Cough and joke. Concomitance co-event in Swedish motion constructions.

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Manner of motion is a co-event type that has been treated extensively in the research of motion typology. However, as noticed by Talmy (2017), there are other co-events that have received less attention. One such example is concomitance, which denotes an activity that "co-occurs with the main Motion event and is an activity that the Figure of the Motion event additionally exhibits" (Talmy 2000:46, also cf. Israel 1996; Beliën 2008; Olofsson to appear). The question asked in this paper is to what extent this co-event is represented in motion event description in Swedish. As a point of departure, consider the following examples.

- (1) Siri hostade iväg till bussen ('Siri coughed off to the bus')
- (2) Siri skojade runt på stan ('Siri joked around in the city')

In example (1), the verb *hosta* 'cough' is used in a double adverbial construction that consists of a verb, the directional adverb *iväg* 'off' and a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *till* 'to' denoting the goal of the motion. In example (2), the verb *skoja* 'joke' is used in a structurally similar construction that consists of a verb, the directional adverb *runt* 'around' and the prepositional phrase headed by *på* 'on' denoting the restricted area in which the motion takes place. None of the verbs *hosta* and *skoja* are motion verbs but rather activities the moving subject is performing while moving. Both (1) and (2) are novel and hence examples of productive uses of the [VERB-*iväg-till*] 'verb-off-to' construction and the [VERB-*runt-på*] 'verb-around-on' construction respectively.

In this talk, which builds on a comprehensive corpus study of 17 Swedish motion constructions (Olofsson 2018), I will show that mainly a few of the most productive constructions are used with concomitance verbs, while the major part of the constructions are used only with a set of common motion verbs (such as *springa* 'run' and *åka* 'go bv vehicle').

This leads to the assumption that in order to capture the use of novel verbs in motion event descriptions, such as the concomitance activity verbs, one needs to account for specific (partially lexically filled) motion constructions (cf. Boas 2008).

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