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Linguistic encodings of motion events in Japanese and English: A preliminary look*

Kyoko Hirose Ohara

1. Introduction

We often encounter different writing 'styles' when reading novels in different languages. Also, in reading novels in translation, we sometimes get 'mental images' different from those we get from reading them in the original. How do these impressions reflect different typological characteristics of the languages? To what extent are they motivated by the languages' structural properties? In what ways precisely? This paper analyzes Japanese and English expressions of motion taken from novels and stories, along with their respective translations. It presents results of a pilot study pointing in the direction of future work based on more data.

2. Framework for analysis

In examining Japanese and English motion descriptions in literary discourse, we will adopt Talmy's semantic typology based on nonliterary discourse (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000). Talmy's typology of verbs of motion and location classifies languages according to which semantic component can be expressed in the main verb in most characteristic expression of motion (Talmy 1985: 61-62).[1] English is classified as a MANNER-TYPE LANGUAGE since it has a whole series of verbs that express motion occurring in various manners (1a). In contrast, Japanese is classified as a PATH-TYPE LANGUAGE

due to the abundance of verbs that express motion along various paths (1b):

(1a) Motion+Manner verbs in English

amble, bowl, canter, clamber, climb, crawl, creep, dance, dash, flit, fly, gallop, glide, hasten, hobble, hop, hurry, inch, jog, jump, leap, limp, lumber, lurch, march, meander, mosey, nip, pad, parade, plod, prowl, race, ramble, roam, rove, run, rush, saunter, scramble, scud, scurry, scuttle, shamble, shuffle, skip, slide, slither, slouch, sneak, speed, stagger, stray, streak, stride, stroll, strut, swagger, sweep, swim, tiptoe, toddle, totter, tramp, trek, troop, trot, waddle, wade, walk, wander, zigzag

(Matsumoto (1997): 131 (4a))

(1b) Motion+Path verbs in Japanese

koeru 'go.beyond',[2] *wataru* 'cross', *tooru* 'run.through', *sugiru* 'pass', *nukeru* 'go.through', *yokogiru* 'cross', *magaru* 'turn.off', *kuguru* 'pass.under', *mawaru* 'turn.about', *meguru* 'course.through', *yoru* 'come.near', *tuukasuru* 'go.past', *hairu* 'enter', *deru* 'exit', *itaru* 'come.to', *tassuru* 'reach', *tuku* 'come.to', *tootyakusuru* 'arrive', *saru* 'leave', *hanareru* 'step.away', *syuppatusuru* 'set.out'

(Matsumoto (1997): 141 (33b), glosses are mine)

Talmy (1991) has proposed yet another typology, which classifies languages according to whether the 'core schema' —path in the case of motion— is morphosyntactically encoded by the main verb or by a SATELLITE within a clause. He defines 'satellite' as 'the grammatical category of any constituent other than a normal complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root. (ibid.: 486)' In English, satellites are verb particles such as *in, up to, across*, etc.[3] In English, path in motion descriptions is often encoded by a satellite, and English is thus classified as a SATELLITE-FRAMED

LANGUAGE. On the other hand, path is usually expressed by a main verb in Japanese, and Japanese is therefore classified as a VERB-FRAMED LANGUAGE along with Spanish. For example, in an English sentence *He went back to the library*, it is the satellite, i.e., verb particle *back*, which expresses the path. In the closest Japanese counterpart *kare wa tosyokan ni modotta* 'he-TOP library-GOAL returned' it is the finite verb *modotta* 'returned' which expresses the path.

As pointed out by Slobin (1996), motion descriptions in literary discourse such as novels and stories differ in at least two ways from what Talmy's typology was originally intended to account for. Firstly, these motion descriptions often go beyond the level of one clause, and may extend to clauses and sentences. Secondly, motion descriptions not only have to do with simple paths lying between source and goal but also complex paths, which Slobin calls 'journeys.' Journeys involve milestones or subgoals and may be situated in a medium (*along a road, through the water*, etc.). Slobin gives an example of a journey from Du Maurier's *Rebecca*, in which the narrator uses four motion verbs —*went, turned, passed, went* — to move along a path with seven milestones:

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

(Slobin 1996: 208 (9))

We are interested in finding out how the languages in question encode different path segments of a journey both within and beyond a clause. We will also contrast the motion descriptions in the original texts with their

translations, in order to investigate how the languages cope with the task of conveying the 'same' content while following their own structural and rhetorical requirements.

We will see that linguistic encodings of motion in the two languages differ considerably in two respects. Firstly, the two languages often use different sentence structures in describing complex paths. English tends to use CLAUSE-COMPACTING, in which different path segments are expressed in one clause (e.g. *Alice went through the little door into that lovely garden*). On the other hand, Japanese uses CLAUSE-CHAINING, in which path segments are described by a chain of clauses (e.g. *arisu wa tiisana doa o kugutte kireina niwa e itta* 'Alice-TOP little door-ACC go.through-TE lovely garden-GOAL went'). Secondly, the languages differ in their preferences for DYNAMIC vs. STATIC descriptions. Whereas English tends to explicitly encode movement, Japanese seems more elaborate in static descriptions of locations and states and tends to omit movement descriptions.

The contrast between clause-compacting and clause-chaining in the two languages appears to be predicted by Talmy's typology and subsequent proposals by Aske (1989) and Slobin (1996). The second contrast concerning dynamic vs. static descriptions seems to be related to different rhetorical styles preferred by the two languages (cf. Ikegami 1991).

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section 3 examines English and Japanese descriptions of motion from the point of view of Talmy's typology. Section 4 contrasts the motion descriptions with their translations. Section 5 discusses the discrepancies between the two languages highlighted by the contrastive analysis, and finally Section 6 concludes the study.

3. Examination of original texts

Building on Slobin's contrastive analysis of Spanish and English, we will examine Japanese and English motion descriptions in literary discourse (cf. Slobin 1996). The unit of analysis is a MOTION EVENT, defined as the description of the movement of a protagonist from one place to another. Motion events can be either a simple trajectory or a journey, as long as the protagonist ends up in a different place within an uninterrupted stretch of narrative (ibid.).

3.1. Data

In this pilot study, 10 motion events were gathered from each of the four texts listed below, two English and two Japanese. A total of 20 motion events within a language will be treated as one database since the data taken from the two sources in each case did not show any noticeable difference with respect to our purposes. The selection of the texts was random, although it was partly restricted by the availability of translation and electronic data.

ENGLISH 20 motion events from:

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (England): *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* 1892

Lucy Maud Montgomery (Canada): *Anne of Green Gables* 1908

JAPANESE 20 motion events from:

Haruki Murakami: *Murakami Haruki Zen Sakuhin 1979-1989* (Works by Haruki Murakami 1979-1989) [The elephant vanishes/ stories by Haruki Murakami] 1991

Banana Yoshimoto: Kicchin [Kitchen] 1988

3.2. Questions

There are four questions to ask in examining motion descriptions in the two languages—one having to do with verbs and three pertaining to specifications of ground objects such as source and goal (Slobin 1997).

Firstly, are there any differences between the two languages in terms of the TYPE AND NUMBER OF VERBS USED in describing motion events? As a path-type verb-framed language, Japanese should employ a relatively large number of verbs in order to express paths within a journey. English, on the other hand, being a satellite-framed language, should be able to use verb particles for the same purpose and should thus require a relatively small number of verbs for motion descriptions. Furthermore, since English motion verbs often conflate manner of motion, English should be more abundant in types of verbs used in motion events than Japanese.

Secondly, which language uses VERB PHRASES WITHOUT ANY GROUND SPECIFICATIONS (e.g., *Mrs. Rachel stepped out*) more often than the other? It is natural to imagine that both languages should resort to VERB PHRASES WITH GROUND SPECIFICATIONS (e.g., *He reached Bright River*), in describing motion events. It may be, however, hypothesized that Japanese verb phrases may not necessarily be accompanied by ground elements, since Japanese verbs themselves often encode a path.

Thirdly, which language uses MORE GROUND ELEMENTS? It may be that English, a satellite-framed language abundant in spatial prepositions, is richer in the number of ground elements than Japanese, which has a small number of postpositions with generalized meanings.[4]

And finally, how do the two languages encode plural ground elements or path segments within a journey? WITHIN ONE CLAUSE OR BEYOND ONE CLAUSE? Again, the fact that English has a large number of spatial prepositions might allow it to express more than one ground element within

a clause. Japanese, on the other hand, being a path-type verb-framed language, might only allow one path segment per verb.

3.3. Results

The numbers of verbs used in 20 motion events are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: # of verbs in 20 motion events

	English:	Japanese:
#Verb tokens	35	37
#Verb types	26	19
Type-Token Ratio	74	51

Contrary to our hypothesis, the two languages do not exhibit a significant difference with respect to the number of verb TOKENS used—35 for English and 37 for Japanese. Yet, the number of verb TYPES in English is higher than in Japanese—26 *vs.* 19—resulting in a higher type-token ratio for English verbs than for Japanese. In other words, as we have predicted, English shows more lexical diversity than Japanese in terms of verbs used in motion events. The verb types are listed in (3):[5]

(3a) English verbs

conduct, dive, drive, emerge, enter, fall, go, jog, lead, make-one's-way, open, pass, perch, rattle, reach, return, set, shuffle, sidle, spring, stand, start, step, stop, tie, walk

(3b) Japanese verbs

agaru 'ascend', *aruku* 'walk', *asi o tomeru* 'stop.walking', *deru* 'exit', *hairu* 'enter', *hiki kaesu* 'go.back', *ho o tomeru* 'stop.walking', *iku* 'go', *komu* 'enter', *kieru* 'disappear', *koeru* 'go.beyond', *kuru* 'come', *modoru* 'return',

noru 'get.on', *nukeru* 'go.through', *oriru* 'get.off', *oyogu* 'swim', *tatu* 'stand', *yokogiru* 'cross'

Our hypothesis regarding the lexical diversity was based on the typology of manner-type *vs.* path-type languages. English motion verbs often conflate manner with motion, while Japanese motion verbs do so much less (Matsumoto 1997). Our data seem to reflect the contrast in the two languages. Among the verb types listed in (3), there are 9 verbs in English which conflate manner-of-motion, whereas there are only 2 in Japanese. They are listed in (4) (Levin 1993):

(4a) English motion+manner verbs

dive, drive, jog, rattle, shuffle, sidle, spring, step, walk

(4b) Japanese motion+manner verbs

aruku 'walk', *oyogu* 'swim'

Table 2 shows that the ratio of motion+manner verb types among all the verb types is higher for English than for Japanese, as predicted by Talmy's typology between manner-type vs. path-type languages:

Table 2: Motion+Manner verbs types

	English:	Japanese:
#Motion+Manner verb types	9	2
%Motion+Manner verb types	35%	11%

Table 3 below demonstrates that motion verb phrases in both languages are usually accompanied by a ground element such as source and goal. However, verb phrases without ground specifications occur more often in Japanese than in English. This may be due to the fact that Japanese motion verbs themselves can conflate a path. Some attested examples from Japanese follow (Here and in the rest of the paper, three dots represent omission of text irrelevant to the point under discussion.).

Table 3: % of verb phrases with and without ground specifications

	English:	Japanese:
With ground (%)	86	81
Without ground (%)	14	19

(5a) A verb phrase with a ground specification:

... watasi wa omowazu <u>*usugurai rozi e*</u> *kake-konda*

I TOP without-thinking poorly-lit street GOAL rushed-in

(Yoshimoto 1988: 54)

'... without thinking I rushed <u>into the poorly lit alley</u>.'

(5b) A verb phrase without ground specifications:

watasi wa noronoro to oki-agari, ...

I TOP sluggishly QUOTE got-up

(Yoshimoto 1988: 204)

'I sluggishly got up, and ...'

The two languages exhibit a striking difference with respect to number of ground elements. English employs more ground elements per verb and per event than Japanese as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: # of ground elements per verb and per motion event

	English:	Japanese:
#Ground	41	30
Mean Grounds/Verb	1.2	.8
Mean Grounds/Event	2.05	1.5

While 40 % of English motion events mention more than one ground element in a clause, there was no instance of a Japanese clause with more than one ground. An example of an English clause with more than one ground element is given:

(6) ... *she shot out of the hall door and into it.*

(Doyle 1892)

Here, the noun phrases *the hall door* and *it* refer to a source and a goal (in this case, a landau) respectively. In other words, it is possible for English to encode different path segments within a clause.

3.4. Summary

To summarize the results obtained so far, Japanese narrations of motion events seem to be less elaborate than English in terms of varieties of verbs used and number of ground specifications both per event and per verb. It should be pointed out that these tendencies of Japanese motion descriptions coincide with those of Spanish, another path-type verb-framed language (Slobin 1997).

We now turn to qualitative differences between Japanese and English motion descriptions by contrasting the original texts with their translations.

4. Comparison of originals with translations

4.1. Data

The motion descriptions in each language which we just looked at have been matched with their translations in the other language. We thus have 20 English motion descriptions and their Japanese equivalents, as well as 20 Japanese motion descriptions and their English counterparts.

4.2. Questions

We ask three questions in this section. First of all, how do Japanese translators cope with MULTIPLE GROUND ELEMENTS PER MOTION VERB IN ENGLISH clauses? We saw that whereas English often makes use of clause-compacting, Japanese does not seem to do that (e.g., (6)). It is thus worth checking for clause-compacting in Japanese translations. We are also interested in finding out whether English translators make use of clause-compacting when translating from Japanese.

Secondly, do MOTION+MANNER VERBS IN ENGLISH generally require an additional verb or adverbial clause in Japanese? We will investigate how Japanese translators deal with English motion+manner verbs such as *jog* and *shuffle*.

It seemed it was more difficult to find a motion event in Japanese than in English novels. We ask, then, whether the two languages differ in their RELATIVE ATTENTION TO MOVEMENT AND SETTING (i.e., static descriptions).

4.3. Results

Clause-compacting vs. clause-chaining

In order to find out how translators deal with the English 'preference' for clause-compacting, comparison was made for each motion event between the number of verbs in the original and the number of verbs in the

translation. The result is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: Comparison of # of verbs in motion events

	# of verbs compared to original		
	decreased	same	increased
E → J		75%	25%
J → E	35%	65%	

The first row shows that 75% of English motion descriptions were translated into Japanese using the same number of verbs. However, for the remaining 25%, the number of verbs increased in the Japanese translation. An example of such a case is given in (7). Here, verbs are underlined (Here and in the rest of the paper, bold italic indicates translation.).

(7a) ... *here was Matthew Cuthbert, ..., placidly driving over the hollow and up the hill;* (Montgomery 1908)

(7b) ... ***masyuu kusubaato wa yuuyuu to kuboti o nukete***
TOP placidly hollow ACC go.beyond-TE
oka o nobotte-iku no de aru
hill ACC climb-go it-is-that
(Montgomery 1954: 7)
'It is that Matthew Cuthbert placidly goes beyond the hollow and goes climbing up the hill.'

We see that whereas English employs one verb, namely, *driving*, Japanese uses two: *nukete* 'go beyond-TE' and *nobotte-iku* 'go climbing'. In other words, the English author resorted to clause-compacting to encode two

ground elements—*hollow* and *hill*—but the Japanese translator made use of two verbs in order to encode the same two ground elements.[6]

Note also the Japanese clausal conjunction -TE, attached to the first verb in the translation: *nukete* 'go beyond-TE'. -TE is the most frequently-used and the most versatile conjunction in Japanese, and is attached to the non-finite form of a predicate (Kuno 1973; Hasegawa 1992).[7] The meaning and interpretation of -TE differ depending on the context, but it often has the connotation of 'V and then. (ibid.)'[8]

All of the English motion events in which the number of verbs increased in the Japanese translation involved more than one ground element in the original. Furthermore, in all of their translations Japanese resorted to clause-chaining. This, taken together with the fact that there was no clause-compacting in the Japanese motion descriptions (cf. Section 3.3), may suggest that it is impossible for Japanese to encode more than one ground element within a motion clause. We will see in Section 5.1, however, that in certain cases Japanese allows more than one ground element in a clause. Here we only note that English clause-compacting tends to correspond to Japanese clause-chaining. There were no cases in which Japanese translations used smaller number of verbs than their English counterparts.

Let us now examine whether English translations show the language's 'taste' for clause-compacting. As can be seen in the second row of Table 5, 65% of Japanese motion descriptions were translated using the same number of verbs in English. For the remaining 35%, however, English used fewer verbs than their Japanese originals. An example is given in (8). Two Japanese verbs were used in the original—*tatte* 'get up-TE' and *itta* 'went,' whereas there was only one—*hurried*—in the translation, as shown by the underline.

(8a) *watasi wa sohuaa o tatte, asibaya ni kodomo no*
I TOP sofa ACC get-up-TE hastily child GEN
heya ni itta
room GOAL went

(Murakami 1991: 194)

'I got up from the sofa and hastily went to (my) son's room.'

(8b) ***I hurried from the sofa to his room.***

(Murakami 1993: 85)

In this particular case, the English translator made use of clause-compacting in order to express two ground elements sofa and his room. Indeed, nearly half of the 35% of the motion events involved clause-compacting. It is worth noting that there were no cases in which the number of verbs increased in the English translation.

Manner

Japanese is noted for its abundance of conventionalized mimetic or sound-symbolic expressions, including those which may function as manner adverbs. Thanks to such manner adverbs, translating English motion+manner verbs does not always require adding a manner verb or adverbial clause. An example is given in (9). As shown by the underline, the English verb rattle is translated into Japanese as a sequence of manner adverb plus verb—*gotogoto to hasiru* 'MANNER-QUOTATIVE run'.

(9a) *We rattled through ... gas-lit streets ...*

(Doyle 1892)

(9b) ***gasutoo ni terasareta yoru no gairo o, ... basya wa***
gas DAT lit night GEN street ACC carriage TOP

gotogoto to hasiri- tuduke ...

MANNER-QUOTE run continue

(Doyle 1953: 79)

'(Our) carriage continued rattling through gas-lit night streets, and ...'

Other examples include *jog* translated as *tokotoko to susumu* 'MANNER-QUOTATIVE proceed' and *shuffle* translated as *sorosoro to aruku* 'MANNER-QUOTATIVE walk.'

The fact that translating an English motion+manner verb does not necessarily require an additional verb in Japanese is interesting when we compare the situation with Spanish. Slobin (1996: 212-214) notes that Spanish translators omit English manner information about half of the time, since preserving it in an adverbial clause would give it more narrative weight than in the original. Our Japanese translators, by contrast, chose to preserve manner information most of the time.

The difference in the quantity of manner information between English texts and their Spanish translations that Slobin observes may be explained by Talmy (1985: 122-123). Talmy points out that '(o)ther things being equal, a semantic element is backgrounded by expression in the main verb root or in any closed-class element (including satellite - hence, anywhere in the verb complex). Elsewhere it is foregrouded.' He furthermore notes that 'a way that languages genuinely differ is the amount and the types of information that can be expressed in a backgrounded way.' He observes that English can convey in a backgrounded fashion the manner or cause of an event and up to three components of a path complex. He claims that 'Spanish, by contrast, with its different verb-conflation pattern and almost no productive satellites, can background only one of the four English components, using its main verb for the purpose; any other expressed component is forced into the

foreground in a gerundive or prepositional phrase.'

Talmy's account, however, cannot explain the difference between Spanish and Japanese, which are both classified as verb-framed languages. Talmy's theory predicts that since both Spanish and Japanese are verb-framed languages and hence manner information is not encoded in the main verb root, manner is foregrounded in both of the languages. The fact that Spanish translators omit manner information about half of the time whereas Japanese translators preserve it most of the time suggests that there may be a difference in foregroundedness of manner in Spanish and Japanese.

Dynamic vs. static descriptions

Compared to English, Japanese seems to prefer static descriptions. For example, observe the English motion description in (10a):

(10a) *Finally he returned to the pawnbroker's, and, having thumped vigorously upon the pavement with his stick two or three times, he went up to the door and knocked.*

(Doyle 1892)

Compare this with its Japanese translation:

(10b) ***sosite saigo ni, sitiya no mae no sikiisi no ue o***
then finally pawnbroker GEN front GEN pavement GEN TOP ACC
tonton to tuyoku ni, san do sutekki de tataite kara,
MANNER-QUOTE vigorously two three times stick INSTR hit-TE after
doa o tataite annai o koota
door ACC hit-TE admittance ACC requested

(Doyle 1953: 71)

'Finally in front of the pawnbroker's (he) vigorously thumped upon the pavement with his stick two or three times, and knocking on the door, he requested admittance.'

The English original depicts movements of Sherlock Holmes step by step. As indicated by the underline, it explicitly encodes that he first RETURNED to the pawnbroker's and then WENT to the door. The Japanese translation, on the other hand, does not explicitly assert his GOING to the door.[9] It merely mentions the two ground elements PAWNBROKER'S and DOOR. Note also that motion verbs do not appear at all in the Japanese description. It uses a verb of hitting *tataite* 'hit-TE' twice and a verb of requesting *koota* 'requested.' In reading (10b), we are encouraged to infer that Sherlock Holmes had gone up to the door, since we are told that 'knocking on the door he requested admittance.' Note also that a verb of requesting does not appear at all in the English original text.[10] In other words, in the English original, the fact that Sherlock Holmes asked for admittance at the entrance is implied, while in the Japanese translation it is explicitly encoded.

It should be pointed out that in Japanese—a verb-final language—locative phrases, which denote ground elements, precede verbs. It is thus possible for the locative phrases to give clues as to the location of protagonists, without necessarily employing a motion verb. In any case, it is interesting that the Japanese translator chose to translate the English movement description as a static one.[11] Slobin (1991, 1996) points out that Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish—all classified as verb-framed languages—also prefer static descriptions. He suggests 'English, with its rich means for path description, can often leave setting to be inferred; Spanish, with its sparse path possibilities, often elaborates descriptions of settings, leaving paths to be inferred.' (Slobin 1996) We will come back to related issues in

Section 5.2.

The tendency for English to prefer dynamic motion descriptions and for Japanese to prefer static descriptions can also be seen by examining Japanese original texts and their English translations. For example, in (11a), taken from a Japanese text, only the ground element ima 'living room' is mentioned, and the reader is expected to infer that the protagonist moved from her bedroom to the living room. In its English translation (11b), on the other hand, a description of motion is explicitly added by the clause I went to the living room:

(11a) *sorekara karada o huite, tansu kara atarasii pazyama o*
then body ACC wiped closet ABL new pajama ACC
dasite kita.
pull-out-TE put-on
sosite ima no huroa-sutando o tuke, sohuaa ni
and living-room GEN floor-lamp ACC switched-on sofa LOC
suwatte burandii o ippai nonda.
sit-on-TE brandy ACC one-CLASS drank

(Murakami 1991: 193)

'Then I wiped my body (with a towel), pulled out a fresh pair of pajamas from the closet and put them on. And I switched on the floor lamp of the living room, and drank a glass of brandy sitting on the sofa.'

(11b) ***After putting on a fresh pair of pajamas, I went to the living room, switched on the floor lamp beside the sofa, and sat there drinking a full glass of brandy.***

(Murakami 1993: 84)

4.4. Summary

English seems to prefer clause-compacting, while Japanese frequently uses clause-chaining in order to encode more than one ground element. Japanese often makes use of mimetic adverbs, and consequently does not always need an additional manner-of-motion verb in translating English motion+manner verbs. Finally, Japanese tends toward static descriptions, in accord with the tendencies in other verb-framed languages.

5. Discussion

We now focus on the two contrasts between the languages in question pointed out in the previous section—clause-compacting vs. clause-chaining, and dynamic vs. static descriptions.

5.1. Clause-compacting vs. clause-chaining

Sentences such as (7b) and (8a) above give the impression that two locative phrases, which denote ground elements of a path, are never allowed in Japanese with a single motion verb. In certain cases, however, they are allowed, as shown by the attested example in (12b). Here, as in the original English sentence (12a), two locative phrases appear with one motion verb. The locative phrases are underlined.

(12a) *Matthew ... shuffled gently down the platform towards her.*

(Montgomery 1908)

(12b) ***masyuu wa ... sorosoro to puratto hoomu o***
Matthew TOP MANNER-QUOTE platform ACC
onnanoko no hoo e to aruite-itta
girl GEN direction GOAL QUOTE walk-went

(Montgomery 1954: 19)

'Matthew shuffled down the platform toward the direction of the girl.'

Let us discuss why two locative phrases are allowed with a single verb in (12b), in contrast to (7b) and (8a). It seems that, in Japanese, whenever a motion involves crossing a boundary—such as entering and exiting from an enclosure—that situation must be described using a verb. (12b) encodes two ground elements related to walking—a platform as the medium (route) and a girl as the direction toward which the protagonist proceeds. Neither of the ground elements has to do with crossing a boundary, and thus the verb is allowed with the two locative phrases. (7b), repeated below, also encodes two ground elements, as shown by underlining. Here, in contrast to (12b), the path involves crossing a boundary, namely, the hollow, and this situation must be described using a verb. Consequently, the sentence contains two verbs—each with a locative phrase—*kuboti o nukeru* 'go beyond the hollow' and *oka o nobotte-iku* 'go climbing up the hill.'

(7b) ... masyuu kusubaato wa yuuyuu to kuboti o nukete
TOP placidly hollow ACC go-beyond-TE
oka o nobotte-iku no de aru
hill ACC climb-go it-is-that

(Montgomery 1954: 7)

'It is that Matthew Cuthbert placidly goes beyond the hollow and goes climbing up the hill.'

It thus seems that Japanese makes a distinction between two types of path expressions—one which does not involve crossing a boundary and the other which does. These two types of path expressions appear to correspond to PATH-FOCUSED EXPRESSIONS and GROUND-FOCUSED EXPRESSIONS that Slobin and Hoiting (1994) discuss with respect to motion+manner sentences in

verb-framed languages (cf. Aske 1989, Slobin 1996). Another way to look at the phenomena is the following. Since Japanese is a path-type verb-framed language, one motion verb can only describe one path. And what counts as one path in the grammar of Japanese has to do with whether the figure crosses a boundary or not.

(8) is interesting from this perspective. In the original Japanese sentence (8a), the motion event is described as involving two paths: getting up from the sofa, and then going to the room. In the English translation (8b), on the other hand, it is described as one path from the sofa to the room. A native speaker of English has pointed out that (8b) implies that the protagonist actually got up from the sofa and went to the room. That is, while the Japanese sentence (8a) ASSERTS the two paths, the English sentence (8b) IMPLIES the same paths. Put differently, even though (8a) and (8b) evoke the same 'image,' the grammar of Japanese linguistically treats the image as consisting of two paths, while English linguistically encodes it as involving one path.

(8a) *watasi wa* *sohuaa o* *tatte,* *asibaya ni* *kodomo no*
I TOP sofa ACC get-up-TE hastily child GEN
heya ni *itta*
room GOAL went
(Murakami 1991: 194)
'I got up from the sofa and hastily went to (my) son's room.'

(8b) ***I hurried from the sofa to his room.*** (Murakami 1993: 85)

To conclude, Japanese—a path-type verb-framed language—appears to prefer one path or one boundary per verb. Especially, accumulation of locative phrases with a single motion verb is possible as long as they do not

involve crossing a boundary. It has been noted that many English mono-clausal constructions can only be translated into Japanese using bi-clausal constructions (Fujii 1996, Teramura 1975). The fact that boundary-focused expressions are disallowed to accumulate in Japanese mono-clausal sentences should also be taken into consideration when discussing sentence-structure 'mismatches' between the two languages.

5.2. Dynamic vs. static descriptions

We saw in Section 4.3 that compared to English, Japanese tends toward static descriptions. The pair of sentences in (13) below is particularly interesting in view of this contrast; they evoke different 'mental images.' But let us first discuss differences in the sentences themselves by focusing on the underlined segments.

(13a) *With this Mrs. Rachel stepped out of the lane into the backyard of Green Gables.*

(Montgomery 1908)

(13b) ***koo ii-owatta toki ni wa komiti wa tukite,***
this say-finished time LOC TOP lane TOP end-TE
guriin geeburuzu no uraniwa e kiteita
GEN backyard GOAL come-ASP-PAST

(Montgomery 1954: 8)

'When (she) finished saying this the lane ended, and (she) was in the backyard of Green Gables as a result of coming.'

The underlined portion in the English sentence (13a) describes a CHANGE OF LOCATION of Mrs. Rachel, while the corresponding segment in the Japanese sentence (13b) describes a CHANGE OF STATE of the lane. Moreover, the

predicate *step* in (13a) is AGENTIVE, in that it pertains to a self-controllable motion. The predicate *tukiru* 'end' in (13b), on the other hand, is NON-AGENTIVE, since it is an unaccusative verb with an inanimate subject and it thus denotes an uncontrollable state.[12]

Due to these differences, the Japanese sentence in (13b) is construed as lower in transitivity than (13a) in the sense discussed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). That Japanese tends toward a lower transitivity compared to English has been pointed out by many (Fujii 1996, Jacobsen 1982, Ohori 1997, Sugamoto 1982). Ikegami (1985, 1991), in particular, proposes a bipartite typology in terms of the preference that languages give to linguistic patterns, i.e., in terms of rhetorical styles of languages. His parameters for classifying languages include the following: (i) focus on the individual *vs.* focus on the whole; (ii) change in locus *vs.* change in state; (iii) emphasis on agentivity *vs.* suppression of agentivity; and (iv) goal-oriented *vs.* process-oriented. He argues that there is a correlation among the parameters, and claims that English is a language that prefers the first member of each opposition, while Japanese prefers the second. The differences exhibited by the sentences in (13) seem to correspond to (ii) change in locus *vs.* change in state and (iii) emphasis on agentivity vs. suppression of agentivity. The following pair of sentences may be considered another example of the opposition between change of state (14a) vs. change of location (14b):

(14a) *Zunzun rooka o susunde ikimasu to,*
MANNER corridor ACC proceed go-POLITE CONJ
kondo wa mizu iro no
this.time TOP water color GEN
penki nuri no to ga arimasita
paint painted GEN door NOM exist-POLITE-PAST

'After proceeding vigorously, this time there was a blue painted door.'

(14b) ***They strode down the corridor to a door painted sky blue.***

(Miyazawa 1998: 14)

Note that the second verb (i.e. the main verb) of (14a) is a verb of existing *aru* 'exist.' Fujii (1993) observes that the second clause following the clausal conjunction to 'when' as in (14a) often describes a change of state or 'discovery' in the speaker's cogntion.

We saw in (10) that English and Japanese contrast in their preference for movement descriptions *vs.* setting descriptions. English tends to assert motion, leaving settings to be inferred, while Japanese tends to assert setting, leaving motion to be inferred. It is worth examining whether this opposition is related to the contrasts we just saw between (13a) and (13b)—change of location *vs.* change of state, and emphasis on agentivity *vs.* suppression of agentivity. It is also interesting to see whether path-type verb-framed languages other than Japanese show similar tendencies toward a lower transitivity compared to English. Intuitively, rich movement descriptions seem to result in descriptions high in agentivity. It is beyond the scope of this pilot study to prove it, but it seems not totally implausible to speculate that structural properties of languages in terms of verb-framed vs. satellite-framed languages may be related to their preferred rhetorical styles.

Let us come back to the sentences in (13). The above-mentioned contrast in transitivity between (13a) and (13b) is so striking that the sentences actually evoke different images. English native speakers have pointed out that the original English sentence (13a) evokes an image in which Green Gables is located along the lane (Figure 1). (13b), on the other hand, evokes a distinct image in which the end of the lane leads to the backyard of Green Gables (Figure 2). Here in the story, Mrs. Rachel is walking alone toward Green Gables where her neighbors live, talking to

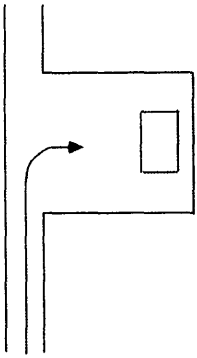

Figure 1

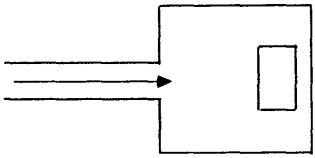

Figure 2

herself about how strange they are. If I were to translate (13a), trying to be as faithful as possible to the image shown in Figure 1 at the same time preserving the high transitivity of (13a), it would be something like (13c).

(13c) *koo ii-owaru ya inaya misesu reityeru wa komiti o hazure,*
this say-finish no-sooner-than Mrs. Rachel TOP lane ACC leave-I
guriin geeburuzu no uraniwa made yatte-kita
GEN backyard ALLATIVE came
'No sooner had (she) finished saying this than Mrs. Rachel left the lane, and came into the backyard of Green Gables.'

It may be that the translator simply misinterpreted the sentence and failed to visualize the 'correct' image. It may also be the case, however, that she thought a translation faithful to the original sentence would be too high in transitivity compared with the general tendency in Japanese and decided to adhere to the preferred pattern in Japanese. In either case, (13b), the actual translation she came up with sounds completely natural in Japanese, even though it imposes on Japanese readers an image different from what the

author originally intended.

6. Conclusion

Although the findings reported in this paper are tentative, based on limited samples, there seem to be two salient oppositions between English and Japanese in their descriptions of motion events. The first concerns their structural devices for encoding ground elements. Whereas English utilizes clause-compacting, Japanese often resorts to clause-chaining. We have seen that when boundary-focused expressions are involved, Japanese must resort to clause-chaining. Secondly, the two languages differ in their preference for dynamic or static descriptions. Precisely how the structural properties of the languages in terms of manner-type satellite-framed vs. path-type verb-framed languages interact with their preferred rhetorical styles remains to be investigated.

NOTES

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1. According to Talmy, "Here, 'characteristics' means that: (i) It is COLLOQUIAL in style, rather than literary, stilted, etc. (ii) It is FREQUENT in occurrence in speech, rather than only occasional. (iii) It is PERVASIVE, rather than limited, that is, a wide range of semantic notions are expressed in this type. (ibid.)"
2. The dot connecting morphemes in the English gloss indicates that the gloss does not correspond to the meaning of the Japanese verb morpheme-by-morpheme but rather the English gloss as a whole corresponds to the meaning of the entire Japanese verb.
3. English prepositional phrases often provide path specification in conjunction with a main verb of manner of motion, although in Talmy's original proposal prepositional

phrases are not viewed as 'satellites.' I agree with Slobin and Hoiting (1994), who suggest that "it may be more useful, in crosslinguistic comparison, to simply speak of the encoding of path by 'path verbs' versus 'non-verbal path phrases'."

4. The prepositions usually used for specifying ground elements of paths are: -kara 'ABLATIVE' for source, -o 'ACC' for route, and -ni/-e/-made 'GOAL' for goal. Interestingly, -o 'ACC' is not only used for route with activity verbs such as aruku 'walk' and susumu 'proceed' but also for source with verbs of leaving such as tatu 'get up from' or hanareru 'leave'.

(i.a.) Specifying route with an activity verb:

paro aruto kara san huransisuko made haiwei 280 o hasitta
Palo Alto ABL San Francisco GOAL highway ACC ran
'(I) drove on Highway 280 from Palo Alto to San Francisco.'

(i.b.) Specifying source with a verb of leaving:

seki {o/?kara} tatta
seat {ACC/ABL} got.up
'(I) got up from my seat.'

5. Since Talmy (1985: 58) is concerned with the verb root, for Japanese verbs I will exclude compound verbs consisting of a non-finite verb and a finite verb (e.g., *aruki dasu* 'start walking') and complex predicates, which consist of the so-called participial -TE form and a finite verb (e.g., *aruite iku* 'go walking'). However, since the meaning of *hiki kaesu* 'go.back' cannot be obtained from the meanings of its parts, I will include it in the list of Japanese motion verbs. For a discussion of Japanese compound verbs and complex predicates, see Matsumoto (1996).
6. Apparently, the Japanese translator decided not to translate the manner present in the English motion+manner verb *drive*. However, two sentences below this, a buggy and a sorrel mare are mentioned just like in the original English text, and thus the information concerning the manner and the vehicle is eventually available to the Japanese reader as well.
7. -TE can link units at the level of predicate, verb phrase, and clause. Here, we are concerned with -TE linkage used for connecting two clauses which share a subject.

8. In translating some of the English sentences involving clause-compacting, the so-called -I continuative form was used. For the majority of the cases, however, -TE was used rather than -I. For a discussion of subtle semantic and discourse-functional differences between the two conjunctions, see Fillmore (1990).
9. In the Japanese translation, the fact that Sherlock Holmes returned to the pawnbroker's is described in the previous sentence.
10. The sentence following (10a) in the original text is 'It was instantly opened by a bright-looking, clean-shaven young fellow, who asked him to step in.'
11. Yo Matsumoto points out to me that instead of characterizing the difference between English and Japanese parallels such as (10) in terms of dynamic vs. static descriptions, i.e., instead of characterizing (10b) as a static description, it may be possible to say that Japanese writers tend to depict protagonists' actions at certain places rather than protagonists' motions from one place to another. See also Strauss et al (2002).
12. (13b) involves a subjective motion. The pair of sentences in (13) also involves a difference in viewpoint: (13a) depicts Mrs. Rachel from the perspective of someone else; (13b) depicts the scene from Mrs. Rachel's viewpoint (as the viewpoint moves, the lane ends). I thank Yo Matsumoto for sharing his insight with me.

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