Spatial events in Dutch and English

A corpus study on the description of motion and location events in novels

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis was to give insight in the influence of the syntactic and lexical differences of the closely related Germanic languages Dutch and English in the description of spatial events. Several studies were done earlier in the area of motion events, location events and fictive motion events, but never with a large corpus as this and with two languages that fall into the same category of Talmy's (2000) typology of spatial events, both being satellite-framed languages. A large corpus study on Dutch and English novels and their translations was conducted to answer five subquestions. First, the expression of Manner in motion events in the two languages was examined. English used a higher amount of Manner verb types than Dutch, which according to Berman and Slobin (1994) would lead to a higher amount of Manner expression, but no significant difference between the two languages was found. Second, the expression of Manner in fictive motion events was investigated. They turned out to behave the same as motion events and, with the exclusion of one outlier, no difference in Manner expression between the two languages was found here either. Third, the way of expressing Path in motion events was studied for English and Dutch. English turned out to use twice as much Path verb types, and also expressed Path more often in the verb than Dutch, although both satellite-framed languages still preferred to express Path in the satellite. Fourth, the expression of Manner in location events was investigated, based on Lemmens' (2005) consideration of posture verbs as 'manner-of-location' verbs. As expected, Dutch expressed Manner more often in location events than English by the use of posture verbs, while English prefers to use neutral or other verbs to describe location events. Fifth and finally, animacy turned out to differentiate the description of location events in English and Dutch. The difference between Dutch and English of Manner description in location events was larger when the events contained inanimate Figures than when they contained animate Figures. Altogether, it turned out that even within these closely related languages, differences appear in the description of spatial events. Languages cannot easily be placed on a 'manner-of-salience' scale, as Slobin (2004) proposed, but several factors, like type of event, number of Path verb types, and animacy, turned out to influence the expression of Manner in spatial events.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 General introduction

This thesis will discuss the way of expressing spatial events in the closely related languages Dutch and English. Previous research especially studied languages that were typologically more distant, but although Dutch and English belong to the same West-Germanic branch of the Germanic family, several lexical and syntactic differences exist that could influence their description of motion and location events. The thesis will start with an overview of the for this study relevant literature that is written on spatial events. In this section, both the literature about spatial events (1.2.1) as more specific the literature about fictive motion events (1.2.3) will be discussed, where in both cases the starting point is the typology written by Talmy (2000), followed by reactions on and additions to his framework by other researchers. Finally, the research that has been done in the respective fields, where this thesis is based on, will be described (1.2.2 & 1.2.4). After this, animacy, which is a possible influencing factor of how spatial events are expressed across languages, will be illustrated and discussed (1.2.5). At the end of the literature section, I zoom in on the two languages that are being examined in this thesis, being English and Dutch (1.2.6). Their most striking similarities and differences related to spatial events will be discussed. This literature overview will lead to a research question with several subquestions and accompanying hypotheses in section 1.3. In the second chapter, the methodology used for this thesis will be thoroughly described, containing a description of the material used (2.1), the procedure (2.2), and the data analysis, including the definitions that are used for the analysis (2.3). In Chapter 3, the results of this study will be discussed. The data belonging to the five different subquestions are presented separately in five different section (3.1 to 3.5). Each section starts with an objective quantitative analysis of the results, followed by a more detailed qualitative analysis that zooms in on the exact phenomena found in the translation process, and ends with a short recap of the most important results and a discussion. After discussing the results of all five subquestions, a general discussion and conclusion follows in Chapter 4, where the most important findings are tied together and to the literature.

1.2 Literature overview

1.2.1 Typology of spatial events

1.2.1.1 Spatial events

The typology that is referred to the most in literature about spatial events is the typology described by Talmy (2000). Therefore, this section will start from his framework, and in addition, the reactions on and additions to his typology that are most important for this thesis will be described. To begin, events that are situated in space, containing either an expression of motion or the continuation of a stationary location, are both referred to by Talmy (2000) as Motion events, but to avoid confusion, in this thesis the umbrella term for both motion and location events will be 'spatial events'. A spatial event can be expressed in a language in several ways. Talmy (2000) schematized linguistic space descriptions based on their common fundamental character through languages.

(1)
a. *Motion event*
{The pencil} {moves} {off} {the table}
FIGURE **PATH** **GROUND**

b. *Location event*
{The pencil} {is} {on} {the table}
FIGURE **PATH** **GROUND**

Two types of spatial events are described by Talmy (2000): motion events, of which an example is been given in sentence (1a), and location events, that can be found in example (1b). Motion and location events are built of the same components, being Figure, Path and Ground. The Figure is the primary object in the spatial scene and is either moving or movable. In both sentences in (1), 'the pencil' is the Figure of the event, but the sentences differ in the component of the activating process. In spatial events, the activating process is either the occurrence or absence of a change of location in the event. In sentence (1a), a motion event is going on, where the Figure (pencil) changes from the location 'on the table' to another location, 'not on the table'. The presence of this change of location is being coded by Talmy (2000) as 'MOVE'. If there is no change of location in a spatial event, it is called a location event and the activating process is coded as 'BE_{LOC}'. This type of event is illustrated in sentence (1b), where the pencil is on the table and not changing its location. One of the other components of spatial events is the Ground, which is the entity that acts as a reference for the Figure. It has a stationary setting and known properties on the basis of which the path or orientation of the Figure can be described. In both sentences in (1), 'the table' is the Ground component of the event. In sentence (1a), the table is the stationary entity relative to which the pencil is moving, while in sentence (1b) the pencil is oriented in relation to the table. This path or orientation of the Figure relative to the Ground is called Path, which is the third component of spatial events. For motion events, this concept can be taken literally and describes the path of the Figure. The pencil in sentence (1a) is moving 'off' the table, but the Path could also have been 'over' or 'around' the table. The concept Path is

less straightforward for location events, because there is no actual path involved. Instead, Path in a location event is the orientation of the Figure with respect to the Ground, for example 'on' in (1b), but also 'under' or 'next to' the table. The notion Path will be further explained in paragraph 1.2.1.2. In addition, a spatial event can have a Co-event that expresses Manner or Cause, which will be explained in paragraph 1.2.1.3.

One of the ways in which languages differ in describing spatial events, according to Talmy (2000), is in how they map the 'core schema'. To explain what Talmy (2000) means exactly with a core schema, we have to zoom out and describe briefly the concept of the 'macro-event'. A macro-event is a complex event that is expressed by a single clause, but which could often also be expressed by a more complex sentence. To clarify this, Talmy (2000, II, p. 217) uses the sentences in example (2). These sentences both describe the same complex event, but where sentence (2a) uses a complex sentence in which it separates the main event, subordinate event and the relation between the two, sentence (2b) presents this complex as a unitary, macro-event.

(2)
a. The candle went out because something blew on it.
b. The candle blew out.

A macro-event always contains a main event, which is termed a 'framing event' by Talmy (2000). The main event in the sentences in (2) for example is the spatial event. It is called a framing event because of the framing, overarching patterns it provides relative to the rest of the macro-event. This framing event can schematize five different domains, of which the one that is important for this thesis is the domain of motion or location in space. In a macro-event, one component is called the association function, which is in general the relationship between the Figure and the Ground, and for the specific domain for spatial events constitutes Path. Now we get to the 'core-schema', which in general is the schematic core of the framing event and consists of the association function and optionally also the Ground entity. For a spatial event, this means the core-schema consists of either the Path alone, or the Path together with the Ground. To clarify, Figure 1.2.1.1.1 shows the conceptual structure of the framing event as Talmy (2000, II, p. 221) illustrates, but adjusted to the situation of a spatial event.

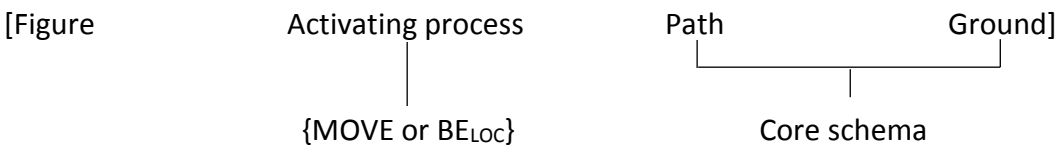


Figure 1.2.1.1.1. Conceptual structure of the framing event in the spatial domain

Where the macro-event and its structure is probably universal across languages, according to Talmy (2000), for the mapping of the core schema, as stated earlier, languages seem to differ. He proposes that languages around the world can be divides into two categories: verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages. They are characterized by whether

they express, or 'frame', the core schema either in the main verb of the macro-event or in the satellite, which is a grammatical category that is in relation to the verb root. Noun phrases and prepositional phrases are not considered satellites, but can often overlap with them in some languages. A satellite can be either a free word or an affix, for example 'mis' in the English example 'The engine misfired'.

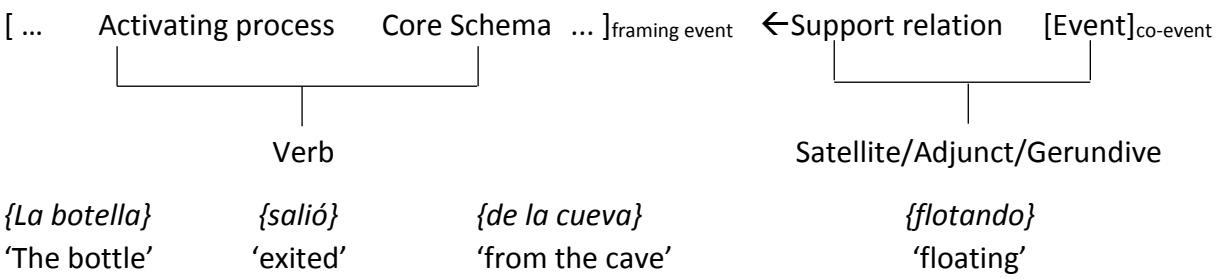


Figure 1.2.1.1.2. Syntactic mapping of macro-event in verb-framed languages, including example sentence from Spanish

Verb-framed languages include among others the Romance languages and Japanese, and they express the core schema (for spatial events: Path) in the verb and therefore will be said to have a framing verb. As a result of this, co-events, for example Manner or Cause, have to be expressed otherwise, for example in a satellite, adjunct or gerundive. Figure 1.2.1.1.2 illustrates this with an example sentence from Spanish, accompanying the syntactic mapping of a macro-event for verb-framed languages that Talmy (2000, II, p. 223) has constructed. It shows that in Spanish, the verb contains either the value of the activating process (being MOVE) and the core schema (being Path). The co-event is optional here, since the sentence would also be perfectly fine in Spanish without it, and is expressed in a gerundive. This co-event, *flotando*, has a support relation of Manner to the framing event.

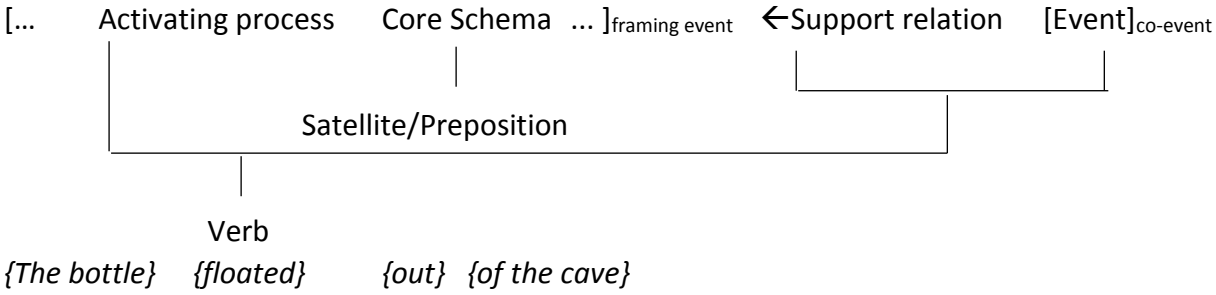


Figure 1.2.1.1.3. Syntactic mapping of macro-event in satellite-framed languages, including example sentence from English

Satellite-framed languages are for example the German languages and Chinese. Contrary to verb-framed languages, they don't express the core schema in the verb, but in a satellite or preposition and therefore are said to have a framing satellite. The verb is than 'free' to express a co-event, which it regularly does. Figure 1.2.1.1.3 shows the syntactic mapping of the macro-event in satellite-framed languages according to Talmy (2000, II, p. 223), for an

English example sentence. The verb still expresses the activating process (MOVE), but next to this, it expresses the co-event 'floating' and contains the support relation it has to the framing event (Manner). The core schema, Path, is then expressed in a satellite to the verb, 'out', and a preposition, 'of', that connects it to the Ground ('the cave').

In a more recent article, Slobin (2004) brings more detail into Talmy's two-way division of verb- versus satellite-framed languages. There are several languages that can express both Manner and Path in the verb, or largely express both in the satellite while using more neutral verbs. Furthermore, he argues that it is more useful to categorize languages on a 'cline of manner salience' (Slobin 2004, p. 250). In high-manner-salient languages, information on manner is given frequently when motion events are described, while in low-manner-salient languages, manner is only provided if it has a special salience. In an earlier article, Berman and Slobin (1994) suggest that satellite-framed languages specify Manner more often than verb-framed languages as a result of their larger collection of Manner verbs. Furthermore, Slobin (2004) states that languages can move along the line of 'manner salience' while developing; for example, Brussels French seemed to have moved up to being more manner salient under influence of Dutch contact. His conclusion is therefore that Talmy's typology is a valuable starting point, but for a typology of language use, a larger variety of languages and types of data have to be studied. Finally, it has to be mentioned that the distinction between verb- and satellite-framed languages seems to be focussed on motion events, but can be applied to location events too. For example, in the languages that are of interest in this thesis, English and Dutch, Manner can be expressed in a location verb. This phenomenon will be further discussed in paragraph 1.2.1.3.

1.2.1.2 Path in spatial events

As stated in the previous paragraph, the Path of a spatial event can be expressed in different ways across languages. Verb-framed languages prefer to express Path in the main verb together with the activating process. Spanish is an example of a verb-framed language and has verbs like *entrar* ('to move in'/'to enter'), *pasar* ('to move by'/'to pass') and *subir* ('to move up'). Satellite-framed languages tend to express other information in the verb and express Path mostly in a satellite or preposition. English is a satellite-framed language, but as can be seen in the translation of some of the Spanish verbs above, it also contains some Path verbs. However, most of the English Path verbs are borrowed from Romance languages and are not the characteristic type of verb for this language (Talmy 2000). This paragraph will clarify what exactly is being considered a Path verb and a Path satellite in this thesis.

Talmy (2000) does give a number of examples for Path verbs in English that all have a clear notion of Path, e.g. 'to ascend', 'to approach', 'to leave'. Levin (1993) describes verbs of Inherently Directed Motion and her class members include most examples that Talmy (2000) gave, but with addition of for example 'fall', 'flee', 'go', and 'come', and with deletion of e.g. 'to circle', 'to pass', 'to proceed'. So which can be considered Path verbs than? A difference between their approaches to these verbs is that Levin (1993) includes all verbs with the notion of some kind of direction, while Talmy (2000) does not; for example, he excludes deictic verbs. Deictic is one component of the notion Path (the other two are Conformation and Vector, but an elaboration on this lies outside the scope of this thesis). Examples of English deictic verbs are 'to go' and 'to come'. The direction expressed by a deictic verb is

typically relative to the speaker; for example, 'to come' expresses the direction 'towards the speaker'. Languages treat deictic verbs differently; Spanish groups them together with typical Path verbs, which means that in a motion event, the deictic verb will be the main verb while Manner will be expressed in for example a gerundive verb. In English and Dutch, on the other hand, deictic verbs seem to behave differently from other Path verbs, as will become evident during the following.

First, consider Talmy's (2000) treatment of 'to put' and 'to take' in English. Path verbs are not always as easy to recognize as the nonagentive verbs 'to ascend' and 'to leave'. Verbs of agentive motion can also be Path verbs; Talmy (2000) gives the example of the PUT category, which describes the types of verbs where the Agent moves a body part or instrument held by that body part, and as a result of steady contact of the body part with the Figure, the Figure moves too. The category PUT isn't equal to the English verb 'to put'. In English, the category PUT contains both 'to put' and 'to take'. In Spanish even more verbs can be categorized under PUT, for example *meter* ('to put into'), *subir* ('to put up (on)to'), *quitar* ('to take off') and *sacar* ('to take out of'). But while the Spanish PUT verbs are all verbs that incorporate specific distinctions of Path, for the English verbs, Talmy (2000) questions whether they can be called Path verbs. The verbs 'to put' and 'to take' can be considered as incorporating the Paths 'to' and 'from', the same way as Spanish Path verbs do. But Talmy (2000) points out that these verbs have the nondirectional PUT notion as the underlying form and are, when they appear on the surface, dependent on the type of Path particle and/or preposition for their surface word form. The Path information in the verb is not different from the Path information that is expressed by the particles and prepositions, and also less important, as can be seen when Manner comes into play. For example, without Manner, a different verb is used for sentences as 'I put the cork into/took the cork out of the bottle', but with the addition of Manner, the Manner verb takes in his place: 'I twisted the cork into/out of the bottle', without any Path information being lost. Spanish, on the other hand, has a wide variety of PUT verbs that express all kinds of Paths, and only a few prepositions (*a*, *de*, *en*) that give less information about Path than the verbs. To conclude, verbs like 'to put' and 'to take', but also the deictic verbs that were mentioned earlier in this paragraph, always need a satellite to fully specify Path and contain less Path information than this Path satellite. Therefore, in this thesis, these verbs are not considered as 'full' Path verbs.

As mentioned before, Talmy (2000) states that a satellite is a grammatical category in relation to the verb root, with the exception of noun-phrase and prepositional-phrase complements. A Path satellite is such a category that expresses Path. In English for example, Path is mostly expressed fully by not only a satellite, but mostly with the addition of a preposition. 'I ran out of the house' contains the satellite 'out' and the preposition 'of', but the preposition can be left out and be implied: 'I ran out'. The most straight-forward type of satellites are for example 'in', 'out', and 'across', but there are also satellites that are less easily recognizable as such: 'loose', 'free', and 'fast' are examples of this, in a context like 'The bone pulled loose (from its socket)'. A problem that occurs for English, is that satellites and prepositions often are posited next to each other in a sentence. Furthermore, some forms of satellites and prepositions are the same, although their semantics are different (e.g. 'to' and 'over'). So how can they be distinguished from one another? Talmy (2000) gives a

few properties of satellites that helps to differentiate satellites from prepositions. First, while a satellite is in relation with the verb, a preposition is in relation with a nominal object. As a result of this, when the nominal object in a sentence is omitted, the preposition is omitted too. For example, in the sentence 'He ran out of the room', 'the room' can be omitted, but the preposition 'of' will disappear too and the sentence 'He ran out' remains. Second, a preposition always precedes the nominal object, while a satellite, when it is not prefixed to a verb, has various position possibilities: it can precede a preposition, it can precede or follow an NP that doesn't have a preposition, and it must follow a prenominal NP without preposition. Third, in an unmarked sentence with only prenominal objects, satellites are stressed while prepositions are unstressed. Finally, Talmy (2000, II, p. 108) distinguishes a new grammatical category called 'satellite prepositions'. These include forms like 'past', 'up' and 'through' that behave like a preposition in their positioning before a nominal object, but behave like a satellite because they can get heavy stress. These forms are said to be satellites that are coupled with a zero preposition, or, in the case of 'into', contain both a satellite ('in') and a preposition ('to'). In this thesis, this category of satellites is also considered as a 'real' satellite.

Next to a satellite that is conflated with the preposition, there are also satellites that are conflated with Ground. It is a rare phenomenon among languages, but Talmy (2000) gives a few examples from English: 'home' and 'shut', that have the meaning 'to his/her home' and 'to (a position) across its associated opening'. Additions to Talmy's (2000) examples could probably be 'north' and 'south', that have the meaning 'to a position in northern/southern direction of the starting point'. These satellites can be said to incorporate both Ground and Path since they are informationally complete with respect to both Path and Ground, so they are not anaphoric or deictic. Since the satellite 'home' has the same form as the Ground 'home', the possibility of it being a Path satellite has to be taken into account while analysing motion events.

1.2.1.3 Manner in spatial events

Next to Figure, Ground and Path, a spatial event can contain a co-event, which most often expresses Manner or Cause. The following example is given by Talmy (2000, II, p. 26) to illustrate these concepts:

(3)	*Manner*	*Cause*
a. *Motion*	The pencil rolled off the table.	The pencil blew off the table.
b. *Location*	The pencil lay on the table.	The pencil stuck on the table (after I glued it).

Manner is expressed in both verbs 'rolled' and 'lay', where 'rolled' is a motion verb specifying that the pencil, which is the Figure, moves in a rolling manner, and 'lay' is a location verb, expressing that the pencil is located in a horizontal manner. The Manner in which a spatial event takes place should not be confused with the Cause of the event which can also be expressed in the verb, as can be seen in the sentences in the final column. The pencil moves off (Path) the table (Ground), by the cause of something of someone blowing, and is located on (Path) the table (Ground), by the cause of e.g. someone gluing it there. To assess whether a verb expresses either Manner or Cause, the basic reference of the verb has

to be found, being either what the Figure does (Manner) or what the Agent does (Cause). For example, in the sentence 'The man rolled to ball', the man is the Cause of the motion, but 'rolled' refers basically to the manner of movement of the ball, so it has to be considered as a Manner verb. This is independent of the Agent actually being present in the sentence; for example, sentence (4a) can be decomposed to show its semantic components in (4b). This shows the verb containing the notion of Cause rather than the notion of Manner (Talmy 2000, II).

(4) a. The napkin blew off the table.
b. The napkin moved off the table, as a result of (the wind) blowing.
c. The wind blows at the napkin

But this deconstructed sentence also shows two usages of, in this case, the verb 'to blow'. The first usage is the basic usage, as in sentence (4c) and in the second part of sentence (4b). In the second usage, the verb incorporates the motion in the first part of (4b) with the agentive verb in sentence (4c), which does not presuppose anything about the object moving, resulting in sentence (4a), where motion and its cause are both present in the verb. Talmy (2000, II) treats those two usages of the verb as distinctly lexicalized, where the second usage of the verb (as in (4a)) is 'a lexicalization of additional components conflated into it' (Talmy 2000, II, p. 35). This lexicalization approach treats those manner- and cause-of-motion verbs the same as verbs like 'break', that have both a transitive usage, 'I broke the vase', and an intransitive usage, 'the vase broke', and where the transitive usage also has more internal components than the intransitive use, since the transitive usage includes Cause. This co-event conflation pattern, where far more can be expressed in the verb than simple motion, can be extended even more, as Talmy (2000) shows, but this goes into too much detail for this thesis and for that reason will not be discussed further here. A satellite can also express Manner, although it is uncommon. For example, Spanish uses a gerundive to express Manner, but the North-American language Nez Perce has prefixes attached to the verb that can express not only locomotive Manner, but other types of Manner as well.

As previously mentioned in paragraph 1.2.1.1, and as can be seen in example (3b), languages can choose to express Manner in location verbs. But, comparable to the description of motion events, languages differ in their saliency of expressing Manner in location events. Lemmens (2005) discusses that verbs that typically express the manner of location are posture verbs. Posture verbs express both location and the posture of the Figure. This posture can be seen as the Manner in which the Figure is posited. Every language has a different set of posture verbs, but many languages have at least the cardinal posture verbs: 'to sit', 'to stand' and 'to lie'. They express the basic human postures and occur more frequently than other posture verbs (e.g. for English: Newman 2009). The cardinal posture verb 'to stand' for example can describe the location of a human being, but also expresses the manner in which it is located: on its feet, extended in a vertical position. Languages as Dutch and Swedish not only use posture verbs to refer to human beings, but also prefer to use posture verbs to describe location events, while French can only use a copula or ´neutral verb´ and English seems to equally allow both posture and neutral verbs. Ameka and Levinson (2007) developed a typology for the number of contrasting locative verbs languages use and divided them into four categories: no verbs (type 0), single locative

verb (type I), a small, contrastive set of posture or positional verbs (three to five verbs; type II) and a large or unlimited set of positional verbs (six or more; type III). Some languages, like English, can use posture verbs to locate for example buildings, e.g. 'the house stands on the corner' (Newman 2009, p. 47). In an answer to a where-question, however, a copula is used: 'Where is the house?' - 'The house is on the corner'. The latter is called the Basic Locative Construction (BLC) and this is the kind of language use Ameka and Levinson (2007) based their generalizations on. English is given as an example for Type I of locative predication, while Dutch is categorized under Type II, which will be further elaborated on in section 1.2.6. Based on this typology, it seems that languages can be placed on a 'manner-of-salience' scale not only for motion events, but also for location events (Lemmens 2005).

1.2.2 Research on the expression of spatial events across languages

1.2.2.1 Research on motion events

Several studies found evidence for the two-way division by Talmy (2000) in verb-framed and satellite-framed languages (e.g. Slobin 1996; Özçaliskan & Slobin 2000). Most experimental studies to this phenomenon use the so-called 'frog stories' (Berman & Slobin 1994). Because the data in these experiments are elicited from wordless, pictured stories, there is no 'original' text which language could influence the translation choices in other languages, but it generates spontaneous data containing the same events and plotline. Since these pictures contain different kinds of motion, it can be used to compare the use of different kinds of verbs and phrases in motion events across languages. Slobin (1996) is one of the first to apply this method and uses Spanish (verb-framed language) and English (satellite-framed language) versions of those frog stories to compare the description of motion events in verbs, phrases, journeys, and settings. He found that English not only uses a wider variety of verb types (47, vs. 27 in Spanish), it also uses those verbs in combination with several satellites, resulting in 123 combinations. He hypothesises that English is richer in describing motion events than Spanish over all, and backs up this hypothesis by comparing the use of bare verbs (being without elaboration of Path) of downward motion descriptions (e.g. 'fall') in both languages. Spanish-speaking adults use bare verbs more than twice as often as English-speaking adults, so they appear to be less rich than English in describing motion events. Furthermore, English uses more Ground prepositional phrases to give more detail about Path than Spanish does. This means, instead of only expressing that an entity 'fell down', English describes that it 'fell into the water'. Slobin (1996) also investigated journeys, that consist of a temporal flow of motion events. Such a journey can appear in one single clause; an English example hereof is: 'The deer tips him off over a cliff into the water'. Here, English gives information about milestones (subgoal; 'cliff') and goal ('water') with one single verb ('tips'). In Spanish, this almost never happens; it tends to give only one piece of information about ground (e.g. source or goal) with one motion verb. But, instead of keeping the amount of information the same by describing the journey in separate clauses, Spanish speakers also use less segments than English speakers, so give less detail about the event. Although Spanish speakers do seem to give information about ground, they do it in a description of the static scene setting instead of the motion event. For example, according to Slobin (1996, p. 204) a Spanish child said about the same event as described in English above: *Los tiró a un precipicio donde había harta agua. Entonces se cayeron* ('[The deer]

threw them at a cliff where there was lots of water. Then they fell'). Instead of expressing a journey from the cliff to the water, the setting of the cliff with the water is described. But, even when considering this type of Ground description in Spanish, it still expresses Ground less often than English does and is therefore less detailed in the description of movement.

Since the description of frog stories is an artificial task, Slobin (1996) also investigates the more natural setting of novels to see how Spanish and English writers describe motion events. He only analysed events where 'the protagonist ended up in a different place within an uninterrupted stretch of narrative' (Slobin 1996, p. 207). Therefore, he excluded (dis)appearances and nondirectional paths. The selection of novels and material within the novels happened unsystematic; books were chosen on availability of translations and books were just opened randomly to find motion events. These corpus data show, just as the experimental data, that English refers to more ground locations per motion event than Spanish, and although the number of verb tokens is almost the same, English authors use more types of verbs than Spanish (60 vs 43). When considering the translations, English loses more information when translated to Spanish for both Path/Ground and Manner descriptions than Spanish does when translated to English. To illustrate this, Slobin's (1996, p. 212-3) examples show that the English sentence 'he stomped from the trim house' was translated into the Spanish *salió de la pulcra casa* ('he exited from the trim house'), where the Manner of 'stomping' gets lost. On the other hand, to the Spanish sentence se dirigió a la casa ('he directed himself [= went] to the house'), the Manner of 'walking' was added in the English translation 'he walked up to the house'. A faithful translation from English to Spanish with regard to trajectory is not always possible for translators, because of lexical and syntactic differences, but also because information would be foregrounded in Spanish as a result of the translation, which is backgrounded in the original. Therefore, information that can be inherited from the context or is 'unnecessary' is sometimes omitted in the Spanish translation. When considering Manner in the translations, it can be seen that Manner of movement is more important in English than in Spanish: in translations from English to Spanish, Manner information was left out half of the time, while in translating Spanish to English, Manner was actually added in a quarter of the cases. This is mostly due to lexical differences between the languages: Spanish often has no counterpart for the English Manner verbs, and can choose to express Manner in an adverbial clause. But with putting Manner in an adverbial clause, it gets more narrative weight than in the original English version. Therefore, translators sometimes decide to omit this Manner information. Considering both the data from the frog stories and the corpus data, Slobin (1996) concludes that the cause of Spanish being so sparse in describing motion events compared to English does not only come from Spanish being a verb-framed language, but is also influenced by lexical characteristics and general constraints in the Spanish language.

Özçaliskan and Slobin (2000) compared English with another verb-framed language, being Turkish. Since earlier studies, for example the aforementioned study by Slobin (1996), focussed on how native speakers are tuned to semantic patterns of their language, Özçaliskan and Slobin (2000) examined the influence of the availability of more simple syntactic forms. They tested for English and Turkish if speakers would prefer to use the semantically or syntactically less complex lexicalization options. The authors hypothesised that speakers tend to put as much semantic information as possible in the most simple

syntactic form available, which could override the typological factor in describing motion events. For example, speakers of verb-framed languages would choose for the syntactically less complex option if the two options are semantically equally complex by expressing both Manner and Path. In this case, Turkish for example has the option of expressing both Manner and Path in the verb instead of a subordinate Manner construction. Furthermore, speakers of Turkish would prefer the verb with both Manner and Path conflated in it over a verb that is semantically less complex, thus expressing only Path. Özçaliskan and Slobin (2000) used already collected data by the frog-story method of speakers of English and Turkish. They used data from both children and adults, but for this thesis, only the data of the adults are of interest. Events with and without the option of encoding both Manner and Path in the verb were included in the analysis. Their results confirmed their hypothesis: even though English still used more Manner verbs, Turkish encoded Manner more often when manner-path verbs were available. Furthermore, speakers of both types of languages preferred syntactically less complex constructions: Turkish preferred Manner-Path conflated verbs over subordinate constructions, and English speakers showed a preference for both Manner-Path conflated verbs and Manner verbs with Path in the satellite. This study shows that not only typological considerations, but also other factors like semantics and syntax can influence the description of motion events.

1.2.2.2 Research on location events

While for the expression of Manner and Path in motion events, a wide variety of languages has been already investigated, the research on location events is not that wide-spread yet. Two languages that do have been examined thoroughly in this area are French and Dutch. Lemmens (2002) is one of the first to link the research on posture verbs in location events to the typology of Talmy (2000) and the research of Slobin (e.g. 1996, 2004) on verb- and satellite-framed languages. He points out that while French focusses in location events on the verb to express existence or location in general by using neutral verbs, Dutch is more concerned with expressing the Manner of being located by the use of posture verbs. Neutral verbs are mostly used to express location in Dutch when the very existence of the Figure is more important than the posture or position the Figures has, although the difference between the two types of uses is not always that clear-cut. Moreover, Lemmens (2002) explains that while the cardinal posture verbs have an anthropocentric basis, Dutch has extended its meaning to animals, inanimate objects and abstract entities. Although the meaning of the prototypical human position of *staan* (‘to stand’), *zitten* (‘to sit’) or *liggen* (‘to lie’) is still present in some way in those categories, the further they are from the prototype in the semantic network, the less the perceived similarity will be.

The properties of *staan* that, according to Lemmens (2002), can explain the extended meaning in Dutch are: (i) canonical position, (ii) higher than wide, (iii) physical effort involved to maintain posture, (iv) starting position for walking, and (v) associated with power and control. So, for inanimate objects, this means that the verb *staan* is generally used when the object is in its canonical position (e.g. *het bord staat op tafel* ‘the plate stands on the table’), when it is higher than wide (e.g. *het boek staat in de boekenkast* ‘the book stands in the bookcase’) or when there is in some way physical effort been done to maintain the upright posture (e.g. *de hooimijt staat in de wei* ‘the haystack stands in the meadow’, where the hay

is held upright with the help of a pole that helps it to be more solid), which is also related to the notion of rigidity. Rigidity of an object can cause the object to be described with the verb *staan*, while its usual position is horizontal and without physical effort (e.g. *de kleren staan stijf van de kou* 'the clothes stood stiff of the cold'). The properties (iv) and (v) of *staan* are more commonly related to more abstract entities or processes, but this falls out of the scope of this thesis. An additional metaphorical use that is relevant for this thesis, is that text, written or printed or otherwise, is by convention always expressed with *staan*. This can even be extended to pictures and other forms of 'imprintment', as Lemmens (2002, p. 132) calls it.

For *liggen*, the properties used for its extended meaning are maximally distinct from that of *staan*, being: (i) non-canonical position, (ii) longer than high, (iii) no physical effort to maintain posture, (iv) normal position for inactivity and rest, and (v) associated with rest, weakness and death. A non-canonical position of an inanimate object can trigger the use of *liggen*; the example of *het bord* ('the plate') took the verb *staan* in its canonical position on the table, but if it the plate is not on its conventional base, the verb *liggen* will be used (e.g. *de borden liggen op de grond* 'the plates lie on the floor' suggests not all plates being in their canonical position). When the inanimate object is in a position where it is longer than high, for example the book, it will take the verb *liggen* instead of *staan* (*het boek ligt op tafel* 'the book lies on the table'). The third property of *liggen* is also contradicted to that of *staan* and can be used with the same object, but when they are not rigid or held upright with any physical effort. While the haystack is described with *staan*, a heap of hay will trigger the verb *liggen*, and if clothes are not 'stiff of the cold', but just in a closet, they will be described with *liggen* instead of *staan*. Properties (iv) and (v) again recur in abstract entities and processes, which will not be further discussed here (Lemmens 2002).

The semantics of *zitten* are more complex. First, the semantics are extended from human beings to animals: *zitten* refers to animals with their hindlegs bent or with their trunk close to the ground, or both. Furthermore, when *zitten* loses its postural meaning, the relationship between the Figure and the Ground is crucial. Lemmens (2002) distinguishes two relationships: the Figure is either closely contained by the Ground, or in close contact with the Ground, which he calls containment-*zitten* and contact-*zitten*. An example of containment-*zitten* is *er zit een liter water in de fles* (there sits a litre water in the bottle'). It is very productive and it especially occurs when the Figure is closely contained by the Ground: the larger the container, the bigger the chance that not the containment will be expressed, but the position or posture of the Figure. What logically follows from that is that containment-*zitten* is often used to describe containers that are totally filled or full with something (e.g. *het restaurant zit helemaal vol* 'the restaurant sits completely full'). But, the containment is not always that transparent and can be partial, as in *er zit een barst in de spiegel* ('there sits a crack in the mirror'). Abstract entities can also metaphorically serve as containers, like situations or events, but this thesis will not elaborate on that. In most (but not all) locational expressions with containment, there is also a degree of contact. If they co-occur, mainly there is some notion of being stuck or hidden in the situation, for example in *deze schroef zit muurvast* ('this screw sits wall-solid' (=very tight)), but contact-*zitten* can also occur on its own, as in *de poten zitten aan de tafel* ('the legs sit to the table'). Furthermore, contact-*zitten* can be used to describe the halt of abstract motion or to

describe possession, but these do not express location anymore and therefore, this too, falls outside the scope of this thesis.

The article by Lemmens (2002) was inspired by his job as a teacher of Dutch for French speakers. He observed that French learners of Dutch struggled enormously with learning these extended usages of posture verbs, since French speakers are only used to neutral verbs in most of these cases and it is not always that clear when to use which posture verb for describing inanimate objects. Miceli and Hiligsmann (2005) had the same observation and executed a small, exploratory corpus research on the expression of position in an original Dutch novel compared to its French translation. They discovered that of the posture verbs, the verb *zitten* occurs slightly more than *staan* and *liggen* in the Dutch novel, while *hangen* ('to hang'), a non-cardinal posture verb, occurs only a few times. Furthermore, these posture verbs have their prototypical, postural meaning in 42% of the cases, a locational meaning in 45.5% and a metaphorical or idiomatic use in the remaining 12.5% of the sentences. In the sentences with the prototypical meaning, *zitten* occurs twice as much as *staan* and *liggen* together. But in the expression of location, *liggen* occurs almost half of the time, while *staan*, *zitten* and *hangen* are evenly distributed over the remaining sentences. In the translation to French, the sentences where posture verbs were used in their prototypical meaning were translated as such in only one third of the cases. For the remaining sentences, the translator chose to use location verbs, the existential verbs *être* ('to be') or *rester* ('to stay'), other kinds of verbs, or translated the sentence differently. For the translation of posture verbs in a locational use, in almost half of the cases this locational meaning was preserved, while in more than a quarter of the sentences, a verb with an existential meaning was used. Their main conclusion did not go into detail on the results of their corpus research, possibly because the small and exploratory nature of it, but they did conclude that this is an interesting area to be studied further. For this thesis, the study by Miceli and Hiligsmann (2005) learns that using literary novels and their translations can give useful results when comparing the expression of location events in two languages.

A language that is in between Dutch and French when it comes to the use of posture verbs is English. The use of posture verbs is not as extended as in Dutch, and English prefers to use neutral verbs for locative predication (Ameka & Levinson 2007). But, English speakers can use posture verbs more often than French speakers. All three cardinal posture verbs can be used in English to refer to non-human animates, in the same way as in Dutch, as described above (Newman 2002; Lemmens 2002). Furthermore, they can refer to inanimate objects to a limited extend. 'To stand' is used in English for inanimate objects when they have a vertical orientation. A statue for example can 'stand' on a piano, giving it the nuanced meaning of being stilted and pretentious, while for objects that have some sort of legs, like a bed or a table, these legs can trigger the use of the verb 'to stand'. Without this saliency of the vertical dimension or the presence of legs, 'to stand' is less appropriate (Newman 2002). Furthermore, Newman (2009) explored the usage of 'to stand' with 'house' as a subject, and found out that this occurs especially in fiction, and less often in spoken language. The posture verb 'to lie' occurs relatively more frequently with inanimate Figures than the other two cardinal posture verbs in the English language (Newman & Rice 2004). Where a vertical extension triggers the use of 'to stand', 'to lie' is used with entities that have a horizontal orientation, like 'clothes' or a 'mattress'. The third cardinal posture verb, ´to sit´, is used

when ´to stand´ and ´to lie´ cannot be used. In other words, it is used when the entity that has to be located has no clear vertical or horizontal extension and no ´legs´, for example a 'computer' (Newman 2002). Furthermore, where ´to stand´ has a stilted and pretentious meaning, ´to sit´ is, according to Newman (2002), more a term of endearment. Furthermore, 'to sit' can express the nuance of a underutilized, useless entity, occurring with additional structure that points to the problem of the entity. In this case, the shape of the entity is not important anymore, so that 'books' and 'plates' can occur with 'to sit' in this context. Another use for this verb in English is the good-fit 'sit', where the entity fits into a certain space, like a house between two other houses, or a dipstick inside a tube. Finally, English can, just as Dutch, use posture verbs to refer to abstract entities too, but a discussion on this is for the same reasons left out of this thesis (Newman 2002).

1.2.3 Typology of fictive motion constructions

The previous section mainly described the use of posture verbs in location events, while this section will zoom in on the motion verb as a tool for describing stationariness. This phenomenon of using a motion verb to describe a location event is called 'fictive motion'. A few examples of fictive motion, that are partly taken from Talmy (2000, I, p. 99), can be found in (5). In all these sentences, a motion verb is used ('to go', 'to run', 'to rush') in combination with a Path satellite ('to', 'up', 'past'), the same ingredients as a motion event has. But, the Figures in (5) ('fence', 'road', 'scenery') are no typical moving elements; there are contexts imaginable where they do move, but this is not what these sentences express. Instead, fictive motion sentences are used to describe location events.

(5) a. This fence goes from the plateau to the valley.
b. The road runs up the hill.
c. The scenery rushed past us as we drove along.

In the field of fictive motion, it is again Talmy (2000) that constructed a typology that is the basis of most studies. Therefore, similar to section 1.2.1, his framework will be described first, before elaborating on research that reacted on or added to his typology. Fictive motion is, according to Talmy (2000, I, p. 99): 'motion with no physical occurrence'. Talmy (2000) treats fictive motion as a manifestation of the 'overlapping systems' model of cognitive organization; in this case, the overlap between the cognitive systems of language and visual perception. When processing fictive motion, there is a discrepancy between those two systems, where one of the representations (linguistic and visual) is more veridical than the other. The more veridical representation is characterized as 'factive', while the less veridical representation is 'fictive'. Talmy (2000) calls this pattern of veridical discrepancy 'general fictivity'. In fictive motion, these two representations differ in the dimension of 'state of motion': the more veridical representation, being visual perception, is stationariness, while the less veridical representation, language, expresses motion. When considering the sentences in (5) again, all of them are describing visually stationary events, while linguistically a motion event is described. In sentences (5a) and (5b), the location event described is visually stationary, and in sentence (5c), the scenery seems to be moving, but it is the car that is moving while the scenery is factively stationary. This approach by Talmy (2000) to fictive motion excludes nonspatial metaphors, for example 'Her mood went from

good to bad', since it is nonphysical and cannot be visually perceived. It does fit under the umbrella of 'general fictivity', but it is not a discrepancy between language and visual perception.

Talmy (2000) distinguishes the following categories in fictive motion: emanation, pattern paths, frame-relative motion, advent paths, access paths and coextension paths. For this thesis, the focus will be on emanation, frame-relative motion, advent paths, and coextension paths, since these types of fictive motion generally can occur with motion verbs and previous research has mainly focused on these types (e.g. Matsumoto 1996; Matlock 2004; Stosic & Sarda 2009; Stosic, Fagard, Sarda & Colin 2015).

(6) a. Suddenly the light **streamed** into the house.
b. We were in the bus while we watched the countryside **roll** by.
c. The trees **drew** closer on each side.
d. The landscape **stretches** miles along the coast.

The sentence in (6a) shows an example of the emanation type of fictive motion. Emanation contains a range of subcategories, but in general Talmy (2000, I, p. 105) defines it as 'something intangible emerging from a source'. An example of an intangible entity is radiation, as in example (6a) 'the light'. Although light is something that is 'tangible', since we can see the light, we cannot see the actual movement of the light, which makes it fictive. In (6a), we can see the light in the house, and we know the source is somewhere outside, but we cannot actually see it streaming in. In example (6b), but also earlier in example (5c), the fictive motion is of the frame-relative type. A language can use this when the observer itself is moving while the surroundings are stationary; this movement is factive. But when imagining the observer as stationary, the surroundings can be interpreted as moving relative to this observer. In (5c) and (6b), the observers are moving, driving in both cases, while watching the scenery/countryside. These landscapes are stationary, but in the sentences, they are 'rushing' and 'rolling', which is the fictive motion that appears relative to the observer. Another type of fictive motion important to describe here is the advent path. The advent path contains two subtypes: site arrival and site manifestation. In site arrival, the object fictively moves to the site, and in site manifestation, not the motion, but the change of the object is fictive, being the manifestation at the site. Example (6c) contains the advent path type of site arrival; literally the trees appear to be drawn to the site, while they are stationary. An example of site manifestation is 'the rock formation appears/occurs/shows up near volcanoes' (Talmy 2000, I, p. 135), where the appearance of the rock near the volcanoes changes. But, these verbs that express site manifestation are not considered as motion verbs following the definition by Slobin (1996, p. 207). Since this definition is also the one used in the current study, the advent path type of site manifestation falls outside the scope of this thesis. The last type of fictive motion that will be investigated in this thesis is co-extension. It occurs with spatially extended objects where the fictive motion is an imaginary entity or the focus of attention that moves along a path. In some cases, this object is in fact a path, as in example (5b), but it can also be another linear object, as in example (5a), or an imaginary line can be drawn, for example along the coast in sentence (6d).

Co-extension is the most investigated type of fictive motion. First, some discussion

was going on about the nature of the verb in fictive motion. Jackendoff (1990, p. 44) calls the verb used in co-extension EXT, as it describes 'the spatial extension of linear objects along a path'; it is a subtype of the STAY-verb, which 'denotes stasis over a period of time'. In other words, Jackendoff (1990) treats the verbs in co-extension as static verbs instead of motion verbs. As a result of this, for example the verb 'to go' has two meanings: in co-extension, it is a static verb, while in a motion event, it has the meaning of motion. But Matsumoto (1996) disagrees with this view and argues that the verbs in co-extension, or 'subjective motion' as he calls it, are in fact motion verbs. Motion is some change of location that is happening over a certain amount of time, and he shows that subjective motion expressions always involve directionality and temporality. But, if the verbs in subjective motion indeed are regular motion verbs, does this mean that they also express Manner and Path in the same way? Matsumoto (1996) argues that Path information is essential, while Manner would be only expressed in subjective motion constructions if it is related to Path. Furthermore, he argues that the motion aspect in subjective motion is a result of metonomy, meaning that some other entity can move in contiguity with the linear entity. Psychologically, there are two cognitive bases possible for this subjective motion. On the one hand, we can perceive the potentialities for action, or 'affordances' of the travelable linear objects. On the other hand, it can be possible that we mentally scan along the linear entity by moving our visual attention as a 'spotlight' over the object. The next section will describe the evidence that other studies found for the cognitive basis of subjective motion, after elaborating on the research of Matsumoto (1996), which is about the issue of the expression of Manner and Path in subjective motion on the basis of the Japanese and English language, and a comparison of those two languages on other aspects in the field of subjective motion. Furthermore, other studies that have investigated these and other issues around fictive motion across languages will be discussed.

1.2.4 Research on fictive motion constructions across languages

As already mentioned in the previous section, Matsumoto (1996) compares the subjective motion (= co-extension type of fictive motion) constructions in English and Japanese. Where English is a satellite-framed language and contains mostly manner-of-motion verbs, Japanese has mainly Path verbs and is thereby a verb-framed language. But, despite those differences, some similarities appear in the expression of subjective motion. Matsumoto (1996) distinguishes two conditions: the Path condition and the Manner condition. The Path condition states that in subjective motion 'some property of the path of motion must be expressed' (Matsumoto 1996, p. 194). So, if the verb does not include Path information, an additional Path satellite is necessary to make the sentence grammatical. He proves this by showing that subjective motion with the Manner verb 'to run', both in English and in its Japanese counterpart, cannot be grammatical without additional Path information: '*The road runs' is impossible, while 'John runs' is a perfectly grammatical motion sentence. The Manner condition, on the other hand, says that 'no property of the manner of motion can be expressed unless it is used to represent some correlated property of the path' (Matsumoto 1996, p. 194). He illustrates this by showing that in both Japanese and English, only the Manner verbs and adverbs whereof the Manner is related to the Path can occur in subjective motion constructions. This means that verbs like 'to walk' and 'to hurry' are unacceptable in

subjective motion, while the Manner in 'to wander' and 'to roam' is related to Path features and therefore are possible subjective motion verbs. Less obvious is for example 'to gallop', that needs some imagination to link the Manner to a Path with repeated ups and downs; this is probably a reason for a sentence like 'the road goes galloping over the mountains' having, according to Matsumoto (1996, p. 197), a 'somewhat poetic flavor'. Verbs that seem to behave differently are 'to run' in English and its counterpart *hashiru* in Japanese. These are Manner verbs that occur very frequently in subjective motion, while the Manner in the verb is not related to the Path. But Matsumoto (1996) states that these verbs actually prove his rules, since the Manner information in those verbs is suppressed when they are used in subjective motion. The verbs don't even have to be used to describe an object that allows human travel (e.g. 'the fence runs from north to south'), let alone to describe motion in a running Manner. The cause of these verbs to behave this way is probably in the fact that their semantics are already extended to other inanimate objects, for example a running car or the hands of a clock. This makes the verbs 'to run' and *hashiru* less specific and therefore allows the Manner information to be suppressed in subjective motion. The explanation of these similarities between those unrelated languages in Matsumoto's (1996) Manner and Path condition is probably of a cognitive basis: when subjective motion is considered as a path, as the result of the motion of the focus of attention or an imagined person over a linear object, it is logical that information about Path is essential. At the same time, Manner information, unrelated to Path, but usually about the moving entity, must not be expressed because the moving entity is actually the thing that is suppressed.

But despite their shared cognitive basis, Matsumoto (1996) shows that Japanese and English also differ in how they can express subjective motion. Differences in grammatical structure, in this case for example the aspectual system, influence how subjective motion can be expressed across languages. Furthermore, there are lexical characteristics leading to differences in expression of subjective motion between the languages. Japanese is more restricted than English in the description of untravellable paths, which is a path that is not intended for humans to travel (e.g. 'the wire goes along the river'). Japanese cannot describe all the untravellable objects that English can describe with subjective motion. But also the kinds of verbs that can be used for representing subjective motion on untravellable paths are more restricted in Japanese than in English. Most English motion verbs allow more abstractness in their description while Japanese motion verbs demand a high degree of concreteness for them to be used.

Where Matsumoto (1996) assumes that the reason that fictive motion occurs in different types of languages spoken all over the world is one of a cognitive basis, Matlock (2004) tries to prove this by conducting an experiment. More specifically, he investigates whether people mentally simulate motion while reading fictive motion sentences (only the co-extension type). The assumption that is on the basis of his four experiments is that, in the process of reading a (fictive motion) sentence, a model is constructed that resembles the physical space and the objects and movements are simulated in a way that is comparable to the perception of physical movement. This means that if, for example, the sentence or story is about fast or slow movement, the processing is affected by the construed model and resulting in respectively shorter or longer processing times. The four experiments were all set up in the same way: native speakers of English (or highly proficient bilinguals) read

stories about protagonists that were travelling outdoor. The stories told the readers to imagine a region and gave details about the region, a traversable path, a moving protagonist and the travel time. The stories ended with a fictive motion sentence (of the co-extension type) that served as the target sentence. For the target sentence, participants had to indicate if the sentence was related to the story. All stories had two versions that were compared between participants, who saw half of the stories in the one and half of the stories in the other version, plus an even amount of filler scenarios. For the first experiment, half of the stories were about a long distance, while the other half were about a short distance. As expected, participants took significantly shorter to make a decision about the fictive motion sentence after reading about a short-distance travel than after a long-distance travel. The second experiment compared stories about fast and stories about slow travel. Again, the results confirmed the hypothesis, since people were faster to read fictive motion sentences after sentences about fast travel than after stories about slow travel. Experiment three focussed on the terrain through which the path went, with the assumption that easy terrains are associated with fast travel, while difficult terrains are associated with slow travel. Still, the fictive motion processing seemed to be affected by the way of travel: after a story about an easy terrain, the fictive motion sentence was processed faster than after a story about a difficult terrain. The final experiment investigated if fictive motion types without a travelable path (e.g. 'fence') would still lead to mental simulation of motion. The same set-up as in the third experiment was executed and it lead to the same results: after reading about a difficult terrain, even a fictive motion sentence with a nontraversable Figure was processed slower than after reading about an easy terrain. These experiments show that people mentally simulate motion while reading coextension sentences, even when the path in the sentence is untravellable. In the last case, Matlock (2004) suggests that visual scanning along the Figure triggers the simulation of motion.

If in the cognitive basis of at least the coextension type of fictive motion, the notion of motion is still present by simulating it, it could be the case that fictive motion events (FME's) linguistically behave the same as regular motion expressions. Although Matsumoto (1996) stated with his Manner and Path conditions that Manner and Path behave differently in fictive motion than in regular motion, Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) investigated whether the differences in the expression of motion between English (satellite-framed) and Spanish (verb-framed), that Slobin (1996) found, also apply to fictive motion (again, of the co-extension type). To examine this, they used two types of corpora: first, they analysed several novels and their translations, and second, they used expressions collected through elicitation from drawings. For the analysis of the translation processes of fictive motion, three English novels and their Spanish translations, and three Spanish novels and their English translations were used. But, since only a few fictive motion expressions were found in the original Spanish novels, they decided to focus on the English novels and their Spanish translations. Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) conclude from this phenomenon that fictive motion is used more in English than in Spanish, but a critical note has to be added here. Although three different English novels were used, of the six examples they give in the article, five are from the same novel: 'The Fellowship of The Ring', by J.R.R. Tolkien. Since no actual numbers of the FME's per novel are given in the article, this suggests that the higher amount of FME's in English novels could be due to a high number of FME's in one novel, and therefore a result of the

individual writing style of one author. The fact that in the Spanish translations slightly more FME's were found (193) than in the original English novels (180), gives more evidence for this suspicion. This contradicts the assumption that Spanish doesn't favour FME's in comparison with English. Therefore, the following results have to be treated with caution. Next to the fact that the Spanish translations contained more FME's than the English novels, Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) found a slightly higher number of verb types in FME's in Spanish (75) than in English (68). At first, this seems surprising, since Slobin (1996) found the opposite result, but he looked at complex boundary-crossing Paths, which are usually translated with more Path verbs in Spanish than in English. When zooming in on what these verbs expressed, Spanish turned out to use more Path verbs (41) than English (28), while English used more Manner verbs (23) than Spanish (17). Although no percentages were given, when considering the total amount of verb types in the languages, the differences still seem to be present. In the translation process, they found 19 cases where Manner was lost and 11 cases where Path got lost from English to Spanish. The amount of sentences where Manner or Path was added was negligible. This loss of information is considerably smaller than Slobin (1996) found. In the case of the Path, this is expected considering Matsumoto's (1996) Path condition: in FME, the focus is on Path and is therefore necessarily present. The smaller loss of Manner can also be explained by Matsumoto's (1996) theory: his Manner condition predicts less Manner expression in FME's than in regular motion events. If it occurs, it is related to Path, and therefore harder to eliminate.

In their second study, Rojo and Valenzuala (2003) used the same kind of paradigm as in Slobin's (1996) frog stories: they elicited natural and spontaneous speech from drawings. Since the motion in FME's is imagined, in contrast to real motion, and not necessary to describe extended objects, the authors had to be more creative than just showing pictures of a story, like Slobin (1996) did. They did this by showing the participants two versions of the same picture, whereof the first picture among others contained an element that could elicit an FME, while the second picture was identical except for the deletion of that element. On the basis of that, English-speaking and Spanish-speaking participants had to pretend to give an artist instructions to complete the second picture. After this, the verb types had to be analysed, but Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) point out that the classification of Manner and Path verb is still debated and not consistent throughout different studies. They consider Path verbs as verbs that denote a direction that is goal, landmark or vertically oriented, and Manner verbs as verbs that subsume a certain qualification of the action. Something to point out here is that they therefore categorized verbs as 'to wind' and 'to zig-zag' as Manner verbs, since they describe the shape of the Path, which seems to contradict itself. Matsumoto (1996, p. 196), for example, treats 'to zigzag' as a Path verb. But, this issue does confirm their statement that a debate is going on about these definitions. Keeping this in mind, their results showed that English speakers used slightly more verb types than Spanish speakers when expressing fictive motion (22 vs 18). Since most of these verb types are Path verbs, this is a striking result: a verb-framed language as Spanish usually, in factive motion, expresses Path more in the verb than a satellite-framed language as English. Therefore, Spanish probably possesses more Path verb types than English. However, this high amount of Path verbs overall could be expected considering Matsumoto's (1996) Path and Manner conditions. Only in English, there were three Manner verbs found: 'to run', 'to wind', and 'to

zig-zag'. But, as mentioned above, for the latter two verbs, it can be discussed whether they could be Path verbs, and the verb 'to run' seems to be a special case in fictive motion, as Matsumoto (1996) discussed and Rojo and Valenzuala (2003) note themselves in their discussion. Altogether, the authors mainly conclude that in the translation of fictive motion (= the co-extension type), there is less information loss than in the translation of real motion, which is probably due to the limitation of Manner in the original context in the first place as a result of the Manner condition by Matsumoto (1996). So, the differences between the two types of languages become smaller in fictive motion, which could be due to the universal cognitive basis of fictive motion.

Despite the similarities across languages in the expression of fictive motion events, as a result of the shared cognitive basis, languages can also differ in their amount of use of fictive motion events. Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) did examine this for English and Spanish, but as discussed above, their methodology seemed to have some flaws and it is therefore difficult to draw conclusions on this based on their results. Stosic and Sarda (2009), on the contrary, examined the frequency of fictive motion events in French and Serbian more consistently by using (and reporting) original novels and their translations from both languages. They compared the expression of location in French as a verb-framed language and Serbian as a satellite-framed language. Both languages can use neutral verbs, posture verbs and fictive motion events to describe location, but Serbian has a more extended use of posture verbs than French. Serbian would probably be what Ameka and Levinson (2007) call a Type-II language in their Basic Locative Constructions, comparable to Dutch, as Lemmens (2002) described (section 1.2.2), but Stosic and Sarda (2009) explicitly say they don't want to consider these two languages as being one of those types, but explore the variability of locative constructions in the languages. As already mentioned, they conducted a corpus study, using six French novels and their Serbian translations, and four Serbian novels with their French translations, whereof they analysed how locative predicates are translated from the original language into the target language. As expected, they found that French posture verbs are often translated the same in Serbian. But when Serbian posture verbs were translated into French, they were translated with posture verbs in about half of the cases when they occurred with animate Figures (56%), which shows that French often uses neutral verbs even for posture in human Figures. With inanimate Figures, posture verbs were almost never translated with posture verbs in French (12.5%), but for example with neutral verbs or fictive motion constructions (being the advent, co-extension and frame-relative types). When following Lemmens' (2005) assumption that posture verbs are 'manner-of-location' verbs, since they express the Manner in which an entity is located, these results show that French is less 'manner salient' than Serbian. It was already known that Serbian as a satellite-framed language is more Manner salient than the verb-framed language French, but this study found the same pattern in the description of location events. Furthermore, while French translates Serbian inanimate Figures with posture verbs as fictive motion constructions in 10% of the cases, this translation also works the other way around: in 5% of the cases, fictive motion in French is translated with posture verbs in Serbian. This seems to point to a higher preference for French speakers to use fictive motion while Serbian speakers prefer posture verbs for describing the same static spatial scenes. Moreover, the authors

carefully claim that this points to 'high-manner-salient languages', like Serbian, also preferring 'manner-of-location' verbs over fictive motion constructions.

1.2.5 Animacy in spatial events

Lemmens (2002) and Stosic and Sarda (2009) observed for respectively the languages Dutch and Serbian that the original use of posture verbs for human Figures is extended to non-human and even non-animate Figures, while languages as English and French tend to use copulas or neutral verbs to describe the location of inanimate objects (Ameka and Levinson 2007). This strongly suggests that the animacy of the Figure can have an influence on how a language describes its location, which makes it a factor to take into account when examining location events. Therefore, this section will explore some research on animacy, and more specifically in motion and location events.

That animacy has an influence on linguistic phenomena, is not surprising. Since the users of language are human beings, conversations tend to go about humans very frequently. Furthermore, next to the distinction between humans and non-humans, the distinction between animates and inanimates can play an important role in a language (Yamamoto 1999). Ortmann (1998) calls the first one the hominist classification, while the second one is the vitalist classification. These classifications imply that the division between human and non-human, and animate and inanimate, are clear-cut, but it actually turns out to be a hierarchical scale where some animates are more centrally animate than other animates, which Yamamoto (1999) calls the 'General Animacy Scale'. The centre of the animacy scale is occupied by the individual human being. The more prototypical for a human being an entity is and the more one can feel empathy with this entity, the higher it will be on the animacy scale. This means that animals are higher on the scale than objects, because they have for example the capability of locomotion and consciousness just as humans. But within animals, the dog will be higher on the animacy scale since people can keep them as pets and sometimes treat them as human beings, while Yamamoto (1999) gives the water flea as an example for an animate that is biologically very distinct from humans and therefore lower on the animacy scale than dogs. This also shows that next to the literal sense of animacy, being alive, there is an inferred kind of animacy, that contains concepts that are related to life, for example sentiency and the notion of empathy. This leads to some borderline cases on the animacy scale; Yamamoto (1999) gives examples of modern machines, (human) organisations and geographical entities, and Bamyacı (2016) adds body parts to this list, since they have animate properties and therefore behave like animates in Turkish. These borderline-cases are also known as quasi-animates. Folli and Harley (2008) shed a new light on this phenomenon by showing that these animacy effects are caused by the notion of teleological capability: 'the inherent qualities and abilities of the entity to participate in the eventuality denoted by the predicate' (Higginbotham 1997 in Folli & Harley 2008, p. 191). It basically says that the agent of a verb has to be capable of performing the action in the verb. The capability of locomotion is one of the most important characteristics of a typical animate being (Yamamoto 1999). Therefore, it is possible that the animacy of a Figure can influence how a language describes a motion event.

For motion events, Pourcel (2009) criticizes some research on the correlation between the semantic salience of Path or Manner in verb- or satellite-framed constructions

and the Path or Manner schema in verb- or satellite-framed speakers' conceptualisation. For example, the stimuli in their experiments differ and are not realistic: some experiments use a virtual tomato, while in daily life, human motion is the type of motion that is mostly conceptualised and expressed. She describes an experiment conducted by Kopecka and Pourcel (2005, 2006) that investigated the role of the Figure type in motion conceptualisation. They used three types of Figures: an animate, non-human Figure (virtual tomato, 'Tomatoman'), an animate, human Figure (real-life human being) and an inanimate non-human Figure (real-life plastic ball). Unfortunately, Pourcel (2009) is not clear about the exact methodology of the experiment and the original articles are not accessible. But she does describe that Kopecka and Pourcel (2005, 2006; in Pourcel 2009) found a correlation between the relative salience of Path and Manner and the type of Figure; human Figures correlate with a Path bias, while non-human Figures correlate with a Manner bias in conceptualizing motion. Although this effect is the same across speakers of both verb- and satellite-framed languages, it shows that animacy of the Figure is a variable that has to be taken into account while investigating Manner and Path in spatial events.

Animacy can also play a role in location events. Croft (1994) stated that predicate classifiers can distinguish animate from inanimate beings; even languages as English and Dutch, that don't have separate predicate classifier morphemes, have verb roots that classify for motion and location. For animates, motion and location can be classified in terms of posture, while for inanimates, shape or orientation can be expressed. According to the typology for Basic Locative Constructions by Ameka and Levinson (2007), this distinction between animates and inanimates in predicate classifiers or verb roots is not that clear-cut for every language type. They have a hypothesis called 'Ameka's conjecture' that states that the further down the types a language goes (from I to III to II), the more likely it is that it extends the use of human posture verbs (e.g. 'to stand', 'to lie') to inanimate objects too. This hypothesis appears not to be supported by evidence from all languages, since for example a Type 0 language, Saliba, uses human posture verbs for inanimate Figures in some cases (Ameka & Levinson 2007). But it is true that there are several languages that extend the use of human posture verbs to inanimates and even abstract entities; Stosic and Sarda (2009) already showed that this is the case for Serbian (see section 1.2.4), while Lemmens (2002) extensively described this phenomenon for Dutch (see section 1.2.2.2), and even English uses posture verbs for inanimates and abstract entities to some extent (e.g. Newman 2002; section 1.2.2.2).

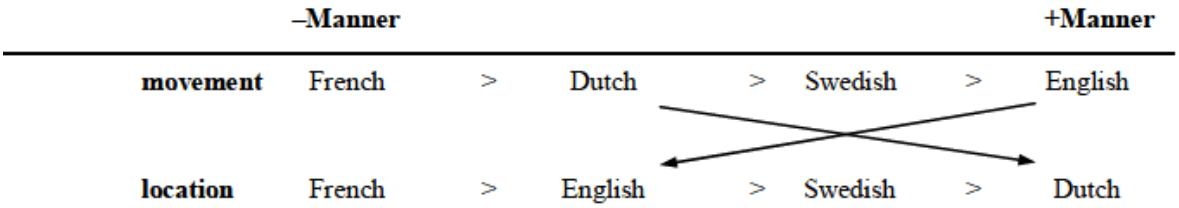
1.2.6 Comparative typology of English and Dutch

English and Dutch both belong to the same West Germanic branch of the Germanic family and are satellite-framed languages (Van Staden, Bowerman & Verhelst 2006). However, various kinds of differences also occurred in the literature discussed so far. Several studies found and suggested that not only the typology of a language, but also syntactic and semantic differences can influence how a language expresses a spatial event (e.g. Slobin 1996; Slobin 2004; Özçaliskan & Slobin 2000; Matsumoto 1996). Therefore, this study will zoom in on these two closely related, but on various levels also very different languages. First, a short recap follows on some similarities and differences between the English and the Dutch language in the expression of spatial events that were already pointed out in the

previous sections. After that, additional linguistic properties of English and Dutch will be discussed that can be important for the current study.

To start, Talmy (2000) categorised English and Dutch both as satellite-framed languages, but Slobin (2004) states that languages can be placed on a scale of Manner saliency and places English higher on this scale than Dutch, based on frog-story experiments. On the other hand, for location events, the places of English and Dutch on the Manner salience scale seem to be reversed, as observed by Lemmens (2005) and illustrated by him in Figure 1.2.6.1. As already explained in section 1.2.1.3, Lemmens (2005) argues that posture verbs are actually verbs that express both location and the Manner in which the Figure is located. This contradicts the careful conclusion of Stosic and Sarda (2009), who, based on their study (that was discussed in section 1.2.4), suggested that languages that are higher Manner salient in motion events are also higher Manner salient in location events. In the area of location events, another related difference was already discussed in section 1.2.1.3, being the classification of English and Dutch in how they express the basic locative construction (BLC). English is a Type I language, describing location of a Figure mainly with a single locative verb, more specific with a copula, which makes it a Type Ia language. Dutch, on the other hand, is a Type II language that uses a small contrastive set of locative verbs (3-7 verbs), more specifically posture verbs, which makes it a type IIa language (Ameka and Levinson 2007).

Figure 1.2.6.1 Division of labour between movement and location (from Lemmens 2005, p. 235)



Before continuing to the similarities and differences in the expression of motion and location events, there are also some general linguistic properties that are important to discuss within the scope of this study. Since Dutch is one of the closest neighbours of English, similarities between the two languages are easily found. But when zooming in on those languages, also several differences can be found (Van Staden et al. 2006). In the area of word order, Dutch and English both have a determiner – adjective – noun order in noun phrases. For sentences, English generally has a strict SVO order in both main clauses and subordinate clauses, while Dutch has a strict SOV order in subordinate clauses and an SVO or V2 word order in main clauses, as a result of movement (although this is a matter of debate; Van Staden et al. 2006; Müller-Gotama 1994; De Vogelaer 2007). Furthermore, English has a more simplified morphology than Dutch when it comes to expressing person and number in the verb. Where for regular verbs, Dutch uses different affixes for singular (no or –t) and plural (-en) verbs and differentiates first person (no) from second and third (-t) by morphology, in English only the third person singular gets the morpheme –s, while the other verb forms are all the same as the root. This lack of change within the verb, but also among other word forms, causes

many English words of one form to be able to be either noun, verb or adjective. It makes English much more flexible in using denominative verbs or deverbative nouns without making a derivative. Moreover, transitive and intransitive verbs are not as separated in English as in Dutch. A verb like 'to sink' can either be transitive as intransitive, while in Dutch *zinken* is an intransitive verb which needs a modal verb (*doen*/*laten*) to make a transitive sentence (Van Haeringen 1956).

To return to the Dutch and English typology in the area of spatial events, it is important to discuss how verbs and satellites can be built in both languages. To begin with, Dutch can, in contrast with English, easily form new words through compounding by combining nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. Dutch has two types of compounds: separable (or semi-), and inseparable (or true) compounds. Separable compounds are different from 'true' compounds because they can be split again in several circumstances. For example, a separable verb will never completely take the place of a finite verb in the main clause, but the first part of the verb will occur further on in the sentence. Only in sentences with an auxiliary, the prefix will be attached to the verb. Furthermore, the main stress in a separable verb will always be on the first part, while in an inseparable verb, it will be on the second part of the verb. The stress can even distinguish two different meanings of the same orthographic word, for example the separable verb *dóórzoeken* means 'to search further', while the inseparable verb *doorzóeken* means 'to search through something' (Haeseryn et al. 1997). As a result of this, motion verbs or (satellite) prepositions can be (in)separable compounds in Dutch, and contain for example a path satellite and a motion verb (*binnenkomen* 'to come in'), an adverb and a preposition (*voorin* 'in the front'), or a deictic adverb with a preposition (*daarheen* 'there to'). As can be seen in these examples, Dutch writes these compounds as one word, while in English, these are separate words (Van Staden et al. 2006). Croft, Barðdal, Hollmann, Sotirova and Taoka (2010, p. 226) argue that this is the result of Dutch being further in the grammaticalization process than English, where the end result of the process would be 'univerbation of the event and frame morphemes'. In other words, the end state beholds expressing the motion verb and the satellite as one complex verb. Dutch is in an intermediate state of the process since it only attaches the satellite to the verb with some verbs and in sentences with an auxiliary, and not in main clauses without an auxiliary. This is a factor that has to be taken into account when analysing Dutch and English verbs and satellites in spatial events: especially for separable verbs in Dutch, the prefix can be a satellite and therefore has to be coded as such instead of as a part of the verb.

(7)
a.
Hij springt op tafel
'He jumps on(to) the table'
b.
Hij springt de tafel op
'He jumps onto the table'

Another difference between English and Dutch that can be confusing while analysing motion and location events, is that Dutch has an overlap in the prepositions that are used in motion

and in static descriptions. Thereby, it is not always clear from a sentence if there is a change of location or not. Consider example (7a), taken from Van Staden and colleagues (2006, p. 501). In Dutch, it is ambiguous if the Figure is already at the table and jumping in place, or if the Figure was for example on the floor and from there jumped onto the table. As can be seen in the translation, English can use two different prepositions to clarify which of the two meanings is intended here. To differentiate between the two possible meanings, Dutch can use certain adverbs (e.g. *urenlang* 'for hours') that rule out the change of location meaning, or use prepositions and motion verbs that can only point to change of location (e.g. *naar* 'to' or *van* 'from'; *vallen* 'to fall' or *komen* 'to come'). Another way to disambiguate such a sentence is to change it structure. Van Staden et al. (2006) describes constructions with separable verbs, which are discussed above, that describe translocation. In a main sentence as in (7b), the main part of the separable verb (*springt* 'jumps') is followed by a noun phrase (*de tafel* 'the table'), which is followed by the original prefix of the verb (*op* 'onto'). This prefix is a particle that encodes the direction of the movement. In example (7a), the position of the particle is different which could also make it a locational preposition, expressing a locative relation between Figure and Ground, and not a direction (Van Staden et al. 2006). Altogether, this section showed that, although English and Dutch are closely related languages, there are also various syntactic and lexical differences that could influence their description of spatial events.

1.3 Research questions and hypotheses

This study will give insight in the description of spatial events in the closely related satellite-framed languages English and Dutch. In order to do this, five different subquestions were drawn that will be answered separately in this thesis before trying to tie them together under the umbrella of the main question. First, various research has been done to differences in expressing Manner and Path in motion events between verb- and satellite-framed languages. But Slobin (2004) shows that Talmy's (2000) typology is not a two-way division, and that languages can be put on a scale of Manner salience. Therefore, it would be interesting if the differences that are known between verb- and satellite-framed languages still exist for languages that are closer together on the scale of Manner salience, for example the satellite-framed languages English and Dutch. Berman & Slobin (1994) propose that a reason for satellite-framed languages to specify Manner more often is their larger collection of Manner verbs. Lemmens (2005) states that English has a higher ratio of manner-of motion-verbs than Dutch and Slobin (2004) also finds that speakers of English use more manner-of-motion verbs in narrating frog-stories than speakers of Dutch. This suggests that English is higher on the scale of Manner salience than Dutch, but the question remains if this difference between these closely related languages is still present in the more natural language found in novels.

Second, a phenomenon that seems to position on the border between motion and location events is fictive motion. Talmy (2000), but also Stosic and Sarda (2009) show that fictive motion is used to describe location events, while Matlock (2004) shows that language users still mentally simulate motion while reading fictive motion sentences. Therefore, the question arises how fictive motion behaves when it comes to expressing Manner. They can behave like regular motion events, since they have the same structure and even the

semantics of motion are still simulated. But they can also behave like location events, since that is what they factively describe and therefore share their semantics with. Matsumoto (1996) hypothesises with his Manner and Path conditions that the expression of Manner and Path in fictive motion events differs from regular motion events, although he only looked at the co-extension type of fictive motion. The set of languages in this thesis, English and Dutch, are perfect for answering this question because, according to Lemmens (2005), they go in an opposite direction when it comes to Manner salience in motion and location events.

Third, while Slobin (2004) stated that languages can be put on a manner-salience scale, the basis of Talmy (2000) to divide languages into verb- and satellite-framed was how they express Path in a spatial event. Since both English and Dutch seem to be able to express only Manner or Path in the verb, the amount of expressing Manner and the way of expressing Path can influence each other. Therefore, this thesis will also investigate whether there are differences in the way of expressing Path in motion events in Dutch and English. If English indeed expresses Manner more often in the verb than Dutch, Dutch probably has more 'room' in the verb to express Path rather than in a satellite.

Fourth, within spatial events, Stosic and Sarda (2009) show that, when considering posture verbs as manner-of-location verbs, there is a parallel between motion and location events for Serbian and French when it comes to Manner salience. However, Lemmens (2005) points out that this is not the case for English and Dutch. Indeed, Ameka and Levinson (2007) say Dutch is a Type IIa language when it comes to expressing BLC, based on Van Staden and colleagues (2006), meaning that they use 3-7 posture verbs, while English is a Type Ia language, mainly using a copula for BLC's. But, the BLC is largely based on the location description of inanimates. Furthermore, it is possible in English to use posture verbs for both animate and inanimate entities (Newman 2002). Therefore, it is useful to examine whether this broader use of posture verbs in Dutch indeed leads to a more frequent use of these manner-of-location verbs than English does, in a large corpus of natural data.

Finally, one variable keeps popping up throughout the research on motion and location: animacy. Pourcel (2009) showed that animacy of the Figure can correlate with Path and Manner saliency in motion events. For location events, the use of posture verbs, that are prototypical for human beings, is extended to inanimates too for some languages, but not for other languages. English and Dutch seem to differ in how far they have extended this use of posture verbs, but no research has been done yet to how this influences the translation of the location events in the languages in both directions. Therefore, this study will examine the influence of animacy on the differences between Dutch and English in their expression of Manner in location events.

These considerations lead to the following main and subquestions:

Main question

To what extent do the syntactic and lexical differences between English and Dutch influence their description of motion and location events?

Subquestions

1. To what extent does having a higher amount of manner-of-motion verbs influence how often and in which way a language expresses Manner in motion events?
2. Do fictive motion structures behave either like motion events or like location events in the

expression of Manner when comparing English and Dutch, or somewhere in between?
3. To what extent do English and Dutch differ in how they express Path when describing motion?
4. To what extent does having a broader use of posture verbs influence how often a language expresses Manner in the verbs of location events?
5. To what extent does animacy of the Figure differentiate the description of location events between English and Dutch?

Hypotheses
1. A language with a higher amount of different manner-of-motion verbs expresses Manner more often in motion events than a language with a lower amount of different manner-of-motion verbs. Furthermore, a language with a higher amount of manner-of-motion verbs expresses Manner more often in the verb than a language that has a lower amount of manner-of-motion verbs. On the other hand, a language with a lower amount of manner-of-motion verbs expresses Manner more often in the satellite than a language that has a higher amount of manner-of-motion verbs.
2. If Manner is indeed expressed more frequently in the verb in English than in Dutch motion events, it is expected that this is also the case for fictive motion events. If English has a higher amount of manner-of-motion verbs, than these can also be used in fictive motion events. The structure of the motion events in FME's will therefore have a larger influence on the expression of Manner in FME's than the semantics of location events.
3. Since English uses more Manner verbs to describe motion events, they have to express Path more often in the satellite than Dutch, that has more room to express Path more often in the verb than English.
4. A broader use of posture verbs in a language influences the amount of expression of Manner in location events, where a language with a broader use of posture verbs expresses Manner in the verbs more often in location events than a language with a more restricted use of posture verbs.
5. There will be an influence of animacy of the Figure and language on the expression of manner in location events, where the difference between English and Dutch in the amount of expressing Manner in location events will be even bigger when sentences contain inanimate Figures.

Chapter 2. Methodology

2.1 Material

To collect Dutch and English spatial events that can be used for this study, a corpus was needed that could be used for comparing the same sentence in its original form and its translation. This way, context and semantics are roughly the same in both sentences and therefore cannot influence the results. But, the language of the original sentence can bias the translation, especially for languages that are as closely related as English and Dutch. To control for this influence, both original Dutch and original English novels and their translations are used for this study. For the selection of the novels, the corpus of Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) was inspected, since they found a considerable amount of fictive motion expressions in their novels. They used among others the original English novels 'The Lord of the Rings' by J.R.R. Tolkien, and 'On the Road' by Jack Kerouac, which are novels that include a large amount of traveling and therefore probably a large amount of scenery descriptions and motion events. These novels were therefore also used in this study. The suspicion has to be taken into account, however, that most FME's Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) found, were originating from 'The Lord of the Rings' (see section 1.2.4). Therefore, a very high amount of FME's in this novel could be expected that can influence the results, which at the same time would confirm the suspicion. Furthermore, two Dutch novels about traveling were used in the present study, being 'Reizen zonder John. Op zoek naar Amerika' by Geert Mak, and 'Berlijn 1989-2009' by Cees Nooteboom. Additionally, to control for the influence of the subject 'travelling' on the results in this study, for both languages, two other novels were included that had completely different subjects. The selection of these novels was largely based on the existence of a translation of the novel and the availability of both the original and the translation. Furthermore, books of eight different writers and eight different translators were used to control for the influence of writing and translation style on the results of the study. The four writers of English novels came from various English-speaking countries, being the United Kingdom (Tolkien; Rowling), Unites States of America (Kerouac), and Australia (Zusak) and the four writers of Dutch novels all came from The Netherlands. All the novels and their translations can be found in Table 2.1.1.

Table 2.1.1. Novels that were used for this corpus study and their translations

Original author	Title original novel	Language original novel	Translator	Title translated novel	Travel literature
Tolkien, J.R.R.	'The Fellowship of the Ring'[1]	English	Max Schuchart	'In de Ban van de Ring 1: De Reisgenoten'	yes
Kerouac, J.	'On the Road'	English	Guido Golüke	'Onderweg = On the Road'	yes
Rowling, J.K.	'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows'	English	Wiebe Buddingh'	'Harry Potter en de Relieken van de Dood'	no
Zusak, M.	'The book thief'	English	Annemarie Lodewijk	'De boekendief'	no
Mak, G.	'Reizen zonder John. Op zoek naar Amerika'	Dutch	Liz Waters	'In America. Travels with John Steinbeck'	yes
Nooteboom, C.	'Berlijn 1989-2009'	Dutch	Laura Watkinson	'Roads to Berlin; detours and riddles in the Lands and history of Berlin'	yes
Wieringa, T.	'Joe Speedboot'	Dutch	Sam Garrett	'Joe Speedboat'	no
Brouwers, J.	'Bezonken Rood'	Dutch	Adrienne Dixon	'Sunken Red'	no

Of each original novel, a number of pages was selected whereof material could be extracted. This was done by systematic random sampling: based on the number of pages in the book and the number of pages that would be analysed in that book, for example every fifth or tenth page was selected. To calculate the number of pages per book that would be used for this study, 10 test pages were analysed and the time that was needed was measured, wherefrom the time used for a certain amount of words could be calculated. This was compared with the amount of time that was available to conduct this study, and it resulted in the fact that 16.500 words per book could be analysed in the set time frame. Since each novel has a different size of page and font, the number of pages that was used per novel was based on the number of words per page in that book, which was estimated by counting the number of words on one randomly picked, representative (so not half-filled) page in the book. This resulted in 35-71 pages per book. Of the translations, the pages were searched that corresponded with the selected pages of the original book. The exact number of words per page and pages used per book can be found in Table 2.1.2. Furthermore, after analysing and coding a little more than half of the pages of all the books, a large amount of motion

[1]The full title of this novel is 'The Fellowship of the Ring,being the first part of The Lord of the Rings', but for convenience and easier readable tables and text, this is abbreviated to 'The Fellowship of the Ring'.

events was already collected, but relatively few location events. Especially those location events containing fictive motion were underrepresented. Therefore, to use the time effectively, from that point on only location events where searched and analysed, which resulted in a considerable amount of both motion and location events. Table 2 also shows the amount of pages that was searched for both motion and location events, and for just location events.

Table 2.1.2. Number of words per page and number of pages selected of each original novel used for this study

Original novel	**Number of words/page**	**Number of pages selected**	**Number of pages motion + location**	**Number of pages only location events**
Tolkien, J.R.R. 'The Fellowship of the Ring'	475	35	20	15
Kerouac, J. 'On the Road'	415	40	22	18
Rowling, J.K. 'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows'	360	45	24	21
Zusak, M. 'The book thief'	325	50	28	22
Mak, G. 'Reizen zonder John. Op zoek naar Amerika'	425	38	20	18
Nooteboom, C. 'Berlijn 1989 2009'	345	48	26	22
Wieringa, T. 'Joe Speedboot'	330	50	28	22
Brouwers, J. 'Bezonken Rood'	230	71	40	31

2.2 Procedure

When a page of an original book was selected, and its corresponding page in the translation was found (see paragraph 2.1), both the original page and the translated page were searched for spatial events. Only searching the original page was not enough, since it could contain non-spatial events that were translated into spatial events or spatial events could have been added in the translation. After this, a coding scheme was used to analyse all properties relevant for this study that appeared in the found spatial event. This scheme can be found in Figure 2.3.1 and is further explained in section 2.3. Furthermore, since there is still discussion about the exact definitions of most of the concepts discussed here and these are not used consequently throughout most studies on spatial events, definitions were composed based on the literature and the research questions of this study. These definitions can be found at the end of section 2.3 and are the ones that are used for analysing the spatial events for this study. All observed spatial events and their coded properties were recorded in an Excel-file, in a way that the information that was needed for the different research questions could be easily filtered and measured.

2.3 Data analysis and definitions

This section will zoom in on the analysis process and the definitions used to code the different elements occurring in spatial events. First, this process will be illustrated with Example 1 of a motion event and Example 2 of a location event. Second, Figure 2.3.1 will give insight in the coding process, showing which properties were coded for which types of events and verbs. Finally, the definitions that are used in this study are given at the end of this section. Before discussing the analysis of motion and location events, one possible phenomenon is not shown in the examples: when a sentence changed in event type in the translation. In that case, this was coded under 'change of event' with a '1' and each sentence was further analysed as its own type of event. At the start of the analysis of a motion or location event, some properties were coded in all observed spatial events: novel, page (original/translation), translation direction (1=Dutch→English; 2=English→Dutch), main verb infinitive and animacy of the Figure. After that, the type of event (motion or location) was coded, which lead to separate analysis scheme's, as Figure 4 shows. Finally, it has to be clarified that the sentences were not, as in Example 1 and 2, written down underneath each other, but next to each other, so that one line in the Excel-file contained both the original sentence and the translation.

If the spatial event described motion, as in Example 1, first, the main verb in both languages was extracted and written down, in the case of the example 'to leave' and *lopen*. For these verbs, only the verb root alone was considered, following Talmy (2000), who explains this choice by showing that some languages have only the verb root as an entire word while other languages can surround the verb root with many affixes, while the amount of information expressed in the verb root can be the same across these languages. For example, the Dutch verb *binnenkomen* ('to come in') has the main verb root *komen* ('to come'), while the affix *binnen* ('in') was not coded as a part of the verb. This example also illustrates that in this thesis, this distinction is relevant, because Dutch has several compound verbs that are built of a verb root and an affix, while English expresses exactly the same in two separate words that mean the same as the separate morphemes in the Dutch

compound. After the main verb root was found, the type of this verb was coded, which could be motion, posture, neutral, or other. In the example, both verbs are motion verbs, but both English and Dutch can use neutral or other verbs to express motion events (e.g. *hij is op weg naar huis* / 'he is on his way home'; *hij maakt een reis naar Italië* / 'he made a trip to Italy') and Dutch can even use posture verbs, according to Lemmens (2005). If the type of verb changed in the translation, this was coded with a '1' instead of a '0' under 'Change of verb type?'. Furthermore, the presence of additional information, being Manner or Path, was analysed in the motion event. Manner could either occur inside or outside the verb, or both inside and outside the verb. In the English sentence of Example 1, Manner is not expressed, but in the Dutch sentence, Manner is conflated in the verb. The other analysed Motion component, Path, was coded as in the verb, in a satellite, both in the verb and in a satellite, or the notion of Path could be implicit in the sentence. Considering Example 1 again, the English sentence expresses Path in the verb, while the Dutch translation of the sentence expresses Path in a satellite. Finally, both types of additional information changed in the translation process of Example 1. Therefore, the columns 'Change of Manner?' and 'Change of Path?' both are filled in with a '1'.

Example 1 Motion event

English sentence (original):
[…] and he promptly left the kitchen

Novel	**Page**	**Transl. Direct.**	**Verb inf.**	**Verb type**	**Manner?**	**Path?**	**Animacy Figure**
MZ:BT	111/112	2	'To leave'	motion	no	In verb	animate

Dutch sentence (translation):
[…]en [hij] liep meteen daarop de keuken uit
('and [he] walked out of the kitchen immediately')

Change of event?	**Verb inf.**	**Verb type**	**Change of verb type?**	**Manner?**	**Change of Manner?**	**Path?**	**Change of Path?**	**Animacy Figure**
0	*Lopen*	motion	0	In verb	1	In satellite	1	animate

For the analysis of location events, Example 2 will be used as an illustration. Just as for motion events, the verb infinitive was written down and the verb type was determined. In location events, this could be a posture, neutral, or other verb. In Example 2, the Dutch sentence contained the posture verb *liggen*, while the English translation used a motion verb, 'to run'. For the posture verb, the kind of use was analysed too, which could be either human posture, non-human posture, causative posture, location, contact, or containment. In the case of the Dutch sentence in Example 2, non-human posture was expressed. If the verb was a neutral or other verb, no additional information was coded. In the English sentence in Example 2, the type of verb that describes the location event changed to a motion verb, coded with '1' in 'Change of verb type?'. Furthermore, for location events with motion verbs,

being fictive motion events, the type of fictive motion was coded. In the English sentence of Example 2, the type was coextension, while the other possible fictive motion event types were frame-relative, advent, and emanation. In addition, the expression of Path and Manner in the fictive motion event was coded, in the same way as for regular motion events, that are described above. In the English sentence in Example 2, Manner was expressed in the verb, while Path was expressed in a satellite. Since this fictive motion event was a translation of a location event without a motion verb, change of way of expression of Manner and Path did not have to be analysed, but if the sentences in both languages contained a fictive motion event, this was done in the same way as for regular motion events.

Example 2 Location event

Dutch sentence (original):
Het vertelde dat de zonegrens midden in dat stroompje lag.
('It said that the border lay in the middle of that stream.')

Novel	**Page**	**Transl. Direct.**	**Verb inf.**	**Verb type**	**Use of verb**	**Animacy Figure**
CN:B	39/37	1	*liggen*	posture	Non-human posture	inanimate

English sentence (translation):
It said that the border ran down the middle of the stretch of water.

Change of event?	**Verb inf.**	**Verb type**	**Change of verb type?**	**Type of FM**	**Manner?**	**Path?**	**Animacy Figure**
0	'To run'	motion	1	Coextension	In verb	In satellite	inanimate

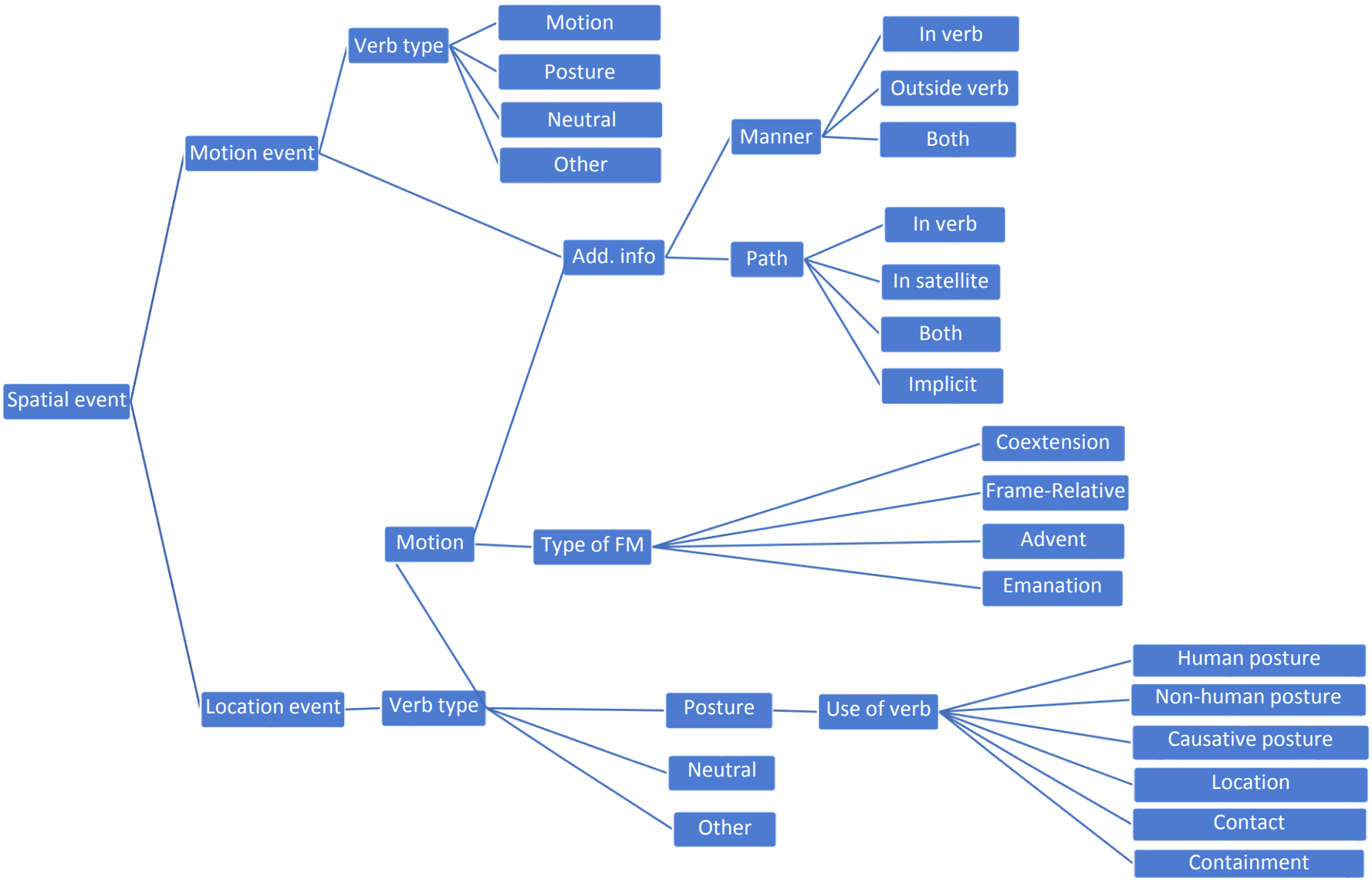


Figure 2.3.1 Flow chart scheme representing hierarchy of coded elements; FM=fictive motion; Add.=additional

Definitions

Spatial event
For the definition of a spatial event, the starting point is the definition of Talmy (2000, II, p. 25): 'The basic Motion event consists of one object (the Figure) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference object or Ground)' (remember that Talmy's Motion event is what is called a spatial event in this thesis). Spatial events should therefore contain at least a Figure, a Ground and a Path. For this thesis, however, the sentences that were coded as either a motion or location event were more limited, as can be seen in the definitions of the motion event and the location event.

Motion event
For the determination of motion events, the definition of Slobin (1996, p. 206) was used: '[…] a motion event, defined as the description of the movement of protagonist from one place to another'. As a result of this, following Slobin (1996), simple appearances and disappearances from the scene and nondirectional paths (e.g. turning around) were excluded from analysis, resulting from the criterion that '[…] the protagonist ended up in a different place within an uninterrupted stretch of narrative' (Slobin 1996, p. 207). This means that sentences like 'the bottle floated into the cave' are considered motion events, since the bottle changes its location from outside the cave to inside the cave. On the other hand, a sentence like 'the bottle floated in the cave' is not considered a motion event, since it is not clear whether there is some change of location or if the bottle is just floating in its place. In addition, sentences where the protagonist is moving but staying in place or keeps ending up in the same place (e.g. 'he is jumping up and down') are not considered motion events too.

Location event
Location events are events where the Figure is oriented relative to the Ground, following Talmy (2000). For this thesis, however, the focus is on location events described by neutral verbs, posture verbs and fictive motion. Therefore, only location events containing these types of verbs were used for the analysis. Location events containing other types of verbs as main verbs were only taken into account when they were a translation of or translated into a neutral verb, posture verb of fictive motion event.

Motion verb
The definition of a motion verb is comparable to the definition of a motion event: it expresses the movement of the protagonist from one place to another (Slobin 1996). However, not every verb in a motion event is a motion verb. Both English and Dutch can use neutral or other verbs to express motion events (e.g. *hij is op weg naar huis* / 'he is on his way home'; *hij maakt een reis naar Italië* / 'he made a trip to Italy') and Dutch can even use posture verbs, according to Lemmens (2005): *de bijen zitten achter hem aan* (literally 'the bees sit after him at'/'the bees are chasing him'). Furthermore, a special type of motion verb is the posture verb that describes a change of posture. This is usually a posture verb combined with a preposition (e.g. *hij stond op* 'he stood up') or with a deictic verb, which is only possible in Dutch (*hij gaat zitten* 'he goes to sit'; 'he sits down'). The latter can also be

interpreted as the description of a future event, which would be comparable with the English 'he is going to sit'. In the analysed novels, however, these Dutch cases of change of posture were never translated from or into English sentences containing 'going to', pointing to them having to be interpreted as ongoing motion events rather than future events.

Path

The Path of a motion event is defined following Talmy (2000), being the path of the Figure relative to the Ground. Whether Path is expressed in the verb is a less straightforward aspect, as explained in paragraph 1.2.1.2. In this thesis, a Path verb is defined as a verb that contains the same or more Path information than would be expressed in a satellite, and doesn't need an additional satellite to fully specify Path. This means the exclusion of deictic verbs, like *brengen* / 'to bring', *vertrekken* ('to leave', although the English variant is a Path verb, since it does not require a Path satellite: 'he left the building') and causative verbs like 'to put' an 'to take' (Van Staden et al. 2006, p. 502). For a Path satellite, the definition of a satellite of Talmy (2000, II, p. 102) was used: 'It is the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in sister relation to the verb root', and it can be a free word, but also a bound affix. What Talmy (2000, II, p. 108) calls 'Satellite prepositions', as discussed in paragraph 1.2.1.2, were also treated as satellites in this analysis. Furthermore, there are some cases where Path is not explicitly expressed, but there is still clearly a change of location and therefore a motion event. When this happened, the Path in the event was coded as 'implicit Path'. It occurs for example in events with a change of posture in Dutch, where a posture verb is combined with a deictic verb, resulting in a clear change of location without an explicit Path. For example, *hij gaat zitten* ('he goes to sit'), contains the implicit information that the Path is the way from the not-seated position (probably lying or standing) to the seated position. In addition, there are a few other cases where Path is expressed otherwise than in the verb or satellite, for example, in the noun: 'I made the crossing'. These cases were coded as 'implicit Path' too.

Manner

Manner was coded as present in the verb if the verb basically referred to the manner of movement of the Figure (and not of the Agent; then it would be a Cause verb, which is not coded in this study). This means that for example the verb 'to zigzag', that Matsumoto (1996) considers as a Path verb and Rojo and Valenzuela (2003) consider as a Manner verb, is treated the same way as Matsumoto (1996) does and is therefore no Manner verb. Furthermore, real Manner satellites are rare, as Talmy (2000) shows, but for this study it is more important if Manner is expressed outside the verb rather than if it is expressed in a satellite. Therefore, if Manner was present in a motion event, it was either coded as in the verb or as not in the verb. If the sentence described a location event, the presence of Manner was coded too. Here, Lemmens (2005) is followed, who considers posture verbs as 'manner-of-location' verbs. The definition of posture verbs can be found below. In addition, both Lemmens (2005) and Stosic and Sarda (2009) only consider the verbs, and not the satellites, when comparing the amount of expression of Manner in location events among languages, probably because languages that use neutral verbs instead of posture verbs are not commonly known to express Manner outside the verb instead (e.g. 'he is in the room,

standing'). Therefore, in this thesis, the expression of Manner outside the verb in location events was not taken into account either.

Posture verbs

As explained above, posture verbs are considered here as 'manner-of-location' verbs, following Lemmens (2005). Next to the three cardinal posture verbs, *zitten*/'to sit', *staan*/'to stand' and *liggen*/'to lie', Lemmens (2005) also mentions 'to squat', 'to kneel', and 'to lean' as posture verbs. The specific use of the posture verb in the sentence was also coded separately, being human posture, non-human posture, causative posture, location, contact, and containment. Human posture was coded for the verb if the Figure was human and the verb had its basic, anthropocentric meaning. Non-human posture was used for animals and inanimates that are located in space with the specification of their orientation. Causative posture is seen by Lemmens (2005) as an area where motion and location meet, since the cause of the location is often the movement of an agent, e.g. 'the arm sticks out of the T-shirt', but since the focus in these type of sentences seems to be on the result of the movement and therefore the location more than on the motion itself, these were coded as location events with causative posture verbs. Verbs that express location can be verbs as 'to hang', 'to hover', and 'to slouch'. These are not considered by Lemmens (2005) as posture verbs, but as location verbs, since in most languages they don't refer to humans. But since posture verbs can, in the languages studied here, also refer to non-humans, these 'location verbs' were coded as posture verbs, but with the specification of 'location' coded separately. Furthermore, the coding 'location' can refer to the use of cardinal posture verbs if the meaning of posture seems to be lost in the sentence, for example the Dutch *dat staat in het boek* (literally 'that stands in the book'/'that is in the book'), referring to the writing in the book. For the definition of the contact and containment use of posture verbs, Lemmens (2002) is followed. They can both only be expressed with the verb *zitten*/'to sit'. To express containment, the Figure has to be contained by the Ground, which can either be fully or partially (e.g. *er zit een barst in de spiegel* 'there sits a crack in the mirror'). Contact is expressed when the Figure is in close contact with the Ground. Finally, posture verbs that are used as an auxiliary or metaphorical are not taken into account in the description of location events, since auxiliaries don't directly express location and metaphorical and abstract spatial events fall outside the scope of this thesis.

Neutral verbs

Neutral verbs that describe location have 'no particular semantics, and they often behave as locative or existential copula' (Stosic & Sarda 2009, p. 44). Although for example French and Serbian have more than one neutral verb (e.g. *se trouver* resp. *biti,* 'be located'), Dutch and English mainly seem to use *zijn* and 'to be' that can both behave as a locative and as an existential copula. Moreover, Lemmens (2005) claims that *zijn* ('to be') is unacceptable in certain locative constructions in Dutch while, according to Ameka and Levinson (2007), English uses 'to be' in its Basic Locative Construction. Therefore, it was useful to code only these basic neutral verbs ('to be' for English and *zijn* for Dutch) as neutral verbs in this study.

Other verb

The verbs that were coded as 'other' are verbs that are not motion, posture or neutral verbs.

This can for example be a causative location verb (not posture!), as in example (4b): 'the pencil stuck on the table', or a sensory verb, as in 'I see the ring on his hand'. In addition, sentences that don't contain a main verb at all, because it is for example left implicitly, were also placed in this category. Furthermore, since the focus of this study is on neutral verbs, posture verbs and fictive motion events, other verbs were only taken into the analysis when they were a translation of or translated into a neutral or posture verb or fictive motion event.

Fictive motion
Finally, a location event can be expressed by a fictive motion event. An event is coded as such if the main verb is a motion verb while the event is stationary. Furthermore, the type of fictive motion event is coded. As explained in section 1.2.3, the focus in this thesis is on emanation, frame-relative motion, advent paths, and coextension paths. The definitons by Talmy (2000) that were given in that section, are also used to analyse the fictive motion events in this thesis. In addition, Path and Manner are coded for fictive motion events in the same way as for motion events.

Animacy
For each spatial event, the animacy of the Figure is being coded, which can be either animate or inanimate. A Figure is being considered animate if it is literally alive, and capable of locomotion without an external cause. This will include human beings and animals. Humans in groups or organisations will only be coded animate if they are capable of locomotion as a group. If not, these quasi-animates are coded as inanimates. All other quasi-animate Figures, such as body-parts and human machines, are being coded as inanimates, since they always need an (implicit) agent that causes the action of locomotion.

Using these definitions, the spatial events from the novels were coded as described above, which led to a data collection. After this, the results were analysed for each of the five individual research questions. No statistical analysis could be used other than measuring absolute and relative numbers of the found phenomena. Only for the most important comparisons in section 3.1, 3.3 and 3.4, standard deviations were calculated among the different novels. If the spread (+/- 1 SD) of two numbers in a comparison did not overlap, it was called a meaningful difference. Moreover, for every research question, after this quantitative analysis, a qualitative analysis was conducted too to be able to say more about the possible how and why of the differences and similarities between English and Dutch in the description of spatial events. The results of each research question end in a short recap and discussion.

Chapter 3. Results

Throughout all the novels analysed, being both the original novels and their translations, 2931 spatial events were extracted, as can be seen in Table 3.1. However, the database contained slightly more sentences than 2931, since some spatial events were translated from or translated into other types of events, which are not shown in this table. Of the spatial events, 1582 were motion events, while 1349 sentences described location events. When only considering the original novels, 1474 spatial events occurred, whereof 785 sentences expressed motion events and 689 events were of a locative nature. Overall, there are no large differences between the numbers of Dutch and English spatial, motion, or location events, but in original novels, more spatial events (both motion and location) were found in English (834 (471; 363)) than in Dutch novels (640 (314; 326)). To answer the five different research questions, only the events relevant for each question were used for the analysis of each results section. In section 3.1 (Manner in motion events) and section 3.3 (Path in motion events) only the motion events were used, while in section 3.4 (Manner in location events) and 3.5 (Animacy of the Figure in location events) only the location events were used. For section 3.2 (Manner in fictive motion construction), only a part of the sentences describing location events were used, being the fictive motion events.

Table 3.1 General overview of spatial events from English and Dutch novels, split out in motion and location events, both overall and only in original novels

Overview of spatial events	Spatial events	SE in original novel	Motion events	ME in original novel	Location events	LE in original novel
Dutch	1483	640	797	314	686	326
English	1448	834	785	471	663	363
Total	2931	1474	1582	785	1349	689

3.1 Description of Manner in motion events

3.1.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative results describing Manner in motion events in Dutch and English novels are shown in Table 3.1.1.1, 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.1.3. Table 3.1.1.1 shows the overall results of the original novels and the translations together, while Table 3.1.1.2 and 3.1.1.3 respectively show the results of original Dutch novels and their English translations, and of original English novels and their Dutch translations. Motion events appear a comparable amount of times in both the English and the Dutch novels used for this study. They appear slightly more in Dutch novels (797) than in English novels (785), but when focussing on the novels in their original language, motion events occur far more often in English original novels (471) than in Dutch original novels (314). The different types of verbs that are used to express Manner are overall higher in English motion events (105) than in Dutch motion events (83), and this difference is especially visible when comparing the original texts: English uses 75 types of Manner verbs, while Dutch original novels use 41 types. All found Manner verb types are given in Appendix A. When translating Dutch to English, the number of Manner verb types

increases (from 41 to 50), while in the translation of English to Dutch, the number of type of Manner verbs decreases (from 75 to 63). When investigating how much Manner occurs in motion events, overall Dutch expresses Manner more in its motion events (47%) than English does (41%). This difference is smaller, but still visible, when comparing the original novels (Dutch 45%, English 40%) and when looking at the translations: there is a decrease of Manner translating Dutch (45%) to English (42%), and an increase of Manner from English (40%) to Dutch (48%). However, when looking at the standard deviations of the percentages, based on the fluctuation among the individual novels, these differences do not seem to be meaningful.

Moreover, for calling the small difference in amount of Manner expression robust, the difference should at least be present throughout all the individual novels. As can be seen in Table 3.1.1.4, this is not the case; from both translation directions, one novel behaves in an opposite way from the overall trend in Manner change. The Dutch novel 'Berlijn 1989-2009' expressed Manner in 43% of the motion events, which increased to 46% in the translation to English, and the English novel 'The Fellowship of the Ring' contained Manner in 36% of its original motion events, while in the Dutch translation the amount of Manner decreased to 33%. But considering the fact that most books follow the overall results, it can be cautiously said that there is a small trend pointing towards Dutch having a slightly larger preference to express Manner in motion events than English.

Table 3.1.1.1 Amount of motion events, types of Manner verbs and the amount and form in which Manner of motion occurs in all analysed English and Dutch novels

Manner of motion overall	Motion events	Types of manner verbs	Motion events with manner (% of motion events (SD))	Manner inside verb (% of ME with manner)	Manner outside verb (% of ME with manner)	Manner in both (% of ME with manner)
Dutch	797	83	377 (47%[2] (7.7))	327 (87%)	20 (5%)	30 (8%)
English	785	105	319 (41% (3.5))	290 (91%)	17 (5%)	12 (4%)

When examining how English and Dutch express Manner in motion events, both languages seem to have a clear preference for expressing Manner in the verb. In motion events with Manner, Dutch expresses Manner in the verb in 95% (87+8) of the cases, whereof in 8% of the events Dutch also expresses Manner outside the verb. In the remaining 5% of the cases, Manner is expressed otherwise than in the verb. For English, these numbers are comparable: 95% (91+4)of the motion events have Manner conflated in the verb, whereof 4% of the events also express Manner in another way and 5% express Manner only outside the verb. This preference, but also the similarity between English and Dutch, also shows up when examining the original novels and their translations. Originally, Dutch novels express Manner in the verb in 94.5% (89+5.5) of the motion events with Manner, whereof in 5.5% of these events Manner is also expresses otherwise, and in 5.5% of the cases, Manner is only

[2]Most percentages throughout the thesis are rounded off to whole or half numbers, in a way that they count up to 100%. Therefore, it has to be taken into account that the actual percentage can fluctuate at a maximum of 1%.

expressed outside the verb. In novels that are originally English, 95% (91+4) of the motion events with Manner expresses this in the verb, whereof 4% also outside the verb, while 5% expresses Manner only in another way than in the verb. In the translation from Dutch to English, the percentage of events that expresses Manner in the verb stays more or less the same (94% (90+4), whereof 4% also outside the verb), just as the expression of Manner only outside the verb (which happens in 6% of the cases). The translation from English to Dutch shows the same continuity; the percentage of events that expresses Manner in the verb is exactly the same (95% (86+9)), whereof the expression of Manner in both the verb and outside the verb increases (9%) but the percentage of Manner expressed only outside the verb stays the same as well (5%).

Table 3.1.1.2 Amount of motion events, types of Manner verbs and the amount and form in which Manner of motion occurs in the analysed original Dutch novels and their English translations

Manner of motion **Dutch → English**	Dutch (original)	English (translation)
Motion events	314	314
Types of manner verbs	41	50
Motion events with manner (% of motion events (SD))	142 (45% (5.9))	132 (42% (4.4))
Manner only in verb (% of ME with manner)	126 (89%)	119 (90%)
Manner outside verb (% of ME with manner)	8 (5.5%)	8 (6%)
Manner in both (% of ME with manner)	8 (5.5%)	5 (4%)

Table 3.1.1.3 Amount of motion events, types of Manner verbs and the amount and form in which Manner of motion occurs in the analysed original English novels and their Dutch translations

Manner of motion **English → Dutch**	English (original)	Dutch (translation)
Motion events	471	483
Types of manner verbs	75	63
Motion events with manner (% of motion events (SD))	187 (40% (2.4))	235 (48% (9.9))
Manner only in verb (% of ME with manner)	171 (91%)	201 (86%)
Manner outside verb (% of ME with manner)	9 (5%)	12 (5%)
Manner in both (% of ME with manner)	7 (4%)	22 (9%)

Table 3.1.1.4 Amount of Manner of motion in each individual analysed novel, either in the original novel and in the translation

Manner of motion in individual novels	Translation direction	ME with Manner in original novel (% of motion events)	ME with Manner in translation (% of motion events)
'Reizen zonder John. Op zoek naar Amerika'	Dutch → English	19 (41%)	16 (36%)
'Berlijn 1989-2009'	Dutch → English	29 (43%)	33 (46%)
'Joe Speedboot'	Dutch → English	57 (43%)	55 (40%)
'Bezonken Rood'	Dutch → English	37 (54%)	28 (44%)
'The Fellowship of the Ring'	English → Dutch	39 (36%)	36 (33%)
'On the Road'	English → Dutch	59 (41%)	76 (53%)
'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows'	English → Dutch	55 (40%)	78 (54%)
'The book thief'	English → Dutch	34 (41%)	45 (51%)

Table 3.1.1.5 and 3.1.1.6 show more precisely what happens with Manner in the translation process. Since Manner outside the verb doesn't occur very often (less than 6%) and the focus of this study is mainly on Manner verbs, the events with Manner only outside the verb are taken together with motion events without Manner, together being motion events without Manner verbs. The motion events that express Manner both inside and outside the verb are analysed together with the rest of the events with Manner verbs. Dutch motion events with Manner verbs lose Manner in the translation to English in 20% of the cases; in English, they become either motion events without Manner verbs (12%) or events without motion (8%).To recall: an event without motion is, in this case, generally an event where the notion of 'change-of-location' got lost (e.g. 'the bottle is floating in the cave' instead of the motion event 'the bottle is floating into the cave'). Manner is also added in English translations of Dutch events, but less often than it is removed: in 6% of Dutch motion events, and 1.5% of Dutch non-motion events a Manner verb is added. The same pattern, but reversed, shows in the translation of originally English novels, meaning that Manner is more often added in Dutch than it is removed. English motion events without Manner verbs are translated with Manner verbs in Dutch 17% of the times, and English non-motion events are translated into motion events with Manner verbs in Dutch in 5% of the cases. Meanwhile, English Manner verbs are translated into motion verbs without Manner in Dutch 13% of the times, and the notion of motion is lost too in 3% of the cases. The next section, 3.1.2, will zoom in on individual sentences to examine what exactly happens when translating Dutch motion events in English and the other way around, to try and find a pattern in the changes in the expression of Manner.

Table 3.1.1.5 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Manner of motion in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a Manner verb (both only verb and verb+satellite), no Manner verb (both ME with Manner satellite and without Manner), and events without motion.

Translation of Manner Dutch → English	English Manner verb	English no Manner verb	English no motion	**Total**
Dutch Manner verb	107 (80%)	16 (12%)	11(8%)	**134 (100%)**
Dutch no Manner verb	11 (6%)	161 (90%)	8 (4%)	**180 (100%)**
Dutch no motion	6 (1.5%)	14 (3.5%)	370 (95%)	**390 (100%)**

Table 3.1.1.6 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Manner in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a Manner verb (both only verb and verb+satellite), no Manner verb (both ME with Manner satellite and without Manner), and events without motion.

Translation of Manner English → Dutch	Dutch Manner verb	Dutch no Manner verb	Dutch no motion	**Total**
English Manner verb	149 (84%)	23 (13%)	6 (3%)	**178 (100%)**
English no Manner verb	50 (17%)	224 (76.5%)	19 (6.5%)	**293 (100%)**
English no motion	24 (5%)	16 (3%)	437 (92%)	**477 (100%)**

3.1.2 Qualitative analysis

The previous section showed especially a decrease of Manner in verbs when translating Dutch to English and an increase of Manner in the translation of English to Dutch. There were also cases where Manner was added in the translation process of Dutch to English and removed when translating English to Dutch, but this amount is smaller in both absolute and relative terms, so the focus of this section will be on examining what precisely happens when Manner seems to be more salient in Dutch than in English, not by examining every sentence, but to try and find a pattern throughout the data.

First, the changes between English motion events without Manner verbs and Dutch motion events with Manner verbs are examined. There were 27 motion events with Manner verbs in Dutch that changed when translating those to English. In 16 cases, there was still a motion event, but Manner was not expressed in the verb anymore. Three times, the Manner verb was replaced with a Path verb, as can be seen in example (8). In these cases, it was possible for English to still use a Manner verb, like 'to fly' (8a), 'to dump'/'to fall' (8b) or 'to drive' (8c), but the translator chose to express Path in the verb instead. Furthermore, three times the verb *lopen* ('to walk') and three times the verb *rijden* ('to drive') was translated into either motion verbs without manner or other types of verbs, as shown in example (9). English does have direct translations for these verbs, but the translator chose a more neutral motion verb. A final pattern that is observed, is that two times, a Dutch sentence with the Manner verb *varen* ('to sail' or 'to boat') is translated into an English motion event without a motion verb, which can be seen in example (10). These two sentences are from the same book, and moreover, the same page, and therefore it could be just the translation choice of one single translator. Over the whole dataset, the verb *varen* occurs just one more time, as a

translation from the English verb ‘to sail’, so this dataset is not sufficient to give more insight in this matter.

(8)
a.
[…] tot hij een kauwtje zag *aan***vliegen** dat daar zijn nest had.
(‘until he saw a jackdaw flying towards [there] that had his nest there’)
[…] until he saw a jackdaw **entering** his nest.
TW:JS 40/36[3]
b.
[…] **stortte** de inhoud van het pillenkokertje […] zich volledig *over* mij *uit*.
(‘fell the contents of the pill box completely out over me’)
[…] **scattered** the contents of the pill box all *over* me.
JB:BR 17/18
c.
[…] de gevoeligste grens ter wereld, die waar ik zojuist *overheen* **rijd** […]
(‘the most sensitive border in the world, the one I am driving over just now’)
[…] the most sensitive border in the world, the one I am now **crossing** […]
CN:B 55/50

(9)
a.
India **liep** het huis *in*[…]
(‘India walked into the house’)
India **went** *into* the house […]
TW:JS 41/38
b.
Misschien zou ik *naar* haar *toe* zijn **gereden** […]
(‘Maybe I would have driven towards her’)
Perhaps I would have **gone** *to* her […]
JB:BR 39/37

(10)
a.
[…] **voer** William Least Heat-Moon nog op hetzelfde schip *naar* de overkant […]

[3] For references to the novels, abbreviations are used for reasons of space. The first pair of letters refers to the writer, and the second (pair of) letter(s) to the novel. Furthermore, the numbers refer to the pages: the first number is the page in the original novel and the second number the page in the translation. All the Dutch sentences are followed by an as literal as possible English translation, next to the English counterpart sentence that is found in the novels. At all times, the first sentence is the original, and the second sentence the translation. The verb of interest is marked **bold**, eventual satellites are marked *italic*. Used editions can be found in the references at the end of this thesis. Abbreviations: TW:JS = ‘Joe Speedboot’ by Tommy Wieringa; JB:BR = ‘Bezonken Rood’ by Jeroen Brouwers; GM:RJ = ‘Reizen zonder John. Op zoek naar Amerika’ by Geert Mak; CN:B = ‘Berlijn 1989-2009’ by Cees Nooteboom; JR:HP = ‘Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows’ by J.K. Rowling; MZ:BT = ‘The book thief’ by Markus Zusak; JT:LR = ‘The Fellowship of the Ring’ by J.R.R. Tolkien; JK:OR = ‘On the Road’ by Jack Kerouac.

('William Least Heat-Moon sailed/boated on the same ship to the other side')
[…] William Least Heat-Moon made the crossing on the same boat […]
GM:RJ 65/54
b.
Dat is de boot waarmee ik *naar* de overkant **vaar**.
('That is the boat with which I sail/boat to the other side')
This was the craft on which I made the crossing.
GM:RJ 65/54

When the translation process is reversed, Dutch adds Manner verbs to English motion events 50 times, and to English non-motion events 24 times. Of the 50 additions of Manner verbs to motion events, 14 of the original English events contained Path verbs, see example (11). In the case of (11a), Dutch doesn't have a verb root that expresses Path just as 'to enter'. The translator could have used the compound verb *binnenkomen*, that expresses Path in the affix, but she chose a motion verb with Manner conflated in it. In (11b) and (11c), Dutch equivalents are available: *verlaten* and *openen*, but instead, Manner verbs are used. This pattern also occurred in the translation from Dutch to English, where English translates Manner verbs with Path verbs; this will be discussed in section 3.3. Furthermore, in 13 original English motion events where Dutch adds Manner in the translation, 'to go' was the original verb. The Manner verbs that are used instead are mainly *lopen* and *rijden* (in 10 cases), of which some example sentences can be found in (12). These verbs popped up in the reversed translations too, so this deserves a further examination.

To examine whether in motion events the verbs *lopen* and *rijden* are overall preferred more in Dutch than 'to walk' and 'to drive' in English, the data were checked for the tokens of these verbs. The results can be found in Table 3.1.2.1. Indeed, *lopen* / 'to walk' and *rijden* / 'to drive' are used more often in the Dutch than in the English data, both overall (8.6% vs 5.5%, resp. 4.3% vs. 2.2%) as only in the original novels (4.3% vs 2.2%, resp. 7.0% vs 0.6%). Furthermore, *lopen* and *rijden* occurred often as a translation of 'to go', which suggests that the difference in the data could be not (only) due to a preference of Dutch to use those Manner verbs, but (also) a dispreference of Dutch to use the neutral motion verb *gaan*. Therefore, the occurrences of this verb (and the Dutch translation *gaan*) are also examined in the motion events of the dataset. When only considering the original novels, English indeed has more tokens of this neutral motion verb (11.5%) than Dutch (8.2%), but when examining the motion events overall, Dutch uses *gaan* more often (11.3%) than English uses 'to go' (7.8%). The latter is slightly unexpected, although a first look at the data shows that about a quarter of the uses of the Dutch *gaan* in motion events are translations from English Path verbs. This will be further examined in section 3.3.

Table 3.1.2.1 Amount of tokens of the Dutch verbs lopen*,* rijden*, and* gaan *and the English verbs 'to walk', 'to drive', and 'to go' in motion events, both overall and only in original novels.*

Tokens of verbs in motion events	Dutch overall (% of all Dutch motion)	English overall (% of all English motion)	Dutch original (% of all original Dutch motion)	English original (% of all original English motion)
Lopen / 'to walk'	69 (8.6%)	43 (5.5%)	22 (7.0%)	25 (5.3%)
Rijden / 'to drive'	34 (4.3%)	17 (2.2%)	22 (7.0%)	3 (0.6%)
Gaan / 'to go'	90 (11.3%)	77 (7.8%)	26 (8.2%)	54 (11.5%)

(11)
a.
Harry, Ron and Hermione **entered** theirs [lift] […]
Harry, Ron en Hermelien **stapten** *in* hun eigen lift […]
('Harry, Ron and Hermione stepped into their own lift')
JR:HP 200/180
b.
[…] and he promptly **left** the kitchen […]
[…] en **liep** meteen daarop de keuken […]*uit*.
('and walked right away out of the kitchen')
MZ:BT 111/112
c.
[…] the moment the doors **opened** again.
[…] zodra het hek weer *open***gleed**.
('as soon as the gate slid open again')
JR:HP 210/188

(12)
a.
They **went** *along* the lane […]
Ze **liepen** de laan *door* […]
('They walked along the lane')
JT:LR 92/122
b.
A grape truck **went** *over* a bump in the road […]
Er **reed** een druivenwagen *over* een hobbel op de weg […]
('A grape truck drove over a bump in the road')
JK:OR 95/96

Next to differences within motion events, there were also cases where Dutch seems to use Manner more often than English, as a result of the English counterpart of the Dutch motion event being a non-motion event. In the translation direction from Dutch to English, English translates 11 Dutch motion events with Manner verbs to non-motion events. In six cases, the English translation still has some notion of motion, but isn't a motion event anymore as

defined in this thesis, since the protagonist doesn't clearly end up in another place as a result of the disappearance of the notion of Path, as can be seen in the examples in (13). Where the original Dutch event contained either a preposition (13a: *langs* 'over', 'following') or a particle (13b: *af* 'off'), in the English translation, they got lost together with the notion of Path. In four of the cases, motion events with posture verbs are translated into location events with posture verbs. These motion events in Dutch describe a change of posture, while in English, the result of the motion is described, as can be seen in example (14). In both (14a and (14b), the motion verb *gaan* ('to go'), that makes the original Dutch sentences change-of-posture and therefore, in this thesis, motion events, disappears in the English translation. But here too, it has to be noted that all those four cases appear in the translation of the same novel and therefore it could be due to individual choices of one translator.

(13)
a.
Hij **likte** *langs* een vloeitje […]
('He licked along the cigarette paper')
He **licked** the cigarette paper […]
TW:JS 161/159
b.
[…] waar mijn hoed van *af***vloog**.
('that caused my hat to fly off')
[…] that sent my topi **flying.**
JB:BR 31/30

(14)
a.
[…] tegen elkaar aan waren **gaan staan** […]
('went to stand against each other')
[…] **leaned** against each other […]
JB:BR 45/43
b.
Ik **ging** flink in de houding **staan** […]
('I went to stand firmly in position')
I **stood** firmly at attention […]
JB:BR 89/78

Finally, in the reversed translation direction, 24 English non-motion events were translated into Dutch motion events with Manner verbs. This shows the same pattern as in the translation of Dutch to English: six of the original English events didn't contain the notion of Path and therefore were not defined as motion event, while a Path satellite was added in the Dutch translation. For example, in the English equivalent of sentence (15a), the preposition 'in' expresses the orientation of the 'hobbits' relative to the Ground 'grass', while in the Dutch translation, *doorheen* (through) describes the Path the Figures follow relative to the Ground, making it a motion event. The same distinction shows in sentence

(15b): ‘on’ refers to an orientation, while the translation *langs* (‘over’ or ‘following’) describes the Path relative to the Ground. Furthermore, nine of the English location events with posture verbs are translated into motion events that caused this posture in Dutch. This is the same pattern that was found in the translation from Dutch to English, where Dutch motion events that caused posture were translated into location events with posture verbs in English. Since this phenomenon appears in both translation directions, the proposal in the previous paragraph of the influence of the translator on this issue can be ruled out. Sentence (16a) shows the addition of the preposition *op* (‘up’) that adds the notion of Path in the Dutch translation, while sentence (16b) adds the motion verb *komen* (‘to come’) that transforms the event into a change-of-posture event, which is considered a motion event in this thesis.

(15)
a.
[…] grass […] *in* which the hobbits **walked**[…]
[…] gras, waar de hobbits *doorheen* **liepen** […]
(‘grass, which the hobbits walked through’)
JT:LR 212/262
b.
[…] his cut finger **slipping** *on* the jagged edge of the mirror again.
[…] zijn gewonde vinger **gleed** weer *langs* de scherpe rand van het stukje spiegel.
(‘his wounded finger slid along the sharp edge of the piece of mirror again’)
JR:HP 30/25

(16)
a.
When she eventually **stood** […]
Toen zij uiteindelijk *op***stond** […]
(‘When she eventually stood up’)
MZ:BT 271/272
b.
[…] he **sat** *next* to her […]
[…] **kwam** hij weer *naast* haar **zitten** […]
(‘he came to sit next to her again’)
MZ:BT 121/122

3.1.3 Summary and Discussion

This section tried to give insight in to what extent a higher amount of Manner verb types influences the amount of and manner in which a language expresses Manner in motion events. The results of the quantitative analysis showed a higher amount of types of Manner verbs in English than in Dutch, as was expected from earlier research and literature (Slobin 2004; Lemmens 2005). But, the hypothesis of Berman & Slobin (1994) that this would lead to a higher use of Manner in motion events cannot be confirmed by the data analysed in this thesis. If any, it shows a trend of Dutch expressing Manner more when comparing all data, when comparing the original novels, and when examining the translation process. These

results cannot be called robust, since not all analysed novels follow the same pattern and the fluctuation between the individual novels is too large to draw conclusions on.

The results of the current study differ on two levels from the results of Slobin (2004), who measured how often English and Dutch speakers (and speakers of other languages) used Manner verbs to describe a certain event in the frog story. First, Slobin (2004) found that English used Manner verbs more often than Dutch. Second, he measured for Dutch nearly 20% and for English a little more than 30% of Manner verb uses in motion events, while the current study found for both languages a Manner description in over 40% of the motion events. Even when subtracting the uses of Manner outside the verb in this study, Manner still appears more often in English and Dutch novels than Slobin (2004) found in his experiment. An explanation for these different results can be the difference in material and methodology. The current study is a corpus study, using novels and their translations, which are written texts 'from the wild' that are probably thought through before publishing. On the other hand, Slobin (2004) conducted an experiment that elicits spontaneous speech, but that is less natural in the limited context of the one story it conveys. The fact that Manner is used more often in the examined texts in this study than in spontaneous speech could be explained by the genre of the novel. A writer puts thought into his language and generally tries to create a more aesthetic text than a speaker whose main goal it is to transfer information about the events in the story. Furthermore, a writer of a Dutch novel doesn't seem to be obstructed by the more limited set of Manner verbs to create an aesthetic text, but just uses the Manner verbs he can use more often. This could be an explanation for the more equal amount of use of Manner verbs in English and Dutch novels than in spontaneous texts.

The qualitative analysis on Manner in motion events zoomed in on the mechanisms behind the increase of Manner in the translation from Dutch to English and the decrease of Manner in the translation from English to Dutch, and found two important patterns. First, English often uses Path verbs instead of the Dutch Manner verbs. Path verbs will be further discussed in section 3.3, but this could be an explanation for the slightly lower use of Manner verbs in English while it has more Manner verb types than Dutch. Apparently, amount of Manner verb types is not the only predicting factor when it comes to amount of Manner expression; other lexical properties of a language, like amount of Path verb types, have an influence too. Second, most changes in amount of Manner seem to be due to the translation of the English verb 'to go' to the Dutch verbs *lopen* ('to walk') or *rijden* ('to drive'), or the other way around. A further examination of the frequency of those verbs shows that English uses the verb 'to go' more frequently in motion events, next to a higher frequency of the verbs *lopen* and *rijden* in Dutch. Following the trend in the quantitative analysis, this frequency effect suggests that Dutch finds it more important to express Manner when describing the motion of human beings than English, especially when describing two of the most common ways human beings move: by foot and by car. Since we tend to speak about humans quite often, it is not surprising that his can have a big influence on the overall use of Manner.

3.2 Description of Manner in fictive motion constructions

3.2.1 Quantitative analysis

Fictive motion events did not appear very frequently in the novels examined for this study. Of the approximately 16.500 words per original novel, corresponding to 35-71 pages per original book and resulting in a total of approximately 132.000 words and 377 pages, only 168 fictive motion events were found. More FME's were found in original English novels (59) than in original Dutch novels (22), and more FME's were found in travel novels (60) than in non-travel novels (21), but these differences are mainly due to the high amount of FME's in one English travel-novel: 'The Fellowship of the Ring', by J.R.R. Tolkien (38 FME's), as can be seen in Table 3.2.1.2.This is a factor that has to be taken in consideration in all comparisons that include original English novels.

Table 3.2.1.1 Amount of fictive motion (FM) events, types of Manner verbs and the amount and form in which Manner of fictive motion occurs in all analysed English and Dutch novels

Manner in fictive motion overall	Fictive motion events	Types of manner verbs	FM events with manner (% of FM events)	Manner inside verb (% of FM with manner)	Manner outside verb (% of FM with manner)	Manner in both (% of FM with manner)
Dutch	87	13	43 (49%)	40 (93%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)
English	81	18	44 (54%)	42 (95%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)

Table 3.2.1.2 Amount of fictive motion events (FME's) and the amount of Manner in FME's in the individual novels, original and translation

Manner in fictive motion per novel	FME's original	Manner original	FME's translation	Manner translation	Direction translation	Travel literature
'Reizen zonder John. Op zoek naar Amerika'	8	3 (38%)	10	3 (30%)	D→E	Yes
'Berlijn 1989-2009'	7	3 (43%)	7	3 (43%)	D→E	Yes
'Joe Speedboot'	3	1 (33%)	3	2 (67%)	D→E	No
'Bezonken Rood'	4	0 (0%)	2	0 (0%)	D→E	No
'The Fellowship of the Ring'	38	27 (71%)	39	23 (59%)	E→D	Yes
'On the Road'	7	4 (57%)	7	4 (57%)	E→D	Yes
'Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows'	7	2 (29%)	11	4 (36%)	E→D	No
'The book thief'	7	3 (43%)	8	5 (63%)	E→D	No

Table 3.2.1.1 shows the overall results of the occurrence of Manner in fictive motion events in both English and Dutch novels, while Table 3.2.1.3 and Table 3.2.1.4 show the expression of Manner in FME's in respectively Dutch original novels and their translations, and English original novels and their translations. Overall, Table 3.2.1.1 shows that English expresses Manner slightly more in their FME's (54%) than Dutch (49%), which is also the case when

comparing English original novels (61%) and Dutch original novels (32%) in Table 3.2.1.3 and 3.2.1.4. This tendency continues in the translations: the amount of Manner expressions increases when translating Dutch to English (36%), and decreases when translating English to Dutch (55%). However, Table 3.2.1.2 also shows the amount of Manner per novel in fictive motion events, and 'The Fellowship of the Ring' stands out again. Next to having by far the most FME's, the novel has the highest percentage of Manner in its motion events, both in the original novel (71%) and the translation (59%). Those two facts together have a major influence on the overall results. When looking at the novels other than 'The Fellowship of the Ring', relatively, the amount of Manner shifts, but when looking at the absolute numbers, the differences in amount of Manner between the originals and the translations are no more than one or two FME's. Furthermore, when calculating the relative amount of Manner in English novels overall, with removal of 'The Fellowship of the Ring', it comes down to 40% against the 49% in Dutch novels. When calculating this for original English novels, they turn out to express Manner in 43% of the FME's against the 32% in the Dutch original novels.

Table 3.2.1.3 Amount of fictive motion (FM) events, types of Manner verbs and the amount and form in which Manner of fictive motion occurs in the analysed original Dutch novels and their English translations

Manner in fictive motion Dutch → English	Dutch (original)	English (translation)
Fictive motion events	22	22
Types of manner verbs	6	5
FM events with manner (% of FM events)	7 (32%)	8 (36%)
Manner only in verb (% of FM with manner)	7 (100%)	8 (100%)
Manner outside verb (% of FM with manner)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Manner in both (% of FM with manner)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Table 3.2.1.4 Amount of fictive motion (FM) events, types of Manner verbs and the amount and form in which Manner of fictive motion occurs in the analysed original English novels and their Dutch translations

Manner in fictive motion English → Dutch	English (original)	Dutch (translation)
Fictive motion events	59	65
Types of manner verbs	16	11
FM events with manner (% of FM events)	36 (61%)	36 (55%)
Manner only in verb (% of FM with manner)	34 (94%)	33 (91%)
Manner outside verb (% of FM with manner)	1 (3%)	1 (3%)
Manner in both (% of FM with manner)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)

The way in which Manner is expressed in English and Dutch FME's is similar throughout the novels: Dutch original novels only express Manner in the verb (100%), which is translated the same in English (100%). At the same time, in English original novels, there is only one case in which Manner is only expressed outside the verb (3%), which is the same as in the Dutch translation. Manner was expressed in the verb in 97% of the FME's with Manner in both English original novels as Dutch translations, whereof one sentence in English (3%) and two in Dutch (6%) express Manner also outside the verb.

Table 3.2.1.5 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Manner of fictive motion in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a Manner verb (both only verb and verb+satellite), no Manner verb (both ME with Manner satellite and without Manner), and events without fictive motion.

Translation of Manner in FME's Dutch → English	English Manner verb	English no Manner verb	English no FME	**Total**
Dutch Manner verb	*5 (71%)*	0 (0%)	2 (29%)	**7 (100%)**
Dutch no Manner verb	0 (0%)	*10 (67%)*	5 (33%)	**15 (100%)**
Dutch no FME	3 (0.5%)	4 (0.5%)	*673 (99%)*	**680 (100%)**

Table 3.2.1.6 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Manner of fictive motion in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a Manner verb (both only verb and verb+satellite), no Manner verb (both ME with Manner satellite and without Manner), and events without fictive motion.

Translation of Manner in FME's English → Dutch	Dutch Manner verb	Dutch no Manner verb	Dutch no FME	**Total**
English Manner verb	*21 (60%)*	8 (23%)	6 (17%)	**35 (100%)**
English no Manner verb	5 (21%)	*17 (71%)*	2 (8%)	**24 (100%)**
English no FME	9 (1%)	5 (0.5%)	*875 (98.5%)*	**889 (100%)**

Table 3.2.1.5 and 3.2.1.6 zoom in on the exact changes in the translation processes. Table 3.2.1.5 shows that when translating Dutch FME's to English, Manner gets lost in two cases, but it is added three times. These changes are always due to a change in the type of event; there are no translations from Dutch Manner verbs into English FME's without Manner verbs (0%) and no translations from Dutch FME's without Manner to English FME's with Manner verbs (0%). In the translation from English to Dutch, as can be seen in Table 3.2.1.6, Manner is lost in 14 translations of English FME's, but Manner is also added 14 times in translations into FME's in Dutch. Contrary to the translations from Dutch to English, English FME's with Manner verbs are sometimes translated into FME's without Manner verbs (8 times), and English FME's without Manner verbs are translated into Dutch FME's with Manner verbs (5 times). However, the novel 'The Fellowship of the Ring' has an influence here too: of the 13 times that the Manner in the verb of a FME changes in the translation from English to Dutch, 11 occur in this novel.

Furthermore, the type of fictive motion could have an influence on Manner expression, which is explored in Table 3.2.2.1 up until Table 3.2.2.6. After this, individual cases of translation with Manner will be examined, which contain both the increase and decrease of Manner in both translation directions, to see if patterns can be found that can explain the fluctuation.

Table 3.2.2.1 Amount of types of fictive motion events (coextension, frame-relative, emanation, advent) in all analysed Dutch and English novels

Types of fictive motion overall	Coextension	Frame-relative	Emanation	Advent	**Total**
Dutch	37 (43%)	16 (18%)	25 (29%)	9 (10%)	**87 (100%)**
English	32 (40%)	13 (16%)	26 (32%)	10 (12%)	**81 (100%)**

Table 3.2.2.2 Amount of change or continuation of the types of fictive motion in the translation process from Dutch to English. Because of the low absolute numbers, percentages are less informative and therefore left out of the table.

Translation of FME types Dutch → English	English Coextension	English Frame-relative	English Emanation	English Advent	English no FME	**Total**
Dutch Coextension	5	0	0	0	2	**7**
Dutch Frame-relative	0	4	0	0	3	**7**
Dutch Emanation	0	0	4	0	2	**6**
Dutch Advent	0	0	0	2	0	**2**
Dutch no FME	6	1	0	0	673	**680**

Table 3.2.2.3 Amount of change or continuation of the types of fictive motion in the translation process from English to Dutch. Because of the low absolute numbers, percentages are less informative and therefore left out of the table.

Translation of FME types English → Dutch	Dutch Coextension	Dutch Frame-relative	Dutch Emanation	Dutch Advent	Dutch no FME	**Total**
English Coextension	20	0	0	0	1	**21**
English Frame-relative	0	7	0	0	1	**8**
English Emanation	0	0	17	0	5	**22**
English Advent	0	1	0	6	1	**8**
English no FME	10	1	2	1	875	**889**

Table 3.2.2.1 shows the overall frequency of occurrence of the different types of fictive motion events in the analysed Dutch and English novels. The distribution of the different types of FME´s is roughly comparable between the two languages; Dutch and English FME's are in most cases of the coextension type (respectively 43% and 40%), followed by emanation (respectively 29% and 32%), frame-relative (respectively 18% and 16%) and advent types (respectively 10% and 12%). Table 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.2.3 show that in the translation of Dutch and English FME's, the type of FME mainly stays the same, except in one case: one English FME of the advent type was translated into a Dutch FME of the frame-relative type. Furthermore, these results of the translations of FME types show that in both translation directions and most of the fictive motion types, fictive motion events are both added and deleted. Therefore, for example the increases in FME type translations that can be found in Table 3.2.2.5 and 3.2.2.6, are generally the result of both gain and loss of FME's, only the gain is higher than the loss. The same is the case for decreases in FME type translations, only is the loss higher than the gain there.

Table 3.2.2.4 Amount of Manner in the different types of fictive motion events (coextension, frame-relative, emanation, advent) in all analysed Dutch and English novels

Manner in types FME overall	Coextension with Manner (% of coextension FME's)	Frame-relative with Manner (% of frame-relative FME's)	Emanation with Manner (% of emanation FME's)	Advent with Manner (% of advent FME's)
Dutch	23 (62%)	5 (31%)	14 (56%)	1 (11%)
English	18 (56%)	9 (69%)	13 (50%)	4 (40%)

The amount of expression of Manner in these types of FME's is presented in Table 3.2.2.4. There doesn't seem to be one particular type of FME that expresses more or less Manner in both languages; it differs between Dutch and English. For Dutch, most Manner is expressed in the coextension (in 62% of all coextension) and the emanation types (56% of all emanation), followed by frame-relative (31%) and advent (11%). In English novels, those percentages are closer together: the expression of Manner is 69% in frame-relative, 56% in coextension, 50% in emanation and 40% in advent. When comparing those languages, it shows especially a larger amount of Manner expression in English than in Dutch frame-relative and advent FME's. It has to be taken into account, however, that the absolute numbers of FME's with Manner are low, especially for the frame-relative and advent types. This means that the percentages would largely fluctuate if the absolute numbers would fluctuate with one or two. Therefore, these differences between English and Dutch in Manner expression in the different FME types cannot be called robust.

Table 3.2.2.5 Amount of Manner in the different types of fictive motion events in the original Dutch novels and their English translations

Manner in FME types Dutch → English	Dutch (original)	Dutch (original) with Manner	English (translation)	English (translation) with Manner
Coextension	7	2 (29%)	11	4 (36%)
Frame-relative	7	3 (43%)	5	3 (60%)
Emanation	6	2 (33%)	4	1 (25%)
Advent	2	0 (0%)	2	0 (0%)

Table 3.2.2.6 Amount of Manner in the different types of fictive motion events in the original English novels and their Dutch translations

Manner in FME types English → Dutch	English (original)	English (original) with Manner	Dutch (translation)	Dutch (translation) with Manner
Coextension	21	14 (67%)	30	21 (70%)
Frame-relative	8	6 (75%)	9	2 (22%)
Emanation	22	12 (55%)	19	12 (63%)
Advent	8	4 (50%)	7	1 (14%)

In a comparison of Dutch and English original novels, English shows to express Manner more often in all types of fictive motion events: coextension (67% vs 29%), frame-relative (75% vs 43%), emanation (55% vs 33%) and advent (50% vs 0%). In the translation from Dutch to English, the percentages fluctuate, but when looking at the absolute numbers, they show loss or gain in Manner in only one or two cases per FME type. The translation from English to Dutch shows a clear decrease of Manner in the frame-relative type (from 75% to 22%) and the advent type (50% to 14%), while percentual, the expression of Manner in the coextension (67% to 70%) and emanation (55% and 63%) type doesn't change much in the translation. However, here too, the absolute numbers are small, and therefore these differences cannot be called robust. In conclusion, these results of Manner in the different FME types show that English expresses more Manner in all types in its original novels than Dutch in its original novels, and that Manner especially gets lost in the translation of English frame-relative and advent types to the Dutch versions of these FME's, although this difference is not robust. This is a factor that will be taken into account in the further qualitative analysis of Manner in fictive motion expressions in Dutch and English.

3.2.2 Qualitative analysis

The quantitative analysis in the previous section showed that the amount of Manner expression in fictive motion events is sometimes higher in Dutch, sometimes in English; it depends on which (kind of) novels are included in the analysis. This section tries to shed more light on why the amount of Manner in FME's fluctuates between English and Dutch. First, the changes of amount of Manner in the translation from Dutch to English were all due to a change in the type of event (from FME to non-FME or the other way around). Therefore, this will be further discussed in section 3.4, where the expression of Manner in location events is further examined. The focus here will be on the few cases in the translation from English to Dutch where the expression of Manner changed, while both the original sentence and its translation contained a fictive motion event. A translation from an English FME with Manner to a Dutch FME without Manner occurred 8 times, while a translation from an English FME without Manner to a Dutch FME with Manner occurred 5 times. When zooming in on the English FME's with Manner, the first thing that stands out is that 7 of 8 sentences come from the novel 'The Fellowship of the Ring'. The quantitative analysis already showed that the writer of this novel has a tendency to express Manner more often in its FME's than other writers. More specifically in these sentences, the writer uses Manner verbs like 'to climb' and 'to stalk' (see example 17) that are not used by any other writers in the analysed novels to describe fictive motion events. This results in more poetic types of sentences. This could be a reason for Dutch translators to opt for another verb in these cases. Furthermore, 5 of the sentences are translated from English Manner verbs to Dutch Path verbs, as can be seen in example (18). The verb in (18a), 'to ride', does have a Dutch counterpart, *rijden*, but this verb is never used to describe the movement of the sun in Dutch. The verb 'to fall' in sentence (18b) has the literal translation *vallen* in Dutch, but it cannot be used in a fictive way in this sentence; the sentence would turn into an unusual type of motion event with another meaning. It is unexpected that Dutch chooses to use Path verbs here, while in section 3.1, the higher amount of Manner in Dutch was partly due to the translation of

English Path verbs. Path verbs are further investigated in section 3.3, but in this case, the nature of fictive motion events could be of influence, as will be discussed in section 3.2.3.

(17)
a.
[…] behind that the tall mountains **climbed** […] *into* the fading sky.
[…] daarachter **verrezen** de hoge bergen […] in de verblekende hemel.
('behind that the tall mountains rose in the fading sky')
JT:LR 212/263
b.
[…] beyond that the dark shapes of the Barrow-Downs **stalked** away *into* the eastern night.
[…] daarachter **golfden** de donkere contouren van de Grafheuvels, *oostwaards* in de nacht.
('beyond that the dark shapes of the Barrow-Downs waved, eastward in the night')
JT:LR 122/157

(18)
a.
[…] the sun **rode** *up* the sky […]
[…] de zon **steeg** aan de hemel […]
('the sun rose on the sky')
JT:LR 242/297
b.
[…] the land had been **falling** steadily […]
[…] was het land almaar **gedaald** […]
('the land descended steadily')
JT:LR 182/228

Of the 5 cases where English FME's without Manner were translated to Dutch FME's with Manner, 4 are coextension types. All of the Dutch translations contained the Manner verb *lopen* (literally 'to walk'), which seems to be the default verb for Dutch to express coextension FME's: overall, of the 37 coextension FME's, 23 contained Manner, of which in 21 sentences, the verb *lopen* was used and only 2 times the neutral motion verb *gaan* ('to go'). Although *lopen* is a clear Manner verb for regular motion events, it seems to have lost its Manner meaning in fictive motion events: *de ladder gaat door het gat* ('the ladder goes through the hole') and *de ladder loopt door het gat* ('the ladder walks/runs through the hole') express the same amount of Manner information, being none. Furthermore, three of the English FME's without Manner contained Path verbs that could not be translated literally into Dutch, at least not while creating an FME. Example (19) illustrates this: 'to pass' in (19a) can be literally translated into the Dutch *passeren*, but would than get a more factive meaning of motion. In sentence (19b), 'to wind' does not have a literal Dutch translation, but could be translated with another similar Path verb, for example *kronkelen* ('to twist', 'to curl'). However, the meaning of the sentence would slightly change and the Path of the FME would become more salient than it is in English. This could be the reason for the Dutch translator to opt for the default Manner verb *lopen*.

(19)
a.
[…] a round hole in the centre *through* which the ladder **passed**.
[…] een rond gat in het midden, waar de ladder *door* **liep**.
('a round hole in the centre, through which the ladder walked/ran')
JT:LR 343/414
b.
[…] patterns that **wound** their way *across* the living-room floor.
[…] patronen die *over* de hele vloer van de woonkamer **liepen**.
('patterns that walked/ran over the whole floor of the living room')
MZ:BT 413/417

3.2.3 Summary and Discussion

This section tried to posit fictive motion structures between motion and location events in terms of Manner expression. If they behave like motion events, no large differences in amount of Manner expression in FME's between the two languages are expected after the results of section 3.1. If they behave like location events, Dutch will express Manner more often in FME's than English. The quantitative results do not show a clear difference between English and Dutch in their amount of Manner expression in fictive motion events, which points to FME's behaving like motion events in this matter. At first sight, English seems to express Manner more than Dutch, both when comparing the novels overall and when comparing the original novels, but this difference disappears with the removal of one novel with by far the largest amount of FME´s and Manner expression: 'The Fellowship of the Ring'. Furthermore, both languages have a clear preference to express Manner in the verb; it is barely expressed outside the verb. Change of Manner expression within an FME mainly occurs in the translation process of this one novel, 'The Fellowship of the Ring', too. An examination of the different types of fictive motion only shows an effect of FME type in the translation from English to Dutch: in the translation of the frame-relative and the advent type, there is a clear decrease of Manner. However, this difference is not so large when comparing the absolute numbers.

The decrease of Manner expression in FME's in the translation from English to Dutch appeared to be mostly due to 'The Fellowship of the Ring', and a close examination showed that the types of Manner verbs that are used in this novel are not very common in both English and Dutch FME's and seem to result in more poetical descriptions of FME. Most verbs that are used in this novel cannot be used in its translation in Dutch FME's; they can only be used in factive motion. What is unexpected is that Dutch uses Path verbs to translate these Manner verbs, while section 3.1 showed that Dutch uses Manner verbs to translate English Path verbs. Although Path verbs will be further investigated in section 3.3, its use in these cases could be due to the nature of fictive motion events. Matsumoto (1996) already stated that in subjective motion, Path always has to be expressed, while Manner can only be expressed if it correlates to some property of Path, since Manner contains information about the moving entity that is not present in subjective motion. Although Matsumoto's subjective motion only contained the coextension type of FME, the other types of FME also lack a moving entity. Therefore, the reason that Dutch choses for a Path verb when translating

English Manner verbs that don't favour a literal translation, could be that Path is more important to express in fictive motion events than Manner. Furthermore, the addition of Manner in the translation of English FME's is mostly resulting in Dutch FME's of the coextension type and the Manner verb *lopen*. However, the Manner verb *lopen* seems to have lost its Manner meaning, comparable to the English verb 'to run'. Matsumoto (1996) already observed this phenomenon for the English 'to run' and the Japanese *hashiru* ('to run'): the information on the Manner of motion in the verb seems to be suppressed in fictive motion events. Next to using this phenomenon as evidence for his 'manner condition', he explains it by stating that in both English and Japanese, these verbs can be used for a wide variety of physical motions. This makes the verbs less specific and unmarked, leading to an easier suppression of their Manner information. The Dutch verb *lopen* seems to behave the same as 'to run' and *hashiru* and can therefore be added to this category. Furthermore, the verb *lopen* is the most frequent verb in Dutch coextension FME's, while the neutral motion verb *gaan* only occurs twice in that context. This could be the reason that the Dutch translator chooses this Manner verb over a neutral verb in the translation of for example not perfectly translatable English Path verbs. However, since the information of Manner in the verbs *lopen* and 'to run' is suppressed, it is questionable if they should have been marked as Manner verbs in the first place. Since especially *lopen* is frequent in Dutch FME's, this can have influenced the results. Therefore, the amount of Manner in FME's in Dutch and English novels overall were recalculated. This indeed shows that less Manner information remains in the Dutch FME's (23, whereof 20 in verb) than in English FME's (31, whereof 29 in verb).

Altogether, the amount of expression of Manner in fictive motion events in English and Dutch generally seems to show the same pattern as the Manner expression in regular motion events in those languages: only small differences appear. The writing style of the authors of the novels and the individual choices of the translators can influence this balance. The large influence of 'The Fellowship of the Ring' in this study casts more doubt on the methodology of Rojo and Valenzuela (2003), who seemed to have based their conclusions mainly on that novel. Furthermore, if the verbs *lopen* and 'to run' were coded as neutral motion verbs instead of Manner verbs, English would turn out to express Manner more often in the verb than Dutch. However, both when considering these verbs as Manner verbs and when considering them as neutral verbs, the pattern in FME's is more like regular motion events than like location events, where Dutch expresses Manner more often.

The way of expressing Manner is also comparable with regular motion events: in fictive motion events, it is even more often expressed in the verb than outside the verb. However, when examining the individual sentences in more detail, several factors influence the expression of Manner in fictive motion events that were not found in regular motion events. The 'manner condition' and 'path condition' described by Matsumoto (1996) are proven to be applicable to Dutch FME's the same as to English and Japanese FME's, and not all regular motion verbs can be used in both English and Dutch FME's: some motion verbs can be used in English FME's, although with a poetical flavour, but get a regular motion meaning only when used in Dutch.

3.3 Description of Path in motion events

3.3.1 Quantitative analysis

An essential element of the motion event is the Path. Different from Manner, Path is present in all motion events collected for this study, either explicitly or implicitly. However, the way in which Path is expressed can differ in English and Dutch; either in the verb, in the satellite, in both, or implicitly, as is shown in Table 3.3.1.1, 3.3.1.2 and 3.3.1.3. Overall, Dutch and English both prefer to express Path in the satellite, although Dutch does this slightly more (in 88% (86+2) of the motion events) than English (79% (75+4)). On the other hand, English expresses Path more often in the verb (24% (20+4)) than Dutch (10% (8+2)). For expressing Path only in the verb, this difference seems to be meaningful when considering the standard deviations. Implicit expression of Path does not occur very often in both languages, but it occurs more in Dutch (4%) than in English (1%). Furthermore, English used twice as much different types of Path verbs (48) than Dutch (24). The observed Path verb types are given in Appendix B. A comparison of the original novels shows the same pattern: Dutch expresses Path in the satellite more (88% (85+3)) than English (80% (77+3)), while English expresses Path more in the verb (22% (19+3) vs 12% (9+3)), and implicit Path is only expressed a few times, but more often in Dutch (3% vs 1%). The translations also reflect the higher preference for Path verbs in English than in Dutch: the amount of Path verbs increases in the translation from Dutch (12% (9+3)) to English (26% (21+5)) and decreases in the translation from English (22% (19+3)) to Dutch (9% (7+2)). The expression of Path in the satellite decreases when translating Dutch (88% (85+3)) to English (78% (73+5)), and increases when translating English (80% (77+3)) to Dutch (88% (86+2)), while the amount of implicit Path in motion events decreases in the translation from Dutch (3%) to English (1%) and increases from English (1%) to Dutch (5%).

Table 3.3.1.1 Amount of motion events, types of Path verbs and the amount and form in which Path occurs in all analysed English and Dutch novels

Path in motion events overall	Motion events	Types of Path verbs	Path only in verb	Path only in satellite	Path in verb + satellite	Implicit Path
Dutch	797 (100%)	24	63 (8%; SD=2.9)	681 (86%)	19 (2%)	34 (4%)
English	785 (100%)	48	156 (20%; SD=6.8)	592 (75%)	32 (4%)	5 (1%)

Table 3.3.1.2 Amount of motion events, types of Path verbs and the amount and form in which Path occurs in the analysed original Dutch novels and their English translations

Path in ME Dutch → English	Dutch (original)	English (translation)
Motion events	314 (100%)	314 (100%)
Types of Path verbs	18	27
Path only in verb	28 (9%; SD=1.9)	65 (21%; SD=7.5)
Path only in satellite	268 (85%)	230 (73%)
Path in verb + satellite	9 (3%)	16 (5%)
Implicit Path	9 (3%)	3 (1%)

Table 3.3.1.3 Amount of motion events, types of Path verbs and the amount and form in which Path occurs in the analysed original English novels and their Dutch translations

Path in ME English → Dutch	English (original)	Dutch (translation)
Motion events	471 (100%)	483 (100%)
Types of Path verbs	36	16
Path only in verb	91 (19%; SD=6.8)	35 (7%; SD=3.9)
Path only in satellite	362 (77%)	413 (86%)
Path in verb + satellite	16 (3%)	10 (2%)
Implicit Path	2 (1%)	25 (5%)

Table 3.3.1.4 and 3.3.1.5 show more precisely what happens with the expression of Path in the translation of motion events respectively from Dutch to English and from English to Dutch. Figure 3.3.1.1 and 3.3.1.2 give more insight in respectively Table 3.3.1.4 and 3.3.1.5. The increase of Path verbs in the translation of Dutch to English is mainly due to the translation from Dutch Path satellites (45 cases), and in a few cases to the translation of a Dutch non-motion event to an English motion event with Path verbs (7 cases). In the translation of English original novels to Dutch, the decrease of Path verbs is mainly due to translation to Dutch motion events with only Path satellites (68 cases). Furthermore, Path satellites in Dutch are lost as a result of the translation to English non-motion events (15 cases), but a comparable amount of Dutch non-motion events were translation to English motion events with Path satellites (13 cases). The same pattern shows in the translation of English Path satellites to Dutch non-motion events (20 cases) and of English non-motion events to Dutch motion events with Path satellites (24 cases).

Table 3.3.1.4 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Path in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a Path verb, Path satellite, both Path verb and satellite, implicit Path, and an event without motion

Translation of Path Dutch → English	English Path verb	English Path satellite	English Path verb + satellite	English implicit Path	English no motion event	**Total**
Dutch Path verb	*20 (71%)*	5 (18%)	2 (7%)	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	**28 (100%)**
Dutch Path satellite	36 (13%)	*205 (77%)*	9 (3%)	3 (1%)	15 (6%)	**268 (100%)**
Dutch Path verb + satellite	3 (33%)	2 (22%)	*4 (45%)*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	**9 (100%)**
Dutch implicit Path	0 (0%)	5 (55%)	0 (0%)	*0 (0%)*	4 (45%)	**9 (100%)**
Dutch no motion event	6 (1.5%)	13 (3.25%)	1 (0.25%)	0 (0%)	*368 (95%)*	**388 (100%)**

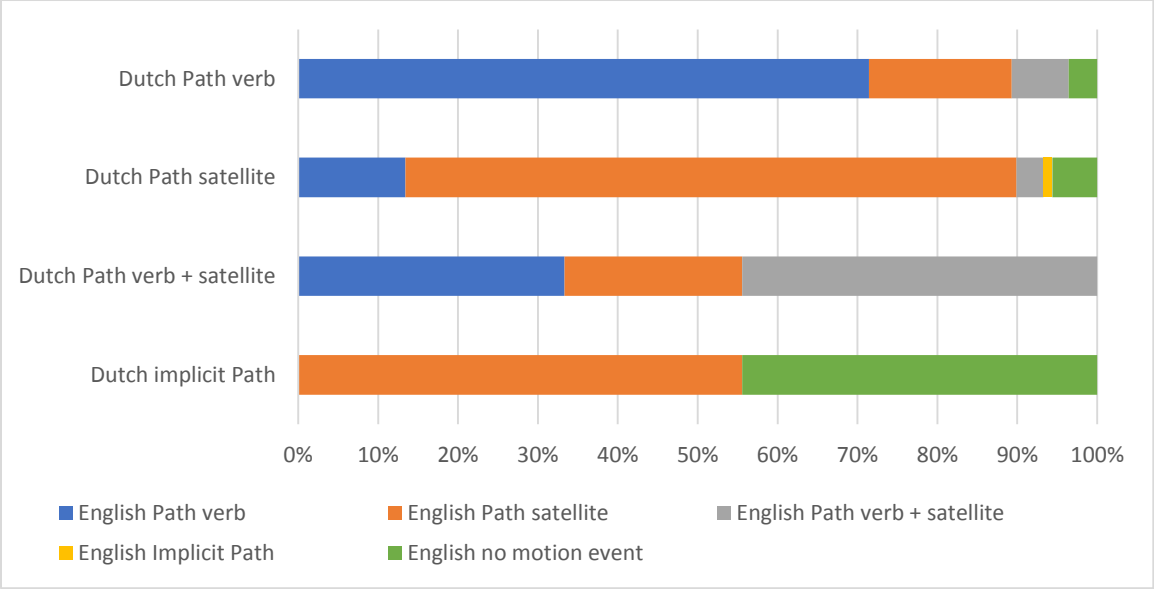


Figure 3.3.1.1 Relative amount of change or continuation of the expression of Path in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a Path verb, Path satellite, both Path verb and satellite, implicit Path, and an event without motion. The original Dutch no-motion events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.

Table 3.3.1.5 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Path in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a Path verb, Path satellite, both Path verb and satellite, implicit Path, and an event without motion

Translation of Path English → Dutch	Dutch Path verb	Dutch Path satellite	Dutch Path verb + satellite	Dutch implicit Path	Dutch no motion event	**Total**
English Path verb	*21 (23%)*	59 (65%)	3 (3%)	1 (1%)	7 (8%)	**91 (100%)**
English Path satellite	9 (2.5%)	*322 (89%)*	1 (0.25%)	12 (3.25%)	18 (5%)	**362 (100%)**
English Path verb + satellite	0 (0%)	9 (56.25%)	*5 (31.25%)*	0 (0%)	2 (12.5%)	**16 (100%)**
English implicit Path	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	*1 (50%)*	0 (0%)	**2 (100%)**
English no motion event	4 (0.8%)	23 (5%)	1 (0.2%)	11 (2%)	438 (92%)	**477 (100%)**

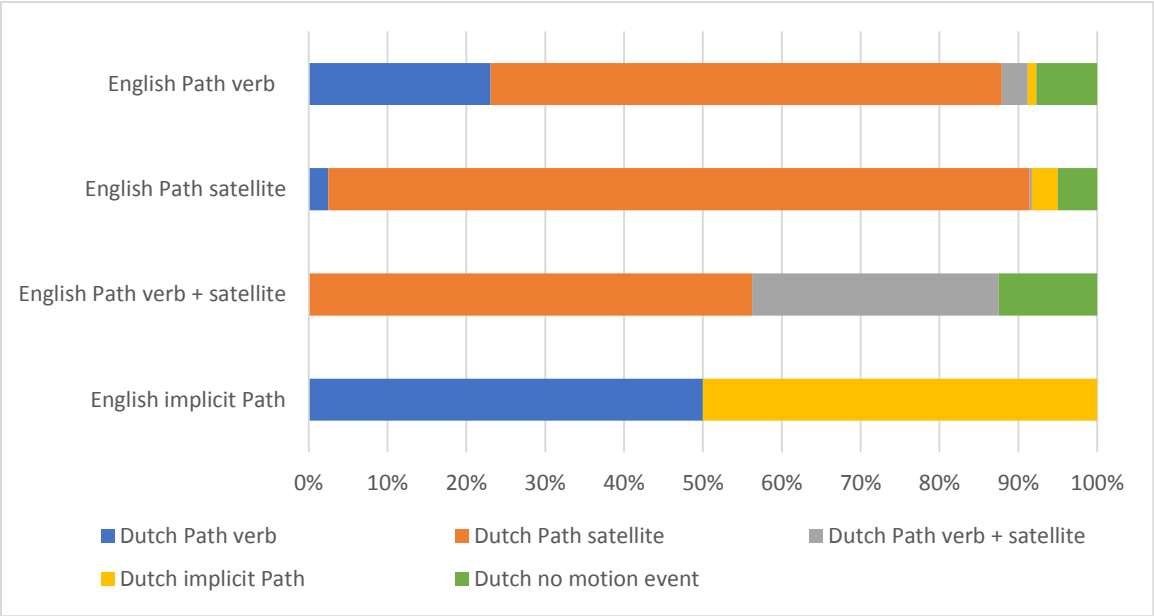


Figure 3.3.1.2 Amount of change or continuation of the expression of Path in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a Path verb, Path satellite, both Path verb and satellite, implicit Path, and an event without motion. The original English no-motion events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.

3.3.2 Qualitative analysis

The previous section showed mainly that English uses Path verbs more than Dutch, and that Dutch uses Path satellites more than English, both when comparing the original novels as when looking at the translations. Furthermore, implicit Path is hardly used in English, but it is used in Dutch several times. This section zooms in on the changes in individual sentences and tries to come up with a possible explanation for this phenomenon. First, the changes in translation of Path verbs and Path satellites will be examined, followed by the motion events with implicit Paths.

Of the 45 cases where Dutch motion events with Path satellites contain a Path verb in the English translation, 3 sentences were already examined in section 3.1 (example (8)). The original Dutch sentences contained Manner verbs (*rijden*, *vliegen*, *storten*) that could have been translated into similar English Manner verbs ('to drive', 'to fly', 'to dump'), but the translator chose to use Path verbs instead ('to cross', 'to enter', 'to scatter'). Furthermore, 19 original Dutch verbs were the deictic verbs *komen* ('to come'; 11 times) and *gaan* ('to go'; 8 times). Practically all Path verbs include the same Path as the original Dutch Path satellite (and Ground) expressed, as can be seen in example (20): *naar de overkant gaan* ('to go to the other side'; (20a)) contains the same information as 'to cross', just as *langs komen* ('to come past'; (20b)) expresses a similar meaning to 'to pass'. But not all original Dutch sentences contained motion verbs: 11 of the motion events with Path satellites that were translated with Path verbs, contained another kind of verb (5) or no verb at all (6), as

example (21) shows. In the sentences with 'no verb', there is no main verb present, but only an auxiliary; the verb that would actually describe the motion is left implicit, as in sentence (21a). In all these types of sentences, the verb that is present is a modal auxiliary that usually goes with an infinitive, for example in this case *gaan* ('to go'). In English, this construction with a modal auxiliary and an implicit infinitive is ungrammatical, so the translator had to make another choice. The motion events with verbs other than motion verbs contain generally, when considering all data, verbs as *doen* ('to do'), *laten* ('to let'), *maken* ('to make'), 'to make', 'to take', where the motion is expressed in the noun (e.g. 'I made the crossing'; GM:RJ 65/54) or in a Path satellite (*noordwaards* ('northwards'), example (21b)). These kind of constructions appear in both languages, but are never translated with a same type of construction; they are translated with motion verbs at all times, in both directions (28 cases). This is probably due to the idiomatic nature of these constructions; they can sometimes be translated into the other language, for example in (21b): the literal English translation could be 'he made a little round northwards'. Nevertheless, the translator chooses for a more idiomatic construction.

(20)
a.
Dan **ga** ik zelf *naar* de overkant […]
('Then I go to the other side myself')
Then I **cross** *to* the other side myself […]
CN:B 87/77
b.
Ik **kom** vaak *langs*.
('I come past often')
I often **pass** *by*.
JB:BR 63/57

(21)
a.
[…] of ik er daar ook *over* mag […]
('if I may over it there too')
[…] if I am allowed to **cross** the border there […]
CN:B 175/143
b.
Hij maakte […] een kleine ronde *noordwaards* […]
('He made a little circle northwards')
[…] he **circled** *northwards* slightly […]
GM:RJ 205/189

The Path verbs that get lost in the translation from English to Dutch are mainly translated into Path satellites (68 cases). A possible explanation for these translation choices can be the absence of Dutch equivalents of these English Path verbs. Therefore, in Table 3.3.2.1, all English Path verbs that are translated with Path satellites are listed, with their Dutch equivalent, but only those equivalents that have exactly the same meaning and consist of

only the verb root. For example, 'to hand' in English could be translated into the Dutch *geven* ('to give'), but loses the meaning of giving by hand. The literal translation would then be *overhandigen*, but this consists of the verb root *handigen*, which expresses no Path without the Path affix *over*. Therefore, the Path verb 'to hand' has no true Dutch Path verb root equivalent. Table 3.3.2.1 shows that in a number of cases, for example 'to enter' and 'to cross', indeed, there is no Dutch equivalent that has the same meaning and expresses the same Path. But in most cases, there is a Dutch equivalent that means more or less the same and expresses Path too. Most of these Dutch equivalents are, however, less frequent than the English verbs and are used in more formal contexts, for example *openen*, *arriveren* and *passeren*.

Table 3.3.2.1 English Path verbs in the analysed data and their Dutch verb root equivalents

English Path verbs	**Dutch equivalent?**	**English Path verbs**	**Dutch equivalent?**
To approach	(be)naderen	To reach	reiken
To arrive	arriveren	To remove	verwijderen
To chase	(na)jagen	To return	-
To close	sluiten	To rise	rijzen
To cross	-	To shrug	-
To enter	-	To shut	-
To extract	extraheren	To slam	-
To flatten	vlakken	To split	splitsen
To follow	volgen	To stab	-
To hand	-	To strip	strippen
To heave	heffen	To swerve	zwenken
To leave	verlaten	To swing	zwaaien
To ooze	-	To widen	-
To open	openen	To withdraw	-
To pass	passeren		

If Dutch translates an English Path verb with another type of verb and a Path satellite, this verb is typically a verb with Manner conflated in it (15 times, (20a)) or a deicitic verb (*komen*: 11 times, (20b); *gaan*: 16 times, (20c)). Section 3.1 already showed that some original Dutch Manner verbs are translated with English Path verbs, and original English Path verbs with Dutch Manner verbs. In most translations, the Path that was expressed in the English Path verb is preserved in the Dutch satellite, or at least a comparable Path is expressed. Example (22a) shows the English Path verb 'to enter' that is translated into the Dutch satellite *in* ('in'), while the verb is used to add Manner to the event. Table 3.1.2.1 in section 3.1 also already showed a larger occurrence of the verb *gaan* ('to go') in Dutch novels than in English novels overall, while this pattern is reversed when comparing the original novels. These data on Path verbs show that this phenomenon is at least partly due to the translation of English Path verbs with *gaan*. Examples (22b) and (22c) show, too, that the Path that was expressed in the English verb, can mainly be found in the satellite in Dutch: 'to approach' becomes *dichterbij komen* ('to come closer', (22b)) and 'to open' becomes *open gaan* ('to go open').

(22)
a.
Harry, Ron and Hermione **entered** theirs [lift] […]
Harry, Ron en Hermelien **stapten** *in* hun eigen lift […]
('Harry, Ron and Hermione stepped into their own lift')
JR:HP 200/180
b.
As I **approached** […]
Toen ik *dichterbij* **kwam** […]
('When I came closer')
MZ:BT 31/29
c.
The gate **openend** […]
De poort **ging** *open* […]
('The gate went open')
JT:LR 92/122

3.3.3 Summary and Discussion

This section tried to give insight in the differences in Path expression between English and Dutch. The quantitative analysis of this section showed that, although both languages have a clear preference for expressing Path in the satellite, Dutch expresses Path more often in the satellite than English, and English expresses Path more in the verb than Dutch, a phenomenon that is found both when comparing the novels all together and when comparing only the original novels. In the translations, the same pattern is found: most changes are Dutch Path satellites that are translated into English Path verbs, and English Path verbs translated into Dutch Path satellites.

The qualitative analysis showed that most of the Dutch motion events with Path satellites that were translated into English with Path verbs, contained a deictic verb (*komen*: 'to come' or *gaan*: 'to go') with the same Path expressed in the satellite that was expressed in the English Path verb. This seems to be an economic translation: English has a Path verb present that can express in one word where Dutch uses two constituents and several words. It is a factor of the same nature as Özçaliskan and Slobin (2000) found in their research on English and Turkish: speakers tend to put as much semantic information as possible in the most simple syntactic form that is available in their language, even if the language typologically would prefer another construction.

The larger use of Path verbs in English than in Dutch is not surprising, considering that English used, in the novels examined in this study, twice as much types of Path verbs than Dutch. Furthermore, of the Path verbs found in English that were translated into Dutch motion events with verbs that did not express Path, more than half did have a literal translation into Dutch, but on the other hand, the rest of the cases, which is almost half of them, had no literal translation in one verb root in Dutch, and therefore to translate it otherwise is an inescapable choice. Moreover, for the Path verbs that have an equivalent in Dutch, the Dutch verbs are less frequent and are used in more formal contexts than their English counterparts. When Dutch uses Manner verbs plus Path satellites in the translation

(15 times), this can be linked to the research of Özçaliskan and Slobin (2000). They say that speakers prefer the semantically more complex construction over the semantically less complex one. But, Dutch sometimes uses constructions containing deictic verbs and Path satellites to translate English Path verbs, while Path verbs were perfectly available in Dutch (27 times). This construction of a deictic verb and a Path satellite is semantically even complex, but syntactically more complex than a Path verb. Therefore, the results of Özçaliskan and Slobin (2000) are contradicted in these cases. Apparently, when a language doesn't use Path verbs that often, or only in formal contexts, Özçaliskan and Slobin's (2000) economic rule does not always go up. Potentially, Path verbs are not entrenched enough in the Dutch language to be used instead of a deictic verb and a Path satellite, or the preference of Dutch to use Path satellites overrules the availability of Path verbs.

3.4 Description of Manner in location events

3.4.1 Quantitative analysis

Table 3.4.1.1, 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.3 show the quantitative results of the description of Manner in location events. As mentioned above, posture verbs are considered as manner-of-location verbs, while only *zijn* and 'to be' are coded as neutral verbs, and the category 'other' refers both to verbs other than posture or neutral verbs and to no verb at all in the location event. Motion verbs in location events point to fictive motion events, which can express Manner too, but since section 3.2 was fully dedicated to fictive motion, this section will not elaborate on that. While Table 3.4.1.1 shows the overall occurrences of the several types of verbs in location events in both languages, Table 3.4.1.2 and 3.4.1.3 show respectively the types of verbs in original Dutch novels and their English translations, and the types of verbs in original English novels and their Dutch translations.

Table 3.4.1.1 Amount of location events and amount of kinds of verbs occurring in it, being posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verbs, in all analysed English and Dutch novels

Manner in location events overall	Location events	Posture verbs (% of location events (SD))	Neutral verbs (% of location events (SD))	Motion verbs (% of location events)	Other (% of location events)
Dutch	686 (100%)	485 (71% (13.5))	71 (10% (5.7))	87 (13%)	41 (6%)
English	663 (100%)	283 (43% (13.9))	163 (25% (9.0))	81 (12%)	134 (20%)

Location events appear a comparable amount of times in Dutch and English sentences. Overall, Dutch novels use location events slightly more (686 vs 663), but when comparing the original novels, English has a higher amount of location events (363) than Dutch (326). Larger differences appear when studying in which way Dutch and English novels express motion events. Dutch uses posture verbs more often in location events than English when considering all novels (71% vs 43%), a difference that seems to be meaningful when looking at the standard deviations. When zooming in on the original novels and their translations, this difference is also present when comparing the original novels: original Dutch novels use posture verbs in 76% of their location events and English original novels use them 38% of the times, while the standard deviations are small enough to point to a meaningful difference. When Dutch original novels are translated to English, the percentage of posture verbs decreases from 76% to 49%, which is a meaningful difference, while in the translation process from English to Dutch, the percentage of these manner-of-location verbs increases from 38% to 66%. However, the standard deviations are too large to speak of a meaningful difference. Possibly, the number of posture verbs in the original English language has influenced the choices of the Dutch translator. The use of neutral verbs in location events goes in the other direction: while overall Dutch uses them 10% of the times, English uses neutral verbs in 25% of the location events. Standard deviation point to a meaningful difference here, too. This meaningful difference also holds in the comparison of the original novels: English original novels use neutral verbs more often in location events (25%) than

Dutch original novels (9%). In the translation process, the percentage of neutral verbs increases when going from Dutch (9%) to English (24%) and it decreases when going from English (25%) to Dutch (11%). Standard deviations show that the increase in neutral verbs in the translation process seems to be meaningful, but in the decrease from English to Dutch, the standard deviations are too large to conclude this. Again, the original language can have had an influence on the translation process. The amount of motion verbs in location events is stable, when comparing Dutch and English overall (13% vs 12%), but when comparing the original novels, English uses fictive motion events more often (16%) than Dutch (7%), although section 3.2 already showed that this is mostly due to a large amount of FME's in one particular novel. In the translation process of motion verbs in location events, there are no big changes: it stays the same when translating Dutch to English (7%) and the amount increases slightly when translating English (16%) to Dutch (18%). Finally, there are differences in the use of other verbs in location events. English uses them overall more (20%) than Dutch (6%), a difference that also shows when comparing their use in Dutch original novels (8%) with English original novels (21%). When Dutch is translated to English, the amount of other verbs increases (8% to 20%), and when translating English to Dutch, the other verbs in location events decrease (21% to 5%).

Table 3.4.1.2 Amount of location events and amount of kinds of verbs occurring in it, being posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verbs, in all analysed Dutch original novels and their English translations

Manner in location events Dutch → English	Dutch (original)	English (translation)
Location events	326 (100%)	300 (100%)
Posture verbs (% of location events (SD))	247 (76% (6.7))	146 (49% (13.4))
Neutral verbs (% of location events (SD))	31 (9% (3.4))	73 (24% (11.3))
Motion verbs (% of location events)	22 (7%)	22 (7%)
Other (% of location events)	24 (8%)	57 (20%)

Table 3.4.1.3 Amount of location events and amount of kinds of verbs occurring in it, being posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verbs, in all analysed English original novels and their Dutch translations

Manner in location events English → Dutch	English (original)	Dutch (translation)
Location events	363 (100%)	360 (100%)
Posture verbs (% of location events (SD))	137 (38% (14.0))	238 (66% (17.9))
Neutral verbs (% of location events (SD))	90 (25% (7.8))	40 (11% (7.8)
Motion verbs (% of location events)	59 (16%)	65 (18%)
Other (% of location events)	77 (21%)	17 (5%)

Table 3.4.1.4 and 3.4.1.5 zoom in on the translation process of respectively Dutch to English and English to Dutch, illustrated by Figure 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.2. Table 3.4.1.4 shows that the posture verbs in the Dutch location events that are not translated as such in English, are translated into either neutral verbs (17%), other verbs (20%) or into events that do not describe location (15%). The same categories show up in the reverse translation, where the increase of posture verbs is mainly the result of Dutch translating English neutral verbs (40), other verbs (49) and non-location events (42) into posture verbs. This also shows where the higher amount of neutral verbs and other verbs in English comes from: they are generally a translation to and from posture verbs in Dutch. The next section, 3.4.2, will have a closer look at these translation processes and tries to find an explanation to these changes of verb types in location events between English and Dutch.

Table 3.4.1.4 Amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description

Translation verb location events Dutch → English	English posture verb	English neutral verb	English motion verb	English other verb	English no location	**Total**
Dutch posture verb	*117 (47%)*	42 (17%)	3 (1%)	48 (20%)	37 (15%)	**247 (100%)**
Dutch neutral verb	2 (6%)	*25 (81%)*	0 (0%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	**31 (100%)**
Dutch motion verb	0 (0%)	1 (5%)	*15 (68%)*	3 (13.5%)	3 (13.5%)	**22 (100%)**
Dutch other verb	12 (50%)	3 (12.5%)	3 (12.5%)	*0 (0%)*	6 (25%)	**24 (100%)**
Dutch no location	15 (4%)	2 (0.5%)	1 (0.25%)	5 (1.25%)	*355 (94%)*	**378 (100%)**

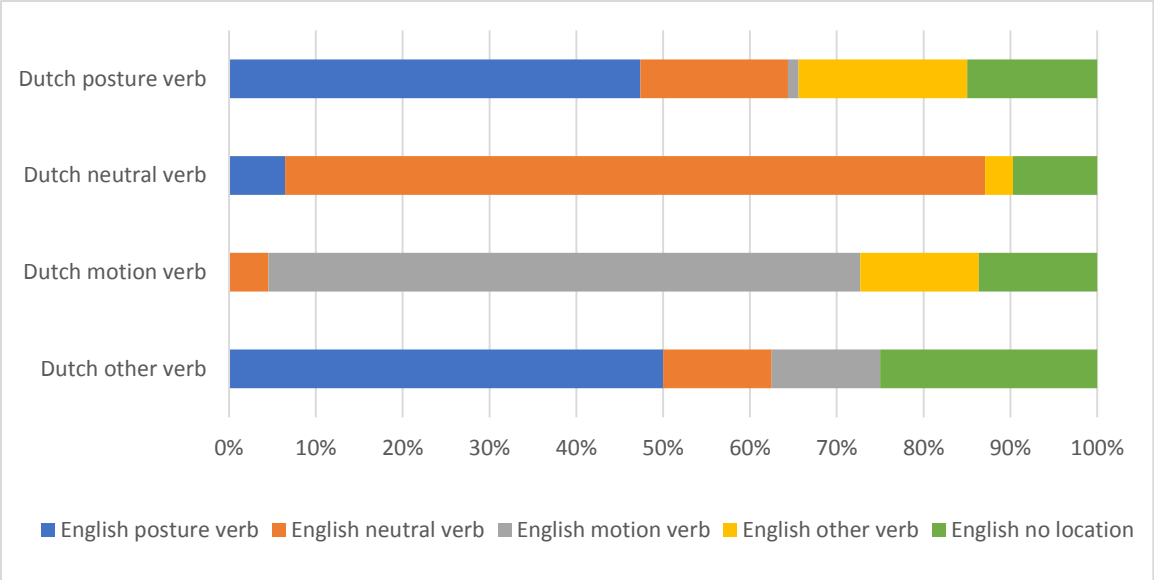


Figure 3.4.1.1 Relative amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description. The original Dutch no-motion events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.

Table 3.4.1.5 Amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description

Translation verb location events English → Dutch	Dutch posture verb	Dutch neutral verb	Dutch motion verb	Dutch other verb	Dutch no location	**Total**
English posture verb	*105 (77%)*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)	26 (19%)	**137 (100%)**
English neutral verb	40 (44%)	*36 (40%)*	2 (2%)	5 (6%)	7 (8%)	**90 (100%)**
English motion verb	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	*51 (87%)*	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	**59 (100%)**
English other verb	49 (64%)	1 (1%)	7 (9%)	*0 (0%)*	20 (26%)	**77 (100%)**
English no location	42 (7%)	3 (0.5%)	5 (1%)	3 (0.5%)	*532 (91%)*	**585 (100%)**

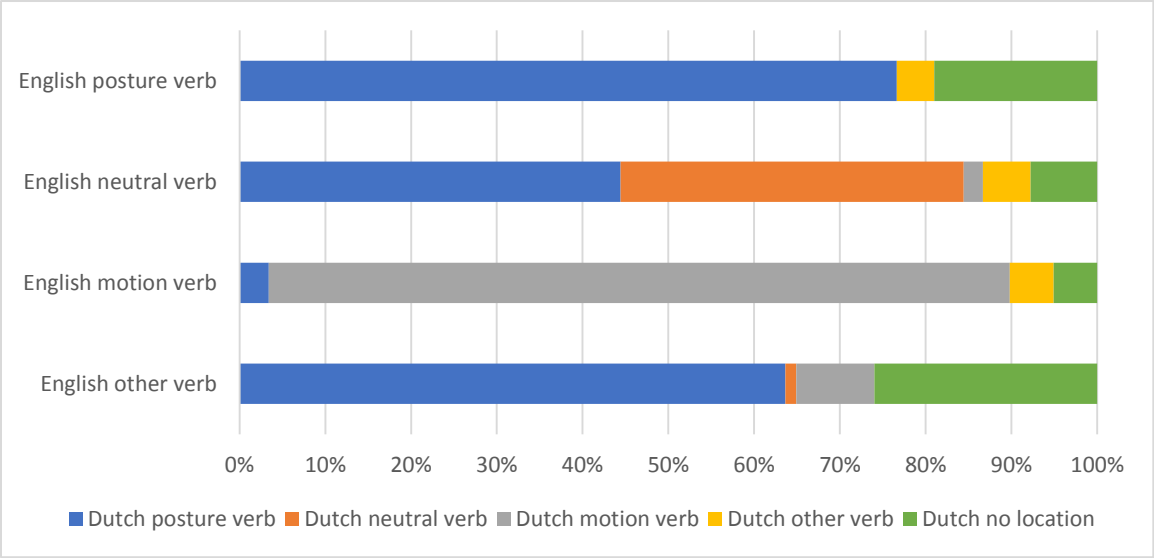


Figure 3.4.1.2 Relative amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description. The original English no-motion events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.

To get a better insight in the use of posture verbs in both languages, Table 3.4.2.1 will zoom in on the different uses of posture verbs in location events in English and Dutch in the data collected for this study. Table 3.4.2.1 shows that Dutch uses posture verbs mostly to express human posture (overall 47%, original 44%) and non-human posture (overall 31%, original 36%). In English, posture verbs are used mainly for human posture (overall 73%, original 77%), while the expression of non-human posture with posture verbs is much lower than in Dutch (overall 14.5%, original 13%). Although the category 'non-human posture' does not only include inanimate Figures, but also a few cases with animals, this does suggest an influence of animacy on the use of posture verbs in both languages. Therefore, non-human posture will not be further examined in this section, but in section 3.5, that is fully dedicated to animacy in location events. The use of posture verbs for causative posture is the same between languages (2.5% and 2% vs 2% and 1%), but the expression of location, contact and containment with posture verbs is done slightly more in Dutch novels (overall resp. 14%, 3%, 3.5%; original resp. 12%, 3%, 3%) than in English novels (overall resp. 10%, 0%, 0.5%; original resp. 8%, 0%, 1%). The occurrence of contact and containment with posture verbs is so low in English novels that it suggests that it is not possible in English to use those forms, which will be further investigated in this section.

Table 3.4.2.1 The type of use of posture verbs (being human posture, non-human posture, causative posture, location, contact and containment) in Dutch and English location events, both overall and only in the original novels

Use of posture verbs in location events	Dutch overall	English overall	Dutch original	English original
Human posture	230 (47%)	206 (73%)	108 (44%)	106 (77%)
Non-human posture	150 (31%)	41 (14.5%)	90 (36%)	18 (13%)
Causative posture	7 (1.5%)	5 (2%)	5 (2%)	1 (1%)
Location	67 (14%)	28 (10%)	30 (12%)	11 (8%)
Contact	13 (3%)	0 (0%)	7 (3%)	0 (0%)
Containment	18 (3.5%)	1 (0.5 %)	7 (3%)	1 (1%)
Total	**485 (100%)**	**283 (100%)**	**247 (100%)**	**137 (100%)**

3.4.2 Qualitative analysis

The previous section showed a higher amount of posture verbs in Dutch location events on the one side, and a higher amount of neutral and other verbs in English location events on the other side. This section will analyse these changes in more detail on the level of the sentence to find out why these changes occur. The translation of Dutch posture verbs to English neutral and other verbs reflects the results in Table 3.4.2.1: for neutral verbs, in 25 of the 42 cases, the posture verbs in Dutch were used to express non-human posture. The other cases in which English chose to use a neutral verb instead of a posture verb expressed location (5), human posture (6), contact (3) and containment (3). For the translation to other verbs, the same pattern arises: 27 of 48 Dutch posture verbs were used to describe non-human posture, 10 for human posture, 5 for location, 4 for contact, 1 for containment and 1 for causative posture. Therefore, neutral and other verbs will be analysed together as one group. Location was either expressed with the Dutch verb *hangen* ('to hang', 4 times) or the Figure was letters or a text (6 times) combined with the posture verb *staan* ('to stand'). Example (23a) illustrates the translation from the Dutch posture verb *hangen* to an English neutral verb. It gives rise to various possible reasons for this translation choice: English doesn't use 'to hang' to express location, or it just doesn't use it for inanimate Figures. But the corpus as a whole doesn't confirm these hypotheses; on the contrary, 'to hang' is used 25 times in English to express location, whereof 17 sentences have inanimate Figures, for example the sentence 'Alpine flowers hang from the ceiling' (CN:B p. 126). But for the sentences with letters or texts as Figures, of which an example can be found in (23b), an explanation can be found. When looking at all sentences that describe location with the Dutch posture verb *staan* or English verb 'to stand', sentences with a text as Figure appear repeatedly in Dutch, but never in English; this construction seems not possible in that language.

(23)
a.
In de grijper **hing** een zojuist geperst autowrak […]
('In the jaws hang a just now pressed car wreck')
In its jaws **was** a freshly crushed wreck […]
TW:JS 195/195
b.
[…] *boven* de Spielbank op de hoek **staan** grote cyrillische letters […]
('above the Spielbank on the corner stand large Cyrillic letters')
[…] there **are** large Cyrillic letters *above* the Spielbank on the corner […]
CN:B 281/222

Human posture is something that is largely expressed by posture verbs in English, as can be seen in Table 3.4.2.1. But still, in 16 cases, English choses to use a neutral or other verb when translating human posture from Dutch. There doesn't seem to be an obvious reason for English to do this, looking at the examples in (24); probably it reflects the lack of salience in English to express Manner in location events, apparently even for animate Figures as ´Schnur´ in (24a). In (24b), the English sentence is actually more specific, by expressing that the Figures 'sleep' instead of only 'lie'. 'To sleep' implicitly suggests the action of 'lying' too.

(24)
a.
Een paar meter *achter* hem **staat** Schnur […]
('A few metres behind him stands Schnur')
A few metres *behind* him **is** Schnur […]
CN:B 203/163
b.
[…] zodat mijn zus en ik er niet langer […] *in* wilden **liggen**.
('So that my sister and I no longer wanted to lay in it')
[…] so that my sister and I would not **sleep** *in* it any more […]
JB:BR 105/92

The remaining uses of posture verbs in Dutch that are translated into English neutral or other verbs are those of contact and containment. As Table 3.4.2.1 already showed, English barely uses posture verbs to describe contact or containment. Dutch can use the verb *zitten* to describe, as in example (25a), the contact of a Figure (*affiche*, 'poster') to the Ground (*toren*, 'tower') and to describe, as in (25b), the position of an (implicit) Figure in a Ground that functions as a container (*kerk*, 'church'). The only appearance of an expression of containment with a posture verb in English can be found in example (26). Possibly, the expression of containment with the posture verb here is more of a coincidence than the actual reason for using the posture verb; the actual reason then would be non-human posture, which occurs more frequently in English than containment.

(25)
a.
[…] het affiche van PDS **zit** nog steeds *op* de toren […]
('the poster of the P.D.S. sits still on the tower')
[…] the P.D.S. poster **is** still *on* the tower […]
CN:B 210/168
b.
De kerk **zat** barstensvol.
('The church sat so full it would burst')
The church was **filled** to the rafters.
TW:JS 120/117

(26)
a.
It [coin] was **sitting** half-rotten *amongst* some dirt […]
Hij [munt] **lag** half verrot *tussen* wat viezigheid […]
('It lay half-rotten amongst some dirt')
MZ:BT 161/164

In the reversed translation were 40 original English neutral verbs and 49 original English other verbs found that were translated to Dutch posture verbs. Although they follow the same pattern again in the use of posture verbs, since the type of verb in English can have an influence on the translation choices in Dutch, in this part, neutral and other verbs are not analysed together. In the translation from neutral verbs to posture verbs, there were 15 cases of human posture, 13 of non-human posture, 9 of location, 2 of containment and 1 pair of sentences described the contact of a Figure to the Ground. In most sentences that describe human posture, a literal translation in Dutch is at least odd and marked, if not ungrammatical. For example in sentence (27a), *hij was in een lift met zijn vader* would, in the context in the novel, where the situation in the lift is described more extensively, sound odd in the ears of a Dutch speaker. For the description of location, the same types of sentences as in (23) occur, but also Dutch sentences with the posture verb *zitten*, as in example (27b), occur three times. These sentences describe the location of human beings, while the posture verb actually does not describe its posture, but the meaning is more in the direction of contact or containment. The remaining sentences expressed contact or containment again, as can be seen in (27c) and (27d), that were, again, at least odd to literally translate into Dutch with a neutral verb.

(27)
a.
[…] he **was** *in* a lift with his father.
[…] dat hij *in* dezelfde lift **stond** als zijn vader.
('that he stood in the same lift as his father')
JR:HP 210/188

b.
The arty types **were** all *over* America […]
Die artistieke types **zaten** *over* het hele land […]
(‘that arty types sat over the whole country’)
JK:OR 41/42
c.
In a front pocket **were** the Marauder's Map and the locket […]
In het voorvak **zaten** de Sluipwegwijzer en het medaillon […]
(‘In the front pocket sat the Marauder’s Map and the locket’)
JR:HP 20/17
d.
There **were** jam and coffee stained […] all *over* the floor […]
De voorkamer […] **zat** *onder* de jam- en koffievlekken […]
(‘the front room sat under the jam- and coffee stains’)
JK:OR 155/154

The translation from English other verbs to Dutch posture verbs showed the same pattern again: 18 cases of human posture, 12 of non-human posture, 9 of location, 6 of containment and 4 of contact. Human posture is half of the times a translation of a sentence without a verb, as in (28a), although it mostly could be translated without a verb in Dutch too. In the sentences with other verbs, the translation to posture verbs is more seriously required, since the verb cannot be literally translated into Dutch while preserving the meaning, as in (28b). The translations from other verbs to location descriptions are done for the same reasons as described before, for example texts. But also for the location of pictures or prints, Dutch has to use the verb *staan*, as in example (28c). English uses one verb ‘to remain’, which could be literally translated into the Dutch *blijven*, but sentence (28c), with ‘handprints’ as a Figure, would be odd in Dutch without the addition of the posture verb *staan*. Finally, location events that describe contact or containment are, again, preferred in Dutch with the posture verb *zitten* over other types of verbs. Sentence (28e) contains the literal Dutch translation *vastzitten* of the English ‘to attach’, but in this thesis, only verb roots are considered as the verb. So *zitten* is the verb in this sentence, while *vast* emphasises the contact meaning of *zitten*.

(28)
a.
[…] not a lot of room on the seat with me *on* it […]
[…] weinig plek op 't zadel als ik d'r al *op* **zit** […]
(‘little space on the seat when I already sit on it’)
JR:HP 50/43
b.
Michael Holtzapfel […] remained **stranded** *in* Himmel street.
Michael Holtzapfel bleef […] *voor* zijn huis **staan**.
(‘Michael Hotzapfel stayed to stand in front of his house’)
MZ:BT 491/493

c.
Their handprints would **remain** *on* his jacket.
Hun handafdrukken bleven *op* zijn uniform **staan**.
('Their handprints would stay to stand on his uniform')
MZ:BT 441/444
d.
I don't **keep** water *in* my pockets.
Ik heb geen water *in* mijn zak **zitten**.
('I have no water sitting in my pocket')
JT:LR 72/100
e.
Attached *to* it was a lemon-haired boy […]
Hij **zat** vast *aan* een jongen met citroenblond haar […]
('It sat stuck on a boy with lemon-blond hair')
MZ:BT 81/80

3.4.3 Summary and Discussion

This section examined how Manner is expressed in location events in Dutch and English, while treating posture verbs as manner-of-location verbs. The quantitative analysis of Manner in location events showed that Dutch uses manner-of-location (posture) verbs more often than English, while English uses neutral and other verbs more to describe the location of a Figure. This pattern showed both in the original novels and in the translation processes, and is due to the translations of both original Dutch posture verbs to English neutral and other verbs and other types of events, and original English neutral and other verbs and other types of events to Dutch posture verbs.

The qualitative analysis zoomed in on the specific types of use of posture verbs in both languages, and showed which phenomena that are expressed with posture verbs in Dutch cannot be expressed that way in English, being location events with words or texts as Figures, and the description of contact or containment. These uses of posture verbs are indeed observed by Lemmens (2002) for the Dutch language, but text as a Figure describe by a posture verb did not occur in the research to English posture verbs by Newman (2002), Newman (2009), and Newman and Rice (2004). However, Newman (2002) does describe the use of a 'good-fit sit' in English, that is comparable with the containment-*zitten* in Dutch that Lemmens (2002) describes. It is therefore surprising that only one case of the containment use of 'to sit' was found in all 663 examined English location events. So despite the fact that it is possible to use this construction in English, it occurs infrequently in novels. Furthermore, English can use posture verbs to describe animate and inanimate entities, according to Newman (2002), but this study shows that this language, even for human posture, still prefers to translate Dutch posture verbs with neutral or other verbs. This finding agrees with the typology by Ameka and Levinson (2007), who categorised English as a Type Ia language that prefers a copula for the BLC, while Dutch is a Type IIa language that uses a small set of posture verbs.

The analysis of the translation of English neutral into Dutch posture verbs brought generally the same constructions to light as in the reversed translation. Apparently, Dutch

doesn't only prefer to use posture verbs for this kind of constructions in its original texts, but also disprefers to adopt the English neutral verbs in the translations and opts for posture verbs there too. Especially, it seems to be odd for Dutch to use neutral verbs to describe the location of human beings. Lemmens (2002) stated that neutral verbs are only used for the description of location in Dutch when the speaker is not able to or does not want to express the posture, for example in where-questions. A quick examination of Dutch posture and neutral verbs in location events in the data collected in for this study seems to confirm this hypothesis, but further research to the context of these kind of sentences is necessary to draw a conclusion. Another situation where Dutch uses posture verbs instead of neutral verbs is when describing the location of human beings, not their posture, with the verb *zitten*. According to Lemmens (2002), this is used when the Figure is settled in or stuck at the location described, going in the direction of contact or containment. Overall, the posture verb seems to describe a more stable, grounded presence in the location than a neutral verb in Dutch. The translation of other types of verbs in English to posture verbs in Dutch shows mainly the same patterns, with the addition that, next to text, also the location of pictures and prints are described in Dutch with the posture verb *staan*. Finally, the use of non-human posture will be investigated more thoroughly in the next section on animacy.

Altogether, these results contradict the assumption of Stosic and Sarda (2009), who concluded, based on the languages Serbian and French, that there was a parallel in Manner salience between motion and location events. Where section 3.1 showed no large differences in the amount of Manner expression between English and Dutch, the results in this section clearly put Dutch higher on the Manner salience scale than English, just as Lemmens (2005) predicted, and just as was expected from the typology of Ameka and Levinson (2007). Dutch uses posture verbs, or 'manner-of-location' verbs, in a broader sense than English, which not only leads to English having to opt for neutral or other verbs in the translation, but also several situations where Dutch is almost obliged to express Manner in a location event and has to translate English neutral and other verbs with posture verbs.

3.5 Influence of Animacy of the Figure on the description of location events

3.5.1 Quantitative analysis

The quantitative analysis in the previous section, 3.4, showed that Dutch seems to have a preference for posture verbs to describe location events, while English on the other hand prefers to use neutral and other verbs. Moreover, the qualitative analysis zoomed in on the use of these verbs and found out that posture verbs are used in Dutch mainly for human and non-human posture, while in English, posture verbs are used to describe non-human posture much less frequently. Although non-human posture also refers to a few cases with an animal as a Figure, this does suggest an influence of animacy of the Figure on the difference in use of posture verbs in Dutch and English novels. In addition, a substantial amount of Dutch posture verbs is translated with English neutral or other verbs, and the other way around. As a result of this translation process, the use of neutral and other verbs in English and Dutch location events can also be influenced by animacy. This section first gives insight in the division of animate and inanimate Figures among the different types of verbs in location events in English and Dutch (3.5.1), and then zooms in on individual sentences and tries to find patterns in how animacy differentiates the description of location events in these languages (3.5.2).

Table 3.5.1.1 The amount of posture verbs, distributed over animate and inanimate Figures, in Dutch and English novels overall, in the original novels, and in the translations.

Posture verbs in location events	Dutch overall	English overall	Dutch original	English translation	English original	Dutch translation
Animate Figure	255 (53%)	218 (77%)	113 (46%)	106 (73%)	112 (82%)	142 (60%)
Inanimate Figure	230 (47%)	65 (23%)	134 (54%)	40 (27%)	25 (18%)	96 (40%)
Total	**485 (100%)**	**283 (100%)**	**247 (100%)**	**146 (100%)**	**137 (100%)**	**238 (100%)**

The division of the animate and inanimate Figures with posture verbs in location events is shown in Table 3.5.1.1. For Dutch, the amount of animate and inanimate Figures with posture verbs is comparable: overall, animate Figures occur in 53% of the location events, while in 47% of the cases, the Figure is inanimate. In the original novels, slightly more inanimate (54%) than animate (46%) Figures appear, while in Dutch translations from English, animate Figures are found more (60%) than inanimate Figures (40%). In English location events with posture verbs, the difference between the amount of animate and inanimate Figures is larger, in favour of animate Figures. Overall, animate Figures occur more often with posture verbs (77%) than inanimate Figures (23%). In English translations from Dutch, posture verbs occur more often too with animate Figures (73%) than with inanimate Figures (27%), and this difference is even larger in original English novels: 82% of the posture verbs have animate Figures, while only 18% of the Figures are inanimate.

Table 3.5.1.2 The amount of neutral verbs, distributed over animate and inanimate Figures, in Dutch and English novels overall, in the original novels, and in the translations.

Neutral verbs in location events	Dutch overall	English overall	Dutch original	English translation	English original	Dutch translation
Animate Figure	39 (55%)	69 (42%)	20 (65%)	26 (36%)	43 (48%)	19 (48%)
Inanimate Figure	32 (45%)	94 (58%)	11 (35%)	47 (64%)	47 (52%)	21 (53%)
Total	**71 (100%)**	**163 (100%)**	**31 (100%)**	**73 (100%)**	**90 (100%)**	**40 (100%)**

Table 3.5.1.2 shows the amount of animate and inanimate Figures that occur with neutral verbs in location events in Dutch and English novels. Overall, Dutch has a slightly higher percentage of animate Figures with neutral verbs (55% vs 45%), which reflects in the original novels (65% vs 35%), but the Dutch translations of English novels show a smaller difference in the other direction (48% vs 53%). For English, the division of animate and inanimate Figures with neutral verbs goes in the same direction at all fronts: inanimate Figures occur more often overall (58% vs 42%), in original novels (52% vs 48%) and in translations (64% vs 36%).

Table 3.5.1.3 The amount of other verbs (both verbs other than posture and neutral, and location events without verb), distributed over animate and inanimate Figures, in Dutch and English novels overall, in the original novels, and in the translations.

Other verbs in location events	Dutch overall	English overall	Dutch original	English translation	English original	Dutch translation
Animate Figure	21 (51%)	46 (34%)	14 (58%)	12 (21%)	34 (44%)	7 (41%)
Inanimate Figure	20 (49%)	88 (66%)	10 (42%)	45 (79%)	43 (56%)	10 (59%)
Total	**41 (100%)**	**134 (100%)**	**24 (100%)**	**57 (100%)**	**77 (100%)**	**17 (100%)**

The animacy in location events containing other verbs than posture, neutral and motion verbs is shown in Table 3.5.1.3. Here too, 'other' also refers to location events without any verb. Furthermore, it has to be kept in mind that only those location events with other verbs were coded that were a translation of or translated in posture, neutral or motion verbs. This means that the results on other verbs don't say anything about how much location events with other or no verbs occur in English and Dutch. It only completes our picture about what happens in the translation process when it comes to posture, neutral and motion verbs in location events. In this context, Dutch uses other verbs with animate and inanimate Figures

a comparable amount of time: overall, animate Figures occur slightly more (51%) than inanimate Figures (49%), and in original novels, animate Figures occur more (58%) than inanimate Figures (42%) too, but in translations, the amount of inanimate Figures is higher (59%) than animate (41%). But, the absolute difference between animate and inanimate Figures is never more than 3 cases. In English, these differences are larger: on all levels, inanimate Figures are used more often than animate with other verbs in the analysed location events, being overall (66% vs 34%), in original novels (56% vs 44%), but especially in translations (79% vs 21%). This mainly points to English having to opt for another choice than posture, neutral or motion verbs more often with inanimate Figures than with animate Figures when translating Dutch location events.

*Table 3.5.1.4 Amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **animate** Figures in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description*

Translation verb location events with Animate Figures Dutch → English	English posture verb	English neutral verb	English motion verb	English other verb	English no location	**Total**
Dutch posture verb	*84 (74%)*	8 (7%)	0 (0%)	10 (9%)	11 (10%)	**113 (100%)**
Dutch neutral verb	2 (10%)	*15 (75%)*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (15%)	**20 (100%)**
Dutch motion verb	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	*0*(0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	**0 (100%)**
Dutch other verb	9 (64%)	1 (7%)	0 (0%)	*0* (0%)	4 (29%)	**14 (100%)**
Dutch no location	8 (4%)	1 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (1.5%)	*201 (94%)*	**213 (100%)**

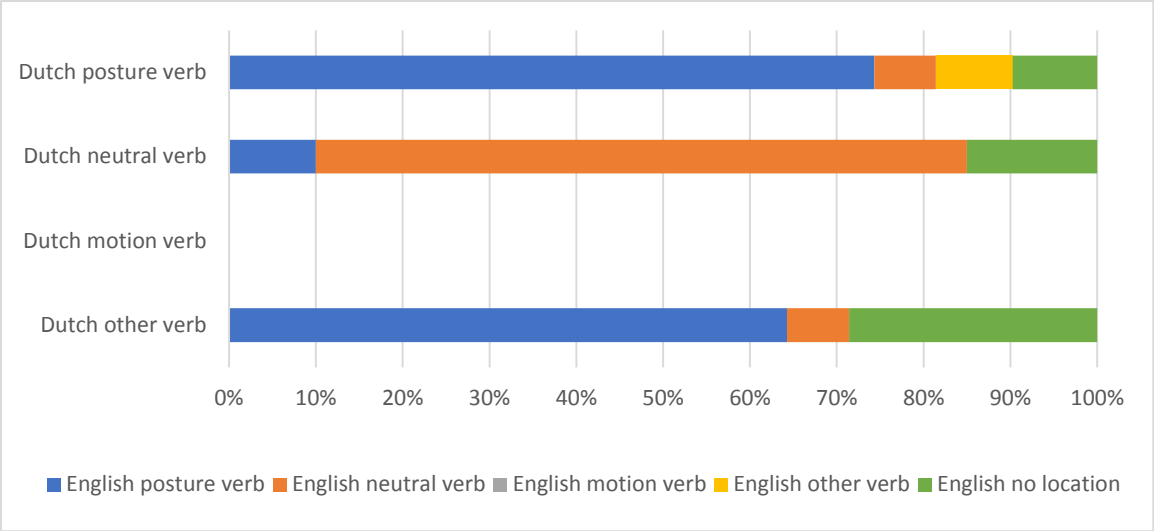


*Figure 3.5.1.1 Relative amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **animate** Figures in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description. The original Dutch no-location events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.*

*Table 3.5.1.5 Amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **inanimate** Figures in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description*

Translation verb location events with Inanimate Figures Dutch → English	English posture verb	English neutral verb	English motion verb	English other verb	English no location	**Total**
Dutch posture verb	*33 (25%)*	34 (26%)	3 (2%)	38 (28%)	26 (19%)	**134 (100%)**
Dutch neutral verb	0 (0%)	*10 (91%)*	0 (0%)	1 (9%)	0 (0%)	**11 (100%)**
Dutch motion verb	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	*15 (68%)*	3 (14%)	3 (14%)	**22 (100%)**
Dutch other verb	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	*0* (0%)	2 (20%)	**10 (100%)**
Dutch no location	7 (5%)	1 (0.5%)	1 (0.5%)	2 (1%)	*136 (93%)*	**147 (100%)**

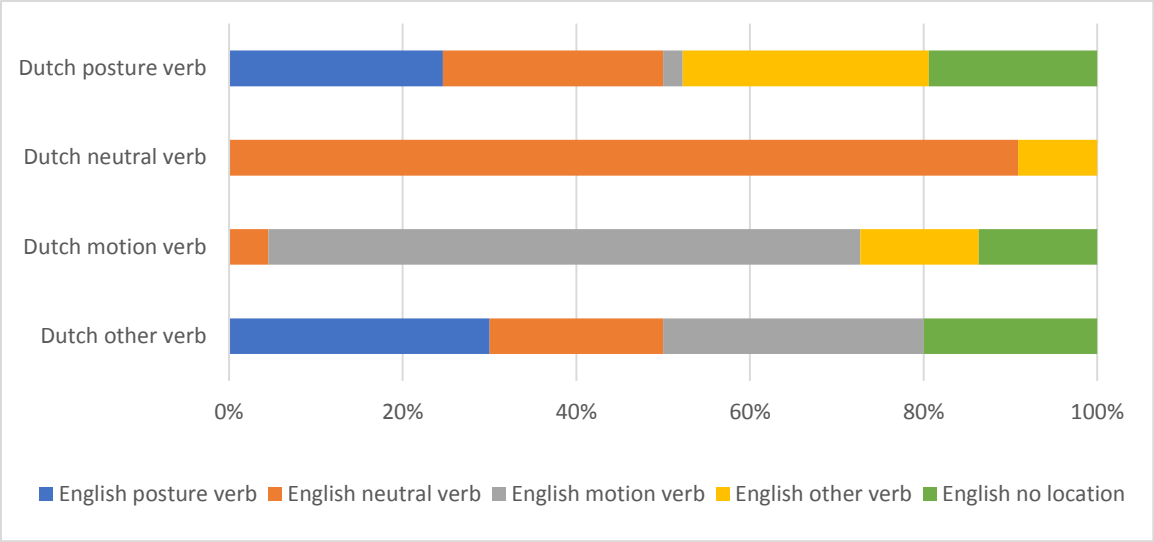


*Figure 3.5.1.2 Relative amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **inanimate** Figures in the translation process from Dutch to English, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description. The original Dutch no-location events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.*

In the translation of location events from Dutch to English, animate and inanimate Figures don't seem to follow the same pattern in the verb types they occur with. In the translation of location events with animate Figures, as shown in Table 3.5.1.4 and Figure 3.5.1.1, no more than 26% (100-74) per verb type changes in the translation, except of course the other verbs that were only coded if they change in translations. The posture verbs change the most: 29 posture verbs were translated in either neutral verbs (8), other verbs (10), or other than location events (11) in English. But, the decrease of posture verbs in total is not that high, since 19 posture verbs are also added as a result of the translation of neutral verbs (2), other verbs (9), and other than location events (8). Furthermore, 25% (100-75) of the neutral verbs in Dutch are translated otherwise, although the absolute numbers in this category are low: of the 20 Dutch neutral verbs, 2 are translated in posture verbs, and 3 into other events. For the location events with inanimate Figures, as shown in Table 3.5.1.5 and Figure 3.5.1.2, more changes appear in the translation of verb types from Dutch to English. Dutch posture verbs are translated otherwise in 75% (100-25) of the cases: 26% becomes an English neutral verb, 2% a FME, 28% another verb and 19% another event. Another verb category that changes a considerable amount of times is the motion verb: 32% (100-68) of the Dutch motion verbs, which is 7 cases, is translated otherwise in English, being one time into a neutral verb, 3 times into another verb and 3 times into another type of event. But, there is no decrease of amount of FME's because there are also 7 FME's added in the translation from Dutch to English: 3 posture verbs, 3 other verbs and 1 other type of event in Dutch is translated to English location events with motion verbs.

*Table 3.5.1.6 Amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **animate** Figures in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description*

Translation verb location events with Animate Figures English → Dutch	Dutch posture verb	Dutch neutral verb	Dutch motion verb	Dutch other verb	Dutch no location	**Total**
English posture verb	*82 (73%)*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (4%)	26 (23%)	**112 (100%)**
English neutral verb	22 (51%)	*15 (35%)*	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	5 (12%)	**43 (100%)**
English motion verb	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	*0*(0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	**0 (100%)**
English other verb	19 (56%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	*0* (0%)	14 (41%)	**34 (100%)**
English no location	21 (5%)	3 (0.5%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.5%)	*388 (94%)*	**414 (100%)**

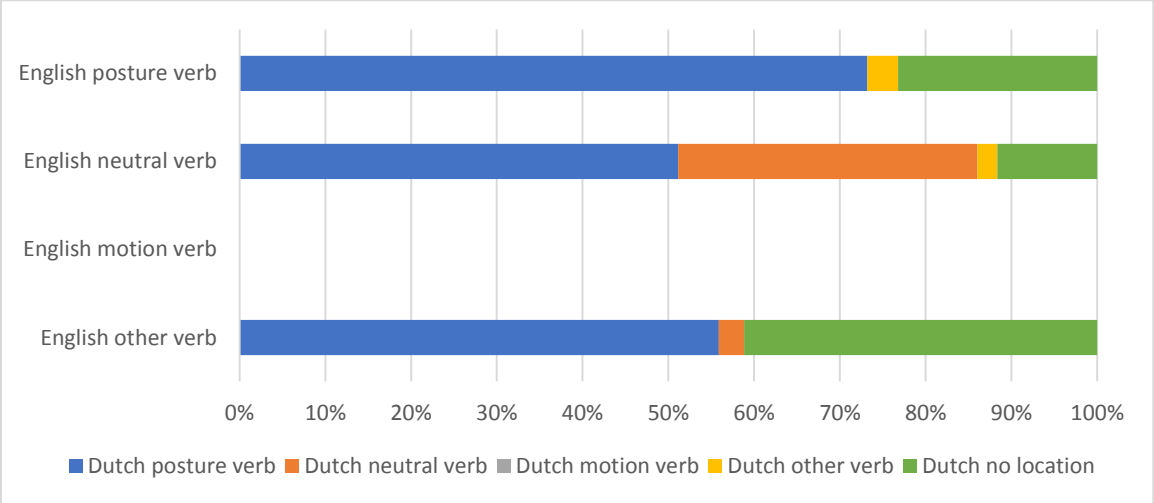


*Figure 3.5.1.3 Relative amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **animate** Figures in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description. The original English no-location events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.*

*Table 3.5.1.7 Amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **inanimate** Figures in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description*

Translation verb location events with Inanimate Figures English → Dutch	Dutch posture verb	Dutch neutral verb	Dutch motion verb	Dutch other verb	Dutch no location	**Total**
English posture verb	*23 (92%)*	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (8%)	0 (0%)	**25 (100%)**
English neutral verb	18 (38%)	*21 (45%)*	2 (4%)	4 (9%)	2 (4%)	**47 (100%)**
English motion verb	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	*51 (87%)*	3 (5%)	3 (5%)	**59 (100%)**
English other verb	30 (70%)	0 (0%)	7 (16%)	*0* (0%)	6 (14%)	**43 (100%)**
English no location	21 (13%)	0 (0%)	5 (3%)	1 (0.5%)	*138 (83.5%)*	**165 (100%)**

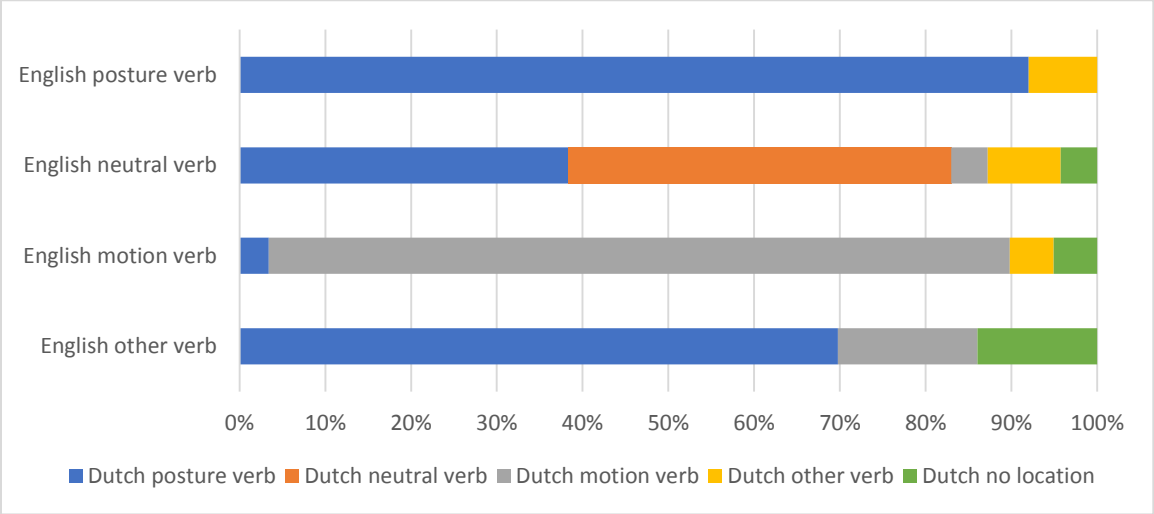


Figure 3.5.1.4 *Relative amount of change or continuation of the kinds of verbs in location events with **inanimate** Figures in the translation process from English to Dutch, which can be a posture (=manner-of-location), neutral, motion and other verb, or an event without location description. The original English no-location events are omitted because they are not directly of interest and their large amount of cases would lead to a distorted figure.*

Where in the translation from Dutch to English, posture verbs changed most often, especially with inanimate Figures, the reversed translation shows most fluctuations in the area of neutral and other verbs. Table 3.5.1.6 and Figure 3.5.1.3 show that English neutral verbs with animate Figures are translated otherwise in 65% (100-35) of the cases: 51% turns

into Dutch posture verbs, 2% into other verbs and 12% into other types of events. Another substantial group of changes with animate Figures is that of English posture verbs into other types of events in Dutch (23%). In the translations of location events with inanimate Figures from English to Dutch, as can be seen in Table 3.5.1.7 and Figure 3.5.1.4, neutral verbs are translated otherwise slightly less then with animate Figures (55% inanimate vs 65% animate), but the largest group also changes into Dutch posture verbs (38%), next to changes to FME's (4%), other verbs (9%) and other types of events (4%). Furthermore, there was an influence of animacy visible on the translation of English other verbs to Dutch posture verbs; this happens 19 times with animate Figures, and 30 times with inanimate Figures.

3.5.2 Qualitative analysis

The previous section gave insight in the quantitative results concerning animacy in location events. The number of verbs in location events with animate and inanimate Figures show that in Dutch, there seems to be no clear preference for the use of animate or inanimate Figures with posture, neutral or other verbs in location events, while English uses animate Figures more with posture verbs, and inanimate Figures more with neutral and other verbs. When zooming in on the translation processes, Dutch location events with inanimate Figures have their verbs more often changed when translated to English than Dutch location events with animate Figures. Mainly, Dutch posture verbs with inanimate Figures are translated into English neutral and other verbs. The reversed translation process shows mostly changes when the original English location events contain neutral verbs. These changes are slightly larger with animate than with inanimate Figures and are mainly resulting into Dutch posture verbs. But, this difference in the use of verbs between animate and inanimate Figures is very small, especially when looking at the absolute numbers. Therefore, the only animacy effect on verb use in location events seems to be present in the English language. This section will focus on the effect of animacy on the translation process of Dutch posture verbs to English neutral and other verbs.

Generally, posture verbs can be perfectly used with animate Figures, especially with humans, but in some cases, English still chooses to translate Dutch posture verbs otherwise. In three of these cases, the posture verbs are not used to express human posture, but contact or containment, of which Table 3.4.2.1 already showed that it barely occurs in English. But 14 of these Dutch location events did express human posture, and still English chose to translate them otherwise. In 5 cases, English used neutral verbs to translate Dutch posture verbs that expressed human posture, as was in example (24) in section 3.4.2 (*een paar meter achter hem staat Schnur* 'A few metres behind him is Schnur'). The other location events with posture verbs and animate Figures were translated into events with other types of verbs (6) or with no verb at all (4). For example, *dat ik in mijn tuin stond* was translated into 'in my garden' (JB:BR 45/42). All these sentences can be translated into English literally, with a posture verb, but the translator didn't choose for this option. As discussed in section 3.4, this is due to a preference of Dutch to use posture verbs to describe locative constructions, while English prefers neutral verbs.

On the other hand, Dutch location events with inanimate Figures and posture verbs are translated otherwise more often (101 times) than events with animate Figures and the

reason for most of these translation choices is more clear. In 11 cases, contact or containment situations were described. Three cases describe human posture, which seems contradictive with an inanimate Figure, but these sentences concern dead humans, and all describe them lying/being in their coffin. Furthermore, 16 cases with posture verbs and inanimate Figures were coded as describing 'location', including the location verb *hangen* ('to hang'; 7 times) and the verb *staan* ('to stand'; 9 times) with the Figure being a text or letters. These cases were already discussed in section 3.4. But the types of sentences that were not discussed there, are the ones that describe non-human posture, which are mainly posture verbs with an inanimate Figure. The remaining 70 sentences with Dutch posture verbs and inanimate Figures that were translated otherwise in English expressed non-human posture. The first thing that stands out is the fact that only the verbs *staan* and *liggen* occur in these sentences. But, when zooming out, the data shows that inanimate Figures in combination with the verb *zitten* always express contact or containment, and therefore don't fall in the category 'non-human posture'. English uses all kinds of strategies to avoid using posture verbs for inanimate Figures: using fictive motion (29a), neutral verbs (29b), no verb (29c), another type of verb (29d) or another type of event (29e). But, although this large amount of translations from Dutch posture verbs with inanimate Figures to English events without posture verbs points to a strong dispreference of the English language to use posture verbs with inanimate Figures, it is not totally ungrammatical. There are still 33 cases in this dataset where English uses posture verbs in the translation of inanimate Figures, which don't seem to differ fundamentally from the sentences that do change in the translation. For example, sentence (29b) describes the location of houses with a posture verb in Dutch and a neutral verb in English, while the English translation of another sentence, 'Steinbeck's house stands grey and modest under tall trees', also describes the location of a house, but here, the posture verb is used.

(29)
a.
Het vertelde dat de zonegrens midden *in* dat stroompje **lag**.
('It told that the border lay in the middle of that stream')
It said that the border **ran** *down* the middle of the stretch of water.
CN:B 39/37
b.
Even verder*op* **staan** twee lege huizen […]
('A little further on stand two empty houses')
A little further *on* **are** two empty houses […]
GM:RJ 145/131
c.
[…] op matrassen die *op* de grond **lagen** […]
('on mattresses that lay on the floor')
[…] mattresses *on* the floor […]
TW:JS 259/260

d.
Buiten **stonden** twee taxi's […]
('Outside stood two taxis')
Two taxis were **waiting** *outside* […]
TW:JS 279/280
e.
[…] sommige bladzijden **lagen** los *in* de kaft […]
('some pages lay loose in the cover')
[…] some of the pages **were** loose […]
JB:BR 105/91

3.5.3 Summary and Discussion

This section examined whether animacy of the Figure differentiates the description of location events between English and Dutch, focusing on the verbs. The quantitative analysis showed an effect of animacy of the Figure on the differences in use of posture, neutral and other verbs in English and Dutch. In Dutch novels, there were no substantial differences between the amount of animate and inanimate Figures with all types of verbs to describe location events, while in English, with posture verbs, more animate Figures are used, and with neutral and other verbs, more inanimate Figures were used. These results were reflected in the translation processes: from Dutch to English, no more than 25% of the verbs changed when translating animate Figures, but 75% of the posture verbs with inanimate Figures were translated with another verb type. In the reversed translation, from English to Dutch, the differences in changes of verb types between animate and inanimate Figures were smaller. The group that changed the most in the translation were neutral verbs, and they changed slightly more when occurring with inanimate than with animate Figures, but this difference was very small. So, there seems to be an effect of animacy present in the translation from Dutch posture verbs to English, where English translated Dutch posture verbs more often with posture verbs if they have an animate Figure then when they have an inanimate Figure.

These results confirm the hypotheses from earlier research and connect with earlier results. Stosic and Sarda (2009) found an animacy effect of the translation from Serbian posture verbs to French, where animate Figures were more often translated with posture verbs than inanimate Figures. This is comparable with the results from Dutch and English. Furthermore, the results reflect the extended use of posture verbs with inanimate Figures that Lemmens (2002) described for Dutch. For English, Newman (2002) also described various cases of extension of posture verbs to inanimate Figures, but in the novels examined in this study, these were not always found. For example, Newman (2002) states that 'to lie' can be used for mattresses, while sentence (29c) showed that English translated the Dutch sentence about mattresses without a posture verb. Furthermore, Newman (2009) found that the Figure 'house' occurred with the posture verb 'to stand' especially in fiction, but in the novels examined here, a Dutch posture verb in this situation was translated with a neutral verb sometimes. This suggests that, although it is possible in several cases, in English it is less salient to express Manner for location events, especially with inanimate Figures. That again confirms the typology by Ameka and Levinson (2007), who categorized Dutch as Type IIa

language and English as Type Ia. Furthermore, their hypothesis ‘Ameka’s conjecture’, which would predict that it is more likely that a Type II language extends the use of posture verbs to inanimate objects than a Type I language, is supported by these results. Although English also has extended their use of human posture verbs to inanimate Figures to some extent, in Dutch the expression of Manner in location events is not only overall more salient, but especially with inanimate Figures, Dutch is higher on the manner-salience scale than English.

Chapter 4. General discussion and conclusion

This study tried to give insight in to what extent syntactic and lexical differences between English and Dutch influence their description of motion and location events. This was done by examining a large amount of events, found in both English and Dutch novels and their Dutch and English translations. Several studies were done in this area already, but never to these two more closely related languages in a corpus as large as this. First, the expression of Manner in English and Dutch motion events was examined. Berman and Slobin (1994) predicted that a higher amount of Manner verb types in a language would lead to a higher amount of Manner expression. Slobin (2004) and Lemmens (2005) stated that English had more Manner verb types than Dutch, which was confirmed in the current study, but this did not lead to a higher amount of Manner expression in English. If any, a trend towards more Manner expression in Dutch was found. Possible influencing factors could be the also high amount of Path verb types in English and the tendency in Dutch to express Manner in the high frequent human motion of *lopen* ('to walk') and *rijden* ('to drive'), where English prefers to use the more neutral 'to go'. The way of expressing Path in Dutch and English motion events was also investigated in this study. Contrary to Manner, the high amount of Path verb types in English did result in a higher amount of expression of Path in the verb than in Dutch. Although both languages still prefer to express Path in the satellite, Dutch expresses it in the satellite more often than English. For location events, the expression of Manner was examined based on Lemmens' (2005) observation that posture verbs are actually 'manner-of-location' verbs. As expected from the categorization by Ameka and Levinson (2007), Dutch expresses Manner more often in the verb in location events by using posture verbs, while English prefers to use neutral or other verbs to express the location of a Figure. Although English can use posture verbs for both animate and certain inanimate Figures following Newman (2002), it still chooses to leave the Manner of the orientation of the Figure unspecified more often than Dutch. Furthermore, as expected from earlier literature, animacy differentiates the description of location events between English and Dutch. For inanimate Figures, the difference in Manner description between English and Dutch is larger than for animate Figures. Finally, fictive motion constructions have the structure of motion events but describe location events. In the expression of Manner, they seem to behave more as motion events than as location events. The structure of a sentence apparently has a higher influence on the Manner expression than the semantics of the sentence. Although English seems to express Manner more often in FME's at first sight, the exclusion of the novel 'The Fellowship of the Ring', that contained a high amount of FME's, resulted in a more comparable expression of Manner in FME's in English and Dutch, while in location events, Dutch clearly expresses Manner more often. However, FME's don't behave exactly the same as motion events. The Manner and Path condition described by Matsumoto (1996) turned out to influence the expression of Manner and Path in FME's in both languages. Altogether, although English and Dutch belong to the same West-Germanic branch of the Germanic family and are both satellite-framed languages, there are several lexical and syntactic differences that lead to differences in their description of motion and location events.

Although this study has given several insights in the area of the description of spatial events, it also has its limitations. First, texts of the genre 'novel' were used. On the one

hand, these are natural texts that were not artificially constructed just for this study, as for example frog stories, but they were found 'in the wild'. On the other hand, they are less spontaneous than frog stories, because the texts in this genre are very well thought through and the writers probably tried to create more literary sentences than people would use in real life; in the case of the novel 'The Fellowship of the Ring', even almost poetic sentences were created. Even though this is the case for both English and Dutch novels, and therefore the comparison between the languages still gives usable results, for future research, it would be useful to compare spatial events in two languages both in novels and in spontaneous elicited speech. Furthermore, this study showed that the results in individual novels of one language can fluctuate. Writing style of the author, individual translation choices, and genre of the novel can influence the description of spatial events. This study found no significant results in the difference of Manner description in English and Dutch, probably because of this large fluctuation. Future research would do good to use a larger variety of novels to create more robust results. In addition, despite the fact that a few thousand spatial events were taken into analysis in this study, the amount of fictive motion events was still very low. 168 FME's were found, whereof about half was found in one novel. Especially when zooming in on differences in FME types and Manner expression, the numbers were too low for a substantial conclusion. Future research should investigate even more novels and spatial events, and probably come up with a way to search more effectively to FME's, in order to collect a larger dataset that can lead to more robust results. Finally, some additional factors would be interesting to investigate in the area of spatial events, at least for English and Dutch. First, it would be useful to analyse not only the spatial event in isolation, but to involve the context in the analysis too. Especially for neutral verbs in Dutch location events and posture verbs in English location events, it is not clear yet why they are used in some cases and not used in other cases. Lemmens (2002), for example, stated that neutral verbs are only used for the description of location in Dutch when the speaker is not able to or does not want to express the posture, for example in where-questions. A study that includes the context of the sentences could examine whether a where-question, implicitly or explicitly, precedes the location event. Second, one of the largest differences between English and Dutch in Manner expression in motion events seems to be in the most common ways of Manner of movement human beings: *lopen* ('to walk') and *rijden* ('to drive') in Dutch versus 'to go' in English. Where this study only focussed on the influence of animacy on location events, this suggests that animacy could also influence the expression of Manner in motion events. Probably, the difference in Manner expression between English and Dutch is bigger when the events contain animate Figures. Finally, the found definitions were not consistent throughout the earlier articles on spatial events. Therefore, choices had to be made for the used definitions in this study. These choices led to for example the coding of certain Path verbs or Manner verbs, that were coded otherwise in previous studies. Future research should try to use definitions of these concepts more consistently, leading to a higher ability to compare different studies and draw conclusions on them.

Altogether, this study showed that even though two languages belong to the same category of spatial event description constructed by Talmy (2000), in this case satellite-framed, they don't have to behave the same in expression of Manner and Path in motion and location events, just as Slobin (2004) pointed out. However, the manner-of-salience

scale where Slobin (2004) stated that languages can be placed on, seems to be insufficient too. First, it turns out to be different for motion and location events, as Lemmens (2005) hypothesised. Second, several lexical and syntactic factors can influence how (often) a language expresses Manner in a spatial event. For instance, not only the amount of Manner verb types in a language, but also the amount of Path verb types seems to influence how often Manner is expressed in motion events. Another example found, is that how a language treats animacy of the Figure can influence how often Manner is expressed in location events. Furthermore, this study was perfect to examine how fictive motion events behave in the case of Manner expression. FME's are a border case between motion and location events, and English and Dutch behave differently in Manner expression in these two types of events. Although the hypothesis that English behaves differently than Dutch in motion events was not confirmed, Dutch clearly expresses Manner more often in location events than English. Therefore, since English and Dutch express Manner a comparable amount of times in fictive motion events, it can be concluded that the structure of the motion in FME's has a larger influence on the expression of Manner than the locational semantics. In addition, factors as the Manner and Path condition drawn by Matsumoto (1996) differentiate FME's from factive motion events. The current study can be a starting point for more thorough research on spatial events in not only distant, but also more closely related languages, where all factors that can influence the (Manner and Path) description of spatial events are taken into account, resulting in a mapping of the (amount of) influence of all these factors in all kinds of languages.

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Appendix

A. Manner verb types

Dutch Manner verbs

balanceren	klauteren	schieten	sukkelen
benen	klimmen	schommelen	treden
besluipen	knielen	schrapen	trekken
breken	knippen	schroeven	trippelen
daveren	krabbelen	schuiven	tuimelen
deinzen	kruipen	sjokken	vallen
draven	kuieren	slaan	varen
drentelen	liften	slenteren	vliegen
drijven	liggen	snijden	vluchten
drommen	likken	spoeden	waden
druipen	lopen	springen	wandelen
dwalen	marcheren	sprinten	wankelen
gieren	paraderen	staan	wiebelen
glijden	ploeteren	stampen	zeilen
glippen	ploffen	stappen	zitten
haasten	rammelen	stormen	zoemen
hinken	reizen	storten	zoeven
hobbelen	rennen	strijken	zwalken
huppelen	rijden	stromen	zwerven
hurken	rollen	stuiteren	zweven
ijsberen	scheuren	suizen	

English Manner verbs

to amble	to fiddle	to pace	to skip
to balance	to file	to parade	to slide
to barrel	to flee	to pelt	to slip
to bounce	to flick	to pile	to sneak
to burst	to float	to pour	to soar
to bustle	to flow	to propel	to spring
to clamber	to fly	to puff	to squat
to clang	to grope	to rattle	to stand
to clank	to hitch	to ride	to steer
to clatter	to hobble	to roam	to step
to climb	to hop	to roar	to stride
to crash	to huff	to rock	to strike
to crawl	to hunker	to roll	to stroll
to creep	to hurry	to rumble	to stumble
to crowd	to hurtle	to run	to sweep
to cruise	to inch	to rush	to swing
to cut	to jump	to rustle	to throw
to dance	to kneel	to sail	to tramp
to dart	to lay	to saunter	to travel
to dash	to leap	to scramble	to trip
to dive	to lie	to scrape	to trot
to draw	to limp	to screw	to trundle
to drip	to lumber	to shoot	to tumble
to drive	to lurch	to shrank	to walk
to drool	to march	to shuffle	to wander
to edge	to ooze	to sit	to zoom
to fall			

B. Path verb types

Dutch Path verbs

arriveren	dalen	openen	verspreiden
bereiken	heffen	passeren	verwijderen
bestijgen	hijsen	rijzen	volgen
betreden	kruisen	sluiten	wentelen
centrifugeren	naderen	stijgen	zakken
cirkelen	ontsnappen	verlaten	zigzaggen

English Path verbs

to approach	to follow	to recede	to spread
to arrive	to hand	to remove	to stab
to chase	to heave	to return	to strip
to circle	to hoist	to revolve	to swerve
to close	to leave	to rise	to swing
to criss-cross	to lower	to scatter	to tail
to cross	to ooze	to shrug	to trace
to emerge	to open	to shut	to twist
to enter	to pass	to sink	to visit
to escape	to raise	to slam	to widen
to extract	to reach	to spin-dry	to withdraw
to flatten	to rear	to split	to zigzag