

- (6) *č'ale-r qə-s_wa-ɤ.*
 boy-ABS (3SG.S)PRV-dance-PAST
 'The boy danced (for some time).'
- (7) *č'ale-r ča-ɤe.*
 boy-ABS (3SG.S)run-PAST
 'The boy started running || *ran for some time.'

Thus, these verbs belong to the ingressive-atelic actional class (following the nomenclature proposed in Tatevosov 2002).

③ Verbs of manner of motion allow phrases denoting the Goal of motion, cf. (8a). Peculiarly, the presence of such phrases does not affect the aspectual character of the VP, cf. (8b) and English examples (9) where the Goal phrase shifts the verb to another class (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995: 188):

- (8) a. *č'ale-r adre nepqə-č'e jesə.*
 boy-ABS other bank-INS (3SG.S.DYN)swim
 'The boy is swimming to the other side of the river.'
- b. *č'ale-r adre nepqe-č'e jesa-ɤe.*
 boy-ABS other bank-INS (3SG.S)swim-PAST
 'The boy started swimming || *swam to the other side of the river.'
- (9) a. *The soldiers marched (for an hour || ??in an hour).*
 b. *The soldiers marched to the tents (in an hour || ??for an hour).*

④ When combined with temporal adverbials of duration (*for an hour*), Adyghe verbs of motion behave as simple Atelic predicates, i.e. they denote the process of motion, cf. (10):

- (10) a. *č'ale-r səhat-nəq_we ča-ɤe.*
 boy-ABS hour-half (3SG.S)run-PAST
 'The boy ran for half an hour.'
- b. *č'ale-r psə-m səhat-nəq_we š'-jesə-ɤ.*
 boy-ABS river-OBL hour-half (3SG.S)LOC-swim-PAST
 'The boy swam in the river for half an hour.'

The Goal phrase is compatible with such adverbials, cf. (11):

- (11) a. *č'ale-r wənə-m səhat-nəq_we ča-ɤe.*
 boy-ABS house-OBL hour-half (3SG.S)run-PAST
 'The boy ran towards the house for half an hour (but did not reach it yet).'
- b. *samoljwet-ər səhat-jə-t_wə kraswedər bəbə-ɤe.*
 airplane-ABS hour-INF-two Krasnodar (3SG.S)fly-PAST
 'The airplane flew in the direction of Krasnodar for two hours.'

⑤ These verbs allow also adverbials of temporal extent (*in an hour*), which modify the initial phase of the eventuality, cf. (12):

- (12) *č'ale-r səhat-nəq_we-č'e ča-ɤe.*
 boy-ABS hour-half-INS (3SG.S)run-PAST
 'The boy started running in half an hour.'

When combined with the Goal phrase, adverbials of extent modify the initial phase as well, although here the judgments of native speakers are less consistent, cf. (13):

- (13) a. *samoljwet-ər səhat-jə-t_wə-č'e kraswedər bəbə-ɤe.*
 airplane-ABS hour-INF-two-INS Krasnodar (3SG.S)fly-PAST
 'The airplane took off for Krasnodar in two hours || *in two hours reached Krasnodar.'

- b. *č'ale-r səhat-naq_we-č'e wəne-m ča-Ɂe.*
 boy-ABS hour-half-INS house-OBL (3SG.S)run-PAST
 'The boy started running || ran to the house in half an hour.'

⑥ The problem:

☞ Why does not the Goal phrase affect the aspectual character of the VP?

3. Aspectual derivation of directed motion verbs

① An ordinary way for verbs of manner of motion to assume the directed motion meaning is the use of a 'deictic' preverb *qe-* which denotes 'motion towards the speaker or a pragmatically salient location'. The Simple Past form of motion verbs combined with this morpheme no more denotes the starting point of motion, but rather expresses its endpoint, regardless of whether the actual Goal of motion is overtly present in the sentence or not, cf. (14):

- (14) a. *č'ale-r qe-ča-Ɂ.* b. *č'ale-r wəne-m qe-ča-Ɂ.*
 boy-ABS (3SG.S)PRV-run-PAST boy-ABS house-OBL (3SG.S)PRV-run-PAST
 'The boy came (here) running.' 'The boy came to the house running.'

② These *qe-*derivatives combine with temporal adverbials of duration and extent, too, cf. (15):

- (15) a. *č'ale-r taqjəq-jə-tfə wəne-m qe-ča-Ɂ.*
 boy-ABS minute-INF-five house-OBL (3SG.S)PRV-run-PAST
 'The boy ran towards the house for five minutes.'
 b. *č'ale-r taqjəq-jə-tfə-č'e wəne-m qe-ča-Ɂ.*
 boy-ABS minute-INF-five-INS house-OBL (3SG.S)PRV-run-PAST
 'The boy ran to the house in five minutes.'

③ The problem restated:

☞ Why does the Goal phrase affect the aspectual character of the VP with the telicizing prefix, and does not do so without it?

4. Perspective from the syntax of event structure

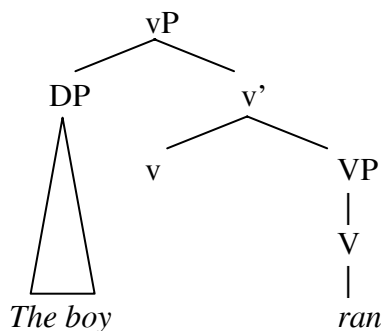
① The observed peculiar aspectual behavior of Adyghe verbs of manner of motion is probably best explained with help of the well-articulated syntactico-semantic representation of event structure, such as proposed, e.g., by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1998), Travis (2000) or Ramchand (2003).

The Lexical-Conceptual Structure (LCS) of the verbs of manner of motion does not have a change-of-state component, cf. (16), rather, they profile the entry-into-the-activity component, associated with agency (cf. Ritter & Rosen 2000)

- (16) *run* = [ACT (x) <*run*'>]

In syntactic terms, such verbs are associated with a vP and a VP projections, but do not have a R(esult)P(hrase) responsible for change-of-state meanings, cf. Figure 1.

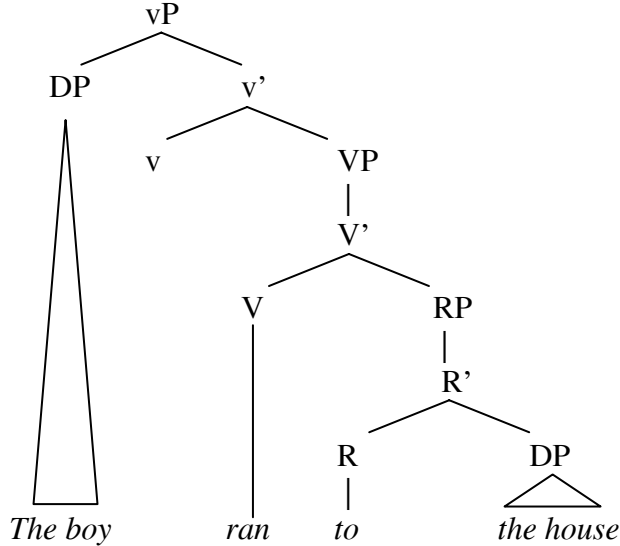
Figure 1. The basic structure of manner of motion verbs



The temporal adverbials, obviously, attach above the vP level, and thus cannot affect the internal structure of the event. The Goal phrase, however, in languages as English projects an RP, thus radically modifying both the LCS, cf. (17), and the syntactic event structure, cf. Figure 2.

(17) *run to the house* = [ACT (x) <*run*'> CAUSE [BECOME [*be_at*' (x, *house*')]]]

Figure 2. The structure of directed motion verbs.



② The crucial difference between Adyghe and the more familiar European languages derives, however, from the polysynthetic nature of this language. In order to project a phrase inside the vP and count as an argument in the composition of the aspectual semantics of the predicate, an Oblique DP in Adyghe must be licensed by an overt marker in the verb, either a derivational prefix, or an agreement prefix. Otherwise, it is a mere adjunct and cannot play any role in the aspectual composition. Cf. the following examples of transitive and antipassive verbs:

(18) a. *č'ale-m hantχ_wəps-ər ə-šxə-β.*
 boy-OBL soup-ABS (3SG.O)3SG.A-eat-PAST
 'The boy ate the soup.'

b. *č'ale-r hantχ_wəpsə-č'e sX-a-βe.*
 boy-ABS soup-INS (3SG.S)eat-ANTI-PAST
 'The boy fed on (just) soup.'

(19) a. *č'ale-m txəl-ər ə-ž'ə-β.*
 boy-OBL book-ABS (3SG.O)3SG.A-read-PAST
 'The boy read the book (through).'

b. *č'ale-r txəl-əm je-ž'-a-β.*
 boy-ABS book-OBL (3SG.S)3SG.IO-read-ANTI-PAST
 'The boy read the book.'

In (18b) a monovalent antipassive derived from the transitive verb *šxən* 'to eat' is atelic and the Instrumental adjunct denoting the Patient of the situation is irrelevant for the aspect. On the contrary, in (19b) a bivalent antipassive version of the verb *ž'an* 'to read' contains a prefix cross-referencing the demoted Patient, and the latter retains its status as an argument of the verb and its role in the aspectual composition: both the transitive (19a) and the antipassive (19b) variants are telic, as shown in (20):

(20) a. *č'ale-m txəl-ər mef-jə-t_wə-č'e ə-ž'ə-β.*
 boy-OBL book-ABS day-INF-two-INS (3SG.O)3SG.A-read-PAST
 'The boy read the book in two days.'

- b. *č'ale-r txəλ-əṃ mef-jə-t_wə-č'e je-ž'-a-B.*
 boy-ABS book-OBL day-INF-two-INS (3SG.S)3SG.IO-read-ANTI-PAST
 'The boy read the book in two days.'

③ The difference between simple and *qe*-derived verbs of motion lies precisely in that with the former the Goal phrase is an adjunct, while with the latter it is an argument licensed by the prefix and realized in the RP projection. The DP in both cases is optional; however, its absence with underived verbs implies no endpoint of motion at all, whereas with the derived verbs it behaves like a 'deictic zero' in the sense of Fillmore (1986), cf. (21):

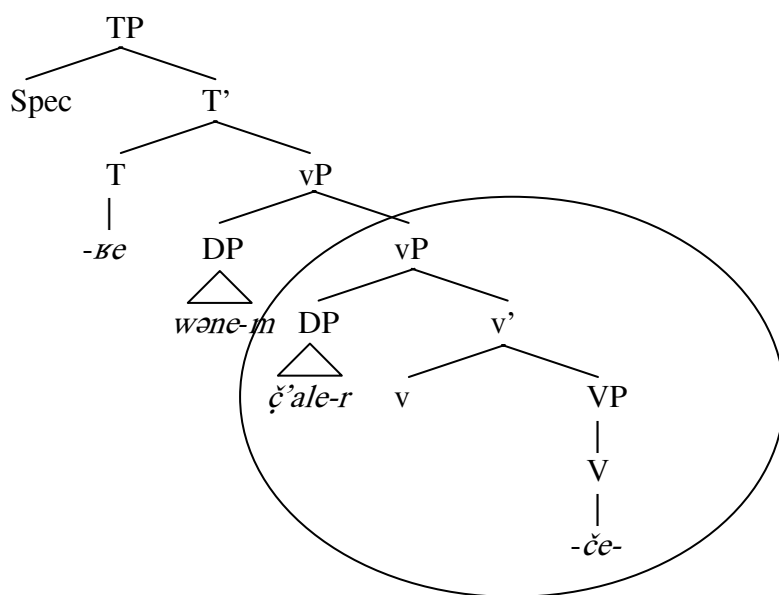
(21) *qe-č'en* = [ACT (x) <*run*'> CAUSE [BECOME [*be_at*' (x,y)]]]

The structures of derived and underived manner of motion verbs in Adyghe are shown in Figures 3 and 4. The circled areas represent the level at which aspectual semantics are composed.

Conclusion

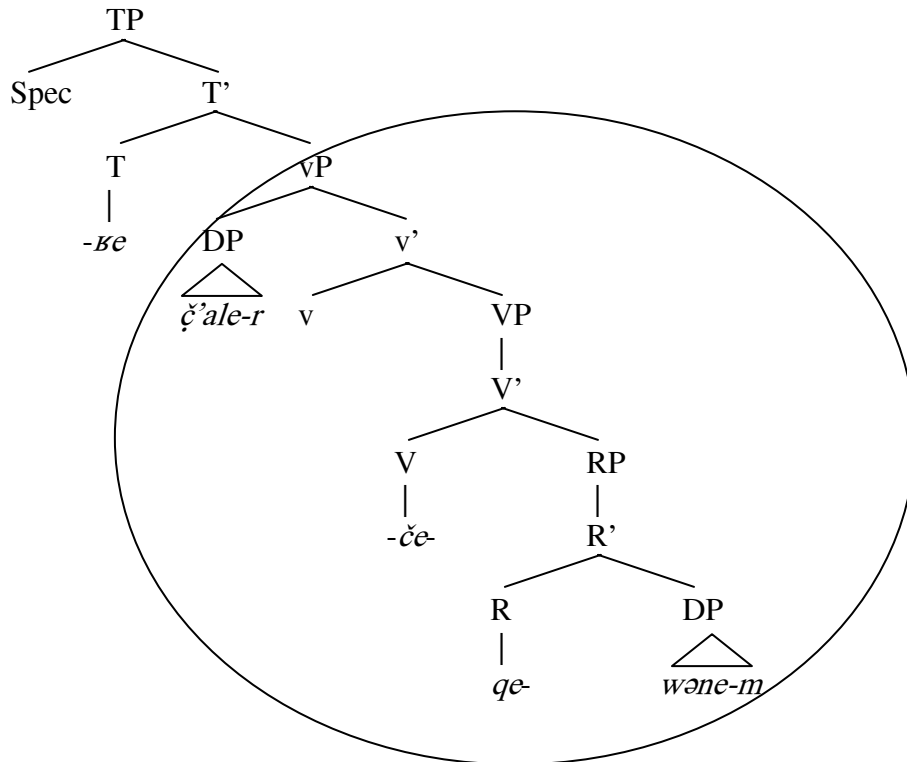
☞ In the European languages, it is the presence and form of Direction/Goal phrases which affects the event structure of the VP. On the contrary, in Adyghe (and probably other polysynthetic languages as well) it is the structure of the verb itself which licences particular aspectual interpretations. What is relevant for the event structure is not the presence of an overt Goal phrase but rather the prefix which introduces an argument into the LCS and the syntax. This is most probably due to the overall 'verby' character of polysynthetic languages.

Figure 3. The structure of simple verbs of manner of motion in Adyghe¹



¹ This structure does not imply anything particular about the actual order of constituents in Adyghe.

Figure 4. The structure of derived verbs of manner of motion in Adyghe



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