

Recategorizing Active Accomplishment Verbs of Induced Motion: a Semantic Approach within Role and Reference Grammar

Ana Ibáñez Moreno and Ana Ortigosa Pastor

This paper analyses the semantic components and the grammatical behaviour of a specific type of verbs of induced motion: those that contain the semantic feature [+active]. Besides, the locational expressions they take are investigated, and a direct relationship is established between these and the verbs in question. In fact, a close examination of locative arguments clearly shows that they play an essential role in the logical structure of verbs. This contradicts the fact that in Role and Reference Grammar (Jolly 1991, 1993, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997), whose framework has been employed here, they are given a marginal, rescindable status.

1. Introduction

Verbs of movement are an interesting source of semantic analysis, since they are inherently attached to the spatial dimension, which constitutes, together with the temporal dimension, the basis of human cognition. Everything we do is located in a concrete point of time and space, and it can be linguistically expressed. For this reason, we use locational expressions, that is, prepositional phrases (henceforward PPs) and adverbial phrases (henceforth AdvPs), and different types of verbs. Among the verbs, one important kind is verbs of movement, and they are analysed in this work. A typology is proposed in terms of their semantic structure and of the types of locative expressions they take.

2. Theoretical framework and methodology

This paper is inscribed within the framework of functional grammars, more specifically of **Role and Reference Grammar** (hereafter RRG) (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). The semantic side of this theory analyses the logical structure of verbs. Verbs are classified according to their *Aktionsart*¹ – that is, their mode of action. In this sense, the verbs under study here are classified as **causative movement verbs**, also called **induced motion verbs** (Jolly 1991, 1993). An example is given in (1):

- (1) a. Mary took the book to the library
- b. Sarah removed the key from the box

Methodologically, the concept of transitivity is important for this work. It is used as a criterion to select the corpus under analysis. Note that an induced verb is always transitive, but a transitive verb may not be induced. Thus, in the sentence ‘I ate all the potatoes’, the verb *ate* is transitively used, since it has an object, *the potatoes*, over

which it exerts its action. However, it is not induced, since this object is not caused to perform an action by the subject, *I*. Here, only transitive verbs which imply an induced motion of the UNDERGOER have been included in the corpus of analysis. In this sense, there are some verbs that fulfil these two requisites, but that have been discarded, because they admit the possibility of being intransitive. They are verbs such as *push*. An example of *push* being used intransitively is ‘She pushed off the party as soon as she could’. The dictionary on which we have based ourselves to select the verbs under this criterion is *The Lexicon of Contemporary English* (1985). Such dictionary arranges words semantically, besides distinguishing between transitive and intransitive meanings.

Once selected the verbs, 6,500 causative movement verb samples, extracted from the British National Corpus, have been analysed. The results show that these verbs can be arranged in two main groups, according to their *Aktionsart*: **causative accomplishment verbs** and **causative active accomplishment verbs**. With respect to this distinction, we must remark that the latter group has been ignored in RRG until the present moment. Therefore, this paper deals with this issue, demonstrating that such group of verbs has to be recognized as an independent mode of action by means of an analysis of their logical structure and of their semantic features.

This study has followed the semantic approach of Componential Analysis, according to which **lexical decomposition** is used as a basic device that provides a description of the meaning components of words (in this case, of movement verbs). On this basis, we have established two groups of verbs and we have dealt with their argument structure. Besides, in Componential Analysis the view is defended that the different semantic classes of verbs reflect different syntactic as well as semantic argument structures, which explains the direct relation of the type of verb with the type of PPs and AdvPs it takes.²

Focusing on the semantic representation of the verbs under analysis, the logical structure given below is the only one recognized in RRG:

(2) [do' (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME be-LOC' (z, y)]

However, through an examination of the verbs mentioned and of their interrelation with spatial items, this logical structure qualifies as insufficient. As a consequence, we provide here a logical structure for causative active accomplishment movement verbs that contributes to distinguish them from causative non-active accomplishment movement ones. The RRG's system of semantic representation is used. Nonetheless, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 156) themselves admit the incompleteness of the system of lexical representation in RRG:

Many aspects of the meaning of a verb [the specific requirements that a verb imposed on one or more of its arguments] would be represented in a full decomposition, but given that no such representation exists at present, they will have to be stipulated for the time being.

For this reason, we introduce some variables in the line of the Lexico-Grammar Model (Faber and Mairal 1999, Mairal and Faber 2002), where logical structures are dealt with in terms of their lexical templates.

3. Differences and similarities between causative accomplishment movement verbs and causative active accomplishment movement verbs

Causative verbs of motion can be of two types: **causative active accomplishment verbs** and **causative accomplishment verbs**. Both groups of verbs have in common the fact that they are accomplishments. According to this, they are “temporally extended (not instantaneous) changes of state leading to a terminal point” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 92). In their logical structure, ‘BECOME’ indicates that they are accomplishments, and thus telic. The third argument – a GOAL – contains the [+/-] telic feature. For this, we defend the view that all these verbs should be considered to have three arguments, although the third (LOCATIVE: GOAL) is not always expressed.³

Focusing on *Aktionsart*, it is different for each group: active accomplishments invoke a state of affairs that goes from the original point of the UNDERGOER to the endpoint. This is due to the fact that they have a feature of extended duration [+durative], characteristic of active predicates, which non-active accomplishments lack. These verbs allow for the occurrence of multiple locational prepositions. That is, PATH and SOURCE PPs can be specified. The reason is that inherently they are derivations of active predicates, which are atelic. Therefore, they provide the verb with a complex combination of temporal and spatial indeterminacy on one hand and end-point on the other. The only necessary PP to complete their logical structure is the GOAL PP. Thus, if the GOAL is specified the *Aktionsart* is an active accomplishment. On the other hand, non-active accomplishment verbs only invoke the state of affairs at the end-point. They express the resulting state of a non-active process of change. A change is extended in time. However, it is not the change what is evoked by these verbs; only the result is. In fact, accomplishment verbs lack the feature [+/-durative], so the referring scope of the accomplishment is just the endpoint in time and in space, as is seen in (1b).

A useful test to distinguish active accomplishments from non-active ones is presented in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 101): if we are before an active accomplishment adverbs such as *vigorously* or *actively* can be added:

- (3) a. John **carried** the bags *actively and vigorously*.
b. *John **installed** the TV aerial *actively and vigorously*.

(3a) is an active accomplishment, *carry*, so it admits such adverbs. This does not happen in (3b), where we have an accomplishment verb that does not admit them because it is not derived from an active verb.

4. Causative active accomplishment verbs of motion

These verbs are realized by GOAL PPs, but they also admit PATH PPs. If such motion verbs are followed by a GOAL PP, they are called **active accomplishments**. If they are not, they are simply called **activity verbs**. This *Aktionsart* interpretation is not possible for causative accomplishment movement verbs, since they do not allow for such alternations, called **activity-active accomplishment alternations**, by means of which an atelic verb becomes telic (Dowty 1979, Levin 1993). The list of causative active accomplishment verbs analysed has been extracted from *The Lexicon of Contemporary*

English (1985), and it includes:

- (4) guide, lead, escort, accompany, show, direct, draw, tow, usher, carry, bear, bring, fetch, transport, deliver, ship, dispatch, despatch, take, propel.

These verbs belong to different lexical fields. This is important in the sense that their meaning is what allows us to fully provide their semantic structure. The subgroups into which these verbs have been divided, according to their semantic components, are given in (5):

- (5) a. guide, lead, escort, accompany, show, usher, direct, draw.
b. carry, bear, transport, ship, despatch/dispatch
c. bring, fetch, deliver, take
d. propel

Verbs in (5c) are exceptional in the sense that the only argument-adjunct -hereafter AAJ- that can provide them with an accomplishment meaning is the SOURCE AAJ, as will be seen in 4.3

4.1 *Verbs of accompaniment*

In this subsection verbs in (5a) will be analyzed. It has been entitled **verbs of accompaniment** because they all have a common semantic parameter that distinguishes them from the rest: their central meaning is based on the action of accompanying. This implies that both the ACTOR and the UNDERGOER carry out the action of moving from one location to another together, because the ACTOR voluntarily goes with the UNDERGOER. This, in terms of lexical template variables, would be represented within the predicate logical structure as:

- (6) [DO (x (**go. with** (y) (x)))]

Besides, in Dik's (1997) terminology, we find one predicate restriction: the ACTOR and the UNDERGOER are prototypically animate beings. Evidently, metaphorical senses can be given to any of them, so we can find examples such as the following one, extracted from the British National Corpus:

- (7) AMY 30 In the main they *draw* **attention** to the changes of attitude and behaviour over the years.

Draw is widely used in this non-literal sense. Although this question does not concern us here, idioms and metaphors have the same logical structure as literal meanings. We focus on the latter since, as the example shows, figurative uses only affect the semantic restrictions of thematic relations. Thus, the noun phrase *attention* does not refer to an animate being, and the PP *to the changes of attitude and behaviour over the years* is not referring to a location. Both the THEME and the LOCATIVE arguments are expressed metaphorically through an orientational metaphor. Let us now consider another example:

- (8) **B77 456** Friendly staff **guide** casual visitors *to their first encounter with LOGO*.

This is a prototypical example of a causative active accomplishment movement verb.⁴ It has the three maximally possible arguments: ACTOR, UNDERGOER and LOCATION, if we focus on **macrorole** assignment (ACTOR, UNDERGOER) and primitive abstract predicates (LOCATION), and AGENT, THEME and GOAL, if we specify the correspondent **microroles**. We can also observe how the semantic restrictions of such predicate operate on the thematic roles of the arguments: both the AGENT and the THEME roles contain the semantic component [+animate]. The semantic logical structure for *guide* is presented in (9):

- (9) DO (x, [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [**do'**(z,[**go'**(z))] & BECOME **be-at'** (y, z)]

In the first place, we have the activity part: DO (x, [**do'** (x, Ø)]. The use of 'DO (x,...)' indicates that the ACTOR is an AGENT. That is, it is used to represent verbs with lexicalized agency, which are those that can never be used to express an action carried out unintentionally.

However, the logical structure as a whole, as presented in (9), shows problems that need to be solved: the type of action carried out is not specified. As a consequence, one can not extract the differences that exist among the verbs in (5) from such logical structure. It is incomplete. Thus, in order to specify the type of action, the following one must be used for *guide*:

- (10) DO (x, [**do'** (x, [**guide'** (x, z))])

As can be seen, this logical structure is not complete, since *guide* is not a primitive verb. Unfortunately, in RRG not all the verbs have been lexically decomposed yet, although this theory constitutes an excellent starting point to start from. This has been the way followed by the **Lexico-Grammar Model**, which is still under construction. For the time being, in this study such provisional representation is used. *Guide* has two arguments syntactically and three semantically. Its complete logical structure is presented in (11):

- (11) DO (x, [**do'** (x, [**guide'** (x, z))]) CAUSE [**do'**(z,[**go'**(z))] & BECOME **be-at'** (y, z)]

Let us focus on another example, where we have a PATH PP, and where the GOAL AAJ is left unspecified:

- (12) **ABC 112** Dolphins have suddenly appeared to help fight off a shark attack, and they frequently **guide** boats *through storms or treacherous waters*.

In this example we find *Dolphins* as AGENT, *boats* as THEME, and the GOAL is left unexpressed. *Guide* here is not an active accomplishment verb any more, but just an activity verb, because when these verbs, which are inherently active, appear without a GOAL PP they become atelic. Any other type of PP performs an additional role of

modifier, so it is represented in the periphery in the constituent projection.

4.2 Verbs of transporting

In this subsection we deal with the group of causative active accomplishment verbs illustrated in example (5b). Most of the features that characterise these verbs come from their *Aktionsart*, which has been discussed in the previous subsection. Therefore, only those distinctive aspects that distinguish them from the former will be dealt with here. The main one is their core meaning, which in this case is related to the action of removing items from their original location and taking them to another location. These verbs present the same semantic parameter as verbs of accompaniment, according to which the AGENT moves the THEME. However, in this case the second argument of the predicate is prototypically restricted to refer to inanimate objects. That is, it is not ungrammatical to find sentences such as the one below:

- (13) **KS8 921** They are highways for dead souls moving into paradise and often **carry** emigrants *deep into the heart of a new country*.

In this sentence, the second argument has the semantic component [+human]. As happened with *draw* above, this is not a central feature of such verbs. On the contrary, the UNDERGOER is prototypically [+object], therefore [–animate]. Other features are less prototypical. In order to prove this, we have carried out a study of the proportions with which each type of UNDERGOER occurs in the sentences of our corpus, and this is the result obtained:

VERBS OF TRANSPORTING (CARRY)	animate: 16'7%
	inanimate: 83'3%
VERBS OF ACCOMPANIMENT (LEAD)	animate: 82'9%
	inanimate: 17'1%

Table 1 *Proportion with which carry and lead take animate or inanimate objects*

We have analysed 24 causative sentences with the verb *carry* and 21 with the verb *lead*. With respect to the former, there were 15 cases where the second argument was [–animate], which gives a percentage of 62.5%, as shown above. In the case of *lead*, it occurred with 17 animate objects, which results in an even higher percentage of occurrences of this verb with its prototypical argument types (80.95%). Thus, as can be observed, these two types of verbs show clear tendencies of co-occurrence which corroborate our hypothesis. Apart from this predicate restriction, there are not major differences between these two groups of verbs.

4.3 Verbs of delivery

This group of verbs is composed of *bring* and *fetch*, *take* and *deliver*. They are different from transporting verbs for a number of reasons, which we explain below. In the first place, we will deal with *bring* and *fetch*. They also imply the induced change of location of a THEME by an AGENT, as the other verb of delivery, but the orientation of the path through which the action is carried out is different. In these verbs, the AGENT goes from the front to the back, where the RECIPIENT is situated. In order to grasp this difference consider the following representations:

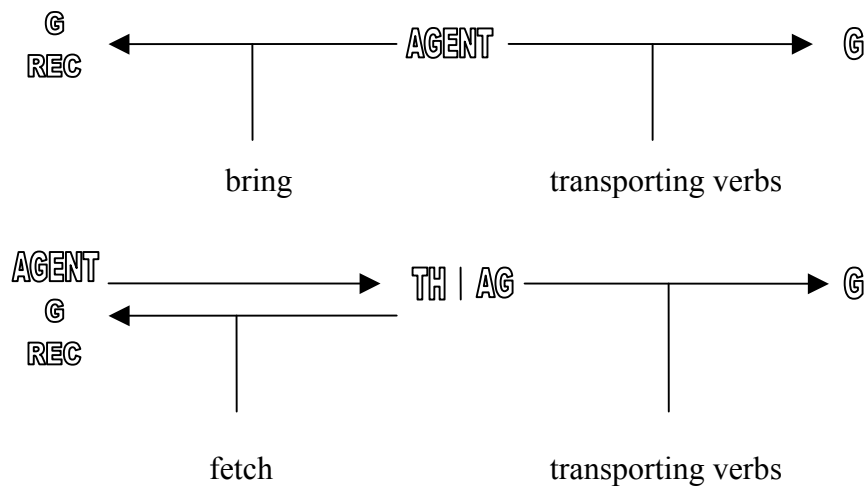


Figure 1 Representation of verbs of delivery

In terms of states of affairs, we can observe above that the action starts in the position of the AGENT and goes from the AGENT to the GOAL. In the case of *bring* and *fetch* this process is differently oriented, as the arrow shows. Another important difference is that the GOAL argument can also be the RECIPIENT. This means that this participant can show the semantic features [+animate] or [-animate], while this is not allowed for the other verbs. Thus, it is possible to say *Bring that book to me*, but it is not correct to say **Transport this packages to me*. Further evidence is found when we change the order of the UNDERGOER and the GOAL:

- (14) **Bring** me that book
***Transport** me that book

Thus, the fact that *bring* and *fetch* have a RECIPIENT/GOAL alternation implies that they allow for two *Aktionsarts*. Depending on which one is used, they have a different logical structure. Let us see how this alternation works:

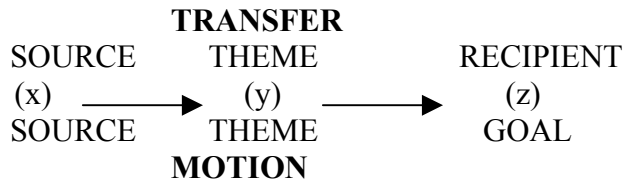


Figure 2 *Alternation of verbs like bring*

Note that the SOURCE can coincide with the AGENT. This is the case with *bring*, as can be seen in the examples in (15), where an illustration of figure 2 is presented:

- (15) a. **KBW 15163** You **bring** him *to me* and then
 b. **KBW 18406** and then we'll get on the bus about half past four and **bring** him *to your house*.

In (15a) *bring* is used as a transfer verb. Therefore, *me* is the RECIPIENT, which stands for an animate being and which receives something or – as in this case – someone. In (15b), on the other hand, *bring* is used as a motion verb, so *your house* is the GOAL argument, which is similar to the recipient but with the [–animate] feature. Thus, in these verbs, as well as in the following two, there is an alternation which depends on the feature [+/- animate] of the third participant role. This variation affects the verbal logical structure, as is shown in (16):

- (16) a. Logical structure for (15a): [**do'** (you, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (me, him)]
 b. Logical structure for (15b): [**do'** (we, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-at'** (our house, him)]

With respect to *fetch*, its orientation is different from the one of *bring*, as can be realized by comparing illustrations in figure 1. *Fetch* implies a double-way movement, so that the AGENT starts the action in the same position as the RECIPIENT/GOAL, goes along the path, arrives at the THEME, and comes back to the RECIPIENT/GOAL. The RECIPIENT can coincide with the AGENT, as in (17a), or be different, as in (17b):

- (17) a. **A74 178** She looks a bit cold, so I go and **fetch** the blanket *off* my bed and wrap it round her shoulders.
 b. Do you want me to **fetch** *you* anything (*from* the kitchen)?
 Yes please, **fetch** a candle *for me*

In (17b) the second argument is the RECIPIENT, and the LOCATION does not need to be specified. In this case, the logical structure for *fetch* is the same as the one given for *bring* above. It is possible to combine all the types of participant roles in one sentence, as is shown below:

(18) (You) go and **fetch** *me* a candle *from the kitchen*

In this case, neither of these participants – the RECIPIENT *me* and the SOURCE *from the kitchen* – seem to be essential for the correct understanding of the mode of action. Nonetheless, with respect to an adequate establishment of the verbal logical structure, the following question arises: if the logical structure in (19a) below is applied, then *me* is peripheral. That is, it does not appear as a verbal argument. On the other hand, if the logical structure in (19b) is used, then *from the kitchen* is the peripheral, non-core element:

- (19) a. [**do'** (you, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-at'** (kitchen, candle)]]
b. [**do'** (you, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (me, candle)]]

These two logical structures also correspond to *bring*. In fact, they can be applied to *take* and to *deliver* too. The question is, therefore, which logical structure represents one of these verbs when both the SOURCE and the RECIPIENT participant roles appear in the same clause. In this case, since no logical explanation seems to be accurate (due to the impossibility to explain why one of these roles is more essential to the clause than the other), a pragmatic point of view may be adopted. From such perspective, we could state that the closer the argument is to the verbal predicate the more important for the clause it is. Thus, if the nominal phrase *me* appears before the PP *from the kitchen* we may suppose that it is because it is given primacy, and the logical structure in (19b) will be the adequate one. In the same way, if the PP *from the kitchen* is before the PP *for me* – as it is known, the RECIPIENT takes oblique case when it is located far from the verb – then the logical structure in (19a) will be accurate:

- (20) a. Logical structure in (19a): You **fetch** the candle *from the kitchen* for me.
b. Logical structure in (19b): You **fetch** *me* the candle from the kitchen.

Off and *from* are SOURCE prepositions that form SOURCE AAJs, proper of logical structures with the following abstract predicate:

- (21) ...CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-LOC'** (y, x)]

This SOURCE PP is used because the action is oriented in the opposite direction from GOAL PPs. In clauses with this logical structure the speaker is situated in the point where the action finishes. Therefore, the point of departure is specified. In those verbs where the GOAL PP is expressed the hearers and the speaker are, on the contrary, in the point where the action starts, so the final destination has to be expressed.

Take, *deliver*, *bring* and *fetch* are interesting verbs because they present semantic alternations, not only in the same way as the rest, but also in that they are polysemous verbs. They have been included within this group in their sense of delivery, but they also have the opposite meaning of 'extracting', so they should also be included within the group of verbs with this meaning, which are non-active accomplishment verbs. Let us see an illustration of how *take* works in both senses:

- (22) a. **ARK 2070** Now, **take** me *to* the office, Horowitz ordered the guard.

b. Mary **took** the book *from* Peter.

The question remains of what happens if a SOURCE PP is added to the clause in (22 a), or even if it is added and the GOAL PP is omitted. In that case, we would be dealing with sentences like these:

- (23) a. Now, **take** me *from* the station *to* the office
b. Now, **take** me *from* the station

The result is that the SOURCE PP has a different role in (23a) and in (23b). In (23a) it is just a modifier, as is happens with any PP that is not a GOAL PP with active accomplishment verbs. The GOAL PP is more central in the sentence than the SOURCE PP, which cannot function as an AAJ unless it comes with the verbal predicate alone. If this is the case, as in (23b), *take* changes its meaning and *Aktionsart*, and it becomes a non-active accomplishment verb. In that case, only one PP, either SOURCE or GOAL, can work as an AAJ with the verbs of this list, and it can only appear alone, with no other directional PP. These are the only verbs that admit this alternation.

Deliver constitutes an outstanding case, since it has the same features as *take*, in the sense that it is a two-way verb (polysemous), and at the same time it behaves as the verbs in the previous subsection, *bring* and *fetch*. Let us see some examples:

- (24) a. **CFE 557** And yet the author of so many adulatory sermons preached before James I cries out in these private prayers: '**Deliver** me *from* making Gods of Kings!'
b. **EEB 873** Please **deliver** the goods *to* our Manchester office.
c. **CRM 8206** Typical stony asteroids, however, **deliver** the bulk of their energy *near* an altitude of 9km, and this is consistent with observations.

As can be seen in (24a) *deliver* can have the logical structure of an accomplishment verb, with the feature 'BECOME NOT' in it, which explains why it allows a SOURCE PP to appear alone in the clause, working as an AAJ. In that case, as happens with *take*, *deliver* is related to the sense of extracting, and the orientation of the process goes in the opposite way than in (24b) and (24c), where *deliver* has the same meaning and *Aktionsart* as the rest of active accomplishment movement verbs. To end up, *deliver* shows features that relate it to the rest of verbs. Consider the illustration below:

- (25) **G4X 1436** Who then **deliver** that team brief, in the same way *to* all members of staff.
GV2 2241 It sounds as though Maurin was paying him to keep Barbara there and she was paying him to run errands --; **deliver** the note *to* you and the photograph to Nice Matin --; and to turn a blind eye when she went out.;

In these cases the third argument qualifies as a RECIPIENT, and it remains to say, in relation to the logical structure that corresponds to this *Aktionsart*, that atypical verbs of delivering do not behave as active accomplishment verbs, but just as accomplishment verbs. In order to prove this, let us try the specification of the PATH:

(26) *He **delivered** the note *through* the park *to* you

In this case, *deliver* is not a motion verb, but a verb of transfer of possession -the logical structure of transfer verbs is outlined in (19.b)-. In that mode of action there is a telicity implied, and no extended duration is possible.

4.4 Verbs of pushing

In this subgroup we have just one verb, *propel*. It is similar in meaning and in behaviour to *push*. However, *push* has not been included here because it is classified in the *The Lexicon of Contemporary English* (1985) as both a transitive and an intransitive verb, and, as we have remarked above, we have only considered for our corpus transitive verbs that imply an induced motion of the UNDERGOER. The most important feature of this verb is that it codes some meanings that could be expressed through more complex lexical constructions. This means that what in other verbs is expressed through a directional or any other operator it is already lexicalised in this verb. This does not bar it from taking other directional phrases, adverbs or operators, as is seen in the examples below:

- (27) a. **B72 1127** They **propel** the vessel *through* the water using the same principle that allows a bowler in cricket or a baseball pitcher to swing a ball through the air.
- b. **CJT 2403** Holly coming back to the bench after an hour's walk that had taken him to the ski jump where the young people gathered to watch the first of the winter's athletes **propel** themselves *into* the dizzy air flows.
- c. **EW8 270** Spermatozoa injected into the female body --; by ejaculation during coitus (sexual intercourse) or, perhaps, by artificial processes --; **propel** themselves *from* the vagina *into* the uterus.

In (27a) the only directional adjunct complementing the verb is a PATH PP, which means that it is not an argument, but a peripheral adjunct. In this case, as happens with the rest of verbs, *propel* is acting as an active verb, since no accomplishment is specified. In (27b), by contrast, *propel* works as an active accomplishment, since a GOAL PP signals the endpoint of the extended activity. In (27c) we also have an active accomplishment, accompanied by both a GOAL PP and a SOURCE PP. As can be realised, the SOURCE PP is just an adjunct that modifies the clause by predicating something of the action presented. This verb is essentially an active verb that becomes an active accomplishment when the GOAL is specified.

5. Final remarks

In this study we have analysed a group of verbs of induced motion within an RRG framework, namely, those with an active accomplishment mode of action. In this theory, just accomplishment verbs of induced motion, such as *put* or *place*, have been considered. However, such verbs lack the feature [+duration], since they are not active. Consequently, their LS and their *Aktionsart* interpretation is different. This is shown

below:

- (28) a. *Mary has **put** the book *towards* the table
b. Mary has **guided** the tourists *towards* the cathedral

The first sentence in (28a) is wrong, because the induced motion verb *put* is not active. This implies that it is not durative, which restricts the types of PPs it admits. In this case, the preposition *towards*, which is the head of the PP, implies movement that extends along time, so it can only collocate with active verbs, such as *guide*. Thus, a close study of all these active verbs shows the importance that their arguments play, specially the third one, which is the one that expresses location. This locative argument is treated as an AAJ in RRG. The use of this term is helpful, since it allows us to distinguish clausal constructions that affect the verbal mode of action from those that do not. It should be remarked that this study reflects how the logical structure of the verb determines the clausal structure and the *Aktionsart* interpretation. This implies that for an adequate study of locational expressions, verbs of movement are of primary importance, and vice versa.

In this work, the interrelation between these types of verbs and their AAJs has allowed us to identify the existence of active accomplishment verbs of induced motion as an independent group of non-active active accomplishments. Going further, these verbs have been divided into four subtypes, which have been described in terms of their semantic features and logical structures. Finally, due to the limitations of this piece of research the logical structures of the verbs presented are not yet fully decomposed, so further studies on this matter would be welcome.

Ana Ibáñez Moreno and Ana Ortigosa Pastor
Universidad de La Rioja
Departamento de filologías modernas
C/San José de Calasanz s/n
26004, Logrono (La Rioja)
Spain

ana.ibanezm@dfm.unirioja.es
ana.ortigosa@dfm.unirioja.es

Notes

¹ The notion of *Aktionsart* is adopted from Vendler (1967), and it is used as a basic criterion to identify argument structure and predicate relations, in the line of Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and other linguists of the RRG school.

² There are a few studies in Componential Analysis, related to the interaction between semantics and syntax, which are worth seeing: Pinker (1989), Gropen et al. (1991), Levin (1993), and Levin and Rappaport (1995) among others.

³ In RRG causative – active and non-active – accomplishment verbs are considered to have either two or three arguments, depending on whether the GOAL argument is overtly expressed or not. For a discussion on this matter, see Ibáñez Moreno and Ortigosa Pastor (forthcoming).

⁴ The concept of prototypicality is based on Taylor (1989).

References

- Dik, Simon. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar I*. Edited by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dik, Simon. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar II*. Edited by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dowty, David. 1979. *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Faber, Pamela and Mairal, Ricardo. 1999. *Constructing a Lexicon of English Verbs*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gropen, Jess; Pinker, Steven; Hollander, Michelle, and Goldberg, Richard. 1991. "Affectedness and direct objects: the role of lexical semantics in the acquisition of verb argument structure." In: B. Levin and S. Pinker (eds.), *Lexical and Conceptual semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 153-195.
- Ibáñez Moreno, Ana. and Ortigosa Pastor, Ana. Forthcoming. *A Semantic Typology of Causative Accomplishment Movement Verbs and their Argument-adjuncts in Role and Reference Grammar*. Atlantis.
- Jolly, Julia. 1991. *Prepositional Analysis within the Framework of Role and Reference Grammar*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Jolly, Julia. 1993. "Preposition assignment in English." In: R.D. van Valin Jr. (ed.) *Advances in Role and Reference Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 275-310.
- Levin, Beth and Pinker, Steven (eds.). 1991. *Lexical and Conceptual semantics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Levin, Beth and Rappaport Hovav, Maika. 1995. *Unaccusativity: at the Syntax-lexical Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- MacArthur, Tom. 1985. *Lexicon of Contemporary English*. London: Longman.
- Mairal, Ricardo and Faber, Pamela. 2002. "Functional Grammar and Lexical Templates." In: R. Maizal Usón and M.J. Pérez Quintero (eds.), *New Perspectives on Predicate Argument Structure in Functional Grammar*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 39-94.
- Pinker, Steven. 1989. *Learnability and Cognition*. Cambridge, M.A: MIT Press.
- Maizal Usón, Ricardo and Pérez Quintero, María Jesús (eds.). 2002. *New Perspectives on Predicate Argument Structure in Functional Grammar*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Taylor, John. 1989. *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Valin, Robert D. (ed.). 1993. *Advances in Role and Reference Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Van Valin, Robert D. and LaPolla, Randy (1997). *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vendler, Zeno. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.