events as another piece of evidence for the pragmatic functions of grammar. And, further, I suggest that typologies of grammar have consequences for 'typologies of rhetoric.' The effects of such typologies on usage may be strong enough to influence speakers' narrative attention to particular conceptual domains. And, as a consequence, the meanings of verbs of motion in a given language must be considered in the light of both the typological frame of the language and the discourse frames in which such verbs occur.

REFERENCES

- ASKE, J. (1989). 'Path Predicates in English and Spanish: A Closer Look,' *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 1-14.
- BAMBERG, M. G. W. (1987). *The Acquisition of Narrative: Learning to Use Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- BERMAN, R. A., and SLOBIN, D. I. (1994). *Relating Events in Narrative: A Crosslinguistic Developmental Study*. (Hillsdale, NJ): Erlbaum.
- DIETRICH, R., and GRAUMANN, C. F. (eds.) (1989). *Language Processing in Social Context*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- FILLMORE, C. J. (1988). 'On Grammatical Constructions.' Unpublished paper.
- (1989). 'Grammatical Construction Theory and the Familiar Dichotomies,' in Dietrich and Graumann (1989: 17-38). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- and ATKINS, B. T. (1992). 'Toward a Frame-Based Lexicon: The Semantics of RISK and its Neighbors,' in Lehrer and Kittay (1992: 75-102).
- LEHRER, A., and KITTAY, E. V. (eds.) (1992). *Frames, Fields, and Contrasts: New Essays in Semantic and Lexical Organization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- MAYER, M. (1969). *Frog, Where Are You?* New York: Dial Press.

- SEBASTIÁN, E., and SLOBIN, D. I. (1994). 'Development of Linguistic Forms: Spanish,' in Berman and Slobin (1994: 239-84).
- SOPEN, T. (ed.) (1985). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description iii: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- SLOBIN, D. I. (1991). 'Learning to Think for Speaking: Native Language, Cognition, and Rhetorical Style,' *Pragmatics* 1: 7-26.
- and BOCAZ, A. (1988). 'Learning to Talk About Movement Through Time and Space: The Development of Narrative Abilities in Spanish and English,' *Lenguas modernas* 15: 5-24.
- and HOITING, N. (1994). 'Reference to Movement in Spoken and Signed languages: Typological Considerations,' *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 487-505.
- TALMY, L. (1985). 'Lexicalization Patterns: Semantic Structure in Lexical Forms,' in Shopen (1985: 36-149).
- (1991). 'Path to Realization: A Typology of Event Conflation,' *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 480-519.

Novels

- ALLENDE, I. (1982). *La Casa de los Espíritus*. Barcelona: Plaza & Janes. (1985). *The House of the Spirits*, trans. M. Bogin. New York: Bantam.
- DONOSO, J. (1983). *Coronación*. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
- DU MAURIER, D. (1938). *Rebecca*. New York: Modern Library. (1959). *Rebecca*, trans. F. Calleja. Barcelona: Plaza & Janes.
- FOWLES, J. (1969). *The French Lieutenant's Woman*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- (1981). *La Mujer del Teniente Francés*, trans. A. M. de la Fuente. Barcelona: Argos Vergara.
- GARCÍA MÁRQUEZ, G. (1967 (1982 edn.)). *Cien Años de Soledad*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe. (1970). *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, trans. G. Rabassa. New York: Bard.
- HEMINGWAY, E. (1941 (1976 edn.)). *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. London: Grafton.
- LESSING, D. (1952). *A Proper Marriage*. New York: New American Library. (1979). *Un Casamiento Convencional*, trans. F. Parcerisas and A. Samons. Barcelona: Argos Vergara.
- MICHEHER, J. A. (1978). *Chesapeake*. New York: Fawcett Crest. (1980). *Bahía de Chesapeake*, trans. A. Martín. Barcelona: Plaza & Janes.
- SABATO, E. (1988). *El Tunel*. Barcelona: Seix Barral.
- VARGAS LLOSA, M. (1977). *La Tía Julia y el Escribidor*. Barcelona: Seix Barral. (1982). *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter*, trans. H. R. Lane. New York: Avon.