What Makes the Exception to Manner/Result Complementarity*

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1. Introduction

In this paper we investigate the validity of manner/result complementarity, which is proposed by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1991, 1992, 1995, to appear) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010). They argue that cross-linguistically, eventive verbs fall into at least two classes, i.e. result verbs (e.g. *break*, *slice*) and manner verbs (e.g. *hammer*, *wipe*), and propose that no verb encodes manner and result simultaneously. This restriction is called manner/result complementarity. Some studies (Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012), Husband (to appear), among others) provide a certain apparent counterexample to Rappaport Hovav and Levin's proposal: so-called manner-of-killing verbs (e.g. *guillotine, drown*). I show that they are not real counterexamples. In addition, I point out that there is a special case that can be seen as the exception to manner/result complementarity in Japanese; certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs do encode manner and result simultaneously in narrative contexts. These two arguments lead us to conclude that manner and result cannot be packaged into one verbal root through a (normal) human perspective, to which manner/result complementarity applies, but they can, through the omniscient narrator's perspective which allows the exception to manner/result complementarity.

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 gives a brief sketch of manner/result complementarity and provides the definition of "result". Section 3 reviews Beavers and Koontz-Garboden's (2012) proposal that manner-of-killing verbs are counterexamples to manner/result complementarity, and shows that they are actually not. Section 4 presents a special case where certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs do encode manner and path (as a subtype of result) simultaneously in narrative contexts. I argue that packaging manner and path into a motion verb in Japanese is acceptable only when the motion event is described through the omniscient narrator's perspective. Finally, section 5 summarizes the paper and offers a conclusion.

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2. A Brief Sketch of Manner/Result Complementarity

2.1. Manner/Result Complementarity

Cross-linguistically, eventive verbs can be divided into at least two classes: manner verbs and result verbs, as shown in (1).

(1) a. *Manner Verbs*:
nibble, rub, scribble, sweep, wipe, flutter, laugh, run, swim, ...

b. *Result Verbs*:
clean, cover, empty, fill, freeze, kill, melt, open, arrive, die, enter, faint, ...

(Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010:22), with slight modifications)

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) characterize each class as follows: manner verbs specify the manner of carrying out an action, and result verbs specify a resulting state of carrying out an action. Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1991, 1992, 1995, to appear) argue that manner and result verbs are found in complementary distribution, and propose a constraint on verbal root meaning, as shown in (2).

(2) *Manner/Result Complementarity*: Manner and result meaning components are in complementary distribution: a verb lexicalizes only one.

(Levin and Rappaport Hovav (to appear:2))

The core of this hypothesis is the "lexicalized" components of meaning. These are lexical entailments, which must be entailed in all uses of a verb, regardless of contexts (Dowty (1991)). For instance, the manner verb *wipe* lexicalizes a manner involving surface contact and motion. Although this action is typically performed with the intension of removing stuff from a surface, this removal can be explicitly denied (e.g., *I just wiped the table, but none of the fingerprints came off.* (Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010:22))). Likewise, although the result verb *clean* lexicalizes a state that often results from actions normally carried out to remove stuff from a surface, no particular action is lexically specified (e.g., *I cleaned the tub {by wiping it with a sponge/by saying a magic chant}.* (*ibid.*)). In this way, manner/result complementarity is supported by the lack of verbs encoding both manner and result meaning components.

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) propose that manner/result complementarity follows from how event structures are composed, focusing on the number and place of lexical semantic roots (i.e. idiosyncratic components of verb

meaning). A single lexical semantic root can either modify an underlying ACT predicate, as in (3a), or be an argument of an underlying BECOME, as in (3b).

(3) a. [x ACT $_{\langle ROOT \rangle}$]
b. [[x ACT] CAUSE [y BECOME $\langle ROOT \rangle$]]
c. * [[x ACT $_{\langle ROOT \rangle}$] CAUSE [y BECOME $\langle ROOT \rangle$]]
d. * [[x ACT $_{\langle ROOT1 \rangle}$] CAUSE [y BECOME $\langle ROOT_2 \rangle$]]

Manner verbs are formulated as (3a), and result verbs as (3b). Roots are integrated into event structures as modifiers (e.g. (3a)) or arguments (e.g. (3b)) of predicates in the event structures. Roots are italicized and are in angle brackets. They are notated via subscripts when functioning as modifier. Note here that there is a generalization that "a root can only be associated with one primitive predicate in an event schema [or event structure], as either an argument or a modifier (Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010:25))." This predicts that no event structure will ever have both result and manner simultaneously, and hence (3c) is ruled out. Furthermore, Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) assume that there is only ever one root per lexeme, and hence (3d) is also ruled out. These two basic discussions account for the reason that no verbs encode both meanings simultaneously.

2.2. *Definition of Result*

Before going into the core of discussion, it is important to define what is meant by "result". Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) define results as scalar changes, "where a scalar is a set of degrees — points or intervals indicating measurement values — on a particular dimension (e.g. height, temperature, cost), with an associated ordering relation (Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010:28))."[1] The canonical examples of scalar change verbs are so-called degree achievement verbs such as *warm* in the sentence *I warmed the soup*, where the soup undergoes a change along a totally ordered temperature scale of degree of warmth.

Rappaport Hovav and Levin's definition of results seems to be problematic in that it yields an ontological mismatch: scalar changes are dynamic events, whereas result is a property/state. Husband (to appear) also points out a potential problem for the delineation of results. On the basis of Rappaport Hovav and Levin's definition of results, certain manner verbs seem to obtain some kind of results.

[1] Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) also apply the definition of result to the verbs in motion domain. For instance, the directed motion verb *ascend* involves a scale in the vertical dimension with the points ordered against the pull of gravity: an event of ascending must have an entity showing an increase in value on this dimension.

Observe the following example:

(4) # John ran in place, but he burned no calories.
(Husband (to appear:4))

Although this result seems to meet their definition of result in the way that calories that are saved as fat are expended with his running (i.e., the amount of calories decreased along his running), the fact remains that the verb *run* is not classified into result verbs. Moreover, on Rappaport Hovav and Levin's account, motion verbs like *cross* and *traverse* are not verbs of scalar changes, that is, result verbs. These verbs do not specify the direction of motion along the path, and hence they do not impose an ordering on the points on the path. As Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010) state, "the verb *cross* is equally applicable whether a traversal of the English Channel is from England to France or from France to England (p. 30)." The sentences involving these verbs, however, are incompatible with result-denial clauses. Observe the following examples:

(5) a. # Bill crossed the river, but he didn't reach the bank on the other side.
b. # I traversed the Indian Ocean, but I headed back to the start point on the way.
(6) # Mary entered the classroom, but she isn't in the classroom.

This behavior in (5) is identical to ones involving a canonical result verb like *enter*, as shown in (6). These results from (5) and (6) also lead us to suggest an alternative to Rappaport Hovav and Levin's definition of results.

To resolve such problematic points, we adopt Miyakoshi's (2010) definition of result. He defines it as an aspect after a change of state or change of location in a single event (i.e. "resultative phases" in Miyakoshi (2010)). On the basis of his proposal, "changes" along a scale should be assigned to the BECOME predicate in an event structure involving a result root (i.e. [y BECOME z]), not to result meaning components in themselves. Based on Miyakoshi's (2010) definition, the verb *run* can be classified into manner verbs because it is our encyclopedic knowledge but not the lexical entailment that makes the sentence in (4) unacceptable, and the verbs *cross* and *traverse* can also be classified into result verbs because they actually specify a mover's reaching the goal of motion.

In the following two sections, we will inspect whether the alleged counterexamples to manner/result complementarity specify a result state after a change of state/location in a single event. More specifically, in section 3 we deal

with manner-of-killing verbs that Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) analyze as a counterexample to manner/result complementarity. We argue that a "resulthood" meaning of manner-of-killing verbs such as death merely comes from our encyclopedic knowledge that people die when drowned, electrocuted, or guillotined; they do not encode result. In section 4, we present a genuine counterexample to manner/result complementarity, in which certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs do encode both manner and result in narrative contexts.

3. An Apparent Counterexample to Manner/Result Complementarity

This section investigates English manner-of-killing verbs that Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) regard as a counterexample to manner/result complementarity.[2] In what follows, section 3.1 outlines their observation. Section 3.2 points out some problems with their analysis and gives a closer look at English manner-of-killing verbs.

3.1. English Manner-of-Killing Verbs

Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) observe that manner-of-killing verbs, exemplified in (7), seem to encode both a result state and specific manners of bringing it about.

(7) Shane {drowned/electrocuted/guillotined} Sandy.
(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:334), with slight modifications)

Intuitively, the verbs in (7) designate the means of Shane's killing Sandy.[3]

The key issue here is whether or not manner-of-killing verbs lexicalize (i.e.

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[2] There is another type of apparent counterexamples to manner/result complementarity: so-called English manner-of-cooking verbs (e.g. *braise*, *poach*, etc.). Although I do not argue about these verbs in this paper, I am sure that they are also not real counterexamples to manner/result complementarity.

[3] Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012), using some diagnostics, show that manner-of-killing verbs encode manner. One of the diagnostics involves selectional restrictions on the subject. While result verbs permit inanimates and natural forces as well as animates to be their subject, manner verbs do not, as in (i). Manner-of-killing verbs, like manner-of-killing verbs, disallow inanimates and natural forces, as in (ii).

(i) a. {John/the hammer/the earthquake} broke the vase.
b. {John/#the stiff brush/#the earthquake} wiped the floor.
(ii) {John/#a sailing rope/#the wind} hanged Jesus.
(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:344-345), with slight modifications)

They argue that this contract between result verbs and manner and manner-of-killing verbs follows if manner and manner-of-killing verbs require specific actions of their subjects.

entail) a result state. Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) adduce two types of evidence for the assumption that manner-of-killing verbs encode result. A direct and simple way to diagnose result is to see if denying a result gives rise to a contradiction, as shown in (8).[4]

(8) a. # Shane just broke the vase, but nothing is different about it.
b. Tracy just wiped the floor, but nothing is different about it.
(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:337))

Canonical result verbs generate a contradiction with the continuation that denies a result, as in (8a), but manner verbs do not, as in (8b). Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:338) give their judgments that manner-of-killing verbs yield a contradiction with the result-denial clause that follows, as shown in (9).

(9) a. # Jane just drowned Joe, but nothing is different about him.
b. # Jane just crucified Joe, but nothing is different about him.
(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:338))

They provide as another piece of evidence the range of possible resultative constructions that the verb may appear in. It is generally said that with the range of possible resultative constructions, manner verbs are less constrained than result verbs, as designated in (10).

(10) a. # Kim broke the stick {across the room/purple}.
b. Cinderella scrubbed the table {clean/shiny/bare}.
(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:340-341), with slight modifications)

They point out that manner-of-killing verbs pattern like result verbs, in that resultative phrases that they occur with are more restricted, as shown in (11).

(11) a. # Shane electrocuted the prisoner to a crisp.

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[4] Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) adopt *but nothing is different about x* as the result-denial clause that can be uniformly applied to all kinds of results. This clause, however, may not apply to sentences involving certain manner verbs, as shown in (i).

(i) # Mary ran in the park for thirty minutes, but nothing is different about her.

Again, although the verb *run* is a genuine manner verb, the contradiction seems to be valid, at least, on the basis of our real world knowledge. In sections below, I will use result-denial clauses that deny the result that a verb is assumed to encode.

b. # Shane drowned Sandy blue.
c. When he came, his semen short circuited the sander and electrocuted him dead.

(Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012:341))

The sentences in (11) show that while manner-of-killing verbs can take resultative phrases specifying death, as in (11c), they cannot take resultative phrases that specify other end states, as in (11a) and (11b).

These two types of linguistic data lead Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) to conclude that manner-of-killing verbs encode a result meaning component as well as a manner meaning component.

3.2. A Close Look at English Manner-of-Killing Verbs

3.2.1. Some Problems Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012)

Superficially, the pragmatic contradictions and restricted resultative constructions above suggest that manner-of-killing verbs lexicalize a result. Beavers and Koontz-Garboden's (2012) argument, however, is not tenable for several reasons. First of all, as I noted in footnote 3, the result-denial clause *but nothing is different about x* that they adopt may deny not only the result meaning that a verb encodes but also an implication that is evoked by a predicate (actually, this result-denial clause over-applies to the sentence that a certain manner verb like *run*, as shown in (i) in footnote 3). Second, with the diagnostic involving the restricted resultative phrases, the distinction of the range of possible resultative constructions between result verbs and manner verbs is not so clear. Observe the following examples:

(12) a. John broke the egg into the bowl.
b. The butcher sliced the salami onto the wax paper.

(Goldberg (1995:171))

As (12) shows, the result verbs like *break* and *slice*, for instance, can be used with the resultative phrase *into NP* or *onto NP* denoting the goal of change of location as well as denoting the result state of change of state.

The range of resultative constructions that the prototypical manner verb *hammer* appears in seems to be restricted as well as one that result verbs appear in. For instance, despite a contextual support, the resultative constructions in (13) are unacceptable.

(13) a. [Situation: There is metal of which color changes from silver to blue when it was pounded by a hammer.]
John hammered the metal blue.
b. [Situation: John perfects the metal to a fine art by hammering it.]
John hammered the metal shiny.

Although Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) argue that the range of resultative constructions that manner verbs appear in is less restricted than one that result verbs appear in, as the sentences in (13) show, the resultative phrases that the manner verb *hammer* occurs with are highly restricted.

Moreover, according to all my three informants, as to manner-of-killing verbs, the sentences that Beavers and Koontz-Garboden (2012) judge to be unacceptable *are* fully acceptable, as shown in (14).

(14) a. Shane electrocuted the prisoner to a crisp. (= (11a))
b. The Romans crucified Jesus to the tomb.

As Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) mention, because the strict range of resultative constructions a verb appears in is still unrevealed, it is not suitable for the diagnostic for a verb encoding a result state.

We have reviewed Beavers and Koontz-Garboden's (2012) observation that all manner-of-killing verbs encode result, and shown that their analysis is problematic for several reasons. In what follows, we give a close look at manner-of-killing verbs; as an approximation, we review Husband's (to appear) observation of these kinds of verbs.

3.2.2. Two Types of Manner-of-Killing Verbs

As Husband (to appear) points out, manner-of-killing verbs can be divided into two classes in terms of aspectual properties: "Class I manner-of-killing verbs", which form achievement predicates and "Class II manner-of-killing verbs", which form activity/accomplishment predicates, as shown in (15).

(15) a. *Class I manner-of-killing verbs*: electrocute, drown, poison, etc.
b. *Class II manner-of-killing verbs*: guillotine, decapitate, etc.

He provides their different behaviors with *for*-duration modifiers as evidence for the distinction of the two classes. The examples of *for*-duration modifiers are given in (16) and (17).

(16) a. The State of Florida electrocuted Ted Bundy for 30 seconds.
b. Joe Delaney drowned for 5 minutes.
(17) # King Luis XVI was guillotined for 30 seconds.

According to Husband, the *for*-duration modifiers may admit an interruptive event interpretation with Class I manner-of-killing verbs, as in (16), but not with Class II manner-of-killing verbs, as in (17). With an interruptive event interpretation, the result meaning component is absent from Class I manner-of-killing verbs, which suggests that they do not lexicalize a result.

Husband also provides their different behaviors with *to death* resultative phrases. Observe the following examples:

(18) # Shane killed Sandy to death.
(19) a. The State of Florida electrocuted Ted Bundy to death.
b. Joe Delaney drowned to death.
(20) # King Luis XVI was guillotined to death.

There is an implicit generalization that only one result is possible per event. By the generalization, the result verb *kill* lexicalizes a result, and thus the resultative phrase that denotes the same meaning as the verb is blocked, as in (18). Following this line of reasoning, whereas Class I manner-of-killing verbs, as in (19), seem to lexicalize result which permits resultative phrases, Class II manner-of-killing verbs in (20) do not.

3.2.3. All Manner-of-Killing Verbs Do Not Encode Result

As we have seen in section 3.2.2, Husband (to appear) argues that while Class I manner-of-killing verbs do not lexicalize result, Class II manner-of-killing verbs do. I claim, however, on the basis of at least four arguments, that even Class II manner-of-killing verbs do not lexicalize a result. First, the *for*-duration test just shows that the events that Class II manner-of-killing verbs like *guillotine* denote are not durative events; they do not have subparts, where a subpart is defined as part of an event that is itself a separate event (Dowty (1979)). Note here that there are some manner verbs that denote punctual events (e.g., **Mary {knocked/kicked} the door for 30 seconds.*, with semelfactive reading). These verbs are callsed semelfactive verbs and clearly distinguished from achievement verbs, which is classified into result verbs. Thus, A verb denoting a punctual event is not the same as one entailing result.

Second, the sentences involving Class II manner-of-killing verbs *are*

incompatible with continuations that deny a result when an appropriate context is given. Consider a situation where an executioner guillotines an alien who is alive even without his head, or who can change his skin to super-alloy or diamond. In such situations, the result may be denied, as shown in (21).

(21) a. [Situation: The prisoner is an alien who is alive even without his head.]
The executioner guillotined the prisoner, but he didn't die.

b. [Situation: The prisoner is an alien who can change his skin to super-alloy.]
The executioner guillotined the prisoner, but his head couldn't be cut off.

(22) [Situation: The prisoner is an alien who is alive even without his head.]
The executioner killed the prisoner by cutting off his head, but he didn't die.

The sentences in (21) and (22) show that whereas the sentence involving the result verb *kill* yields a contradiction despite a contextual support, the sentences in (21a) and (21b) do not. As I mentioned in Section 2.1, the lexicalized components of meaning are lexical entailments, which must be entailed in all uses of a verb, regardless of contexts. This contrast between (21) and (22) tells us that the verb *guillotine* does not encode result. Notice here that, with the sentences in (21a) and (21b), the information on what the patient refers to is closely related to the contradiction that may occur. This suggests that even Class II manner-of-killing verbs do not entail the result state of death or otherwise; rather, these "resulthood" meanings come from our encyclopedic knowledge (or a "cultural unit" in Goldberg's (2010) term) that, for instance, life generally ends when his head is cut off.

Third, our claim can be supported by the incompatibility of Class II manner-of-killing verbs and "*in* resultative phrases" like *in pieces* (Namiki (2013)). It is generally said that resultative constructions with a result verb may be used with an *in*, as well as *into*, resultative phrase, as shown in (23), but those with a manner verb may be used only with an *into* resultative phrase, as shown in (24).

(23) a. Bill broke the vase {into/in} pieces.
b. Mary cut the tape {into/in} three pieces.

(24) a. Bill hammered the vase {into/*in} pieces.

b. The tiger clawed the curtain {into/*in} tatters.

Guillotine in Class II manner-of-killing verbs patterns like manner verbs on this diagnostic, in that while the *into* resultative phrase is compatible with the verb in the resultative construction, the *in* resultative phrase is not, as in (25).

(25) The executioner guillotined the prisoner {into/*in} two pieces.

This can be followed if *guillotine* is not a result verb.

Finally, we reinforce our claim that manner-of-killing verbs do not encode result, referring to the linguistic data that Husband uses to suggest that Class II manner-of-killing verbs encode result. It should be noticed that the form of the sentences involving Class II manner-of-killing verbs is not parallel to one involving Class I manner-of-killing verbs. As (17) and (20) are repeated as (26a) and (26b) respectively, these are used in the passive form while other sentences are not.

(26) a. # King Luis XVI was guillotined for 30 seconds. (= (17))
b. # King Luis XVI was guillotined to death. [5] (= (20))

I have shown, on the basis of the three discussions above, that Class II manner-of-killing verbs do not encode result. However, interestingly, when manner-of-killing verbs are used, regardless of their classes, the passivized sentences denote that the patient realized as Subject is killed in the manner that the verb designates. According to my informants, denying a result yields a contradiction when manner-of-killing verbs are used in the passive form, as in (27).

(27) a. # The alien was guillotined, but {he didn't die/his head couldn't be cut off}.
b. # Jim was drowned, but he was saved by the rescue team.

The sentences in (27) are judged to be odd even with the aid of the contexts like (21). This suggests that they denote the result state as well as manners of carrying out an action. In what follows, I will give an account for the unacceptability of the sentences in (27), in terms of the nature of passive.

[5] According to my informants, although the sentence in (26b) sounds redundant, the use of the verb *guillotine* with the resultative phrase *to death* in a sentence like *the executioner guillotined King Luis XVI to death* is fully acceptable. This indicates that the redundancy of the sentence in (26b) results from a property of the passive form.

As an approximation to this issue, Namiki's (2013) observation of the occurrence of "*in* resultative phrases" is useful. Namiki (2013) points out that although the resultative construction that a manner verb occurs in is not used with the *in* resultative phrase, as shown in (24), the one passivized can. Observe the following examples:

(28) a. The vase was hammered {into/in} pieces.
b. The curtain was clawed {into/in} tatters.
(cf. (24))

Namiki (2013) argues that the availability of *in* resultative phrases in (28) is attributed to the nature of the statal passive (cf. Langacker (1982)). In the statal passive, the process of an event is backgrounded and only the result state is profiled. This is borne out, at least, by the incompatibility of the statal passive and the agentive *by* phrase (e.g., *??The vase was hammered in pieces by John*). The unacceptability can be followed on the basis of the nature of the statal passive and the function of the agentive *by* phrase as focusing on the process of an event. Based on this argument, we can suggest that the past participles *hammered* and *clawed* in (25) denote a result state.[6]

Manner-of-killing verbs pattern like manner verbs, in that they cannot be used with an *in* resultative phrase, but they can, when passivized, as in (29).

(29) The prisoner was guillotined {into/in} two pieces.

With this in mind, the cancelability of a result in (27) can be accounted for in the following manner: the resultative interpretation of (27) is attributed to the nature of the statal passive, that is, the passive from "*be* + *-ed*" plus the latent meaning of manner-of-killing verbs. This leads us to conclude that manner-of-killing verbs do not denote a result state, although passivized sentences that some manner-of-killing verbs occur in does.

3.3. Interim Summary

In this section we have shown that manner-of-killing verbs do not lexicalize manner and result simultaneously, based on the four arguments. Although they may strongly evoke or imply a result state when the patient of an action is human, they do not entail any result states; a resulthood meaning comes from our real world

[6] The past participles *hammered* and *clawed* may correspond to what Embick (2004) calls "resultative participles", which refer to a result state of an event represented grammatically.

knowledge.

As I mentioned in section 2.1, manner/result complementarity rests on negative evidence; it is the lack of verbs lexicalizing both manner and result that supports the hypothesis. The discussion in this section leads us to conclude that manner/result complementarity is kept valid.

4. An Exception to Manner/Result Complementarity: Compatibility of a Japanese Manner-of-Motion Verb and a Goal Phrase in Narrative Contexts

Now let us turn to certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs in narrative contexts that can be taken to be a real counterexample to manner/result complementarity. Following Talmy (1991), we take "path" as a subtype of result. In Japanese, a verb-framed language (Talmy (1991)), motion verbs encoding a path (i.e. path verbs: *iku* 'go', *kuru* 'come', etc.) are compatible with a *ni*-phrase designating the goal of motion, while those encoding a manner of motion (i.e. manner-of-motion verbs: *aruku* 'walk', *hashiru* 'run', etc.) are not, as in (30).[7, 8]

(30) Taro-wa eki-ni {it-ta/?*aru-ita/?*hash-itta}.
Taro-TOP station-to {go-PAST/walk-PAST/run-PAST}.
'Taro {went/walked/ran} to the station.'

Incidentally, a manner-of-motion verb can co-occur with a goal *ni*-phrase if the verb in the *-te* particle form (e.g. *arui-te* 'by walking') is used with a path verb (e.g. *eki-ni arui-te itta* '(I) went to the station by walking'). In this way, in Japanese the occurrence of a goal *ni*-phrase is licensed by a verb encoding a path.

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[7] The following abbreviations are used in the glosses of examples: ACC stands for accusative case marker, DAT for dative case marker, GEN for genitive case marker, NOM for nominative case marker, PAST for past morpheme, QUOT for quotative particle, TOP for topic marker.

[8] Although I will gloss *-ni* as the preposition 'to' in the following examples, the meaning of 'to' is not inherent to *-ni*. For instance, a *-ni* phrase can designate a location in existential, as exemplified in (i), where I gloss *-ni* as 'at', and it can also designate a cause, as in (ii), where I gloss *-ni* as 'DAT'.

(i) Teeburu-no-ue-ni hon-ga aru.
table-GEN-top-at book-NOM exist
'There is a book on the table.'

(ii) Taro-wa Hanako-ni hon-o yom-ase-ta.
Taro-TOP Hanako-at book-ACC read-cause-PAST
'Taro made Hanako read a book.'

The role of the *-ni*-marked participant is always determined by the verb, so *-ni* cannot be always glossed as 'to'.

With the example in (30) in mind, observe the attested example in (31). As Namiki (2012) points out, certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs *are* compatible with a goal *ni*-phrase in narrative contexts, even without the aid of a path verb.

(31) Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
eki-ni aru-ita.
station-to walk-PAST
'The two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.'
(Y. Sou, *Incoherent Earth*)

The occurrence of the goal *ni*-phrase without a path verb in (31) clearly tells us that the verb *aruita* 'walked' encodes not only manner but also result, because as Japanese is classified into verb-framed languages in which path is characteristically encoded in the verb.

What is important here is that an expression like (31), in which a manner-of-motion verb co-occurs with a goal *ni*-phrase, is acceptable only when uttered from the omniscient narrator's perspective.[9] A question arising here is why the omniscient narrator's perspective has an effect on the grammaticality of the co-occurrence of a manner-of-motion verb with a goal *ni*-phrase; why can certain manner-of-motion verbs lexicalize result when the speaker perceives from the omniscient narrator's perspective? To answer the question, I begin with the

[9] It is not surprising that omniscient narrator's perspective can be related to the grammaticality. For instance, one might have a line like (ib) in a story, but not in a usual conversation.

(i) a. {Boku/*Mary}-wa kanashi-katta-(yo).
{I/Mary}-TOP sad-PAST-(I-tell-you)
'{I/Mary} was sad.'
b. Yama-dera-no kane-o ki-ite, Mary-wa kanashi-katta.
mountain-temple-GEN bell-ACC hearing-by Mary-TOP sad-PAST
'Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary was sad.'
c. Yama-dera-no kane-o ki-ite, Mary-wa kanashiga-tta.
mountain-temple-GEN bell-ACC hearing-by Mary-TOP sad-PAST
'Lit. Hearing the bell of the mountain temple, Mary looked sad.'
(Kuroda (1973:384), with slight modifications)

In Japanese a predicate formed by *ureshii* or *kanashii* 'be + happy/sad' (i.e. so-called internal subjective predicates) is compatible with first person (e.g. *boku* in (ia)), but it is incompatible with second and third person (e.g. *Mary* in (ia)). However, in a narrative story, third person may be the subject of internal subjective predicates, as shown in (ib). Given that if the speaker (= "I") is narrating the story from his (= "my") point of view, then the speaker must say (ic) where the verb *kanashigaru* is used to mark evidentiality, the acceptability of (ib) can be attributed to the omniscient narrator's perspective.

property of the omniscient narrator's perspective. The omniscient narrator can be thought of as God. As Langacker (2000) mentions, without God, there is no such thing as a neutral, disembodied, or omniscient observer; although an observer's experience is determined by the observer's position with respect to the entity observed, only God can be detached from such relationship between the observer's position and the entity observed. This is why the deictic verb like *iku* 'go' or *kuru* 'come' is not used with the expression like (31); deictic verbs in motion expressions represent the orientation of an entity moving from the viewpoint of the speaker. Based on the property of the omniscient narrator, we can say that these verbs are not necessarily used in the omniscient narrator's expressions.

The engagement of the omniscient narrator's perspective is borne out by at least three kinds of linguistic evidence. As Kuroda (1973) observes, the expression that is uttered through the omniscient narrator's perspective cannot be used with any linguistic base related to the speaker-hearer interpersonal relationship and the formality of the expression. More specifically, an expression uttered from the omniscient narrator's perspective is incompatible with sentence-final particles like *yo* 'I tell you', as shown in (32).

(32) * Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
eki-ni aru-ita-yo.
station-to walk-PAST-I-tell-you
'The two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.'

This can be explained in the following manner: Japanese has expressions that Hirose (1995) calls "addressee-oriented expressions" (e.g., *yo* 'I tell you' and *ne* 'you know', or polite verbs *desu/masu*, etc.). When these expressions are used, it means that the speaker presupposes the existence of an addressee, and that s/he pays attention to her/his socio-psychological relationship with the addressee. The omniscient narrator, however, need not pay any attention to the speaker-addressee interpersonal relationship, because s/he is God, who can be detached from such interpersonal relationship.

Similarly, the omniscient narrator's expression cannot be used with the formality usage of the verb *desu* or *masu*, as shown in (33), although it can be used with normal narrative expressions.

(33) * Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence

eki-ni aruk-imashi-ta.
station-to walk-polite-PAST
'The two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.'

This can be followed if we assume the omniscient narrator's property; the formality is sensitive to the aim of communication, which needs the presence of the hearer. In Japanese the presence of the hearer characteristically leads the speaker to pay attention to the interpersonal relationship between them. Thus the formality usage of the verb is also incompatible with omniscient narrative expressions.

Another piece of evidence comes from the grammaticality contrast between (31) and (34).

(34) * Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
eki-ni aru-ita to boku-wa omot-ta.
station-to walk-PAST QUOT I-TOP think-PAST
'I thought the two exiting the police box walked to the station in silence.'

In (34), the same motion expression as in (31) is embedded in the complement of *omou* 'think'. The presence of *omou* in (34) indicates that the event of their walking to the station is perceived through the thinker's perspective. From the grammatical contrast between (31) and (34), we can say that what makes the co-occurrence of manner-of-motion verbs with a goal *ni*-phrase possible is the perception from the omniscient narrator's viewpoint.

As to Japanese deictic verbs, Matsumoto (2012) makes an interesting observation: according to him, in motion expressions Japanese characteristically prefers encoding deixis to doing manner or result. On the basis of his observation, Japanese can be analyzed as a language in which we subjectively construe a motion expression. This is illustrated in Figure 1, where it is shown that in Japanese the observer's viewpoint is always placed either on the mover side or the goal side. Recall here that it is the lack of the deictic verb in the sentence in (31) that is the idiosyncratic aspect. This leads us to assume that the omniscient narrator's perspective causes objectification that is a shift from a subjective construal of some entity to a more objective one. This is illustrated in Figure 2, where the viewpoint functions as so-called bird's-eye. As Langacker (2000) mentions, objective construal is a default status in English. Taking it into consideration, the construal of a motion event through the omniscient narrator in Japanese is to be analogous to

one through normal human perspective in English. It should be noticed here that as Kageyama (1996) points out, English is classified into a result-oriented language, in which a result meaning is characteristically encoded by the preposition or particle (which is called "satellites" in Talmy (1991)). Recall here that Japanese is classified into a verb-framed language, where there is no satellite and a result meaning must be encoded by the verb. Therefore, in Japanese, when the construal of a motion event is objectified, result is to be encoded by the verb, which is the only way to encode it.

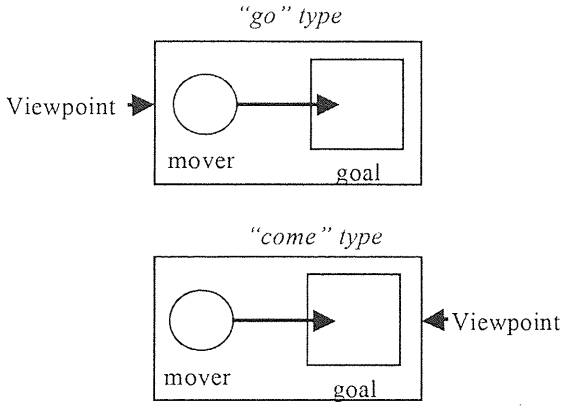

Figure 1

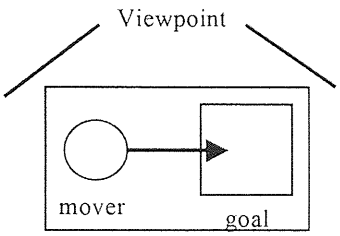

Figure 2

The incompatibility of modal expressions with omniscient narrator's expressions provides a piece of evidence for our analysis that omniscient narrator's perspective is a trigger of objectification in Japanese. Witness the following example.

(35) * Kooban-o de-ta hutari-wa mugon-no-mama
Police-box-ACC exit-PAST the-two-TOP in-silence
eki-ni aru-ita-kamoshirenai.
station-to walk-PAST-may
'The two exiting the police box might walk to the station in silence.'

The sentence in (35) shows that the omniscient narrator's expression in (31) is incompatible with the modal verb *kamoshirenai* 'may'. This can follow if we assume that the motion event designated in (35) is objectively construed by the observer through the omniscient narrator's perspective; the modal verb expresses the degree of speaker's commitment to accepting the proposition as valid, which is

conflict with the objective construal of an entity.

To sum up, Japanese manner-of-motion verbs in narrative contexts encode result as well as manner: in other words, these are real counterexamples to manner/result complementarity. Encoding both manner and result is permitted by the omniscient narrator's perspective, which causes objectification that moves Japanese close to English as a result-centered language.

5. Conclusion

In this paper we investigated the phenomena that seem to be an apparent counterexample to manner/result complementarity proposed by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010). As to English manner-of-killing verbs, we showed that they are not problematic to this complementarity, by applying to them the test of cancelability of result. Although these verbs may evoke some kind of result, they do not necessarily lexicalize or entail a result meaning component. We also showed that there is a real counterexample to manner/result complementarity: certain Japanese manner-of-motion verbs in narrative contexts. As to the case of Japanese manner-of-motion verbs, we argued that certain of them do encode both manner and path as a subtype of result simultaneously, and that what makes it possible to package manner and path together is the perspective of omniscient narrator.

From the discussion in the last two sections, we can safely conclude that manner and result cannot be packaged into one verbal root through a (normal) human perspective, to which manner/result complementarity applies, but they can, through the omniscient narrator's perspective, which motivates an exception to manner/result complementarity. I hope that this work contributes to a deeper understanding of the lexicalization constraint.

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