

Notes on Type I Subjective Motion Expressions in English

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In this paper we deal with what Matsumoto (1996) calls Type I subjective motion expressions in English. According to Matsumoto they cannot occur with frequency adverbs and do not generally allow the progressive aspect. We show that his observation is not valid by presenting naturally occurring examples of the expressions which involve frequency adverbs and the progressive aspect respectively. Further we investigate how the frequency adverbs are allowed and what functions the progressive aspect has. For the frequency adverbs we propose a licensing condition employing the sense of iteration. It also turns out that the subjective motion implicit in the expressions makes a major contribution to the occurrence of the adverbs in a certain case. As to the progressive aspect we take up two cases, namely, its use in captions and in discourses describing courses/routes of particular paths and point out that in the former it conveys the speaker's or writer's higher degree of subjective perspective and in the latter it can be used to add a further explanation to a particular phase of the path described. Lastly, we discuss briefly the aspectual property of the expressions and its relation to the occurrence of frequency adverbs and the progressive aspect.

Key Words: Subjective Motion Expressions; Frequency Adverbs; Sense of Iteration; Progressive Aspect; Interpretative Function; Subjective Perspective; Phase of a Path

1. Introduction

We will deal with some aspects of what Matsumoto (1996) calls Type I subjective motion expressions in English. It will be shown that, despite Matsumoto's observations to the contrary, these expressions are compatible both with frequency adverbs and with the progressive aspect. The structure of the paper is as follows: section 2 gives a brief sketch of general characteristics of English Type I subjective motion expressions based on the analysis by Matsumoto (1996). In section 3 we present naturally occurring examples of the expressions with frequency adverbs and consider under what condition the frequency adverbs are allowed. It is also pointed out that the subjective motion implicit in the expressions contributes to the presence of frequency adverbs in an important way in a certain case. In section 4, we indicate the existence of naturally occurring examples of the expressions with the progressive aspect and take up two uses of these progressive forms, namely, the use in captions and discourses describing courses/routes of particular paths, and examine what functions they perform. We point out that in the former the progressive aspect serves to convey the speaker's or writer's higher degree of subjective perspective, based on several foregoing researches on the use of the progressive aspect in captions. With respect to the latter, employing the analysis by Williams (2002), it is revealed

that the progressive aspect tends to be used when it serves to explain a particular phase of the path described. Section 5 is devoted to a brief discussion on the aspectual property of Type I subjective motion expressions and its relevance to the occurrence of frequency adverbs and the progressive aspect. Section 6 is a conclusion.

2. A Brief Sketch of General Characteristics of Type I Subjective Motion Expressions in English Based on Matsumoto (1996)

"Subjective motion expressions" is the name of a type of expression in which a certain kind of motion verb such as *run* is semantically extended to describe some characteristic of the path depicted by the subject.¹ Several examples are shown in (1)-(4).

- (1) The highway runs through the mountains.
- (2) The highway runs straight.
- (3) The path ascends from here.
- (4) A trail zigzagged through the forest.

(1) expresses the locational relation of the path described by the subject to the place (*the mountains*) serving as a point of reference. Both in (2) and in (3), the configuration of the path described by the subject is drawn. (4) gives a description of both the locational relation of the path expressed by the subject with respect to the place (*the forest*) functioning as a point of reference and the configuration of the path itself. The name "subjective motion" comes from the fact that the expressions evoke in the speaker-hearer's mind the movement of something along the path described by the subject.² According to Matsumoto, linguistic evidence for this comes from the compatibility of subjective motion expressions with the expression of directionality and temporality. The example (5) has an expression of directionality.

- (5) The road goes *from Las Vegas to Los Angeles*.

The example (6) contains an expression of temporality.

- (6) The highway runs along the coast *for a while*.

Both directionality and temporality can be taken to be associated with the implicit motion of something in the speaker-hearer's mind. (See Matsumoto (1996:185ff.) for further details.)

Matsumoto distinguishes subjective motion expressions into two types. Type I, exemplified by the sentences in (1)-(4), is a description of the static locational relation of the path expressed by the subject to some other place or the configuration of the path or both of these, whereas Type II is associated with the actual motion of the person uttering the sentence, an example of which is shown below.

(7) The highway entered California then.

In the subsequent discussion our focus will be limited to Type I subjective motion expressions.

Matsumoto deals with several similarities and differences between English subjective motion expressions and Japanese ones. In this paper we are going to limit our attention to Type I subjective motion expressions in English and examine the validity of two specific observations by Matsumoto. One is that English Type I subjective motion expressions cannot cooccur with frequency adverbs such as *often* and the other is that they cannot cooccur with the progressive aspect except under a certain restricted condition. We will inspect the legitimacy of these two observations one by one in the following two sections.

3. Congruity of Type I Subjective Motion Expressions with Frequency Adverbs

Matsumoto observes that English Type I subjective motion expressions do not accept frequency adverbs like *often*. His observation is based on the unacceptability of the example (8b).

(8a) The road runs through the center of the city.

(8b) *The road often/always runs through the center of the city.

He cites (8b) as a piece of evidence that the predicate involved in English Type I subjective motion expressions is stative. According to Matsumoto, nonstative predicates are interpreted as habits when combined with the simple present tense, and sentences with a habitual interpretation are consonant with frequency adverbs. However, the predicate of (8b) does not conform with frequency adverbs and the reason for this, he assumes, is that the predicate in question is interpreted not as a habit but as a state.

In fact, however, there do exist English Type I subjective motion expressions which contain an adverb of frequency, as shown in the following (underlining added).

(9a) In the old days, the road often ran through the creek. There the rocks were slick, and one curve was particularly treacherous.

(http://users.zoominternet.net/~lrdillon/histories/dillon_chapel.html)

(9b) Despite its high elevation, the trail often dips below the alpine timberline to provide a measure of safety in the exposed, storm-prone regions above tree line.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colorado_Trail)

(9c) As described above - I normally use way to go to Simonstown first since the road always goes along the sea side.

(http://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Africa/South_Africa/Province_of_the_Western_Cape/Cape_Town-2225504/Things_To_Do-Cape_Town-Cape_Point-BR-8.html)

(9d) The rugged and forested Boston Mountains region of the Ozark Mountains provides

the setting for this route, which often runs through a tunnel of foliage during spring, summer and fall.

(http://www.motorcycleroads.com/routes/SouthEast/AR/AR_4.shtml)

- (10) The stop was at a place called the Country Inn. It was a small, family owned and operated restaurant, right on the main street. In this part of North Dakota the highway always runs right down the main street, so we easily spotted the Country Inn.

(<http://iomfats.org/storyshelf/hosted/charles/tim/tim129.html>)

Consequently, we can deduce that Matsumoto's factual observation concerning frequency adverbs is likely to be wrong. The examples in (9) and (10) clearly indicate that we cannot simply attribute the unacceptability of (8b) to the presence of a frequency adverb as Matsumoto does. Thus we need to consider what is the cause of the acceptability difference between (8b) on the one hand and (9) and (10) on the other.

3.1. Sentences with Frequency Adverbs in General

Before tackling the problem established above, we would like to examine sentences with frequency adverbs (*frequency sentences* hereafter) in general. Some examples of frequency sentences are given in the following:

- (11a) Bill often visited his uncle.
(11b) Mary sometimes wrote to her mother.
(11c) Birds usually fly. (Cohen 1999:126)
(11d) Germans are often tall. (Csirmaz 2009:68)

It should be noted that the example (11d) involves an individual-level state predicate and this obviously contradicts the account by Matsumoto given above. Stative predicates can cooccur with frequency adverbs; therefore, the unacceptability of (8b) does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that the predicate involved is nonstative.

There also exist unacceptable frequency sentences, however. Two such sentences are given below (taken from Magri (2009)).

- (12a) *John is sometimes tall.
(12b) *John is always tall.

We would like to consider the reason why these frequency sentences are unacceptable. According to Csirmaz (2009:66), frequency adverbs "introduce iteration."³ Hereafter, we will call sentences from which frequency adverbs are removed *base sentences*.⁴ Let us assume that in order for base sentences to be compatible with frequency adverbs, it is necessary for the situations expressed by base sentences to meet some condition. We formulate this condition as follows:

- (13) The base sentence must be associated with the sense of iteration in some way or other in order for it to be compatible with a frequency adverb.

(13) is a general licensing condition for the frequency adverb. Admittedly, it may give an impression of being rather vague. The reason is that the sense of iteration is derived from various factors which defy a simple specification, as will become evident in the subsequent discussion. Below we will take up a number of frequency sentences to illustrate how this condition works.

First, consider the sentences (11a) and (11b). Here the situations expressed by the base sentences, namely, *Bill visiting his uncle* and *Mary writing to her mother*, can obviously repeat themselves. Therefore the base sentences involved can be associated with the sense of iteration. With respect to the sentences (11c) and (11d), their base sentences also show conformity with the sense of iteration, but in a way somewhat different from the sentences (11a) and (11b). Their base sentences are generic sentences and *Birds fly* means "most birds fly" and *Germans are tall* "most Germans are tall" (Cohen 1999). Here we can say that the predicates *fly* and *be tall* apply repeatedly to members of the kinds depicted by the subjects *birds* and *Germans*. Consequently, it can be said that the base sentences in question are associated with the sense of iteration.⁵

Now we would like to turn to the unacceptable frequency sentences (12a) and (12b). These two frequency sentences share the base sentence *John is tall*. The situation of John being tall holds invariably and this invariability does not conform to the sense of iteration, since for a situation to repeat, it must not be invariable. Thus we can say that the base sentence does not satisfy the condition (13) and as a result (12a) and (12b) are unacceptable.⁶

Next, observe the following (underlining added):

- (14a) Quan Yin has hundreds of manifestations, but she always has bare feet. She often has many arms and eyes to represent her sacrifice to her father. She is always tall, slender, and beautiful, and she always wears flowing robes. The only exception is the Lamaistic image in which she is naked. Her image appears in Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian temples. (http://www.ehow.com/facts_5591112_story-quant-yin.html)
- (14b) In European and American art, Jesus is portrayed as a Caucasian with lots of long, beautiful hair; in African art, he is often tall, lean, and dark-skinned. In Asian art, he is Chinese, or Japanese, or Vietnamese.
(<http://www.buildingchurchleaders.com/downloads/practicalministryskills/expositionteach/ps87-c.html>)
- (14c) He is ageless, he never ages and he never dies. Now he does have to morph from Sean Connery to Roger Moore to Timothy Dalton to Pierce Brosnan but he is always tall, dark, handsome, and athletic.
(<http://charlietaylorministries.com/why-do-you-love-james-bond/>)
- (14d) Standing at 6 feet 5 inches tall Bolt is always tall compared to his opposition. He is

also an avid cricket player and admits that if he wasn't a sprinter he would be a fast bowler in cricket. (<http://ethnicelebs.com/usain-bolt>)

The base sentences of all of these underlined sentences contain the same predicate *is tall* just like the unacceptable examples (12a) and (12b). Considering each of the base sentence alone, it should have the same invariable property as the base sentence common to (12a) and (12b). However, they are well-formed even when the frequency adverb *always* or *often* is added. Here the sense of iteration is provided by the contexts. In the examples in (14a)-(14c) the different manifestations of the individuals expressed by the subjects of the underlined sentences are depicted, which serves to produce the sense of iteration. In these cases the sense of iteration does not conflict with the invariable property of the underlined sentences, because it is not directly related to the height of a unique individual. Rather, it relates to the heights of the different manifestations of the individual. As to the example in (14d), the sense of iteration is furnished by the multiple comparisons between the height of the man named Bolt and those of his opponents. Also in this case, the sense of iteration does not conflict with the invariable property of the base sentence. The reason is that the sense of iteration is linked not to Bolt's height itself, but to the multiple occurrences of comparing height differences between Bolt and the others.

3.2. Frequency Sentences Involving Type I Subjective Motion Expressions

Thus far we have shown that the proposed condition (13) can account for the (un)acceptability of ordinary frequency sentences. Now, we will turn to the frequency sentences involving Type I subjective motion expressions. For Type I subjective motion expressions with frequency adverbs, it seems to be convenient for our discussion to separate them into two cases. One case is where the iteration along a specific path is described. The other case concerns the iteration or multiple occurrences of a configuration formed either by a path or by the combination of a path and (a) point(s) of reference(s).

We will begin by discussing the first case, the examples of which are (9), repeated below as (15).

(15a) In the old days, the road often ran through the creek. There the rocks were slick, and one curve was particularly treacherous.

(http://users.zoominternet.net/~lrdillon/histories/dillon_chapel.html)

(15b) Despite its high elevation, the trail often dips below the alpine timberline to provide a measure of safety in the exposed, storm-prone regions above tree line.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colorado_Trail)

(15c) As described above - I normally use way to go to Simonstown first since the road always goes along the sea side.

(http://www.virtualtourist.com/travel/Africa/South_Africa/Province_of_the_Western_Cape/Cape_Town-2225504/Things_To_Do-Cape_Town-Cape_Point-BR-8.html)

(15d) The rugged and forested Boston Mountains region of the Ozark Mountains provides the setting for this route, which often runs through a tunnel of foliage during spring, summer and fall.

(http://www.motorcycleroads.com/routes/SouthEast/AR/AR_4.shtml)

Putting aside the example (15d) for the moment, let us deal with the examples (15a) and (15b) first. The base sentence of (15a), that is, "In the old days, the road ran through the creek," describes the locational relation between the single path (*the road*) and the reference point (*the creek*). This locational relation involves the intersection of the two entities (the path and the point of reference). It can conform to the sense of iteration because of the shape of the reference point. The reference point has a shape with long spatial extent, which allows for the possibility of the path intersecting with the reference point multiple times, satisfying the condition (13). The same holds true for the locational relation of the trail dipping below the alpine timberline expressed by the base sentence of (15b). The reference point *the alpine timberline* also has long spatial extent.

In (15c), the locational relation is different from those of (15a) and (15b) and it involves not an intersectional relation but a parallel relation. This makes it possible for the locational relation between the path (*the road*) and the reference point with long spatial extent (*the sea side*) to hold repeatedly. For example, it is possible for the path to run along the point of reference for some time and then go away from it and after that come close to it again, running parallel to it. Thus (15c) meets the condition (13).

By the way, it should be stressed here that the sense of subjective motion implicit in Type I subjective motion expressions is deeply involved in the occurrence of frequency adverbs in the expressions in the first case we are dealing with, because the frequency described by the adverbs is directly related to the experience of some conscious entity's implicit movement along those paths. That is, the adverbs can make sense only if the imaginary path is understood as moved along by such an entity.⁷

Now we consider the unacceptability of the example (8b) cited by Matsumoto repeated as (16b) along with its base sentence (8a) repeated as (16a) below.

(16a) The road runs through the center of the city.

(16b)*The road often/always runs through the center of the city.

The locational relation depicted by the base sentence (16a) is the intersectional relation between the single path (*the road*) and the reference point (*the center of the city*). Importantly, the intersection point is singular and unique and cannot repeat itself on the same path designated by the subject. Here the shape of the point of reference seems to be relevant. It does not have a shape of long spatial extent; rather it is understood as point-like, preventing the availability of the sense of iteration. This is what distinguishes (16b) and cases like (15a) and (15b).⁸ Consequently, (16b) is incongruent with the condition (13) and unacceptable.

The similar account can be given to the following unacceptable examples (17b) and (18b), although they do not describe intersectional relations, different from (16b).

(17a) The path ascends from here.⁹

(17b) *The path sometimes ascends from here.¹⁰

(18a) The road goes from Las Vegas to Los Angeles.

(18b) *The road often goes from Las Vegas to Los Angeles.

In (17a) the point of reference "here" specifies the starting point of ascent which is singular and unique; therefore, it refuses iteration on the same path expressed by the subject. If the road ascended again at all, the starting point of ascent would have to be somewhere different from "here." (18a) includes the point of reference specifying the starting point (the eastern limit) and the end point (the western limit) of the path. The distance of the path defined by these two points as well as the locational relation between the path and the reference points is invariable, excluding the possibility of iteration. Hence (16b) and (17b) cannot satisfy the condition (13), resulting in unacceptability.

Next, we turn to the example (15d) repeated here as (19).

(19) The rugged and forested Boston Mountains region of the Ozark Mountains provides the setting for this route, which often runs through a tunnel of foliage during spring, summer and fall.

(http://www.motorcycleroads.com/routes/SouthEast/AR/AR_4.shtml)

The base sentence of the example (19), namely, "which (this route) runs through a tunnel of foliage during spring, summer and fall," includes the indefinite singular noun phrase which is serving as a reference point. The locational relation of the route running through a tunnel of foliage expressed by the base sentence is compatible with the sense of iteration, because it is possible for the route in question to have not only one tunnel of foliage but also several or many tunnels of foliage in its course. Thus, (19) is acceptable meeting the condition (13).

Now we will turn to the second case where the iteration of the configuration formed either by a path or by the combination of a path and (a) point(s) of reference(s) is depicted. First, consider the example in (10) repeated below as (20). In contrast to (16b), the sentence beginning with "In this part of North Dakota" is compatible with the frequency adverb *always*.

(20) The stop was at a place called the Country Inn. It was a small, family owned and operated restaurant, right on the main street. In this part of North Dakota the highway always runs right down the main street, so we easily spotted the Country Inn.

(<http://iomfats.org/storyshelf/hosted/charles/tim/tim129.html>)

The base sentence of this frequency sentence, that is, "In this part of North Dakota the highway

runs right down the main street," is a generic sentence involving *the highway* (a path) and *the main street* (a point of reference) which are generic noun phrases, expressing the iteration of the configuration in which the two entities merge, fulfilling the condition (13). Therefore, it is possible to add the frequency adverb *always*. Here what is described is not about the iteration along the path as in (16b), but about the iteration of the specific configuration formed by the path and the reference point.

Next, observe the following:

(21a) As America expanded west from St. Louis, a road has always run through Lebanon, Missouri. (<http://lebanonmissouri.org/index.aspx?NID=108>)

(21b) On maps, Myrtle Avenue has always run through the heart of Fort Greene, Clinton Hill and Bedford-Stuy.

(http://www.barrypopik.com/index.php/new_york_city/entry/murder_avenue_myrtle_avenue/)

The base sentences are respectively "a road has run through Lebanon, Missouri" and "Myrtle Avenue has run through the heart of Fort Greene, Clinton Hill and Bedford-Stuy." The locational relations expressed by them are in themselves similar to that expressed by the base sentence of (16b), namely (16a), in that the intersectional points are unique and cannot repeat themselves on the paths depicted by the subjects. Yet, the frequency sentences corresponding to these base sentences are acceptable. The reason is that the perfect aspect of the base sentences provide them the possibility of the sense of iteration, satisfying the condition (13). More specifically, in (21a) the expression "As America expanded west from St. Louis" and the perfect aspect provide a long time interval from the past to the present which makes it possible for the same locational relation to hold multiple times during that interval. Also in (21b) the expression "on maps" and the time interval provided by the present perfect serve to produce the sense of iteration, creating the environment in which the frequency adverb can appear. Furthermore, they are not about the iteration along the paths, but about the iteration of the configurations consisting of the paths and the reference points, the same as (20).

3.3 Summary

In this section, we have pointed out that, contrary to Matsumoto's observation, Type I subjective motion expressions *do* accept the addition of frequency adverbs. To account for acceptable and unacceptable frequency sentences, we have proposed the licensing condition (13). First, we have shown how ordinary frequency sentences can be dealt with by this condition. Then, it has been demonstrated that the condition can also handle frequency sentences involving Type I subjective motion expressions. Our discussion has also revealed that the subjective motion implicit in these expressions is closely connected with the occurrence of frequency adverbs, especially when the expressions describe the iteration along a particular path.

4. Compatibility of the Progressive Aspect and Type I Subjective Motion Expressions

4.1. Matsumoto's Observation

According to Matsumoto (1996) English Type I subjective motion expressions generally do not allow the progressive aspect. He uses this as a second piece of evidence for his argument that the verbs of these expressions are stative.

(22a) ??The highway was running along the shore.

(22b) ??Two highways were running between the cities.

Matsumoto admits that the progressive aspect can be used with the expressions when the meaning of temporariness is expressed, as in the following:

(23a) The river was running right in the center of the valley during the flood.

(23b) After the bombing, only two highways were running intact between the two cities.

In these examples, the locational relations expressed are understood as holding only at the designated intervals of time, namely, during the flood and for some time after the bombing. A similar observation can be found in Dowty (1979:175), where he says as follows:

When motion verbs such as *flow*, *run* and *enter* are used as locatives (i.e., as entailing no literal motion at all), they are likewise excluded from the progressive when they describe a relatively permanent state [...].

And with respect to such a sentence as *The highway is running past the farm*, he says that it can only be used as a futurate progressive.

4.2. Progressive Forms without the Meaning of Temporariness

Pace Matsumoto and Dowty, there are examples which seem to have no explicit or implicit indication of the sense of temporariness (nor futurity). Observe the following (underlining added):

(24a) The notes for the survey indicate the road was running on or near the section lines.

The notes indicate the corner about 10' west of the centerline.

(<http://www.co.goodhue.mn.us/departments/LANDUSE/gis/Certsofloc/History/H162.htm>)

(24b) The highway has a length of 106 kilometres and a speed limit in the range of 40-80 km/h depending on whether the road is passing through a settlement.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Newfoundland_and_Labrador_Route_340)

(24c) Sault Ste. Marie to Kinross, Trail #49 -

Base 0-3 inches - Trail is in a Poor Condition. When the trail is running along roads make sure you go with the flow of traffic on the right side of the road.

(<http://trailreport.com/cgi-bin/soomichigantr.pl?scripted=sootrails&templar=sootrails>)

Notice that in these underlined sentences there seems to be no implication that the described locational relations between the paths represented by the subjects and the reference points hold true only temporarily. For example, (24b) does not suggest that the locational relation between the highway and the settlement holds only for a while and after that the highway will stop passing through that settlement. The examples in (24) evidently show that English does allow Type I subjective motion expressions to be associated with the progressive aspect without the implication of temporariness. The Web search indicates that the progressive form of Type I subjective motion expressions are frequently found in captions and in discourses which describe the courses/routes of particular paths. Here we would like to limit our focus to these two cases and consider what functions the progressive Type I subjective motion expressions carry out in these environments.

4.2.1. Captions

Some examples of the use of progressive Type I subjective motion expressions in captions are given below (underlining added):

(25a) ...the place called Iron gate. The river is passing through narrow strait...

(<http://www.worldisround.com/articles/198663/photo13.html>)

(25b) Whichever, it's in a fantastic position on the north bank of the fledgling River Wharf, a river that was so important to the prehistoric peoples of Yorkshire. At this point in its journey the river is passing through the narrow valley of Langstrothdale with the hills of Yockenthwaite Moor to the north and Horse Head Moor to the south, a lovely spot that gives the circle the air of a small camp.

(<http://www.stone-circles.org.uk/stone/yockenthwaite.htm>)

In this kind of caption the progressive form is not the only option and the simple form is also used, as shown in the following (underlining added):

(26a) Chicago River: Bird's Eye View

You can see the Chicago River from above in this picture. The River runs right through the middle of Chicago and there are boat tours to see the architecture and historic places of the City.

(<http://members.virtualtourist.com/m/33145/bdc28/4/>)

(26b) This picture shows the River Goyt as it passes through Romiley.

(<http://u3asiteb.org.uk/u3asites/code/u3asite.php?site=112>)

(26c) In this picture the trail leads through a small portion of the tallgrass prairie, which once extended for many miles in all directions.

(<http://members.virtualtourist.com/m/4b7c5/c6bc9/4/>)

Consequently, we need to consider the difference between these two forms.

It is well known that the simple present tense is conventionally used for captions, especially for photographs in newspapers and magazines.¹¹ According to Ljung (1980:24), sentences such as the following are "used as picture legends."

(27a) The English attack Quebec.

(27b) John makes a discovery.

He says that they are

secondary and interpretative: they explain to the reader what the picture is about. What the picture represent are quite clearly 'frozen' dynamic situations, dynamic situations which have been brought to a full stop in the middle phase. Since these 'frozen' situations are doomed forever to remain the same, they can truly be said to afford a view of an event 'from within', to be imperfectly viewed.

It is important to notice that giving "a view of an event 'from within'" or an imperfective view is the primary function of the progressive aspect (see, for example, Smith (1997)). Further, when considering a recent increase in the use of the progressive form for the "interpretative function," it may be safe to say that it is no accident that the progressive form comes to be used for captions.¹² According to the literature on the interpretative use of the progressive aspect, it has a function of conveying "the speaker's attitude and perspective of the situation" (Wright 1995:157) or "a higher degree of pragmatic meaning and/or subjectivity on the part of the speaker than regular uses of the progressive" (Smith (2005:166) via Aarts et al. (2010)). Moreover, Declerck (1991:162) remarks, citing the sentence *In this photograph John is winking at the camera*, which is an example of the interpretative use of the progressive aspect, that the progressive aspect has "a frozen action interpretation" when it combines with a punctual verb such as *wink*. Putting these observations together, we can say that in captions the simple present form and the progressive form share the freezing function as well as the interpretative function, but they are different because in the progressive form the speaker's or writer's subjective attitude or perspective is more prominent. Therefore, it can be concluded that what distinguishes the progressive forms of Type I subjective motion expressions from the simple forms in captions is the speaker's or writer's higher degree of subjective perspective involved in the former.¹³

4.2.2. Discourses Giving Course/Route Descriptions of Particular Paths

Now we will deal with the second use of progressive Type I subjective motion expressions. Here the expressions are used in the discourses which give course/route descriptions of particular paths such as roads and trails. Some of the discourses consist of a series of captions associated with photographs and we can often find progressive Type I subjective motion expressions in such captions. The latter are expected to have the same function as the expressions used in single and independent captions discussed in the previous subsection. However, it seems that the use of the progressive form in the discourses in question has an additional function. Examining several such discourses, it becomes clear that the choice from the simple form and the progressive form follows a certain pattern and this pattern is similar to that found in other kinds of discourses. Williams (2002) deals with the present simple form and the present progressive form in English in commentaries and demonstrations, basically focusing on non-stative verbs or situations. He points out that "non-progressive form tends to be used 'when pushing the action forward', while the progressive form tends to be used when conveying situations that do not push the action forward but which are of a more descriptive nature" (1238).¹⁴ Let us take a look at examples from cookery demonstrations.

(28a) I chop the onion and put it into the saucepan.

(28b) As you can see, I'm chopping the onion and putting it into the saucepan while we're waiting for the water in the other pan to boil.

According to Williams, (28a) is used to describe phases involved in the recipe and serve to establish the temporal sequence of these phases. In contrast, (28b) is used to "provide an explanation for a given action" (1250). Correspondingly, in the route/course descriptions it seems that the simple forms of Type I subjective motion expressions tend to be used in depicting a temporal sequence of the phases of the route/course or path, whereas the progressive forms tend to be used for giving explanation of a particular phase in that sequence. Examples of the simple form are given below (underlining added).

(29a) The hike begins opposite Murphy Candler Park as a wide roadside sidewalk maintained by Atlanta's PATH along Nancy Creek Drive. The trail turns left at Ashford-Dunwoody Road, almost immediately crossing Nancy Creek on a bridge before crossing Hart's Mill Road. At .8 miles the Nancy Creek Trail turns left into Blackburn Park. As the trail climbs an easy hill a massive oak to the left beckons with shade. From here the trail curves slowly right until it makes a hard left at 1.2 miles where it enters the only extended area of partial shade on the trail.¹⁵

(http://www.georgiatrails.com/gt/Nancy_Creek_Trail)

(29b) From Sonthofen, the road runs east via Hindelang and the winding Jochstrasse to the winter sports resort of Oberjoch, where it turns north, passing a side road on the right leading into the Jungholz enclave of Austrian territory within Germany (and within the German customs area). Beyond Wertach the road skirts the beautiful Grüntensee,

passes Oy-Mittelberg, turns east again, and after passing through Pfronten, runs close to the Austrian frontier coming to Füssen, around which are the magnificent castles of Kings Ludwig II and Maximilian II of Bavaria and several beautiful lakes.

(<http://www.planetware.com/germany/german-alpine-highway-d-ba-deu.htm>)

Here, the clauses containing the underlined verbs are Type I subjective motion expressions. They can be understood as describing a temporal sequence of the phases of the trail in (29a) and the road in (29b), respectively. At the same time, they may be taken as serving, as it were, to cause the paths to move forward.

Examples of the progressive form are given in (30) (underlining added).

(30a) At this point the River changes its name to the Alde and continues with the deepwater running fairly centrally up Halfway Reach in a northerly direction, swinging to the north-east in Blackstakes Reach. This is a designated waterskiing area.

Continuing north eastwards a shallower patch, The Horse, straddles the River. It has almost 2 m at CD, so shouldn't be a problem. At this point the River is running parallel with and very close to the beach on your starboard side. In some places there can't be more than 100 yards or so separating the sea and the River. (Harbor Information: general description)

(<http://www.visitmyharbour.com/harbours/east-coast/ore-alde-rivers/expanded.asp>)

(30b) If you turn left or South you'll cross under the US-35 bridge as seen at left, and cross over Linden Avenue (in the foreground. The trail continues south until it gets to Spaulding Road a total of three miles where it connects with a trail in Kettering.

Here we see the Iron Horse Trail crossing Linden Avenue looking South. At the right of the trail is an active slow freight railroad line that we follow into Kettering.

The first intersection is at Arcadia Blvd. and Falke Drive. Arcadia Blvd dead ends at the trail as you can see in this photo. The trail is running north to south and we are looking west towards the end of Arcadia Blvd.

[...]

After you cross Woodbine Avenue the trail turns to the East and continues until after the Woodman Drive crossing. (<http://www.miamivalleytrails.org/ironhorse.htm>)

(30c) We now see the Rip Rap Road bridge to our North. The trail runs between the road on the right and the Great Miami River on the left.

If you look South from the bridge the trail continues on Rip Rap Road for about 100 yards to the corner of Rip Rap Road and Birch Drive.

[...]

We are looking South in the photo back to the parking lot in the distance. The trail follows the Great Miami River's course and so is turning West at this point to follow the river. (<http://www.miamivalleytrails.org/taylors.htm>)

(30a, b, c) are respectively part of a description of "The rivers Ore and Alde," "Iron Horse Trail," and the section of "Triangle Park in Dayton North to Taylorsville MetroPark" of "Great Miami River Recreation Trail." The latter two are actually a sequence of captions attached to a series of photographs. As can be seen, the underlined progressive forms seem to be used in order to add a further explanation to a particular phase of the path described.

Thus, in the case of the discourses describing the routes/courses of particular paths, it seems that the occurrence of the simple form and the progressive form follows the same pattern as found in commentaries and demonstrations.

4.2.3. Summary

In this section, first we have pointed out that there do exist progressive Type I subjective motion expressions without the sense of temporariness in English. Then, confining our attention to the two cases where these expressions are frequently found, namely, their uses in captions and the discourses giving course/route descriptions of particular paths, we have investigated the functions they have, comparing them with the simple present counterparts. In captions, although both the simple form and the progressive form have the freezing function and the interpretative function, several previous researches indicate that the progressive form in addition conveys the speaker's or writer's higher degree of subjective perspective. From this observation, we have concluded that the same also holds true for the progressive Type I subjective motion expressions in captions. In the discourses describing courses/routes of particular paths, it has been shown that the simple form and the progressive form tend to perform different functions and the former describes a temporal series of phases of the path involved, whereas the latter adds a further explanation to a particular phase of the path.

Lastly a brief remark on the examples given in (24) is in order. The progressive forms in (24b) and (24c) can be taken as belonging to the second case. As for (24a), although it is not an example of either of the cases discussed, it appears that the progressive aspect has an interpretative function and gives explanation for what *the notes for the survey* represents.

5 A Brief Discussion on the Aspectual Property of Type I Subjective Motion Expressions

Foregoing researches on Type I subjective motion expressions in English, for example, Jackendoff (1990), Matlock (2004), and Gawron (2007), assume that these expressions themselves are basically stative. It is interesting to note that from the perspective of stage-level and individual-level distinction of states, Type I subjective motion expressions may belong to the class of stage-level states, because they can appear as complements of the perception verb *see* (see Bertinetto (1994), Jäger (1999), and Gisborne (2010) for details of this context), as shown in the following (underlining added):

(31a) Then, a mile onward, I saw the road cross the canal and run parallel to it. I saw the

canal run another mile or so under a fine bank of deep woods.

(<http://www.readbookonline.net/read/38616/76335/>)

(31b) Prue kept her eyes on the pavement and Phoebe started to get nervous as she saw the road curve again up ahead.

(members.fortunecity.com/charmedlife/CHILDS_PLAY/Writings/Chapter_8.html)

(31c) With that they rode to the top of the hill, and dismounted, and Pwyll Pen Annwn took his place on the throne, and his men standing around him. They saw the road running on below them westward to where the sun was setting between the far hills.¹⁶

(<http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena/dyfed/fates-2.htm>)

Thus, it is probably right to say that English Type I subjective motion expressions behave as stage-level states as far as the context of the complement of the perception verb *see* is concerned.¹⁷

Finally, we think a remark is in order on the relationship between the aspectual property of English Type I subjective motion expressions (whatever it may be) and the two kinds of constructions we have dealt with. As to the construction involving frequency adverbs, we think the aspectual property of the expressions has little to do with the licensing of the adverbs, because as we have shown in section 3, the frequency adverbs can appear regardless of the type of situation aspect of the base sentence so far as the licensing condition is met. With regard to the progressive construction, we must consider the two cases discussed separately. The first case is the interpretative use of the progressive aspect in captions. According to Ljung (1980), the possibility of the interpretative use of the progressive aspect is dictated not by the aspectual property of the predicate involved, specifically by the distinction between individual-level predicates and stage-level predicates, but by that between overt predicates and covert predicates.¹⁸ Overt predicates are those "which refer to properties which are somehow so obviously there that you can hardly be mistaken about them and covert predicates are those "which refer to properties which can be mistaken in the sense that while one speaker may claim that someone is angry, polite, or a fool, the other speaker may claim that the same someone is happy, boorish or a genius." Put it differently, overt predicates are those predicates which describe the overt properties of humans or things, while covert predicates are those describing the covert properties of them. For example, overt predicates such as *be tall* and *be clean* are unlikely to occur with the progressive aspect, whereas covert predicates such as *be angry* and *be a fool* tend to occur with it. Based on Ljung's distinction, the predicates of Type I subjective motion expressions in captions seem to have the property of covert predicates, because what they describe is a photo and what is represented in the photo can be taken to have a potentiality of being mistaken. It is possible that this may be the main reason why Type I subjective motion expressions in captions allow the progressive aspect. As to the second case, namely, the use of the progressive aspect in course/route descriptions, it also seems to be independent of the aspectual property of the expressions. Instead, it is contingent on the discourse function of the expressions. As has been demonstrated, when the expressions are understood as adding a further explanation to a particular

phase of the path described, in other words, as conveying background information, they tend to take the progressive form.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed the possibility of the occurrence of frequency adverbs and the progressive aspect in Type I subjective motion expressions in English. Although Matsumoto observes that frequency adverbs are excluded and the progressive aspect is highly restricted, we have shown that his observations are not borne out. We have also investigated when frequency adverbs can appear in Type I subjective motion expressions and what functions the progressive forms of the expressions carry out. With respect to the former, we have proposed the condition involving the sense of iteration which licenses the occurrence of frequency adverbs. As to the latter we have limited our attention to the two cases where the progressive forms are frequently found. Namely, the use of the progressive aspect in captions and in the discourses describing the courses/routes of the paths described. Based on several previous researches on the use of the progressive aspect in captions, we have concluded that the progressive Type I subjective motion expressions in captions serve to convey the speaker's or writer's higher degree of subjective perspective. Regarding the progressive aspect used in the discourse describing the route/course of a path, we have revealed, making use of the analysis by Williams, that it tends to be used when it serves to add a further explanation to a particular phase of the path depicted. As a result of our discussion, it has become clear that both frequency adverbs and the progressive aspect do not work as reliable diagnostics for identifying the stativity of the verb of the Type I subjective motion expression in English. It has also been confirmed that especially when Type I subjective motion expressions with frequency adverbs are used to describe the iteration along a particular path, the implicit subjective motion along the path is essential for the iterative interpretation of the adverbs involved. Furthermore, we have indicated that the expressions behave as stage-level states as far as the context of the perception verb *see* is concerned.

We hope that this work will contribute to deeper understanding of the syntactic and semantic properties of Type I subjective motion expressions in English.

Notes

* This paper is an extended and revised version of the talk given at a linguistics colloquium held by the linguistics research group of Modern Languages and Modern Cultures on December 8, 2010 at Tsukuba University. We would like to express our gratitude for the audience and their valuable comments. Special thanks are also due to Priscilla Ishida, who has given us helpful information on some of the examples presented in this paper, and Masaki Yasuhara, from whom we have benefited greatly through fruitful discussions. We also wish to express our deep appreciation to two anonymous reviewers for their beneficial and insightful comments.

1 For the constraints put on the kinds of verbs used in these expressions, see Matsumoto (1996).

2 *Subjective motion* is called *fictive motion* by Talmy (1983) and *abstract motion* by Langacker

(1986). See Matlock (2004) for some of the grammatical and semantic characteristics of English Type I subjective motion expressions.

3 Although Csirmaz calls the adverbs like *always*, *often* and *sometimes* "adverbs of quantification," we are going to use the term "frequency adverbs" in the following discussion.

4 We are aware that the relation between a frequency sentence and a base sentence is not always straightforward. For example, *Bill often drinks a beer* cannot directly be related to *#Bill drinks a beer* (see Rimell (2004) for details). However, we are going to ignore such cases in the following discussion.

5 One more example of a generic sentence (underlining added):

- (i) As a larger woman I get sick of reading romance novels where the woman is always small / thin with nice curves, breasts, etc and the man is always tall, strong, good looking, etc.

(http://www.amazon.com/forum/romance?_encoding=UTF8&cdForum=FxM42D5QN2YZ1D&cdThread=TxAMGLBI2C0CDQ)

6 Magri (2009) deals with the unacceptability of the sentences in (12) by employing scalar implicatures and common knowledge. Compared with our analysis, his is far more formal and extensive, focusing on not only frequency sentences but also other sentences such as *#Some Italians come from a warm country*, although subjective motion expressions which will be dealt with here are not included.

7 We are indebted to one of the reviewers for calling our attention to this point.

8 For comparison see the following example (underlining added):

- (i) However, the trail often runs through parks that have other trails that are open to bikes, often crossing the bike trails. (<http://archive.mtbr.com/00/0EFDE589.php>)

Here, the intersection relation depicted by the base sentence is not unique because the reference point is plural and that makes iteration possible.

9 The use of "from here" in this example shows that the imaginary mover is functioning as the point of reference for the deictic expression "here" which indicates the particular place occupied by the mover along the path described. We thank one of the reviewers for bringing this to our attention. See also note 15.

10 Compare (17b) with the following acceptable sentence (underlining added).

- (i) We occasionally [sic] coast round the towers, and both here and on the opposite side of Pevensey, the road sometimes descends to the beach, giving us a full view of the ocean close at our feet.

(http://www.archive.org/stream/anhistoricaland00scotgoog/anhistoricaland00scotgoog_djvu.txt)

The underlined sentence of (i) is similar to (15a) and (15b) in that its reference point (*the beach*) has a shape with long spatial extent. That makes it possible for the single path (*the road*) to descend to the reference point (*the beach*) multiple times, conforming to the condition (13).

11 The usual captioned use of the simple present tense, as in (17) may be distinguished from the captioned use of the simple form of Type I subjective motion expressions, because the former is an instance of "historic present," while the latter seems to belong to the "imaginary present" (see

Leech 2004:17), although this distinction is not relevant for our discussion.

12 For a recent increase in the use of the progressive form, see Aarts et al. (2010). (We would like to express our gratitude to one of the reviewers for drawing our attention to this article.) For the interpretative use of the progressive form, see Ljung (1980), Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and Leech et al. (2009).

13 According to one of the reviewers, the progressive form used in captions tends to have a "focusing function" and it focuses on a frozen moment of the situation in a photograph. We believe that this function can be regarded as deriving from combining the notion of the speaker's or writer's higher degree of subjective perspective and the freezing function.

14 The notions of "pushing the action forward" and "conveying situations that do not push the action forward" may have some relation to those of "foregrounding" and "backgrounding" respectively (see Hopper and Thompson (1980) for the latter notions).

15 Notice the use of the expression "From here" in this discourse. Here again the subjectivity of Type I subjective motion expressions manifest itself and some conscious entity in the implicit motion is functioning as a deictic center (see note 9). The same holds true for the expression "At this point" in (25b) and (30a). Again, we owe this observation to one of the reviewers.

16 According to Jäger (1999), similar locative expressions such as (ia) below are also acceptable in the context of the verb *see*. In fact, we can sometimes encounter this kind of example on the Web, as shown in (ib) and (ic) (underlining added).

(ia) From the airplane, we saw cities lie along the river. (Jäger (1999))

(ib) In the moonlight Arviragus saw the sea lie smooth and cold.

(<http://www.web-books.com/Classics/ON/B1/B1119/07MB1119.html>)

(ic) When we turned the corner just seconds outside we saw the Castle loom ahead and above
- ten minutes walk if you want, or longer if you dawdle past the old bookshops on the
way! (<http://www.valentineguesthouse.com/reviews.htm>)

However, there seems to be disagreement as to the acceptability of such a construction. For example, Gisborne (2010:206) cites the example *We saw Rome stand on the Tiber* and claim that it is unacceptable, regarding the complement as an individual-level state.

17 We refrain from claiming that they *are* stage-level predicates because, as Jäger (1999) points out, the distinction between individual-level predicates and stage-level predicates is not dichotomous and the behavior of the predicates involved can vary depending on what diagnostic tool is used.

18 Here, although the term "predicates" is used, it should be understood that we also mean by this term the sentence which contains the predicate and reflects its semantic property directly.

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