Linguistic Typology in Motion Events: Expression of Motion Events in Translated Versions of Turkish and English Novels

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Submitted: 05.11.2021
Revision Requested: 03.10.2022
Last Revision Received: 19.10.2022
Accepted: 06.12.2022


ABSTRACT
This study aims at exploring how speakers of typologically different languages, Turkish “verb-framed” and English “satellite-framed” express motion events in translations. In accordance with the aim, the study deals with Turkish and English in terms of statistical and qualitative comparisons in translations and questions how each language adapts itself to the demands of the other in relation to the same content. 6 Turkish and English novels were analyzed for the lexicalization patterns of motion events, and for the diversity of translation strategies adapted by the translators. As for the qualitative comparisons, the translations were further explored in terms of how Turkish translators handle the abundance of verbs with manner information in English texts, and how English translators accommodate Turkish texts to the needs of English. Findings shed light on nuances that should be concerned in the examination of two language types with regard to how each accommodates one another’s need for lexicalization patterns and structures. Rather than a strict binary typology, the present study raises an issue that languages can vary within the same typological class, and we cannot take it for granted that languages belong strictly to one group of language. Therefore, along with the findings, discussions of the study highlight the importance of ranging languages in a continuum as either “high-manner-salient language” or “low-manner salient language” based on whether they belong to S-or V-type language class.

Keywords: Linguistic typology, motion events, manner of motion verbs, “S-languages”, “V-languages”
Introduction

“Does the language we speak influence our ways of thinking about the events?” A variety of empirical research has demonstrated that words used to describe a particular event can influence how language users mentally represent those events (Slobin, 1987; 1996a; 1996b; 2004). This line of the studies hypothesizes that in the process of formulating or interpreting events, we should first “adapt our thoughts into a language-particular mold” - that is to say, we are engaging in “thinking for speaking” (Slobin, 1987; 1996a). In “Thinking for Speaking” hypothesis, Slobin argues that one cannot escape from the effects of language during the formulation of an utterance, and suggests “there is a special kind of thinking that is carried out, online, in the process of speaking” (Slobin, 1996a, p.75). Central to the analysis, he states that one needs to take a perspective during formulating or interpreting events and the language being used in that moment often favors particular perspectives, which means such online processes vary across languages (Slobin, 2000). In order to examine this, two broad types of languages can be explored in terms of their differences in relation to thinking for speaking. As an example, in describing a motion event, speakers of English and Turkish show tendency to construct mental images of motion in space in two different ways (Slobin, 2000; 2003). To set the scene, consider the following almost equivalent sentences within both languages:

(1) a. “She ran out the school.”
 b. “Okuldan koşarak çıktı.”
 “She exited through the school by running.”

In English, while the main verb, “run”, encodes the “manner of movement”, the particle, “out”, indicates the “path”. In Turkish, however, the main verb, “çıktı”, indicates the “path”, and the phrase, “koşarak”, expresses the “manner”. As Özçalışkan and Slobin (2000) discuss, in languages like Turkish, speakers often prefer to encode path by leaving out manner information and tend to use verbs of “inherent directionality” (girmek “enter”, çıkmak “exit”, inmek “descend”, çıkmak “ascend”, etc.). In those cases where the manner is salient, such languages have a rather restricted use of “non-directional” verbs of motion (Slobin, 1996b). By contrast, in languages like English, there is an abundance of verbs of motion which encode manner, but not “directionality” (float, jump, fly, slip, etc.), attachable with a high number of satellites (at, out, across, on, etc.) (Slobin, 1996b). In this sense, conflating motion with the manner in the verb is to a certain part predisposed by the “lexicalization patterns” of the language and thereby, “thinking for
speaking” differs systematically dependent on such patterns (Slobin, 2000). Building on Talmy’s (1985) study concerning the semantic structure of lexical forms across languages, Slobin (1997) in his Thinking for Speaking hypothesis discusses that those differences evident in the example sentences offered in English and Turkish are not merely “stylistic” or “aesthetic”. Instead, they are strongly affected by the “typologies of the target languages” (Slobin, 1997, p.438). Following Talmy’s (1985) typological framework, one can distinguish a two-way distinction between languages in relation to whether they are likely to describe the change of location, “path”, in the main verb (e.g. “descend”, “ascend”) or in satellites associated with verbs (e.g. come in, run out). In this case, English is the type of language that Talmy (1985) has called “satellite-framed” as the path is described by a “satellite” to the main verb. Turkish, however, is a type of language that Talmy (1985) has called “verb-framed” since “path” is mapped into the main verb in a clause.

These differences in the way path of an event are described to have further consequences for language processing, as Slobin (1996a, 2003) argued in his “Thinking for Speaking” hypothesis. Given that “satellite-framed languages” (“S-languages”) show a tendency to describe “path” by satellites, verb roots become free to encode manner without further elaboration (Slobin, 2005) (e.g., fly, spread, jump). This presents S-language speakers “an easily codable linguistic option” for the expression of manner (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2003). For that reason, as Slobin (2000, 2004) puts forward, S-language speakers map manner into the verb habitually, advance a vast “lexicon of manner verbs”, and make fine distinctions in “the domain of manner”. In “V-languages”, yet, the main verb root is typically filled with “path”. This leads “V-language speakers” to have recourse to alternative means of encoding manner, such as subordinated manner verb constructions (e.g., ‘enter/exit running’) and various adverbial forms (e.g., ‘dragging one’s feet’) (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2003, p.259). However, such constructions cause to increase in processing load, and are solely expressed if “manner” is salient (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2003; Slobin, 2004). As a consequence, in many cases, this brings about to the elimination of details in “manner” information in “V-languages”. These linguistic differences, in turn, appear to influence “the formulations of mental representations” where V-language speakers in comparison to “S-language” speakers show a tendency to “conceptualize the domain of manner of movement in a more constrained fashion, due to the effect of their native language on cognitive processes” (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2003, p.259). Thus, speakers of “V-languages” and “S-languages” show a tendency to construct mental images of motion in space in two separate ways.
How can this hypothesis be investigated? One way to account for the effects of “thinking for speaking” on language use is comparing translations of a text in which different languages employ the same events in words. When the literature on translation studies is examined, it is seen that these studies are conducted on literal motion events (e.g. it is climbing/ running away) and metaphorical motion events (e.g. fear spreads from hearts to sleep, hours pass by), which are “conceptual-linguistic mapping” from “a source domain” (e.g. “movement in space”) to “a target domain” (e.g. “time”, “emotion states”) (Slobin, 1997; Özçalışkan, 2003; 2004). However, when compared to the studies on literal motion events, translation strategies where each language adapts itself to the demands of the other with respect to the same content, appear not to have been studied quite extensively yet. The present research, as an effort in that direction, seeks to examine English (a “S-language”) and Turkish (a “V-language”) novels and their translated versions with regard to “lexicalization patterns of motion events” and therefore, to explore how translators handle the motion verbs in translations and accommodate the texts for the needs of the target language.

**Theoretical background**

**Talmy’s typology and “motion events”**

The idea of “motion” is regarded as one of the central building blocks of human thinking system and language (e.g. Goddard, 1998; Talmy, 2000). Talmy (1985) was the first to analyze the “lexicalization pattern” of motion events. He describes “a motion event” as a situation where “an entity moves through space”. According to him, a motion event can be conceptualized as including a “framing event” and a “co-event” (2000). The “framing event” shows the schematic structure and provides internal elements for the motion event. It includes four internal elements as (1) motion, an actual presence of motion (2) figure, a moving entity, (3) a physical “ground” with relation to which the “figure” moves (4) “path”, the trajectory that the figure follows (see Figure 1).

![Figure 1. Framing event](image)
The co-event is optional and identified as the external semantic component which provides a support in relation to framing event. It includes two forms as (1) “manner”, the specific way with which the motion is carried out, and (2) “cause” which describes the event originating the motion (see Figure 2).

As it is clear from the examples above, “the pencil” functions as the “Figure” and “the table” as the “Ground”. The particle “off” indicates the “path” information. The verbs “rolled” and “blew” carry out the “Motion” element. Also, “rolled” in (2) provides information about the “manner” of motion, and “blew” in (3) about the “cause” of motion.

Among the four elements of the “framing event”, Talmy (1991) takes the “path” component as “the core feature of the event” and states that it is not possible for a motion event to exist without a “trajectory”. In terms of the expression of “path”, he shows that languages show systematic differences in how they encode “the path information”. Accordingly, languages either show a tendency integrate “path information” in the main verb root or they are likely to integrate it through a constituent that positioned in a “sister position” to a main verb root, namely “a path particle” or “satellite”. Based on this difference, Talmy (2000) proposes a typology of languages with regard to their “dominant” lexicalization patterns. Accordingly, he groups languages into two types. On the basis of where they characteristically encode “path information”, languages are categorized as “Verb-framed languages” (“V-languages”) and “Satellite-framed languages” (“S-languages”). These terms “Verb-framed” and “Satellite-framed” explain how languages typically prefer to describe the path component. Since the “path information” is likely to be within the main verb of the clause in “V-languages”, they are considered as “Verb-framed languages”. In the type of “S-languages”, the “path information” does not tend to be given in the main verb, but coded via satellites associated with the main verb. That is the reason why Talmy calls this type of languages as Satellite-framed languages.
By using Talmi’s classification, Slobin (2006, pg.61) provides a list of languages that belong to either “V-languages” or “S-languages” (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1. The list of “verb-framed” and “satellite-framed” languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Verb-framed languages”</th>
<th>“Satellite-framed languages”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Romance”</td>
<td>“Germanic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Greek”</td>
<td>“Slavic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Semitic”</td>
<td>“Celtic”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Turkic”</td>
<td>“Finno-Ugric”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Basque”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Korean”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Japanese”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Aksu-Koç (1994) claimed, in Turkish, a verb-framed language, the verb carried the information regarding the source, goal, and direction, whereas the manner information may be given through associated adverbs. However, in English, a satellite-framed language, as Ferez and Gentner (2006) showed, speakers were more likely to infer a manner verb than a path verb and satellites accompanying the verb were frequent as a manner language.

“Motion events” in English and Turkish

According to Slobin (2003), English and Turkish differ in terms of how they map the path of motion in a sentence. Turkish prefers to encode motion with “path” in the verb root of the main verb, whereas English tends to conflate the “path” in a nonverbal element, such as verb particles. In this sense, Turkish is classified within the type of “Verb-framed languages” while English belongs to the other type: “Satellite-framed languages”. The following examples below show the tendency in both languages with regard to expression of “path information”:

(4) “Oradan bir baykuş çıkıyor.” (“From there, an owl exits.”)
(5) “An owl popped out.”
(Slobin, 2004, pg.224)

The bold items in the examples above indicate the path component in Turkish and English. As it is shown in (4), Turkish language prefers mapping the “path information”
onto the main verb root ‘çıkıyor’. By contrast, as can be seen in (5), English language prefers encoding path as a satellite in a “sister relation” to the main verb ‘out’.

“Manner of motion”

Talmy’s two-split classification described in the former section shows that he bases the motion event typology on “lexicalization patterns” and particularly those of “path of motion”. Building on Talmy’s typological framework, Slobin (2004) proposes that instead of strict binary typology, languages should be placed on a “continuum”. In this regard, he offers the salience of “the manner of motion” as a starting point for this continuum and names it as a “cline of manner salience”. Along the lines of this cline, he shows that a particular language tends to be either “high-manner-salient language” or “low-manner salient language” depending on whether it belongs to “S type”- or “V-type”.

As an instance, Slobin (1996b) reports that speakers of “S-languages” use a “higher degree of manner saliency” than speakers of “V-languages” when describing a motion event. Accordingly, if the manner is not the salient information in the context, V-language speakers pay less narrative attention to “manner information” in a motion event. This difference is mainly because of the way these two types of languages lexicalize manner component (Slobin, 1997). Since “S-languages” do not prefer to encode “path information” in the verb root of the main verb, the verb root becomes available to include “nuances of manner” (Slobin, 2005) (e.g. rolling down the slope). The expression of “manner information”, then, becomes easily codable linguistic option for “S-languages” speakers. Based on that reason, it appears that “S-language” speakers “habitually” conflate “manner” into the main verb, advance “a rich lexicon of manner verbs”, and make finer distinctions in the expression of manner (Slobin, 2000). However, “V-languages” show a tendency to describe “path information” in the main, which means the verb root is typically engaged in mapping “path information”. In those contexts where the manner is salient, “V-language” speakers are likely to leave “manner information” to be expressed as subordinated to the main verb (e.g., “koşarak çıktı” “exited running”) or adjunct manner expressions (e.g. hızlıca çıktı ‘exited in a haste/quickly’). Such additional lexical items increase processing load, and in most instances, details of manner of motion are likely to be omitted in “V-languages”.

These typological differences among V-and S-language speakers, in turn, are likely to have an impact on the “organization of mental representations” regarding how one forms mental images of motion in space. Slobin (1997) refers to this way of
conceptual organizations for purposes of speaking “Thinking for Speaking Hypothesis”. According to it, in the process of formulating or interpreting experiences, one has to fit his/her thoughts into a language-particular mold. In this regard, the typological options in one’s language lead speakers to handle the experience in different ways and therefore, speakers to organize their thinking due to the semantic element readily encoded in their language. In this case, with regard to the encoding of “manner information”, “V-language” speakers are keen to conceptualize manner of motion event in a more “constrained fashion” because of the influence of their language on “cognitive processes”.

Empirical studies and translation method

In the attempt to account for the influences of how those speakers mentally represent manner of motion events, Slobin (2003) points out that “thinking for speaking” can be detected in the forms of linguistic production (translations or spoken narratives). In relation to this, a variety of studies have been implemented to find out the difference in the “salience of manner in motion event expressions”, and questioned whether speakers of “V-languages” and “S-languages” pay “differential attention” to manner information in “speaking” or “writing” about motion events (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2000; Slobin, 1996b, 1997, 2000). These studies have provided evidence for the basic typological differences proposed by Talmy (1985). Examination of written data and elicited verbal narratives in these studies have revealed that “S-language” speakers tend to employ manner verbs more often, and their descriptions include larger lexical diversity compared to V-language speakers. Thus, the results of these studies have shed light on how speakers of each language type regulate the semantic patterns of their native language.

Translation is one of the methods used to compare the motion event descriptions in V-and S-languages”. Since translating the same texts demonstrates the preferred semantic patterns of V-and S-languages, this method has been fruitful to show direct change in relation to the additions and eliminations of manner of motion events. According to Slobin (1997), the dominant lexicalization patterns of the two languages lead to different ways of incorporating “manner information” to motion event, and translation shows the degree to which the target language adopts itself to the source language or assimilates the target into its own patterns of lexicalization. With regard to translating of a text from a “V-language” into a “S-language”, or the other way around,
Slobin (1997) states that translators can come across with some problems. Translators who move into an S-language may need to replace a path verb with a manner verb to save the text from sounding unnatural or add “manner information” which is likely to be untranslatable into the much smaller lexical of “V-languages” (pg. 458). However, translators who move into a V-language may need to leave out the “manner information” provided in the original text. On account of these changes, Slobin (1997) argues that differing attention to “manner information” may depend on translators’ decisions and opens an “avenue” of studies on the translation of written texts. As more data on translation texts are investigated, it will lead to a better understanding of complex interplay between lexicon and syntax for manner expression and the use of optional lexical means that shows translators’ behavior. In this sense, the present study aims to investigate how translation of texts adds or removes manner of motion event nuances in accordance with the characteristics of the language. As an attempt in that direction, this study compares the original and translated versions of novels written in two typologically different languages (English, an “S-language”, and Turkish, a “V-language”) and provides additional findings to the studies on translations.

**Method**

**Sample**

The sample included 6 novels, three of which are originally written in Turkish and three in English, and their translated versions (from Turkish into English and from English into Turkish). The novels consisted of works by contemporary and earlier writers (see Table 3.1). The selection of novels was unsystematic, partly determined by availability of translations. An effort was made to choose novels that are abundant in motion event descriptions. The unit of analysis is a motion event, described as “the motion of a protagonist from a resting position until coming to rest at a new position where a plot-advancing event takes place” (Slobin, 2003; p.164). The only criterion is that the main character arrives at another place within an “uninterrupted stretch of narrative” (Slobin, 1996b).
Table 3.1. List of the novels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Novels</th>
<th>Authors</th>
<th>Translated by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Bit Palas” / “The Flea Palace”</td>
<td>Elif Şafak</td>
<td>Müge Göçek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Kar” / “Snow”</td>
<td>Orhan Pamuk</td>
<td>Maureen Freely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Patasana” / “Patasana”</td>
<td>Ahmet Ümit</td>
<td>Amy Spangler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Dracula” / “Dracula”</td>
<td>Bram Stoker</td>
<td>Pınar Gülcan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr.Hyde” / “Dr. Jekyll ve Mr.Hyde”</td>
<td>Robert Louis Steveson</td>
<td>Zarife Laçinler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Northanger Abbey” / “Northanger Manastırı”</td>
<td>Jane Austen</td>
<td>Hamdi Koç</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data collection procedures

The researcher randomly opened each novel ten times. Through each opening, the first five motion event instances were collected (thus resulting in 50 motion events from each novel). A sample episode is as follows:

(1) “It seems he had slipped out to look for this drug or whatever it is.”
   (Louis) (V: manner)
   “Kendisi, bu ilacı aramak için mi ne içince, dışarı çıkmıştı.” (V: path; elimination of manner verb)

Data analysis

Motion events (motion verbs –with “associated satellites”) were taken as “the unit” of investigation, and written texts (novels) in both languages (English and Turkish) were analyzed and compared statistically considering the use of different types of motion verbs. The types of motion verbs involved in the analysis are reported below:

“V: manner” (“manner verbs”) = e.g., In English: “fly”, “drag”, “run”; in Turkish: “koş-” “run”, “tirman-” “climb up”
“V: path” (“path verbs”) = e.g., In English: “withdraw”, “enter”, “ascend”, “follow”; in Turkish: “çık-” “ascend”, “yaklaş-” “approach”
“V: neutral” (“verbs with no manner or path”) = e.g., In English: “move”, “go”; in Turkish: “hareket et-” “move”, git-” “go”
“V+V: manner (SUB)” (“subordinated manner verbs”), e.g., In English: “exit running”; in Turkish: “yuvarlanarak düş-” “fall rolling”.
As for the qualitative comparisons, the translations were examined in terms of (1) how Turkish translators handle the abundance of verbs with “manner information” in English texts, and (2) how English translators accommodate Turkish texts to the needs of English. The possible outcomes of such comparison may be as the following: (1) Turkish translators may compensate for the “manner information” in the main verb root by making use of alternative lexical means not inside of the main verb, or simply exclude the “manner information” from the sentence (2) English translators may have an easier job compared to Turkish ones, and even seek to enrich the original Turkish version.

Results

Verbs of motion

First of all, collected data were analyzed for the amount and types of “Manner Verb” (V: Manner), “Path Verb” (“V: Path”), “Neutral Verb” (“V: Neutral”), and “Subordinated Manner Verb” (“V+V: manner (SUB)”) constructions of the motion events. Findings for the total number of motion verbs showed a clear typological division between the two languages (see Table 4.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>“V: manner”</th>
<th>“V: path”</th>
<th>“V: neutral”</th>
<th>“V+V: manner (SUB)”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>57 %</td>
<td>21 %</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>22 %</td>
<td>52 %</td>
<td>23 %</td>
<td>2 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Percentages are based on the total number of motion verbs in each language”

As presented in Table 2, data analysis demonstrates that novels written in English contained more “manner” verbs (57% of all motion verbs) than novels written in Turkish (22%). Turkish novels, however, mainly consisted of “V: path” (52%) in expressing motion events.

Various instances from the sample are given below, indicating differences in motion verb preference between English and Turkish:

“We are all drifting reefwards now, and faith is our only anchor.” (Stoker).
“With this spirit she sprang forward, and her confidence did not deceive her.” (Austen).
“Lord Godalming had *slipped away* for a few minutes, but now he returned.” (Stoker).

“Poole *swung* the axe over his shoulder; the blow shook the building, and the red baize door *leaped* against the lock and hinges.” (Louis).

“Adını çok daha sonra, belki de alaycılıkla -Mutlu Olacağım- koyacağı şiiri eksiksiz bitirirken Kadife onu görmeden hızla içeri *girdi*.” (Pamuk).

“Kararlılıkla *çıktı* odasından Esra.” (Ümit).

“Poole swung the axe over his shoulder; the blow shook the building, and the red baize door *leaped* against the lock and hinges.” (Louis).

“Adını çok daha sonra, belki de alaycılıkla -Mutlu Olacağım- koyacağı şiiri eksiksiz bitirirken Kadife onu görmeden hızla içeri *girdi*.” (Pamuk).

“Kararlılıkla *çıktı* odasından Esra.” (Ümit).

“Agripina Fyodorovna Antipova, güneşten kamaşan gözlerini kırpıştırarak, huzursuz bir merakla bu tuhaf topa *yaklaştı*.” (Şafak).

**V: manner**

As for the types of “V: manner”, “V: path”, “V neutral”, and “V+V: manner (SUB)”, each category was grouped in accordance with two languages. The following Table below demonstrates the findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V: manner</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>57 types</td>
<td>22 types</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be viewed in Table 4.2 above, the analysis of motion events in terms of the manner lexicon in both languages shows that novels in English included a manner verb lexicon almost three times as varied (57 types) as Turkish novels (22 types). Some examples are as follows:

“A cry followed, he *reeled, staggered...*”(Louis).

“To Milsom Street she was directed, and having made herself perfect in
the number, *hastened away with eager steps* (Austen).

“O coşkuyla apartmanın merdivenlerini hızla inerken ayağım kaydı. Alttaki sahanlığa kadar yuvarlandım” (Ümit).

“Uzakta kuru dallarıyla, dallarından sarkan buzları birbirine karışmış ikiye ağacın yaptığı tül perdenin içinden bir serçe fırladı” (Pamuk).

This category, “V: manner”, was further examined according to the distribution of manner verbs by “domain of manner” in English and Turkish. The results were provided below:

**Table 4.3. Distribution of “manner verbs” by “domain of manner” in English and Turkish**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner Domain</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Rapid motion”</td>
<td>“burst, dart, plunge, leap”</td>
<td>“atıl – leap”; “fırla – dart”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Leisurely motion”</td>
<td>“drift, wander, sink”</td>
<td>“dolan/dolaş – wander”; “gez – stroll”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Smooth motion”</td>
<td>“fly, flow, float, ride, slide, slip, overflow”</td>
<td>“kay - slide”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Obstructed motion”</td>
<td>“trip, stagger, stumble, tumble”</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Furtive motion”</td>
<td>“creep”</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Manners of running”</td>
<td>“flee, fleet, reel, run, rush, bolt”</td>
<td>“kaç – flee”; “koş - run”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Manners of walking”</td>
<td>“track, hurry, rustle, step, stride, walk”</td>
<td>“adım at - step”; “yürü - walk”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Manners of jumping”</td>
<td>“jump, scramble, skip, spring, dart”</td>
<td>“zipla - jump”; “sıçra - hop”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Accordingly, English novels were found to include finer distinctions within specific “domains of manner”. In several cases, for a single motion verb in Turkish that expressed manner information, texts in English were found to exhibit two or more verbs that expressed the same motion. As examples; Turkish: *koş ‘run’*; English: run, rush, reel, bolt, flee, fleet; Turkish: *fırla ‘jump’*; English: jump, dart, burst, bolt, skip, spring, scramble (see Table 4.3 above).

**V: path**

However, as for the types of path of motion, the case was just the opposite. As shown in Table 5, Turkish descriptions were found to have more variety in the use of path verbs (23 types) as compared to English (11 types) (see Table 4.4):
Table 4.4. Types of path of motion events used in English and Turkish novels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V: path</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>11 types</td>
<td>23 types</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the instances from the data are listed below:

“Just then the servant entered with a note” (Louis).

“They passed briskly down Pulteney Street…” (Austen).

“The horses so far became quiet that the driver was able to descend and to stand before them” (Stoker).

“Böylece tören alayı yola koyuldu.” (Ümit).

“Kemal, kız arkadaşının bu alışkanlık davranışını gergin ama sessiz bir tavırla karşıladı, hiçbir şey söylemeden cipi çalıştırarak, eski Hitit kentinin yolunu tuttu.” (Ümit).

“Öteki işçiler Teoman, Esra ve Kemal’le birlikte tapınağa yöneldiler.” (Ümit).

V: neutral

In this categorization, neutral group was formed according to the verbs that could not be added either in the manner or the path verb class (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. Types of neutral motion events used in English and Turkish novels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V: neutral</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go, come, move</td>
<td>gelmek ‘come’, gitmek ‘go’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>3 types</td>
<td>2 types</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nearly, one-fourth of English and Turkish motion events are in this category. However, V: neutral motion events do not vary in type as in V: manner and V:path.

“That evening Mr. Utterson came home to his bachelor house in sombre spirits…” (Louis).
“We went to the back of the house” (Stoker).

**V+V: manner (SUB)**

As explained in the review of the literature, describing “manner information” in a V-language typically leads to increase in processing load (e.g., subordinated manner verb constructions), and therefore, it appears that this use tends to be dispreferred by V-language speakers. The findings of this study demonstrated this dis-preference in the Turkish sample (see Table 4.6 below), where subordinate constructions held only 2% of all motion verb use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Turkish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V+V: manner (SUB)</td>
<td>come bursting, come running, come tiptoe, go running, go rolling</td>
<td>Yuvarlanarak gelmek, koşarak gelmek, ayaklarının ucuna basarak çıkmak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>6 types</td>
<td>3 types</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some extracts from the Turkish data are given below:

“Gözlerinin karanlığında incecik, simsiyah iki su yılanı gümuşü ışıltılar saçarak kıvrıla kıvrıla kaydı.” (Şafak).
“Hastabakıcılar yemek tepsileriyle ağır ağır ilerliyor, hastalar ya da refakatçiler kahvaltılarnını alıyorlardı.” (Ümit).

As for English, since the main verb root is empty for “manner information”, manner is typically mapped in the main verb and therefore, subordinated manner verbs are not preferred by English speakers. The findings of the study also indicated this dispreference, where subordinate constructions held only 4% of all motion verb use.
“The attendant came bursting into my room and told me that Renfield had somehow met with some accident” (Stoker).
“Whilst we were talking one came running” (Stoker).
“On tiptoe she entered” (Austen).

To sum up, when compared to English, “manner information” in the main verb was much less varied in Turkish texts. This difference was shown through the findings with respect to the number of manner verb use and the richness of the manner verb lexicon. Further, even though alternative means are options for Turkish and English, they were found to be rarely preferred. As for path of motion, Turkish novels were found to have more and various type of V: path verbs compared to English. Finally, as for the V: neutral verbs, it was revealed that each language contains nearly the same amount and type of motion verbs.

Translation strategies

The following figure, Figure 4.1, demonstrates how translators accommodated the needs of the original texts in terms of the translation of verbs of motion.

![Figure 4.1. Translation strategies for “verbs of motion” in Turkish and English novels](image)

As illustrated in the Figure 4.1 above, the general tendency to translate manner verbs in English and Turkish is through literal translation without adding any alternative lexical means to describe manner (80%; 86%, respectively). As for the elimination of manner, both languages also show similarity by using this strategy as the second mostly
used one (10 % Turkish; 17 % English). Although duplication comes as the third strategy for the translations from Turkish into English (5 %), adding “manner information” (6 %) following subinterpretation (5 %) appears as for the translations from English into Turkish. The other strategies were not much used, relatively. Below, example sentences were provided for each translation strategy.

**Turkish into English**

1) Literal translation: Translation without adding any alternative lexical means to express manner.

“Z. Demirkol ve arkadaşları Atatürk Caddesi’nden yukarı doğru koştu (Pamuk): Z Demirkol and his friends ran up Atatürk Avenue”,

“...Hacı Hacı çılgık çılglığa fırlardı uykusundan (Şafak): ...Hadji Hadji was jolted out of his sleep, almost screaming.”

“Kendini kaybetmiş gibiydi, sevinçle zıplayıp duruyordu. (Ümit): ...jumping up and down for joy.”

However, the discrepancy between two languages emerges in use of satellites. Translated versions of Turkish manner verbs take verb particles:

“Hepsi önden verme masasına yürüdüler. (Pamuk): They all walked over to the circulation desk.”

“Belki de Hacı Settar kalp krizi geçirerek, kendi kendine düştür (Ümit): Maybe Hadji Settar had a heart attack and just fell down.”

“18:57: Zil sesiyle fırladı (Şafak): 6:57 p.m.: She sprung up with the ring of the doorbell.”

2) Duplication: Duplications are frequent in Turkish novels as stated earlier by Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003). However, when they are translated into English, it was found that translators tended to eliminate the “manner information” in the duplicated constructions:

“Kundaktaki bebeği futbol topu gibi yuvarlayıp yuvarlayıp havalara fırlatır. (Şafak) ...throwing the baby up in the air like a soccer ball.”

“Su önde, yaşlı kadın arkada, erguvan fincanları zangıdata zangıdata koşturlar mutfağa. (Şafak): With Su in front and the old woman rattling the amethyst cups behind, both raced into the kitchen.”

3.) Elimination of manner: Omitting the “manner information” in the main verb:

“... şehirde tek başına dolaştı. (Pamuk): took a solitary stroll through the city.”
“Biz biraz dolaşacağız…(Ümit): We are going for a stroll…”
“Tam arabaya binerken ayakkabımın teki ayağından çıktı, fırladı gitti. (Şafak): Just as I was getting into the car, one of my shoes fell off.”

4) Coordination: Subordinate clauses to indicate manner are translated through coordination instead of subordination:
“Kadife, Ersin Elektrik’in plastik küllüğünü kapıp Lacivert’e fırlattı. (Pamuk): Kadife picked up the ERSIN ELECTRIC ashtray and shot it at Blue.”
“Kamyoneti iğreti bir biçimde sokağın ortasında bırakıp, aşağı atladı. (Şafak): He left the van askew in the middle of the street and jumped down.”

5) Converb: Subordinate clauses are translated into converb constructions:
“Ka bekleyen birisi olduğunu gördü ama tam o sıra öteki helaya koştu. Ka helanın kapısını yeniden sürgüledi ve dış arıda yağ an harika kara içti. (Pamuk): Ka caught a glimpse of the man who had been waiting, now running into the other toilet, so he bolted the door again, lit a cigarette, and watched the wondrous snow still falling outside.”

6) Postverbs: “durmak” indicating “keeping on doing something” is used in Ümit’s novel and translated as manner verbs.
“Sorulara kısa yanıtlar veriyor, asık bir suratla dolaşıp duruyordu ortalıkta. (Ümit): She just kept walking about with a long face and responding to everyone’s questions with curt answers.”
“Katil ya da katiller çevremizde dolaşıp duruyor. (Ümit): The murderer, or murderers, keeping hovering about us.”

7) Subinterpretation: Bassnett (2002) proposes this way as an alternative to literal translation in which contextual clues of the original text are interpreted by the translator to convey the closest meaning. This technique emerged as the least frequent one in English translation of Turkish novels:
**English into Turkish**

1) Literal Translation:

“We are all drifting reefwards now, and faith is our only anchor. (Stoker): Şimdi hepimiz sağ kayalıklara doğru sürükleniyoruz ve elimizdeki tek çapa inancımız.”


“Suddenly with a single bound he leaped into the room. (Stoker): Aniden, tek bir sıçrayış ile odaya daldı.”

“...the gentlemen jumped out, and the equipage was delivered to his care. (Austen): ...beyler dışarı atlar ve araba ona emanet edildi.”

“At the sight of Mr. Utterson, the housemaid broke into hysterical whimpering; and the cook, crying out -Bless God! it’s Mr. Utterson,- ran forward as if to take him in her arms (Louis): Utterson’ı görünce hizmetçi kız sinirinden hafif hafif ağlamaya başladı. Aşçı kadın: - Tanrı çok şükür, Mr. Utterson geldi, diyerek, sanki onu kucaklayacakmış gibi koştu.”

“... bounding from my bed I rushed to the mirror. (Louis): Yatağımdan fırlayarak aynaya koştum.”

2) Converbs:

“She stepped quietly forward, and opened the door. (Austen): ...sakince gidip kapıyi açtı.”

“At sight of Mr. Utterson, he sprang up from his chair and welcomed him with both hands. (Louis): Utterson’ı görür görmez koltuğundan fırlayarak kollarını açtı.”

“I threw on my clothes and ran down at once. (Stoker): Hemen elbiselerimi giyip aşağı koştum.”

3) Elimination of manner information in the main verb:

“...It seems he had slipped out to look for this drug or whatever. (Louis): Kendisi, bu ilacı aramak için mi ne içinse, dışarı çıktı.”

“To Milsom Street she was directed, and having made herself perfect in the number, hastened away with eager steps and a beating heart to pay her visit, explain her conduct, and be forgiven...(Austen): Milsom caddesine yönlendirildi; numaradan iyice emin oldu, ziyaretini yapmak, davranışını açıklamak ve af dilemek için hızlı adımlar ve küt küt atan bir kalpe oraya yöneldi.”

“Wherever he may be in the Black Sea, the Count is hurrying to his destination. (Stoker): Artık Karadeniz’in her neresindeyse, Kont hedefine doğru ilerliyordu.”
4) Adding manner information:

“He looked up when I came in, gave a kind of cry, and whipped upstairs into the cabinet. (Louis): Ben içeri girince başına kaldırdı, şöyle bir haykırdı ve merdivenlerden uçar gibi doğru çalışma odasına kaçtı.”

“I had sprung to my feet and leaped back against the Wall... (Louis): Birden, yay gibi yerimden fırladım. Duvara doğru geriledim.”

“I am dazed, I am dazzled, with so much light, and yet clouds roll in behind the light every time. (Stoker): Bu kadar ışıktan sersemledim, gözlerim kamaştı; ama yine de her seferinde ışığın ardından bulutlar yuvarlanarak geliyor.”

5) Subinterpretation:

“Although a fog rolled over the city in the small hours...(Louis): Gece yarısından sonra kenti yoğun bir sis kaplamış olmasına karşın...”

“I was stepping leisurely across the court after breakfast... (Louis): Kahvaltıdan sonra, avluda geziniyordum.”

“We went round to the back of the house, where there was a kitchen window. (Stoker): Evin arkasına, mutfak penceresinin bulunduğu yere dolandık.”

6) Aspectual suffixes:

“The inflectional morphology of Turkish provides suffixes attached to the motion verb root. Such as gir ‘enter’ with an aspectual suffix ‘–iver’ ‘give’ (gir-iver ‘enter-give’) conveys manner expression (suddenness) along with path.”

“...for in another instant I had certainly dragged him from his perch.(Louis): ...onu oturduğu yerinden bir anda deviriverecektim.”

“...where the fire was out and the beetles were leaping on the floor. (Louis): ...ateşi sönmüş ve içinde böceklerin uçtuğu büyük mutfağa getirdi.”

7) Post Verb:

“And next moment, with ape-like fury, he was trampling his victim under foot and hailing down a storm of blows, under which the bones were audibly shattered and the body jumped upon the roadway. (Louis): Bunun üzerine Hyde, kudurmuş gibi, yaşlı adamın üzerine saldıarak sopayla onu yere sermiş, zavallı adami ayağının altında almış, baston sağanağına tutmuş; bu darbelerin altında adamın kemiklerinin çatır çatır kırıldığını duymuş; ceset yolun üstünde hoplamış durmuş.”
8) Elimination of manner verb:

“And with the same grave countenance he hurried through his breakfast and drove to the police station, whither the body had been carried.(Louis): Yüzündeki ciddiliği koruyarak, acele kahvaltı etti. Arabasıyla, cesedin götürülmüş olduğu polis merkezine gitti.”

**Discussion**

The main aim of the research was to compare Turkish and English in terms of their lexicalization patterns of motion events. Following Talmy’s definition of a motion event, Turkish was grouped as one of the languages in “V-languages” type, and English as grouped in one of those belonging to “S-languages” type. Based on the typological characteristics of each language type, this study started out the research with two sets of prediction. The first prediction was supported by the findings. However, the findings were not in line with the second prediction.

In the first one, it was predicted that novels written in English contained more tokens of “manner verbs” with richer manner verb lexicon than novels written in Turkish. Turkish novels, by contrast, would heavily rely on “path verbs” with less varied manner verb lexicon. In line with the prediction, the findings showed that the novelist writing in English dominantly employed the main verbs of their sentences to express the “manner information”. Furthermore, they also made finer lexical distinction in the manner. However, the novelists writing in Turkish described the “path information” in main verb and employed “manner of motion verbs” where “the manner information” was salient. As discussed by Talmy (1985), English, as an S-language, is more likely to have “manner” in the main verb, while Turkish is more likely to express “path” in describing motion events. Likewise, Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003) claimed what Talmy (1985) asserted. In their study, they revealed findings that were similar to this study, and they discussed that in English novels, there occurred more manner verbs (51%) than Turkish novels (30%). Implementing the same sampling data collection procedure as the present study did, they demonstrated that English novels included more than twice as many manner of motion verb types (64 types) compared to Turkish novels (26 types). As parallel Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003), the findings in this study showed that the novels in English contained a greater frequency (57% to 22%) with almost three times varied manner of motion verbs than the novels in Turkish. These differences detected for literal motion events with respect to the frequency and diversity of manner verbs also replicate
the lexicalization patterns noted for metaphorical motion events in these languages (see Özçalışkan, 2004). In the findings of her study, Özçalışkan (2004) revealed that there was a strong typological contrast between Turkish and English with regard to frequency and diversity of manner verbs. Novels in English contained a significantly higher percentage of manner of motion verbs (59%) than novels in Turkish (21%) ($X^2(1)=18.05, p<.001$). In addition, novels in English included more varied manner lexicon than novels in Turkish (95 to 30 types), and this difference was statistically significant ($X^2(1)= 33.80, p<.001$). As similar to novels, Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003) indicated that narratives elicited in English were found to include more amounts of manner verbs (54% to 30%) and a manner lexicon that was twice as varied (35 to 18 types).

The difference between English and Turkish in terms of encoding manner of motion verbs also appeared in the frequency and the diversity of path verb lexicon. This time, however, Turkish had more (52% to 21%) amounts with a variety (23 to 11) of different verbs, respectively. In terms of frequency, this finding appeared to be consistent with what Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003) found in their study. As in this study, they also reported that novels written in Turkish included twice more path verbs compared to English (59% to 27%). Further, in their study, as for the results of narratives elicited in Turkish and English, they pointed that Turkish included path verbs that were again twice more. However, as for the diversity of these path verbs, that study did not search for it. Although they did not include types of path verbs in their study examining literal motion verbs, in her study handling metaphorical motion verbs in Turkish and English, Özçalışkan (2004) investigated types of path verbs in Turkish and English novels. Of interest, however, the typological difference concerning diversity of the path lexicon disappeared between these languages. The findings showed that the amount of different types of motion verbs expressing path information appeared to be comparable in Turkish (24 types) and in English (20 types). This slight difference revealed as not statistically significant. Therefore, she concluded that both languages relied on a “restricted set of path verb types”, though Turkish produced them at higher rates than English because of the lexicalization patterns of the language. In this study, however, both frequency and diversity of path verbs were found higher in Turkish novels, and thus, it can be concluded that while English novelists relied on a limited types of path verbs with lower number of use in their texts, Turkish novelists made use of more path verbs with more variety, and this result was due to the characteristics and lexicalization patterns of two languages. Therefore, in the light of the findings of this study, it is obvious that linguistic factors play an important role in determining the ways in which
one can describe motion structures. This result supports the findings of Demirtaş's (2009) study. In her research, she referred to the typological dichotomy between Turkish and English, and asserted that English as an S-framed language encoded manner its main verb slot, therefore relied on the path satellites to convey the path meaning. Turkish, on the other hand, reserved the main verb slot for the path information; and as a result, it used less path satellites outside the main verb, as it is not necessary as a V-framed language.

As to the knowledge of the researcher, there was no study investigated literal motion events in terms of conveying “path information” outer of the main verb in Turkish and English novels. Because of that, the findings of this study is compared then with the findings of Özçalışkan (2004). According to the findings of the present study, it was revealed that although both languages equally tend to produce path satellites in the description of motion events, the way where they implemented path satellites displayed cross-linguistic difference. While novels in English contained prepositional paths and particle paths, novels in Turkish comprised of directional noun phrases and post-positional paths. This finding was in line with Özçalışkan (2004). In her study, she also reported that both languages expressed path satellites extensively. In relation to each language, she asserted that English used prepositional phrases most commonly and Turkish used directional nouns. Concerning the path satellite constructions, Slobin (2009) argued that in “S-languages”, as English, a sentence with a main verb can include different path elements, such as “the owl flew down from out of the hole in the tree”. However, in “V-languages”, as Turkish, there occur less path satellites since each satellite necessitates a separate single verb and their combinations are not easy. Thus, English is likely to include path satellites than Turkish (Slobin, 2009; Aksu-Koç, 1994), and this is supported by the findings of this study and Özçalışkan (2004) as well.

The first prediction has a consequence that since the lexicalization pattern of “V-languages” allocates the main verb for “path information”, “manner information” is possibly to be expressed out of a main verb root through subordinate clauses (Slobin, 1997, 2009). However, because this syntactic packaging is heavier, V-language speakers do not tend to prefer this option (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 2000, 2003). This tendency was apparently evident in the novels written in Turkish, where subordinated manner verbs constructed only 2% of the data. Likewise, these expressions did not much appear in the novels written in English (4%). Since English allows for “the manner information” in the main verb root with higher frequency, manner verbs were highly preferred rather
than subordinate constructions. This finding was in line with Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003). In their study, similarly they pointed out that such expressions are increasing processing load and only preferred if manner is salient and therefore, their data displayed this tendency with 1% use of subordinated construction in both languages. In another study where the data gathered from English-Turkish speaking children, Özçalışkan and Slobin (2000) reported similar findings in terms of subordinate expressions. Their findings showed that these expressions were not detected in English data (0%) and almost negligible in Turkish data (0.5%). In Özçalışkan (2004), on the other hand, this option was not searched.

Above the first prediction was discussed and now, the second prediction will be argued. In the second one, it was predicted that translators in each language adopted the structural and lexical options presented to them by their language. That is, while translating an original Turkish novel into English, translators tend to omit manner verbs and try to compensate for the manner information in the main verb by making use of alternative lexical means outside of the main verb. Yet, while translating an original English novel into Turkish, translators tend to omit alternative lexical means by adding manner verbs and enrich the original Turkish version by adding manner information. However, both languages in their translated versions did not behave as predicted. The analysis showed that each type of novel was translated without adding any manner information or manner verbs. Accordingly, translators of English novels mostly made use of limited manner lexicon repertoire of verbs, but still preserved the manner information in the main verb in translated version (80%). For example, as for six different types of English manner verbs; flee, fleet, run, rush and bolt, Turkish translators used two types of Turkish manner verbs to convey the same meaning; kaç, koş, and did not tend to prefer specification of manner of movement through adding alternative lexical means, such as adverbial expressions, descriptions. Only in 6% of the whole data, it was observed that translators of English novels added manner information as in e.g. whipped upstairs into the cabinet; merdivenlerden uçar gibi doğru çalışma odasına kaçtı, instead of just stating kaçtı. As for the translations of Turkish novels into English, adding manner information through alternative lexical means was not observed. Interestingly, as opposed to what was expected, translators of Turkish novels tend to eliminate “manner information” in the main verb instead of literal translation or even qualifying manner verbs more than translators of English novels (17%-10%, respectively), such as tek başına dolaştı, took a solitary stroll. These findings did not support what Slobin (2009) claimed. He argued that when an English manner verb appears with a satellite
that corresponds to a “path verb” in a “V-language”, translators tend to exclude “manner information” and make use of the appropriate path verb, such as climbed up the ladders, merdivenleri çıktı. However, in the data of the present study, it was more likely that translators kept manner information, such as climbed up the ladders, merdivenleri tirmandı. Slobin (2009) also discusses that English translators generally insert manner information while translating events into English. However, again, in this data, it was observed that English translators did not generally add manner information, only 10% of data consisted of this. The findings of this study were not also in line with Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003). In their study, the findings indicated that in a V-language, it is possible that its speakers frequently employ alternative means to express “manner” of motion since it would be difficult to compensate both path and manner in verbal constructions and this was evident in their findings related to translation. Notably, however, the general preference in translations of manner verbs was through literal translation without adding any alternative lexical means to describe manner (80% English; 86% Turkish).

**Conclusion**

Following Slobin’s (2003) proposals in relation to English and Turkish, this study was based on two predictions. After having tested these predictions using novels as materials, it can be now pointed to what consequences these findings bring to Talmy’s (1985) two-way split typology. Importantly, the predictions derived from Slobin’s (2003) proposals and the findings obtained from the analysis of novels do not affect the validity of Talmy’s (1985) typological distinction. It relies on how languages prefer to describe manner of motion events due to their lexical properties and tendencies, in our case the Manner and Path component. The analysis of the samples compiled from novels in each language confirmed the Talmyan typology. As further comparison of these languages, the translation dimension was included because it is considered to help to show the comparison process of languages concerning manner and path verb structures. Translated data revealed different findings which were not in line with Slobin’s (2003) proposals and therefore, our second prediction. This raises an issue that languages can vary within the same typological class (e.g., Basque- a “V-language” can behave like an “S-language” in terms of elaboration and description of path (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2012)), and we cannot take it for granted that languages belong strictly to one group of language. This demonstrates us the possible shortcomings of split-way typological distinctions. Rather than a strict binary typology, as Slobin (2004) argued
languages should be ranged in a continuum, where they tend to be either “high-manner-salient language” or “low-manner salient language” based on whether it belongs to S-or V-type. All in all, the findings do not cast doubt on Talmy’s (1985) typology, instead, shed lights on nuances that should be considered in the examination of two language types in terms of how each accommodate one another’s needs for lexicalization patterns and structures. Further studies can elaborate on how longer discourse units are encoded in typologically different languages in relation to the linguistic codes. As discussed by Bohnemeyer et al. (2007), since events are expressed in language not just by lexical items alone, but by verb phrases, clauses and longer discourse units, then conceptually comparable event representations segmented across languages according to linguistic codes should be examined. They argue that syntactic categories such as verb phrases and clauses differ across languages in the packaging of event information, thus certain language-specific constructions can be employed to convey the information mapped into verb phrases in other languages.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.
Conflict of Interest: The author has no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support: The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

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