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## ► To cite this version:

Injoo Choi-Jonin, Laure Sarda. The Expression of Semantic Components and the Nature of Ground Entity in Orientation Motion Verbs: a Cross-Linguistic Account based on French and Korean. Michel Aurnague, Maya Hickmann and Laure Vieu. The Categorization of Spatial Entities in Language and Cognition, John Benjamins, pp.123-149, 2007, Human Cognitive Processing 20. halshs-00198589

**HAL Id: halshs-00198589**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00198589>**

Submitted on 17 Dec 2007

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**The Expression of Semantic Components and the Nature of Ground  
Entity in Orientation Motion Verbs: a Cross-Linguistic Account based  
on French and Korean**

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**1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Following Talmy's work on "lexicalization patterns" (1985, 2000), we examine the relationships between meaning (in terms of the semantic or conceptual component) and surface expression (overt linguistic forms). We concentrate on how Motion, Path and Deixis components are expressed by verbal constructions with the following motion verbs, in French and in Korean:

|     |              |              |                   |                 |                   |                    |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Fr  | <i>aller</i> | <i>venir</i> | <i>entrer</i>     | <i>sortir</i>   | <i>monter</i>     | <i>descendre</i>   |
| Kr  | <i>ga-da</i> | <i>o-da</i>  | <i>dilə ga-da</i> | <i>na ga-da</i> | <i>olla ga-da</i> | <i>nerjə ga-da</i> |
|     |              |              | <i>dilə o-da</i>  | <i>na o-da</i>  | <i>olla o-da</i>  | <i>nerjə o-da</i>  |
| Eng | <i>go</i>    | <i>come</i>  | <i>go in</i>      | <i>go out</i>   | <i>go up</i>      | <i>go down</i>     |
|     |              |              | <i>come in</i>    | <i>come out</i> | <i>come up</i>    | <i>come down</i>   |

We call these verbs “orientation motion verbs”, since they express in Korean and French a motion towards or from the speaker (deictic motion) and/or frontal and vertical orientation.

From a general typological point of view, French and Korean belong to the same group of Verb-framed languages, i.e. languages where the Path component is naturally lexicalized by the verb ((1a), (1b)), in contrast to the Satellite-framed languages where the Path is lexicalized by the satellite, such as English (1c).

(1a) Fr *il* monta *sur la table.*  
 he-Subj moved up-V on-Prep the-Det table-N

[Motion + Path]

(1b) Kr *ki-nin cʰeksaj-qi-e* olla-ga -ſʰ-da.  
 he-Th table-top-Loc move up-go-Pas-TS

[Path + Motion + Deixis]

(1c) Eng *He* climbed up *onto the table.*  
 [Motion] [Path]

We do not question this very general typological distinction between Verb-framed and Satellite-framed languages, but we propose here to further examine the data of two languages belonging to the same group.

Our aim is twofold. On the one hand, we want to characterize the exact role that each element in the verbal complex (verbs, adpositions or suffixes, relational nouns, type of object) plays in the expression of the Motion, Path

and Deixis components through a detailed description of object marking for each type of orientation motion verbs. On the other hand, we shall describe the constraints of object selection by taking into account the nature of “ground entities”.

According to Talmy (ib.), Motion and Path are basic components of a motion event, along with the Figure (entity to be localized) and the Ground (localizing entity). Motion refers to the presence *per se* of motion (MOVE) or locatedness (BE<sub>LOC</sub>) in the event. The Path is the path followed or the site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the ground object (cf. Talmy, 1985: 25). In addition, a motion event can be associated with a co-event expressing Manner, Cause or Deixis (i.e. motion towards the speakers vs. motion away from the speaker).<sup>2</sup> In this study, we consider motion involving a displacement (MOVE) and not the result of a motion (BE<sub>LOC</sub>); also, we specifically address the distribution of Motion, Path and Deixis components in patterns where the Figure is expressed by the subject and the Ground by the object.

Regarding the ways in which these components are lexicalized by surface expressions, Talmy identified two types of surface expressions in English capable of realizing the Path component: the satellite and the preposition. He pointed out that the Path is generally completely expressed by the combination of both a satellite and a preposition, but when the Ground is not expressed, it is the preposition that must disappear, not the satellite. In *I ran out of the house*, the ellipsis of the constituent realizing the Ground

component implies the suppression of *of*, and not of *out*: *I ran out* / \**I ran of*.

Since the Path is expressed both by the satellite and the preposition, and can be expressed by other surface expressions both in French and Korean, we suggest in this paper that it is necessary to distinguish different types of Path. On the basis of French data, the question arises of whether the verb, the direct object and the preposition express the same Path as in *il monte vers la colline* ‘he is moving up towards the hill’, or *il descend l’escalier* ‘he is moving down the staircase’. In Korean, a motion verb can combine with a deictic motion verb, forming a compound verb. An additional question is thus whether the two components of the compound express the same type of Motion.

Concerning the question of object selection, the orientation motion verbs call for an argument referring to a spatial entity. However, not all types of orientation motion verbs can combine with any noun designating a spatial entity. In addition, the type of object marking also seems to play a role in object selection. A sub-categorization of spatial entities (see Aurnague (1996, 2004) and Aurnague, Champagne, Vieu et al. in this volume) is therefore useful to identify the type of nouns which can be associated with grammatical objects. By addressing the question whether French and Korean behave in the same way with regards to object selection and categorization of spatial entities, we will provide evidence to reinforce the

view that ‘objects’ and ‘locations’ are strongly different and that relational nouns have a close link with ‘locations’.

In this paper, we first present an outline of motion constructions and object marking in Korean and French (section 2). We then present data showing the need to distinguish two types of Motion and we discuss the lexicalization patterns of Korean motion events described in Choi and Bowerman (1991) (section 3). In section 4, we examine the combinability of each type of orientation motion verb with object marking in French and Korean, and determine which category realizes which semantic component. We then propose to distinguish three types of Path. In section 5, we further investigate the verb-object relationships by describing the selection restrictions imposed by the different verbs and the different possibilities of object marking.

We conclude by suggesting that the semantic components of motion put forward by Talmy are not sufficient for a fine-grained description of motion, and that Motion and Path components must be sub-categorized. In addition, this study confirms the importance of considering the nature of the entity associated with the grammatical object in order to explain constraints on object selection.

## **2. A brief outline of motion constructions and object marking in Korean and French**

### 2.1. Korean motion constructions

In Korean, a verbal form is made up of a verbal root, followed by several verbal suffixes, such as an honorific suffix, an aspectual suffix, a modal suffix and a terminal suffix (a table of abbreviations is given at the end of the paper):<sup>3</sup>

(2) VR – Hon –AT –MS1 – MS2 – TS

*ga - si - əs' - kəs' - də - la.*

go - Hon - Pas- Pres - Test - Ass

‘From what I saw, I assume he went away.’

Motion constructions can be made up of a compound verb, which consists of several verbal roots, the last one being a deictic motion verb:

(3) VR1 – VR2 – VR3 – Hon –AT –MS1 – MS2 – TS

*giə - olla - ga - si - əs' - kəs' - də - la.*

crawl- move up-go- Hon - Pas- Pres - Test - Ass

‘From what I saw, I assume he crawled up (crawl-move up-go).’

Deictic motion verbs *ga-da* (‘go’) and *o-da* (‘come’) express that the subject, considered as the Figure of motion, moves respectively away from the speaker and towards the speaker.

### 2.2. French motion constructions

French orientation motion verbs can appear in the intransitive construction (4a), in the direct transitive construction (causative (4b) or non causative (4c)), or in the intransitive construction with a prepositional object (this is the most frequent case (4d)):

(4a) *Les eaux montent.*

the-Det waters-Subj move up-V

‘The water (Fig) is rising.’

(4b) *Max monte les livres au grenier.*

Max-Subj move up-V the-Det books-N to-Prep+the-Det attic-N

‘Max is bringing the books (Fig) up to the attic (Gr).’

(4c) *Max monte l’escalier.*

Max-Subj move up-V the-Det staircase-N

‘Max (Fig) is going up the staircase (Gr).’

(4d) *Max monte sur la colline.*

Max-Subj move up-V on-Prep the-Det hill-N

‘Max (Fig) is climbing the hill (Gr).’

In the following, we do not consider the causative construction where the direct object expresses the Figure.

### 2.3. Korean object marking system



A Korean noun, used as a constituent in a sentence, can be followed by what is traditionally called an auxiliary particle. These auxiliary particles are grammatical morphemes since they do not carry lexical meaning and are not syntactically autonomous. Indeed, they must be preceded by a nominal constituent. Korean grammars distinguish two types of auxiliary particles: case particles and specific particles. Case particles include Nominative, Genitive, Accusative, Dative, Locative, Ablative, Directional, Instrumental, Comitative, and Vocative; specific particles include Topic and other particles which express the beginning or the end of a process ('from... until'), a restriction ('only'), an addition ('also'), a random selection ('any') etc. A case particle cannot be combined with another case particle, but it can occur with a specific particle.<sup>4</sup> Concerning so-called case marking, we prefer to talk of functional nominal suffixes rather than cases, because their presence after a nominal constituent is not obligatory. An object of a motion verb can be combined with a functional nominal suffix such as the accusative, the locative, the ablative or the directional. In addition, in order to express specific localization, Korean uses relational nouns, which can be combined with a functional nominal suffix.<sup>5</sup>

(5) *ki-nin c<sup>h</sup>eksaj-**yi**-e olla-ga -s<sup>l</sup>-da.*

he-Th table-top-Loc move up-go-Pas-TS

'He climbed up onto the table.'

## 2.4. French prepositional system

Orientation motion verbs can combine with a variety of prepositions which are the equivalent of the Korean functional nominal suffix system, as in the table below (this list is not exhaustive):

|     |       |      |         |     |      |     |       |      |    |         |
|-----|-------|------|---------|-----|------|-----|-------|------|----|---------|
| Fr  | à     | de   | vers    | ∅   | dans | sur | sous  | par  | en | jusqu'à |
| Kr  | Loc   | Abl  | Dir     | Acc |      |     |       | inst |    |         |
|     | -e    | -esə | -ro     | -il |      |     |       | -ro  |    | -k'aci  |
| Eng | at/to | from | towards | ∅   | in   | on  | under | by   |    | until   |

## 3. Basic Motion vs. Deictic Motion

In this section, we examine which component is expressed by the verb in French and Korean. The orientation verbs under consideration here, *aller/venir* ('go'/'come'), *entrer/sortir* ('move in' ('enter')/'move out' ('leave')), *monter/descendre* ('move up' ('go up')/'move down' ('go down')) and their Korean counterparts express deictic motion and/or frontal or vertical orientation.

As shown in the introduction (ex. (1a)), French motion verbs conflate Motion and Path (i.e. the verb expresses both the Motion (MOVE) and the Path component (IN, OUT, UP or DOWN)). We now examine what happens with Korean verbs.

Korean motion verbs are characterized by their combinability with deictic motion verbs *ga-da* ('go') or *o-da* ('come'). According to Choi & Bowerman (1991: 89), the deictic motion verb expresses Motion and Deixis, while the first verbal root *move in*, *move out*, *move up* or *move down* expresses the Path component (and not the Motion component).<sup>6</sup>

|     |             |                  |              |                  |
|-----|-------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| (6) | VR1         | VR2              | VR1          | VR2              |
|     | <i>dilə</i> | <i>ga/o-da</i>   | <i>olla</i>  | <i>ga/o-da</i>   |
|     | move in     | go/ come         | move up      | go/ come         |
|     | <i>na</i>   | <i>ga/o-da</i>   | <i>nerjə</i> | <i>ga/o-da</i>   |
|     | move out    | go/ come         | move down    | go/ come         |
|     | [Path]      | [Motion+ Deixis] | [Path]       | [Motion+ Deixis] |

In the examples that follow, however, compound verbs *diləsəda* (Lit. 'standing after having entered') and *nasəda* (Lit. 'standing after having left') express Motion thanks to the verbal roots *dilə-* ('move in') and *na-* ('move out'), in the absence of any deictic motion verb.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the possibility of combining these verbs with an ideophone or an adverb of manner reinforces the idea that they intrinsically express Motion.<sup>8</sup>

(7) *insu-nin bay-iro əgicəg əgicəg dilə-sə-s<sup>1</sup>-da.*

Insoo-Th room-Dir waddle move in-stand-Pas-TS

'Insoo MOVED-in the room waddling, WITH-THE-CONCURRENT-RESULT-OF [he stands].'

'Insoo was waddling into the room.'

(8) *insu-nin cib-bak-iro c<sup>h</sup>ənc<sup>h</sup>ənhi na-sə-s<sup>1</sup>-da.*

Insoo-Th house-out-Dir slowly move out-stand-Pas-TS  
 ‘Insoo MOVED-out of the house slowly, WITH-THE-  
 CONCURRENT-RESULT-OF [he stands].’  
 ‘Insoo slowly stepped out of the house.’

The verbs *ori-da* / *neri-da* (‘move up’/ ‘move down’) can also express Motion alone when their objects refer to a vehicle.

(9) *tʰegsi-e/esə ori/neri-nin insu.*

Taxi-Loc/Abl get in/ get off-AS Insoo  
 ‘Insoo MOVED-up/down (in/out of) the taxi.’  
 ‘Insoo who gets in/out of a taxi.’

These examples clearly show that orientation verbs as well as deictic motion verbs express Motion. We thus propose to distinguish basic intrinsic motion (i.e. the motion along the frontal or vertical direction) from deictic motion (Motion + Deixis, i.e. the motion toward or away from the speaker). In Korean, compound verbs are made up of an orientation motion verb and a deictic motion verb, the former expressing both Path and Basic Motion and the latter Deictic Motion.

|      |                     |                  |                        |
|------|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| (10) | V1                  | V2               |                        |
|      | <i>dilə</i>         | <i>ga/o-da</i>   | ‘go in’/ ‘come in’     |
|      | <i>na</i>           | <i>ga/o-da</i>   | ‘go out’/ ‘come out’   |
|      | <i>olla</i>         | <i>ga/o-da</i>   | ‘go up’/ ‘come up’     |
|      | <i>nerjə</i>        | <i>ga/o-da</i>   | ‘go down’/ ‘come down’ |
|      | [Path+Basic Motion] | [Deictic Motion] |                        |

These two types of Motion must also be distinguished in French. Even though the Deictic Motion is never realized (except with the verbs *aller/venir*), the Basic Motion is expressed by orientation verbs in addition to Path.

|      |                  |             |
|------|------------------|-------------|
| (11) | V                |             |
|      | <i>entrer</i>    | ‘go into’   |
|      | <i>sortir</i>    | ‘go out of’ |
|      | <i>monter</i>    | ‘go up’     |
|      | <i>descendre</i> | ‘go down’   |

[Path + Basic Motion]

In this section, we have introduced the distinction between Basic and Deictic Motion and showed that Korean patterns express Path and basic Motion in the first verbal root, and deictic Motion in the last one. We insisted on the fact that the first verbal root does express Motion independently of the presence of a deictic motion verb.

#### **4. Object Marking**

In this section, we examine the possibilities of combining the six orientation motion verbs under consideration with different object markers (Korean functional nominal suffixes or French prepositions). We present the Korean data in section 4.1, and the French data in section 4.2. Finally, in section 4.3, we compare the strategies used in French and in Korean to express specific

localization, i.e. localization involving the use of “color prepositions” such as *in*, *on*, and *under*.<sup>9</sup>

#### 4.1. Korean Data

In Korean, orientation motion verbs exhibit four possibilities of object marking: zero, Locative/Ablative, Accusative and Directional. All verbs can occur with all suffixes (Acc, Loc/Abl, Dir), even if the verb *dilə-ga-da* (‘move in’) with an accusative object denotes an activity rather than the motion itself (ex. ‘enter the army’).

We illustrate these different possibilities with the verb *ori-da* (‘move up’).

(12) Object- $\emptyset$  olla-ga/o-da

*agas'i-ga saul olla-ga-l t'e g'aci-yo.*

Miss-Nom Seoul- $\emptyset$  move up-go-AS moment till-TS

‘Until Miss went up to Seoul.’ (*Life*, 02, 13/41)

(13) Obj-Acc olla-ga/o-da

*gimse mig'irəcil gəs gat<sup>h</sup>in*

‘which seems very slippery’

*[bjəraŋ-il gjəu da olla-ga-s'-ninde] .....*

cliff-Acc just all move up-go-Pas-CS

‘(he) just climbed up the cliff’

‘He just climbed up the cliff which seems very slippery.....’

(*Imp*, 9)

(14) Object-Dir olla-ga/o-da

*mjəŋhwa haggjo-ro olla-ga-n-da.*

PN school-Dir move up-go-Pst-TS

‘Meonghwa is going up to the school.’ (*Shylover*, 20)

(15) Object-Loc/Abl olla-ga/o-da

a. *ca ice-nin namu-yi-e olla-ga-ge.*

well now-Th tree-top-Loc move up-go-TS

Lit. ‘Climb up the tree.’ (*The death of a salt merchant*)

b. *sokimcaŋsu-nin[...]* *namu-esə nerjə-o-a-s'-ipnida.*

salt merchant-Th tree-Abl move down-come-Pas-TS

Lit. ‘The salt merchant came down from the tree.’

(*The death of a salt merchant*)

The zero marked object seems to be used when the object is not considered as an entity conceived independently of the verb’s representation: in example (12), *səul olla-gada* represents the event of ‘going up to Seoul’. Therefore, zero marked objects often express an activity or an occupation: one goes somewhere (to the hospital, to the casino, to work etc...) in order to do something. Locative and Ablative (15) objects respectively express goal-location and source-location. The Accusative (13) conflates Path with

Ground, which provides a global vision of the process. Finally, Directional (14) creates a Path between the positions of Figure and Ground.

These observations suggest that the notion of Path is not only marked by the verbal element but also by object marking and lead us to propose a refinement of Talmy's Path component. On the one hand, orientation motion verbs express a Path towards the inside/outside, the top or the bottom. On the other hand, functional nominal suffixes express a Path corresponding to the location of the Figure with respect to the Ground (Loc/Abl) or the trajectory of the Figure that may or may not be conflated with the Ground (Acc/Dir). These distinctions provide the basis for a new typology of Paths that we will propose at the end of this section.

#### 4.2. French Data

We now examine the possibility of combining French orientation motion verbs with the prepositions *à* ('to/at'), *de* ('from'), *vers* ('towards') and the null preposition (i.e. transitive construction), corresponding to the Korean suffixes Locative, Ablative, Directional and Accusative, respectively.

In contrast to Korean, not all French orientation motion verbs can combine with all prepositions. The preposition *à* is the only one that occurs with all six verbs, but when it is combined with *entrer* ('move in') and *sortir* ('move out'), the object must be preceded by a definite article and the denoted event corresponds very often to an activity rather than a motion event. The



definite object can be interpreted as generic: *entrer à l'école* etc. (lit. 'enter to the school': 'go to school') and leads to an interpretation as an activity, or specific: *entrer à la cuisine (pour prendre une pomme)* ('enter the kitchen to take an apple') and leads to an interpretation as a motion event. When combined with the verbs *aller*, *venir*, *monter* and *descendre*, the preposition *à* introduces a goal location.

The preposition *de* ('from') can combine with *monter* ('move up'), *descendre* ('move down'), *sortir* ('move out') and *venir* ('come'). In all these cases, *de* introduces the source-object. It is pragmatically incompatible with the verb *entrer* ('move in'), which focuses on the goal location. It is normally also incompatible with *aller* ('go'), which expresses a motion from the speaker, considered the source (it is thus redundant to introduce another source), except in the presence of another PP introduced by the preposition *à* ('to') and optionally, an adverbial determining the manner of going or the circumstances, as in *elle est allée de Toulouse à Paris en avion* (lit. 'she went from Toulouse to Paris in airplane': 'she flew from...to...'). In this case, *aller* loses its deictic value.

The preposition *vers* ('towards') can occur with the verbs *aller* ('go'), *venir* ('come'), *monter* ('move up') and *descendre* ('move down'), but not with *entrer* ('move in') and rarely with *sortir* ('move out'). When *sortir* occurs with a directional PP, the latter denotes a rough direction: *elle est sortie vers le centre* (lit. 'she went out towards the city center').

Finally, only *monter* ('move up') and *descendre* ('move down') can have a direct object. With these verbs, the French direct construction involves, as does the Accusative in Korean, a global vision of the process where part of the Path component is conflated with the Ground which corresponds to a holistic Theme (Dowty, 1991). In *monter l'escalier* ('go up the stairs'), the object *l'escalier* is a functional path that serves to measure out the process (Tenny, 1995).

The French deictic verbs *aller* ('go') and *venir* ('come') never appear in the direct construction, except *aller* in combination with a cognate object as in *elle va son chemin* ('she goes her way'). The verbs *entrer* ('move in') and *sortir* ('move out') never take a direct object.

#### 4.3. Linguistic material that expresses specific localization

In French, orientation motion verbs can occur with "color prepositions" such as *dans*, *sur*, *sous* ('in', 'on', 'under') and with complex prepositions made up of relational nouns such as *à l'intérieur de*, *au-dessus de*, *au-dessous de...* ('inside of', 'on top of', 'below'). The former prepositions express a functional relation between the Figure and the Ground (such as containment, support or access to perception), the latter are specific in that they systematically imply a space portion which is localized with respect to the Ground (cf. Aurnague, 2004; Aurnague & Vieu, 1993; Vandeloise, 1986). In Korean, this distinction is not made. Indeed, the relational noun

*yi* ('top') is used not only for a relation implying contact (*on*) but also for a relation which does not imply it (*above*):

(16) *insu-nin c<sup>h</sup>egsan yi-e olla-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-da.*

Insoo-Th table top-Loc move up-go-Pst-TS

'Insoo climbed on the table.'

(17) *tal-i san-yi-e t<sup>1</sup>ə-oll-as<sup>1</sup>-da.*

moon-Subj mountain-Loc rise-move up-Pst-TS

'The moon rose above the mountain.'

In Korean, localization is always expressed by functional suffixes, and space portion by relational nouns, as for the following French complex prepositions: *au bord de* ('at the edge of'), *à côté de* ('next to'), *au-dessus de* ('on top of') etc. However, Korean relational nouns can combine with any functional suffix, whereas the French complex prepositions made up of relational nouns and the preposition *à* are fossilized expressions at various stages (see Aurnague, 1996; Svorou, 1994).

In this section, we have examined the combinability of each type of orientation verb with different object markings in French and in Korean. This led us to distinguish different types of path, realized by different surface expressions: orientation motion verbs express the "Path of motion" (towards the inside/outside, the top/the bottom); the Korean functional nominal suffixes Locative and Ablative, and the French prepositions (*à, de*) express the "Path of localization" (goal or source); the Korean Accusative

and the French direct object express the “Path of total trajectory” of the Figure, while the Korean Directional and the French preposition *vers* express the “Path of partial trajectory” of the Figure. In French, localization of the Figure can be realized also by the color prepositions *dans, sur, sous* (‘in’, ‘on’, ‘under’), which imply in addition a functional relation between the Figure and the Ground; whereas in Korean, it is always realized by a functional nominal suffix and the functional relation between the Figure and the Ground is not taken into account. Finally, space portions are realized by relational nouns in French and in Korean.

This morpho-syntactic description must now be enriched by means of a semantic analysis. Indeed, even when one type of verb can combine with a type of object marking, there are constraints on the type of noun in object position. In the next section, we thus focus on object selection.

## **5. Object Selection**

### *5.1. Ontology of spatial entities*

In this section we use the ontological distinctions between location type entities and object type entities (see Aurnague (1996, 2004) and Aurnague, Champagne, Vieu et al. in this volume). A “location” is a material entity which defines a space portion that is fixed in a given frame of reference

(e.g., *home, buildings, ocean, mountain*, etc.). An “object” is a material entity, which may not necessarily have to be associated with a space portion and is not necessarily fixed (*Peter, tree, table*, etc.). However, an “object noun” can denote a (specified) location, for instance when it is specified by a relational noun of localization (e.g., *the edge of the table, the foot of the tree, the bottom of the book*, etc. are all expressions which denote a specified location because the position of the place they denote is well-known). Nouns such as *Paris, Rock of Gibraltar* are equally specified locations. In the following, it is important to avoid confusion between the grammatical object and the ontological object. We now analyze the lexical selection of each type of grammatical object combined with each type of orientation verb. An overview of object marking and object selection is given at the end of the section.

## 5.2. *Locative / ablative object and the prepositions à / de*

### 5.2.1. *Deictic motion verbs ('go', 'come')*

In Korean, the noun associated with a locative object, occurring with deictic motion verbs *ga-da* ('go') or *o-da* ('come'), must denote a location. If it denotes an ontological object, it must be followed by a relational noun such as *ap<sup>h</sup>* ('front') or *dyi* ('behind') and thus denotes a specified location:

(18) *sigsa cib-e ga-sə di-si-gujo.*

meal home-Loc go-CS eat-Hon-TS

‘OK, have dinner at home.’ (*Shylover*, 9)

Lit. ‘You go home, and have your dinner.’

(19) *kəul-ap<sup>h</sup>-e ga-sə məri mancjə po-go.*

mirror-front-Loc go-CS hair arrange-CS

‘He places himself in front of the mirror, to do his hair.’

(*Life*, 02, 2/41)

On the other hand, the noun associated with an ablative object occurring with the deictic motion verb *o-da* (‘come’) must correspond to a noun of location (*insu-nin səul-esə o-as<sup>1</sup>-da* (Insu-Th, Seoul-Abl, come-Pas-TS: ‘Insoo came from Seoul’)); it is difficult to mark a noun denoting an ontological object entity by the Ablative in the same context, even when it comes with a relational noun of localization (??*insu-nin gəul-dui-esə o-as<sup>1</sup>-da* (Insu-Th, mirror-behind-Abl come-Pas-TS: ‘Insoo came from behind the mirror’)).

The same restrictions may be observed in French. The verbs *aller* (‘go’) and *venir* (‘come’) select a location noun when their grammatical object is headed by the preposition *à*: *Paul va à Paris / à la maison* (‘Paul is going to Paris’/ ‘Paul is going home’ (lit. ‘to the house’)); except in cases which imply a routine associated with a displacement (*il va au piano*: ‘he is going to the piano’, e.g., to play), a noun referring to an ontological object can

occur after the preposition *à* only if it is specified by a relational noun of localization: *\*il va à l'arbre/ il va au pied de l'arbre* (lit. 'he is going to the tree'/ 'he is going to the foot of the tree'). Accordingly, the verb *venir* ('come') followed by the preposition *de* ('from') selects a location noun: *il vient de Paris* ('he comes from Paris'). A noun referring to an ontological object is more problematic in this position, even if it comes with a relational noun: *?il vient du pied de l'arbre* ('he is coming from the foot of the tree'). This utterance is not very relevant but is nevertheless better than *\*il vient de l'arbre* ('he is coming from the tree'). However, it can be combined with a complex preposition as in *la fourmi est venue de dessous le fauteuil* ('the ant came from under the armchair').

### 5.2.2. Frontal orientation verbs ('move in', 'move out')

When they occur with Korean orientation verbs *dilə-ga-da* ('move in') and *na-ga-da* ('move out'), the grammatical locative or ablative object selects a location noun or a noun denoting a three-dimensional object possessing an interior. Otherwise, the noun must be followed by a relational noun of localization.

(20) *insu cib-e dil-ə-ga-n-da.*

Insoo house-Loc move in-CS-go-Prog-TS

'Insoo is entering the house.'

(21) *insu-ga c<sup>h</sup>egsaj-mit-e dil-ə-ga-s<sup>l</sup>-da.*

Insoo-Nom table-underneath-Loc move in-CS-go-Pas-TS

‘Insoo is going under the table.’

French verbs of frontal orientation behave somewhat differently. The preposition *à* cannot occur with the verb *entrer* (‘move in’), except to express an activity: *Paul est entré à l’armée/ à l’école* (lit. ‘Paul has gone into the army/ to school’). In this case, the notion of motion is superceded, and the grammatical direct object denotes an institution rather than a location. However, the combination *entrer* + *à* can have a spatial interpretation with a definite (i.e. non generic) reading: *Paul est entré au restaurant* (‘Paul went into the restaurant’). The PP argument of the verb *sortir* (‘move out’), headed by the preposition *de* (‘from’) selects an entity having an interior: *Paul sort de la maison, de la boîte* (‘Paul is going out of (leaving) the house, out of the night club’); a noun which denotes an object lacking an interior would have to be preceded by a complex preposition defining a space portion: *Paul sort de derrière la porte / de dessous la table* (‘Paul is coming out from behind the door, from under the table’).

These remarks lead us to reconsider the role of the Korean Locative and the French preposition *à* in the representation of motion. We suggested above firstly that the Locative in Korean represents the Path of localization and indicates the end-point of the motion; and secondly that the preposition *à* in French is, to a certain extent, comparable to this expression. However, in both languages, these expressions can be used as dynamic or static:

(22) Kr *p'ol-in p<sup>h</sup>ari-e ga-n-da.*



Paul-Th Paris-Loc go-Prog-TS

Fr *Paul va à Paris.* ('Paul is going to Paris.')

(23) Kr *p'ol-in cib-e is'-da.*

Paul-Th home-Loc be-TS

Fr *Paul est à la maison.* ('Paul is at home.')

The Korean locative marker and the French preposition *à* do not intrinsically entail the final position of a dynamic motion. The expression of dynamic motion requires a combination of these expressions with a dynamic verb. This condition is necessary but not sufficient: the verb must also denote an Accomplishment (a process that extends over time), not an Achievement (a punctual process). Indeed, the French verb *entrer* ('go into') expresses an event of passing into a place and is thus punctual. This may explain why *entrer* hardly ever occurs with the preposition *à* with a spatial interpretation. Another explanation may lie in the dynamic use of the preposition *à* which, according to Vandeloise (1987), involves a principle of anticipation (the localization of the Figure to the "à Ground" ('at Ground') would be anticipated while the Figure is still moving): the anticipation and the extended nature resulting from it would be incompatible with the punctual nature of *entrer*. In Korean, the verbal expression *dilə-ga-da* ('move in-go-TS') is made up of two verbs, where the first verb is punctual but the latter, a deictic motion verb, is not. Hence it is the deictic motion

verb that licenses the locative object expressing the final position of a dynamic motion.

### 5.2.3. Vertical orientation verbs ('move up', 'move down')

Let us now examine the combinability of Locative and Ablative with verbs of vertical orientation. In Korean, the grammatical locative or ablative object of the verbs *ori-da* / *neri-da* ('move up' / 'move down') must denote a vertically-oriented entity such as *san* ('mountain'), *əndəg* ('hill'), *namu* ('tree'), *cənbosde* ('electricity pole').

(24) *insu-ga*        ***namu-e***        *oll-a-ga-s<sup>l</sup>-ə.*

Insoo-Nom    tree-Loc    move up-CS-go-Pas-TS

'Insoo climbed up the tree.'

A location noun can also appear as locative or ablative object of verbs expressing vertical motion, as long as it denotes a location higher or lower than the Figure's initial position. In this case, the vertical orientation resides in the Path between the Figure and the Ground.

(25) *insu-ga*        ***səul-e***        *oll-a-ga-s<sup>l</sup>-ə.*

Insoo-Nom    Seoul-Loc    move up-CS-go-Pas-TS

'Insoo went up to Seoul.'

The other types of nouns (which represent neither a vertically-oriented entity nor a location higher or lower than the Figure's initial position) must

be specified by a relational noun of localization in order to appear as the locative object of verbs expressing vertical motion. However, they can appear as ablative objects without combining with a relational noun:

(26a) *mimi-ga cap<sup>h</sup>an-*yi-e* oll-a-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-*ə*.*

Mimi-Nom keyboard -above-Loc move up-CS-go-Pas-TS

‘Mimi climbed on the keyboard.’ (Mimi is a cat)

(26b) *??mimi-ga cap<sup>h</sup>an-e oll-a-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-*ə*.*

(26c) *mimi-ga cap<sup>h</sup>an-esə nerj-ə-o-as<sup>1</sup>-*ə*.*

Mimi-Nom keyboard-Abl move down-CS-come-Pas-TS

‘Mimi got off the keyboard.’

In French, the prepositional object of the verbs *monter* (‘move up’)/*descendre* (‘move down’), headed by the preposition *à*, refers to a location higher or lower than the Figure’s initial position: *Paul monte au grenier/ à Paris* (‘Paul is going up to the attic/ to Paris’); *Paul descend à la cave, à Marseille* (‘Paul is going down to the cellar/ to Marseille’).

The vertically-oriented entity represented here is the Path between the Figure and the Ground, as we have just observed in Korean. However, contrary to Korean, the verb *monter* (‘move up’) accepts with difficulty at best a prepositional object headed by *à* and denoting a vertically oriented entity: *??Paul monte à la colline* (Lit. ‘Paul is climbing to the hill’).<sup>10</sup> Nouns denoting this type of entity must be preceded by a relational noun of

localization that defines the final position of the motion: *Paul monte au sommet de la colline* ('Paul is climbing up to the top of the hill'). In contrast, the verb *descendre* can select a noun denoting a vertically-oriented object if preceded by the preposition *de*: *Paul descend de la colline* (Lit. 'Paul is coming down from the hill').

A noun which does not denote a location or a vertically-oriented object entity cannot occur as a prepositional object headed by *à* as argument of the verb *monter*: ??*Mimi est monté au clavier* (Lit. 'Mimi climbed to the keyboard'). In this case, it must be preceded by a relational noun (*Mimi est monté au bord du clavier* 'Mimi climbed to the edge of the keyboard') or by a color preposition (*Mimi est monté sur le clavier* 'Mimi climbed up on the keyboard'). On the other hand, we observe that the verb *descendre* ('move down') accepts nouns such as *keyboard* as prepositional objects headed by the preposition *de*: *Mimi est descendu du clavier* (Lit. 'Mimi got down from the keyboard').

Once again, we note that in Korean the verbal form *olla-ga-da* ('move up-go-TS') consists of a motion verb indicating motion upwards and a deictic motion verb. It seems that it is the deictic motion verb which allows the assignment of the Locative to nouns that denote vertically-oriented entities, since the deictic motion verb introduces the goal of a dynamic motion. On the other hand, the French verb *monter* does not intrinsically denote a bounded process, although it denotes a non-punctual dynamic process that

can be bounded by a PP: *le ballon monte* ('the ball is rising up') is an Activity, whereas *Paul monte au grenier* ('Paul is going up to the attic') is an Accomplishment, thanks to the final PP *to the attic*, which denotes a location higher than the Figure's initial position. A vertically-oriented object could not occur in this position, headed by the preposition *à*, unless preceded by a relational noun of localization. It can nevertheless combine with a color preposition which establishes a functional relation between the Figure and the Ground: *Paul est monté dans l'arbre/ sur la colline* (Lit. 'Paul climbed up into the tree/ onto the hill').

### 5.3. Accusative / direct object

#### 5.3.1. Deictic motion verbs ('go', 'come')

Contrary to the French deictic motion verbs, the Korean deictic motion verbs *ga-da / o-da* ('go' / 'come') accept an accusative object if this object refers to a Pathway.<sup>11</sup>

(27) *jesnal acu oren jesnal-e*

'once upon a time'

[*əni sogimcangsu-ga sangil-il*

a salt merchant-Nom mountain trail-Acc

*ga-gois'-əs'-ibnida*].

go-Prog-Pas-TS

‘Once upon a time, a salt merchant was walking along a mountain trail.’ (*Magic Stick*, 135)

An activity noun *sanjay* (‘hunting’) can also occupy the position of the accusative object of a deictic motion verb, but the notion of motion is then superceded by the notion of activity. No other type of nouns can be marked with the Accusative, even with the help of a relational noun.

### 5.3.2. Frontal orientation verbs (‘move into’, ‘move out of’)

We now consider verbs of frontal orientation. The French verbs *entrer/sortir* (‘move into’/ ‘move out of’) do not accept a direct object (when the subject is the Figure of motion). In Korean, the accusative object of the verbs *dilə-ga-da* (‘move in’) / *na-ga-da* (‘move out’) may be a noun denoting both a location and an institution, such as *haggjo* (‘school’), *gunde* (‘army’). In this case, the notion of motion is again superceded by the notion of activity: *haggjo-ril dilə-ga-s<sup>l</sup>-da* (school-Acc, move in-go-Pas-TS: ‘(he) entered the school’) meaning ‘he attended school’. However, the verb *na-ga-da* (‘move out of’) still expresses motion when its accusative object corresponds to a location noun such as *caŋ* (‘market’), *mogjogt<sup>h</sup>ay* (‘bathroom’), *anbay* (‘interior’).

(28) *babo c<sup>h</sup>oŋgag-in hanin-su əbsi*

idiot bachelor-Th because he couldn’t do anything better

*caŋ-il          na-w-a          cib-iro          dola-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-bnida.*

market-Acc move out-come-CS home-Dir return-go-Pas-TS

‘The idiot left the market and went back home, because he  
couldn’t do anything better.’ (*Idiot*)

The verb *dilə-ga-da* (‘move in’), contrary to *na-ga-da* (‘move out’), hardly ever accepts an accusative object denoting a location: *??babo chonŋag-in caŋ-il dilə-ga-s-da* (idiot bachelor-Th market-Acc move in-go-Pas-TS: ‘The idiot entered the market’). The reason why the Accusative is possible in one case but not in the other appears to be that it is easier to completely abandon a location than to completely occupy a location, albeit metaphorically. The Accusative in Korean seems to endow the object with global vision by introducing it as an entity accessible or visible from the outside (see Chae Hee-Rahk, 1999). This meaning of Accusative is responsible for the pragmatic effect of surprise as in the following example:

(29) *ədi-ril          dil-ə-w-a ?!*

where-Acc move in-CS-come-TS

‘Where do you come in?!’

Utterance (29) expresses an unexpected event. It implies ‘you are entering a place where you must not enter’. The event is represented here as a global event that contrasts with another event from a modal point of view. In this

case, the Accusative confers a global vision, not on the object alone, but on the whole event.

Other types of nouns, which do not denote a location, hardly ever occur as accusative objects of frontal orientation verbs in Korean, even if they combine with a relational noun. At best, they can carry an effect of surprise.

### 5.3.3. Vertical orientation verbs ('move up', 'move down')

The Korean vertical orientation verbs can accept as accusative objects nouns denoting a vertically-oriented entity. As we have seen, these nouns can also be marked with the Locative or the Ablative. However a different interpretation appears between the locative or ablative object on the one hand, and the accusative object on the other: the locative or ablative objects express the final or initial position of the Figure involved in a vertically-oriented motion, whereas the accusative object expresses the complete distance corresponding to the Path. Indeed, the utterance *insu-nin namu-e olla-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-da* (Insoo-Th, tree-Loc move up-go-Pas-TS: 'Insoo climbed up into the tree'), which has a locative object, means that Insoo climbed up the tree, but not necessarily up to the top; the Figure can be located at any height in the tree, since it has vertically moved up from the ground to a place in the tree. On the other hand, the utterance *insu-nin namu-ril olla-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-da* (Insoo-Th, tree-Acc move up-go-Pas-TS: 'Insoo climbed up the tree'), which has an accusative object, means that the Figure has moved



from the bottom to the top of the tree. The Path, conflated with the Ground, is in this case completely covert.

A noun not denoting a vertically-oriented entity can also occur as the accusative object of a vertical orientation verb in Korean, if it co-occurs with a relational noun of localization. In example (26) above, the locative object does not denote a vertically-oriented entity and thus combines with a relational noun. The substitution of the Locative for the Accusative is possible in this example but this conveys a change of meaning: the use of the Locative involves the final position of the Figure along a vertical motion axis, whereas the use of the Accusative involves a surprise effect, something unexpected by the speaker.

In French, the verbs *monter* / *descendre* ('move up' / 'move down') can have a direct object, but the type of the object is much more constrained than in Korean. The object must be a noun denoting a vertically-oriented entity that can be conceptualized as a Pathway (cf. Stosic's paper in this volume). Nouns such as *escalier* ('stairs'), *pente* ('slope') or *côte* ('hillside') fulfill these two conditions: *Paul monte/descend l'escalier / la pente / la côte* ('Paul is moving up / down the stairs/ the slope/ the hillside'). By contrast, nouns such as *montagne* ('mountain'), *colline* ('hill'), *arbre* ('tree') or *poteau électrique* ('electricity pole') represent vertically-oriented entities, but do not correspond to a functional Pathway. This explains why these nouns cannot occur as direct objects of the French vertical orientation verbs:

*Paul monte / descend ??la montagne/ ??la colline / ??l'arbre / ??le poteau électrique.*

#### 5.4. Directional object and the preposition *vers* ('towards')

##### 5.4.1. Deictic motion verbs ('go', 'come')

The directional in Korean and the preposition *vers* in French both create, and equally well, a Path between the Figure and the Ground. However, the combinatory constraints are not exactly the same in the two languages.

In Korean, the directional object of a deictic motion verb can be a location noun or a noun referring to an ontological object:

(30) *cib-iro ga-ca-kuyo.*

Home-Dir go-TS

'Let's go home.' (*Life*, 01, 20/40)

(31) *sop<sup>h</sup>a-ro ga-sə anc-nin mansu.*

sofa-Dir go-CS sit down-AS Mansoo

'Mansoo who sits down on the sofa.'

Litt: 'Mansoo who goes to sofa and sits down.' (*Life*, 02, 2/41)

If the directional object denotes a person, it must co-occur with a relational noun. In (32), the omission of the relational noun *ap<sup>h</sup>* (front) would make the utterance hardly acceptable:

(32) *caemin t<sup>h</sup>albo-ap<sup>h</sup>-iro ga-n-da.*

Caemin Thôlbo-front-Dir go-Pst-TS

‘Caemin is going to the front of Thôlbo.’ (*Life*, 02, 3/41)

In French, the verbs *aller* / *venir* (‘go’/ ‘come’) accept any type of nouns – including nouns referring to a person – in prepositional object position headed by the preposition *vers* (‘towards’), without the need for a relational noun: *Paul va/ vient vers la maison / vers le divan / vers Marie* (‘Paul is going/ coming towards the house/ towards the sofa/ towards Marie’).

#### 5.4.2. Frontal orientation verbs (‘move in’, ‘move out’)

By contrast, the French verbs of frontal orientation do not accept an object headed by the preposition *vers*: ??*Paul entre vers la chambre* / ??*Paul sort vers le plateau* (Litt. ‘Paul is entering towards the room’/ ‘Paul is leaving towards the plateau’). In Korean, a location noun can perfectly well occur as directional object of frontal orientation verbs, whereas a noun referring to an ontological object, regardless of whether it has an interior or not, must co-occur with a relational noun in order to appear in the position of a directional object:

(33) *insu cib-iro dilə-ga-n-da.*

Insoo home-Dir move in-go-TS

‘Insoo is on his way home.’

(34) ??*insu sayca-ro dilə-ga-n-da.*

Insoo box-Dir move-go-TS

‘Insoo is going in the box.’

(35) *insoo sayca-sog-iro dilə-ga-n-da.*

Insoo box-inner-Dir move in-go-TS

‘Insoo is going inside the box.’

(36) *??insu mun-iro na-ga-n-da.*

Insoo gate-Dir move out-go-TS

‘Insoo goes out to the gate.’

(37) *insoo mun-balg-iro na-ga-n-da.*

Insoo gate-outside-Dir move out-go-TS

‘Insoo is going out to the outside of the gate.’

Here, the possibility of marking the grammatical object of Korean frontal orientation verbs with a Directional is due to the presence of the deictic motion verb in the compound verb. The deictic motion verb is dynamic and non-punctual. In French, the verbs *entrer* / *sortir* (‘move in’/ ‘move out’), which are dynamic but punctual, cannot select a prepositional object headed by *vers*, because of an aspectual conflict. A directional object can only appear as an argument of a non-punctual process.

#### 5.4.3. Vertical orientation verbs (‘move up’, ‘move down’)

In French and Korean, the directional objects of vertical orientation verbs may equally be location nouns or nouns referring to an ontological object,

on condition that the locations or object entities denoted are higher or lower than the Figure's initial position:

(38) Kr *insu-nin gjoħ/p<sup>h</sup>ari-ro olla-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-da.*

Insoo-Th church/Paris-Dir move up-go-Pas-TS

Fr *Insoo est monté vers l'église / vers Paris.*

'Insoo went up to the church/ to Paris.'

(39) Kr *insu-nin gombay<sup>i</sup>-ro olla-ga-s<sup>1</sup>-da.*

Insoo-Th bear's rock-Dir move up-go-Pas-TS

Fr *Insoo est monté vers le Rocher de l'Ours.*

'Insoo climbed up towards the Bear Rock.'

Table 1 gives an overview of the lexical selection of each type of object combined with each type of orientation verb analyzed here. The table only takes into account cases where the verbs are construed as denoting a motion event, i.e. a dynamic and continuous process. Objects construed as activities or as entailing a pragmatic effect of surprise are ignored.

“@@ Insert Table 1 here”

**Table 1.** Object Marking and Object Selection

|           | Kr                         | Fr                         | Kr                          | Fr  |
|-----------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
|           | Loc                        | à                          | Abl                         | de  |
| Go / Come | LocN<br>*ObjN<br>ObjN + RN | LocN<br>*ObjN<br>RN + ObjN | LocN<br>*ObjN<br>?ObjN + RN | LocN<br>*ObjN<br>?RN + ObjN<br>CplxP + ObjN |

|                        |  |  |   |  |
|------------------------|--|--|---|--|
| <b>Go In / Go Out</b>  | LocN<br>ObjN (+inner)<br>*ObjN (-inner)<br>ObjN (-inner) + RN    | *  | LocN<br>ObjN (+inner)<br>*ObjN (-inner)<br>ObjN (-inner) + RN | LocN<br>ObjN (+inner)<br>*ObjN (-inner)<br>CplxP + ObjN (-inner) |
| <b>Go Up / Go Down</b> | LocN (if HP)<br>ObjN (+VO)<br><br>*ObjN (-VO)<br>ObjN (-VO) + RN | LocN (if HP)<br>*ObjN (+VO)<br>RN + ObjN (+VO)<br><br>*ObjN (-VO)<br>RN + ObjN (-VO) | LocN (if HP)<br>ObjN (+VO)<br><br>ObjN (-VO)                  | LocN (if HP)<br>ObjN (+VO)<br><br>ObjN (-VO)                     |
|                        | <b>Acc</b>   | <b>DO</b>  | <b>Dir</b>  | <b>vers</b>  |
| <b>Go / Come</b>       | PathwayN   | *  | LocN<br>ObjN<br>* Person N<br>RN + Person N                   | LocN<br>ObjN<br>Person N   |
| <b>Go In</b>           | *  | *  | LocN<br>* Obj N<br>RN + ObjN                                  | *  |
| <b>Go Out</b>          | LocN<br>*ObjN<br>*ObjN + RN                                      | *  |   |  |
| <b>Go Up / Go Down</b> | LocN (if VO)<br>ObjN (if VO)                                     | LocN (if VO and Pathway)<br>ObjN (if VO and Pathway)                                 | LocN (if HP)<br>ObjN (if HP)                                  | LocN (if HP)<br>ObjN (if HP)                                     |

\* CplxP: Complex preposition; DO: Direct Object; HP: Ground Position is higher than the Figure position; LocN: Location Noun; ObjN: Object Noun; RN: Relational Noun; VO: Vertically Oriented

Object selection depends mainly on the meaning of the verb, i.e. frontal, vertical orientations or deictic motions. Generally, in French and in Korean, a location noun can always occur with an orientation motion verb, but a noun referring to an ontological object must obey the following constraints: with a frontal or vertical orientation verb, the object must either be three-dimensional and possess an interior, or be vertically oriented, or else occur with a relational noun. This analysis confirms that the ontological

distinction between “location” and “object” entities is relevant for the description of motion events.

The need to consider different ontological types is obvious in the accusative construction of Korean deictic motion verbs (*ka-ta* ‘go’, *o-ta* ‘come’) and in the direct transitive construction of French vertical orientation verbs (*monter* ‘move up’). Indeed, both types of verbs select an entity which is conceptualized as a pathway. This is a confirmation that the “pathway” or “road” is a distinct type of spatial entity (cf. Stosic’s paper in this volume).

Moreover, we have shown that personal nouns behave differently in Korean and in French when they occur as directional objects of deictic motion verbs: they require a relational noun in Korean but not in French.

Concerning the combinability of the Korean frontal motion verb *dilə-ga-da* (‘move in’) with the functional suffix Locative or the Directional, which is impossible in French (*\*entrer à, \*entrer vers*), we have shown that this is made possible in Korean by the presence of the deictic motion verb. The same is true for the combinability of the Korean vertical motion verb *olla-ga-da* (‘move up’) with the noun of a vertically-oriented object marked directly for the Locative. It is the deictic motion verb that assigns the Locative to this type of entity by providing the goal of the motion. The French verb *monter* (‘move up’), which does not intrinsically denote a bounded process, cannot occur with the noun of a vertically-oriented object

preceded by the preposition *à* ('to'), unless it is associated with a relational noun of localization.

## **Conclusion**

Our study of French and Korean orientation verbs allows us to answer some of the questions raised in the introduction. We saw that in most cases, the basic components of orientation motion verbs (Motion, Path and Deixis) are supported not only by verbal categories, but also by object marking in Korean and in French.

In our analysis of the French and Korean data, it appeared that Talmy's semantic components of motion, specifically the Motion (MOVE) and Path components, must be refined. We distinguished two types of Motion (MOVE): basic intrinsic motion and deictic motion. The former expresses the orientation of a frontal or vertical motion and the latter the orientation of a motion defined with respect to the speaker's position (which indicates whether the Figure moves towards or away from the speaker's position). As for the Path component, our study led us to distinguish three types of Path: Path of motion, Path of localization and Path of trajectory. The Path of motion represents a passage towards the interior, the exterior, the top or the bottom. The Path of localization defines the final or initial position of the Figure. There are two types of Path of trajectory, depending on whether the



Path is conflated with the Ground or not. If the Path and the Ground are conflated, we propose to call the Path “Path of total trajectory”; otherwise we refer to the Path as “Path of partial trajectory”. These different types of Motion and Path are not marked by the same linguistic categories in French and in Korean.

In Korean orientation verbs, the intrinsic motion is expressed by the first component of the compound verb, whereas the deictic motion is expressed by the second verbal component. Each verbal component can have an autonomous use and/or can combine with other types of verbs while maintaining the same representation. In French, the frontal or vertical orientation verbs *entrer*, *sortir*, *monter*, *descendre* express the intrinsic motion, while the deictic motion verbs *aller* and *venir* express the deictic motion. They all have an autonomous use and do not form a compound verb.

Let us now consider the expression of the Path component. In Korean, the Path of motion is expressed by the first component of the compound verb. The Path of localization is expressed by the object markers, the Locative and the Ablative; the Path of total trajectory is marked by the Accusative, whereas the Path of partial trajectory is marked by the Directional.

In French, the Path of motion is expressed by orientation verbs. The Path of localization is expressed by the prepositions *à/de*. The Path of partial trajectory is expressed by the preposition *vers*, and the Path of total trajectory by the direct object.

“@@Insert Table 2 here”

**Table 2.** Linguistic Categories and Semantic Components of Motion in French and Korean

|    | Intrinsic Motion<br>+ Path of Motion | Deictic<br>Motion | Path of<br>Localization | Path of<br>Total trajectory | Path of<br>Partial<br>trajectory |
|----|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Kr | V1 + V2<br>(Orientation V + DMV)     |                   | Loc/Abl                 | Acc                         | Dir                              |
|    |                                      | DMV               | Loc/Abl                 | Acc                         | Dir                              |
| Fr | Orientation V                        |                   | <i>à / de</i>           | DO                          | <i>vers</i>                      |
|    |                                      | DMV               | <i>à / de</i>           |                             | <i>vers</i>                      |

Leaving aside the fact that the Korean deictic motion verbs can have an accusative object, Table 2 clearly shows that the main difference between French and Korean lies in the composition of Korean orientation verbs with deictic motion verbs. This composition is responsible for the different possibilities of combining orientation verbs and functional nominal suffixes or prepositions in Korean and French. We have shown that the combinability of orientation motion verbs with the Locative or the preposition *à*, as well as differences in lexical selection (§5) are mainly determined by the presence (Korean) or absence (French) of deictic motion verbs.

Yet the two languages exhibit a parallel in the linguistic categories and the semantic components they represent: orientation verbs express both the intrinsic Motion and the Path of Motion; the Locative and the Ablative in Korean, and the French preposition *à* and *de* express the Path of localization; the Accusative in Korean, and the direct construction in French

express the Path of total trajectory; the Directional in Korean and the French preposition *vers* express the Path of partial trajectory.

According to our analysis, satellites (as defined by Talmy) express a Path of motion, while prepositions express a Path of localization in English (see Table 3).

“@@ Insert Table 3 here”

**Table 3.** Expressions of Motion and Path in English, French and Korean

|         |                        |                               |                               |                                   |
|---------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| English | <i>go</i>              |                               | <i>to</i>                     | <i>the house</i>                  |
|         | <i>go</i>              | <i>in-</i>                    | <i>-to</i>                    | <i>the room</i>                   |
|         | <i>go</i>              | <i>out</i>                    | <i>of</i>                     | <i>the room</i>                   |
|         | <i>go</i>              | <i>up</i>                     | <i>to</i>                     | <i>bed</i>                        |
|         | <i>go</i>              | <i>down</i>                   | <i>to</i>                     | <i>the shop</i>                   |
|         | Deictic Motion         | Path of Motion                | Path of Localization          | Ground                            |
| French  | <i>aller</i><br>(‘go’) |                               | <i>à</i><br>(‘to’)            | <i>la maison</i><br>(‘the house’) |
|         |                        | <i>sortir</i><br>(‘go out’)   | <i>de</i><br>(‘of’)           | <i>la chambre</i> (‘the room’)    |
|         | Deictic Motion         | Basic Motion + Path of Motion | Path of Localization          | Ground                            |
| Korean  | <i>cib</i> (‘house’)   | <i>e</i> (‘to’)               |                               | <i>gada</i> (‘go’)                |
|         | <i>bay</i> (‘room’)    | <i>esə</i> (‘of’)             | <i>na-</i> (‘out’)            | <i>gada</i> (‘go’)                |
|         | Ground                 | Path of Localization          | Basic Motion + Path of Motion | Deictic Motion                    |

The Path of localization is realized by a preposition in English and in French, and by a functional nominal suffix in Korean. The Path of Motion is realized in English by a satellite, and in French and in Korean by a verb. Both types of Path can be realized in English by a preposition such as *into*.

The Path of trajectory is not compatible with the Path of localization, whereas it can occur with the Path of motion. The Path of total trajectory is realized in English as in French by a zero marking (*go up a hill*). The Path of partial trajectory is realized in English by the satellite *toward* (*go toward the hill*). It is noteworthy that a Path of Motion can occur with another Path of Motion, but that a Path of Localization cannot occur with another Path of Localization (*go up in an airplane* vs \**go to of the house*).

Finally, the nature of nouns which are associated with a grammatical object plays an important role in object selection both in Korean and in French. Indeed, while a noun referring to a location generally appears as the grammatical object associated with orientation motion verbs, a noun referring to an object is more constrained in the position of a grammatical object. As for relational nouns, which denote a specified location, they behave as location nouns rather than nouns referring to an ontological object. This strengthens the importance of the ontological distinction of spatial entities (cf. Stosic's paper, as well as Aurnague, Champagne, Vieu et al. in this volume). Another outcome to be noted is that some orientation motion verbs select as their grammatical objects spatial entities which are conceptualized as a Pathway. In Korean, the deictic motion verbs *ka-ta* ('go') and *o-ta* ('come') do accept a noun referring to a Pathway as their accusative object. In French, the verbs *monter/descendre* ('move up/down') accept a noun denoting a vertically-oriented entity as their direct object and this entity can also be conceptualized as a Pathway. This helps to confirm

the inclusion of ‘roads’ as a distinct ‘spatial entity’ type in Stosic’s work in this volume.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This research was carried out within the project “Spatial entities and their categorization in language and cognition” (COG135; 1999-2001) that was financially supported by the Program “Cognitique” of the French Ministry of Research. We wish to thank Michel Aurnague, Colette Grinevald and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. We are also indebted to Francis Cornish, Andrew McMichael, Anne Przewozny and Christophe Zimmer for their stylistic advice.

<sup>2</sup> The Deixis component has been added to this collection of basic components of a motion event by Choi and Bowerman (1991) to describe Korean lexicalization patterns.

<sup>3</sup> The honorific suffix expresses a social relationship between the speaker and the person denoted by the grammatical subject; the terminal suffix expresses a type of sentence, such as assertion, question, exclamation, etc., and a social relationship between the speaker and the addressee.

<sup>4</sup> However, unlike other case markings, the Nominative and the Accusative cannot be combined with the topic marking.

<sup>5</sup> A relational noun corresponds to the Internal Localization Nouns described by other authors in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> Choi & Bowerman (1991: 89, note 3) give two reasons why the first verbal root of the compound should be considered as the base element of the Path component only. First, they claim that the verb *dilə-* (‘enter’), combined with *-is’-da* (‘be’) expresses static location: *dilə-is’-da* (‘be in’). But this compound verb expresses a static location resulting from a motion. Moreover, the deictic motion verbs *ga-da* and *o-da* can also occur with *is’-da*:

*Insoo cib-e ga-is'-da* (Insoo, home-Loc, go-be-TS: 'Insoo is at home'); here too, these verbs express a static location resulting from a motion. Should the deictic motion verb therefore be considered as a vehicle of the PATH component? Second, they claim that the verb *ori-da* ('move up'), when occurring alone, expresses motion in a rather abstract, holistic way. Yet, it is not clear why this expression should be more abstract or holistic than when the verb occurs with a deictic motion verb. With the progressive in particular, the verb *ori-da* ('move up') can express a dynamic motion event (climbing the mountain), whether occurring alone or combined with a deictic motion verb, as shown respectively by the following two examples: *John-i san-e ori-go is'-da* (John-Subj, mountain-Loc move up-Prog-TS: 'John is going up the mountain') and *John-i san-e olla-ga-go is'-da* (John-Subj, mountain-Loc move up-go-Prog-TS: 'John is going up the mountain').

<sup>7</sup> This case is comparable to the result construction in English *The door slammed shut*: in this example, the verb *slammed* conflates MOTION and MANNER, and the verb *shut* expresses the result of this motion.

<sup>8</sup> The Korean expression *əgicəg əgicəg* is an ideophone, namely a word that represents the manner of a motion by imitation, in the same sense as onomatopoeia evoke something by phonetic imitation.

<sup>9</sup> This terminology was introduced by Spang-Hanssen (1963) who distinguishes between *color prepositions* which denote referential meanings as in *dans* ('in'), *sur* ('on'), *sous* ('under'), *avec* ('with') etc. and *colorless prepositions* *à* ('to'), *de* ('from') which have lost their referential meanings.

<sup>10</sup> *Monter aux arbres* (Lit. 'climb at the trees') is fine in French, but the event denotes an activity or a global action.

Preprint. To appear in M. Aurnague, M. Hickmann & L. Vieu (eds), *The categorization of spatial entities in language and cognition*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins (Human Cognitive Processing series).

<sup>11</sup> The French expression *il va son chemin* ('he is going his way') is very different from the accusative object construction of the Korean deictic motion verbs. It is totally fossilized and means 'Il mène sa propre vie' ('He leads his own life'). Here, the notion of motion is only present metaphorically.

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## Appendixes

### Table of Abbreviations

|                         |                    |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Abl: Ablative           | Fr: French         | PP: Prepositional Phrase |
| Acc: Accusative         | Ger: Gerund        | Prep: Preposition        |
| Adv: Adverbial          | Hon: Honorific     | Pres: Presumptive        |
| AS: Adnominal Suffix    | Inst: Instrumental | Prog: Progressive        |
| Ass: Assertion          | Kr: Korean         | Pst: Present             |
| AT: Aspectuo-Temporal   | Loc: Locative      | RN: Relational Noun      |
| Caus: Causative         | MS: Modal suffix   | Subj: Subject            |
| CS: Conjunctive Suffix  | N: Noun            | Test: Testimonial        |
| DC: Direct Construction | Nom: Nominative    | Th: Topic (or Theme)     |
| Det: Determiner         | NP: Noun Phrase    | TS: Terminal Suffix      |
| Dir: Directional        | Obj: Object        | V: Verb                  |
| Eng: English            | Pas: Past tense    | VR: Verbal Root          |

### Source of examples

*Shy lover* (scenario): <http://www.imbc.com/tv/drama/shylover>

*Life* (scenario): <http://www.kbs.co.kr/drama/life/scenario>

*Imp, The death of a salt merchant, Magic stick, Idiot*: in *Korean traditional tales*, by Kim Hae-Ran, 1992, Ed. Thesô, Seoul.