



## Book of Abstracts

### Workshop on Typological Contrasts

And their impact on cognition, language learning and bilingual mediation

19-20 May 2022

Aarhus University

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# Thinking-for-translating in comics: a case-study of *Asterix*

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Languages across the world differ in the way they express the fact of motion. The thinking-for-translating hypothesis (Slobin, 1996) deals with the differences in the characteristics of style across languages. Translators are usually constrained by the codification of information in the target language and thus attempt to adhere to its rhetorical style. This becomes especially challenging in the translation of motion events, as there is both intertypological and intratypological variation across languages.

The present study aims to contribute to the analysis of thinking-for-translating in comics since few studies have focused on motion events in this genre (e.g. Tversky and Chow, 2017, Molés-Cases, 2020 a,b). The study explores the translation of motion events in five albums of the French comic *Asterix* and its corresponding translations into Galician and into English. It aims at analysing any differences in the number and the type of motion verbs used across the three languages and the strategies used to translate Manner and Path of motion verbs. With this purpose in mind, the study includes a type-token analysis of all motion verbs; it covers the intratypological language pair French>Galician that has not been analysed in the semantic component of motion in this genre, as well as the intertypological pair French>English.

Finally, while most studies focus on the translation strategies for Manner verbs, this study includes the strategies not only of Manner but also of Path verbs. Findings in the compiled corpus revealed that a higher number of neutral verbs is used in the source text and no inter or intratypological differences have been found in the number and type of neutral verbs used in the translations into Galician and English. In contrast, intertypological differences were observed in the number and types of Path verbs used. In the translation into English a lower number of types and a slightly smaller number of tokens are used, supporting the evidence that Path verbs are less frequently used in S-languages. Intertypological differences were also observed in the higher number of types and tokens used to express Manner verbs in the translation into English. With regard to the strategies used to translate Manner and Path of motion, translation of Manner tends to be retained and it is the most commonly used strategy. Modulation, omission and visual compensation are less frequently occurring and no cases of addition or specification of Manner were found. Finally, eight strategies for the translation of Path have been found in the data, including visual compensation.

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Tversky, B. and Chow, T. (2017) Language and Culture in Visual Narratives. *Cognitive Semiotics* 10 (2), 77–89. [doi.org/10.1515/cogsem-2017-0008](https://doi.org/10.1515/cogsem-2017-0008)

# When typological contrasts meet adult second language acquisition.

## Focus on motion

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In this lecture, we intend to present a study focusing on motion event construal in a story-telling task produced by L2 university learners of French and Italian, whose L1 is either typologically close (Italian or French) or distant (English) from the TL. 110 informants were observed: 30 native speakers (English 10, French 10, Italian 10), who represent our reference groups, and 80 learners of two proficiency levels (intermediate vs. advanced; cf. Bartning & Schlyter, 2004). Oral data were produced by means of the *Frog story* (Mayer 1969).

Given the typological contrasts between the languages (English as a *satellite-framed language* vs. Italian and French as *verb-framed languages*, cf. Talmy, 2000; Italian as more satellite-framed than French, via syntagmatic verbs – SV –: i.e. *saltare fuori* 'jump out'; Simone, 1997; Anastasio 2019, 2021), we intend to examine (a) the way learners code motion events (*locus* of information, motion verbs, semantic density), (b) the impact of crosslinguistic influence (CLI) according to proficiency and the typological properties of the languages in contact, (c) to suggest a pragmatic instruction of motion event construal in a L2 classroom (Watorek et al. 2021; Cuet 2015; Cadierno 2008).

L2 data shows common tendencies related to general acquisitional principles (i.e. use of idiosyncratic verb and prepositional forms) for intermediate learners. CLI is only found at the advanced level when the TL and the SL have formal analogous structures (*transfer to somewhere*, Andersen 1983). Specifically, advanced English learners resort to satellite devices in L2 Italian (via SV), whereas they (along with Italian learners) do not in L2 French.

Also, L1French-L2Italian and L1Italian-L2French learners look for similarities in the TL (Ringborm & Jarvis 2009), so they do not try to find other linguistic devices coding the same motion concepts (i.e. via SV). Our results lead us to ponder how language teachers can help learners grasp alternative structural devices in the L2 if such escape their attention (i.e. form-function approach especially at pragmatics level, use of visual images to show how spatial conceptualization varies in languages; cf. Watorek et al. 2021, Cuet 2015).

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## Motion events and localism

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Localism is the influential idea that linguistic meaning, typically of adpositions and cases, can be described in terms of spatial location and movement (e.g. Lyons 1967). While its roots can be traced to antiquity, localism as it is applied in much contemporary semantics is not just an analytical tool for sense analysis but a much stronger claim about the nature of linguistic meaning and its cognitive underpinnings (Fortis 2020). On such a view, spatial meaning is assumed to be cognitively more primary, which is linguistically reflected in the claimed secondary nature of, for example, the temporal sense of the preposition (1b), derived metaphorically or otherwise from the spatial sense, as in (1a).

(1a) The cat is on the mat.

(1b) The meeting is on Wednesday.

In this talk, I connect my previous work on localism (e.g. Blomberg & Thiering 2016) to motion semantics. I do so by turning to an overlooked aspect of Talmy's motion event analysis: its part in a broader framework that aims to provide an outline of the general conceptual-semantic structure of events and their realization across languages (Talmy 2000: 226ff). The choice to emphasize motion as the quintessential event type is indicative of a strong localist tendency in Talmy's thought. This is further reflected in the fact that motion events as the prototypical event are defined primarily in spatial terms (i.e. with the conceptual-semantic categories Figure, Ground, Path and Motion) together with Force Dynamics (Talmy 2000: 232). In line with the general tenets of localism, the spatial analysis is then extended to capture some essential features of temporal character: "the organization of conceptualization for linguistic expression sets temporal contouring into analogy with Motion. It does so as part of a broader cognitive analogy by which *temporal structuring is conceptualized as paralleling spatial structuring*" (Talmy 2000: 231, my emphasis). In other words, time mirrors the conceptual-semantic structure of space.

As I have argued elsewhere (e.g. Blomberg 2014; Blomberg & Thiering 2016), such a strong form of localism cannot deliver on its promise to fully ground linguistic meaning in basic perceptual-cognitive principles. I tentatively point to a possible solution that can include the basic temporal structure of events into a semantic analysis of motion, which is in part inspired by the analysis of pre-linguistic *motion situations* (Zlatev et al. 2021) and Croft's (2011) proposal that linguistic event structure has both a Qualitative and a Temporal dimension, which need to be distinguished before they can be integrated.

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# Typological contrasts in the expression of placement events and their TFS effects on L1 and L2 allocation of attention, verbalization and memory

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In the last decade Slobin's thinking for speaking (TFS) hypothesis has attracted a great deal of attention in the fields of L1 and L2 acquisition, especially in the semantic domain of motion. Most of this research, which has been based on Talmy's (1985, 1991, 2000) influential typological framework, has tended to focus on L1 and L2 speakers' verbalization of motion events.

However, following Slobin (2003), a full research program in TFS should investigate the effects of language in three time-frames: (1) *experience time*, which examines the anticipatory effects of language, i.e., the time when the individual must attend to those event dimensions that are relevant for linguistic encoding; (2) *speaking time*, which refers to the time in which linguistically codable dimensions must be accessed and attended to during verbalization; and (3) *testing time*, which assesses the consequential effects of language, i.e., the time when prior linguistic encoding may have an effect on subsequent recall or recognition.

In my talk, I will exemplify the investigation of these time frames in current L1 and L2 work on placement events. Placement events are a subtype of caused motion events where typically an Agent causes an object to move to a specific location in space as in *John puts a cup on the table*. The semantic domain of placement is interesting for language acquisition research as it evidences clear typological differences in the types of placement verbs and placement constructions employed by native speakers of different languages. I will review some recent studies that have examined the effects of TFS on allocation of attention (experience time), verbalization (speaking time) and recognition memory (testing time).

## On the emotional impact of loss of manner. The reception of translated crime testimonies

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The study of cross-linguistic influence in the translation of motion events has been generally drawn from Talmy's (1985, 2000) theory of lexicalization patterns and Slobin's (1996, 2003) thinking-for-translating framework. Existing research on both intertypological and intratypological translation shows that translators adapt source texts to the rhetorical or narrative style of the target languages (e.g., Alonso 2018; Cifuentes-Férez 2013; Cifuentes-Férez and Rojo 2015; Filipović 1999, 2007; Hijazo-Gascón and Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2013; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003; Lewandowski and Mateu 2016; Molés-Cases 2018; Molés-Cases and Cifuentes-Férez 2021). In English-into-Spanish translation, translators tend to omit or reduce more manner information and include less complex path descriptions than in Spanish-into-English translation.

Another venue of research discusses the impact or effects that these typological differences may have on audience's judgments about events (e.g., Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović 2013; Filipović 2007, 2013; Trujillo 2003). Research results on the translation of crime events indicate that changes relative to the inclusion/omission of manner information do in fact influence the audience's judgments about the violence and their decisions on a possible punishment (e.g., Rojo and Cifuentes-Férez, 2017). However, the question of whether the amount of manner information included in texts may have any impact on audience's affect and emotional engagement has not been addressed yet.

In order to answer this question, a reception study has been designed to test the emotional impact of the loss of manner information on the English into Spanish translation of crime events. Our experimental design takes Rojo and Cifuentes-Férez' study as starting point but incorporates psychometric tests that measures audience' positive and negative affect (PANAS test; Watson et al. 1988) and emotional engagement with the text (NE or Narrative Engagement test, Green and Brock 2000). We predict that target texts with a higher degree of manner information will trigger higher levels of negative affect and emotional engagement than those with a higher degree of loss of manner. Results reveal intriguing differences on the audience's emotional impact that point to the relevant role of keeping as much manner information as possible in crime testimonies and, thus, call for caution when translating crime events.

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# **Three fundamental types of motion and their importance to central perceptual, temporal, logical and indexical categories. Evidence from Chinese, English, Russian and French**

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Traditionally, so-called motion events have been defined and described from the point of view of language, i.e., how various languages lexicalize different kinds of motion events by employing notions such as figure and ground as well as manner and path. This approach is third person oriented and ignores the first person perspective: What does the actor do, when s/he is performing motion, and which consequences does the actual movement have for the person's perception and cognition? I shall argue that from a first person perspective people may perform three different kinds of motion which enter a certain order: (1) Moving forward towards a goal; (2) moving back to the starting point, and (3) moving forward and backward, i.e., having reached the goal one returns to the starting point. I shall furthermore argue that these three different kinds of motion have perceptual, temporal, logical and indexical correlates. In short, three different types of motion correspond to three different kinds of looking at an entity in reality (viz. an extrovertive, introvertive and full perspective), to three different time perspectives (viz. a prospective, retrospective and timeless perspective), to three different kinds of logical argument (viz. a deductive, abductive and inductive argument) and to three different types of indexes (signal, symptom and model). Although the five categories constitute a certain hierarchy, it is crucial to emphasize that the specific movement giving rise to perceptual, temporal, logical and indexical reflexes will always play a fundamental role. By employing data from Chinese, English, Russian and French I shall demonstrate how verbs, case forms, lexical-grammatical patterns and tense-aspect forms derive from various places in this hierarchy, however, without losing their original motional source.

## **Embodied language use: What gesture analysis can reveal about motion events in SLA and multilingualism**

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A key question in studies of speakers with knowledge of more than one language ('multicompetent speakers'; e.g., Cook, 1991) is how to probe the details of underlying representations in order to gauge whether, and if so how, bilinguals' representations differ from those of monolinguals, and how they are deployed in real-time use. Motion events are a well-studied domain in this regard. A considerable body of work describes crosslinguistic differences in great detail and also cognitive effects of such differences. However, most studies look only at speech and ignore the fact that language use is multimodal, therefore potentially missing important aspects of event representations.

In this talk I will discuss what the study of speech-associated gestures can contribute to our understanding of motion event representations. I first discuss multimodal evidence for different representations in 'monolingual' speakers of different languages. I then review a series of studies examining the consequences of such crosslinguistic differences in multicompetent speakers (L2 speakers and functional multilinguals), revealing gestural evidence of shifts in representations, bidirectional crosslinguistic influence (L1 on L2 and L2 on L1), and convergence. I will highlight what gesture analysis adds that cannot be gleaned from speech analyses alone, and discuss some methodological and theoretical implications of these findings.

# How languages direct our attention when we talk and gesture about (caused) motion events (and why it matters in second language acquisition)

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This talk focuses on the much-debated question of whether languages have an impact on the way speakers conceptualize and verbalize the world around them. More concretely, it investigates how motion and causation events are conceptualized and multimodally encoded in typological and phylogenetic different languages by L1 and L2 speakers. The talk will discuss results from a series of verbal and non-verbal studies on motion and causation (Cadierno et al. forth; Ariño-Bizarro et al. forth; Peiró-Márquez & Ibarretxe-Antuñano in press, *i.a.*). Its ultimate goal will be to unveil possible relativistic effects on these events and to show how crucial it is to be aware of these effects from an L2 perspective.

## Endocentric and exocentric text structure. A question of language typology or language usage?

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In this paper, I describe some of the most distinct differences between typical endocentric and exocentric text structure, with particular reference to Danish and Italian respectively. I point to some of the phenomena which – in my experience as a teacher of Italian in Denmark for over 40 years – have been most problematic to Danish students of Italian, namely the differences in text complexity and text density between otherwise parallel Danish and Italian texts. Regarding text and text type comparison, I follow the theoretical framework suggested by Hartmann (1980), cf. also Skytte (2000), with distinctions between what Hartmann calls “Class B” and “Class C” parallel texts (“Class A” being translations). “Class B” texts are adaptations “conveying an identical message to receivers of sometimes very different cultural backgrounds” (Hartmann 1980: 38), e.g. news bulletins, whereas “Class C” texts are authentic texts produced independently in the languages in question, but in equivalent situations and with equivalent targets and contents. I shall refer to “Class C” texts as “comparable texts” (Korzen & Gylling 2017; Korzen 2021).

A good example of the much higher text complexity and density in Italian is found in the following excerpts of comparable speeches held in the European Parliament by a Danish and an Italian politician respectively (*Europarl Corpus*, Koehn 2005):

(1) Der er mange lobbyister i Europa-Parlamentet. De indgår som en naturlig del af vores arbejde og bidrager med oplysninger og synspunkter. De kan nok ikke undværes, men vi skal have regler for deres aktiviteter. Ford-betænkningen er et godt bud på nogle regler, der kan gennemføres. (ep-96-07-16.txt:258, speaker: Freddy Blak).

‘There are many lobbyists in the European Parliament. They form a natural part of our work and contribute information and viewpoints. They probably cannot be dispensed with, but we must have rules for their activities. The Ford report is a good proposal for some rules that can be implemented.’ (My translation).

(2) Accanto al deciso sostegno ad un approccio microeconomico, destinato ad incoraggiare i paesi più poveri ad investire nel loro stesso avvenire lo sviluppo del microcredito, l’Unione [Europea] auspica il mantenimento delle preferenze commerciali con i paesi più poveri e più economicamente vulnerabili. (ep-98-04-01.txt:39, speaker: Amadeo Amadeo).

‘Along with decisive support for a microeconomic approach, intended to encourage the poorest countries to invest in the development of microcredit in their own future, the [European] Union hopes to maintain trade preferences with the poorest and most economically vulnerable countries.’ (My translation).



As can be gathered from these examples, my focus is on the textualisation and syntactic combination of propositions in the two languages. Other things being equal, Romance text structure typically reveals a more compact and complex form than Scandinavian text structure, with more propositions per sentence and more propositions textualised without a finite verb, i.e. “deverbalised”.

Whereas examples (1)-(2) are taken from comparable texts, the picture changes – not surprisingly – when we consider adapted texts, “Class B” texts in Hartmann’s terminology. However, with regard to Danish and Italian text structure, the picture seems to change on one account only, namely the sentence compactness, i.e. the number of propositions textualised in the same sentence; not regarding deverbalisation.

On the basis of statistical analyses of four different text corpora, three of comparable texts and one of adaptations, I discuss the usefulness of these two kinds of text comparison, as well as whether the mentioned text structure differences should be considered a question of language typology or language usage.

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## Specificity of spatial event expression in monolinguals and bilinguals

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Languages differ in their expression of spatial events, with some using more general and others more specific descriptions. For example, when encoding self-motion, satellite-framed languages (S-language) such as German and Polish typically conflate manner and path components within a single clause (e.g., German: *Ein Mann LÄUFT INS Haus* 'A man RUNS INTO the house'). In contrast, verb-framed languages (V-language) such as Spanish and Turkish encode path in the main verb and manner in an optional adjunct (e.g., Spanish: *Un hombre ENTRA en la casa CORRIENDO* 'A man ENTERS the house RUNNING'; Talmy 2000). However, given that the use of such complex structures consisting of a main verb and an adjunct in V-languages involves greater processing demands compared to the more compact S-language structures (Slobin 2004), V-language speakers habitually exclude manner from their motion descriptions—thus relying on a less specific system of motion expression (i.e., fewer semantic elements per clause) than S-language speakers, who typically encode both path and manner (Pavlenko 2014).

In a related vein, when encoding placement events involving support and containment, one group of languages relies on more general descriptions (Spanish: *PONER un vaso en la mesa* 'PUT a glass on the table'; Polish: *WŁOŻYĆ kamień do kieszeni*='PUT a stone into the pocket'), while other set of languages relies on more specific descriptions that detail the final orientation of placed objects (e.g., Polish: *POŁOŻYĆ książkę na stół*='PUT HORIZONTALLY book on table') or the relative fit of the placed object in a container (e.g., German: *einen Stein in die Tasche STECKEN* 'PUT TIGHTLY a stone into pocket'; Kopecka & Narasimhan 2012).

Relatively less is known about how the relative specificity of event expression in first (L1) and second language (L2) shapes patterns of spatial language in L2 acquisition contexts. Some studies suggest that it is harder to shift to an L2 with an encoding system that is more specific than L1 (Cadierno 2010; Gullberg 2009); a few others suggest similar difficulties in achieving L2-like patterns, irrespective of the specificity of event descriptions in L1 (Cadierno et al. 2016).

I examined expression patterns of self-motion and placement events produced by Polish (L1)-German (L2) and Polish (L1)-Spanish (L2) adult bilinguals (n=20/group), in comparison to German, Spanish, or Polish adult monolinguals (n=20/group)—using two separate animated description tasks, one for self-motion (Özçalışkan 2016) and another for placement (Bowerman et al. 2004). I asked whether L2 speakers show greater difficulty in shifting from a less to a more specific system of description in expressing spatial events—a pattern that I expected to be reversed for shifts from more to less specific L2 systems. I found greater effect of L1 in moving from a less to a more specific L2, and greater effect of L2 in moving from a more to a less specific or between two more specific systems, suggesting that the specificity of event expression in L1 influences patterns of spatial language in L2.

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## Thinking-for-translating in audiovisual productions. Motion events in *The Hobbit* film series

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In the last two decades, the phenomenon of the translation of motion events has been broadly examined under the umbrella of the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis (Slobin 1996, 2005), according to which translators codify different pieces of information depending on the mechanisms and restrictions of the target language. The impact of these divergences on translation (mainly in terms of rhetorical style) has been confirmed by a great diversity of contributions, which have identified a series of translation techniques for the specific translation problems of Manner and Path. Although most studies within this line of research deal with narrative texts (e.g. Alonso Alonso 2018, Cifuentes-Férez 2013, Filipović 2008, Iacobini & Vergaro 2012, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003, Lewandowski & Mateu 2016), other textual genres have been explored too, including biology texts (e.g. Pavesi 2003), poems (e.g. Jaka 2009), witness interviews (e.g. Filipović 2011), videogame instructions (e.g. Cifuentes-Férez & Rojo 2015), crime descriptions (e.g. Rojo & Cifuentes-Férez 2017) and comics (e.g. Molés-Cases 2020a, 2020b).

This research study analyses motion events in the English and Spanish versions of the film series of *The Hobbit* (Peter Jackson, 2012–2014); more specifically, it focuses on three modes of audiovisual translation (AVT): subtitling, dubbing and audio description for the blind and visually impaired. The data resulting from the analyses on subtitling and dubbing allow an examination of whether the presence of images and the restrictions of these modes of AVT (e.g. mainly timing/space and lip synchronisation, respectively) have any effect in the lexicalization of motion events. As for audio description, which is a type of intersemiotic transfer, it will be interesting to compare the number and type of motion events in the English and Spanish versions, with the final aim of discovering whether the describer's mother tongue and the restrictions of this mode of AVT (e.g. timing) have a combined impact in the product of audio description.

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## Two different ways of Thinking-for-Speaking. Findings from a simultaneous elicitation task in Spanish and Danish

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According to Slobin's Thinking-for-Speaking (TfS) hypothesis (1991, 1996), the language we use while we are speaking guides us to pay attention to those dimensions that are relevant for communicating in that language, thus adjusting to its *rhetorical style*. When describing a motion event, for example, Spanish speakers and Danish speakers will have a tendency to verbalize information by employing radically different strategies, as shown through decades of research drawing from Talmy's motion event typology (1985, 2000) and its division between verb-framed languages (e.g., Spanish) and satellite-framed languages (e.g., Danish). However, although the rhetorical style of each language can be attested in the form of patterns that emerge across descriptions, a great deal of variation can be found showcasing different construal operations, which are probably influenced by several factors such as the idiosyncratic features of each speaker and the characteristics of the communicative situation.

In this talk, I will focus on that last part – the characteristics of the communicative situation – and discuss the role played by the constraints of the task in data elicitation. I will show some findings from an experiment carried out with a group of Spanish L1 speakers and a group of Danish L1 speakers, with no or very limited command of a language from the opposite family. The experiment was carried out in the form of a simultaneous, video-based elicitation task focusing on placement events, an example of which is illustrated below in (1) for Spanish and (2) for Danish:

(1) *Trine mete la botella en la champanera.*

(2) *Trine sætter flasken ned i champagneskøleren.*

'Trine puts the bottle in the ice bucket'

In these events, considered a subtype of caused motion events (see a schematic summary in Talmy 2017), an Agent (*Trine*) changes the location of a Figure (*la botella, flasken* 'the bottle') with respect to a Ground (*la champanera, champagneskøleren* 'the ice bucket').

The results show two distinct ways of TfS. The Spanish-L1 group seems to focus on whether Grounds can be conceived as either surfaces or containers and systematically employs different sets of verbs depending on the Figure/Ground relation (*poner/quitar* 'put/remove' for the support relation vs. *meter/sacar* 'insert/extract' for the containment relation). The Danish-L1 group focuses on verticality and systematically uses the adverbs *op/ned* 'up/down' when a clear movement along the vertical axis can be attested, regardless of the Figure/Ground relation. The use of adverbs such as *ind/ud* 'in/out' is mostly attested when the placement event involving containment does not follow the vertical axis or when such verticality is not clear or possible to determine.

In addition, within the support vs. containment division in Spanish, there is a pervasive use of double-framing constructions such as *meter dentro* 'to insert inside' for the containment relation. In Danish, where verticality or lack thereof is encoded in the satellite, the data shows a frequent use of motion-only, thus manner-less, verbs such as *komme* 'transitive put, intransitive come' and *tage* 'transitive take, intransitive go,' and a preference for using *lægge* 'to lay' instead of other position verbs (e.g., *stille* 'to put vertically').

These phenomena challenge existing knowledge about how speakers verbalize placement events. I will conclude my talk by discussing how an elicitation task with added time pressure such as this one can provide us with insights from TfS in Spanish and TfS in Danish that call into question common assumptions and, by doing so, can contribute to expanding our understanding of what a prototypical lexicalization pattern could look like.

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## Complex predicates vs. independent lexical forms. Typological differences between Danish and Spanish

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The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate from a typological perspective how Danish and Spanish differ from each other in terms of their canonical realization of linguistic expression patterns. Specifically, it is argued that Danish, as a general tendency, uses complex predicates, CPs, to encode a certain semantic content that Spanish usually expresses through non-complex and semantically precise lexical units (Morata & Müller: in press), cf. (1a-c).

- |                             |                     |                                      |                   |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (1a) V + PART: <sup>1</sup> | <i>gå</i> 'go'      | <i>gå ned</i> 'go down'              | [hundirse, bajar] |
| (1b) V + PP:                | <i>gå</i> 'go'      | <i>gå på pension</i> 'go on pension' | [jubilarse]       |
| (1c) V + NP:                | <i>vaske</i> 'wash' | <i>vaske bil</i> 'wash car'          | [lavar el coche]  |

CPs are defined as units of expression formed by pseudo-incorporation, PI, (Dayal 2011 and Müller 2017, among many others) of a co-predicate, the non-verbal element, into a host predicate, the verb (Nedergaard Thomsen & Herslund 2002, Becerra Bascañán 2006). PI differs from morphosyntactic incorporation, i.e. proper absorption of the co-predicate by the host predicate, in that the components are kept separate. Despite of this, the PI process is characterized by prosodic, topological and morphological features that suggest a close relationship between the components of the CP.

First, whatever the lexical form of the co-predicate, the verb is reduced prosodically, thus forming a stress unit with the co-predicate. Second, a topological requirement to achieve unit accentuation between the two components is that the weak stress component (the verb) must appear before the full stress element (the co-predicate), that is, we always have the word order  ${}_0X \dots {}^1Y$  (Hansen & Heltoft 2011: 338). Third, when the co-predicate is a noun, complement of the verb or of a preposition, it does not usually carry elements that express nominal functional categories (Massam 2009). The structure of the CP can be illustrated as follows:

- |      |  |                     |
|------|--|---------------------|
| (2a) | <i>Skibet</i> [[ <i>går</i> ] <sub>host predicate</sub> [ <i>ned</i> ] <sub>co-predicate</sub> ] <sub>complex predicate</sub><br>'the ship goes down'          | [El barco se hunde] |
|      | ↓  |                     |
| (2b) | <i>María</i> [[ <i>går</i> ] <sub>host predicate</sub> [ <i>på pension</i> ] <sub>co-predicate</sub> ] <sub>complex predicate</sub><br>'María goes on pension' | [María se jubila]   |
|      | ↓  |                     |
| (2c) | <i>Ole</i> [[ <i>vaske</i> ] <sub>host predicate</sub> [ <i>bil</i> ] <sub>co-predicate</sub> ] <sub>complex predicate</sub><br>'Ole washes car'               | [Ole lava el coche] |

The arrows between the examples indicate that CPs can be placed on a continuum according to their semantic transparency. The meaning of (2a) is not deducible from

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<sup>1</sup> The particles can be adjectival, prepositional and adverbial.



the sum of its components, while (2b) represents a step towards less abstraction due to the semantic specificity of the complement *pension*. The expression in (2c) is lexically transparent, but the syntactic relationship between the components results in the V+N-predicates systematically being interpreted as atelic expressions denoting routinized, institutionalized, or ritualized activities.

By contrast, this highly productive possibility of forming CPs through PI is generally not available in Spanish (with some notable exceptions). In order to explore this typological difference in some depth, the remainder of the paper focusses on discussing a subset of Danish PI-constructions, namely transparent V+PART CPs, and their possible simple lexeme translational counterparts in Spanish.

Briefly put, the analysis presented in the paper suggests that in Danish the co-predicate (the particle) encodes goal-orientation into the CP by creating a secondary tenseless predication with the matrix sentence subject or object, while Spanish prototypically uses unaccusative or transitive verbs that denote the result of the motion event in order to express goal-oriented motion. This means that very often the Spanish verbs express the semantic content of the Danish co-predicate – leaving that of the host unarticulated or relegated to the periphery of the clause – or, alternatively, they incorporate host and co-predicate in a single, often deictic, lexeme.

Based on these considerations, it is put forward that one of the key points to understanding the lack of correspondence between the Germanic and Romance languages in terms of structuring and encoding lexical information lies in their different capacities to build CPs through PI.

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## The emotional impact of typological differences in the translation of crime events

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Slobin's (2003) 'thinking-for-translating' theory discusses the consequences of typological differences in speakers' attention to manner of motion for translation. Existing results show that in rendering manner information translators tend to adapt to the rhetorical style of the target language (Cifuentes-Férez 2006; Filipović 1999, 2007; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003; Rojo and Valenzuela 2001). As a consequence, English-into-Spanish translators omit and/or reduce a higher degree of manner and path information than those working from Spanish into English who tend to add manner information, but keep the original path (Slobin, 1996, 1997).

A related question addresses the effects that these differences may have on subsequent judgments about the events described (e.g., Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović 2013; Trujillo 2003). Evidence on the translation of crime events suggests that the reported changes in manner information influence the audience's judgments about the violence and severity of the crimes and even their decisions on a possible punishment (e.g., Rojo and Cifuentes-Férez, 2017). Results from translation and interpreting studies on the impact of ST content upon translators' affect and their strategic behaviour show that translators tend to make more changes to negatively framed ST content on the COVID-19 crisis as compared to positively framed one (Rojo & Naranjo, 2021). But no data have been provided yet on the impact of translators' affect and emotional engagement on the strategies they use to render manner information.

To explore this question an experiment has been designed to test the effects of crime events on translators' emotional engagement and their strategies to reproduce manner information in the TT. Our hypothesis predicts that the higher the levels of negative affect and emotional engagement with the ST, the greater their focus on manner information and the greater their attempt to keep it in the TT. Results point to the role of emotional affect and engagement in drawing translators' attention into the rhetorical style of the ST.

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# From motion events to(wards) a semantics of perceptual vs. conceptual motion

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This paper aims at further developing the theoretical tools and metalanguage available for comparing the lexicalization of motion, and, in particular, the enterprise of moving (or being moved) from one place ( $Loc_1$ ) to another ( $Loc_2$ ), across languages. It takes as its point of departure the well-established distinction between Manner (and/or satellite-framed) and Path (and/or verb-framed) languages developed by Talmy (2000: 25ff; 1985) and Slobin (1996; 2004).

The latter framework has sparked an extensive body of research addressing the exact place of particular languages in the binary typology, possible implications for pre-linguistic cognition, and other issues (for recent overviews, see e.g. Cominetti & Panunzi, 2020; Skordos et al., 2020). However, a recurrent concern in the literature is the need for a more precise and coherent theoretical basis for (a) distinguishing so-called directed motion or motion events from motion in a wider sense, and (b) further specifying and differentiating the intuitively attractive, but vaguely defined parameters of Manner and Path.

The paper addresses these issues in combination by suggesting a cognitively founded framework for cross-linguistic verb classification which synthesizes the situation and verb typology developed by Durst-Andersen (1992; see also 2000, 2006) with certain insights gained on pre-linguistic motion detection (D'Angelo et al., 2020; Clifford & Ibbotson, 2002).

The basic assumption is that all humans routinely distinguish between two kinds of simple real-world situations involving either motion or non-motion: (a) **states** which are perceived as a stable figure on a stable ground as denoted by **state verbs**, in English e.g. *lie, stand, sit*, etc. (b) **activities** which are perceived as an unstable figure on a stable ground or vice versa as denoted by **activity verbs**, in English e.g. *dance, wave, shiver, carry*, etc. Both types of situations are detectable through immediate visual perception which in the case of activities furthermore involves an element of delay-and-compare processing (cf. Blaser & Sperling, 2008) to establish the instability of the scene observed over time. However, our world-knowledge enables us to also recognize (c) **actions**, i.e. situations that can only be identified via mental models that link together a certain activity and a certain state. Such situations are denoted by **action verbs**, in English e.g. *put, arrive, leave*, etc.

In actual communication, action verbs can only be used with immediate reference to either an activity, e.g. *Mary is **putting** the pie on the table*, or a state, e.g. *Who **put** that pie on my table?* However, in both cases the choice of an action verb allows the speaker to present the respective situations as elements of an action, i.e. as an activity that is likely to bring about a certain (change of) state or a (change of) state that is likely to have been, brought about by a certain activity. To detect this, a different sort of delay-and-compare processing is required which compares two situations (observed or anticipated) in terms of presence or absence of an object on a given location. This pinpoints the essential difference between activity verbs which denote

perceptual (visible) motion and action verbs which denote what might be called conceptual motion, i.e. a mental interpretation of a change of state as defined by the presence or absence of an object on a given location. Or in short: **relocation** which renders **relocation verbs** a suitable candidate for a more precise term.

These basics can nevertheless manifest themselves quite differently in different languages. For instance, in satellite-framed languages such as English, most relocation verbs are coined in the shape of phrasal lexemes based on a simple activity verb such as *run* which is then extended by a satellite such as *in/out/up/down/away*. While fundamentally changing the semantics, the specificity as regards the nature of the motion in question, i.e. the activity side of things (and hence the Manner component) thus remains. Yet not so for the (rather few) “pure” relocation verb found in English, say, *put*.

The suggested approach furthermore allows us to specify the traditional distinction between Path and Manner verbs. Manner verbs are **activity-oriented** (whether or not the activity is presented as part of an action, as is the case when a satellite is added in a satellite-framed language), specifying certain properties of either the figure, the ground, and/or their interrelations. A ball *rolls* on a floor, water *soaks* through cotton, etc. Path verbs are (change-of-)**state-oriented**, specifying certain properties of either Loc<sub>1</sub>, Loc<sub>2</sub> and/or the spatial relation between them. For instance, the verb *arrive* thus presents Loc<sub>1</sub> as distant and Loc<sub>2</sub> as close.

The applicability of the suggested framework will be illustrated by applying it to certain system-inherent differences between the (proto)typical Manner language Danish and the (proto)typical Path language French, with a few additional examples from German and Russian.

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# Manner in Swedish and French. A corpus-linguistic analysis of the most frequent manner of motion verbs

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The compatibility of manner verbs with tight telic motion constructions is a topic that has been discussed in length in the literature (see Aske 1989; Blomberg 2014; Pourcel & Kopecka 2005; Talmy 1991 among others). Clearly, manner of motion is lexicalized in French and Swedish in different ways. However, outlining a taxonomy of those differences seems to be a daunting task.

It is, perhaps, not surprising, given that the nature of Manner as a semantic category is heterogeneous by nature (Stosic 2019) and the frequency with which it is linguistically encoded seems to depend on a specific subcategory of Manner (Akita 2017; Pourcel & Kopecka 2005; Blomberg 2014).

This talk aims to present an analysis of the most frequent manner verbs in French and Swedish, respectively, and the frequency with which they are used in constructions that imply boundedness of an event described. The term “bounded” is used following Zlatev et al. (2021) as an experiential category, rather than a linguistic one. This allows to make an attempt at pinpointing the relationship between human experience and linguistic descriptions of it.

While many of the preferences demonstrated by speakers are not particularly sensitive to language-specific constraints (for instance, more frequent lexicalization of coarse-grained manner in comparison with fine-grained manner in line with Akita 2017), some other tendencies seem to be more relevant for Swedish than for French (e.g. lexicalizing manner inherent to an event rather than a concomitant one).

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## The place of Slavic languages in post-Talmian motion event typology

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Despite the considerable indebtedness of motion event research to Talmy's binary typology of event integration (Talmy 1991, 2020), there is an emerging consensus that it needs to be superseded by a more encompassing framework, one that is (a) not biased by focusing only on the means of expressing the category Path (e.g. Fagard et al 2013), and by (b) considering an open set of lexical and grammatical classes for the expression of space and motion: verbs, nouns, adverbs, particles, prepositions, case-makers, ideophones (e.g. Fortis & Vittrant 2016). One such theoretical framework is *Holistic Spatial Semantics* (Zlatev 1997, 2007), which operates with ten semantic categories (focal are Motion, Path, Direction, Manner, Cause, Region, Landmark) and does not prejudge on the form-classes a language may use in expressing these, or on the mappings (one-to-one, one-to-many, many-to-one) between semantic categories and classes.

Using this approach, Naidu et al (2018) showed through elicited narrations with the help of the well-known "Frog Story" method (Berman & Slobin 1994) that L1 speakers of Thai (Tai-Kadai) and Telugu (Dravidian) described motion events qualitatively and quantitatively differently, thereby rejecting speculations that they could both fit a "third type" that would just complement the two original Talmian types. On the basis of systematic video-based elicitation data, Zlatev et al. (2021) built further on these findings, comparing motion event descriptions of Thai and Telugu speakers with those of Swedish and French, the latter two languages hypothesized by the Talmian approach to be, respectively, "satellite-framed" and "verb-framed". The results showed that the four languages clearly formed distinct patterns of category-form-class mappings, with French speakers using *least* frequently expressions of Path, Thai speakers dominating in the expression of Direction (especially with deictic verbs), Swedish excelling in expressing Direction (of the geocentric UP/DOWN type) as well as Path and Manner, and Telugu speakers focusing on the category Region, and expressing Path almost exclusively through case markers. The study thus corroborated the prediction made by Naidu et al. (2018: 20) that "further studies will support the original proposal that languages like Spanish and French, on the one hand, and languages like Swedish and English, on the other, correspond to clusters with distinct prototypes. However, these will appear as only two such clusters, while serial verb languages like Thai (e.g. Ewe and Vietnamese), and languages like Telugu (e.g. Tamil and Finnish) will fall into clusters that are distinct from these, as well as from each other, thus giving us (at least) four distinct typological prototypes."

But what about Slavic languages. Polish motion event descriptions were examined by Fagard et al. (2013), and they clearly did not pattern along with those of Swedish, which Talmian typology would predict them to resemble. And should Slavic languages on the whole be considered as belonging to the same type or cluster? Krumova (2022) addressed this question by comparing Russian and Bulgarian motion event descriptions used Holistic Spatial Semantics and "frog story" data, and the answer was negative: Russian speakers expressed Path in prepositions and case markers, while Bulgarian speakers in verbs and prepositions, and while the

quantitative patterns of the Russian descriptions did resemble those of Thai, from Naidu et al. (2018), those of Bulgarian did not resemble any of the languages studied so far. In my talk, I will present the most important of these findings, and discuss their implications for post-Talmian motion event typology.

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