

# Motion events in English: The emergence and diachrony of manner salience from Old English to Late Modern English<sup>1</sup>

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English, a prototypical example of a Satellite-framed language (Talmy 1985, 2000), characteristically encodes manner of motion in the main verb and path in a satellite (*John ran into the house*). In this article I examine developments in the encoding of motion events from Old English to Late Modern English, in the light of Slobin's (2004a) diachronic model for the emergence of manner salience; also discussed is the extent to which the shape and size of the English motion verb lexicon is a result of the specific properties of its morpholexical and morphosyntactic resources.

## 1. Introduction: Talmy's typology of motion events

One of the most influential works in the field of semantics since its publication nearly forty years ago is Leonard Talmy's crosslinguistic typology of lexicalization patterns, especially in relation to the representation of motion events (Talmy 1975, 1985, 1991, 2000, 2007), as seen in (1) and (2):

- (1) He went into (the room).
- (2) The pencil rolled off (the table).

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A motion event, according to Talmy (2000: II, 25–67), consists of four components: (a) a figure moving with respect to another entity; (b) the reference entity, or ground; (c) the path followed by the figure with respect to the ground; (d) the motion. Thus in (1) and (2), *he* and *the pencil* function as the figure, *the room* and *the table* as the ground, *into* and *off* express path, and *went* and *rolled* motion.

Motion events can differ in terms of their degree of structural complexity: one can differentiate between a unitary event as in (1), which indicates only one dimension of the motion (in this case, the path information, i.e. *into*), and a complex event as in (2). A complex motion event encodes or ‘conflates’ within a single clause an additional component of motion, very often the manner. Thus a manner, in addition to a motion, is expressed by *rolled* in example (2), and by *ran* in (3):

- (3) I ran down the stairs.

Talmy’s concern is with how these various meaning components are realized in surface expression. He pays attention in particular to two classes of surface elements, verbs and satellites, and their patterns of *lexicalization* or ‘regular association’ with one or more of those meaning components (see Talmy 1985: 59). Satellites (Talmy 2000: II, 102) can be either bound affixes or free words, and encompass a number of grammatical forms which have traditionally been treated independently of each other, such as English verb particles, German separable and inseparable verb prefixes, and Latin and Russian verb prefixes. In this article, the inventory of English satellites will be considered to include verb particles proper (*in*, *out*, *off*, *along*, *around*, etc.), prepositional and adverbial phrases, and elements such as *together*, *apart* and *forth*.<sup>2</sup>

- (4) I ran **out** (of the house).  
 (5) They slammed **together**.  
 (6) She crawled **in our direction**.  
 (7) She walked **there**.

Based on how the component path is mapped onto syntactic structure in a complex motion event, Talmy (1975, 1985) claimed that the world’s lan-

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<sup>2</sup> Prepositional and adverbial phrases are not considered satellites in Talmy’s categorization, but, as has often been pointed out (see Narasimhan 2003: 149–150; Beavers, Levin & Tham 2010: 339; Croft et al. 2010: 205–206), they serve the same function as satellites proper in indicating path-related notions.

guages generally seem to divide into two distinct classes: *satellite-framed* languages (S-framed languages) such as English, German, Swedish, Russian and Chinese, which characteristically encode manner in the main verb and path in a satellite (as in examples (2)–(7)), and *verb-framed* languages (V-framed languages) such as Spanish, French, Turkish and Semitic, which characteristically express path in the verb root (cf. Spanish *entrar* ‘enter’, *salir* ‘exit’, *llegar* ‘arrive’, *cruzar* ‘cross’, *acercarse* ‘approach’, etc.), and leave the expression of manner to an independent, usually adverbial or gerundive type constituent whose presence in the clause is optional and, indeed, is often not expressed at all:

- (8) *La botella salió de la cueva (flotando).*  
 the bottle moved-out from the cave (floating)  
 ‘The bottle floated out of the cave.’

Typically, S-framed languages (henceforth also referred to simply as *Manner languages*) have a whole series of manner-of-motion verbs in common use that express motion occurring in various manners or by various causes: *walk, run, jog, trot, glide, leap*, etc.

It must be stressed that Talmy’s binary typology refers to typical linguistic practice, and not to categorical differences between invariances. In other words, Talmy has always recognized the existence of variation in the encoding of motion events within one and the same language, as when he draws attention to English verbs such as *enter, exit, cross* and *arrive*, which conflate motion + path (e.g. *I exited the plane through a rear door; Peter crossed the street*) and hence follow the pattern prevalent in Path languages. But as he also notes, in a language like English the pattern with a manner verb as in (2)–(7) constitutes “[the] most characteristic expression of Motion” (Talmy 2000: II, 27), in that it is colloquial rather than literary in style; occurs frequently rather than occasionally in speech; and is “pervasive, rather than limited – that is, a wide range of semantic notions are expressed in this type” (Talmy 2000: II, 27).

## 2. Revisions and extensions of Talmy’s typology of motion events

Recent work on motion events has led to a revision of Talmy’s typology in a number of ways. Most notably, Slobin (2004a: 249ff) and Croft et al. (2010) have proposed that it should be expanded to include further types

of systems, such as those found in languages with serial verb constructions like Emai (an Edoid language of Nigeria) or Thai, in which both manner and path are expressed as a main verb, that is, by means of ‘equipollent’ elements that are equal in formal linguistic terms, and appear to be equal in force or significance.

In addition, different writers have at various times suggested that the differences observed across languages in the encoding of motion events cannot be understood merely as differences in the preferred patterns of lexicalization of meaning in verbs and satellites. Thus Narasimhan, looking at Hindi and English, explores the possibility that Talmy’s typology can be explained not just in terms of lexical (word-level) meaning, but rather in terms of “the role that phrase-level frames or ‘constructions’ play in the grammar of each language” (Narasimhan 2003: 127; see also Pedersen 2009). Likewise, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 300) point out that “[their] own impression is that certain properties of the prepositional system of a language – particularly the expression of the notions of location and goal – interact with the lexicalization patterns that a language makes available to give rise to the different patterns of behavior found across languages”. More recently, Beavers, Levin and Tham (2010: 333) have concluded that, though Talmy’s typological categories are not irrelevant, “nearly all languages straddle two or three of [them]”; they therefore argue that the wide variation in motion event encoding “falls out from general constraints on how manner and path may be encoded in language, *together with independent properties of the morpholexical inventories and morphosyntactic resources of particular languages*” (Beavers et al. 2010: 370; emphasis added). Among the resources in question they mention, quite interestingly, “the shape of its verb lexicon” (Beavers et al. 2010: 368), since “although nearly every language has both path and manner verbs, languages differ significantly as to how many verbs of each type they have. A language may prefer certain types of motion descriptions depending on its having a greater number of path vs. manner verbs” (Beavers et al. 2010: 368). A crucial question that they leave unexplained, however, is why languages tend towards certain types of lexicons in the first place. In addition, their proposal does not seem to differ significantly from the views expressed by Slobin in many places, as discussed more fully in the next section.

### 3. Diachronic perspectives

As Talmy (2000: II, 118) aptly points out, tracing the route by which a language shifts – or indeed, maintains – its typological pattern for the expression of motion events can be a rich area of research for diachronic linguistics. Work done in this area includes Kopecka's (2006) discussion of the structure of motion verbs in French, which, according to her account, has changed from a predominantly S-framed pattern to a predominantly V-framed pattern, as a result of the loss of productivity, during the transition from Old to Modern French, of a number of verbal prefixes once freely employed as path satellites that combined with manner-of-motion verbs; for instance *en-* 'away' (Lat. *inde*), as in *envoler* 'fly away' (< *voler* 'fly') or *par-* 'by, over', as in *parcourir* 'run all over, go all over' (< *courir* 'run'). The possible movement of (northern) Italian in the direction of an S-language, stimulated by contact with German, has also been discussed by Schwarze (1985), Masini (2006), and Iacobini and Masini (2007), among others (see also Talmy 2000: II, 145), and analogous changes in Brussels French, under the influence of Dutch contact, are mentioned by Kramer (1981, cited in Slobin 2004a: 245). More recently, the typological shift from Latin (S-framed) to the Romance languages (V-framed) has been discussed by Brucale, Iacobini and Mocciaro (2011).

Of greater relevance for our present purposes, however, are the diachronic implications of recent research by Slobin and colleagues (cf., among others, Berman & Slobin 1994; Slobin 1997, 2004a,b, 2006a: 71–72, 2006b; Naigles et al. 1998; also Papafragou et al. 2002: 201 ff). In a series of seminal papers, Slobin has compared translations of narratives in different languages, as well as the linguistic behaviour of speakers of different languages in a variety of tasks involving the description of pictorially presented motion scenes. These analyses have shown, inter alia, that speakers of Manner languages tend to describe motion with manner verbs, while speakers of Path languages use predominantly path verbs. In addition, or perhaps as a result of the previous observation, speakers of Manner languages mention manner of motion more frequently and with greater lexical diversity. Building on these results, Slobin has put forward the idea that such linguistic differences are in turn likely to have effects both on the organization of mental representations and on the lexicon of the language in question, and has proposed (2004a) a *diachronic model for the*

Table 1. English manner verbs of human self-movement. Number of verbs added per century (from Slobin 2006a: 72)

Time period	Number of innovated manner verbs
> 1500	48
1500–1599	30
1600–1699	17
1700–1799	11
1800–1899	32

*emergence of manner salience*. As he puts it, “if manner is easily accessible it will be encoded more frequently and, over time, speakers will tend to elaborate the domain in terms of semantic specificity. Consequently, learners will construct a more elaborate conceptual space for manner, allowing each new generation to continue the cycle of attention to manner” (Slobin 2004a: 246). Hence, Slobin (2006b): “the semantic fields of frequently accessed lexical items become salient conceptual domains. Such domains attract new lexical items, filling slots in entrenched construction types”.

In one of his papers on the topic, Slobin (2006a: 72) has in fact taken a step towards corroborating this hypothesis. He reports that, after checking the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the first attested use of manner verbs in English, he obtained the results shown in Table 1, which indeed appear to confirm that manner of motion is “a domain of continuing, and increasing, interest to English speakers” (*ibid.*).

#### 4. Questions and aims

With all this in mind, the primary aim of the present study is to try to confirm Slobin’s diachronic model for the emergence of manner salience, as outlined above, by examining in greater detail the development of the English lexicon of manner-of-motion verbs. Additional aims include the following:

- (a) if, as it appears, English has tended to add new manner-of-motion verbs to its lexical inventory throughout its recorded history, exactly which sources have these innovated manner verbs had?
- (b) as noted in §2, researchers such as Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 300) and Beavers, Levin and Tham (2010), among others, have sug-

gested that the differences observed across languages in the encoding of motion events cannot be explained simply in terms of lexical (word-level) meaning, but need to be understood with reference to the morpholexical inventories and morphosyntactic resources of particular languages. It therefore seems worth examining whether in the case of English any language-particular option or options can be discerned that might have influenced the changes observed in manner encoding.

An important issue that will not be dealt with in this article is the development of the very constructions in which English manner-of-motion verbs occur. In other words, I concur with the position taken in Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004: 534, etc.; see also Israel 1996) and related approaches that the verb phrase's complement structure is not determined by the verb alone, but rather by the composite effects of the verb and the construction itself, as is clear from the following examples involving the verbs *clank* and *hesitate*. In the (b) sentences these verbs, which in themselves do not qualify as motion verbs, have come to form part of a complex event expressing manner of motion by virtue of their combination with goal phrases:

(9) *clank*:

- a. 1656 A. Cowley *Davideis* (1687) iv.135: *He falls, his Armour clanks against the ground.* (OED *clank* v. 1. 'to make an abrupt sound, as of heavy pieces of metal struck together')
- b. 1866 C. Kingsley *Hereward* xxi. 270: *Sir Ascelin clanked into the hall.* (OED *clank* v. 3 'to move with a clanking sound')

(10) *hesitate*:<sup>3</sup>

- a. 1860 W. Collins *Woman in White* I.iv.33: *I hesitated about answering it.* (OED *hesitate* v. 1.a. 'to hold back in doubt or indecision')
- b. 1908 H. G. Wells *War in Air* v. 168: *He hesitated towards the door of the cabin.* (OED *hesitate* v. 1.e. 'to move in an indecisive, faltering manner')

The long process of conventionalisation of this and other motion constructions in English is, however, left for another paper.

A second caveat is that this article presents data only of type frequency,

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<sup>3</sup> Note that the verb *hesitate* is explicitly excluded by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 197) from the large group of English verbs that become capable of expressing directed motion if combined with an appropriate path modifier.

while Slobin's research on manner salience (see §3, above) is framed in terms of both type and token frequency. In order to add the latter dimension, an analysis of developments in the use of English manner-of-motion verbs across text types and registers will also have to be carried out, as suggested by an anonymous reviewer (on this issue, see also my comments in §§6.1 and 6.4).<sup>4</sup>

## 5. Verbs of manner of motion examined in this research

As already pointed out, English, a prototypical example of a Manner language, has a large number of verbs lexicalizing motion in general, and manner of motion in particular. A definitive count of manner-of-motion verbs in English has yet to be undertaken, but Slobin (2004a, 2006a: 71, and elsewhere) gives comparative figures for several languages, which his team obtained by means of back translations, dictionary searches and corpora: "the satellite-framed languages . . . English, German, Dutch, Russian and Hungarian each have several hundred manner verbs; Mandarin has perhaps 150; Spanish, French, Turkish, and Hebrew have less than 100, and probably less than 60 in everyday use".

In view of this abundance of manner-of-motion verbs in contemporary English, I sought to make the data manageable by restricting the analysis to self-agentive manner verbs of translational motion (cf. Talmy 2000: II, 25, 28), that is, intransitive manner verbs describing a change in the location

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<sup>4</sup> In addition, one of the reviewers points out that this article should examine **both** path verbs and manner verbs, as "the increase in B (path verbs) may be identical to the increase in A (manner-of-motion verbs)"; in other words, s/he suggests that what looks, across time, like an increase in the number of manner-of-motion verbs might simply reflect a general increase in motion verbs including path verbs.

This article, however, does provide detailed information on developments in the inventory of path verbs, as is clear from the discussion in §6.2.4 (about path verbs borrowed from French and their constructional patterns in ME), Tables 3, 5 and 7, and Appendices I.4.b, II.5, and III.5. In addition, and also in connection with the reviewer's suggestion, it should be borne in mind that, unlike S-framed languages, which typically have a whole series of manner-of-motion verbs in common use, V-framed languages do not have a large inventory of path verbs, since, as often noted in the relevant literature (cf. Özçalışkan 2004: 85, among many others), path verbs – unlike manner verbs – form a closed lexical category that does not provide many options for elaboration to speakers of either language type. In other words, both types of languages rely on a limited set of path verb types, though speakers of V-framed languages indeed appear to use them at higher rates than, for instance, English speakers, due to the lexicalization patterns of their native language (Özçalışkan 2004, 2005).

of the figure and having animate agents as their grammatical subjects, an example being *I ran down the stairs*. This implies that the following classes of motion verbs have been excluded:

- i. Transitive verbs of caused manner of motion: *I slid the keg into the storeroom*.
- ii. Non-agentive verbs of self-contained motion (i.e. motion consisting of oscillation, rotation, dilation, and the like), such as *float*, *roll* or *bounce*, with which “there is not necessarily protagonist control on the part of the moving entity” (Levin 1993: 265).
- iii. ‘Neutral’ motion verbs (see Özçalışkan 2005: 213), which encode neither path nor manner: *go*, *move*.
- iv. Path verbs, which include a specification of the direction of motion, but not manner (also often referred to as verbs of inherently directed motion; see Levin 1993: 263–264): *enter*, *exit*, *ascend*, *descend*, *leave*, etc. At various points throughout this article, however, reference will have to be made to path verbs and their uses in earlier stages of English, as contrasted with the manner verbs under analysis.<sup>5</sup>

### 5.1. Procedure for data collection

The open-endedness of the vocabulary, as opposed to the more or less finite systems in grammar or phonology, poses a problem for the identification of the resources of the English language for describing manner of motion. Technically, the ideal strategy would be to proceed entry by entry through historical dictionaries and dictionaries of contemporary English. But as this is clearly not feasible, the heuristic strategy I have followed consisted of the following two steps:

- a. I began with the analyses of Present-day English motion verbs proposed by other researchers. Most notably, I used the lists of verbs in Miller (1972: 340 ff), Clark and Clark (1979: 776), Levin (1993), Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995: 182–214), Mora Gutiérrez (2001: Chapter 6), Özçalışkan (2005) and Slobin (2006a: 72).

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<sup>5</sup> Manner verbs may encode path, too, and in such cases have been counted as regular manner verbs. Examples are *sky-rocket* ‘(of persons) to fly or jump up suddenly, in the manner of a sky rocket’ (OED *sky-rocket* v. 2.b). The same applies to verbs such as *flee*, *plunge* and *tumble*, which Levin (1993: 263) includes in her class of inherently directed motion.

- b. I then proceeded to look up these words in dictionaries and thesauruses, so as to find further candidates for inclusion. For earlier stages of English I conducted searches using the main historical dictionaries (OED, MED, B&T, T&C, DOE, etc.) and also the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (Kay et al. 2009), the *Thesaurus of Old English online* (Edmonds et al. 2005), as well as a number of earlier publications on the topic (e.g. Ogura 2002). I am aware, of course, that since the semantic domain of motion verbs is organized into many smaller subfields, the danger exists that one may compulsively exhaust some of them while accidentally overlooking other subfields entirely; the best protection against such lacunae that I have found is starting in the way described under a., above.

If, as was often the case, one of the verbs identified through *a* or *b* happened to have two (or more) senses that seemed relevant to the domain of manner of motion, both must be taken into consideration, since it is the senses, not just the new verbs, that are crucial in obtaining an accurate picture of the development of the domain over time.

Complex decisions had to be made throughout. As with all semantic domains, the domain of manner verbs of agentive self-movement contains a central group of verbs that unambiguously belong to the class, alongside various peripheral verbs the inclusion of which requires case by case evaluation.

## 5.2. Procedure for data analysis

My findings on manner-of-motion verbs are organized according to the periods traditionally recognized in the history of English, namely Old English (OE, up to 1100), Middle English (ME, 1100–1500), Early Modern English (EModE, 1500–1700) and Late Modern English (LModE, 1700–1900). The significant social and linguistic changes taking place in the transition from OE to ME, and from ME to the modern period, are likely to have had an effect on the development of manner verbs too, hence the advisability of maintaining the distinction between Old English and Middle English.

With respect to the division between Early and Late Modern English, I initially considered the possibility of organizing my findings per century, as has been done, for instance, by Slobin (see Table 1). However, I have not done so, largely because for the modern period our main and indeed only

source of documentation is the OED, and there is evidence (see Algeo 1998: 63–64, Hoffmann 2004, among others) that the OED's readers were inconsistent in the thoroughness with which they gathered citations; the eighteenth century, for example, is seriously under-represented (which may help to account for the low figure for innovated manner verbs found by Slobin; cf. Table 1). More specifically, Hoffmann (2004: 24–26) has managed to identify a first peak in the number of citations coinciding with the beginning of the seventeenth century, followed by a considerable drop in the eighteenth century. From about 1800 onwards the number of quotations increases dramatically and reaches a peak in the second half of the nineteenth century when the first edition of the OED was being compiled. With this data in mind, it seemed safe to stick to the traditional division between Early (1500–1700) and Late (1700–1900) Modern English, as the peak in citations around 1600 would be compensated for by the peak during the nineteenth century.

### 5.3. Manner components distinguished

Manner verbs fall into a range of subclasses depending on the particular manner component they lexicalize or encode. The subclasses reflected in Tables 2, 4, 6 and 8, below, are based, ultimately, on the classifications proposed by Ikegami (1970), Miller (1972), and Narasimhan (2003), though I have made fewer distinctions, omitting components such as Contact (implies friction, or lack thereof, between the figure and the ground; e.g. *slide*), Medium (encodes properties of the medium through which the figure moves; e.g. *swim*), and Attitude/Display (implies an attitude or intention on the part of the figural entity; e.g. *strut*), which did not seem immediately relevant to the analysis. The Velocity component is defined essentially as in Miller (1972: 353–354; see also Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976: 551 ff), that is, it is meant to include verbs whose most salient semantic component is speed (or lack thereof); speed is measured in terms of the verb's compatibility with the adverbs *rapidly* and *slowly*. On the basis of this test, verbs like *hurry*, *race*, *speed*, *sprint*, *crawl*, *creep*, *inch* or *saunter* can be classified as verbs of velocity, since it would be odd to say, for example, *He sprinted slowly to the door* or *He sauntered rapidly down the street*. The use of this test implies, in turn, that a verb like *run* fails to qualify as a Velocity verb, since "it is not odd to speak of running rapidly or running slowly" (Miller & Johnson-Laird 1976: 551); witness, for instance, the sentence *To jog is to*

*run slowly*. I am aware, of course, that applying this test to earlier periods of English is far from easy, if not impossible, which means that in general I have assigned verbs to the Velocity class simply on the basis of the definition which is provided for them in the historical dictionaries; in other words, verbs meaning ‘hasten’ or ‘hurry’ have usually been assumed to be Velocity verbs, at least until solid evidence to the contrary can be found.

A second clarification on the components of manner I have distinguished relates to so-called ‘Vehicle’ verbs (Levin 1993: 267–268), which encode that a conveyance is used. Here are included both verbs denoting vehicle names (e.g. *balloon*, *bicycle*) and verbs which simply describe motion using a particular type of vehicle (e.g. *drive*, *fly*, *row*). Horses, mules and other beasts of burden were formerly the main means of conveyance, but, following Levin, verbs such as *gallop*, *trot* and the like have been ascribed instead to the Mode subclass.

Finally, it is sometimes the case that verbs encode more than one manner component: e.g. *sail* ‘to travel on water by boat’ encodes both Course (it evokes a journey frame to some destination or along some travel route), and Vehicle; in such cases I ascribed the verb to the subclass which I judged to be semantically ‘primary’.

## 6. Findings

### 6.1. Old English

As shown in Table 2, my data contain some 71 different verbs encoding manner of motion, though this figure includes several verbs variously described in my sources as ‘very infrequent’ or occurring only in glossaries (e.g. *ahealtian*, *bestealcian*, *cleacian*, *huncettan*, *luncian*, *saltian* < Lat. *salto*, *tumbian*), as well as one or two verbs (e.g. *fleon*, *wendan*) whose status as actual manner-of-motion verbs is not entirely clear from the available evidence, since they may have been neutral motion verbs analogous to *go* or *move* (see §5.iii above). Of this group of 71 verbs, quite a few remained in use in later periods of English or are still in use: these include such very common verbs as *climb*, *creep*, *hop*, *run* (OE *rinnan/irnan*), *shoot* (< OE *sceotan*), *glide*, *slide*, *wander*, *ride*, *sail*, *row* and *fly* (< OE *fleogan*).

Bearing in mind that the extant OE records probably represent only a fraction of the works produced at the time, we can conclude that OE had

Table 2. OE self-agentive verbs of manner of motion and their manner components (total: 71 verbs / 72 verb senses)

Components of manner	
Mode: involves translational motion brought about by specific types of movements of the figural entity (32)	<p><i>alhealtian</i> 'to limp, crawl'; <i>astigan</i> 'to climb'; <i>bestelan</i> 'to steal, move stealthily (upon)'; <i>bestealian</i> 'to move stealthily, stalk'; <i>climban</i> 'to climb'; <i>dufan</i> 'to dive'; <i>fleotan</i> 'to swim'; <i>flowan</i> '(of a multitude) to come or go in a stream, throng'; <i>forstalian</i> 'to steal away'; <i>frician</i> ? 'to dance'; <i>glidan</i> 'to glide'; <i>healtian</i> 'to halt, limp'; <i>hleapan</i> 'to leap', 'to spring to one's seat upon a horse', 'to dance'; <i>hleappettan</i> 'to leap up'; <i>hoppian</i> 'to hop, leap, dance'; <i>huncettan</i> 'to limp, crawl'; <i>in(n)stigan</i> 'to climb'; <i>luncian</i> 'to limp, crawl'; <i>plegan</i> 'to dance'; <i>ridan</i> 'to ride'; <i>rimnaniŕnnan</i> 'to run'; <i>saltian</i> [Lat. <i>salto</i>] 'to dance'; <i>scufan</i> 'to push on or forward'; <i>slidan</i> 'to slide'; <i>slincan</i> 'to creep, move stealthily'; <i>stalian</i> 'to proceed stealthily (upon)'; <i>stæppan</i> 'to step'; <i>stellan</i> 'to leap, rush'; <i>stigan</i> 'to climb'; *<i>styrtan</i> (implicit in pres. pple. <i>styrtende</i>) 'to start, jump up'; <i>swimman</i> 'to swim'; <i>tealtrian</i> 'to totter, stagger'; <i>tumbian</i> 'to tumble, dance'; <i>ymb-hringan</i> 'to turn round in a ring, wind round'</p>
Velocity: implies speed (or lack thereof) as the main component (25)	<p><i>besceotan</i> 'to leap, spring, rush'; <i>cleacian</i> 'to go nimbly, hurry'; <i>creopan</i> 'to crawl'; <i>drifan</i> 'to rush on'; <i>ef(e)stan</i>, <i>ofestan</i> 'to hasten, hurry'; <i>fleogan</i> 'to hasten quickly away'; ?<i>fleon</i> 'to hasten towards (some refuge, sanctuary, country)'; <i>forþ-hreosan</i> 'to rush forth'; <i>forþ-ræsan</i> 'to rush forth'; <i>fundian</i> 'to hasten'; <i>fysan</i> 'to hasten'; <i>(ge)scyndan</i> 'to hurry, hasten'; <i>getengan</i> 'to hasten'; <i>higian</i> 'to hie, hasten'; <i>hleapan</i> 'to rush'; <i>onettan</i> 'to hasten, move rapidly'; <i>ræsan</i> 'to rush on or upon a person; to make a rush, attack'; <i>racian</i> 'to take a course or direction, to run'; <i>recan</i> 'to proceed hastily, run'; <i>scacan</i> '(generally used of rapid movement of living creatures) to flee, hurry off'; <i>sceotan</i> 'to shoot, move rapidly, dart, run, rush'; <i>scudan</i> 'to hurry, hasten'; <i>swengan</i> 'to swing, dash'; <i>tengan</i> 'to hasten, hurry, proceed with haste or violence'; <i>þringan</i> 'to press, move with violence, eagerness or hurry'</p>
	(continues)

Table 2. (cont.)

Components of manner	
Course: relates to verbs evoking a journey frame to some destination or along some travel route <sup>a</sup> (13)	<p><i>faran</i> 'to travel, journey'; <i>fleogan</i> 'to fly';<sup>b</sup> <i>hwearfan</i> 'to wander'; <i>hweorfan</i> 'to wander, roam'; <i>lipan</i> 'to travel; esp. to go by sea, sail'; <i>scriþan</i> 'to go hither and thither, wander'; <i>sipian</i> 'to journey, go, travel'; <i>swican</i> 'to wander'; <i>swician</i> 'to wander'; <i>wandrian</i> 'to wander'; <i>weallian</i> 'to wander, roam'; ?<i>wendan</i> 'to go, proceed, travel'; <i>worian</i> 'to wander about, ramble'</p>
Vehicle/Conveyance: relates to whether a vehicle or a conveyance is used (2)	<p><i>rowan</i> 'to row, sail'; <i>seglan</i> 'to sail' (also as <i>geseġlian</i>)</p>

<sup>a</sup> With some course verbs, such as *cruise* (e.g. 'They were cruising aimlessly around') or *wander*, motion may be relatively undirected.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Miller (1972: 350): 'flies . . . [has] senses that can be paraphrased as *travels through the air*.'

a large lexicon in the semantic domain of manner of motion, as well as a very large number of motion verbs in general, as anyone familiar with Old English will not fail to notice. A different question, of course, is demonstrating the exact strength and frequency of this vocabulary relative to other non-manner verbs, such as neutral motion verbs (e.g. *gan*, etc.), of which there were quite a few (for details see, among others, Ogura 2002). Also, it might repay further study to examine a sample of Old English texts to assess the overall frequency of constructions involving, on the one hand, manner verbs followed by path modifiers (11–12), as compared to path verbs or neutral motion verbs followed by subordinated manner expressions (13–14); as discussed in §1 above, only the former construction is considered to be characteristic of S-framed languages such as English, while the latter type of construction is the one preferred in the Romance languages. In Old English, however, both can be found:

- (11) *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* (Swithun) 100: *he aras ða on mergen. . . and mid twam criccum creap him to Wynceastre* (DOE *creopan* 1b.i)  
'he rose then in the morning. . . and with two crutches crawled to Winchester'
- (12) *Homilies of Aelfric* 5 214: *þæt wif . . . efste to ðære byrig and bodade ymbe Crist* (DOE *ef(e)stan* A.1.a)  
'the woman . . . hurried to the city and preached about Christ'
- (13) *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* (Maurice) [002100 (90)]: *Ða com þærto ridan sum cristen man sona harwencge and eald se wæs gehaten Uictor*. (DOE Corpus)  
'Then a certain Christian man came riding there immediately, hoary and old, who was named Victor.'
- (14) *Aelfric's Catholic Homilies II* [002300 (83,69)]: *Ða sceawode se halga cuðberhtus on ðam snawe gehwær. hwyder se cuma siðigende ferde*. (DOE Corpus)  
'Then the holy Cuthbert looked everywhere in the snow, whither the stranger went wandering.'

Regarding the specific components of manner encoded by OE manner verbs, Mode verbs (32) constitute the largest subclass. This is unsurprising, since Mode, as understood here, subsumes the kinds of actions that we all tend to conceptualize as manner of motion when we first think about this semantic domain: leaping, walking, running, etc. Another rather large group is that of Velocity verbs (25), some of which (e.g. *efestan*, *fundian*,

*onettan*) seem to have been used quite frequently. Without making any claims regarding the exact frequency of Velocity verbs in Old English, their number and variety is perhaps not surprising if we bear in mind the major themes and topics of the extant OE records: chronicles and battle scenes lend themselves to the use of Velocity verbs (see 15), which in addition are often used to refer metaphorically, as in (16), as with the act of striving to attain the heavenly kingdom so often mentioned in OE writings:

- (15) *ChronA* (Bately) [025200 (755.13)]: *se cyning . . . unheanlice hine werede, . . . & þa ut rædde on þone eþeling & hine miclum gewundode* (DOE Corpus)  
 ‘the king . . . defended himself gallantly . . . and then rushed out against the prince and wounded him greatly’
- (16) *The Old English Life of Machutus* LS 13 26v.3: *gelomlice he manade þæt ealle men samod urnen & efasten to þon heofonlican rice* (DOE *efestan* A.1.a.i)  
 ‘often he advised that all men should run together and hasten to the heavenly kingdom’

## 6.2. Middle English

My data for the ME period, with some 181 new manner verbs or manner senses, many of them surviving into PDE, confirm a continued and increasing attention to the semantic field of manner of motion. The innovations, including under this label both innovative forms and semantic extensions of previously existing verbs, come from various sources, as shown in Tables 3 and 4; fuller details can be found in Appendix I. The total for new verbs would have been larger still had I not left out of the count a number of verbs which, from the available evidence, appear to have been dialectally restricted.

### 6.2.1. *Native verbs (81 manner verbs + 1 path verb)*

Verbs of native origin represent 44.7 per cent of all new manner-of-motion verbs in ME. As is clear from Appendix I, the group of native verbs is diverse, comprising, among others:

- a. semantic extensions of verbs already existing in OE, such as *speed* ‘to travel swiftly, hasten’ < OE (*ge*)*spedan* ‘to prosper, succeed’; *stride* ‘to

Table 3. Sources of new ME manner and path verbs (new verbs + new senses)

	Manner verbs	Path verbs
Native verbs: extensions of OE verbs + verbs hypothesised to go back to an OE source	48 + 10	1
Native verbs: new formations in ME	23	–
Loans from French	37	14
Loans from Old Norse	37	–
Loans from Middle Dutch or Middle Low German	14	–
Loans from Latin	2	–
Origin uncertain	10	–
TOTAL	181	15

move or walk with long steps' < OE *stridan* 'to stride, to mount or ride a horse'; *wade* 'to walk through water or any liquid' < OE *wadan* 'to go, advance'; *walk* 'to walk, to travel' < OE *wealcan* 'to roll', among many others.

- b. new ME formations. Among these we can mention frequentative formations in *-er* and *-le*, two suffixes commonly used since OE times to form verbs expressing sound or movement (cf. Marchand 1969[1960]: 273, 322): *bustle* 'to thrash about', *clamber* 'to climb with difficulty', *lumber* 'to move in a clumsy manner', *stamper* '?to walk clumsily', *walter* 'to move awkwardly; to proceed with sidewise motion'. Quite interestingly, we also find ten zero derivatives from nouns or, occasionally, adjectives. From the corresponding nouns are derived *cripple* 'to walk lamely', *foot* 'to dance; to walk or go on foot', *ring* 'to gather in a ring about (a person)', *scour* 'to move rapidly' (< ON *scour* 'an attack'), *stump* 'to stumble, trip', *swarm* 'to swarm, move about in great numbers', *throng* 'to force one's way, to crowd (around sb.)' (from *throng* n. or perh. *throng* adj. 'thronged, crowded'), *voyage* 'to journey by land, travel' (from the corresponding noun, itself a loan from Fr.), *wing* '?to hasten'; finally, on the adjective *rash* 'hasty, impetuous' was formed *rash* 'to hurry along, rush'. As will be seen below, from Early Modern English zero derivation will become one of the chief methods for expanding the English lexicon of manner of motion.

Table 4. Manner components in ME self-agentive verbs of manner of motion

Components of manner	Examples
Mode (88)	Native verbs: <i>foot</i> <sup>a</sup> 'to walk or go on foot', <i>steal</i> 'to come or go secretly', <i>wade</i> 'to walk through water or any liquid', <i>walk</i> 'to go on foot, walk', etc. From Fr.: <i>dance</i> , <i>jet</i> 'to strut, swagger', <i>march</i> 'to march against somebody, attack', <i>trail</i> 'to walk with long trailing garments', etc. From ON: <i>lurk</i> 'to go stealthily', <i>skulk</i> 'to go or move furtively, to slink', <i>blunder</i> 'to walk blindly', <i>thrust</i> 'to push one's way, jostle', etc. From MDu or MLG: <i>hobble</i> 'to walk lamely, hobble', <i>tramp</i> 'to tread heavily, stamp', etc.
Velocity (65)	Native verbs: <i>burst</i> 'to rush violently', <i>clamber</i> 'to climb with difficulty', <i>crowd</i> 'to press on, hurry', <i>hurl</i> 'to rush impetuously', etc. From Fr.: <i>haste</i> , <i>launch</i> 'to leap, rush, charge', <i>press</i> 'to hasten', <i>rush</i> , etc. From ON: <i>crawl</i> 'to walk slowly', <i>dash</i> , <i>fling</i> 'to rush, dash', etc. From MDu or MLG: <i>shock</i> 'to move rapidly', <i>whip</i> 'to move back and forth quickly', etc.
Course (27)	Native verbs: <i>roam</i> 'to wander', <i>voyage</i> 'to journey by land, travel', <i>walk</i> 'to travel', etc. From Fr.: <i>coast</i> 'to sail along the coast; to travel across', <i>journey</i> , <i>rengé</i> 'to roam', <i>travel</i> , etc. From ON: <i>raik</i> 'to wander, roam', <i>waive</i> 'to wander, stray', <i>waver</i> 'to travel at random', etc.
Vehicle/Conveyance (1)	<i>ship</i> 'to travel by ship'

<sup>a</sup> ME verbs are given in their OED form.

### 6.2.2. Manner verbs from Old Norse (37)

In the literature on Old and Middle English lexis, it is not uncommon to find statements that underline the intensity of the influence of ON upon English by drawing attention to the “surprising” fact that among the numerous Scandinavian loans we meet “even numerous verbs” (Kastovsky 1992: 320; see also Baugh & Cable 2002[1951]: 100), as if suggesting that

verbs will find their way into another language less readily than nouns or adjectives. The close contact between Scandinavians and English from the late Old English period, which we know well from other areas of the vocabulary, is also clearly reflected in the considerable number of manner-of-motion verbs of ON origin recorded in my material. Several of these did not become well established, but others (*crawl*, *dash*, *fling*, *falter*, *skulk*, etc.) have found a permanent place in the English lexicon.

The following are a few quotations with some of the manner verbs identified as loans from ON in the OED, the MED, or both; for the full list see Appendix I.

- (17) c.1395 Chaucer *CT.CY.* (Manly-Rickert) G.1414: *As boold as is Bayard the blynde That blondreth forth and peril casteth noon.*  
‘As bold as Bayard the blind, who blunders forth and does not anticipate any danger.’ (OED *blunder* 3.a)
- (18) c.1450 *Alph. Tales* (Add 25719) 183/12: *He went furth vnto þe myln-dam of þe abbay, & þer he lowpid in & drownyd hym.*  
‘he went forth to the mill-dam of the abbey, and jumped therein and drowned himself.’ (MED *lopen* (a))
- (19) c.1385 Chaucer *L. G. W.* 2687: *Thryes doun she fyl. She rist Zit vp & stakerith her & ther.*  
‘She fell down three times. She rose up again and staggered here and there.’ (OED *stacker* 1.a)
- (20) a.1450(1419) *Loke how Flaundres* (Dgb 102) 8: *þe glosers skulked away.*  
‘The flatterers skulked away.’ (MED *skulken* (a))

If we bear in mind that an advanced level of analytical phrasal constructions had been reached in Old Norse and Old Icelandic much earlier than in the other Germanic languages, and that Old Norse is generally assumed (cf. Hiltunen 1983: 42–43; Kastovsky 1992: 320; Burnley 1992: 422–423, 444–445) to have stimulated the development in ME of the phrasal verb type (e.g. *come on*, *make up*, *fare forth* ‘depart, set out’, etc.), which is of course closely related to the construction type under discussion in this article, then we can hypothesize that the intake of manner verbs from ON may have served to strengthen the pattern, already very well established in OE, of using a set of verbs conflating motion and manner, and a set of path satellites surfacing as adverbs or prepositional phrases following the verb, rather than as prefixes on the verb (as in the OE type exemplified by *ymbhringan* ‘to wind round’ or *forþ-hreosan* ‘to rush forth’).

6.2.3. *Manner verbs from Middle Dutch or Middle Low German (14)*

As noted by Burnley (1992: 438) and Baugh and Cable (2002[1951]: 187–188), apart from Scandinavian, French and Latin the only other substantial foreign sources to influence Middle English lexis directly were the languages of the Low Countries, Flemish, Dutch and Low German, which, like English, are strongly S-framed languages. Borrowings, partly through commercial and military contacts, and partly by the settlement of Flemish weavers and farmers in England and Wales, began quite early, extending “from the days of William the Conqueror, whose wife was Flemish, down to the eighteenth century” (Baugh & Cable 2002[1951]: 187). My data contain 14 verbs identified in the OED or the MED as loans from MDu or MLG, such as *hobble* ‘to walk lamely’, *tramp* ‘to tread or walk with a firm, resonant step; to stamp’, and *whip* ‘to move rapidly, dart in’. For the complete list, see Appendix I.

6.2.4. *Loans from French (14 path verbs; 35 new manner-of-motion verbs/37 new senses)*

The impact of French upon ME lexis was “prolonged, varied and ultimately enormous” (Burnley 1992: 423), and is also clearly reflected, not surprisingly, in the field of motion verbs, as shown by the large number of manner and path verbs borrowed from French found in my data (full details in App I).

The path verbs, several of which are still in common use, comprise *amount* ‘to ascend; to mount (a horse)’, *arrive*, *ascend* (L & OF), *avale* ‘to descend’, *depart*, *descend* (L & OF), *enter*, *escape*, *issue*, *mount*, *recede* (L & OF), *return*, *sue* ‘to proceed, move forward’ and *traverse*.<sup>6</sup> As pointed out in §4, the constructional patterns into which motion verbs entered will be discussed in another article, but we might note in passing that one of the ways in which these newly acquired path verbs were integrated into the English S-framed system seems to have been the co-occurrence with pleonastic satellites also indicating path, such as *away* (21), *down* (22–23), *in* (24), or *up(ward)* (25):

- (21) c.1384 *WBible*(1) (Dc 369(2)) Mat.7.23: *Departe away fro me, 3e that worchen wickidnesse*. (MED *departen* 1.a)

<sup>6</sup> Borrowing of path verbs was no doubt facilitated by the loss of the native particled type exemplified by OE *in(n)gangan* ‘to enter’, *ofstigan* ‘to ascend’, *utgangan* ‘to go out, exit’, etc. See Ogura (2002: 104–110).

- (22) ?a.1425(c.1400) *Mandev.*(1) (Tit C.16) 177/18: *Summe of the Iewes han gon vp the mountaynes and **avaled down** to the valeytes.* (MED *avalen* v. 2.a)
- (23) c.1600(?c.1395) *PPL.Creed* (Trin-C R.3,15) 807: *Jesu Crist.. he.. **descended adoune** to þe derk helle.* (MED *descenden* v. 2.a)
- (24) a.1450(c.1410) *Lovel. Grail* (Corp-C 80) 28.164: *I schal **In Entren**.* (MED *entren* v. 1.d)
- (25) ?a.1425 *Mandev.*(2) (Eg 1982) 91/12: *. . . as a man **ascendes vpward** oute of oure cuntreez to Ierusalem [etc.].* (MED *ascenden* v. 1.a)

This kind of construction, referred to in the literature as ‘double marking’ (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2007: 512, 514; see also Aske 1989: 11), thus effectively involves the reinterpretation of path verbs as manner verbs, probably accompanied by a certain weakening of their inherent directional component.<sup>7</sup>

Turning now to the manner verbs, the large number (35 new verbs/37 new verb senses) that English borrowed from French may initially seem surprising, considering the alleged status of French as a V-framed language. However, as pointed out in §3, recent research (cf. Kopecka 2006, Brucalè, Iacobini & Mocciano 2011) on the expression of motion events has tended to refine this characterization, showing that earlier French was in fact predominantly S-framed, as indeed was its parent language, Latin. Prior to its typological shift in the direction of V-framed languages, French appears to have had an important number of manner verbs used to describe displacement events of various kinds. Below is just a small sample of those borrowed into English; for the full list, see Appendix I.

- (26) a.1500(?c.1450) *Merlin* (Cmb Ff.3,11) 275: *Thei were at greet myschief, for the saisnes [‘Saxons’] were so many that thei moste **flat** in-to the foreste, wolde thei or noon.* (MED *flatten* ‘to rush’ < OF *flatir* ‘to dash’)

<sup>7</sup> It should be borne in mind, however, that double-framing constructions occur in Latin (e.g. Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 60.7: *Catilina . . . in confertissimos hostis incurrit* ‘Catiline . . . rushed into the thickest of the enemy’ [ed. Jared W. Scudder, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1900]) and also in Romance languages such as French (e.g. *descendre en bas* ‘go down below’) and Spanish (e.g. *Ana subió arriba* ‘Anna went up above’). Further work is needed, therefore, in order to determine whether the English constructions in (21)–(25) were a native development or simply an adoption from French, just like the path verbs themselves.

- (27) c.1475 *Body Pol.* (Cmb Kk.1.5) 161/10: *As the hoste of the Romayns was intred in to the foreste, the Voyences saulted out on euery syde and put down the trees.* (MED *sauten* v.<sup>2</sup> ‘to leap’ < OF *sauter*, *salter*)
- (28) c.1450 (c.1425) *Brut-1419* (Cmb Kk.1.12) 340/11: *To Trauayle so fer yn-to out-londez* [‘foreign lands’], *it were a grete ieparde.* (MED *travailen* 5.a < OF *travaillier*)

### 6.3. Early Modern English

Around 205 new manner-of-motion verbs or verb senses are recorded in my data for the EModE period, as detailed in Table 5 and Appendix II. The items representing semantic developments from already existing verbs constitute the largest group (97 verbs), followed by the group of verbs obtained by different word formation processes (60). By contrast, manner verbs borrowed from foreign languages are now very few in number (19 altogether); in addition, not unexpectedly in view of the different foreign influences to which English was subjected in Middle and Early Modern English, in the latter period the balance has changed between the different donor languages, with Latin loans (12) outnumbering loans from both French (3) and the Germanic languages (4).

The Latin loans share the bookish character of Latin borrowings at this time, and with the exception of *peregrinate* ‘to travel, journey’ and, perhaps, *itinerate* ‘to journey or travel from place to place’, few have survived into PDE: witness *ambulate* ‘to walk about’, *claudicate* ‘to limp’, *conculcate* ‘to tread on’, *discur* ‘to run about’, *festinate* ‘to hasten’, *peramble* ‘to walk over or about a place’, *preambulate* ‘to walk or go before or in front’, *proper-*

Table 5. Sources of new EModE manner and path verbs (new verbs + new senses)

	Manner verbs	Path verbs
Semantic extensions of already existing verbs	97	2
New formations: by conversion from nouns or adjectives	39	1
New formations: by affixation, back formation, etc.	21	–
From French	3	–
From Dutch or German	4	–
From Latin	12	–
Origin uncertain	29	–
TOTAL	205	3

*ate* ‘to hasten’, *titubate* ‘to stagger, totter’, and *tripudiate* ‘to dance, leap for joy’. By contrast, several of the loans from French, Dutch and Low German are still in use (though not necessarily in the sense in which they were first adopted): *dabble* ‘to move (with feet or hands) in shallow water’ (< Du. *dabbelen*), *shuffle* ‘to move the feet along the ground without lifting them’ (< Low Gm. *schüffeln*), *bound* ‘to leap, to advance with leaps or springs’ (< Fr. *bondir*), and *vault* ‘to spring, leap’ (< Fr. *volter*).

With regard to the new formations, the most common method of forming new manner verbs is conversion, which is separately discussed in 6.3.1 below. Other methods of word formation employed include the following:

- a. affixation (9): *awalk* ‘to walk’, *dispace* ‘to walk or move about’, *hasten* (< *haste* + *-en*); *whirry* ‘to hurry’ (*whirr* ‘violent movement’ + *-y*, after *hurry*). As in ME, there are also a number of frequentatives in *-er* and *-le*: *climber* ‘to climb’, *dawdle* ‘to be sluggish, loiter’, *diddle* ‘to walk unsteadily’, *scuddle* ‘to run away hastily, to scuttle’, *tripple* ‘to trip, move lightly’.
- b. onomatopoeic or imitative formation (6): *flisk* ‘to move or dance about in a frolicsome manner’, *fridge* ‘to move restlessly (about, or up and down)’, *frig* ‘to move about restlessly’, *jump*, *plod* ‘to walk heavily or without elasticity’, *podge* ‘to walk slowly and heavily’.
- c. truncation and blending (2): *caper* ‘to dance or leap in a frolicsome manner’ (< *capriole* v.); *whippet* ‘to move briskly, to brisk’ (app. fr. *whip it*).
- d. back formation (4): *curry* ‘to ride with haste’ (< *currier*, *courier* ‘messenger’), *scurry* ‘to ride out as a scurrier or scout’, *sidle* ‘to move sideways or obliquely, to edge along, esp. in a furtive manner’ (< *sideling* adv. ‘sideways’), *wayfare* ‘to journey or travel, esp. on foot’ (< *wayfaring* n.). As discussed by Pennanen (1966) and Nevalainen (1999: 431), back formation “cannot be properly spoken of before 1500” as a method of word formation.

### 6.3.1. Conversion from nouns or adjectives

Conversion, with 39 new manner verbs formed in this way, has become in EModE the second most common method of enlarging the manner-of-motion vocabulary. This is indeed a significant change with respect to ME, where borrowing (90 loans, from Fr., ON, MDu, MLG and L) was the first source, and semantic extension (58) from other verbs came second. A few

of the EModE verbs obtained by conversion are illustrated in (29)-(33); for the complete list see Appendix II:

- (29) 1533 J. B. Paul *Accts. Treasurer Scotl.* (1905) VI. 123: *To ane boy that **postit** nycht and day in the northland with lettrez.* (OED *post* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. *intr.* ‘to travel with relays of horses, originally as a courier or bearer of letters’)
- (30) 1579 T. North tr. Plutarch *Lives* 1058: *Caesar returned out of Africke, and **progressed** vp and downe Italie.* (OED *progress* v.1. a. *intr.* ‘to make a progress or journey’ < *progress* n. 5.a)
- (31) 1594 Shakespeare *Titus Andronicus* ii. i. 114: *There will the louelie Romane Ladies **troope**.* (OED *troop* v. 1. *intr.* ‘to gather in a company; to come together’)
- (32) 1599 T. Nashe *Lenten Stuffe* 10: *Whole tribes of males and females, trotted **bargd** it thither.* (OED *barge* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. ‘to journey by barge’ < *barge* n.)
- (33) 1685 J. Crowne *Sir Courtly Nice* ii. 15: *I am growing a Woman’s Ass.. and I must **hoof** it away with her load of Folly upon my back.* (OED *hoof* v. 1 a. *intr.* ‘to go on foot; to foot it’)<sup>8</sup>

As Marchand (1969[1960]: 363) points out, “it is usually assumed that the loss of endings [in ME] gave rise to derivation by a zero-morpheme”. Jespersen, for instance, explained the great expansion of conversion as a major method of word formation from EModE onwards thus:

As a great many native nouns and verbs had thus come to be identical in form (e.g. *blossom, care, deal, drink, ebb, end, fathom, fight, fish, fire*), and as the same thing happened with numerous originally French words (e.g. *accord*, O. Fr. *acord* and *acorder*, *account, arm, blame, cause, change, charge, charm, claim, combat, comfort, copy, cost, couch*), it was quite natural that the speech-instinct should take it as a matter of course that whenever the need of a verb arose, the corresponding noun might be used unchanged, and vice versa. (Jespersen 1912: 164–165)

However, Biese’s 1941 study of the origins of conversion in English shows that this method of word formation began to develop on a larger scale in the thirteenth century, that is at a time when final verbal *-n* had not yet been dropped, and when the great influx of French loan words had

<sup>8</sup> Intransitives with ‘empty’ *it* objects, such as *barge* and *hoof* in (32)-(33) above, have been included in the set of motion verbs examined in this article (see Jespersen 1909–1949, Part VI: 6.8<sub>7</sub>).

not yet started. For this reason Marchand (1969[1960]: 364) calls into question Jespersen's hypothesis and concludes that the weakening of the inflectional system "cannot therefore have much to do with the development of zero-derivation in English". He acknowledges, however, that this must have been facilitated, *inter alia*, "by the co-existence of substantives and verbs" (p. 365) borrowed from French, such as *arm* 1297 / *to arm* 1205, *chase* 1297 / *to chase* 1300, *dance* 1300 / *to dance* 1300, *haste* 1300 / *to haste* 1300, and *rule* 1225 / *to rule* 1225, among many others. As can be seen, several of the verbs in these pairs are manner-of-motion verbs.

At any rate, what seems clear in light of my data is that, especially from late ME onwards, one of the language-particular options that must have cooperated in the development and expansion of the English manner-of-motion lexicon is the ease with which speakers could add new verbs to the manner-of-motion inventory by simply shifting between noun and verb

Table 6. Manner components in EModE manner-of-motion verbs

Components of manner	Examples
Mode (134)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>daggle</i> 'to walk in a slovenly way (through mud or mire), to drag or trail about'; <i>file</i> 'to march or move in a file'; <i>jog</i> 'to walk or ride with a jolting pace'; <i>mince</i> 'to walk with short steps in an affected manner'; <i>procession</i> 'to go in procession'; <i>rustle</i> 'to move with a rustling sound', etc.</p> <p>New formations: <i>career</i> 'to take a short gallop, pass a 'career''; <i>clutter</i> 'to crowd together'; <i>hoof</i> 'to go on foot'; <i>lavolta</i> 'to dance a lavolta'; <i>promenade</i> 'to take a leisurely walk', etc.</p>
Velocity (49)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>bolt</i> 'to dart forth, forward, out'; <i>cramble</i> 'to crawl, hobble'; <i>dart</i> 'to move like a dart'; <i>dust</i> 'to ride or go quickly'; <i>hurry</i>; <i>precipitate</i> 'to move, act or proceed with haste', etc.</p> <p>New formations: <i>gallop</i> 'to ride at full speed'; <i>inch</i> 'to move by inches or small degrees'; <i>whirry</i> 'to hurry', etc.</p>
Course (11)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>pad</i> 'to journey on foot, esp. as an itinerant'; <i>perambulate</i> 'to wander or travel from place to place'; <i>peruse</i> 'to continue (a journey), to travel, to wander'; <i>track</i> 'to follow a track or path, to go, travel', etc.</p> <p>New formations: <i>progress</i> 'to make a progress or journey', <i>wayfare</i> 'to journey or travel, esp. on foot'</p>

(cont.)

Table 6. (cont.)

Components of manner	Examples
Vehicle/Conveyance (11)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>coach</i> 'to ride or drive in a coach'; <i>roll</i> 'to ride or travel in a wheeled vehicle'; <i>scud</i> 'to sail or move swiftly on the water'; <i>swing</i> 'to move backwards and forwards through the air upon a suspended rope or a swing'</p> <p>New formations: <i>barge</i> 'to journey by barge'; <i>caroche</i> 'to ride or travel in a caroche'; <i>chariot</i> 'to ride or drive in a chariot'; <i>lighter</i> 'to remove or transport (goods) in a lighter, or as in a lighter'; <i>scull</i> 'to proceed by means of a boat propelled with a scull'; <i>skate</i> 'to glide over ice upon skates'; <i>wagon</i> 'to travel in a wagon, to transport goods by wagon'</p>

without added morphology. Semantically, as can be seen from Appendix II, as well as from examples (29)–(33) and Table 6, zero-derived verbs can express a wide range of manner-of-motion meanings: Mode (23), Velocity (8), Course (1) and Vehicle/Conveyance (7). The verbs in this latter group, namely *barge*, *caroche*, *chariot*, *lighter*, *scull*, *skate*, and *wagon* deserve special mention, as they illustrate a pattern of conversion, that of so-called 'verbs that are vehicle names' (Levin 1993: 51.4.1), which has been on the increase ever since, as noted by Marchand (1969[1960]: 370) and Clark and Clark (1979), among many others.

#### 6.4. Late Modern English

The data from LModE (see Table 7), with 250 new manner verbs or verb senses, confirm some of the trends already apparent in the previous period, such as the continued attention of English language users to the manner-of-motion lexicon, the minor role played by borrowing (10 types) in the formation of new manner verbs, and the growing importance of conversion (51 types).

In terms of manner components, Mode and Velocity verbs continue to be very frequent (see Table 8), as in earlier stages. Subtypes of Mode verbs whose development appears to date chiefly from the modern period are verbs of sound emission co-occurring with directional phrases and coming, in this way, to denote motion (e.g. 1594 J. Lyly *Mother Bombie* v. iii.

Table 7. Sources of new LModE manner and path verbs (new verbs + new senses)

	Manner verbs	Path verbs
Semantic extensions of already existing verbs	144	3
New formations: by conversion	51	–
New formations: by affixation, back formation, etc.	25	–
From French	2	–
From Dutch	2	–
From Latin	4	–
From Italian and Spanish	2	–
Origin uncertain	20	–
TOTAL	250	3

sig. H3: “These minstrelles . . . *rustle* into euery place”; s.v. OED *rustle* v. 2a. ‘to move with a rustling sound’).<sup>9</sup> An example with *clank* ‘to move with a clanking sound’ was quoted above as (9); other verbs of the same kind include (from EModE) *plash* ‘to move through water splashily’, *rattle* ‘to move (usually rapidly) with a rattling noise’, *rustle* ‘to move with a rustling sound’, *thump* ‘to walk with heavy sounding steps’, *thunder* ‘to rush or fall with great noise and commotion’ and *whizz* ‘to move swiftly with a sound as of a body rushing through the air’. From LModE are recorded *boom* ‘(in curling) to move rapidly onward with a booming sound’, *clank*, *clatter* ‘to move rapidly with such a noise, to rattle along, down, over’, *clink* ‘to move with a clinking sound’, *crash* ‘to move or go with crashing’, *creak* ‘to move with creaking’, *crunch* ‘to advance or make one’s way with crunching’, *fizz* ‘to move with a fizzing sound’, *patter* ‘to run with quick, light-sounding steps’, *splash* ‘to move or fall with a splash or splashes’, *squelch* ‘to walk or tread heavily in water or wet ground, so as to make a splashing sound’, *swish* ‘to move with a swish’, *tinkle* ‘to flow or move with a tinkling sound’, *zip* ‘to move briskly or with speed’, *zoon* ‘to move quickly’. Another Mode subtype also developing late is that of so-called ‘waltz’ verbs (Levin 1993: 268), such as (from EModE) *jig* ‘to dance a jig’ and *lavolta* ‘to dance a lavolta’; from LModE date *cancan*, *morris* ‘to dance (a morris-dance)’, *polka* ‘to dance the polka’ and *waltz*.

<sup>9</sup> *Rustle* is in fact one of the earliest verbs of this type: the MED (s.v. *rustelen* b. ‘to fall noisily’) quotes a1470 *Malory Wks.*(Win-C) 736/3, “He smote hym so harde upon the shyldre that sir Palomydes and his whyght horse rosteled to the erthe”. This use, however, cannot yet be considered as illustrating translational motion, but rather self-contained motion (Talmy 2000: II, 35–36), in which “an object keeps its same basic, or ‘average’ location.”

Unlike Mode and Velocity verbs, Course verbs have decreased in number diachronically, from 27 types in ME to 11 in EModE and just 5 in LModE. It is not easy to offer an explanation for this, unless it has to do with the popularity in ME of genres such as romances, chronicles and the like, which naturally lend themselves to the use of Course verbs. Finally, Vehicle/Conveyance verbs are clearly on the increase: in LModE there are 26 new items of this type, 18 of which (*bicycle, bike, canoe, car, caravan, chaise, crutch* ‘to go on crutches’, *gig, motor, mote* ‘to travel in a motor vehicle’, *parachute, patten* ‘to walk on pattens’, *ski, sled* ‘to travel in a sledge’, *sledge, slipper* ‘to walk in slippers’, *toboggan, trampoline*) belong to the ‘vehicle name’ pattern first instanced in my material by ME *shippen* ‘to travel by ship’ (see also §6.3.1).

Table 8. Manner components in LModE manner-of-motion verbs

Components of manner	Examples
Mode (164)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>blow</i> ‘to move as if carried or impelled by the wind’; <i>circulate</i> ‘to go about in a social circle, spec. to move around at a gathering’; <i>clank</i> ‘to move with a clanking sound’; <i>overstride</i> ‘to take longer strides than is natural’, etc.</p> <p>New formations: <i>cancan</i> ‘to dance the cancan’; <i>cavalcade</i> ‘to ride in a cavalcade, esp. in procession or in company with others’; <i>constitutionalize</i> ‘to take a ‘constitutional’ (walk)’; <i>sleep-walk</i>, etc.</p>
Velocity (55)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>crack</i> ‘to ‘whip’ on, ‘pelt’ along, travel with speed’; <i>flash</i> ‘to move like a flash, pass with lightning speed’; <i>rocket</i> ‘to move like a rocket’; <i>sprint</i> ‘to run, row, etc. at full speed, esp. for a short distance’</p> <p>New formations: <i>hotfoot</i> ‘to go hot-foot, to make haste’; <i>hurry-scurry</i> ‘to move or proceed with hurry-scurry’; <i>stampede</i> ‘(of a company of persons): to rush with common impulse’; <i>skitter</i> ‘to move or run rapidly; to hurry about’, etc.</p>
Course (5)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>circulate</i> ‘to travel or walk about’</p> <p>New formations: <i>swag</i> ‘to travel as a swagman’; <i>trek</i> ‘to make a journey by ox-wagon; hence, to travel, migrate. In extended use: to travel, esp. arduously’, etc.</p>

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Vehicle/Conveyance (26)	<p>Extensions of earlier verbs: <i>bowl</i> 'to move on wheels'; <i>crutch</i> 'to go on crutches'; <i>parachute</i> 'to descend by parachute'; <i>trundle</i> 'to go in a wheeled vehicle'; <i>wheel</i> 'to travel in or drive a wheeled vehicle; to ride a bicycle or tricycle', etc.</p> <p>New formations: <i>canoe</i> 'to paddle or propel a canoe'; <i>caravan</i> 'to travel in a caravan'; <i>ski</i> 'to travel on skis'; <i>sledge</i> 'to travel in a sledge'; <i>toboggan</i> 'to ride on a toboggan or sleigh', etc.</p>
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## 7. Summing up

The clearest finding from the current study is that the abundant data here indeed appear to confirm the diachronic and synchronic model for the emergence of manner salience proposed by Slobin (2004: 246, 2006b, etc.; see also §3), according to which accessibility of manner expressions in a given language leads to an increased frequency of manner encoding and to greater lexical diversity of manner expressions, with the domain constantly attracting new lexical items to fill slots in a number of (increasingly entrenched) construction types. This scenario ties in well with the developments outlined above: we have seen that manner of motion was a domain that received habitual expression already in Old English (§6.1), as shown by the large group of self-agentive verbs (71) of translational motion recorded in my material, many of them of very frequent occurrence. Attention to details of manner was later fed by a cooperating set of language-particular options, which began, in the late Old English period, with the close contact between English and the Scandinavian languages, themselves strongly S-framed; this resulted in the adoption in English of a large group of new manner verbs (§6.2.2). Further contacts in ME with other S-framed languages, such as Middle Dutch and Middle Low German, and with Old French, at the time undergoing a typological shift from S-framed to V-framed, led to the adoption of a new batch of manner verbs (§§6.2.3–4) and the establishing of even more finegrained distinctions, as becomes clear from the lists of new items in Appendix I.

The cycle of attention to manner continued from late ME onwards, assisted by the great expansion of zero-derivation as a major method of word formation, which enabled speakers to add dozens of new manner verbs to the inventory by simply shifting between noun and verb without

added morphology, as detailed in §6.3.1 and §6.4. In this respect, the findings in this article thus confirm the hypothesis put forward by Beavers, Levin and Tham (2010: 333; see §3 above) that the shape of a language's verb lexicon develops, inter alia, as a result of the properties of its morphosyntactic resources.

To conclude, the present research represents a first attempt to test Slobin's hypothesis that the increase in manner-of-motion diversity in languages correlates with, or is a consequence of, S-framed typology. In order to fully confirm this hypothesis, it is to be hoped that parallel diachronic analyses of other S-framed languages will be undertaken in the future.

## Appendix I (ME): New manner verbs and verb senses<sup>10</sup>

### 1. Native verbs

#### a. Semantic extensions of (chiefly) OE verbs (48)

- burst* IV.17. 'to rush violently' < OE *berstan* 'to burst, to break away from'  
*crowd* (MED *crowden*<sup>1</sup> 1c) 'to press on, hurry' < OE *crudan* 'to press forward (of a ship)'  
*drag* 3a. 'to lag in the rear' < OE *dragan* (?or ON *draga*) 'to move oneself'  
*fall* (MED *fallen* 45) 'to rush (toward an enemy) with hostile intent' < OE *feallan* 'to advance'  
*firk* 3a. 'to move hastily' < OE *fercian* 'to go, proceed'  
*fleet* v.<sup>1</sup> 11. 'to move swiftly; to flit, fly' < earlier senses of the verb [but evidence of use with animate subjects is rare before EMode]  
*frike* (MED *friken*) 'to move briskly' < OE *frician* (contextually) 'to dance'  
*gird* v.<sup>2</sup> 3. 'to move suddenly or rapidly; to rush, start, spring' < ?special development from OE *gyrdan* 'to gird'  
*glide* (MED *gliden* 4a) 'to walk, walk smoothly or quietly' < OE *glidan* 'to glide'  
*glide* (MED *gliden* 4b) 'to rush, charge' < OE *glidan* 'to glide'  
*glide* (MED *gliden* 4c) 'to go, travel' < OE *glidan* 'to glide'  
*hook* 3. 'to move with a sudden turn or twist' < ME *hoken* 'to bend or curve sharply'  
*hurtle* (MED *hurtelen* 2) 'to rush' < MED *hurtelen* 1.a. 'to stumble'  
*plat* (MED *platten* v.<sup>1</sup> a) 'to hasten, rush' < OE *plættan* 'to give a sounding blow, to smack'  
*rout* v.<sup>3</sup> 1a. 'to rush, move quickly' < of obscure relationship to OE *hrutan* 'to

<sup>10</sup> Unless otherwise indicated, the references given after each verb are to the *OED online*.

- make a noise, to snore'
- ship* (MED *shippen* a) 'to travel by ship' < OE *scipian* 'to equip a ship; to take ship'
- shrink* (MED *shrinken* 4a) 'to flinch, draw back; to slink away' < OE *scrincan* 'to contract, shrink'
- smite* 24. 'to shoot or move rapidly; to dart, rush' < OE *smitan* 'to defile, pollute'; later, 'to strike'
- speed* 13a. 'to travel swiftly, hasten' < OE (*ge*)*spedan* 'to prosper, succeed'
- spin* (MED *spinnen* 3a) 'to move frenziedly, to rush ahead' < OE *spinnan* '(of convulsive movement) to writhe, twist'
- sprent* 1a. 'to leap, spring; to move quickly or with agility' < OE *gesprintan* 'to burst forth' or ON \**sprent-*
- spring* (MED *springen* 5) 'to rush, charge; to ride (a horse) to exhaustion' < OE *springan* 'to leap, bound'
- stammer* 3. 'to stagger in walking' < OE *stamerian* 'to stammer'
- start* 4a. 'to move quickly, rush' < OE \**styrtan* (attested only in pple. *sturtende*) 'to start, jump up'
- startle* 2. 'to caper, to rush to and fro' < OE *steartlian* 'to kick'
- steal* v.<sup>1</sup> 8, 9. 'to come or go secretly or stealthily' < OE *stelan* 'to steal'
- streak/streak* 5a. 'to go or advance quickly; to go at full speed; to decamp' < ?from nongeminate forms of OE *streccan* 'to stretch'
- stretch* (MED *strecchen* 5a) 'to go, come, walk; wander' < OE *streccan* 'to stretch'
- stride* 2a. 'to move or walk with long steps' < OE *stridan* 'to stride, to mount or ride a horse'
- strike* (MED *striken* 11a,b) 'to go quickly, hasten, charge' < OE *strican* 'to go, move, run' (but apparently not used agentively in OE)
- sweep* 22. 'to hasten, rush, sweep along' < OE \**swipian* or *sweop*, p. of *swapan* 'to sweep, have a sweeping motion, drive'
- swerve* 1,2a. 'to turn aside', 'to stagger, move in a course which is not straight' < OE *sweorfan* 'to rub, scour'
- swing* v.<sup>1</sup> 3a. 'to move or go impetuously; to rush' < OE *swingan* 'to beat; to beat (the wings), to fly (?)'
- swip* 2. 'to move swiftly, rush' < OE *swippan* 'to scourge, beat'; ?perhaps also related to ON and OI *svipa*
- throw* v.<sup>1</sup> 28. 'to leap, jump; fling oneself (into the saddle)' < OE *þrawan* 'to throw; to twist, turn round'
- undernim* 2b. 'to undertake a journey, to travel' < OE *underniman* 'to take into the mind, to take upon one's self'
- wade* 3. 'to walk through water or any liquid' < OE *wadan* 'to go, advance'
- wag* 5. 'to walk around, wander' < OE *wagian* 'to shake'
- walk* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to walk' < OE *wealcan* 'to roll'
- walk* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to travel' < OE *wealcan* 'to roll'

- walt* (MED *walten* 2c) 'to leap, vault' < prob. from OE *-wæltan* (as in Nhb. *gewæltan* 'to roll'); cf. also OE *wiltan* 'to roll'
- wallow* (MED *walven* 1e) 'to flounder about, move clumsily or awkwardly, totter' < OE *wealwian* 'to roll'
- warp* (MED *werpen* 1a) 'to hasten, rush' < OE *weorpan* 'to throw, fling'
- wave* (MED *waven* b) 'to wander, stray' < OE *wafian* 'to wave'
- waw* v.<sup>1</sup> 4. 'to move, go about' (also as *towaw*) < OE *wagian* 'to shake'
- wring* (MED *wringen* 7a) 'to twist away, break away' < OE *wringan* 'to wring, twist'
- writh* v.<sup>1</sup> 11. 'to turn away sharply, execute an evasive maneuver' < OE *wriþan* 'to twist'

b. *New formations* (23):

- biweve* 'to hurry away, go away' < f. *bi-*, *be-* + ME *weven* 'to twist, hurl'
- bustle* (MED *bustelen*) 'to thrash about, move or work vigorously' < f. *bisten* v. & *-el-* suff.
- clamber* (MED *clambren* v.<sup>1</sup>) 'to clamber, climb with difficulty' < ?blend of OE *clæmman* 'to press' and forms of *climben*
- cripple* 3. 'to move or walk lamely' < *cripple* n.
- fisk* 'to scamper, move briskly' < ?frequentative of OE *fysan* 'to hasten'
- flush* 'to move rapidly or violently, rush'; ?onomatopoeic
- foot* 1. 'to dance'; 2.a. 'to walk, go on foot' (see also MED *foten*, sense *a*) < *foot* n.
- hurl* 1. 'to rush impetuously'; prob. imitative
- lash* (MED *lashen* 2) 'to rush, charge'; prob. imitative
- lumber* 1. 'to move in a clumsy manner'; ?frequentative formation on ME *lome* adj. 'lame'
- lush* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to rush'; prob. imitative
- outstart* 1. 'to rush out suddenly' < *out-* prefix + *start* v.
- rash* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to hurry along, rush' < ?from *rash* adj.
- ring* v.<sup>2</sup> 7a. 'to gather in a ring about (a person)' < *ring* n. [perhaps in use already in OE]
- scour* v.<sup>1</sup>a,b. 'to move rapidly' < ON *scour* n. 'an attack'
- stamper* (MED *stamperen*) ?'to walk clumsily, stagger' < from *stamp* v.
- stump* v.<sup>1</sup>. 'to stumble, trip' < *stump* n. or OE *\*stympan*
- swalter* 'to wade through water'; ?related to *swatter* (echoic)
- swarm* (MED *swarmen* a) 'to swarm, move about in great numbers' < *swarm* n.
- throng* 2. 'to force one's way, to crowd (around sb.)' < *throng* n. or perh. *throng* adj.
- voyage* 1. 'to journey by land, travel' < *voyage* n.
- walter* v.<sup>1</sup> 4. 'to proceed with rolling or sidewise motion; move awkwardly or unsteadily' < *walt* v.

*wing* (MED *wingen* a) ?'to hasten' < f. *wing* n.

c. *New verbs hypothesised to go back to an OE source* (10):

*ding* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to rush, dash' < prob. fr. OE \**dingan*

*hip* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to leap, hop' < OE \**hyppan*

*hip* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to limp, hobble' < OE \**hyppan*

*roam* 1a. 'to wander, rove, or ramble; to walk, move about, or travel aimlessly or unsystematically' < OE \**ramian*

*roam* 2a. 'to walk (without implication of aimlessness)' < OE \**ramian*

*shail* v.<sup>2</sup> 1a. 'to stumble, to walk or move in a shuffling manner' < ?metathetic derivative of OE *sceolh* 'oblique'

*slench* 'to slink, go quietly' < OE \**slencan*, causative form from *slican*

*stalk* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to walk cautiously or stealthily' < f. OE *-stealcian*, as in *bestealcian*, in same sense; cf. also OE *stealcung* 'going stealthily'

*stamp* 2e. 'to tread heavily' < OE \**stampian*; but sense development prob. influenced by OF cognate *estampir*, *estamper*

*stete* 'to move quickly, hasten' < ?OE \**stietan*

d. *Path verbs*:

*cross* (MED *crossen* 4.e) 'to cross a stream, go across' < *cross* n.

2. *Verbs from ON* (37)

*blund* ?'to stagger' < ?related to ON *blunda* 'to doze'; *blunder* 3a. 'to walk blindly'; *busk* 2. 'to hurry, hasten'; *cair* 'to go, move, travel, depart'; *crawl* 'to walk slowly'; *dash* v.<sup>1</sup> 13a. 'to rush, dash'; *falter* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to stumble, stagger'; *fike* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to move quickly or restlessly' < ?ON *fikja* 'to move restlessly'; *fling* 1a. 'to rush, dash'; *flit* 8a. 'to pass lightly or softly and (usually) with rapidity or suddenness'; *glent* 1a. 'to move quickly to one side, to move quickly (from one place to another)'; *hirple* (MED *hirplen* a) 'to walk with difficulty, hobble'; *lope* (MED *lopen* a) 'to jump, leap'; *lope* (MED *lopen* b) 'to run, travel'; *lurk* 3. 'to move about in a secret and furtive manner'; *raik* (MED *raiken* 1a) 'to rush'; *raik* (MED *raiken* 1d) 'to wander, roam'; *rape* v.<sup>1</sup> 1,2. 'to hasten'; *rase* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to rush'; *rave* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to wander, roam'; *scope* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to leap, skip'; *skip* (MED *skippen* 1a) 'to leap, skip'; *skip* (MED *skippen* 2a) 'to run, travel'; *skulk* 1.a. 'to move or go furtively, slink'; *sling* v.<sup>1</sup> II.5. 'to hurl or fling oneself'; *stacker* 1. 'to walk unsteadily, stagger' (from EModE onwards replaced by the altered form *stagger*); *stumble* 1,3. 'to stumble, walk unsteadily'; *swaver* 'to stagger, walk unsteadily'; *sway* (MED *sweien* 2a) 'to go quickly'; *thrust* 3a. 'to push one's way, jostle'; *titter* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to move unsteadily' (see OED, 2nd ed. 1989; evidence for use with agentive subjects is, however, poor); *trine* v.<sup>2</sup> a. 'to step' (perh. simply equivalent to 'to go, proceed'); *waive* v.<sup>2</sup> 8a. 'to wander, stray'; *waver* 1a. 'to travel

at random'; *whirl* (MED *whirlen* a) 'to move in a circular, whirling motion'; *whirl* (MED *whirlen* b) 'to wander, rove'; *whirr* 'to move noisily' (cf. OED *whirr* v. 2 and MED *whirren* a,c).

### 3. Verbs from Middle Dutch or Middle Low German (14)

*bluster* 1. 'to wander'; *hobble* 2a. 'to walk lamely, hobble'; *poke* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to walk with one's head thrust forward'; *prank* (MED *pranken*) 'to show off, act in an ostentatious manner'; *reise* (MED *reisen* v.<sup>2</sup>) 'to make a military expedition; to journey'; *shock* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to move rapidly'; *shovel* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to make movements *with* the feet, without raising them from the ground; to walk languidly or lazily' (MED: ?from MDu.); *slip* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to move quietly or stealthily, slip away'; *snapper* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to stumble, stagger'; *strake* (MED *straken* v.) 'to go, proceed rapidly'; *tramp* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to tread heavily, stamp'; *trample* 1. 'to stamp (with one's feet), tread'; *whip* 1b. 'to move rapidly, move back and forth quickly' (see also MED *whippen*); *wiggle* 1. 'to move unsteadily' (see also MED *wigelen*).

### 4. Verbs from French

#### a. Manner verbs (37)<sup>11</sup>

*amble* 1,2. '(of a mount) to go an easy pace or gait, amble; to ride an ambling horse'; (a)*stray* 'to wander'; *bale* 'to dance'; *brush* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to rush with force or speed'; *catch* 2. 'to run, hasten'; *chase* v.<sup>1</sup> 6. 'to hurry, rush'; *clock* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to limp, hobble'; *coast* 1b, 3b. 'to sail along the coast, go alongside (sth.); to travel across, traverse' (see also MED *costoien*); *dance*; *flat* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to rush'; *frush* 2. 'to press upon or rush (at an enemy)'; *glance* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to turn quickly to one side, dodge' (MED: blend of OF *guenchir* 'to turn aside' & *glacier*, *glachier* 'to slip, slide'); *haste* 3. 'to hurry, hasten'; *hotch* ?'to move or progress jerkily up and down' or ?'to attack' (see MED *hotchen*); *jet* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to strut, swagger' (see also MED *getten*); *journey* 1a. 'to travel from one place to another'; *lance* 2a. 'to bound, move quickly, rush'; *launch* 3a. 'to leap, rush, charge'; *march* (MED *marchen* v.<sup>2</sup>) 'to march against (sb.), attack'; *plunge* 1b. 'to throw or hurl oneself into water or the like; to thrust one's way (into an army, etc.)'; *press* v.<sup>1</sup> 8a. 'to hasten on'; *rangelreng* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to roam'; *roll* v.<sup>2</sup> 28. 'to wander, roam'; *rush* v.<sup>2</sup> 5a. 'to rush, charge'; *sail* v.<sup>3</sup> 1. 'to dance, leap about'; *sally* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to leap, dance' (irreg. ad. of Fr. *saillir*); *sault* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to leap'; *trace* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to move along a set path, travel'; *trace* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to pace or step in dancing, to dance'; *trail* v.<sup>1</sup> 7a. 'to walk with long trailing garments'; *travel*; *trip* 1a, 3a. 'to move lightly, dance; to go or walk with a lively step'; *trot* (MED *trotten* 1b) 'to move with a lively step, in the manner of a horse's trot'; *trot* (MED *trotten* 3) 'to go or travel to a place'; *tumble* 1. 'to perform leaps, etc.,

<sup>11</sup> The sense given for each verb is that with which they are first recorded in ME.

dance acrobatically'; *wagger* 1. 'to wander'; *wallop* 1a,b. 'to ride at a gallop'; *wince* v.<sup>1</sup> 1c. 'to turn or move quickly' (see also MED *wincen*).

b. *Path verbs* (14)

*amount* 1. 'to ascend; to mount (a horse)' < OF *amonter*; *arrive* 2a, 5a. 'to reach the end of a journey by sea; to finish a journey (other than by sea)' < OF *ariver*; *ascend* (< L & OF); *avale* 1. 'to descend' < OF *avaler*; *depart* 6a < OF *departir*; *descend* < L *descendere* & OF *descendre*; *enter* < OF *entrer*; *escape* 1a < CF *eschaper*; *issue* 1a. 'to come or go out of a place, sally forth' < OF *issir*; *mount* 5.a. 'to travel or proceed in an upward direction; to ascend or climb' < OF *monter*; *recede* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to depart, go away' < L *recedere* & OF *redecet*; *return* < OF *retorner*; *sue* 18. 'to proceed, move, go, esp. with speed; to sally out, forth' < AF *suer*; *traverse* 14a. 'to move, pass, or go across; to cross, cross over' (in Fr. the verb was only trans., in English both trans. and intrans.) < F *traveser*.

5. *Verbs from Latin* (2)

*pell* '?to hurry, rush' (L. *pellere*); *preamble* 'to walk before or in front' (L. *præambulare*).

6. *Verbs of uncertain origin* (10)

*gad* v.<sup>2</sup> 1a. 'to go quickly, hurry', later as 'to rove idly, wander' (?related to *gad* n. 'a goad', itself from ON); *itch* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to run, jump; ?to move with jerks' (see also MED *icchen*); *jounce* 'to go along with a heavy jolting pace'; *prance* 1b. 'to strut, swagger'; *prance* 2. 'to ride on a prancing horse' (MED: ?blend of *pranken* v. & *dauncen* v.); *prowl* 1a,b. 'to wander about' (or perh. simply 'to search'); *shog* 'to jog along' (MED: perh. onomatopoetic alteration of *shock* 'to move rapidly'; OED: probably related to Old High German *scoc* 'oscillation'); *spar* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to dart, spring'; *straggle* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to wander, stray'; *weve* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to travel, wander'.

## Appendix II (EMODE): New manner verbs and verb senses

### 1. Semantic extensions of already existing verbs (97)<sup>12</sup>

*abscond* 3. 'to flee into hiding, or to an inaccessible place; to leave hurriedly and secretly' < orig. 'to hide, conceal'

*bolt* v.<sup>2</sup> 3. 'to dart; rush suddenly off or away'

*boom* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to rush with violence' (only of a ship, and, by synecdoche, of those on board a ship)

*bounce* 6a,7. 'to bound like a ball; to come or go as unceremoniously as a tossed ball' < earlier 'to beat, thump'

*bowl* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to move like a bowl or hoop along the ground'

*brank* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to march in a confident or demonstrative fashion; to strut' < 'to prance (of horses)'

*buskle* 3. 'to hurry about, to be in agitation or commotion' < 'to prepare oneself (esp. hastily or promptly)'

*buzz* v.<sup>1</sup> 2a. 'to move about busily' < 'to make the sibilant sound characteristic of bees'

*coach* 2.a. 'to ride or drive in a coach'

*charge* 22. 'to rush against or upon, with all one's force, in a hostile way; to spur one's horse against at full gallop'

*chop* v.<sup>1</sup> 8. 'to dart, swoop, bounce'

*clap* v.<sup>1</sup> 15a. 'to come or go with sudden and decisive motion'

*clip* v.<sup>2</sup> 6. 'to move the wings rapidly, to fly rapidly' (applied to a variety of agents)

*cramble* 2. 'to crawl, hobble, walk lamely' < 'to creep about with many turns and twists: said of roots, stems, etc.'

*cut* 19a,b. 'to run away, make off, be off'

*daggle* 2,3. 'to walk in a slovenly way (through mud or mire); to drag or trail about' < 'to wet and soil a garment by trailing it through mud or wet grass'

*dart* 5. 'to move like a dart'

*dispatch* 8. 'to make haste to go, hasten away'

*dust* v.<sup>1</sup> 10. 'to ride or go quickly, hasten, hurry'

*elbow* 3. 'to push right and left with the elbows'

*fadge* 6. 'to jog along, to trudge'

*fig* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to move briskly and restlessly' (in effect simply a variant of *fike* v.<sup>1</sup>, in same sense; see Appendix I.2)

*file* v.<sup>3</sup> 4a. 'to march or move in a file'

*flame* 4a. 'to move like a flame'

*flirt* 5. 'to move with a jerk or spring; to spring, dart'

<sup>12</sup> In most cases, only the new manner-of-motion sense is indicated, as the semantic development of the various verbs is not always entirely clear.

- flutter* 3. 'to move about aimlessly, restlessly, sportively or ostentatiously; to flit, hover'
- huddle* 7. 'to hurry in disorder or confusion'
- hurry* 2. 'to move or act with excited haste'
- jog* 4. 'to walk or ride with a jolting pace'
- jostle* 3. 'to make one's way by pushing or shoving'
- limp* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to walk lamely' (cf. MED *limpen* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to fall short of the truth')
- loll* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to saunter, go lazily' < orig., of parts of the body: 'to hang down loosely, to droop'
- lop* v.<sup>2</sup> 2a. 'to move in a slouching manner'
- make off* 2. 'to depart or leave a place, esp. suddenly or hastily; to hasten or run away'
- mince* 6a. 'to walk with short steps in an affected manner'
- pad* v.<sup>1</sup> 1b. 'to journey on foot, esp. as an itinerant or a person seeking work'
- pat* v.<sup>1</sup> 4. 'to tap or beat lightly (*upon* a surface); *spec.* to walk or run with light footsteps'
- perambulate* 2. 'to walk, wander, or travel from place to place'
- peruse* 5b. 'to continue (a journey); to go from one place to another; to travel'
- plash* v.<sup>2</sup> 2a. 'to move through water splashily; to splash about'
- poach* v.<sup>2</sup> 8. 'to sink into wet heavy ground in walking; to make slow progress over soft ground, or through mud or mire'
- pop* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to move or go somewhere quickly or unexpectedly, esp. for a short time'
- precipitate* 4. 'to move, act, or proceed with haste, esp. excessive haste; to hurry'
- procession* 3a. 'to go in procession'
- put on* 4b. 'to go faster; to push forward, hasten on'
- ramp* (also as *romp*) v.<sup>1</sup> 3b. 'to bound, rush, or range about in a wild or excited manner'
- ramp* v.<sup>1</sup> 4a. 'to climb *up* or *over*, to scramble'
- rattle* v.<sup>1</sup> 5a. 'to move (usually rapidly) with a rattling noise'
- reel* v.<sup>1</sup> 3b. 'to sway unsteadily from side to side, as if about to overbalance or collapse' (may have been in use earlier)
- roll* v.<sup>2</sup> 36a. 'to ride or travel in a wheeled vehicle'
- round* v.<sup>2</sup> 10a. 'to walk or go about; *spec.* (of a guard or watch) to patrol'
- rout* v.<sup>11</sup> 1b. 'to take to flight in disorder and haste'
- rove* v.<sup>2</sup> 6a. 'to travel from place to place without fixed route or destination'
- rub* v.<sup>1</sup> 7. 'to run or make off; to go forth'
- rustle* 2a. 'to move with a rustling sound'
- sag* 3. 'to drag oneself along wearily or feebly'
- saunter* 2b. 'to walk with a leisurely and careless gait; also, to travel by vehicle in a slow and leisurely manner'

- scamble* 4a. 'to make one's way as best one can; to stumble along'  
*scud* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to sail or move swiftly on the water'  
*side* v.<sup>1</sup> 12a. 'to move or turn sideways'  
*skim* 7a. 'to move, glide, fly or float lightly and rapidly over or along (the ground, etc.)'  
*slant* 3a. 'to travel, move, sail, in an oblique direction'  
*slug* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to move slowly; to loiter or delay'  
*smoke* 2c. 'to ride, drive, sail, etc., at a rapid pace or great speed'  
*snudge* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to walk in a stooping or meditative attitude'  
*sojourn* 4. 'to travel, journey'  
*sprawl* 1b. 'to crawl from one place to another in a struggling or ungraceful manner'  
*spur* v.<sup>1</sup> 6. 'to ride quickly by urging on one's horse with the spur'; *transf.* 'to hasten; to proceed hurriedly'  
*squirt* 2. 'to move swiftly; to dart or frisk'  
*storm* 7a. 'to rush to an assault or attack'  
*strut* (also occ. as *strit*) v.<sup>1</sup> 7a. 'to walk with an affected air of dignity'  
*straddle* 2. 'to walk with the legs wide apart' (see also *stroddle*, which is recorded earlier)  
*stroll* 2a. 'to walk or ramble in a careless or leisurely fashion; to take a walk'  
*stut* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to stumble in walking'  
*sweep* 23. 'to move or walk in a stately manner, as with trailing garments; to move along majestically'  
*swing* v.<sup>1</sup> 6b. Of a person: 'to move backwards and forwards through the air upon a suspended rope or a swing; to ride in a swing'  
*tear* v.<sup>1</sup> 9a. 'to move with violence or impetuosity; to rush or burst impetuously'  
*thrumble*, *thrimble* v.<sup>2</sup> 1b. 'to make one's way by pushing or jostling' (see also MED *thrumblen* 'to stumble; to crowd together')  
*thump* 3b. 'to walk with heavy sounding steps, to stomp noisily'  
*thunder* 2a. 'to rush or fall with great noise and commotion'  
*totter* 4a. 'to walk or move with unsteady steps; to toddle'  
*track* v.<sup>1</sup> 3a. 'to follow a track or path; to make one's way, travel'  
*trade* 2. 'to tread, step, walk, go in a course'  
*trance*, *trounce* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to move about actively or briskly; to prance or skip' (may have been available already in late ME; see MED *trauncen*)  
*traverse* 14c. (in dancing) 'to march vp and downe, move the feet'  
*trundle* 5a. 'to go, walk, or run easily or rapidly; also, to walk unsteadily or with a rolling gait'  
*urge* 10. 'to press, push, hasten on'  
*waddle* 2a. 'to walk with short steps, etc.'  
*waggle* 2a. 'to walk or move shakily; to waddle'

- wamble* 3a. 'to roll about in walking; to go with an unsteady gait'  
*welter* v.<sup>1</sup> 6b. 'to go with a heavy rolling gait; to flounder'  
*wheel* 1c. 'to reel, as from giddiness'  
*wheel* 3a, 4a. (of a body of troops) 'to turn. . . so as to change front'; 'to turn so as to face in a different direction, esp. quickly or suddenly'  
*whistle off* 8b. 'to go off, go away (suddenly or lightly)'  
*whizz* 2a. 'to move swiftly with a sound as of a body rushing through the air'  
*wind* v.<sup>1</sup> 7a,b. 'to move in curve, esp., in a specified direction; to go or travel along, up, down, etc. a path or road which turns this way and that'  
*wing* 2a. 'to 'fly', pass swiftly, speed' (perh. already in late ME)

## 2. New formations (58)

### a. by conversion (39)

- barge* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to journey by barge'  
*canterbury* 'to canter' < *canterbury* n. 'easy-galloping pace'  
*capriole* 'to leap, skip, caper' < fr. the noun, or directly fr. It. *capriolare* 'to caper'  
*caracol* 'of a horseman or a horse: to execute a caracol' < fr. the noun, or ad. Fr *caracoler*, It *caracollare* 'to caracol'  
*career* 1,2. 'to take a short gallop, pass a 'career', *transf.* 'to gallop, run or move at full speed' < *career* n. 'a racecourse'  
*caroche* 'to ride or travel in a caroche'  
*chariot* 2. 'to drive or ride in a chariot'  
*clump* 1a. 'to walk or tread heavily and clumsily' < partly fr. *clump* n. 'a thick extra sole on a shoe', part. onomatopoeic  
*clutter* 2,3. 'to run together, to crowd together', 'to run in crowded disorder (often of riders and vehicles)' < *clutter* n. 'a crowded and confused assemblage'  
*curvet* 'to leap in a curvet' < *curvet* n., or ad. It. *corvettare* 'to corvet'  
*drumble* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to move sluggishly' < *drumble* n. 'a sluggish person'  
*fizgig* 'to run or gad about' < *fizgig* n. 'a frivolous woman'  
*frisk* 1. 'to move briskly; to dance, frolic, gambol' < *frisk* adj. 'brisk, lively'  
*frolic* 1. 'to make merry; to gambol, caper about' < *frolic* adj.  
*gallop* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to ride at full speed' < a. Fr. *galoper*, or directly from *gallop* n.  
*gambol* 1,2. (of a horse) 'to bound, curvet'; 'to leap or spring, in dancing or sporting' < a. Fr. *gambader* or directly fr. *gambol* n. 'the bound or curvet of a horse; a leap or spring'  
*hoof* 1a. 'to go on foot' < *hoof* n.  
*idle* 2. 'to move or saunter idly' < *idle* adj. (agentive uses are unattested in EMode)  
*inch* 1. 'to move by inches or small degrees' < *inch* n.  
*jig* 1c. 'to dance a jig'; 2a. 'to move up and down or to and fro with a rapid jerky motion' < *jig* n.<sup>1</sup>

- lavolta* 'to dance a lavolta' < *lavolta* n. 'a lively dance for two persons'
- lighter* 'to remove or transport (goods) in a lighter, or as in a lighter'
- pace* 1. 'to move with a measured or regular step; to walk or stride along steadily.  
Also: to move in this way as an expression of anxiety, frustration, etc.' < *pace* n.<sup>1</sup>  
in the relevant senses, e.g. 4.a. 'action or manner of stepping'
- post* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to travel with relays of horses (orig. as a courier)'; later, 'to ride, run, or  
travel with speed or haste' < *post* n.<sup>2</sup> 'a courier, a post-rider'
- powder* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to rush; to hurry impetuously' < *powder* n.<sup>2</sup> 'a rush'
- progress* 1a. 'to make a progress or journey; spec. to make a state journey, travel  
ceremoniously' < *progress* n.
- promenade* 1. 'to take a leisurely walk, esp. in a public place so as to meet or be  
seen by others' < *promenade* n. 'a leisurely walk'
- race* v.<sup>3</sup> 1. 'to engage or take part in horse racing (later more generally)' < *race* n.<sup>1</sup>  
2.b. 'the act of riding rapidly on horseback'
- scull* 1a. 'to proceed by means of a boat propelled with a scull or a pair of sculls  
< *scull* n.<sup>1</sup> 'a type of oar'
- shamble* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to walk awkwardly or unsteadily' < prob. fr. *shamble* adj. 'ungainly'
- skate* 1a. 'to glide over ice upon skates; to use skates'
- slope* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to take, to move or proceed in, an oblique direction' < *slope* adj.
- slouch* 1. 'to move or walk with a slouch or in a loose and stooping attitude' <  
*slouch* n. 'an ungainly man', or *slouch* adj. 'drooping or hanging loosely'
- spirt* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to make a spurt, to turn or dart about quickly' < *spirt* n.<sup>2</sup> 'a brief period  
of time, a short space'
- spurt* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to make a spurt; to put on increased speed' < *spurt* n.<sup>1</sup>
- troop* 1,3,4. 'to come together, to flock; to march in rank' < *troop* n.
- wad* v.<sup>2</sup> (in land-surveying) 'to walk with the chain in a straight line from one  
mark to another' < *wad* n.<sup>2</sup> 'a straight line taken in measuring'
- wagon* 1. 'to travel in a wagon, to transport goods by wagon'
- wanton* 1b,c. 'to play sportively, to frolic, to gambol; to go idly or heedlessly up  
and down, etc.' < *wanton* a. and n.

b. *by affixation (9)*

- awalk* 'to walk' < fr. *a-* prefix + *walk* v.
- climber* 'to climb' < perh. fr. *climb* v.
- dawdle* 'to be sluggish, loiter' [perh. a formation related to *daddle*, with dim.  
ending *-le*]
- diddle* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to walk unsteadily' [app. related to *didder*, with dim. suffix *-le*]
- dispace* 'to walk or move about' < perh. fr. *dis-* prefix + *pace* v.
- hasten* 2 (extended form of *haste* v., after the numerous verbs in *-en*)
- scuddle* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to run away hastily, to scuttle' < frequentative of *scud* v.<sup>1</sup>

*tripple* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to trip, move lightly; to dance, skip' < frequentative of *trip* v.  
*whirry* 'to hurry' < ?fr. *whirr* 'violent or rapid movement' + -y, after *hurry*

c. *onomatopoeic or imitative* (6)

*flisk* 'to move or dance about in a frolicsome manner'  
*fridge* 1. 'to move restlessly (about, or up and down)'  
*frig* 1. 'to move about restlessly' [?onomatopoeic alt. of *frike* v.]  
*jump* 1a. 'to leap, spring, bound; *spec.* to leap with the feet together, as opposed to *hopping* on one leg'  
*plod* v.<sup>1</sup> 2a. 'to walk heavily or without elasticity; to move or progress doggedly or laboriously'  
*podge* 'to walk slowly and heavily'

d. *by back formation* (4)

*curry* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to ride with haste' < perh. fr. *courier* n. 'messenger, etc.'  
*scurry* 1.?'to ride out as a scurrier' < app. a back-formation fr. *scurrier* 'a scout'  
*sidle* 1a. 'to move sideways or obliquely; to edge along, esp. in a furtive manner' < *sideling* adv. 'sideways, obliquely'  
*wayfare* 'to journey or travel, esp. on foot' < *wayfaring* n.

e. *by truncation and blending* (2):

*caper* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to dance or leap in a frolicsome manner' < abbreviated fr. *capriole* v.  
*whippet* 'to move briskly, to brisk' < app. fr. *whip it*, as one word

### 3. Loans and adaptations from other languages (19)

a. *from Dutch and German* (4)

*dabble* 2. 'to move in shallow water, etc. so as to cause some splashing' < prob. fr. Du. *dabbelen*, in same sense  
*halper* 'to stumble, go unsteadily' < a. Ger. *holpern* 'to stumble'  
*himp* 'to limp, to hobble' [identical with Ger. dial. *humpen* 'to hobble']  
*shuffle* 1a. 'to walk with the feet moving along the ground without lifting them' < ad. or cogn. with LG *schüffeln* 'to walk clumsily'

b. *from French* (3)

*bound* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to leap; to advance with leaps or springs' < ad. Fr. *bondir* 'to resound', later 'to rebound'  
*vault* v.<sup>2</sup> 2a. 'to spring or leap' < app. ad. OF *volter* 'to gambol, leap'  
*volt* v.<sup>1</sup> 1.(in fencing) 'to make a volte' < ad. F. *volter* < fr. *volte* n. 'volte' or It. *voltare*

## c. from Latin (12)

*ambulate* 'to walk about' < L. *ambulat-*, ppl. stem of *ambulare* 'to walk'

*claudicate* 'to limp' < L. *claudicare*, *claud-us* 'lame'

*conculcate* 'to tread' < L. *conculcat-*, ppl. stem of *conculcare* 'to tread under foot, trample down'

*discur* 'to run about' < L. *discurr-ere* 'to run to and fro'

*festinate* 'to hasten' < L. *festinare* 'to hasten'

*itinerate* 1a. 'to journey or travel from place to place' < late L. *itinerat-*, ppl. stem of *itinerari* 'to travel'

*peramble* 'to walk over or about a place' < L. *perambulare*, conformed to *amble* v.

*peregrinate* 1. 'to travel, journey' < L. *peregrinat-*, ppl. stem of *peregrinari* 'to sojourn or travel abroad'

*preambulate* 'to walk or go before or in front' < post-classical Latin *praeambulat-*, ppl. stem of *praeambulare*

*properate* 'to hasten, go quickly' < from ppl. stem of L. *properare* 'to hasten'

*titubate* 'to stagger, totter, etc.' < L. *titubat-*, ppl. stem of *titubare* 'to stagger'

*tripudiate* 'to dance, skip or leap for joy, etc.' < L. *tripudiat-*, ppl. stem of *tripudiare*, f. *tripudium* 'a leaping or dancing'

## 4. Verbs of uncertain origin (29)

*dade* 'to move slowly or uncertainly'

*fidge* 1a. 'to move about restlessly'

*flounce* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to go with agitated or violent motion; to dash, flop, plunge, rush'

*flounder* 1. 'to stumble; to struggle violently and clumsily; to move on with clumsy or rolling gait' [perh. onomatopoeic blending of various earlier words]

*jaunce* ?'to prance as a horse' [prob. fr. Old French]

*jaunt* 4. 'to trot or trudge about'; (later) 5. 'to make a short journey or trip'

*jiffle* 'to shuffle'

*lounge* 1. 'to move indolently, resting between-whiles'

*lumper* 'to move clumsily, to stumble or blunder along' [related to *lumber*, recorded since ME in same sense]

*paddle* v.<sup>1</sup> 1a. 'to wade, walk about, or play in shallow water or mud'

*scamper* 'to run away; to run or caper about nimbly; to go or journey hastily from place to place'

*scramble* 1a. 'to raise oneself to an erect posture, to get through or into a place or position, by the struggling use of the hands and feet; hence, to make one's way by clambering, crawling, jumping, etc. over difficult ground or through obstructions'

*scud* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to run or move briskly or hurriedly'

- scuttle* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to run with quick, hurried steps' [perh. altered form of *scuddle* v. in same sense]
- skice* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to move quickly, to run'
- skirr* 1,2a. 'to run hastily away, flee; to move, run, fly, sail, etc. rapidly and with great impetus'
- skit* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to shy or be skittish; to move lightly and rapidly; to caper, leap, or spring'
- sneak* 1. 'to move, walk, in a stealthy or slinking manner'
- squall* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to turn the feet outwards in walking'
- stroll* 1. 'to roam or wander from place to place'
- swag* 1a. 'to move unsteadily or heavily from side to side or up and down; to sway without control'
- swoop* 1. 'to move or walk in a stately manner, as with trailing garments'
- tolter* 'to move unsteadily; to flounder; to turn or toss about; to hobble; to jolt along'
- traipse* (also as *trapes*; see also *trape*, Appendix III.4) 1a. 'to walk in a trailing or untidy way, etc.'; also in gen. use, 'to tramp or trudge, to go about'
- trig* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to trot, to walk quickly or briskly; to trip'
- trudge* 1. 'to walk laboriously, to jog on'
- whew* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to move quickly; to hurry away, depart abruptly (*dial.*)'
- whisk* 1a. 'to move with a light rapid sweeping motion; to rush or dart nimbly'
- wobble* 1a. 'to move from side to side unsteadily or with uncertain direction'

## 5. Path verbs (3)

- advance* 2a. 'to move or go forward' < from trans. and reflexive uses of the verb
- exit* 1a. 'to make one's exit, depart' < *exit* n. 'the departure of a player from the stage'
- scale* v.<sup>3</sup> 3.a. 'to climb (*over*), ascend, mount' < from transitive senses first recorded in late ME, such as 1.a. *trans.* 'to attack with scaling ladders; to take by escalade'

## Appendix III (LMODE): New manner verbs and verb senses

### 1. Semantic extensions of already existing verbs (144)

- bang* v.<sup>1</sup> 7a. 'to throw oneself or spring with a sudden, impetuous movement; to dash, to bounce'
- bat* v.<sup>1</sup> 4. 'to go or move; to wander, to potter'

- belt* 7. 'to hurry, to rush'  
*blow* 12b. 'to move as if carried or impelled by the wind'  
*bob* v.<sup>3</sup> 2a. 'to move up or down with a bob or slight jerk; to curtsy'  
*bob* v.<sup>3</sup> 2b. 'to come or go in, into, up (promptly, suddenly)'  
*boom* v.<sup>1</sup> 1c. (in curling, etc.): 'to move rapidly onward with booming sound'  
*bowl* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to move on wheels, said of a carriage, or those who ride in it'  
*brisk* 2. 'to move about briskly'  
*bulge* 5. 'to rush in, make a rush for'  
*bundle* 3. 'to go precipitately and in disorder'  
*circulate* 5b. 'to go about in a social circle, spec. to move around at a gathering'  
*circulate* 6b. 'to travel or walk about'  
*clank* 3. 'to move with a clanking sound'  
*clatter* 1c. 'to move rapidly with a rapid succession of short sharp noises, to rattle along, etc.'  
*clink* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to move with a clinking sound'  
*clip* v.<sup>2</sup> 7. 'to move or run quickly'  
*crack* 22a. 'to 'whip' on, pelt along, travel with speed'  
*crash* 2b. 'to move or go with crashing'  
*creak* 2c. 'to move with creaking' (not recorded with human agents)  
*crunch* 3. 'to advance, or make one's way, with crunching'  
*crush* 3b. 'to advance, or make one's way, by crushing or pressure'  
*crutch* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to go on crutches, to limp'  
*decamp* 2. 'to go away promptly or suddenly; to make off at once'  
*dive* 5. 'to dart suddenly down or into some place; to dart out of sight'  
*dodder* 3. 'to proceed or move unsteadily; to totter'  
*doddle* 2. 'to walk with short, infirm, or unsteady steps' (see also *daddle* v.<sup>1</sup>)  
*dodge* 1a. 'to move to and fro; to keep changing one's position'  
*drift* 1c. 'to move passively or aimlessly; also, to come or go casually, to wander'  
*fizz* b. 'to move with a fizzing sound'  
*flash* v.<sup>1</sup> 9b. 'to move like a flash, pass with lightning speed'  
*flick* v.<sup>2</sup> 3. 'to move with quick vibrations'  
*flip* 5. 'to move with a flip or jerk; to step lightly and nimbly'  
*flop* 2a. 'to move clumsily or heavily; to move with a sudden bump or thud'  
*fribble* 1b. 'to totter in walking' (earlier 'to falter')  
*grovel* 1a. 'to move with the body prostrate upon the ground' (in EModE the meaning of the verb seems to be simply 'to lie with the face downwards')  
*hell* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to hurry, rush'  
*hump* 3a. 'to gather oneself together for an effort, to make an effort, to hurry'  
*hurl* 8. 'to wheel or drive (a vehicle, or in a vehicle, esp. one that goes heavily'  
*hustle* 4. 'to move hastily'  
*jumble* 3.b. 'to travel with shaking or jolting'

- kick about* or *around* (s.v. *kick* v.<sup>1</sup>, phrasal verbs) 1. 'to walk or wander about; to go from place to place, esp. aimlessly'
- knock* (also as *knock about*) 5d. 'to stir or move energetically, clumsily and noisily, or in random fashion, about a place'
- lick* 7. 'to run, ride or move at full speed'
- light out* (s.v. *light* v.<sup>1</sup> 5b) 'to decamp, 'make tracks''
- linger* 2b. 'to proceed at a slow pace; to go lingeringly'
- lilt* 3. 'to move with a lively action'
- lob* 3a. 'to move heavily or clumsily'
- loiter* 1b. 'to travel or proceed indolently and with frequent pauses'
- lump* v.<sup>3</sup> 5. 'to move heavily, stump along'
- lunge* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to move with a lunge; to make a sudden forward movement; to rush'
- make tracks* (s.v. *track* n. 10) 'to make off; to go off quickly'
- maunder* v.<sup>2</sup> 2a. 'to move or act in a dreamy, idle, or inconsequent manner'
- meander* 4.(of a person) 'to wander deviously or aimlessly'
- morris* 2. 'to move away rapidly, to decamp'
- niggle* v.<sup>2</sup> 1b. 'to go about or keep moving *along* in a fiddling or ineffective manner'
- nip* v.<sup>1</sup> 9a. 'to move rapidly or nimbly'
- overstride* 3b. 'to take longer strides than is natural'
- parachute* 2. 'to descend by parachute'
- parade* 1a. 'to march in procession or with great display; to walk up and down or promenade in a public place' [see also *parading* vbl. n.]
- patter* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to run with quick, light-sounding steps'
- peel* v.<sup>1</sup> 7. 'to move or drive quickly; to hurry, race'
- pelt* v.<sup>1</sup> 6. 'to move, run, etc., quickly or vigorously'
- pick* v.<sup>1</sup> 16b. 'to make (one's way, a path, etc.) slowly and carefully' (with *way* as object recorded since 1658)
- plough* 8a,b. 'to travel rapidly but inflexibly; to advance in a clumsy and uncontrolled manner; to make one's way across a surface with a ploughing or furrowing action'
- plug* 5. 'to work steadily away at something; to persevere doggedly; to plod, to move steadily'
- plunther* 'to move slowly or with difficulty; to flounder' (prob. a variant of *blunder*, in same sense)
- potter* (see also *putter* v.<sup>3</sup>) 5a,b. 'to move or walk slowly, idly, or aimlessly; to saunter, dawdle, loiter'
- rabbit* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to move quickly, to run away'
- rampage* 1b. 'to go about in an agitated, furious, or violent manner; to rush wildly here and there'
- rip* v.<sup>1</sup> 6b. 'to rush along vigorously; to move at great speed'
- rocket* 3b. 'to move like a rocket; *esp.* to move rapidly; to travel at great speed'

- romp* 2a. 'to proceed easily and rapidly'  
*sail* v.<sup>1</sup> 5a. 'to saunter, go casually'  
*sail* v.<sup>1</sup> 5b. 'to move or go in a stately or dignified manner'  
*school* v.<sup>1</sup> 6b. 'to ride straight across country'  
*scorch* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to cycle or motor at high speed'  
*scuff* 3a,b. 'to walk (through dew, dust, snow, etc.) so as to brush it aside or throw it up; to shuffle with the feet'  
*scuffle* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to move with a shuffling gait; also, to shuffle (with the feet)'  
*scull* 4. 'to skate without lifting the feet from the ice'  
*scurry* 2a,b. 'to go rapidly, move hurriedly'  
*shimmer* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to move effortlessly; to glide, drift'  
*shin* (U.S.) 2. 'to use one's legs; to move quickly'  
*shoggle* 3. 'to walk unsteadily'  
*shoo* 3. 'to hasten away, as after being 'shooed at''  
*shuttle* 2. 'to go or move backwards and forwards like a shuttle; to travel quickly to and fro; also, to travel in one direction using a shuttle service'  
*skelp* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to skip, trip, walk, or run rapidly; to hurry'  
*skid* v.<sup>1</sup> 3b. 'to slip obliquely or sideways; to side-slip (usually said of cycle or motor-car wheels, but also of horse-vehicles or persons)'  
*skid* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to run or go quickly; to scud' (in effect a variant of *scud*, used in related senses since EModE)  
*slap* v.<sup>1</sup> 7. 'to move or walk quickly'  
*slime* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to make one's way in a slimy fashion; to crawl slimily'  
*sling* v.<sup>1</sup> 6. 'to advance, walk, etc., with long or swinging strides'  
*slipper* v.<sup>2</sup> 3. 'to walk or shuffle along in slippers'  
*slip-slop* 3. 'to slip or move about in a sloppy manner or with a flapping sound'  
*slive* v.<sup>2</sup> 2b. 'to slip off or away; to move quietly or slyly in some direction; to loiter, idle'  
*slog* 2. 'to walk heavily or doggedly'  
*slop* v.<sup>2</sup> 5a. 'to walk or travel through a place in mud or slush'  
*slosh* v.<sup>1</sup> (U. S.) 2. 'to move aimlessly; to hang or loaf about'  
*slump* v.<sup>2</sup> 3. 'to move or walk in a clumsy, heavy or laborious manner'  
*slur* v.<sup>2</sup> 4. 'to drag, move heavily'  
*slush* 5. 'to go or walk through mud, etc. with a dull splashing sound'  
*smash* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to move rapidly with shattering effect; to dash or smite violently'  
*snake* v.<sup>1</sup> 2a. 'to move in a creeping, crawling or stealthy manner suggestive of the movements of a snake'  
*splash* v.<sup>1</sup> 5. 'to move or fall with a splash or splashes'  
*split* 14a. 'to run, walk, etc., at great speed'  
*sponge* 11. 'to go about in a sneaking or loafing fashion, esp. in order to obtain something'

- sprint* 'to run, row, etc., at full speed, esp. for a short distance; to race in this manner' (app. related to *sprint*; see Appendix I.1.a)
- sprunt* 'to spring or start; to move in a quick or convulsive manner; to dart or run' (app. related to *sprint*; see Appendix I.1.a)
- squash* v.<sup>1</sup> 3. 'to emit or make a splashing sound; to move, walk, etc. in this way'
- squeeze* 8. 'to force a way; to press or push; to succeed in passing by means of compression'
- quelch* 2d. 'to walk or tread heavily in water or wet ground, so as to make a splashing sound'
- squib* 3a. 'to move about like a squib'
- squirm* 2b. 'to move, proceed, or go with a wriggling or writhing motion'
- stand up* 3. 'to take part in a dance; to dance with (a partner)'
- stave* 10. 'to go with a rush or dash; to 'drive'' (Sc. and U. S.)
- steam* 7a,b. 'to move or travel by the agency of steam (of a ship, a railway engine or their passengers)'
- stodge* 5. 'to walk or trudge through mud or slush; to walk with short heavy steps'
- stot* 2. 'to move with a jumping or springing step, to bound along. Also, to stagger, lurch, move unsteadily'
- stream* 4. (of persons or animals) 'to move together continuously in considerable numbers; to flock'
- struggle* 5. 'to make progress with difficulty *to, into, out of* (a place, a condition), *through* (something interposed)'
- stub* 9b. 'to walk along striking the toes against obstructions; to go heedlessly' (U. S. colloq.)
- surge* 3b. 'to swell or heave with great force; to move tempestuously, *transf.* of a crowd of people, a wind, etc.'
- swagger* 1a. 'to walk or carry oneself as if among inferiors, with an obtrusively superior or insolent air' (in EModE it seems to have meant simply 'to behave with an air of superiority, in a blustering, insolent, or defiant manner')
- tack* v.<sup>1</sup> 8a. 'to make a turning or zigzag movement on land'
- take off* v. 14. 'to go off, start off, run away; to branch off from a main stream'
- tap* v.<sup>2</sup> 2c. 'to walk with sharp light steps'
- teeter* 1b. 'of a person or animal, to walk with a swaying motion; to balance oneself unsteadily on alternate feet' (a variant of *titter* v.<sup>2</sup>; see Appendix I.2)
- tilt* v.<sup>1</sup> 5d. 'to 'charge' into a place or on some one; to run *against*, rush or burst *in, through*'
- tinkle* v.<sup>1</sup> 2b. 'to flow or move with a tinkling sound' (no quotations with human agents)
- tip* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to step lightly; to trip; to walk mincingly or on tiptoe'
- tiptoe* 2. 'to go or walk on tiptoe; to step or trip lightly'
- toddle* 2.a. 'to walk or run with short unsteady steps' (this sense perh. available

- already in EModE); 2.b. hence, 'to go leisurely, to saunter; by familiar meiosis, simply to walk, go'
- toil* v.<sup>1</sup> 3c. 'to move or advance toilsomely'
- tool* 2.b. 'to drive, to travel in a horse-drawn vehicle; also of the vehicle. By extension, to travel in any kind of vehicle'
- tool* 2.c.'of a person: to go in an easy manner; to go off quickly'
- topple* 1c. 'to turn somersaults'
- tottle* v.<sup>1</sup> 2. 'to move unsteadily and with short tottering steps; to toddle'
- truck* v.<sup>1</sup> 6. 'to walk about on petty business; to potter' (app. Sc.)
- trundle* 4b. 'to go in a wheeled vehicle'
- twist* 16. 'to turn aside and proceed in a new direction; to proceed with frequent turns; to wind, meander'
- waltz* b. 'to move lightly, trippingly, or nimbly. Also, to move unconcernedly or boldly'
- wheel* 9. 'to travel in or drive a wheeled vehicle; to ride a bicycle or tricycle'
- worm* 9. 'to move or progress sinuously like a worm; also, to move windingly through' (since 1610 with a serpent as agent of the motion)

## 2. New formations (70)

### a. *by conversion* (51)

- ankle* 1. 'to use the ankles in cycling'
- arrow* 4. 'to move swiftly through space'
- bicycle* 'to ride on a bicycle'
- bike* v.<sup>1</sup> 'to ride a bike' < *bike* n.
- cancan* 'to dance the cancan' (implicit in the ppl. adj. *cancing*)
- canoe* 'to paddle or propel a canoe; to move as in a canoe'
- car* 'to place or carry in a car; to go by car'
- caravan* 'to travel or live in a caravan'
- carom* 'to strike or glance and rebound' < *carom* n. 'an abbreviation of *carambole*, applied to the stroke so called in Billiards'
- cavalcade* 'to ride in a cavalcade, esp. in procession or in company with others'
- chaise* 'to go by chaise'
- chevy* 'to race, scamper' < *chevy* n. 'a hunting cry'
- clamp* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to tread or stamp heavily and clumsily' < *clamp* n. 'a heavy, solid step'
- fuss* 'to make a fuss; to move fussily' < *fuss* n. 'a bustle or commotion out of proportion to the occasion'
- gambado* 'to prance, caper' < *gambado* n. 'a caper'
- gig* v.<sup>6</sup> 'to ride or travel in a gig'
- goose-step* 'to practise goose-step' < *goose-step* n. 'a balance step, practised esp. by various armies in marching on ceremonial parades'

- hotfoot* 'to go hot-foot, to make haste' < *hotfoot* adv. 'with eager or rapid pace; in great haste; hastily'
- hurry-scurry* 'to move or proceed with hurry-scurry; to run or rush in confused haste' < *hurry-scurry* adv.
- june* 'to move in a lively fashion, hurry; to wander around' < ? fr. *June* n.
- kite* 1a. 'to fly, soar, or move through the air, with a gliding motion like that of a kite; also, *fig.* of a person; to move quickly, to rush; to rise quickly'
- lark* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to play tricks, frolic; to ride across country; to ride in a frolicsome manner' < prob. from *lark* n.<sup>2</sup> 'a frolicsome adventure, a spree'
- leap-frog* 1a. 'to leap or vault as at leap-frog' < *leap frog* n.
- lurch* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to move suddenly, unsteadily' (orig. of a ship) < *lurch* n. 'a sudden leaning over to one side'
- morris* 1. 'to dance, spec. to perform a morris dance' < *morris* n.<sup>1</sup> 'morris-dance'
- motor* 'to travel or drive in a motor vehicle'
- nit* v.<sup>2</sup> (*Austral. Colloq.*) 'to escape, decamp; to hurry away' < *nit* n.<sup>2</sup> 'a word used as a signal that someone is approaching'
- patten* (see also *pattening* vbl. n.) 'to walk or go about on pattens'; also (regionally) 'to skate' < *patten* n. 'any of various kinds of thick-soled footwear'
- pirouette* 'to dance a pirouette, spin or whirl on the point of the toe'
- polka* 'to dance the polka'
- rink* (see also *rinking* vbl. n.) 2. 'to skate on a rink' < *rink* n.<sup>2</sup> '... a course marked out for riding or running in'
- shin* (orig. *naut.*) 1a. 'to climb by using the arms without the help of steps, irons' < *shin* n. 'the front part of the human leg between the knee and the ankle'
- ski* 1a. 'to travel on skis'
- skylark* 1. 'to frolic or play; to play tricks; to indulge in rough sport or horse-play' < *skylark* n.
- sled* 1. 'to travel in a sledge' < *sled* n. 'a drag used for the transport of heavy goods'
- sledge* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to travel in a sledge'
- slosh* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to splash about in mud or wet' < imitative or fr. *slosh* n. 'slush, sludge'
- somersault* 'to make or turn a somersault'
- spook* 2a. 'to play the spook; to 'walk' as a ghost' < *spook* n. 'a spectre'
- spread-eagle* 1. 'to cut spread eagles in skating' < *spread eagle* n. 'a figure in fancy-skating'
- stampede* 2a.b. (of a herd of cattle) 'to become panic-stricken and take to flight'; (of a company of persons) 'to rush with common impulse. Also *spec.* of a prospector: to rush to the goldfields' < *stampede* n.
- swag* (chiefly *Austral.* and *N.Z.*) 4a. 'to travel as a swagman' < *swag* n. (*Austral.* and *N.Z.*) 10. 'the bundle of personal belongings carried by a traveller in the bush'
- tiger* 'to act, behave or walk to and fro, like a tiger'

*tittup* 'to walk or go with an up-and-down movement; to walk in an affected manner; of a horse or other animal, also of a rider: to canter, gallop easily, prance' < *tittup* n. 'a horse's canter; a hand-gallop; also, a curvet'

*toboggan* 'to ride on a toboggan or sleigh'

*tournament* 'to ride as in a tournament'

*trampoline* 'to perform on a trampoline'

*waltz* a. 'to dance a waltz' < *waltz* n.

*whirlwind* 'to rush impetuously like a whirlwind'

*zigzag* 1a. 'to go or move in a zigzag course' < *zigzag* n.

*zip* 1. 'to move briskly or with speed' < *zip* n. 'a syllable expressing a light sharp sound; also a movement accompanied by such sound'

b. *by affixation* (7)

*constitutionalize* 2. 'to take a 'constitutional' < fr. *constitutional* n. 'a walk for the sake of bodily exercise'

*jiggle* 'to move in a rapid succession of slight jerks' < frequentative of *jig* v.

*pedestrianate* 'to walk' < *pedestrian* n. + *-ate*

*pedestrianize* 1. 'to go or travel on foot, to walk' < *pedestrian* n. + *-ize*

*peripateticate* 'to do the peripatetic, to walk on foot' < *peripatetic* n. + *-ate*

*skitter* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to move or run rapidly; to hurry about'; also 'to skip or skim along a surface, with occasional rapid contact' [app. a frequentative of *skite* v.<sup>2</sup>]

*stoiter* (Sc. and North dial.) 'to swerve from side to side in walking' [frequentative of *stoit*]

c. *onomatopoeic or imitative* (6)

*clomp* 'to walk as with clogs' [cf. *clump* n. 4. 'a thick extra sole on a shoe']

*jink* v.<sup>1</sup> 1. 'to move with quick sudden action; to move or dart with sudden turns; also, to wheel or fling about in dancing'

*lollop* 'to lounge or sprawl; to go with a lounging gait' [onomatopoeic extension of *loll* v.]

*pat-pat* v.<sup>1</sup> 4. 'to walk or run with light footsteps' [reduplicated variant of *pat* v.<sup>1</sup> 4, in same sense]

*swish* 1. 'to move with a swish'

*zoon* 'to move quickly'

d. *by back formation* (6)

*foot-slog* 'to go on foot; to tramp, march' < *foot-slogger* n. 'a foot-soldier, infantryman, pedestrian' [according to the OED, fr. *foot* n. + *slog* v. 2. 'to walk heavily'; but *foot-slogger* is recorded five years earlier than the verb itself]

*bum* v.<sup>6</sup> 1. 'to wander around, to loaf; to go 'on the bum'' < *bummer* 'an idler, loafer'

*flane* 'to saunter, laze' < *flaneur* n. 'a loungeur or saunterer, an idle 'man about town''

*ricket* 'to move in a rickety manner; to lurch' < prob. fr. *rickety* adj. 'as if affected by rickets'

*sleep-walk* < *sleep-walking* vbl. n. and ppl. adj.

*spank* v.<sup>2</sup> 1. 'to move or travel with speed and elasticity; to ride or drive at a sharp trot or in a smart or stylish manner' < prob. fr. *spanking* adj. 2. of horses: 'moving or travelling at a rapid pace'; of persons: 'dashing, lively'

e. *by truncation, blending or word-manufacturing* (6)

*canter* v.<sup>2</sup> 1,2,3. (of the horse, later of the rider and *transf.*) 'to move in a moderate gallop, raising the two fore-feet nearly at the same time; to move nimbly or briskly' < shortened fr. *canterbury* v.

*galumph* 'to march on exultingly with irregular bounding movements. Now usu., to gallop heavily' (a word invented by L. Carroll)

*mote* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to travel in a motor vehicle' < prob. shortened from *motor* v.

*skelter* 'to dash along, hurry, rush, scurry' < fr. the second element in *helter-skelter* 'in disordered haste'

*slope* v.<sup>2</sup> 1a,b. 'to make off, depart, decamp; also, to move (*off, in, etc.*) in a leisurely manner; to depart surreptitiously, sneak off' [perh. formed by wrong analysis of *let's lope*]

*stroom* (also *strom*) 'to walk with long strides; to wander about idly' [?formed after *stroll* and *roam*]

3. *Loans and adaptations from other languages* (10)

a. *from Dutch* (2)

*trek* (orig. *S. Afr.*) 'to make a journey by ox-wagon; hence, to travel, migrate. In extended use: to travel, esp. arduously' < a. Du. *trekk-en*

*tripple* v.<sup>2</sup> (*S. Afr.*) 'to go at a tripple (= a horse's gait)' < a. Du. *trippelen*

b. *from French* (2)

*chassé* 'to execute the step or movement called a *chassé*' < Fr. *chasser*, in same sense

*polk* 'to dance the polka' < Fr. *polker*

*sashay* 'to perform a *chassé*'; also, 'to glide, walk, or travel, esp. in a casual manner', 'to move or walk ostentatiously' (mispronunciation of *chassé*; see above)

c. *from Italian*

*scarper* 'to depart hastily, run away' < prob. ad. It. *scappare* to escape, get away'

d. *from Latin* (4)

*absquatulate* 'make off, decamp' [a factitious word, simulating a Latin form]

*gyrate* 'to move in a circle or a spiral' < f. L. *gyrat-*, ppl. stem of *gyrare*

*somnambulate* 'to walk in sleep' [a formation with *somn-*, combining form of Latin *somnus*, used in words based on Latin *ambulāre* 'to walk']

*somnambulize* 'to walk in sleep'; see above

e. *from Spanish*

*vamoose* (orig. and chiefly U.S.) 1. 'to depart, make off, decamp' < ad. Sp. *vamos* 'let us go'

4. *Verbs of uncertain origin* (20)

*bunk* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to be off'

*cavort* 'to curvet, prance' [Bartlett: "a corruption of *curvet*"]

*clop* 'to hobble' [compare Old French *clop*, modern French *ecloppé* 'lame']

*hike* 1. 'to walk or march vigorously; to go for a long walk, or walking tour, *spec.* in the country'

*mosey* originally: 'to go away quickly or promptly; to make haste'; later usually: 'to walk in a leisurely or aimless manner' [perh. related to *mosy* adj. 'downy, hairy' or *muzz* v. 'to study hard']

*scoot* v.<sup>1</sup> (slang. or colloq.) 3. 'to go suddenly and swiftly, to dart; to go away hurriedly'; also, Sc. and U. S.: 2. 'to slide suddenly, as on slippery ground'

*scutter* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to go hastily with much fuss and bustle' [alteration of *scuttle* v. in same sense]

*skedaddle* originally, of soldiers, troops, etc.: 1. 'to retreat or retire hastily'; in general use, 2. 'to leave or depart hurriedly'

*skiff* v.<sup>2</sup> (Sc.) 'to move lightly and quickly, esp. so as barely to touch the surface; to glide, run in this manner'

*skifter* 'to move lightly and quickly; to skip, run, glide'

*sky* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to run swiftly'

*slime* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to move in a gliding, stealthy or sneaking manner'

*slodge* 'to trail or drag the feet in walking; to walk slouchingly'

*speel* v.<sup>2</sup> 'to go fast; to run away, make off'

*stog* v.<sup>2</sup> 2. 'to walk clumsily or heavily; to plod on'

*stram* (U. S. *colloq.* and *dial.*) 'to stretch out the limbs, to walk in a flourishing manner'

*stroke* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to go quickly, to travel' (OED: ?related to *strake*; see Appendix I.3)

*tatter* v.<sup>3</sup> 'to move or bestir oneself actively; to go or run at a great rate'

*trape* 'to walk in a trailing or untidy way' (?related to *traipse*; see Appendix II.4)

*twaddle* v.<sup>3</sup> (chiefly dial.) 'to walk in a feeble, uncertain gait'

### 5. Path verbs (3)

*back* (already in use in ME, of a hawk) 16a. ‘to move back, recede, retreat backward’; also *back out* 18. ‘to move backward out of a place’, *back up* 22b. ‘to move backwards’

*back down* 19. ‘to descend as one does a ladder; to recede downward from a position taken up’

*back up* 22c. ‘climb (in a certain specified manner)’

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