Implicit landmarks and opposite polarities in French motion predicates *

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This chapter tackles two important aspects of the association of French motion verbs and spatial PPs. The main notions used in order to characterize strict motion predicates are first recalled. The possibility, for the verbs, of appearing in constructions that do not express the landmark entity of the motion event (implicit landmark constructions), is studied and it is argued to depend on the spatio-temporal structure of the verbs and on various other factors. Then, the association of verbs and PPs with opposite polarities is examined which turns out to be in close correlation with the existence of an "implicit use". The conclusion emphasizes the asymmetries/dissymmetries between initial and final motion events revealed by the constructions studied.

Keywords: asymmetry, initial and final motion events, lexical semantics, spatial PPs

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[*] I would like to thank Francis Cornish for his very helpful remarks and stylistic advice. I am also grateful to the editors and the reviewer for their comments on a previous version of the text.

1. Introduction

This study is mainly concerned with intransitive or "indirect" transitive verbs of French denoting the autonomous motion of a target[1] or located entity (e.g. *aller* + *Prep* 'to go + Prep', *arriver* 'to arrive', *entrer* 'to go into, to enter', *partir* 'to leave', *se rendre* 'to go to', *sortir* 'to go out').[2] These lexemes often combine with locative PPs in spatial utterances, so my aim is to clarify the semantic properties that govern some of these constructions. More precisely, I would like to address two specific questions. Is it possible for the verbs studied to appear in sentences without an overtly expressed spatial PP? Moreover, can a verb co-occur with a PP when these two elements have opposite "polarities"?

For this analysis I use the classification of intransitive motion verbs of French proposed in (Aurnague 2011). In this classification, motion processes are characterized by means of the notions of change of placement

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[1] According to Vandeloise's (1991) terminology. The located element of a static or dynamic spatial relation is called "trajector" by Langacker (1987) and "figure" by Talmy (1985, 2000). The locating or reference entity will be designated "landmark" (Langacker 1987; Vandeloise 1991), a term which is equivalent to Talmy's (1985, 2000) "ground".

[2] *Aller* is the only verb of the list to appear with a preposition because, besides its use denoting a simple "change of placement" (e.g., *Elle était allée par tout le village, de chemin en chemin…* 'She had gone throughout the village, from street to street…' (M. Van der Meersch, *Invasion 14*, 1935)), it very often combines with (static) spatial prepositions (in particular with *à* 'at': cf. example (12)) with which it tends to form *verbal locutions* that introduce a "change of relation and placement" with final "polarity" (see below and Section 2). Moreover, unlike verbs of change of placement underlain by the notion of "tendentiality" (see below), the use of *aller* that denotes a simple change of placement —illustrated above— is not very common in current French.

and change of basic locative relation. These two notions open the way to a refinement of the traditional "path" component of motion events (Talmy 1985, 2000) and organize French movement and motion predicates along a continuum from near staticness to true motion. The former concept makes it possible to distinguish the verbs denoting a change of placement within the terrestrial/earth's reference framework —e.g. *avancer* 'to advance, to move forward', *foncer* 'to tear along', *glisser* 'to slide (along)', *grimper* 'to climb', *marcher* 'to walk', *patrouiller* 'to patrol', *zigzaguer* 'to zigzag along'— from the predicates describing a movement/motion restricted to the target's own frame of reference —"changes of posture"; e.g. *s'asseoir* 'to sit down', *s'agenouiller* 'to kneel down', *s'étirer* 'to stretch', *se lever* 'to get up', *se recroqueviller* 'to huddle', *se (re)tourner* 'to turn over, turn round'. The notion of basic locative relation stems from Boons (1987) who used it for differentiating between verbs of action on entities such as *adosser* 'to stand/lean (the back) against', *défricher* 'to clear' or *dévisser* 'to unscrew, to undo' and verbs like *chasser* 'to chase out/away', *enfourner* 'to put in the oven/kiln' or *hisser* 'to hoist': whereas one can put the back of a cupboard (*adosser*) against a wall with which the cupboard was already in contact (the negated and then asserted relation is *être adossé à* 'to stand (the back) against' and not a basic locative relation like *être contre* 'to be against'), the eventuality introduced by a verb such as *enfourner* is definitely underlain by the negation and later assertion of the basic locative relation *être dans* 'to be in'. Verbs of change of placement do not entail, by themselves, any change of basic locative relation with respect to the landmark potentially mentioned in the sentence (e.g. *Max a marché dans la forêt* 'Max walked in the forest'), contrary to verbs denoting a true motion (verbs of motion in the strict sense) like, for instance, *entrer* 'to go in, to enter' (negation and assertion of *être dans*). However, the possibility displayed by predicates of motion in the strict sense of combining with a PP headed by the preposition *par* 'by' (Aurnague and Stosic 2002; Stosic 2002, 2007) —through the

"path" interpretation of the preposition— seems to indicate that a verb such as *se poser* 'to land, to settle' does not belong to this category (unlike *entrer*), although it does bring into play a change of basic locative relation (relation of support/contact: *être sur* 'to be on'):

(1) ?(?)*L'oiseau s'est posé sur la maison par le jardin.*
'The bird landed/perched on the house through the garden'

(2) *L'oiseau est entré dans la maison par le jardin.*
'The bird went into the house through the garden'

In my view, the contrasts revealed by the association with a *par*-headed PP can be explained by the fact that the semantics of motion verbs in the strict sense combines the notion of change of basic locative relation **and** that of change of placement. The evaluation of these notions involves two distinct referents: the terrestrial frame of reference for the change of placement and the landmark entity —explicitly mentioned or not— for the change of basic locative relation. Moreover, they give rise to a rich range of combinations as changes of placement do not entail, by themselves, any change of relation (cf. *supra*) and, conversely, some changes of basic locative relation (e.g. relation of support/contact; cf. *supra*) do not go together with a change of placement (see (Aurnague 2011) for further developments on this point).

The observation of the interactions between these two concepts led me to highlight the semantic properties of the French predicates of change of placement which, in combination with an accurate "final" PP, can refer to a change of relation and placement (besides a reading based on a bare change of placement: Aurnague 2011). Four properties have been brought to the fore: speed of motion (e.g. *Max a couru/foncé dans le couloir* 'Max ran/tore in(to) the corridor'), intentional opposition to a force (e.g., *Max a rampé/s'est traîné sur la terrasse* 'Max crawled/dragged himself on(to) the terrace'), direction or linear oriented motion (e.g., '*Le chamois a dévalé/est descendu dans le ravin* 'The chamois tore/went down in(to) the ravine') and, finally, carrying along by a force (e.g., *Max a glissé/dérapé sur le bas-*

côté 'Max slid/slipped on(to) the verge'). The predicates at issue can include in their semantics several of the properties mentioned (for instance, the non-intentional use of *dégringoler* 'to tumble' combines speed, direction and carrying along by a force) and I make the assumption that these features make up a family resemblance underlying the concept of "tendentiality" (the change of placement has the potentiality to "tend" towards a landmark or goal). A full presentation of the theoretical framework used to analyze the meaning of motion predicates is set out in (Aurnague 2011, 2012), including references to the most relevant research on this issue at both the syntax-semantics interface (e.g. Jackendoff 1983, 1990, 1996; Levin 1993; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1992) and the semantic level (e.g. Slobin 2003, 2004; Talmy 1985, 2000).

In this chapter, I intend to better understand how verbs of motion combine with spatial PPs, paying attention to predicates of change of relation and placement (e.g. *aller* + *Prep* 'to go + Prep', *arriver* 'to arrive', *s'échapper* 'to escape', *entrer* 'to go into, to enter', *partir* 'to leave'). Section 2 sets out the class of verbs under examination and the way they have been classified (Aurnague 2011). Following this (Sections 3 and 4), the categorization of changes of relation and placement serves to explore and predict the possibility (or otherwise) of integrating the verbs into implicit landmark constructions (without a pronominal marker). On the basis of this anaphoric data, Section 5 investigates the association of verbs and PPs which have opposite polarities. The chapter ends with several considerations on the asymmetry/dissymmetry of initial and final polarities within dynamic descriptions of French.

2. Intransitive verbs of change of relation and placement: spatio-temporal classification

This section gives the outline of the classification proposed in (Aurnague 2011) with regard to intransitive (or indirect transitive) predicates of change of relation and placement. This classification is grounded in the most representative verbs of the lists included in (Laur 1991), which themselves follow from the inventories made in (Boons 1991; Boons et al. 1976; Gross 1975; Guillet 1990; Guillet and Leclère 1992). The concept of **polarity** already mentioned, plays an important part in this classification and is given a precise definition based on the notion of change of relation. A motion in the strict sense (change of relation and placement) is said to be "initial" if the change of basic locative relation that underlies it consists in the assertion of the relation and its negation ("positive" information is initial: r ⋯▹ ¬r).[3] Conversely, the polarity is "final" when the assertion of the basic locative relation follows its negation (final positive information: ¬r ⋯▹ r). A "medial" change of relation will be characterized by positive information (assertion of the relation) preceded and followed by the negation of the underlying relation (¬r ⋯▹ r ⋯▹ ¬r): unlike most approaches that do not clearly define the notion of medial polarity, I thus claim that, with the exception of verbal locutions like *couper par* 'to cut across' or *passer par* 'to go through', very few French intransitive verbs denoting changes of relation and placement can be considered as medial.

Eight categories of verbs have been distinguished —four initial and four final— according to the way changes of basic locative relation and changes of placement combine in their semantics. They are summarized in Table 1

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[3] The symbol "⋯▹" used here and subsequently indicates the transition from one state (in the present case, a basic (static) spatial relation) to another: s1 ⋯▹ s2.

and I briefly comment on them. The category of verbs referring to an **independent initial change of relation** is mainly represented by *partir* 'to go (away), to leave' and, to a lesser extent, by *s'en aller* (as well as by colloquial variants like *se barrer* 'to go (away), to clear off'). The basic locative relation —asserted and then denied— underlying these predicates cannot be reduced to the sole configurations of inclusion/containment and often seems to better fit with the situations denoted by the preposition *à* 'at' in its static locating uses (Aurnague 2004; Vandeloise 1988). The second characteristics of these verbs lies in the fact that they are restricted to the initial change of relation (and placement) and do not include in their semantics the "subsequent" motion to which the final PP refers when added to the sentence (see Table 1; the subsequent motion corresponds to the event e'). The sentence *Max est parti à l'université à 8 heures* 'Max left for the university at 8 o'clock' is thus spatio-temporally equivalent to the description in discourse *Max est parti à 8 heures. Il allait à l'université* 'Max left at 8 o'clock. He was going to the university' ("Background" relation). Besides the modification by a temporal adverbial headed by *en* 'in', several imperfective utterances strengthen the statement that the processes underlying this kind of verbs are centered on the change of relation and placement alone. This is the case with sentences in the imperfect including a temporal subordinate clause (3). The eventuality introduced by the subordinate clause of (3) is thus contemporary with the initial change of relation rather than with the motion that may follow (unless one reinterprets/accommodates the sentence by substituting *aller/se rendre à* 'to go to' for *partir à*).

(3) *Max partait à l'université lorsqu'il s'est mis à pleuvoir.*
'Max was leaving for the university when it started to rain'

S'échapper 'to escape', *s'enfuir* 'to run away', *se sauver* 'to run away' —as well as the more colloquial verbs *se carapater* 'to skedaddle', *se cavaler* 'to clear off', *se tailler* 'to beat it', *se trotter* 'to dash (off)', etc.—

introduce an **extended initial change of relation** and, on the basis of this criterion, constitute a second category of predicates. As in the previous group of verbs, the process described is fulfilled as soon as the change of relation takes place (*Pollux le chien s'est échappé du restaurant* 'Pollux the dog escaped from the restaurant' is true immediately the target left the restaurant) and their semantic content seems, here again, to be centered on the initial change of relation and placement. However, other linguistic tests incorporating a final PP indicate that, in such constructions, these verbs may refer to a motion subsequent to the initial change of relation and placement (4: the event evoked by the subordinate clause can take place during the subsequent motion).

(4) *Max s'enfuyait/se sauvait au village lorsqu'il s'est mis à pleuvoir.*
'Max was running away to the village when it started to rain'

The ambivalent behavior of extended initial changes of relation —centering on the change of relation but with possible reference to a subsequent motion— is further illustrated by utterances that deny the fulfilment of a subsequent motion, as their interpretation may be less immediate than for independent initial changes of relation: ?*Max s'est enfui/sauvé au village mais il n'y est jamais arrivé* 'Max ran away to the village but he never got there' vs. *Max est parti à l'université mais il n'y est jamais arrivé* 'Max left for the university but he never got there'.

The predicates of this second class differ by two main points from independent initial changes of relation: they highlight the speed of the motion and, at the same time, emphasize the target's attempt to avoid the control that the underlying (initial) landmark exerts over it. It is, most probably, these elements of the verb's semantics —and particularly the speed— that give them the capacity to occasionally describe a change of placement subsequent to the initial change of relation and placement. When a final PP is present, and in accordance with the observations about "tendentiality" (see Introduction and (Aurnague 2011)), a final change of

relation is added to this change of placement. So, the reference to a subsequent motion is not a constitutive element of this class of verbs but has to be seen, rather, as a "side effect" of their semantic content.

Table 1. Categories of intransitive verbs of change of relation and placement

Initial intransitive verbs	Final intransitive verbs
Independent initial change of relation: *partir* [] e e' r(t,l) ⋯▻ ¬r(t,l) ch-plmt + ch-plmt + ch-rel	**Final change of relation with integrated prior motion:** *aller à, se rendre, venir*]·····] e e' ch-plmt + ¬r(t,l) ⋯▻ r(t,l) (+ ch-plmt)
Extended initial change of relation: *s'échapper, s'enfuir* []·····▻ e ch-plmt e' r(t,l) ⋯▻ ¬r(t,l) ch-rel + ch-plmt (+ ch-plmt)	**Final change of relation with presupposed prior motion:** *arriver, parvenir*]·····] e e' / ch-plmt ↲ / ¬r(t,l) ⋯▻ r(t,l) + ch-plmt
Double change of relation with initial saliency: *déménager, émigrer* [·····] e (ch-plmt) e' r(t,l1) ⋯▻ ¬r(t,l1) + ¬r(t,l2) ⋯▻ r(t,l2) + ch-plmt + ch-plmt	**Double change of relation with final saliency:** *immigrer* [·····] e (ch-plmt) e' r(t,l1) ⋯▻ ¬r(t,l1) + ¬r(t,l2) ⋯▻ r(t,l2) + ch-plmt + ch-plmt
Inclusion/containment-type initial change of relation: *sortir* alternative repres. [] [] e e r(t,l) ⋯▻ ¬r(t,l) r(t,l) ⋯▻ r'(t,l) + ch-plmt + ch-plmt r = incl./cont.	**Inclusion/containment-type final change of relation:** *entrer* alternative repres. [] [] e e ¬r(t,l) ⋯▻ r(t,l) r'(t,l) ⋯▻ r(t,l) + ch-plmt + ch-plmt r =incl./cont.

Square brackets delimit the semantic content of the verbs; underlining indicates the saliency of the change of relation and placement. Abbreviations: t: target; l: landmark; ch-plmt: change of placement; ch-rel: change of basic locative relation; incl./cont.: inclusion/containment.

A third category of intransitive verbs includes predicates like *aller à* 'to go to' (and, more generally, *aller* + *Prep* 'to go + Prep'), *se rendre* 'to go to' or *venir* 'to come' —as well as more colloquial forms: *s'abouler* 'to come', *s'amener* 'to come along', *rappliquer* 'to come, to turn up', etc.— that are based on a **final change of relation with integrated prior motion**. Indeed, the semantic content of these verbs includes a change of placement

followed by a change of relation (and, possibly, of placement) (cf. Table 1). It is, most of the time, the perfective aspect of the tense used (e.g. "passé compose"/perfect) that leads us to assign an initial temporal boundary (and, indirectly, an initial change of locative relation) to the verbal process. Some constructions combining a verb of change of placement (e.g. *courir* 'to run', *ramper* 'to crawl') with a PP and which are likely to denote a change of relation and placement (see Introduction and (Aurnague 2011)) are semantically very close to the verbs of this class. Therefore, this category of motion eventualities is probably the most widespread among the processes distinguished in the classification.

Arriver 'to arrive', *aboutir* 'to end up', *accéder* 'to reach, to get to' and *parvenir* 'to reach, to get to' belong to the same category of verbs, as their semantic content consists in a **final change of relation and placement with presupposed prior motion**. Whereas these predicates refer to a final change of relation (and placement) without denoting a prior change of placement, their semantics nonetheless "presupposes" the existence of such a motion (see the part between slashes with a left-headed arrow in Table 1). This presupposed change of placement explains a well-known aspectual property of these verbs, that is their ability to behave as "achievements" (see the possibility of adding a temporal adverbial headed by *à* 'at') and as "accomplishments" as well (possible addition of an adverbial headed by *en* 'in') (5). This property has, in fact, a spatial counterpart (Aurnague, 2000) since the preposition *par* 'by' can indiscriminately introduce an entity directly connected to the final landmark (and which is thus involved in the final change of relation) or more distant from it and located within the prior trajectory of the target (change of placement) (6).

(5) *Max est arrivé à l'université à 10 heures/en 10 minutes.*
'Max arrived at the university at 10 o'clock/in 10 minutes'

(6) *Les réfugiés sont parvenus en France par l'Aragon/le Portugal.*
'The refugees got to/reached France via Aragon/Portugal'

The remaining four classes (lower half of Table 1) go two by two. **Double changes of relation with initial or final saliency** (e.g. *déménager* 'to move (house)', *émigrer* 'to emigrate'; *immigrer* 'to immigrate') have in common the fact that they involve a kind of "typing" of the landmarks with respect to which the two changes of relation and placement expressed take place (accommodation/residence, country, homeland…). One of these changes of relation (and placement) seems, nevertheless, to be more "salient" than the other, as the morphological properties of these verbs often indicate (*dé-*, *é-*/*ex-* vs. *im-* prefixes). Finally, **inclusion/containment-type initial or final changes of relation** (e.g. *sortir* 'to go out'; *entrer* 'to go in, to enter', *pénétrer* 'to enter, to penetrate') are the only categories that explicitly refer to the basic locative relation of inclusion/containment (preposition *dans* 'in'). Note that the negation of the locative relation *dans* may be expressed via the prepositional locution *à l'extérieur de* 'at the exterior of, outside', thus opening up the way to an alternative representation consisting of two "positive" pieces of information (cf. Table 1). However, the interior of an entity seems to be cognitively more individualized and salient than its exterior (Aurnague 2011) so that I give priority to the representation of these processes based on the basic locative relation *dans* and its negation (assertion and later negation for initial predicates and the reverse for final ones).

This categorization of intransitive motion verbs (and, more particularly, the four higher classes of Table 1) reveals an important asymmetry/dissymmetry between initial and final processes. This is because initial predicates of change of relation usually do not indicate the existence of a subsequent change of placement in their semantic content, whereas final changes of relation can integrate a prior change of placement or presuppose it.

In the remainder of this work, I will not go deeper into analyzing the spatio-temporal structure of intransitive verbs of strict motion in French.

Rather, I will try to show how the schemata brought to light are able to predict the possible "implicit uses" of the verbs under consideration as well as their association with a PP having an opposite polarity.

3. Categories of verbs and the implicit landmark construction

By implicit use of verbs of change of relation and placement I mean those anaphoric constructions of the verbs that do not mention the landmark(s) involved in the motion (neither through a nominal description nor through a pronoun or an adverbial).[4] Without going into details, let me indicate that the approach to anaphoric phenomena taken in this work is a cognitive one in which a mental discourse representation or discourse model is constructed and updated from different sources, among which, the "text"/utterance (written or oral production) and the situational context (e.g. Cornish 1999; Kleiber 1994). Classical definitions of anaphora and deixis (Bühler 1934/1990; Zribi-Hertz 1992) in terms of relations between elements of the "text" on the one hand, and relations between the text and the situational context on the other hand are not followed here. According to Cornish (1999, 2018), who extends Lyons' (1977) definition, *deixis (in discourse)* consists in shifting the addressee's attention to an element of the

[4] The constructions that associate a motion verb and a direct infinitival clause —and denote a final change of relation and placement— are obviously set aside here (Lamiroy 1983; Aurnague 2011). Indeed, the incorporation of the infinitival clause leads to automatically introducing a final reference entity —whether **expressed or not**— which operates as the landmark of both the motion predicate of the main clause **and** the eventuality of the infinitive: *Max est allé retrouver Luc (à l'université)* 'Max went and joined Luc (at the university)' vs. **Max est allé* (see below).

universe of discourse (already present in the representation and potentially supplemented via inference, or introduced by the current discourse segment) whereas anaphora refers to an element previously in focus. The deictic/anaphoric distinction thus relies on the nature of the procedure followed in order to identify the appropriate referent and is not restricted to the source of information (context vs. co-text): deixis is able to shift the interlocutor's attention to an element evoked via the previous text (but not focused upon) whereas anaphora can very well refer to a referent introduced and focused via the situational context (so-called "exophors"). These preliminary remarks are only intended to clarify my position on anaphoric phenomena and do not mean that the constructions presented in this section will be systematically analyzed on this basis. The current aim is more general —distinguishing between those verbs that can give rise to an anaphoric construction and those that cannot— and, indeed, several of the examples proposed would need a larger co-text to be provided in order to define the exact nature of the procedure involved in the retrieval of the missing referent.

Moreover, let me point out that in the spatial domain explored here, I will mostly use the term *"(spatial) deixis"* to characterize those motions which impose the presence of one of the speech participants near the landmark (or, at least, the existence of a particular link between one of the participants and the landmark). The relation between spatial deixis and the more general discourse deixis (as defined above) is obvious because both procedures consist in switching the addressee's attention to a specific referent (via spatial pointing and proximity in the former case). While spatial deixis seems to be at the root of discourse deixis, Cornish (1999) and Lyons (1977) notice that deixis as a whole is more fundamental than anaphora and that the former precedes the latter in diachrony as well as in language acquisition (cf. Hickmann 2003; Tanz 1980).

As we saw (Section 2), independent and extended initial changes of relation (e.g. *partir* ‘to go (away), to leave’, *s’échapper* ‘to escape’, *s’enfuir* ‘to run away’) have a semantic content which is centered on the initial change of relation (and placement) they introduce. This property — centering of the process on the change of relation and, therefore, on the landmark— makes it possible for these verbs to give rise to implicit uses (7–10), provided that an accurate landmark, with respect to which the target can be located, is present in the discourse model and that attention is focused on it. As pointed out above, while this landmark can already be present and focused in the representation (anaphora), its focusing and sometimes introduction can be the outcome of the current discourse segment (deixis; when focusing and introduction take place together, the source of the intended referent is usually the situational context). However, I will not systematically make these distinctions in the following discussion and will simply consider that the landmark is available or made available in the discourse representation.

(7) [Pedro, Don Christoval, Les Officiers, entrant] *le roi est parti ?* (H. de Montherlant, *La Reine morte*, 1942)[5]

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[5] All the attested examples in this study come from the Frantext textual base. More specifically, the results are grounded in the analysis of over 3400 spatial and non-spatial occurrences of the following verbs in a corpus drawn up from Frantext (main shared period: 1880–1950): *aller* (+ *Prep*) ‘to go (+ Prep)’, *arriver* ‘to arrive’, *s’échapper* ‘to escape’, *s’enfuir* ‘to run away’, *entrer* ‘to go in, to enter’, *partir* ‘to go (away), to leave’, *sortir* ‘to go out’, *venir* ‘to come’ (+ *(s’)avancer* ‘to advance, to move forward’, *descendre* ‘to go down’, *monter* ‘to go up’, *reculer* ‘to (move) back’). See Note 7 for the details concerning the verb *aller* + *Prep*. Additional investigations were carried out for *aboutir* ‘to end up’, *accéder* ‘to reach, to get to’ and *parvenir* ‘to reach, to get to’. Non-spatial occurrences being set aside, the analysis obviously focused on the spatial uses of the verbs.

'[Pedro, Don Christoval, The Officers, entering] Has the king gone away?'

(8) *Il est parti une nuit… en coupant simplement à la cisaille les deux rangs de barbelés de l'enceinte de son oflag.* (R. Abellio, *Heureux les pacifiques*, 1946)
'He left one night… by simply clipping through the two rows of barbed wire of the fence of his oflag'

(9) *Il s'est échappé !* (P. Claudel, *Les Euménides trad. d'Eschyle*, 1920)
'He has escaped!'

(10) *Au deuxième [coup de revolver], il y a eu des cris, un blessé, et tout le monde s'est enfui.* (A. Camus, *La Peste*, 1947)
'At the second [gun shot], there were cries, an injured person, and everybody ran away'

Unlike independent and extended initial changes of relation, the verbs referring to a final change of relation with integrated prior motion (e.g. *aller + Prep* 'to go + Prep', *se rendre* 'to go to') are not centered on the (final) change of relation they introduce: as previously indicated, their semantic content includes a change of placement preceding the final change of relation. This event structure has immediate consequences because the landmark with respect to which the final change of relation will take place is often unavailable during the prior change of placement. More precisely, if the situational context (11) or the co-text[6] (13) make it possible to situate a

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[6] In the case of "trajectory descriptions" or motion narrations, (Asher et al. 1995) shows how the last location introduced in a discourse can be used to situate a following eventuality (or a part of it).
The unavailable character of the final landmark in the universe of discourse obviously correlates with the fact that the outcome of the whole motion process is often not known during the prior change of placement. The final issue has to be anticipated on the basis of the target's intentions (cf. Vandeloise's (1987)

change of placement within an encompassing spatial environment, the final landmark of the whole motion eventuality is usually not focused (as a **goal** or **final** landmark) and, sometimes, not present in the universe of discourse either during this phase of the process. Thus, the final landmark has to be explicitly identified in the utterance (12, 14).[7]

"principle of anticipation") or described a posteriori, after the final change of relation has taken place.

[7] Although it follows from the spatio-temporal structure of the verbs, the need for overtly mentioning the landmark is probably encoded in their very constructional properties. In French, this syntactic-semantic rule seems to apply uniformly and the final landmark thus has to be expressed (via a clitic pronoun) even when it is present and highlighted in the discourse: *C'est une très belle ville. Max *est allé/y est allé.* 'It is a very nice city. Max went/went there'; *Demain le musée sera ouvert. Nous pourrions *aller/y aller* 'Tomorrow the museum will be open. We could go/go there'. The same constraint holds for constructions with grammatical ellipsis: *Max est allé à l'université. Luc *est allé/y est allé aussi* 'Max went to the university. Luc went/went there too'.

The analysis of the verb *aller + Prep* in a corpus drawn up from the 2007–2008 categorized version of the textual base Frantext ("passé composé"/perfect; third person singular; periods: 1880–1930 (142 spatial occurrences examined) and 1937–1950 (127 spatial occurrences)) showed the absolute lack of implicit uses of this marker denoting a final change of relation and placement (apart from direct infinitival constructions (Aurnague 2011); see Note 4). Sabio (2008) reports similar results from tracking spatial clitics in both **oral** and **written** corpora of contemporary French. The same observation could surely be made for the verb *se rendre* in its motion meaning (**Max s'est rendu* 'Max went (to)'). The form *être rendu* 'to have arrived' is not comparable to the constructions studied because it involves an adjective derived from the verb (*rendu*) that highlights the final state of the motion.

In languages with a weaker syntactic-semantic rule (e.g. Basque, English, Italian, Spanish), the salient final landmark can sometimes be omitted from the utterance

(11) *Max marche d'un pas décidé (sur le boulevard).*
'Max is walking at a steady pace (on the boulevard)'

(12) *Max va à la mairie d'un pas décidé.*
'Max is going to the city hall at a steady pace'

(13) *Aussitôt arrivé sur le chemin, Max a couru à grandes enjambées.*
'As soon as he reached the path, Max broke into a swift run'

(14) *Aussitôt arrivé sur le chemin, Max s'est rendu au village à grandes enjambées.*[8]
'As soon as he reached the path, Max strode quickly on to the village'

However, some changes of relation with integrated prior motion can appear in implicit landmark constructions: the corresponding predicates are characterized by the fact that the landmark with respect to which the final change of relation is evaluated is already known during the prior change of placement. A first group of dynamic descriptions —by far the largest— includes motions that are contemplated from the landmark introduced by the text/utterance or the situational context and that constitutes their (possible) endpoint. These descriptions involve the verb *venir* 'to come' (15–16) as well as the more colloquial forms *s'abouler* 'to come', *s'amener* 'to come along' or *rappliquer* 'to come, to turn up'. As Fillmore (1975) very

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(typical utterances include imperatives, future or modal forms, landmarks associated with an activity...). In many cases, however, the explicit mention of this entity seems to be preferred or even required, in spite of its possible saliency.

[8] In this study, I consider intransitive verbs of change of relation and placement and (usually) not the constructions obtained when combining a predicate of change of placement with a "final" spatial PP (e.g., *Max a couru* 'Max ran' vs. *Max a couru au village* 'Max ran to the village'). Some directional verbs of change of placement can give rise to implicit landmark descriptions denoting changes of relation and placement (*Max est monté/descendu* 'Maw went up/down') but this is due to the frequent presence, in the situational or utterance context, of landmarks that "limit" the corresponding motions (Aurnague 2011).

effectively illustrated with the verb *come* (see also (Ricca 1992) for data on Italian), the most common uses of these predicates require the speaker and/or the interlocutor to be located near the final landmark of the motion at speech time or at event time (alternatively the landmark can simply be related to them: e.g. home, workplace). Therefore they clearly impose a *spatial deixis* constraint (Aurnague 2015). Indeed, this deictic behavior covers broader situations because it may sometimes only consist in using the landmark present in the universe of discourse as a "perspective point" or "point of view" from which the motion is contemplated, without the participants (or one of them) being actually located near this landmark at some point in time —for further discussions on motion and spatial deixis across languages, see the first part of the volume.

(15) *Djala, qui est venu hier* ? (P. Louys, *Aphrodite*, 1896)
'Djala, who came yesterday?'

(16) *Aussi lorsque est venu, le lendemain matin, ce drôle de type à barbiche que le père a d'abord reçu si mal…* (G. Bernanos, *Monsieur Ouine,* 1943)
'Well, when the next morning, that peculiar guy with a goatee beard came who the father at first received so badly…'

Besides adopting a perspective centered on the final landmark (spatial deixis, perspective point), a second situation paves the way for the implicit use of final changes of relation with integrated prior motion: the final landmark is, here again, already known during the prior motion but this information derives from world knowledge often combined with situational data (and exploited via the verb's semantics) rather than from the perspective from which the motion is viewed.[9] In French, this case is

[9] More generally, note that in the absence of an identifiable final landmark, world knowledge, clues and inferences sometimes make it possible to use a description involving a generic landmark (possibly captured via the activity or function that

illustrated by the verb *rentrer* ‘to come/go back, to come/go (back) home, to return (home)’ which implies that the target gets back to her/his habitual location (cf. the *r(e)-* prefix). (17), for instance, is likely to be uttered by somebody on seeing Max on his (habitual) way back home.

(17) *Tiens, c’est Max. C’est à cette heure-ci qu’il rentre !*
‘Ah, there’s Max. So this is the time he returns home!’

As suggested elsewhere (Aurnague 2011), final changes of relation with presupposed prior motion (e.g. *arriver* ‘to arrive’, *aboutir* ‘to end up’, *accéder* ‘to reach, to get to’ and *parvenir* ‘to reach, to get to’) occupy an intermediate position between independent or extended initial changes of relation and final changes of relation with integrated prior motion: although they are centered on the final change of relation (and placement) they denote, they indicate, in their very semantics, the existence of a change of placement preceding this change of relation (cf. Section 2). This ambivalent status can be seen at the aspectual level (internal aspect, Aktionsart: Smith 1991; Vendler 1957) —though achievements, these predicates can sometimes behave as accomplishments—, but it also has spatial repercussions —the landmark introduced by *par* ‘by’ can be directly connected to the final landmark or located within the prior trajectory of the target. In the same way as the initial processes previously examined, the centering on the final change of relation and placement (and on the corresponding landmark) theoretically allows these verbs to appear in implicit constructions as soon as the final landmark is available or made available in the discourse:

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characterizes it): *Les ouvriers rentrent chez eux* ‘Workers are returning home’; *Le bateau rentre au port* ‘The boat is going back to the port’; *Les ouvriers se rendent au travail* ‘Workers are going to work’; *Les vacanciers vont à la plage* ‘Holiday-makers are going to the beach’.

(18) *Le jour où M Murchison est arrivé, il a confié au coffre-fort de l'hôtel une grosse somme, une... très grosse somme.* (J. Gracq, *Un beau ténébreux*, 1945)
'The day Mr Murchison arrived, he entrusted to the hotel's safe a large amount, a… very large amount of money'

(19) *On est arrivé.* (M. Aymé, *Le Vin de Paris,* 1947)
'We have arrived'

But, here again, the fact that these verbs include, in their semantic content, a mention of a change of placement prior to the final change of relation (and placement) denoted, paves the way for a dual type of behavior: if the prior motion acquires some importance in the process being described, one can expect the use of an implicit construction not to be possible (such a phenomenon may partly parallel the functioning of final changes of relation with integrated prior motion; cf. *supra*). This is, in my view, what occurs with the predicates *aboutir*, *accéder* and *parvenir*, to which we return below (Section 4).

The four remaining classes of verbs of change of relation and placement all admit implicit landmark constructions, although for different reasons. Inclusion/containment-type initial and final changes of relation (e.g. *sortir* 'to go out', *entrer* 'to go in, to enter', *pénétrer* 'to enter, to penetrate') have a semantic content markedly centered on the change of relation and placement (and the associated landmark) and, as the verbs displaying this property that we have already seen, they can be used without resorting to any spatial PP whenever the landmark is retrievable from the discourse representation. Of course, the spatial configuration has to match the basic locative relation conveyed by the verb:

(20) *L'homme est sorti, et lentement s'est éloigné.* (M. Genevoix, *Ceux de 14*, 1950)
'The man went out, and slowly moved away'

(21) *Un garçon se précipite, affolé, nous dire qu'en passant sous la fenêtre d'Ortègue, il a entendu des gémissements, qu'il est entré, qu'il a trouvé le Professeur sans connaissance.* (P. Bourget, *Le Sens de la mort*, 1915)
'A boy rushes over, panic-stricken, to tell us that, while passing under Ortègue's window, he heard groans, that he went in and found the Professor unconscious'

Double changes of relation with initial or final saliency (e.g. *déménager* 'to move (house)', *émigrer* 'to emigrate'; *immigrer* 'immigrate') can also appear in utterances in which the verb does not co-occur with a spatial PP. However, the reasons for such a behavior are different from those brought out up to now and probably rely on the "typing" of the landmarks entailed by these predicates (see Section 2 and (Aurnague 2011)). An important outcome of this typing is that double changes of relation and placement do not need a referential anchoring (with respect to well identified landmarks) and occur very easily in plural or generic descriptions:

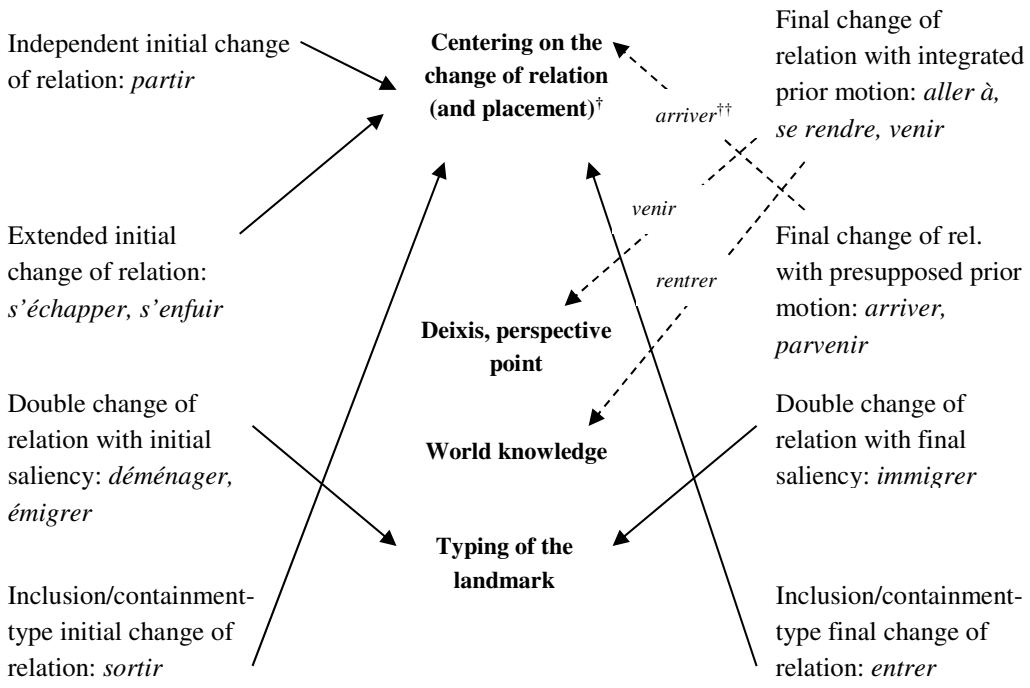
(22) *Max a déménagé (de nombreuses fois dans sa vie).*
'Max has moved house (many times in his life)'
(23) *Celui qui immigre découvre un nouveau monde.*
'Anybody who immigrates discovers a new world'

4. Predicting implicit uses: main conditions and beyond

As summarized in Figure 1, the spatial or spatio-temporal categorization of intransitive verbs of change of relation and placement I have proposed (see Section 2) allows to predict, to a large extent, the possibility of using these verbs in implicit constructions (with no mention of the spatial landmark(s) underlying the process). Thus, we observed that the landmark with respect to which a change of relation (and placement) is evaluated can, in principle,

be omitted from the dynamic description whenever the spatio-temporal schema characterising the process is **centered on this change**: this is the case with independent and extended initial changes of relation (e.g. *partir* 'to go (away), to leave', *s'échapper* 'to escape', *s'enfuir* 'to run away') and with inclusion/containment-type initial or final changes of relation (e.g. *sortir* 'to go out', *entrer* 'to go in, to enter', *pénétrer* 'to enter, to penetrate'). These implicit uses need a landmark to be available in the discourse representation and attention to be turned on it (the landmark is already focused in the representation —anaphora— or a shift in attention takes place within the current discourse segment —deixis—). Obviously, the (initial or final) relation between the target and the landmark must fit in with the basic locative relation underlying the predicate's semantics. When the verb's semantics includes a change of placement separated from the change of relation —and which, usually, precedes the latter (see above): final changes of relation with integrated prior motion—, the (final) landmark associated with the change of relation is often unavailable in the course of the process and, in particular, during the prior change of placement (it is not focused as a final landmark and even not present in the universe of discourse). Therefore, it has to appear explicitly in the description and this is reflected in a categorical syntactic-semantic rule of French (see Note 7). However, final changes of relation with integrated prior motion give rise to implicit landmark constructions in two cases. The first case corresponds to **motions contemplated from the landmark** that underlies the change of relation (this landmark operates as a "perspective point"), the corresponding predicates having a clearly *spatial deictic* content (e.g. *venir* 'to come', *s'abouler* 'to come', *s'amener* 'to come along'). A second possibility —far less frequent, at least in French— consists in inferring the final landmark from **world knowledge** and related situational knowledge that the verb exploits (e.g. *rentrer* 'to come/go back, to come/go (back) home, to return (home)'). A final factor licensing the implicit use of

changes of relation and placement is the semantic **typing** of the landmark but, as suggested above, this is a somewhat different case.



† Dotted arrows indicate that only some verbs within the category have the intended property.
†† Prior motion not salient.

Figure 1. Categories of verbs and constraints on implicit constructions

As pointed out above, final changes of relation with presupposed prior motion show a contrasting behavior with regard to their co-occurrence with a spatial PP, a behavior that parallels the ambivalent character already seen when examining their internal aspect or their combination with a *par*-headed PP (see Section 2). The centering on the final change of relation (and placement) theoretically allows these verbs to occur in implicit landmark constructions, as we observed for *arriver* 'to arrive'. However, *aboutir* 'to end up', *accéder* 'to reach, to get to' or *parvenir* 'to reach, to get to' do not license such constructions. My explanation for these disparities is that, while they all denote a final change of relation, these predicates can give variable importance or "saliency" to the prior motion that is

presupposed in their semantics. This saliency depends on specific properties that I illustrate briefly with the verbs *parvenir* and *aboutir*. The semantics of *parvenir* seems often to involve the idea of difficulty the target comes up or may come up against during the prior change of placement —difficulty that can simply lie in the distance to be covered (24).[10] Besides the difficulty in completing the motion process, the verb *parvenir* very often underlines the intention of the target to reach a determined landmark or, at least, its will to make headway in a given direction (the furthest possible), these two facets —difficulty and intention— being probably related (as the target tries to overcome the difficulties/obstacles met and to carry on its way). Thus, the entity introduced by the verb's complement corresponds, most of the time, to the final landmark that the target wants to reach (24), to an intermediate entity on the way towards this landmark (25) or, even, to a landmark located in the direction along which the target is progressing.

(24) *Le 9 octobre, après une marche longue et difficile, il est parvenu à Graffenthal avec la division Suchet et sa cavalerie…* (Maréchal Foch, *Des principes de la guerre*, 1911)
'On October 9th, after a long and difficult march, he reached Graffenthal with the Suchet division and its cavalry…'

(25) *…parvenu à un croisement de chemins, Meaulnes, dans sa hâte à regagner le pauvre logis, suivit sans réfléchir un sentier qui paraissait directement y conduire.* (Alain-Fournier, *Le Grand Meaulnes*, 1913)
'…having reached a crossroads, Meaulnes, in a hurry to get back to the poor abode, followed, without realizing it, a path that seemed to lead there directly'

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[10] This property relates *parvenir* to *accéder* 'to reach, to get to' which also seems to underline the potential difficulties and obstacles that may arise when attempting to get to the landmark.

As far as *aboutir* is concerned, this verb associates the notion of "guidance" or "guided trajectory" (Aurnague 2000; Stosic 2002, 2007) with the complementary (and, probably, secondary) idea that the moving target gets to the landmark identified by the final PP without this change of relation being intentional:

(26) *...il n'est certes pas sans signification que, chaque fois que je suis désemparé, j'aboutisse dans ce quartier... comme le navire sans gouvernail qui glisse irrésistiblement vers le maelstrom...* (R. Vailland, *Drôle de jeu*, 1945)
'…it is certainly not without significance that, every time I am distraught, I end up in this area… like the ship without a helm that is irresistibly gliding along towards the maelstrom…'

(27) *Nous perdons une demi-heure dans un sentier qui ne mène nulle part sinon à des routes et enfin nous aboutissons dans une espèce de carrière parsemée çà et là de vieilles boîtes de conserve.* (R. Fallet, *Carnets de jeunesse*, 1947)
'We waste half an hour on a path that leads nowhere except to roads and finally we end up in a kind of quarry scattered here and there with tin cans'

Arriver differs from both *parvenir* and *aboutir* as it does not incorporate in its semantic content any constraint on the difficulty in achieving the motion process, the possible guidance of the trajectory or the target's will (or lack of will) to reach a landmark (or to make headway in a given direction): in a sense this verb is neutral with respect to these properties. Although *arriver* can sometimes appear in descriptions that include markers that underline the difficulty and intentionality of the motion (possible substitution for *parvenir*) vs. guidance and non-intentionality (possible substitution for *aboutir*), most of its contexts of use do not bring such notions into play.

All of these properties —difficulties/obstacles, guidance, (lack of) intention to reach the landmark— apply to the prior change of placement

presupposed (or, at least, involve it somehow or other) and give it a particular saliency in the verb's semantics. In my view, this is the main reason why *aboutir*, *accéder* and *parvenir*, unlike *arriver*, do not occur in implicit constructions and require their landmarks to be mentioned. The saliency of the change of placement somehow brings these verbs closer to final changes of relation with integrated prior motion which, as we saw, only appear in implicit landmark constructions in a restricted number of cases (deictic content, recourse to world knowledge). However, the role of prior motion in the rejection of implicit uses is probably different here (it is not really a matter of unavailability of the final landmark during the prior motion) and, for some of the verbs, it is likely to relate to differences in degree of semantic transitivity (from this point of view *accéder* and *parvenir* would be closer to *atteindre* 'to reach' than *arriver*; see (Hopper and Thompson 1980) and (Sarda 1999)).

5. Verbs and PPs with opposite polarities: the role of implicitness

The picture painted by implicit uses of intransitive verbs of change of relation and placement displays a strong asymmetry/dissymmetry between initial and final predicates. One can thus notice that all the classes of initial verbs examined exhibit semantic properties (centering on the initial change of relation and placement or typing of the landmark) that license implicit landmark constructions. The situation is different with final motions as they do not systematically admit this kind of use: this is the case with final changes of relation with integrated prior motion (when the final landmark is neither used as a perspective point nor drawn from world knowledge: *aller à*, *se rendre* 'to go to') and with final changes of relation with presupposed prior motion (when the presupposed change of placement is "salient": *aboutir* 'to end up', *accéder*, *parvenir* 'to reach, to get to'). The proportion

of final processes that make the expression of the landmark compulsory is even higher if one takes into account constructions associating a verb of change of placement and a final PP (cf. Introduction), which usually need this element to be present in the sentence (with the exception of directional verbs: see Note 8).

As far as I know, the asymmetry so shown by implicit uses has been very little noticed in the literature and it is all the more interesting since it correlates, to a large extent, with another syntactic-semantic property (partly identified by Boons (1987)), that is, the possibility for a verb of a given polarity to combine with a PP having an opposite polarity. In this way, the initial verbs denoting an independent or an extended change of relation (and placement) —which, as we saw, admit implicit uses— easily combine with a final PP (28–31).

(28) *m le professeur Don Pedro Henriquez, accompagné de plusieurs savants médecins, est parti pour la province de San-Paulo…* (G. de Maupassant, *Contes et Nouvelles*, 1886)
'Professor Don Pedro Henriquez, accompanied by several learned doctors, left for the province of San-Paulo…'

(29) *notre cher président du conseil, aussitôt après sa chute, est parti à la Sierra avec un fusil...* (A. Malraux, *L'Espoir*, 1937)
'our dear prime minister, straight after his fall, left for the Sierra with a gun…'

(30) *Mistigris s'est échappé dans les mollets de papa.* (J. Audiberti, *Théâtre*, t. 1, 1948)
'Mistigris escaped into dad's calves'

(31) *Le traître, protégé de l'état-major, s'est enfui à Londres…* (G. Clémenceau, *Vers la réparation*, 1899)
'The traitor, protected by the staff, ran away to London…'

The same applies to double changes of relation with initial saliency and to inclusion/containment-type initial changes of relation[11] (32–33).

(32) *Max a déménagé à Paris.*
'Max moved house to Paris'

(33) *il est sorti tout seul dans la plaine…* (H. Barbusse, *Le Feu*, 1916)
'he went out alone in(to) the plain…'

The integration of a final predicate and an initial PP into the same dynamic description is not systematic and again seems to be subject to the conditions already highlighted for the implicit uses of the verbs (Sections 3 and 4). This observation holds for final changes of relation with integrated prior motion whose association with an initial PP involves deixis (e.g. *venir* 'to come', *s'abouler* 'to come', *s'amener* 'to come along') or world knowledge (e.g. *rentrer* 'to come/go back, to come/go (back) home, to return (home)') (34–36). It also applies to final changes of relation with presupposed prior motion since the (prior) change of placement to which the verb indirectly refers does not have to be salient (37: *arriver* 'to arrive').

(34) *il est venu de Rennes avec moi.* (Villiers de L'Isle-Adam, *Contes cruels*, 1883)
'he came from Rennes with me'

(35) *Ouine est venu d'on ne sait où, un soir.* (G. Bernanos, *Monsieur Ouine*, 1943)
'Ouine came from goodness knows where, one evening'

(36) *Tiens, c'est Max. Il doit rentrer de l'usine.*
'Ah, there's Max. He must be returning home from the factory'

(37) *Il est arrivé ce matin de Toulouse où il a échappé de justesse à la gestapo.* (R. Vailland, *Drôle de jeu*, 1945)

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[11] Except when their semantics stresses the affectedness of the target and/or landmark: e.g. *s'extraire* 'to get out of, to extricate o.s.', *se dégager* 'to extricate o.s.'.

'He arrived this morning from Toulouse where he narrowly escaped the gestapo'

When these semantic constraints are not satisfied —deixis and world knowledge are not present in the semantic content: *aller* + *Prep* 'to go + Prep', *se rendre* 'to go to'; presupposed prior motion is salient: *aboutir* 'to end up', *accéder*, *parvenir* 'to reach, to get to'—, final changes of relation cannot combine with an initial PP (38–41).

(38) **Max est allé de la cuisine.*
'Max went from the kitchen'

(39) **Max s'est rendu de Rennes.*
'Max went from Rennes'

(40) **Max a abouti du carrefour.*
'Max ended up from the crossroads'

(41) ??**Max est parvenu de Toulouse.*[12]

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[12] A few cases where *parvenir* appears with an initial PP were found in Frantext, but these constructions seem to need very specific constraints to be satisfied. Thus, the landmark entity is almost systematically a human being (or a group of human beings) and, conversely, the target has to be non-animate. The latter entity is a physical phenomenon perceived by the human landmark (e.g. sound, smell) or an object received by this landmark (some kind of transporting or forwarding is usually involved): *Par intervalles, une voix parvenait de là-bas…* 'At intervals, a voice could be heard from there…' (M. Genevoix, *Raboliot*, 1925); *Le 31 juillet, en effet, vers 18 heures, parvient de Paris l'ordre de "faire partir les troupes de couverture"…* 'On July 31th, indeed, about 6 p.m., the order to "make the covering troops leave" reached us…' (Maréchal Foch, *Mémoire pour guerre 1914-1918*, 1929); *Il y a un bruit étouffé de machines à écrire et de voix qui parvient de l'étage supérieur…* 'There is a muffled sound of typewriters and voices coming from the upper floor…' (J. Joffo, *Un sac de billes*, 1973). Moreover, in several of the examples found, the tense used has an imperfective aspect (e.g. "imparfait"/imperfect).

'Max got from Toulouse'

Like symmetrical initial predicates (see above), double changes of relation with final saliency can combine with an initial PP (e.g., *Max a immigré du Portugal* 'Max immigrated from Portugal'). Finally, inclusion/containment-type final changes of relation constitute the only exception to the parallel claimed to hold between implicit uses of intransitive motion verbs and their association with an "opposite PP" in terms of polarity (e.g., ??**Max est entré de la cour* 'Max went in from the yard'). We are faced here with a specific behavior that needs to be tackled through a comparison with the opposite predicate *sortir* 'to go out' on the one hand, and with final changes of relation and placement licensing implicit constructions, on the other.[13] I leave this question aside in this chapter.

On the whole, the attested data collected in this work show a close correlation between the strict motion verbs licensing the association with a spatial PP of opposite polarity (to the verb) and the predicates that can be used without the landmark underlying their meaning being explicitly mentioned. This correlation is not really surprising and indicates that the change of relation and placement expressed in the verb's semantic content

[13] On the basis of this dual comparison, my intuition is that this peculiar behavior of *entrer* follows from two main factors: the fact that this verb (like *sortir*) is especially centered on the landmark it introduces and, without being deictic, often implies a certain closeness to this entity (recall, among other things, that the underlying basic locative relation is *dans* 'in' rather than *à* 'at'); the importance of certain "post-states" in relation to "pre-states". Although I will not go back to the compared functioning of *entrer* and *sortir*, the difference thus pointed out constitutes a further illustration of the asymmetry between initial and final changes of relation and placement (see Section 6 and (Aurnague 2015)).

has to be implied (in spite of the landmark not being mentioned) for a PP with opposite polarity to be added.

6. Conclusion: implicit landmarks, opposite polarities and asymmetry of motion

Starting from the categorization of predicates of change of relation and placement, this chapter has provided the opportunity to tackle two important questions concerning the association between strict motion verbs and PPs: Under which conditions can the landmark underlying a verb of change of relation and placement remain implicit or unexpressed? In which cases is it possible for a motion verb to appear with a PP having an opposite polarity?

The first question has virtually never been dealt with as such in the literature (at least to my knowledge) and the obligatory or optional character of the indirect complement of a strict motion predicate is most often considered as an idiosyncratic phenomenon.[14] Without completely exhausting the subject, I tried to show that the possibility of such uses is not arbitrary and, to a large extent, depends on the spatio-temporal structure of motion verbs (centering or not on the change of relation and placement) and on several other parameters of their semantics (Sections 3 and 4): motion contemplated from the landmark, world knowledge (and situational information), typing of the landmark.

With regard to the second question, and with only very few exceptions, the possibility of combining a motion verb and a spatial PP with opposite

[14] For a recent survey of the lexical solutions put forward for explaining the implicitation of **direct** (indefinite) objects of verbal predicates, see (Bourmayan 2014). The author argues for an entirely pragmatic account. See also (Larjavaara 2000).

polarities turned out to be closely related to the existence of an implicit use of the verb (Section 5). Thus, it seems that we have to be able to imply the change of relation and placement with respect to the implicit landmark (underlying the verb's semantics), for an opposite spatial PP to be added.

The constructions examined in this work reveal a strong asymmetry/dissymmetry between initial and final changes of relation and placement in French. Whereas all the initial verbs analyzed enter into implicit landmark constructions, only some of the final verbs license such a use. Moreover, whereas every initial predicate can co-occur with a final PP, not all final verbs may combine with an initial PP. Cases of typing aside, the asymmetry revealed by these constructions is largely due to the fact that initial processes are all centered on the change of relation and placement they introduce —their semantic content does not include any subsequent motion (see Table 1)— contrary to final verbs which, very often, integrate or presuppose a change of placement preceding the final change of relation (and placement).

In (Aurnague 2015), I mention several other asymmetries/dissymmetries between initial and final motion processes (Ikegami, 1987; Lakusta & Landau, 2005; Regier & Zheng, 2007), which show up through the analysis of dynamic verbs and prepositions: deictic constraints on perspective point (initial vs. final), verbs and constructions denoting an initial vs. final change of relation and placement, range of prepositional elements capable of expressing the different polarities of strict motion events and so forth. While most of the oppositions brought to light seem again to depend on the contrasts between the spatio-temporal (inner) arrangement of initial and final motion predicates, I maintain that the source of the asymmetries displayed by dynamic spatial processes must to be found in the very structure of events in language (Kamp and Reyle 1993; Moens and Steedman 1988; Smith 1991).

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