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# A Semantic Analysis of Causative Active Accomplishment Verbs of Movement

## Abstract

This paper provides an exhaustive account of the semantic features and the logical structure of *causative active accomplishment verbs of movement*. Following the approach of Componential Analysis, and described within the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar, these verbs are arranged into three subgroups according to a number of semantic variables related to their argument structures, and above all, to the types of locative arguments they govern. Emphasis is given to such arguments, since they reflect the relevant verb class. Additionally, new logical structures that account for the differences that exist among these verbs are proposed.

## 1. Introduction[1]

Verbs of movement are interesting for semantic analysis, since they have an inherent spatial dimension, which constitutes, together with a temporal dimension, the starting point of human cognition. Everything we do is located in a concrete point of time and space, and can be linguistically encoded. For this purpose some languages use locative expressions, that is, prepositional phrases and adverbial phrases of space and time, and different classes of verbs. One important class are verbs of motion which are described in this paper within the framework of functional grammar, specifically Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), as developed by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997). The semantic side of this theory consists of an analysis of the Logical Structure[2] (LS) of verbs. Verbs are classified

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[2] Note that in Role and Reference Grammar, LS refers to the semantic argument structure of the verb, not to its syntactic structure.

according to their *Aktionsart*[3], that is, the internal temporal composition of an event. In this sense, the verbs under study here are classified as *causative movement verbs,* also called "induced motion verbs" (Jolly 1991, 1993). Examples are given in (1):

(1)    a. Mary took the book to the library
       b. Sarah, remove the key from the box, please

Only transitive verbs which imply an induced motion of the UNDERGOER have been included in the corpus of analysis. Thus, verbs such as *push*, which may be transitive or intransitive, have been discarded. After an analysis of 6,500 causative movement verb samples, extracted from the British National Corpus, the results show that these verbs can be organized into two main groups according to their *Aktionsart*: a) *causative accomplishment verbs* and b) *causative active accomplishment verbs*. For an illustration of each group, see (2) below:

(2)    a. Mary puts the plate on the table  (causative accomplishment)
       b. Mary carries the bag (from the supermarket through the parking lot) *to* the car
                                (causative active accomplishment)

The differences are explained below. The latter group has not been paid much attention in RRG until now, especially in relation to the semantic field of movement. Therefore, this paper focuses on the analysis of the verbs in this group and demonstrates that they correspond to an independent mode of action, by means of an analysis of their LS and their semantic features. Furthermore, a deep examination of each suggests three distinct subgroups.

This study follows the semantic approach of Componential Analysis,[4] according to which lexical decomposition provides a description of the meaning components of words (in this case, of movement verbs). These meaning components then make it possible to divide verbs into groups and to deal with their argument structure. Furthermore, the view is defended that the different semantic classes of verbs reflect different syntactic as well

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[3] The notion of *Aktionsart* is adopted from Vendler (1967[1957]), and is used as a basic criterion for identifying argument structure and predicate relations, in line with Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) and other linguists of the RRG school.

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

as semantic argument structures, which explains the direct relation of the type of verb with the type of PPs and Adverbial Phrases it takes. Focusing now on the semantic representation of the verbs under analysis, the LS below is the only one given in RRG for causative accomplishment movement verbs:

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

The elements in bold type followed by a prime (**do'** and **be-LOC'**) are part of the metalanguage used in the decomposition. That is, they are not terms related to any particular language. Thus, the same representation is used for all languages. This means that we would apply the same representation for *put* (English) and for *poner* (Spanish): **do'** and **be-LOC'**, the **LOC'** element varying depending on the PP used: *put on/poner en*: **be-at'**, but *put down/poner debajo de*: **be-down'**. The elements in capital letters, 'CAUSE' and 'BECOME' are the modifiers of the predicate in the LS, and they perform specific functions: 'CAUSE' indicates that the states of affairs (hereafter SoAs) is induced, that is, not spontaneous, which means that the *Aktionsart* is causative. 'BECOME' indicates that we are dealing with an accomplishment, i.e., with an event or a process that has an ending. In other words, the verb that is represented is [+telic].

   The LS given in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997 : 109) for causative active accomplishment verbs is outlined below:

(4)    [**do'** (x, Ø) CAUSE [**do'** (x, [**predicate$_1$'** (x, (y))]) & BECOME **predicate$_2$'** (z, x) or (y)]

However, an examination of the verbs mentioned and of their interrelation with spatial items shows that this LS is insufficient. For this reason, in this paper a LS for causative active accomplishment movement verbs is provided, which distinguishes these verbs from causative non-active accomplishment movement verbs. Hence, RRG's system of semantic representation is used, although it has still not accounted for all predicates' LSs. The incompleteness of the system of lexical representation in RRG is admitted by Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 156) themselves:

> Many aspects of the meaning of a verb [the specific requirements that a verb imposes 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.

Nevertheless, this system provides a basis for the analysis of motion and the LSs used fit the functional requirements of the dynamic phenomenon of language, so I have chosen it as the theoretical basis of this study. What is more, as Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) declare, this theory possesses typological, and consequently universal, validity, as is demonstrated by the hundreds of languages that have been successfully described by it. This is essential to provide any theoretical study with systematicity. Nevertheless, in order to make the LSs better suited for accounting for the compositionality of *Aktionsart,* I have introduced some new semantic variables in line with the Lexico-Grammar Model (Faber & Mairal 1999, Mairal & Faber 2002), where LSs are dealt with in terms of their lexical templates.

## 2. Causative *accomplishment* movement verbs versus causative *active* accomplishment movement verbs

Causative verbs of motion can be of three types: causative active accomplishment verbs, like guide in John guided the tourists to the museum, causative accomplishment verbs, like put in Mary has put the book on the table, and causative activity verbs, like walk in The woman walked the dog in the park. In this piece of research I focus on the first two, which share the feature [+telic]. Both groups are similar in that they are accomplishments. This means that they are "temporally extended (not instantaneous) changes of state leading to a terminal point" (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 92). In their LS, 'BECOME' in both types of verbs indicates that they are accomplishments, and thus telic. Therefore, telicity is an inherent feature of such verbs, and the third argument is the one which carries the telicity feature: a GOAL argument. This is one of the reasons why I defend the view that all these verbs should be considered to have three arguments, although the third (LOCATIVE: GOAL) is not always expressed.[5] Focusing on Aktionsart, the mode of action in each group differs: active accomplishments invoke a SoA that goes from the original point of the UNDERGOER to the endpoint. This is due to their feature of dynamicity

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[5] 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 (2004).

[+dynamic], 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. This is due to their inherent nature as derivations of activity predicates, which are atelic, and therefore provide the verb with a complex combination of temporal and spatial indeterminacy on one hand and an end-point on the other. Nevertheless, note that the only inherent and necessary PP to complete their LS is the GOAL PP. Thus, depending on whether the GOAL is specified or not, the resulting *Aktionsart* is an activity or an active accomplishment (further explained below).

On the other hand, accomplishment verbs only invoke that SoA at the endpoint. They express the resulting state of a non-active process of change. A change is understood as extended in time, but it is not a change that is evoked by these verbs; only a result is. In fact, as stated above, accomplishment verbs lack the feature [+dynamic], so the referring scope of the accomplishment only points to the endpoint, in time and in space, as is seen in (1.b). A useful test to distinguish active accomplishments from non-active ones is presented in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 95, originally from Dowty 1979): if it is an active accomplishment, adverbs such as *vigorously* or *actively* can be added:

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

Note that these are manner adverbs that imply dynamicity. In (5a) we have an active accomplishment, *carry*, which therefore admits such adverbs. This is not true of the verb in (5.b), which denotes an accomplishment that does not derive from an activity verb. As a result, it does not admit these adverbs. Thus, in "John installed the TV aerial carefully" we also have a manner adverb, but in this case the clause is correct because *carefully* does not entail dynamicity. Such an adverb, as well as others of the same type such as *gently*, cannot occur with stative verbs, e.g. *"He carefully *knew* the answer". That is, they do not posses the [+static] feature. However, (non-active) accomplishment verbs admit them because they are [-static]. The subdivision of [-static] predicates into [+dynamic] and [-dynamic] constitutes the starting point of this piece of research. Thus, *carefully* and *gently* are non-statives, but they do not evoke the dynamic internal process of the state of affairs.

### 3. Causative active accomplishment movement verbs

These verbs take 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 followed by a GOAL PP they are called *activity* verbs, even if they are followed by a PATH PP or by no PP at all. This *Aktionsart* interpretation is not possible for causative (non-active) accomplishment movement verbs. These do not allow for such alternation, called *activity-active accomplishment alternation*, by means of which an atelic verb becomes telic (Dowty 1979, Levin 1993).

The causative active accomplishment verbs analysed here have been extracted from the *Lexicon of Contemporary English* (1985):

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

All the verbs of motion in that dictionary which correspond to the LS of causative active accomplishments have been selected. Therefore, this corpus is extensive enough for the study carried out here, although there may be more verbs which fit this same criterion.

All these verbs can be arranged into further subfields in order to account for the slight semantic differences that they display, and which are reflected in their LSs. This is important in the sense that the decomposition of their meaning is what allows us to fully provide their LS. Thus, once analysed into their semantic components, these verbs can be subdivided into three coherent subgroups, which are outlined in (7) below:

(7)   a. guide, lead, conduct, escort, accompany, show, usher, direct, draw, tow
       b. carry, bear, transport, ship, despatch/dispatch
       c. bring, fetch, deliver, take

The verbs in (7.c) are exceptional in one aspect: the PP they take is a SOURCE PP, as is seen in 3.3. In the case of causative accomplishment verbs of movement, GOAL PPs and SOURCE PPs can function as AAJs.[6]

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[6] Argument-adjuncts is the name given in Role and Reference Grammar to those expressions which stand in the middle between being arguments, that is, being essential for the LS of the clause, and being adjuncts, that is, being additional elements that modify the clause as a whole and that are additional elements, which do not affect the verbal LS. Locative arguments are included within this group, due to the fact that the

PATH PPs are adjuncts, since their being present in the clause does not affect the LS of the clause. They provide additional information to the clause as a whole, as can be seen in *John guided us **through the town** to our hotel*. Thus, they are represented differently:

(8)   a.  Causative accomplishment:
         Sarah **put** the book **on** the table
         [**do'** (Sararh, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-at'** (book, table)]

      b.  Causative active accomplishment:
         John guided us **through the town** to our hotel
         (**through.town'** [Clausal LS])

As can be observed, the PATH AAJ in this case falls out of the core structure of the clause, that is, it falls within the more general scope of the sentence. In this paper it is assumed that the verb has a maximum number of three semantic arguments, contrary to Jolly (1993: 285), who states that semantically all motion accomplishment verbs have a maximum valence of four. This implies that the PATH PP is considered as a potential argument. Indeed, she provides the following LS:

(9)   Rita walked from the school *through the park* to the store
      [**walk'** (Rita)])] CAUSE [[BECOME NOT **be-at'** (school, Rita)] & BECOME ***be-via' (park, Rita)***] & BECOME **be-at'** (store, Rita)]]

However, from my point of view PATH PPs are not arguments of the clause, but adjuncts, and so this must be reflected in the semantic representation. They must be located outside the core. This is consistent with the syntactic structure of the English language and with the semantic organization of verbs. This hypothesis is demonstrated by the fact that if in (8.b) we elide

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locative word that introduces them modifies the *Aktionsart* and the meaning of the verb as a whole. That is, it is not the same to say *Put the book **on** the table* and *Put the book **down** the table*. In this paper argument-adjuncts are given the same semantic and syntactic status as arguments, since they are in fact essential for the LS. Thus, we cannot just say *\*Put the book*. There is an argument lacking here. In the case of causative accomplishment verbs of movement, both GOAL PPs and SOURCE PPs are argument-adjuncts. PATH PPs are adjuncts, since their presence in the clause does not affect the LS. They provide additional information to the clause as a whole, as can be seen in *John guided us **through the town** to our hotel*.

the PATH PP, the clause makes sense.[7] Finally, note that the LS of the verb *guide* has not been given here, since it is described and explained in the following subsection.

## 3.1   Verbs of accompaniment

In this subsection I analyse the verbs in (7.a). They all have a common semantic parameter that distinguishes them from the rest: their central meaning is based on the action of accompanying, which 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 LS as:

(10)   [DO (x (**go.with (y)** (x)))]

Here, the element DO indicates agency, that is, that the action has been carried out intentionally. This implies that the ACTOR is always an AGENT. However, we may find exceptions, as in "**The map** guided us to the castle". However, in my view, the verb *guide* is here used in a metaphorical sense, so the argument *the map* is qualified with the features of agency and animacy, even if ordinary maps are [-animate] and consequently cannot be AGENTS.[8] Thus, the ACTOR and the UNDERGOER have to be 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:

(11)   **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. In fact, *draw attention to* has become a fixed expression, in such a way that *attention* always collocates with *draw* in that sense. Although this question does not concern us here,

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[7] The view held here, nonetheless, deviates from the view of one of the reviewers of this paper, who was in favor of Jolly's (1993: 285) representation of semantic structures and arguments.

[8] There are, nonetheless, counterarguments to this idea, as one of the reviewers of this paper has proposed. To mention one, a map could guide without being physically present (i.e. from memory).

idioms and metaphors have the same LS 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 NP *attention* in the example does not refer to an animate being, and the PP *to the changes of attitude and behaviour over the years* does not refer to a location. Both the THEME and the LOCATIVE arguments are expressed metaphorically through an orientational metaphor. However, figurative senses have to be represented as literal senses in order to reach some degree of systematicity.

To continue with the LS in (10), **go.with'** has been applied as a substitute for the general predicate **do'**. Thus, **go.with'** is my proposal for the decomposition of the meaning of verbs of accompaniment. Let us now consider another example:

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

This is a prototypical example of causative active accomplishment movement verbs.[9] It shows 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 their correspondent microroles. We can also observe how the semantic restrictions of such predicates operate on the thematic roles of the arguments: the AGENT and the THEME roles are selected so that both contain the semantic component [+animate]. The semantic LS of such verbs is presented in (13):

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

First, 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 can never be used to express an action carried out unintentionally. There are, nonetheless, cases in which *guide* takes a non-agentive ACTOR, such as in *The signs guided visitors to the viewing area*. In such cases, we would have to omit 'DO'. However, since here I deal with the prototypical sense of *guide* and of verbs of accompaniment in general, I have included it in the general LS.

Second, we find a problem that needs to be solved: the LS as a whole, as presented in (13), does not specify the type of action that is carried out –

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[9] The concept of prototypicality applied here is based on Taylor (1989).

that is, it does not make a distinction between the different kinds of active accomplishment verbs of movement. With such an LS, one cannot extract any differences from any of the verbs in (7). This means that it is incomplete. Thus, in order to specify the type of action, the following can be used:

(14)   a. DO (x, [**do'** (x, [**guide'** (x, y)]))
       b. DO (x, [**do'** (x, [**go.with'** (x, y)]))

The LS in (14.a) is not abstract enough, since *guide* is not a primitive verb. Unfortunately, RRG does not provide the lexical decomposition of all verbs, but it constitutes an excellent starting point for developing it. This has been the way followed by the Lexico-Grammar Model, which is still being developed. In this paper a provisional representation such as the one in (14.a) will be used for the verbs under study. Nonetheless, I have already proposed an alternative representation, rendered in (14.b), for verbs of accompaniment, but the other subgroups remain to be decomposed. Hence, since my intention is to explain the LS that is applicable to all causative active accomplishment verbs, I will use predicates such as **guide'**. *Guide* has two arguments syntactically and three semantically. Its complete LS is presented in (15):

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

Since the first part of this LS has already been explained above, I now focus on the second part, which is headed by the causative element 'CAUSE'. As one can note, there are two LSs combined by the element '&'. This is not the case in non-active accomplishments, since only one process is taking place. In this case, the [+dynamic] feature of the verb, characteristic of activity predicates, calls for including the LS [**do'**(z,[**go'**(z)], which indicates the fact that active accomplishments also contain this feature. This is reasonable, since active accomplishments derive from activity predicates. Besides, such a feature is combined with the feature [+telic], which activity verbs lack, but which is present in all accomplishments of movement, whether active or not: [BECOME **be-at'** (z, y)].

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

(16) **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. The PATH PP is *through storms or treacherous waters*, and there is no GOAL PP, which is, as has been explained, the only type of PP that can function as an AAJ. This raises an important issue: these verbs, which are inherently active, when appearing without a GOAL PP – that is, either with no directional PP or with a LOCATION PP which is not of the GOAL type – turn out to be interpreted as atelic, since the feature of telicity is expressed through the GOAL argument. Thus, they are not active accomplishment verbs any more, but just activity verbs, as is the case with the example above. Any of the other types of PP perform an additional role of modifiers, and appear in the periphery in the constituent projection if they modify the whole clause. In this case, they modify the second argument (UNDERGOER), so their scope is narrower. This is the most frequent case with directional PPs, while temporal PPs tend to modify the whole clause, perhaps because time is a more abstract concept, and the more abstract a concept is the more scope it has in a clause.

The PP *through storms or treacherous waters* is not regarded as a PATH PP by all authors. That is, a preposition like *through* could make a sentence telic as a complement of *guide* for Tenny (1999), who has pointed out that telicity depends on measuring out, which may be different with different verbs. According to this proposal, with a predicate like 'guide X through Y' the sentence is telic if X gets guided all the way through Y, which is the measure in this case. Thus, if the boats in the example above manage to get out of storms or treacherous waters, the proposition is telic. However, I do not agree with this view, because it completely ascribes the interpretation of the sentence to the context. In other words, the fact that the PP *through storms or treacherous waters* is telic or not depends on the context in which such sentence is uttered. This view of semantic representations is too broad, since it subordinates sentences to the multiple interpretations they can have according to their context. As a result, the minimum requirements of systematicity needed in order to explain and describe linguistic phenomena are lacking. In my view, we must not neglect all these possible interpretations, but we must try to categorize lexical items in terms of prototypicality, in order to systematize and simplify the process of semantic analysis. Thus, the prototypical role of the preposition *through* is PATH, even if there may be sentences in which,

depending on the context, speakers may use it as a GOAL preposition. I would propose that *through* is used with a less prototypical meaning in such cases.

## 3.2   Verbs of transporting

In this subsection I deal with the group of causative active accomplishment verbs illustrated above in (7.b). The verbs in (7.c) and (7.a) share similar features, but they have distinctive properties. Most features that characterize these verbs come from their *Aktionsart*, as has been discussed in the previous subsection. Therefore, only the aspects that distinguish them from the other verbs are considered here. The main difference 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 parameters as verbs of accompaniment, according to which the AGENT moves the THEME. However, in this case the second argument of the verbal predicate is restricted to refer to inanimate objects, as least prototypically. Hence, sentences such as the one below are not ungrammatical:

(17)   **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 feature [+human]. As with *draw* above, this is not a central feature of such verbs. Thus, the UNDERGOER of the verbs in this group is prototypically [+object], therefore [-animate]. Other features are less prototypical. In order to prove this, we have carried out a study of the frequency of occurrence with which each type of UNDERGOER occurs in the sentences of our corpus, and this is the result obtained:

| VERB OF TRANSPORTING (CARRY) | animate: 16.7% |
| | inanimate: 83.3% |
| VERB OF ACCOMPANIMENT (LEAD) | animate: 82.9% |
| | inanimate: 17.1% |

**Table 1.** Frequency rates with which *carry* and *lead* take animate or inanimate objects.

As can be observed, there are clear tendencies in these verbs. Apart from this predicate restriction, there are no other differences between these two groups of verbs, so we now turn to the following ones.

## 3.3   Special verbs of transporting

This group of verbs consists of *bring* and *fetch, take* and *deliver*. These verbs differ from the rest of transporting verbs for a number of reasons. First, I deal with *bring* and *fetch*. *Bring* and *fetch* also encode an induced change of location of a THEME by an AGENT, as do the other transporting verbs, but the orientation of the path through which the action is carried out is different. With 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:
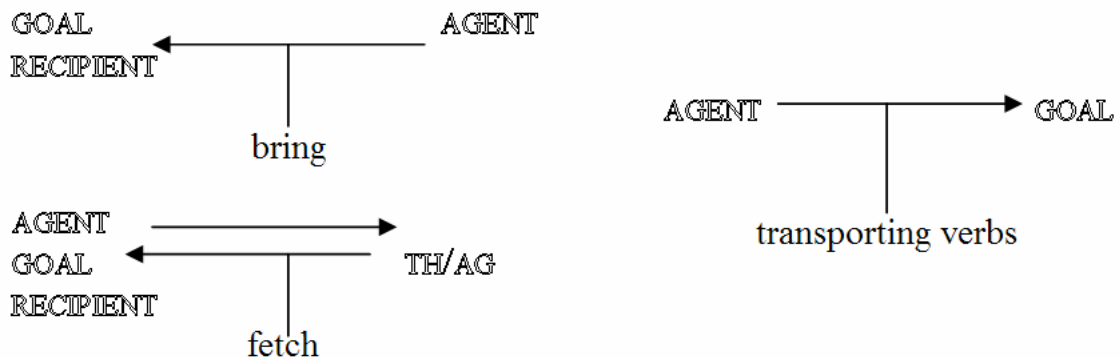


**Figure 1.** Representation of verbs of transporting

Note that in all these figures, the AGENT controls the THEME throughout the PATH. This fact is represented by the unbroken line of the arrows.

In terms of SoAs, it can be observed in these schemes that the unmarked orientation of the action starts in the position of the AGENT and goes from the AGENT to the GOAL, while 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, which 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*, while it is not correct to say *\*Transport this package to me*. Further evidence is found if we change the order of the THEME and the GOAL:

(18)   **Bring** me that book
       ***Transport** me that book

Thus, the alternation in *bring* and *fetch* is of the RECIPIENT/GOAL argument kind, which implies that they allow for two different *Aktionsart* interpretations, and depending on which one is being expressed they will have a different LS. Let us see how this alternation works:
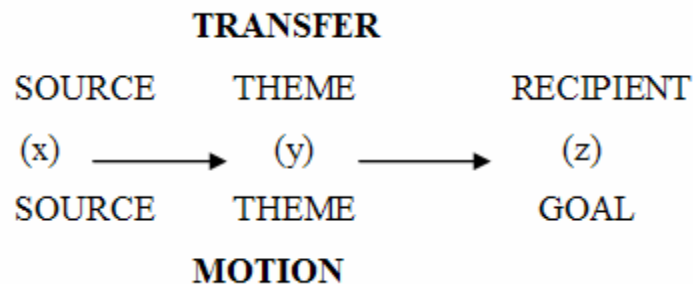


**Figure 2.** Alternation of verbs like *bring*

Note first that the SOURCE can coincide with the AGENT, which is the case with *bring*, as can be seen in the following examples in (19), in which an illustration of figure 2 is presented:

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

In (19.a), *bring* is used as a transfer verb, and therefore *me* is the RECIPIENT, which stands for an animate being and which receives something or, as in this case, someone. In (19.b), on the other hand, *bring* is used as a motion verb, and so *your house* is the GOAL argument, which is similar to the recipient but with the [- animate] feature. Thus, in the case of these verbs, as well as in that of the following two, there is an alternation which depends on the feature [+/- animate] of the third participant role. This variation affects the verbal LS, as is shown in (20):

(20)   a. LS for (17.a): [**do'** (you, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (me, him)]
       b. LS for (17.b): [**do'** (we, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-at'** (our house, him)]

Pinker (1989) also supports this alternation. He has suggested that 'have' is a primitive verb and that there is a difference between BECOME **be-at'**

and BECOME **have'**. On the other hand, one could argue (like Jackendoff 1991, for example) that this is only a difference between spatial and possessive uses of the verb. In any case, in my view, what cannot be denied is that there is a difference between both interpretations, and that this difference should be reflected in the semantic representation of the verb.

The orientation of *fetch* is different from that of *bring*, as can be seen by comparing the illustrations in figure 1. *Fetch* implies a double way orientation, so that the AGENT starts the action of movement in the same position as the RECIPIENT/GOAL, goes along the path until it arrives at the THEME, and then comes back to the RECIPIENT/GOAL. The RECIPIENT can coincide with the AGENT, as in (21.a), or not, as in (21.b):

(21)  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. Go and **fetch** *me* a candle/Go and **fetch** a candle *for me*

In (21.b) the second argument is the RECIPIENT and the LOCATION does not need to be specified.[10] In this case, the LS for *fetch* is the same as the one given for *bring* above, and it must be concluded that it is possible to combine all the types of participant roles in one sentence, as is shown below:

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

In this case, none 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. However, for an adequate establishment of the verbal LS, the following question arises: if the LS in (23.a) below is applied, then *me* is predicative and therefore peripheral. That is, it does not function as a

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[10] This discussion is problematic if we focus on the use of the structure *for + NP*, which is a benefactive argument, which in this case functions as a RECIPIENT. In Jolly (1993: 301) this structure is represented semantically by the purposive LS. In Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 382-384), a discussion is brought up on this idea. It is stated that such a LS is predominant over the thematic relation labels when it comes to accounting for the differential behavior of NPs, in the sense that a benefactive thematic relation does not fully account for all the uses of *for*. In this paper, nonetheless, I am concerned with verbal LSs and their thematic relations. I do not intend to provide a general LS for all the components of the sentences rendered as examples, due to the scope of this piece of research. Thus, for our purposes here, just the thematic relation of *for* that concerns the verb *fetch* is shown and developed.

verbal argument. On the other hand, if the LS in (23.b) is used, then *from the kitchen* is the peripheral, non-core element:[11]

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

Both LSs are correct, but only one of them can be applied at a time, since the LS only admits three arguments maximum, which in this case would be *you*, *candle*, and either *me* or *kitchen*. This is coherent with the mode of action (i.e. *Aktionsart*) which encodes a SoA. In a SoA we have a maximum of three main elements that affect its composition, and the rest of the elements modify it as a whole. One may argue that these two LSs can be combined into one, as is done in Van Valin & LaPolla (1997 : 109) through the use of the element '&', meaning 'then'. The example provided by them is repeated below:

(24)   Tom took the knife from the prisoner
      [**do'** (Tom, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **have'** (prisoner, knife) & BECOME **have'** (Tom, knife)]

In this case, this complex LS can be applied because we have three arguments: *Tom*, *knife* and *prisoner*, which is the maximum number allowed in the LS of movement verbs, as already stated. In the case of (22), we have more than three arguments, so we have to choose between the two potential AAJs (*me* or *kitchen*) and leave the unselected one as an Adjunct, that is, as a phrase providing additional information to the clause. The hypothesis that only three arguments are allowed in the LS is in accord with the verbal *Aktionsart*; that is, it is faithful to the representation and categorisation of SoAs. Thus, we cannot combine (22) in one LS through the element '&'. This possibility is only available for sentences with three maximally possible arguments.

     Two LSs in (23) correspond to *bring*. In fact, they can be applied to *take* and to *deliver* too. The question is, therefore, which LS represents one

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[11] In relation to footnote 10 about *for* with the verb *fetch*, it must be noted that one of the reviewers of this paper was of the opinion that the benefactive argument formed by *for* plus a NP is represented semantically by the purposive LS. Hence, according to him/her (23.b) is incorrect; it should be (23.a) plus the purposive representation. However, I still defend the view that both LSs in (23) are equally valid and independent, and that the AAJs they represent have the same level of semantic validity, so this must be reflected in the LS of the predicate.

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 to the point – due to the impossibility of explaining why one of these roles is more essential to the clause than the other – a pragmatic point of view is adopted in order to find the correct answer. From this point of view, it could be stated that the closer the argument is to the verbal predicate the more important for the clause it is. Thus, if the nominal phrase (hereafter NP) *me* appears before the PP *from the kitchen*, we may suppose that such a NP is given primacy, and the LS in (23.b) will be the adequate one. In the same way, if the PP *from the kitchen* is placed before the PP *to me* – the RECIPIENT takes oblique case when it is located farther away from the verb than the theme – then the LS in (23.a) will be accurate:

(25)   a. LS in (22.a): You **fetch** the candle *from the kitchen* for me.
        b. LS in (22.b): You **fetch** *me* the candle from the kitchen.

*Off* and *from* are SOURCE prepositions that form SOURCE AAJs, whose LSs show the following abstract predicate:

(26)   …CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-LOC'** (y, x)]

This SOURCE PP is used because the action is oriented in the opposite direction to GOAL PPs from the point of view of the speaker. In clauses with this LS, the speaker is situated in the point where the action finishes, and therefore the point of departure is specified. In those verbs with which the GOAL PP is expressed, the hearers and the speaker are, on the contrary, at 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 in this group in their sense of 'transporting', since they have the same features that have just been presented. However, they also have the opposite meaning of 'extracting', so they should also be included within the group of verbs which have this central meaning, which are non-active accomplishment verbs. Thus, they correspond to two different senses, and therefore to two different semantic representations. Let us see an illustration of how *take* works in both senses:

(27)   a. **ARK 2070** Now, **take** me *to* the office'; Horowitz ordered the guard.
       DO (you, [**do'** (you, [**take'** (you, (me)])) CAUSE [**do'** (me [**go'**(me)]) &
       BECOME **be**-**at'** (office, me)]
       b. Mary **took** the book *from* Peter.
       [**do'** (Mary, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **have'** (Peter, book) & BECOME **have'**
       (Mary, book)]

The question remains of what happens if a SOURCE PP is added to the clause
in (25.a), or if the GOAL PP is omitted. In that case, we would be dealing
with sentences like the following ones:

(28)   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 (28.a) than in (28.b).
In (28.a) it is just a modifier, as is the case 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 (28.b), *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
function 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 like the verbs in the previous subsection, *bring* and *fetch*.
Let us see some examples:

(29)   a. **CFF 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!'
          *(You) deliver me from + [ subordinate clause]*
          [**do'** (you, Ø) CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be**-**at'** ([subordinate clause], me)]]

       b. **EEB** 873 Please deliver the goods *to* our Manchester office.
          *(You) deliver the goods to our Manchester office*
          [**do'** (you, [**deliver'** (you, (goods))]) CAUSE [**do'**(goods [**go'**(goods)]) &
          BECOME **be**-**at'** (Manchester office, goods)]

  c. **CRM 8206** Typical stony asteroids, however, **deliver** the bulk of their energy *near* an altitude of 9km, and this is consistent with observations.
   *Asteroids deliver their energy near 9km high*
   [**do'** (asteroids, [**deliver'** (asteroids, (energy))]) CAUSE [**do'**(energy [**go'**(energy)]) & BECOME **be-near'** (9kms high, energy)]

As can be seen in (29.a), *deliver* can have the LS 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, as an AAJ. In that case, similarly to *take*, *deliver* is related to the sense of extracting, and the orientation of the process is opposite to that in (29.b) and (29.c), where *deliver* has the same meaning and *Aktionsart* as the rest of active accomplishment movement verbs. What is more, *deliver* shows further features that relate it to the rest of such verbs. Consider the sentences below:

(30) **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 LS that corresponds to this *Aktionsart*, that atypical verbs of transporting do not behave like active accomplishment verbs, but like accomplishment verbs. In order to prove this, let us try adding the specification of the PATH:

(31) *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 LS of transfer verbs is outlined in (23.b). In that mode of action there is a telicity implied and no dynamicity is possible, since the verb presents facts at the end-point of the process.

## 4. Final remarks

In this study I have presented and analysed English verbs of causative active accomplishment movement within the RRG framework, and I have arranged them into a typology by taking into account a number of semantic criteria related to their argument structure and, more specifically, to the

kind of locative AAJs they take. In this respect, these verbs have been divided into three subtypes, which have been described in terms of their semantic features and LSs. I have made an attempt to formalize some verbs of movement within the RRG notation, so that my analysis shows the possibilities of the RRG approach to account for expressions of motion. I have proposed an LS that accounts for how active accomplishment verbs of movement differ from (non-active) accomplishment ones. The proposed LSs of both groups of verbs are repeated below:

(32)  a. Causative accomplishment movement verbs
          [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-LOC'** (z, y)]
      b. Causative active accomplishment movement verbs
          [**do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x, (y)])) CAUSE [**do'**(y [**go'**(y)]) & BECOME **be-at'** (z, y)]
          $b_1$. Causative active accomplishment movement verbs (verbs of accompaniment)
                DO (x, [**do'** (x, [**predicate'** (x, (y)])) CAUSE [**do'**(y [**go'**(y)]) & BECOME **be-at'** (z, y)]

The LS in (33.a) is the only one put forward by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and others working within the RRG framework (cf. Jolly 1991) in order to account for the compositionality of induced movement. I have proposed a LS as in (33.b) to account for all those verbs that cannot be represented by (33.a), that is, causative accomplishment verbs of movement that contain the [+dynamic] feature due to their being derived from activity verbs. Non-active causative accomplishments derive from stative verbs, so they lack dynamicity. As a result, the LS in (33.a) is insufficient to provide all their semantic components and the argument structure of active verbs. As regards the LS in ($33.b_1$), it differs from the more general one in (33.b) because it contains the element 'DO (x,[…])', which encodes agency. Although it is true that many active accomplishment verbs of movement take AGENTS as their first argument, I prefer not to include this element as a "must" in their LS, since there are many instances in which that is not the case. That is, the ACTOR is not necessarily an AGENT.

A close study of all these verbs shows the importance that their arguments play, specially the third one expressing location. This locative argument is treated as an AAJ in RRG. The use of this term is helpful in the sense that it permits us to distinguish those clausal constructions which affect the mode of action of the verb from those that do not. It is important

to remark that this study reflects how the LS of the verb determines the clausal structure and the *Aktionsart* interpretation. This implies that for an adequate study of locational expressions, verbs of movement have to be granted primary importance, and vice versa. Finally, due to the limitations of this piece of research, the LSs of the verbs presented are not yet fully decomposed, so further research will be devoted to this question.

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