

The Finnish way to travel: Verbs of motion in Finnish frog story narratives

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Belonging to a broader typological framework based on the typological division into satellite-framed and verb-framed languages by Leonard Talmy (see e.g. Slobin 1996, 2004), our paper investigates the use of motion verbs in Finnish frog story narratives. We recorded and transcribed twelve university students' narratives based on the wordless picture book, *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer 1969), and found 119 different verbs of motion. We will demonstrate that Finnish behaves like a typical satellite-framed language; it has a rich lexicon of manner, it uses elaborate ground description, and also source, goal, medium and milestones are frequently used.

Keywords: motion lexicalization, frog story narratives, Finnish verbs of motion

1 Introduction

This paper addresses motion lexicalization in Finnish narratives based on the picture-book, *Frog, Where Are You?* (Mayer 1969; see also Berman & Slobin 1994), elicited from adults (university students). The study is part of a broader typological framework. Dan I. Slobin (1996, 2004) and Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2004), for example, have studied the typology of motion lexicalization in narrative data from frog stories in various languages (for a list of languages tested, see Slobin 2004, n. 5). To our knowledge, however, frog story studies have not been used to classify verbs of motion in Finnish.¹

Leonard Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) has suggested a typological dichotomy of languages, according to which languages are classified as satellite-framed (also referred to as S-languages for short) or verb-framed (V-languages) depending on the association of semantic components with surface elements. In satellite-framed languages the core information of the path of movement is conveyed by a satellite to a verb, whereas in verb-framed languages the same information is allocated to the verb. The manner component, however, is conveyed in a separate expression in the case of verb-framed languages. English has been considered as a prototypical example of a satellite-framed language and Spanish has been given as an example of a typical verb-framed language (Slobin 1996: 195). According to Talmy's (1991) typology, Finnish

¹ However, Finnish verbs of motion in the language of science and technology are the subject of Hanna Niemelä's doctoral dissertation (2003); Jari Sivonen's doctoral dissertation (2005) deals with the cognitive semantics of verbs expressing indirect path in Finnish; also Pajunen (1999) deals with the subject motion verbs.

belongs to the group of satellite-framed languages together with, for example, English, Swedish, German and Russian (see Talmy 1991: 486). This implies that Finnish a) has frequent and expressive items of manner, b) describes the ground often and elaborately and c) devotes less attention to a description of the scene setting and more attention to the dynamics of movement.

In this paper, we will present results of a study on the expression of motion in Finnish narratives elicited from the frog stories. With the aim to test the proposals above, we will have a closer look at certain scenes in the stories. These are the four falling scenes and the deer scene which consists of six narrative segments. We will see that Finnish indeed behaves like a satellite-framed language.

2 Background

A motion event can be defined as the description of the movement of a protagonist from one place to another, i.e. movement with respect to ground, or movement with respect to another object. The definition implies that path is obligatory. Manner, instead, is optional. However, a motion event may not result in the movement of a protagonist from one place to another, if, for example, just one part of the protagonist is in motion.

Our study on the expression of motion in Finnish is based on a series of analyses started by Dan Slobin (1996), who, following Talmy's distinction, has studied verbs of motion in English and Spanish. According to Talmy (1985, 1991), in verb-framed languages the core informa-

tion is allocated to the verb, and in satellite-framed languages it is allocated to other elements called satellites. In the case of motion events, the basic information consists of the motion of an entity along a path in a specified direction. For example, in English, which belongs to the group of satellite-framed languages, the verb conflates information about manner, and path information is expressed in satellites such as *down* or *out*. For example, *the bottle floated out*, where the satellite *out* conveys information about the path (Slobin 1996: 196).

In the case of Spanish, which is a verb-framed language, the path is conflated with the verb and manner is expressed separately. The Spanish equivalent to the example sentence above would be *la botella salió flotando*, ('the bottle exited floating'), i.e. the path information is included in the verb, and the manner of movement is expressed by a gerund, while in the English the verb contains the information about the manner (*ibid.*).

In Finnish, the characteristic pattern for the expression of motion is a manner verb and a satellite carrying information about the path:

- (1) puunkolosta lehahti pöllö
 tree hole CASE MARKER SUFFIX: whip:IMP 3.
 SING owl:NOM
 'an owl whipped from the tree hole'

The information about the path is included in the compound noun *puunkolosta*. The base form of the noun is *puunkolo* 'tree hole' and the path is expressed by the case marker suffix *-sta* which conveys the meaning 'out of

something.’ The manner of motion is conveyed by the verb *lehahtaa* ‘whip’, which denotes a flapping movement made by e.g. wings.

Following Slobin (1996), Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2004: 321) gives a summary of the areas where the typological differences between V-languages and S-languages can be found:

- S-languages have a frequent and rich lexicon for manner.
- S-languages have frequent and elaborate ground (source, medium, milestone and goal) description.
- S-languages pay more attention to the dynamics of movement than to the static description of scene setting.

3 Method and material: Finnish verbs of motion in frog stories

The data used in this study was collected in Kouvola in the spring of 2007. Twelve university students narrated the events in the wordless picture book *Frog Where Are You?* (Mayer 1969). The stories focus on four different events where the movement is downwards. The moving object is either a human, an animal, or an inanimate object. The narratives were recorded and transcribed, and all motion verbs in the transcripts were collected; they appear in Table 1.²

² The English translations are our own, and chosen to best fit the narrative context. They may therefore not necessarily correspond to dictionary translations of the verbs.

TABLE 1. Motion verbs appearing in the transcripts with English translations.

<p><i>ajaa</i> ‘chase’ <i>ampaista</i> ‘dart’ <i>edetiä</i> ‘advance’ <i>erottaa</i> ‘separate’ <i>etsiä</i> ‘search’, ‘look for’ <i>hakea</i> ‘fetch’ <i>heiluttaa</i> ‘wag’, ‘wave’ <i>heittää</i> ‘throw’ <i>hiipiä, hipsiä</i> ‘tiptoe’ <i>hivuttautua</i> ‘creep’ <i>horjahtaa; horjua</i> ‘lose balance’ <i>huiskaista</i> ‘wave off’ <i>huitoa</i> ‘wave’ <i>hyppelehtiä, hypähtää</i> ‘skip’ <i>hyppiä, hypätä</i> ‘jump’ <i>hyökätä</i> ‘attack’, ‘charge’ <i>hävitä</i> ‘disappear’, ‘vanish’ <i>höristää</i> ‘perk one’s ears’ <i>ilmaantua, ilmestyä</i> ‘appear’ <i>istahtaa</i> ‘sit down’ <i>jahdata, jahtailla</i> ‘chase’ <i>jarruttaa</i> ‘brake’ <i>jolkotella</i> ‘run leisurely’ <i>juoksuttaa</i> ‘run someone around’ <i>juosta</i> ‘run’ <i>kaatua</i> ‘fall’ <i>kahlata</i> ‘wade’ <i>kantaa</i> ‘carry’ <i>karata</i> ‘run away’ <i>karistaa</i> ‘shake’ <i>kavuta</i> ‘climb’ <i>kellauttaa</i> ‘tumble someone over’ <i>kiidättää</i> ‘rush’ <i>kiivetä, kivuta</i> ‘climb’ <i>kohota</i> ‘rise’</p>	<p><i>kohottaa</i> ‘raise’ <i>kumartua</i> ‘bend over’ <i>kupsahtaa</i> ‘tumble’ <i>kurkata, kurkistaa, kurkistella</i> ‘peek’ <i>kuskata</i> ‘to run something somewhere’ <i>kävellä</i> ‘walk’ <i>kömpiä</i> ‘scramble’ <i>lehahtaa</i> ‘whip’, ‘flap’ <i>lekutella</i> ‘hover’ <i>lennellä</i> ‘fly around’ <i>lennähtää, lentää</i> ‘fly’ <i>liikkua</i> ‘move’ <i>lipsahtaa</i> ‘slip’ <i>livahtaa</i> ‘sneak’ <i>loikata, loikkia</i> ‘spring’ <i>lähestyä</i> ‘approach’ <i>lähteä</i> ‘leave’ <i>löytää</i> ‘find’ <i>mennä</i> ‘go’ <i>molskahtaa</i> ‘splash’ <i>nostaa, nostella</i> ‘raise’ <i>nousta</i> ‘arise’ <i>ottaa</i> ‘take’ <i>paeta</i> ‘flee’ <i>palata</i> ‘return’ <i>parveilla</i> ‘converge’ <i>pinkaista, pinkoa</i> ‘dart’ <i>poistua</i> ‘exit’, ‘leave’ <i>pomppia</i> ‘jump’ <i>pompsahtaa</i> ‘bump’ <i>pudota</i> ‘fall’ <i>pudottaa</i> ‘drop’ <i>puistella</i> ‘shake’</p>	<p><i>pujahtaa</i> ‘slip’ <i>pumpsahtaa</i> ‘bump’ <i>purkaantua</i> ‘erupt’ <i>putkahtaa</i> ‘pop up’ <i>pysähtyä</i> ‘halt’ <i>pysäyttää</i> ‘stop something’ <i>pöllähtää, pölähtää</i> ‘puff’ <i>pörräillä, pörrätä</i> ‘buzz’ <i>ravistella</i> ‘shake’ <i>rientää</i> ‘hurry’ <i>romauttaa</i> ‘tumble something down’ <i>rynnätä</i> ‘dash’ <i>ryömiä</i> ‘crawl’ <i>saapua</i> ‘arrive’ <i>saattaa</i> ‘escort’ <i>saavuttaa</i> ‘gain someone’ <i>seurata</i> ‘follow’ <i>siirtyä</i> ‘move’ <i>suistua</i> ‘fall’, ‘swerve’ <i>suunnata</i> ‘head’ <i>syöksyä</i> ‘rush’ <i>sännätä</i> ‘dart’ <i>tipahtaa, tippua</i> ‘fall’ <i>tulla</i> ‘come’ <i>tupsahtaa</i> ‘bump’ <i>työntää</i> ‘push’ <i>tökkäistä</i> ‘poke’ <i>töniä, tönäistä, töytäistä</i> ‘shove’ <i>uida</i> ‘swim’ <i>viedä</i> ‘take’ <i>viilettää</i> ‘dash’ <i>viittoa, vilkuttaa</i> ‘wave’</p>
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To begin with, let us look at this inventory of motion verbs in the Finnish frog stories. Compared to the Spanish, English and Basque motion verbs, the list of Finnish verbs is longer and far more comprehensive; there are 119 different verbs, while the Spanish stories yielded 27, English 47 (however, combined with satellites the number of English verb types is 123) and Basque 58 (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004: 322). This is partly due to the fact that in our categorisation of the verbs, we have followed Pajunen (1999), who includes several verbs seemingly missing from the frog stories in the other languages, e.g. verbs denoting hand movements, including the verbs *huiskaista*, *huitoa*, *viittoa* and *vilkuttaa*. Pajunen also categorises verbs denoting searching (*etsiä*) and finding (*löytää*) into verbs of movement. The motion verbs in the 12 stories include both verbs of self-movement and caused movement, e.g. *hypätä* ‘jump’ and *pudota* ‘fall’.

Another reason for the large number of verbs is the fact that there are several synonyms for some of the movements: e.g. *pompsahtaa* and *pumpsahtaa* both have the same meaning; they are onomatopoeic words denoting the soft thumping sound made by someone e.g. falling on their behind. *Hyppelehtiä*, *hyppiä*, *hypätä* and *hypähtää* all denote jumping or skipping; the first two involve continuous movement, while the second two indicate a single jump. The same applies to the verbs *loikata*; to spring or jump once, and *loikkia*; a continuous action. *Lentää* and *lennellä* both mean flying, but the latter is less goal-oriented, and could perhaps be translated as ‘flying around’; a similar distinction can be made between the near synonyms *pörräillä* ‘buzz around’ and *pörrätä*

‘buzz’. Finally, the difference between intransitive and transitive verbs is also often very slight: e.g. *kohota* (intransitive) and *kohottaa* (transitive); *pysähtyä* (intransitive) and *pysäyttää* (transitive).

Finally, it should be noted that the narrators were all language students, and thus perhaps possess a larger vocabulary than an average Finnish adult does. Particularly such verbs as *jolkotella*, *kellauttaa*, *lekutella*, *pompsahtaa* and *pumpsahattaa* are extremely figurative and very low-frequency words in everyday Finnish and indicate creativity from the part of the user.

4 Narrative analysis

In connection with verbs of movement, Slobin (1996) distinguishes two different cognitive frames: the discourse frame, and the typological frame, noting that “a motion verb is situated in the *discourse frame* of an account of a *journey*; and, at the same time, it is situated in a *typological frame* that provides and limits the means of expressing components of a motion event in a particular language” (Slobin 1996: 195, original emphases). Speakers start to learn the discourse frame in the childhood and complete it as grown-ups although there is no constraint to express motion events in a certain way. The native language directs the speaker’s attention and, therefore, the speaker expresses information in a particular way (Berman & Slobin 1994: 612). Slobin suggests that the effects of typologies on usage may influence speakers’ narrative attention to certain conceptual domains, such as dynamics or setting. The speaker formulates his or her

utterances in a way which fits the discourse frame typical to his or her culture and the lexicalization pattern of the language. The experience may be the same but the way we talk about it varies (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004: 320).

4.1 Manner of motion

In Finnish, the manner of motion can be expressed in several different ways. In fact, Finnish verbs are extremely productive tools in the description of motion. Numerous verb variants can be created by affixes: e.g. *hyppelehtiä*, *hyppiä*, *hypähtää*, *hypätä*; ‘jump, skip’ (cf. the verb list in Table 1). Also, case endings can be used to indicate manner of motion. The instructive form of the second infinitive verb form marked with *-n*, for example, may indicate manner of motion. In this case, the verb often occurs with another verb of motion, e.g. *lensivät ajaen* ‘they flew by chasing’.³ (Niemelä 2003: 157.)

Slobin (2000: 119, as cited in Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004: 325) divides verbs of motion into seven semantic categories:

1. Rapid movement (in the Finnish narratives e.g. *ampaista*, *kiidättää*, *viilettää*, *sännätä*, *pinkoa*, *pinkaista*, *livahtaa*, *lennähtää*, *hyppelehtiä*, *kurkata* and *lehahtaa*)
2. Leisurely motion (*jolkotella*, *lelutella* and *parveilla*)
3. Smooth motion (*kupsahtaa*, *lennellä*, *pompsahtaa* and *pumpsahattaa*)
4. Obstructed motion (*hivuttautua*, *kavuta*, *kivuta* and *kömpiä*)
5. Furtive motion (*hiipiä* and *hipsiä*)

³ This form is actually quite similar to the Spanish example in 2.

6. Manners of walking (*kävellä*)
7. Manners of jumping (*hyppelehtiä, hyppiä, hypähdellä* and *loikkia*)

Verbs belonging to all of these categories can be found in the Finnish narratives, though some categories, in particular, verbs of rapid movement and manner of jumping are better represented in the verb list than others. Manner is expressed often and in various ways by verbs of motion. There are also examples of manner adverbials (e.g. *jarruttaa äkisti* ‘brake suddenly; *lähestyä varovasti* ‘approach cautiously or gingerly’), and the use of metaphor (*palata häntä koipien välissä* ‘return with his tail between the legs’). Some Finnish verbs of motion also seem to fall outside of Slobin’s categorisation altogether: these include the above-mentioned hand movement verbs and verbs denoting finding and searching.

Slobin (2004: 6) argues that, rather than a two-way typology as suggested by Talmy, there is actually a continuum of manner salience. The argument is based on a study on manner-of-motion verbs. Slobin analyzed the emergence of the owl in five V-languages (Spanish, French, Italian, Hebrew and Turkish) and five S-languages (English, German, Dutch, Russian and Mandarin) and concluded that the differences between the two language groups are dramatic. S-languages use manner verbs much more often than V-languages, but there are also distinct differences between the languages belonging to the same language group; in Germanic languages, the use of manner verbs is relatively low compared to Mandarin, and even more so compared to Russian.

Since Finnish has been categorized to the group of S-languages, it can be expected to be characterized by high manner salience. As Finnish narratives are missing from Slobin's data, we decided to analyze the emergence of the owl in Finnish narratives with the aim of situating Finnish language in the continuum as illustrated in Table 2:

TABLE 2. The Finnish narrators' descriptions of the appearance of the owl (picture 11).

20a 08-093	yhtäkkiä sieltä puun kolosta pölähtää pöllö
20b 08-069	onkalosta on lehahtanut tai pölläh tänyt pöllö
20c 08-033	puunkolosta lehahti pöllö
20d 08-028	pöllö ilmaantui puun kolosta
20e 08-035	mikä sai puunkolossa asustavan pöllön lentämään ulos kolostaan
20f 08-028	puunkolosta hyökkää pöllö
20g 08-065	kun äkillisesti pöllö syöksyi esiin puunkolosta
(20h 08-048	pöllökin vihastui)
20i 08-023	pöllö lensi myös kolostaan ulos
20j 08-057	sieltä [kolosta] lehahti vain iso pöllö
(20k 08-052	se säikäytti pojan niin)
(20l 08-049	sieltä löytyy pöllö joka taas)

In describing the emergence of the owl (picture 11), eight out of twelve Finnish narrators use a manner-of-motion verb; compared with the results in Slobin (2004: 7), Finnish seems to hold the second place after Russian in the continuum of manner salience.

No fewer than five narrators use the verbs *lentää* ‘fly’ or *lehahtaa* ‘whip’, both of which indicate that the owl appeared having the wings spread. Two narrators use the near synonyms *pölähtää* and *pöllähtää*, indicating that the owl exiting the tree hole is quite confused. Finally, two narrators use the verbs *hyökätä* ‘attack’ and *syöksyä* ‘rush’ which convey the meaning of aggressive movement towards the intruder. Just one narrator uses a neutral verb *ilmaantua* ‘appear’ and three narrators do not describe the appearance of the owl, although two of them indicate that the owl did not like to get disturbed.

In addition to manner verbs, there are other means to describe the manner of motion. For example, adverbials can be used to compensate for the absence of manner in V-languages (Slobin 2004: 12). But strangely enough, adverbials can also be used to qualify manner verbs in S-languages. As Slobin (2004: 12) notes, English-speaking narrators often add more richness to manner verbs by adverbials, for example. In this respect, Finnish seems to behave like a typical S-language. In describing the boy approaching a tree trunk (picture 20), seven out of twelve Finnish narrators describe this event by using a manner-of-motion verb and three of them qualify the verbs by adverbials. One narrator uses a neutral verb of motion *lähestyä* ‘approach’ qualified with an adverbial *varovasti* ‘gingerly’. Our data on the expression of manner in Finnish seems to confirm Talmy’s categorisation of Finnish as a typical S-language. This can be seen in Table 3:

TABLE 3. The Finnish narrators' descriptions of the boy approaching a tree trunk (picture 20).

20a 08-093	kurkistetaan varovasti tästä tämän ajopuun toiselle puolelle
20b 08-069	poika on hivuttautunut puun rungon viereen
20c 08-033	hiljaa hiipivät läheisen puun rungon viereen
20d 08-028	he uivat puun rungon viereen
20e 08-035	molemmat varovasti lähestyivät kelottunutta kaatunutta puuta
20f 08-028	poika ja koira uivat puunrungon luokse
20g 08-065	hipihiljaa kaksikko hiipi kohti puun runkoa
20l 08-049	sit ne lähtee hiipimään tommosen puunrungon suojissa sitä kurnutusta kohti

In our data, manner is in most cases included in a manner-of-motion verb which may have numerous variants created by using affixes. Quite often manner verbs are accompanied by manner adverbials, and occasionally by metaphors. In the continuum of manner salience Finnish seems to be placed among high-manner-salient languages. According to Slobin, the speakers of high-manner-salient languages acquire a large manner lexicon already in the preschool years and pay a great attention to manner of motion (2004: 27).

4.2 Path of motion

In the above accounts narrating the emergence of the owl, path seems to be as important as manner. The path is always out of the tree hole, but the destination (towards the boy) is not mentioned. The path is expressed by the local case ending *-sta*. Verbs *pölähtää* and *pöllähtää* indicate that the owl has been disturbed unexpectedly, and it is not quite aware what is going on. Verbs *lehahtaa* and *lentää* indicate the manner of coming out of the hole; *lehahtaa* also conveys a sense of flapping wings, while *lentää* is a more neutral motion verb for flying. Verbs *hyökätä* and *syöksyä* indicate that the owl has been angered by the disturbance. Only one verb, *ilmaantua*, is neutral, indicating motion but not manner.

This is in accordance with Slobin's (2004: 11) characterisation, according to which "S-languages tend to use manner verbs with associated path forms". Slobin (2004: 17) also notes that typically in S-languages "path occurs as a 'satellite' to a motion verb". Slobin (1996: 201) calls clauses where direction is expressed by the satellite or the verb alone *minus-ground* clauses. In contrast to these, he distinguishes *plus-ground* clauses, where either the source or goal (or both) is mentioned. Overall, in Slobin's data the English narratives use more plus-ground clauses than the Spanish. When examining data from the four scenes in which a character or object falls or is thrown downward, only 15 per cent of English-speaking adult narrators describe downward motion in these four scenes with a bare verb (Slobin 1996: 200).

Similarly, in the Finnish narratives the use of bare verbs is rare, and so is the use of verb plus satellite; i.e. plus-ground clauses are more common. In the plus-ground clauses, the goal is expressed more often than the source, but expressing both is as rare as the use of minus-ground clauses (only 1–2 narrators in each falling scene). In the dog scene (picture 6), only one narrator (20j) uses a bare verb. In (2), the verb is *tipahti* ‘fell’. Two narrators include both source and goal. In (3), the source is expressed by the word *ikkunalauta* ‘windowsill’ having the local case ending *-lta*, while the goal is indicated by the word *maa* ‘ground’ and the local case ending *-han*. Five narrators give the source only (4), while four give the goal (5).

(2)	20j 04a026	sitten Jeppe tipahti päässään se lasipurkki
(3)	20a 04a038	ja hups se koira tippuu maahan sieltä ikkunalaudalta
(4)	20f 04a014	koira putoaa ikkunasta
(5)	20i 04a011	Rekku putosi maahan

Compared to Slobin’s analysis of English narratives (1996: 201), where the percentage was 18% minus-ground clauses and 82% plus-ground clauses, the Finnish narratives have a higher percentage of plus-ground clauses, 87%.

However, Finnish differs from typical S-languages in that the satellite is often optional. In our data gathered from the four falling scenes, the six minus-ground clauses contain a bare verb, whereas no satellite can be found. This is likely to be caused by the fact that satellite particles

may be somewhat excessive in Finnish, as the same effect can be achieved by the verb alone. In (6), the downwards direction is obvious from the verb *pudota* ‘fall, go down’ and the satellite *alas* ‘down’ is not needed.

(6) 20b 12a098 poika ja koira **putoavat** yhdessä

According to Slobin (1996), “linguistic analyses typically deal in terms of a *path* or *trajectory* lying between *source* and *goal*” (see Slobin 1996: 202, original emphases; see also Hakulinen, Vilkuna, Korhonen, Koivisto, Heinonen & Alho 2004: 470). The deer scene with six narrative segments is an example of a journey with a source, milestones, a medium and a goal. In Slobin’s (1996: 202) examples, an English adult narrator uses clause-chaining, while younger narrators use clause-compacting, which means that two grounds (source, medium, milestone, or goal) are mentioned in relation to a single verb. According to Slobin (1996: 203), Spanish narrators give just one piece of information with one verb. Finnish narrators change the verb after crossing the boundary (escape from the jar, fall down from the window).

The Finnish narrators seem to be goal-oriented. In the segment of the deer scene (picture 17), where the deer throws the boy over a cliff into a pond, the source (a head, a cliff) is mentioned by six narrators as in (7), while the goal (a pond, a lake, water) is mentioned by eight narrators (8). The narrators use locative inflections, and an illative case indicates the goal as *-een* in (8), also directional adverbs *alas* ‘down’ and *kohti* ‘towards’ are used in this occasion.

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| (7) | 20a 11-167 | ja Tomi tipahtaa sieltä pään päältä
alas |
| (8) | 20i 11-034 | niin että Simo sekä Rekku lensivät
alas järveen |

Also, the segment from the picture 8, where the boy and the dog make their way to the forest nearby, is goal-oriented. The narrators do not mention the medium or any milestones; only the goal (the forest) is mentioned, as if the boy and the dog moved there in an instant.

- | | | |
|-----|------------|---|
| (9) | 20i 05-014 | sammakon etsinnät jatkuivat
läheisessä metsässä |
|-----|------------|---|

In Slobin's study, 100 per cent of American adult narrators provided three or more segments of the journey in the deer scene which has six segments altogether. Finnish adult narrators act very much the same way; 100 per cent of Finnish adult narrators provided three or more segments, and nine out of twelve provided at least four segments. In this respect, Finnish behaves like a typical S-language.

TABLE 4. Number of segments in the deer scene.

- 6 segments – none
- 5 segments – 3 narrators
- 4 segments – 6 narrators
- 3 segments – 3 narrators

This holds for the description of settings as well. The Finnish narrators do not pay a lot of attention to the description of states. Only one of the narrators (20k) de-

scribes the setting, telling that “siinä oli pieni joki, johon sekä poika että koira sitten joutuivat aika töminällä” (there was a small river there into which the boy and the dog got with a great noise).

Slobin concludes that “English-speakers may devote more narrative attention to the dynamics of movement because of the availability of verbs of motion (often conflated with manner) that can readily be associated with satellites and locative prepositional phrases to trace out detailed paths in relation to ground elements”. (Slobin 1996: 205) The English pattern seems to be true of Finnish as well. If the protagonist has difficulties to move from one place to another, in English and in Finnish the narrator uses a verb of manner, while in Spanish the path is described and the verb is neutral.

5 Conclusions

All in all, our analysis of the frog story narratives confirms that Finnish behaves like a typical S-language: it has a rich lexicon of manner, it uses elaborate ground description, and also source, goal, medium and milestones are frequently used, as in e.g. “koira iloisesti hyppelehtii pojan edellä lammessa” (the dog happily skips in front of the boy in the pond), or “ampiaisia pörrää pesän ympärillä” (bees buzz around the hive). Finnish clearly pays more attention to the dynamics of movement than to static scene setting (cf. Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004: 321). There also seems to be a great variety of different motion verbs in Finnish (119 different verbs denoting motion occurred in our data), and many verbs can have several

synonyms or otherwise closely related verb forms (e.g. *hyppiä*, *hyppelehtiä*). The use of satellites, however, is not necessary in Finnish because the information coded in the satellites in e.g. English can in Finnish be conveyed by the various case endings in nouns, e.g. “koira putoaa ikkunasta” (the dog falls out of the window), “koira on työntänyt päänsä purkkiin” (The dog has pushed his head into the jar).

6 Implications to translation and the need for further research

As translation scholars, we are naturally interested in what kind of implications the typological differences between languages may have to translation. It would seem that, in particular when translating from a verb-framed language into a satellite-framed language, there might be a risk of producing an impoverished lexicon of motion, especially if the translator is not aware of the fundamental differences between the source and target languages.

We intend to pursue the matter in the near future by comparing the verbs found in the Finnish frog story narratives with verbs found in the corpus of Finnish translated texts (Käännössuomen korpus; see e.g. Mauranen & Jantunen 2005).

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