

## Manner verbs in Chinese motion events patterns

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This study bears on the interaction between morphology, syntax and semantic in motion event expressions in standard modern Chinese. The categorization of Manner verbs is not the subject of consensus. Several proposals have been put forward (Chu 2004, Slobin 2006, *inter alia*), none of which is really authoritative. They all suffer from the vagueness that covers the concept of Manner. I adopt the perspective of Stosic (forthcoming), which offers a detailed description of Manner: 13 features were identified (“body motion pattern”, “speed”, “shape of the trajectory/path”, “environment”, “instrument”, etc.). The presence of at least one of these features is considered to be responsible for the interpretation of a verb as a Manner verb in a motion event. The classification of Chinese in the typology of motion events proposed by Talmy (1985, 2000) has given rise to some debate. Some authors consider Chinese as a verb-framed language (Tai 2003) or an equipollently-framed language (Chen & Guo 2009, Slobin 2004), but it is generally agreed that Chinese is primarily a satellite-framed language (Lamarre 2003, Shi & Wu 2014, *inter alia*). Its characteristic encoding is the lexicalization of Motion and Manner semantic components in a monomorphemic verb (e.g., 走 *zǒu* “walk”, 跑 *pǎo* “run” or 飞 *fēi* “fly”), whereas the Path component is lexicalized in the satellite, a closed class of eleven items, commonly called “directional complement” in Chinese linguistics (上 *shàng* “up”, 下 *xià* “down”, 进 *jìn* “in”, 出 *chū* “out”, etc.) (ex. 1). However, we observe two phenomena that are different from this typical encoding: Manner verbs can appear in the subordinate clause of a complex sentence, whereas the Path semantic component is lexicalized in the verb of the main clause, which is a typical Verb-framed language structure (ex. 2); furthermore, there is a significant amount of multimorphemic verbs (Lin 2019), as 爬行 “crawl”, 滑翔 “glide” or 飞舞 “flutter”, that seem to be most of the time used without a directional complement (ex. 3-4). Given these two observations, I try to answer the following questions: 1) Is there a relation between the Manner feature of the verb (“body motion pattern”, “speed”, “shape of the trajectory/path”, etc.) and its syntactic place in the utterance? 2) Is there a relation between the morphology of the verb (monomorphemic vs. multimorphemic) and its co-occurrence with a directional complement? To answer these questions, I conducted an analysis based on the contemporary Chinese CCL corpus of Peking University (Zhan, Guo & Chen 2003). I observed the following trends. Within monomorphemic verbs, unlike “body motion pattern” and/or “speed”, the “instrument” feature verbs frequently appear in subordinate durative clauses (ex. 5). Because those are transitive verbs, and cannot take two complements (object and locative), the object has to occur with the Manner verb in the subordinate clause, whereas the locative and the Path, as the framing event of the motion event, appear in the main clause. Multimorphemic verbs are mostly used without a directional complement, to describe events that do not involve change of locative relation (Aurnague 2011). They belong to a more formal register and seem rather used to characterize the properties/capacities of the agent-Figure. These results confirm that the category of Manner verbs is very heterogeneous and that it is not possible to establish a one-to-one correlation between the lexicalization of the Manner semantic component and a type of motion event expression in Chinese.

1. 张全喜跑进卧室。  
Zhāng Quánxǐ pǎo-jìn wòshì  
Zhang Quanxi **run-in** bedroom  
Zhang Quanxi ran into the bedroom.

2. 我付清车费，就**跑着进了**大门。  
wǒ fùqīng chēfèi, jiù **pǎo-zhe jìn-le** dànmén  
I pay fare and **run-DUR enter-PFV** door  
I paid the fare and entered the gate running.
3. 因为蝙蝠不用眼睛，可以在黑暗中**飞行**。  
yīnwèi biānfú bù yòng yǎnjīng, kěyǐ zài hēi'àn zhōng **fēixíng**  
because bat neg. use eye can prep. dark in **fly**  
Because bats don't use their eyes, they can fly in the dark.
4. 泰卡鸡 [.....] 不会**飞翔**，只会**奔跑**。  
tàikǎjī [...] bù huì **fēixiáng**, zhǐ huì **bēnpǎo**  
teka chicken neg able.to **fly** only able.to **run**  
Teka Chicken [...] cannot fly, only can run.
5. 他**骑着车进**工厂。  
tā **qí-zhe chē jìn** gōngchǎng  
he **cycle-DUR bike enter** factory  
He rode into the factory.

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