

Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Palackého

**Boundary-crossing constraint: Evidence from a parallel
corpus of Spanish and English**

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Boundary-crossing constraint: Evidence from a parallel corpus of Spanish and English
Bakalářská práce

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Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně a uvedla kompletní seznam citované a použité literatury.

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Abstract

This bachelor's thesis deals with the occurrence of boundary-crossing constraint in continental and Latin-American Spanish. The thesis presents an overview of what previous research had to say about linguistic coding of motion events, along with recent studies focusing on the boundary-crossing constraint itself. The practical part then focuses on creating subcorpora in the parallel corpus InterCorp and analysing possible indications of boundary-crossing in the Spanish originals (both continental and Latin-American) using Czech and English translations.

Key words

Motion events, lexicalization patterns, boundary-crossing constraint, Spanish, corpus

Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá fenoménem zvaným “boundary-crossing constraint” a jeho výskytem v kontinentální a latinskoamerické španělštině. Práce pokrývá souhrn veškeré relevantní literatury týkající se kódování pohybu jednotlivých jazyků. Dále představuje studie, které se již konkrétně zaměřují na tento fenomén. Praktická část se zabývá vytvořením subkorpusů v paralelním korpusu InterCorp a analyzováním sesbíraných dat, v nichž se zkoumá fenomén překračování hranice v obou variantách španělštiny využitím překladů do českého a anglického jazyka.

Klíčová slova

Pohyb, typologická klasifikace jazyků, boundary-crossing constraint, španělský jazyk, korpus

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1 Introduction

Motion events and how speakers of different languages construe them is one of the most crucial issues in the linguistic field. A motion event is defined as “a situation containing movement or the maintenance of a stationary location alike” (Talmy 1985, 60), and each language has a specific pattern on how to express it (Talmy 1985, 57).

Every motion event is constructed by obligatory and complementary components (Talmy 1985, 61). Figure, Ground, Path, and Motion are obligatory components, which are always present in the motion event. Manner and Cause are both complementary components and they do not have to be present. Figure is the object which moves from point A to point B or stays in one location. Figure moves with respect to the Ground, which is a reference object. Path is then the trajectory of the Figure’s movement or the place occupied by the Figure. Lastly, Motion is the presence of motion or a location in the motion event. As for the complementary components, both showcase how the motion event occurred.

Talmy develops his research on motion event lexicalization patterns in different languages by proposing two semantic typologies. First, he divides languages into three types, depending on which component is encoded in the verb (Talmy 1985, 62). In the first type, the main verb encodes Manner or Cause, in the second, the verb encodes the Path, and in the third, the verb codes the Figure.

The second semantic typology focuses on where the Path is encoded in the motion event (Talmy 1991, 486). This divides languages into two different types. Satellite-framed languages, where the Path is encoded in a component different than a verb. This component is called a satellite. The second type is called verb-framed languages, where the Path is encoded in the verb itself. A good example of a satellite-framed language is English, while Spanish is a typical example of a verb-framed language. Talmy also claims that “any language uses only one of these types for the verb in its most characteristic expression of Motion” (1985, 62).

Nevertheless, Aske (1989) finds inconsistencies in Talmy’s works. He states that in Spanish, there are many instances where the Path is encoded in the satellite and the verb encodes Manner (1989, 6). Aske proposes two types of phrases. The first one is called the locative path phrase, which indicates motion only in one location (Aske 1989, 6). This type does not pose any problem for Spanish (Aske 1989, 6). The other type indicates not only the location of the motion, but also predicts an end-point of the trajectory. This type is called telic a path phrase

(Aske 1989, 6). Aske (1989, 7) states that this type specifically poses the problem as Spanish is unable to create these sentences using manner verbs.

Slobin and Hoiting perfect the terminology concerning this issue by coining the term *boundary-crossing constraint* (1994, 498). They also state that path verbs have a core schema of crossing a boundary and not Manner of movement (498). Additionally, they highlight that a manner verb can be used as a main verb in verb-framed languages as long as the interpretation does not include boundary-crossing (1994, 495).

One of the research questions in the linguistic field is the acceptability and ability to use Manner verbs as main verbs in boundary-crossing situations in verb-framed languages. Pedersen (2014) and Lewandowski and Mateu (2020) prove that Spanish as a verb-framed language can use manner verbs in boundary-crossing situations. In both types of research, the focus is put on manner verbs followed by noun phrases headed by the preposition *a*, which is the most common telic satellite. Pedersen (2014) writes about the [V a NP] construction. The conclusions are similar in both papers – Spanish can use manner verbs in boundary-crossing with directional manner verbs, while with pure manner verbs it is unable to.

Additionally, Özçalışkan (2013) examines manner verbs followed by telic path phrases in English and Turkish, which is another verb-framed language, and points out that manner verbs are followed by telic path phrases only when the motion is rapid and instantaneous (2015, 12). Calle Bocanegra (2023) examines “whether speakers of Spanish (both Peninsular and Latin American) use manner verbs to describe boundary-crossing motion events (production) and whether they interpret manner verbs as descriptions of boundary crossings (comprehension)” (2023, 8). Her results show that native speakers do use and interpret manner verbs in boundary-crossing situations.

As can be seen from the information above, the usage of manner verbs entering the boundary-crossing construction is a relevant and up-to-date issue in the linguistic field. This thesis concentrates on this issue by investigating the boundary-crossing constraint in Spanish through a corpus-based analysis of manner verbs entering the construction with the path phrases headed by the preposition *a* and their English and Czech translation correspondences. More specifically, I ask

1. Do manner verbs enter the Spanish construction with the path phrases headed by the preposition *a*? Does the Spanish context suggest that the boundary has been crossed?
2. Is there a significant difference between continental Spanish and Latin-American Spanish in the usage of [V a NP] construction using manner verbs?
3. Do English and Czech translations indicate that a boundary has been crossed?

Following the information gathered from the literature review, I hypothesise that there are going to be few occasions, where manner verbs enter the construction, but there are going to be rare in comparison to the construction typical for Spanish. Additionally, as manner verbs in Spanish are typically interpreted without crossing a boundary (Hoiting and Slobin 1994, 495), I presume that Czech and English translations are rarely going to indicate boundary-crossing.

2 Literature Review

This chapter offers an overview of what previous research has to say about linguistic coding of motion events, mainly English and Spanish. First, I am going to describe the semantic typology of motion events, which was introduced by Talmy (1985, 1991). Then, I am going to concentrate on restrictions on the use of manner verbs in Spanish, which was researched by Aske (1989) and developed by Hoiting and Slobin (1994) who coined the term “boundary-crossing constraint”. Lastly, I am going to focus on the usage and acceptability of manner verbs followed by telic path phrases which was researched by Pedersen (2014), Lewandowski and Mateu (2020), Özçalışkan (2013), and Calle Bocanegra (2023).

2.1 Motion events

According to Talmy (1985, 60), a motion event is classified as a movement from one place to another (translation motion), or as maintaining a stationary location (self contained motion). Every motion event consists of four obligatory components – ‘Figure’, ‘Ground’, ‘Path’, and ‘Motion’ (1985, 61). Figure is described as an object which is moving from point A to point B or is staying in one location. Figure always moves or is located with respect to the Ground, which is another object or a specific location. Path is then the trajectory in which the Figure moves, or the site occupied by the Figure in respect to the Ground. Motion is connected to the presence of motion or a location in the event.

In addition to these, there are two other components that can occur in the motion event – ‘Manner’ and ‘Cause’ (1985, 61). These two are classified as “external events” because they are not internal to the motion event, but they rather showcase the way in which the motion event occurred (Talmy 1985, 61).

For example, in each of the sentences below, *the pencil* is the Figure and *the table* is the Ground. In sentences (1) and (3), *off* expresses Path; in sentences (2) and (4) the Path is expressed by *on*. As for the expression of Manner, in (1) the Manner is conflated with the Motion in the verb *rolled*. In (2), the Manner conflates with a stationary location (*lay*). Sentences (3) and (4) showcase the same pattern but with Cause. In (3), the Cause is conflated in motion in *blew*, which is also a motion. In (4), the Cause conflates with a stationary location – *stuck*.

(1) *The pencil rolled off the table.*

(2) *The pencil lay on the table.*

(3) *The pencil blew off the table.*

(4) *The pencil stuck on (to) the table (after I glued it).*

(Talmy 1985, 61)

2.2 Lexicalization patterns of motion events

In his work, Talmy focuses on cross-linguistic differences which he observed in the expression of motion (1985, 58). Based on these differences, he divides languages into different categories using two different semantic typologies. This section focuses on his first typology based on “the components of motion that are frequently encoded in the main verb” (Hijazo-Gascón 2021, 25). According to Talmy, each language uses only one of the following types based on what is the most characteristic expression of Motion to the specific language (1985, 62). He also specifies that by ‘characteristic’, he means that there is a pattern in the language that is used frequently in speech, is dominant in the language, and is used colloquially (1985, 62).

In the first type of lexicalization patterns, the main verb conflates Motion with either Manner or Cause (Talmy 1985, 62). This type is common for languages such as Chinese and Indo-European languages except Romance languages (Talmy 1985, 62). English is the most prominent example of this type. For further demonstration, below are written examples from Talmy (1985, 62-63):

(5)

a) *The rock bounced down the hill.* (Motion + Manner)

b) *I limped my way down the stairs.* (Motion + Manner)

c) *The napkin blew off the table.* (Motion + Cause)

d) *I blew the ant off my plate.* (Motion + Cause)

The second typological type includes languages where the main verb conflates Motion with Path (Talmy 1985, 68). When Manner or Cause occurs in the sentence, it has to be expressed independently, usually through adverbial or gerundive constituents (Talmy 1985, 69). In addition, it can also be omitted or established from the surrounding discourse as it is difficult for these languages to stylistically include it in the sentence (Talmy 1985, 69). This typological type includes Romance languages, Semitic languages, and Polynesian languages (Talmy 1985, 69). To demonstrate, Talmy presents some examples from Spanish:

(6) *La botella entró a la cueva (flotando).* (Motion + Path; Manner as gerund)

the bottle moved-in to the cave (floating)

‘The bottle floated into the cave’

(7) *Metí el barril a la bodega rodándolo.* (Motion + Path; Manner as gerund)

I moved in the keg to the storeroom rolling it

‘I rolled the keg into the storeroom’

(8) *Quité el papel del paquete cortándolo.* (Motion + Path; Cause as gerund)

I moved off the paper from the package cutting it

‘I cut the wrapper off the package’

(Talmy 1985, 69)

Nevertheless, it is important to mention that English also has this type of verbs (*enter, exit, pass, arrive, cross, return, etc.*), but they are not productive nor characteristic as they were borrowed from different languages (Talmy 1985, 72).

In the third typological pattern, the verb conflates Motion with Figure (Talmy 1989, 73). Languages that have this pattern as their characteristic one include Atsugewi (Hokan language of northern California) or Navajo (Talmy 1985, 72). In English, this pattern can be demonstrated in the following sentences:

(9) *It rained in through the bedroom window.*

(10) *I spat into the cuspidor.*

(Talmy 1985, 73)

2.3 Verb-framed and satellite-framed languages

In his later works, Talmy (1991) “classifies languages according to where the Path component is encoded” (Hijazo-Gascon 2021, 27). Talmy considers Path to be the most fundamental component of a motion event and based on that, he distinguishes between two types of languages: verb-framed and satellite-framed (Talmy 1991, 486).

2.3.1 *Verb-framed languages*

Verb-framed languages encode Path in the verb itself and do not use any other component to express it (Talmy 1991, 486). Examples of these languages are Romance languages, Semitic languages, Polynesian languages, and Japanese (1991, 486). Spanish as a Romance language is a perfect example of a verb-framed language. In the following example, the Path is encoded in the verb *salir* ‘to exit’ and the Manner is encoded in the gerund *flotando* ‘floating’:

- (11) *La botella salió de la cueva flotando*
the bottle exit.3sG.PST of the cave floating
'The bottle exited the cave by floating'

(Hijazo-Gascón 2021, 28)

2.3.2 *Satellite-framed languages*

In contrast, satellite-framed languages encode Manner in the main verb, and the Path is encoded in another component called satellite (Talmy 1991, 486). Examples of these languages are most of the Indo-European languages (except Romance languages), Chinese, or Walpiri (Talmy 1991, 486). English as an Indo-European language is a good example of a satellite-framed language. The demonstration of how satellite-framed languages work is demonstrated below. The Path is encoded in the satellite *out*, while the main verb *floated* is a manner verb:

- (12) *The bottle floated out of the cave*

(Hijazo-Gascón 2021, 28)

2.4 **Locative and telic path phrases**

Talmy's distinction between verb-framed languages and satellite-framed languages, however, brings some inconsistencies which are pointed out by Aske. Aske (1989, 3) argues that Spanish as a verb-framed language is also able to create colloquial sentences where the main verb encodes Manner instead of Path.

Even though Spanish is able to construct some sentences with Manner encoded in the main verb without any problems, Aske (1989, 3) states that there are "cases in which Spanish does not allow the English-like pattern", i.e. the use of a manner verb is not allowed. According to him, what plays an important role is the type of Path phrase that follows the verb; these types of Path phrases are discussed below.

2.4.1 *Locative path phrases*

The first type is called a locative path phrase and it "adds the 'location' (i.e. the path or one-dimensional region) in which the activity took place" (1989, 6). As an example, Aske introduces three phrases:

- (13) *Lou ran in the park.*
(14) *Lou ran through the park.*
(15) *Pat went up the ladder.*

In these phrases, it can be seen that the Figure (*Lou* or *Pat*) moves in a specific place – Ground (*in/through the park* or *up the ladder*) and does not leave it in any way. According to Aske (1989, 6), Spanish has no problem with translation of these phrases using manner verbs.

Furthermore, manner verbs are also used with some satellites (Aske 1989, 7), namely when they do not imply leaving the location in any way. The sentence in (16) is an example from Hijazo-Gascón (2021, 42):

- (16) *Juan bailó hasta la puerta*
Juan dance.3SG.PTS up.to the door
'Juan danced up to the door'

Here, the satellite *hasta* 'up to' shows that the Figure (*Juan*) moved to the door, so his movement is contained only in one place and it is delimited by the Ground (*the door*). Another locative satellite in Spanish is also *hacia* 'towards' (Aske 1989, 5).

2.4.2 *Telic path phrases*

The other type is called a telic path phrase, which not only includes the location of motion, but also predicates an "end-of-path location/state of Figure" (Aske 1989, 6). In other words, in the meaning of the phrase, the current location is included as well as the end location of the Figure. For further explanation, Aske (1989, 6) presents two phrases:

- (17) *Pat swam into the cave.*
(18) *The leaf blew off the table.*

In (17), the telic path phrase is *into the cave*, which shows that the Figure (*Pat*) was first in front of the cave, and by swimming into the cave, he changed his location by crossing a boundary of the cave (he is now in the cave). The cave is the end-point of the Figure's motion. In (18), the Figure (*the leaf*) was first on the table, and by the telic path phrase *off the table*, it is predicted that the Figure leaves the table (the Ground).

In Spanish, there are some satellites that also predicate the end-of-path location of the Figure. Aske (1989, 5,7) highlights mainly the satellites *a* '(in)to' and *de* 'out of'.

According to Aske, this is where the main problem of translation from English to Spanish appears. In Spanish, the telic path predicate has to be a verb and not a satellite (1989, 7), while English uses mainly satellites as telic path predicates. Following this statement, telic path phrases in Spanish can be created only by using path verbs. When the manner verb is used

with a telic satellite, the meaning is merely locative. This is further demonstrated in the example below:

(19) *Corrió a la casa*

run.3sG.PST to the house

'She ran towards the house'

(Hijazo-Gascón 2021, 41)

Correr 'to run' is a manner verb and it is used in a telic path phrase (*a la casa*) using the satellite *a*. According to the definition of telic path phrases, it should predicate an end-point of the trajectory. Nevertheless, according to what Aske (1989, 7) said, by using a manner verb with a telic satellite, only the location in which the Figure moves is expressed (the Figure moved towards the house but did not cross the border of the house). Thus, the interpretation is not telic, but simply locative.

2.5 Boundary-crossing constraint

Hoiting and Slobin (1994) develop a distinction of path orientations by examining the expression of motion in the sign language and comparing it with spoken verb-framed languages. They divide path orientations into path-focused and boundary-focused. In path-focused orientation, the verb "describes only the path itself or the arrival at a goal, but without predicating a specific locative endstate" (Hoiting and Slobin 1994, 495). Boundary-focused orientation "focuses on characteristics of the ground: enclosure or boundary" (1994, 493). When discussing manner verbs, they point out that manner verbs can be used only with path-focused orientations (1994, 495), because they indicate only manner of movement and they do not have the core schema of crossing a boundary as path verbs such as *exit*, *enter*, or *cross* do (1994, 498).

2.6 Directionality

Although Aske (1989) states that Spanish is unable to use telic path phrases with manner verbs, Pedersen (2014), and Lewandowski and Mateu (2020) show otherwise. Both Pedersen (2014, 288) and Lewandowski and Mateu (2020, 10) highlight the importance of the presence of directionality in the meaning of manner verbs. Pedersen distinguishes between manner verbs indicating a directional motion event (Talmy's translational motion), and manner verbs

indicating solely a manner of motion (2014, 288), i.e. Talmy's self-contained motion. Lewandowski and Mateu see this as a continuum of directionality (2020,7).

Lewandowski and Mateu state that motion verbs “do not divide into two strictly delimited subclasses, path verbs vs. manner verbs, but rather form a more complex continuum of semantic classes with different degrees of directionality” (2020, 7). Their continuum consists of four degrees of directionality from the most directional – i.e. the ones that denote trajectory – to the least directional – i.e. the ones that usually do not behave as motion verbs (2020, 7).

The first degree is called a prototypical path verb, which specifies the trajectory in which the Figure moves (Lewandowski and Mateu 2020, 8). Such path verbs are, for example, *exit* ‘salir’, *enter* ‘entrar’, *cross* ‘cruzar’, *leave* ‘salir’, or *arrive* ‘llegar’ (2020, 8).

The second degree consists of directional manner of motion verbs which denote some specific movement in some direction. In this category belong verbs such as *climb* ‘trepar’, *run* ‘correr’, or *jump* ‘saltar’ (2020, 8).

The third category is called pure manner verbs. These verbs do not denote any type of directionality, but they still showcase movement. These verbs are, for example, *dance* ‘bailar’ or *float* ‘flotar’ (2020, 8). With pure manner verbs, we do not know whether the Figure is moving in some direction or whether it is staying in one place, which is also possible (2020, 8).

The last category includes verbs that do not specify any type of motion. They are called nonmotional manner verbs. This category includes verbs such as *roar*, *rumble*, or *whistle* (2020, 8). Nevertheless, here is important to emphasize that some nonmotional manner verbs function as a verb accompanying the Figure's motion when combined with a path element (2020, 15). Lewandowski and Mateu show a good example with the verb *whistle*, where the verb expresses Figure's motion (*whistle through*) by showing the sound which the Figure (*bullet*) moved with (2020, 15):

(20) *The bullet whistled through the window.*

The main focus is put on the two categories regarding manner verbs – pure manner (Talmy's self-contained motion) verbs and directional manner of motion verbs (Talmy's translational motion) – as they are the subject of the research of both Pedersen and Lewandowski and Mateu.

2.7 Manner verbs followed by telic path phrases

Lewandowski and Mateu (2020, 10) argue that Spanish pure manner verbs in the telic path sentences are less acceptable than directional manner verbs. In their small-scale experiment, native speakers of Spanish were asked to judge the acceptability of sentences with directional

manner verbs and with pure manner verbs used in telic path phrases. The scale was from one (unacceptable) to seven (acceptable). The results showcase that directional manner verbs in telic path phrases were deemed more acceptable (score 6.4) than pure manner verbs which were almost unacceptable with a score of only 1.8 (Lewandowski and Mateu 2020, 10). An example of a sentence from their research with a directional manner verb (21) and a pure manner verb (22) is demonstrated below:

(21) *Juan corrió al baño.*

John ran to.the bathroom

‘John ran to the bathroom.’

(22) *Juan bailó a la habitación.*

John danced to.the room

‘John danced to the room.’

(Lewandowski and Mateu 2020, 11)

In contrast, Pedersen (2014) adopted a corpus methodology: he examined the frequency of directional manner verbs and pure manner verbs in their combinations with telic path phrases. His results were similar to the experiment of Lewandowski and Mateu (2020) in that “manner of motion verbs in combination with goal-marking satellites of the type [V a NP]...are substantially frequent in a verb-framed language like Spanish” (Pedersen 2014, 294). By [V a NP], the construction of a manner verb and a telic path phrase using the telic satellite *a* is meant. To demonstrate Pedersen’s claim more coherently, I have taken a table with the manner verbs he used in his research.

The table shows that the division of the verbs based on directionality is closely related with the usage in the telic construction (2014, 294). The first column depicts the Spanish directional manner verbs (1-7) and pure manner verbs (8-26) along with the overall number of verb-tokens Pedersen found. The second column showcases which manner verbs were used to express motion towards a goal (goal-oriented motion). Ratio of telicity showcases the occurrences of a specific verb used in a goal-oriented expression using the telic construction in relation to the

total number of verb-tokens (2014, 287). Evidently, directional manner verbs are used more frequently in telic path phrases than pure manner verbs.

Table 1: Spanish manner of motion verbs in telic expressions in the Corpus del Español from Pedersen (2014, 295)

| | Manner of motion verbs | Verb-tokens | Goal-oriented | Ratio of telicity (%) |
|----|--|-------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | <i>Correr</i> 'to run' | 3912 | 150 | 3.8 |
| 2 | <i>Saltar</i> 'to jump' | 1233 | 58 | 4.7 |
| 3 | <i>Volar</i> 'to fly' | 995 | 46 | 4.6 |
| 4 | <i>Caminar</i> 'to walk' | 2347 | 21 | 0.9 |
| 5 | <i>Andar</i> 'to walk' | 3330 | 10 | 0.3 |
| 6 | <i>Rodar</i> 'to roll' | 38 | 3 | 7.9 |
| 7 | <i>Navegar</i> 'to sail' | 340 | 4 | 1.2 |
| 8 | <i>Deslizar(se)</i> 'to slip' | 462 | 3 | 0.6 |
| 9 | <i>Flotar</i> 'to float' | 883 | 1 | 0.1 |
| 10 | <i>Arrastrar(se)</i> 'to drag oneself' | 1265 | 1 | 0.1 |
| 11 | <i>Conducir</i> 'to drive' | 1899 | 1 | 0.1 |
| 12 | <i>Renquear</i> 'to limp' | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | <i>Traquetear</i> 'to clatter' | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | <i>Cojear</i> 'to limp' | 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | <i>Pedalear</i> 'to pedal' | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| 16 | <i>Patinar</i> 'to skate' | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 17 | <i>Gatear</i> 'to crawl' | 39 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | <i>Remar</i> 'to row' | 53 | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | <i>Esquiar</i> 'to ski' | 58 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | <i>Trotar</i> 'to trot' | 66 | 0 | 0 |
| 21 | <i>Tambalear</i> 'to stagger' | 69 | 0 | 0 |
| 22 | <i>Corretear</i> 'to run around' | 79 | 0 | 0 |
| 23 | <i>Danzar</i> 'to dance' | 80 | 0 | 0 |
| 24 | <i>Nadar</i> 'to swim' | 311 | 0 | 0 |
| 25 | <i>Marchar</i> 'to march' | 1149 | 0 | 0 |
| 26 | <i>Bailar</i> 'to dance' | 1283 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 19990 | 298 | 1.5 |

Özçalışkan (2013) examined the usage of telic path phrases in English and Turkish, which is another example of a verb-framed language. Her results showed that the usage of manner verbs in telic path phrases in verb-framed languages is allowed only if “the verb expresses some physically very rapid or relatively instantaneous motion” (2015, 12). Nevertheless, Calle Bocanegra’s study did not prove this claim to be true. Her results concerning Özçalışkan’s claim, conversely, showcased that manner verbs in telic path phrases can be also used in non-instantaneous acts, such as *gatear al interior de la casa* ‘to crawl into the interior of the house’ (2023, 23).

Overall, Calle Bocanegra examined whether speakers of different dialects of Spanish describe boundary-crossing situations using manner verbs and whether they “interpret manner verbs as descriptions of boundary-crossing” (2023, 8). Participants of her study came both from Spain (88) and Latin America, specifically Mexico (66), Chile (20) and other countries (6) which remained anonymous (2023, 9). For her methodology (2023, 9), she used three different tasks. Firstly, the participants were asked to describe events shown in short videos which contained boundary-crossing situations. Secondly, the participants were asked to rate the acceptability of boundary-crossing readings using manner verbs. The last task examined

sustainability of sentences describing situations on the short videos from the first task which the participants were asked to rate.

Her results of the description of boundary-crossing situations showed that all varieties of Spanish used either manner verbs or Manner + Path verbs as main verbs while describing boundary-crossing situations (2023, 23). Additionally, manner verbs were “more commonly used to describe movements of entering into an enclosed space, rather than of leaving it” (2023, 23). She also found that many speakers used the preposition *a* ‘(in)to’ for boundary-crossing descriptions (2023, 23).

Moreover, her results of rating the sustainability of descriptions showed that manner verbs followed by the preposition *a* ‘(in)to’ were rated as high as the prototypical verb-framed pattern (2023, 24). Regarding the differences between varieties of Spanish, her study showed that Latin American participants gave lower ratings for constructions of Path verb + Manner element (the prototypical Spanish pattern) followed by the preposition *en* ‘in’, such as *entró corriendo en la casa* ‘he/she entered the house running’ in comparison to the preposition *a* ‘(in)to’ (2023, 24). Latin American participants also rated this construction with the preposition *en* ‘in’ lower than Spanish participants (2023, 24).

As for the interpretation of boundary-crossing scenes presented in the short videos, her results showed that “more than half of the participants of each variety indicated that the boundary-crossing reading was possible” (2023, 25). The factor that influenced the interpretation was again the preposition that followed the verbal construction: the probability of interpretation of sentences with manner verbs was lower when the preposition *en* ‘in’ was used than that of those followed by the preposition *a* ‘(in)to’ (2023, 25).

Her results clearly demonstrated that “in both comprehension and production, Spanish speakers do frequently connect manner verbs with boundary-crossing events” and the boundary-crossing situations described by manner verbs are dependent on the preposition used (2023, 27).

In many different studies, manner verbs in telic path phrases were deemed possible and acceptable to use by native Spanish speakers despite the prototypical Spanish lexicalization pattern. I am going to concentrate on this phenomenon in my own analysis in the next chapter, where I am going to examine whether or not the Spanish pattern [V *a* NP] using a manner verb in telic path phrase indeed describes a boundary-crossing situation; the English and Czech translation will be taken clues to the meaning of the construction.

3 Methodology

This section describes the ways in which the data were collected.

3.1 Corpora

The data for analysis come from the multilingual parallel corpus Intercorp (Rosen et al. 2008), more specifically from two subcorpora. The first subcorpus included original fiction written in continental Spanish. The second subcorpus included original fiction written in Latin America. Both were aligned with the Czech and English translations. The subcorpora were created in version 16 of Intercorp (Rosen et al. 2023) and their detailed structure is shown below. The subcorpus of original fiction written in continental Spanish (Figure 1) contained 571,266 tokens, while the subcorpus of original fiction written in Latin America (Figure 2) included 2,040,749 tokens. In both corpora, all authors as well as all texts were included.

Figure 1: Structure of the subcorpus Continental Spanish originals to English and Czech translations

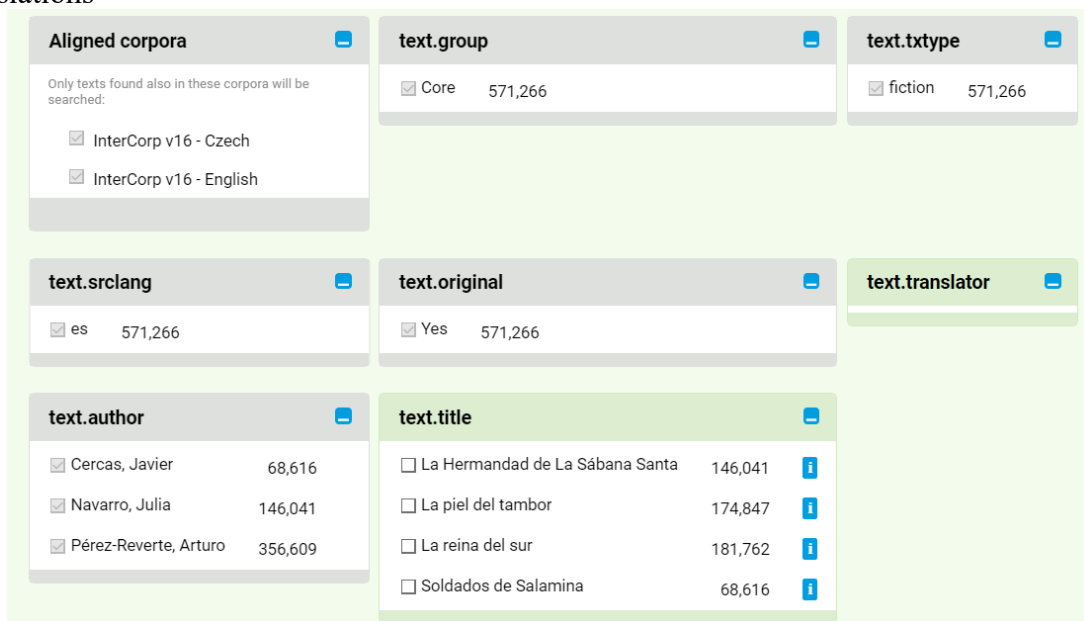


Figure 2: Structure of the subcorpus Latin America Spanish originals to English and Czech translations

The screenshot shows a search interface with several filter panels:

- Aligned corpora:** Only texts found also in these corpora will be searched.
 - InterCorp v16 - Czech
 - InterCorp v16 - English
- text.group:**
 - Core 2,040,749
- text.t xtype:**
 - fiction 2,040,749
- text.srclang:**
 - es 2,040,749
- text.original:**
 - Yes 2,040,749
- text.translator:** (empty)
- text.author:**
 - Allende, Isabel 711,121
 - Bolaño, Roberto 290,733
 - Cortázar, Julio 191,561
 - García Márquez, Gabriel 688,883
 - Vargas Llosa, Mario 158,451
- text.title:** (empty)

There were eight authors in total, three of them from Spain, and five of them from Latin America. Javier Cercas, Julia Navarro, and Arturo Pérez-Reverte were the authors who wrote in continental Spanish. Isabel Allende, Gabriel García Márquez, Roberto Bolaño, Julio Cortázar, and Mario Vargas Llosa were the authors from Latin America. The table below shows the specific countries which the authors come from.

Table 2: Authors from Latin America

| Author's name | Country |
|------------------------|-----------|
| Isabel Allende | Peru |
| Gabriel García Márquez | Mexico |
| Roberto Bolaño | Chile |
| Julio Cortázar | Argentina |
| Mario Vargas Llosa | Peru |

3.2 Collecting relevant data

The first step was to find motion verbs complemented by a path phrase headed by the preposition *a*. I used the advanced query [tag="VL.*"] "a" in both subcorpora, which returns all constructions with a verb in any tense or form followed by the preposition *a*.

In the subcorpus of continental Spanish, the query returned 5,743 tokens of verbs followed by the preposition *a*. The query in the subcorpus of Spanish in Latin America returned 24,458 tokens.

Using the Frequency tool, I downloaded a list of verbal lemmata in the construction in both subcorpora and manually selected all motion verb lemmata. In the subcorpus of continental Spanish, there were twenty two motion verbs. In the subcorpus of Spanish from Latin America, there were thirty four motion verbs. These lemmata were then divided into Path and Manner verbs¹.

The manner verb tokens were downloaded, saved in an excel spreadsheet and annotated with the aim to identify tokens in which *a* '(in)to' is indeed followed by a noun phrase.

¹ Following the article by Alberto Hijazo-Gascón et al. 2013. "Clasificando los verbos del movimiento. ¿Qué piensan los hablantes?".

4 Analysis

This section provides a detailed analysis of collected data, including further sorting.

4.1 Path and Manner verbs collected from the subcorpora

The most frequent verbal lemma in the construction in both subcorpora was the neutral verb *ir* ‘go’. As predicted by the typology, other verbal lemmata with the highest frequency were Path verbs. In continental Spanish, there were eleven Path verbs in total, while in Latin-American Spanish there were thirteen Path verbs. Namely, the Path verbs included *volver* ‘to return’, *llegar* ‘to arrive’, *venir* ‘come’, *salir* ‘to go out of’, *entrar* ‘to enter’, *subir* ‘to go up’, *bajar* ‘to go down’, *seguir* ‘to follow’, *dirigirse* ‘to head’, *meterse* ‘to go in’ and *devolver* ‘to return’. In Latin-American Spanish there were additionally Path verbs *marcharse* ‘to leave’ and *regresar* ‘to return, come back’. Their analysis was not further pursued as it is not the aim of this thesis and some of the tokens do not even encode motion.

Eleven manner verb lemmata from continental Spanish (Table 3) and twenty one verb lemmata from Latin-American Spanish (Table 4) followed by the preposition *a* are further analysed below.

Table 3: Manner verbs from continental Spanish subcorpus

| Manner verb | Translation |
|---------------|--------------------|
| correr | to run |
| caer(se) | to fall |
| volar | to fly |
| saltar | to jump |
| lanzar | to throw (oneself) |
| caminar | to walk |
| arrastrar(se) | to drag (oneself) |
| navegar | to sail |
| montar | to mount |
| deslizar | to slip |
| pasear | to stroll |

Table 4: Manner verbs from Latin-American Spanish subcorpus

| Manner verb | Translation | Manner verb | Translation |
|---------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| andar | to walk | navegar | to sail |
| arrastrar(se) | to drag (oneself) | pasear | to stroll |
| bailar | to dance | rodar | to roll |
| caminar | to walk | saltar | to jump |
| cojear | to limp | trepar | to climb |
| conducir | to drive | volar | to fly |
| correr | to run | caer(se) | to fall |
| corretear | to run around | lanzar(se) | to throw (oneself) |
| deslizar | to slip | empujar | to push |
| flotar | to float | huir | to flee |
| tropezar | to trip | | |

4.2 Excluded Manner verb tokens

A close inspection of collected tokens, however, reveals that only in a fraction of these is the manner verb indeed complemented by a prepositional phrase with *a* introducing a goal of motion.

In many of the tokens, *a* introduces an infinitive in the function of an adverbial of purpose; this is what we see in (23a) from Latin-American Spanish and in (23b) from continental Spanish with the verb *correr* ‘to run’. These tokens were thus excluded.

(23)

a) ...*la gente corría a ponerse en fila ante la oficina del correo.*

‘...people ran to stand in line at the post office.’

(es:allende-dcerastesty)

b) ...*él aprovechó la confusión y corrió a esconderse en el bosque.*

‘...and he took advantage of the confusion to run and hide in the woods.’

(es:cercas-vojaci_od_salam)

Also excluded were tokens in which the manner verb is in the non-finite form functioning as an adjunct. In these cases, the prepositional path phrase complements the finite verb which the manner verb modifies. This is what we see in (24a) with the verb *flotar* ‘to float’ and in (24b) with the verb *cojear* ‘to limp’.

(24)

- a) *Pasó por delante de mí sin verme y **penetró flotando** a la confitería de la Plaza de Armas.*

‘She crossed right in front of me without seeing me and floated into the pastry shop on the Plaza de Armas.’

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

- b) *...se puso de pie apoyado en su bastón y **salió cojeando** a la calle para que nadie pudiera ver la expresión de sus ojos.*

‘...leaned on his cane, and **hobbled** outside so that no one could see the expression in his eyes.’

(es:allende-paula)

Other excluded tokens were clearly causative uses of verbs which can also denote intransitive motion². The Manner verb *arrastrar* ‘to drag’ in cases analogous to (25a), *conducir* ‘to drive’, such as in (25b), and *empujar* ‘to push’ in (25c) were thus excluded.

(25)

- a) *-y **lo arrastró a** un bar cercano.*

‘-and **dragged Todd to** a nearby bar.’

(es:allende-dcerastesteny)

- b) *...y **lo condujo a** una sala espaciosa...*

‘...and **led him to** a spacious drawing room...’

(es:allende-dcerastesteny)

- c) *Me dio una palmada de hombre en la espalda, y **me empujó a la calle.***

‘He gave me a man’s pat on my back and **pushed me into the street.**’

² The reason for exclusion was that my search query systematically ignored examples analogous to *arrastrar a alguien a* ‘to drag someone to’, without which a potential analysis of causatives would be incomplete.

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Zit_aby)

The presence of the noun phrase after the preposition *a* does not guarantee that the noun phrase refers to the goal of motion. There were many other types of noun phrases found in the tokens, which needed to be excluded. They are demonstrated below in more detail.

Firstly, there were examples found of causative verbs in which the preposition *a* introduces an object noun phrase as shown in (26a) with the verb *arrastrar* ‘to drag’, or in (26b) with the verb *corretear* ‘to run around’.

(26)

- a) ...y arrastraba a una muchacha a quien tenía firmemente asida por el codo.

‘...and he **was dragging a girl** after him , her elbow firmly in his grip.’

(es:Bolano-Divoci)

- b) *En Valledupar entendió por fin por qué los gallos correteaban a las gallinas, presenció la ceremonia brutal de los burros, vio nacer los terneros...*

‘In Valledupar she realized at last why the roosters **chase the hens**, she witnessed the brutal ceremony of the burros, she watched the birth of calves...’

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Laska)

There were also many instances, where *a* was a part of a multiword expression. *Su lado* is a part of a complex preposition *al lado de* meaning ‘beside, next to’³. This construction was used with the verb *caminar* ‘to walk’ as seen in (27a). The example (27b) showcases the same pattern with the verb *deslizarse* ‘to slip’ with the meaning of ‘to slip beside someone’. This is expressed in the English translation using a directional manner verb ‘to glide up to’.

(27)

- a) *Gris Marsala camino a su lado, silenciosa con sus zapatillas de tenis.*

‘The nun **walked beside him** noiselessly in her gym shoes.’

(es:perezrev-kuze_na_buben)

³ *Cambridge Spanish–English Dictionary*, accessed 16th of March 2024, s.v. “al lado de” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/spanish-english/al-lado-de?q=al+lado>.

- b) *Sebastián Gómez fue hasta el rincón donde Miguel había acomodado a Alba y se deslizó a su lado con dificultad, debido a las muletas.*

‘Sebastián Gómez went over to the corner where Miguel had settled Alba, gliding up to her with difficulty because of his crutches.’

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

Another example is the phrase *saltar a la vista*, which means ‘to be obvious’⁴. Example of its usage can be seen in (28).

- (28) *Sería muy lindo que fuéramos todos iguales, pero no lo somos. Eso salta a la vista.*

‘It would be lovely if we were all created equal, but the fact is we’re not. It couldn’t be more obvious.’

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

A similar type of phrase was found in tokens of the verb *caerse* in the continental Spanish. The phrase *caerse a pedazos* with the meaning of ‘to fall to pieces’⁵ occurred a few times. The example (29) demonstrates its usage more clearly.

- (29) *El problema era que la nariz y la salud se le estaban cayendo a pedazos.*

‘But her nose and her health continued to fall apart.’

(es:perezrev-kralovna_jihu)

Yet another phrase that occurred in the tokens was *a los tropezones*, which mostly means ‘with difficulty’⁶. In the collected data, the phrase modified the verb *andar* ‘to walk’ giving the meaning ‘to walk with difficulty’ or ‘to trip’⁷. In example (30), the meaning is translated more freely with ‘goes around bumping’. The free translation applies also on the translation of *con el mundo* ‘with the world’ which was translated as ‘into everyone’.

- (30) *...el tiempo se le hace trizas en las manos, anda a los tropezones con el mundo.*

⁴Cambridge Spanish–English Dictionary, accessed 16th of March 2024, s.v. “saltar a la vista” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/spanish-english/saltar?q=saltar+a+la+vista>.

⁵Cambridge Spanish–English Dictionary, accessed 16th of March 2024, s.v. “caerse a pedazos” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/spanish-english/pedazo?q=caerse+a+pedazos>.

⁶Cambridge Spanish–English Dictionary, accessed 16th of March 2024, s.v. “a tropezones” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/spanish-english/tropezon?q=a+tropezones>.

⁷Cambridge Spanish–English Dictionary, accessed 16th of March 2024, s.v. “tropezón” <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/spanish-english/tropezon?q=tropezón>.

‘...time falls apart in her hands, she **goes around bumping** into everyone.’

(es: cortazar-nebe_peklo_raj)

Lastly, excluded were also those tokens, where *a* introduces a noun phrase in the function of a manner adjunct. This was the biggest number of excluded tokens. Examples of this type of tokens include the verb *navegar* ‘to sail’ in (31a), the verb *rodar* ‘to roll’ in (31b), and the verb *volar* ‘to fly’ in (31c).

(31)

a) *Si todo salía bien en las negociaciones de esos días , le tocaría capitanearlo , cumpliendo al fin su sueño de **navegar a vapor**.*

‘If everything worked out in the current negotiations , he would be captaining it , at last fulfilling his dream of **sailing with steam**.’

(es:allende-dcerastesty)

b) *Sentada a su lado en el automóvil que **rodaba a saltos** por las calles de piedras...*

‘Sitting beside him in the automobile that **jolted** along the cobbled streets...’

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Laska)

c) *...cuando nos salió al encuentro un ventarrón de murciélagos que **volaban a ras de nuestras cabezas**...*

‘...when a windstorm of bats came out to meet us, **flying at the level of our heads**...’

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Zit_aby)

After removing all these tokens, I was left with 38 tokens of seven verbal lemmata from the subcorpus of Latin-American Spanish, and 5 tokens of three verbal lemmata in the subcorpus of continental Spanish. These were subjected to a detailed analysis, described in the section 4.4.

4.3 Statistical difference between continental and Latin-American Spanish

Before I analyse each verbal lemma and its tokens, I examine whether there is a statistical difference between the continental Spanish and the Latin-American Spanish of usage of manner verbs in the construction [V a NP]. For better clarity, the subcorpus of continental Spanish consisted of 571,266 tokens, from which five tokens were of manner verb lemmata followed by a noun phrase headed by *a* introducing a goal of motion. The subcorpus of Latin-American

Spanish consisted of 2,040,749 tokens and 38 of them were tokens of manner verb lemmata followed by the noun phrase headed by *a* introducing a goal of motion. I did not differentiate between different varieties of Latin-American Spanish.

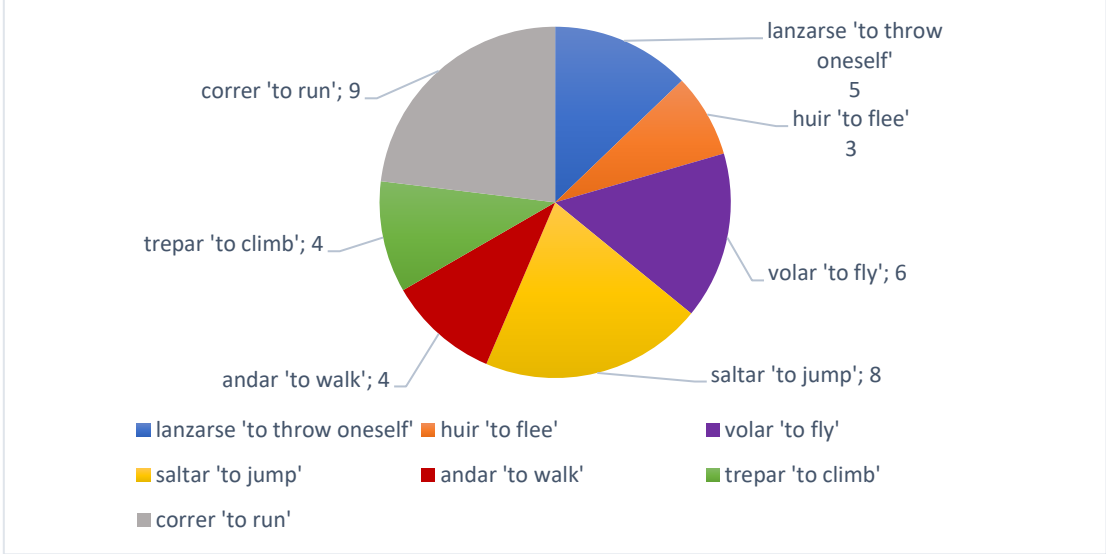
To examine the statistical difference, I use the corpus calculator Calc (Cvrček 2019). More specifically, I compare two features in two different corpora – continental Spanish tokens of manner verbs entering the construction with the total number of tokens from the same subcorpus, and Latin-American tokens of manner verbs entering the construction with the total number of tokens from the same subcorpus – respectively. A relative frequency of the verbal lemmata from continental Spanish is 8,7525 ipm, while relative frequency from the Latin-American Spanish is 18,621 ipm. The Chi2 test (a statistical hypothesis test used for large number of data) from the corpus calculator reveals that the difference between the relative frequencies is not statistically significant.

4.4 Candidates for boundary-crossing

In all gathered tokens which were not excluded, the preposition *a* introduced a noun phrase with a goal of motion. These were subjected to a detailed analysis, during which I asked whether they exemplify a boundary crossing, or just express motion towards a goal.

In Latin-American Spanish, the verbal lemmata identified in the construction were *lanzarse* ‘to throw oneself’, *correr* ‘to run’, *huir* ‘to flee’, *volar* ‘to fly’, *saltar* ‘to jump’, and *trepar* ‘to climb’. The following graph shows the specific numbers of tokens from each verbal lemma.

Graph 1: Verbal lemmata in the [V a NP] construction in the Latin-American Spanish subcorpus



In continental Spanish, there were only three verbal lemmata: *correr* ‘to run’ with three tokens, *saltar* ‘to jump’ with one token, and *volar* ‘to fly’ with one token.

To analyse the tokens and decide whether they exemplify a boundary crossing or not, I followed three criteria. Firstly, I asked whether Ground in the noun phrase can be conceptualized as a container. Then, I looked at how the Spanish originals were translated into Czech and English. Both of these languages have a specific equivalents which indicate boundary-crossing.

The Czech equivalents make the boundary-crossing explicit by using a perfective verb (not an imperfective one), prefixed by a boundary crossing satellite -*v* ‘in’, the English translations by the presence of the satellites that make explicit the conceptualization of the Ground as a container. Following these criteria, I then analysed all verbal lemmata and their tokens separately. Latin-Spanish tokens and continental Spanish tokens were analysed respectively.

4.4.1 *Correr ‘to run’ in continental Spanish*

The three tokens of the verb *correr* ‘to run’ the continental Spanish in this construction make it the most frequent lemma in this variety of Spanish. All three, however, express only motion towards a goal:

(32)

- a) *El segundo sirviente **había corrido a casa de Josar** para avisarle (de la tragedia en casa del arquitecto real.)*

‘The other servant **had run to Josar’s house** tell him (of the tragedy in the residence of the royal architect.)’

‘Druhý sloužící **utíkal k Josarovi**, aby mu oznámil...’

run.PTCP.IPFV.3SG.M toward Josar

(es:Navarro-bratrstvoturin)

- b) ***Corre a la ventana**, (mira afuera y comprueba que también el jardín se ha quedado a oscuras...)*

‘**She runs to the window**, (looks out, and sees that the garden is also dark...)’

‘**Doběhne k oknu...**’

to.run.PRS.PFV.3SG.F toward window

(es:perezrev-kralovna_jihu)

c) **¡Corre a la puerta!**

‘Run to the door!’

‘Utíkej ke dveřím!’

run.PRS.IMP.IPFV.2SG toward door

(es:perezrev-kuze_na_buben)

Translations of (32a) seem to indicate that no boundary has been crossed. Though, *casa* ‘a house’ can be – and frequently is – conceptualized as a container, both translations suggest that the motion is towards a goal, not into the container. English by using the preposition *to* and not *into*, and Czech by using the imperfective form *utíkat* ‘to run’ of the verb instead of a perfective one. Additionally, the preposition *k* ‘to’ indicates that the motion is only towards a goal⁸. This particular preposition is also used in the translation of (32b) and (32c).

In (32b), the Ground is *la ventana* ‘the window’ which is not typically conceptualized as a container, but nevertheless, it still can be conceptualized as one if the Figure crosses the boundary through it. The same pattern applies to *la puerta* ‘the door’ in (32c). In English translations, both in (32b) and (32c), the preposition *to* is used, which signals motion towards a goal. The same pattern appears in the Czech translations, where the preposition *k* ‘to’ (or the equivalent *ke* ‘to’) is used. The Czech translation of (32b) uses the perfective form *doběhne* ‘to reach by running’, but the prefix is *do-*, which signifies an end-point of a goal; in this context the window. So, even though the verb is in a perfective form, the prefix does not function as a boundary-crossing satellite. The example (32c) is more easily analysed as the Czech translation has the imperfective verb *utíkat* ‘to run’.

4.4.2 *Correr ‘to run’ in Latin-American Spanish*

In the corpus of Latin-American Spanish, I found nine tokens of the verbal lemma *correr* ‘to run’ in the [V a NP] construction. These tokens were more diverse than those found in continental Spanish. Translations of five of them point to a directional reading with no boundary-crossing:

(33)

a) *(Se levantó lívida de terror y) **corrió a la habitación de Blanca.***

⁸ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “k”
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=předložka+k>

(‘She rose livid with terror and) **ran to Blanca ’s room.**’

‘...**běžela do Blančina pokoje.**’

run.PST.IPFV.3SG.F to Blanka.POSS room

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

b) **Corrí a la biblioteca,** (*resintiendo que el abuelo estaría esperándome...*)

‘**I ran to the library,** (sensing that my grandfather would be waiting for me...)’

‘**Utíkala jsem do knihovny,** protože jsem tušila, že...’

run.PST.IPFV.1SG.F to in library

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

c) ...**corría a la cocina** (*y mientras ayudaba a Elvira a descargar, la aturdía con historias de zanahorias y pimientos encantados...*)

‘...**I would run to the kitchen,** (and while I helped Elvira put things away I besieged her with stories of enchanted carrots and peppers)’

‘...**Běžela jsem do kuchyně** a zatímco...’

run.PST.IPFV.1SG.F to kitchen

(es:allende-eva_luna)

d) **Corrí a la librería** y compré la caja de tizas.

‘**I ran to the bookstore** and bought the box of chalk.’

‘**Běžel jsem do papírnickví** a koupil krabici kříd.’

run.PST.IPFV.1SG.M to stationary store

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

e) *Cenaba velozmente* y **corría a su cuarto.**

‘Then he would gobble his food and **run up to his room.**’

‘Rychle se navečeřel a **utíkal do svého pokoje.**’

run.PST.IPFV.1SG.M to his room

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

All five tokens have a Ground which can be conceptualized as a container without complications as they are buildings – library in (33b) and bookstore in (33d) – or rooms – a room in (33a) and (33e), and a kitchen in (33c). English translations point to a directional reading by using the preposition *to*, and Czech translations by using the imperfective form *utíkat*

‘to run’ in (33b) and (33e), and the imperfective form *běžet* ‘to run’ in (33a), (33c), and (33d). The Czech translations, however, used the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’⁹ conceptualizes the Ground as a container, which might indicate boundary-crossing.

The boundary could have still been crossed implicitly only through the context that follows. Contexts in (33b), (33c), (33d), and (33e) suggest that the Figure did cross the boundary as the Figure is inside the Ground afterwards. In (33b), the Figure meets with the grandfather who is waiting inside the library. In (33c), the Figure meets with someone (Elvira) who is inside the kitchen. In (33d), the Figure buys a box of chalk inside the shop. And lastly, in (33e), it is described what the Figure did inside the room. In (33a), the context indicates only motion towards the goal as the Figure does not appear inside the Ground because the door to the room had been locked so the Figure could not get inside.

In three tokens, the Czech and English translations differ. In (34), English indicates that the boundary has been crossed explicitly, while Czech indicates it only implicitly:

(34) *Después corrió a la casa a lavarse la boca con jabón...*

‘Afterward she ran into the house and washed her mouth with soap...’

‘Pak běžela domů umýt si mýdlem pusou...’

run.PST.IPFV.1SG.F home to wash.INF REFL mouth with soap

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

The Ground in this example is a common one – a house, easily conceptualized as a container. As can be observed, the English translation has *into*, i.e. a preposition that showcases boundary-crossing. The Czech translation, however, uses the imperfective form *běžet* ‘to run’ of the verb that expresses only motion towards a goal. Nevertheless, the context suggests that the Figure did cross the boundary of the house because other activities inside the house are described after the boundary was crossed. English thus makes the boundary-crossing explicit while Czech indicates it implicitly only through the context.

The next token is similar to the previous one as the English translation also showcases boundary-crossing explicitly while the Czech one indicates it implicitly:

(35) *(Súbitamente, la mujer dio media vuelta) y corrió a la cocina.*

⁹ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

(‘The woman suddenly turned around) and **lumbered into the kitchen.**’

‘...a **rozběhla se do kuchyně.**’

<INCEP>run.PST.PFV.3SG.F to kitchen

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

The Ground is a kitchen, which can be conceptualized as a container. It is supported by the English translation that uses the preposition *into* signalling boundary-crossing. The Czech translation is more complicated. The verb *rozběhnout se* ‘to start to run’ is a perfective form of the verb with an ingressive prefix *roz-*. Therefore, even though the verb is in a perfective form, the prefix is not connected to boundary-crossing. The context which follows the motion again suggests that the boundary has been crossed as the kitchen is described with the Figure inside. From this, it can be observed that English makes the boundary-crossing explicit by using the preposition *into*, while Czech concentrates more on other aspects of the motion and leaves the boundary-crossing implicit.

Another token also has diverging translations:

(36) ...**corrió a la pieza de Clara,** que había tomado su infusión de tilo y estaba durmiendo plácidamente.

‘...she **came running into Clara ’s room.** Clara had drunk her evening tea and was sleeping peacefully.’

‘...**běžela do pokoje Clary,** která si na noc vypila lipový čaj a klidně spala.’

run.PST.IPFV.3SG.F to room of Clara

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

Firstly, the Ground is a room, which can be conceptualized as a container. In this token, it is also supported by the English translation, where the preposition *into* is used. The Czech translation, on the other hand, uses an imperfective form *běžet* ‘to run’ of the verb with the preposition *do* ‘inside a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’¹⁰ which suggests that the room is conceptualized as a container. The context suggests that the Figure did cross the boundary as the Figure lays down next to Clara after entering the room. It is thus clear this token is the same as the previous two – English does make the boundary-crossing explicit

¹⁰ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

by using the preposition *into*, while Czech leaves the boundary-crossing implicit through the context.

The last token is the only token of this verbal lemma where both translations indicate boundary-crossing explicitly:

(37) ***Corrió a la casa*** dando gritos (y un instante después Miss Rose se inclinaba sobre el bebé.)

‘***She had run into*** the house yelling, (and an instant later her patrona was bending over the infant.)’

‘S křikem ***vběhla do domu...***’

in.run.PST.PFV.3SG.F in house

(es:allende-dcerastesty)

The Ground is a house, which is conceptualized as a container: in English by the preposition *into*, i.e. boundary-crossing satellite, and Czech by the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’¹¹. Czech in this case also makes the boundary-crossing explicit by using the perfective verb *vběhnout* ‘to run inside’ prefixed by the boundary-crossing satellite *v-*. Both translations make the boundary-crossing explicit.

4.4.3 *Saltar ‘to jump’ in continental Spanish*

There is only one token of the construction [V a NP] with *saltar* ‘to jump’ in the subcorpus of continental Spanish:

(38) ...y Santiago, tras adujar el cabo, ***saltó a la bañera*** (y se instaló en el asiento del piloto, junto a la banda de estribor.)

‘...and Santiago, after coiling the rope, ***jumped into the cockpit*** (and sat down in the pilot’s seat, on the starboard side.)’

‘...Santiago svinul lano, ***seskočil na dno kluzáku...***’

down.jump.PST.PFV.3SG.M to bottom of boat

(es:perezrev-kralovna_jihu)

¹¹ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

The Ground is a part of a boat which is lowered (*la bañera*) and the Figure jumps from the ground inside of it. English does not conceptualize the boat as a container by using the preposition *into* by which it also makes boundary-crossing explicit. Czech uses the imperfective verb *seskočit* ‘to jump down’ prefixed by *se-* indicating movement downwards. The Czech translation thus does not imply boundary-crossing other than by using a perfective (i.e. telic) verb. The context, however, suggests that the Figure is inside the boat (*na dno* ‘to the bottom’), so the Ground is conceptualized as a container and the motion of boundary-crossing in the Czech translation is only implied.

4.4.4 *Saltar* ‘to jump’ in Latin-American Spanish

In my subcorpus of Latin-American Spanish, there were eight tokens of *saltar* ‘to jump’ in the [V a NP] construction.

In the context of (39a), the Ground – a branch – cannot be conceptualized as a container, and so boundary-crossing is ruled out. In (39b), the English translation of the imperfective form *saltaba* ‘he jumped’, suggesting a long-term repeated motion on a beach, diverges from the original too much: ‘jumping into a surf’ means something else and the motion of ‘jumping into a surf’ does not even appear in the original. The Czech translation, in contrast, does reflect it by using the imperfective form *poskakovat* ‘to jump around’.

(39)

a) ...***Saltó a una rama contigua***, un poco más alta pero de acceso más fácil...

‘...**jumped to the next branch**, a little higher up but easier to reach...’

‘...**přeskočil na vedlejší větev**, sice trochu vyšší, ale poměrně snadno dostupnou...’

over.jump.PST.PFV.3SG.M on next branch

(es:allende-sepiovyporet)

b) ...*se quitaba los zapatos y las medias y animado por los gritos de los otros, los pantalones remangados sobre las rodillas, saltaba a la playa...*

‘...Alberto took off his shoes and socks, rolled up his pants above his knees, and **jumped into the surf**, while the others cheered him on with their shouts...’

‘...zul si Alberto střevíce a svlékl ponožky a **poskakoval po břehu** za povzbudivého volání ostatních s kalhotami vykasnými nad kolena...’

jump.PST.IPFV.3SG.M around along shore

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

In two tokens, a transportation vehicle appears:

(40)

- a) *Florentino Ariza fue el primero en saltar a tierra desde la chalupa del correo...*

‘Florentino Ariza was the first to jump on land from the mail sloop...’

‘Florentino Ariza seskočil z poštovní šalupy na zem jako první...’

down.jump.PST.PFV.3SG.M from mail sloop on land

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Laska)

- b) *...saltar a un tren, (devorar todo Jouhandeau, saber alemán, conocer Aurangabad...)*

‘...jump on a train, (devour all of Jouhandeau, know German, know Aurangabad...)’

‘...naskočít do vlaku...’

on.jump.INF in train

(es: cortazar-nebe_peklo_raj)

In (40), the Ground is land while the transportation vehicle – a mail scoop – is a Source because the Figure jumps from the mail scoop on the land. In this case, the land cannot be conceptualized as a container, but the Source might be. Nevertheless, neither of the translations suggest boundary-crossing – English does not indicate boundary-crossing in any way while Czech uses the perfective verb *seskočit* ‘to jump down’ which does not imply boundary-crossing. This motion is more treated as a motion of jumping from one surface to another.

On the other hand, the Ground in (40) can be conceptualized as a container. Still, English prefers its conceptualization as a surface, i.e. the preposition *on* is used, and the prefix *na-* ‘on’ is also used in Czech in the verb *naskočít* ‘to jump on’. The Czech verb is, however, perfective, and the preposition is *do*, i.e. ‘inside a closed space’¹². Czech indicates boundary-crossing because the reading of the verb with the preposition is ‘jump in the train’.

Motion to a Ground conceptualized as a surface is also described in (41):

- (41) *Salté a su cama y me tapé la cabeza con las sábanas.*

‘I leaped onto her bed and covered my head with the sheets.’

‘Vyskočila jsem k ní na postel a schovala jsem hlavu do pokrývek.’

up.jump.PST.PFV.1SG.F to her on bed

¹² *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

(es:allende-sepiovyportret)

Though beds can be conceptualized as containers, this is not reflected in the translations: the English translation uses the preposition *onto*, which signifies the motion on a certain surface, not inside. The Czech translation, too has the preposition *na* ‘on’, and the Czech ‘jump’ verb is prefixed by *vy* ‘up’, i.e. it does not signify boundary-crossing either.

Lastly, there are three tokens where the Ground appears as a surface:

(42)

- a) ...*tuve que **saltar a la vereda**, con riesgo de romperme algún hueso, y correr en dirección a la calle que ella había tomado.*

‘...I had to **leap onto the sidewalk** at the risk of breaking all my bones, and run toward the street down which she had already turned.’

‘...musel jsem **vyskočit z jedoucí tramvaje** s rizikem, že si zlomím kosti, a běžet směrem do ulice, kam ona zahnula.’

out.jump.INF of moving tram

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

- b) ...*el coletazo de los caimanes, el pavor de los sábalo tratando de **saltar a tierra firme**...*

‘...the thudding tails of the alligators, the terror of the shad as they tried to **leap onto dry land**...’

‘...dalo se vytušit mrskání kajmaních ocasů i úlek ryb snažících se **vyskočit na souš**...’

out.jump.INF on dry land

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Laska)

- c) *Abrí la ventana y **salté a la calle**.*

‘I opened the window and **jumped out onto the sidewalk**.’

‘Otevřel jsem okno a **vyskočil na ulici**.’

out.jump.PST.PFV.3SG.M on road

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

English conceptualizes these Grounds as a surface and not a container which is indicated by the preposition *onto* in all three translations. Czech, on the other hand, changes the perspective. In

(42b) and (42c), the perfective verb *vyskočit* ‘to jump out’ prefixed by a boundary-crossing satellite *vy-* is used which indicates that the Source is conceptualized as a container. This is indicated in English only in (42c) by the satellite *out*. The shift in the Czech translation is more evident in (42a), where the Source is mentioned instead of the Goal (*z jedoucí tramvaje* ‘out of the moving tram’) along with the perfective verb *vyskočit* ‘jump out’.

4.4.5 *Volar* ‘to fly’ in continental Spanish

The only token with the verbal lemma *volar* ‘to fly’ in continental Spanish is demonstrated in (43). It does not exemplify boundary-crossing, only motion towards a goal. The Ground is a city, which might be conceptualized as a container. Nevertheless, the translations showcase that in this context, the city only expresses a goal. English translations uses the preposition *to*. Czech translation uses the perfective verb *odletět* ‘to fly away’¹³ prefixed by *od-* which expresses only a motion away from something. The preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’¹⁴ is also used, which indicates along with the verb only motion towards the Ground.

(43) ...y el Aviocar ***voló a Bangui***, donde los dos motores turbohélice Garret TPE fueron revisados y puestos a punto por mecánicos franceses.

‘...and the Aviocar ***flew to Bangui***, where the two Garret TPE engines were reworked and checked out by French mechanics.’

‘...a aviocar ***odletěl do Bangui***, kde francouzští mechanici provedli revizi a seřízení obou turbovrtulových motorů Garret TPE.’

off.fly.PST.PFV.3SG.M to Bangui

(es:perezrev-kralovna_jihu)

4.4.6 *Volar* ‘to fly’ in Latin-American Spanish

There were five tokens in total of this verbal lemma entering the construction found in the subcorpus of Latin-American Spanish. As the Grounds are variable, I divide them into three groups to analyse them better.

(44) is similar to (43). In other words, the verbal lemma is used in the context of flying by a plane to a city or a country:

¹³ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 1st of May 2024, s.v. “odletět” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=odletet>

¹⁴ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

(44)

- a) ...***voló a Barranquilla*** (*para llevarse y enviar a Buenos Aires el único original en limpio, sin darme tiempo de una lectura final.*)

‘...**he flew to Barranquilla** (to take the only clean copy and have it sent to Buenos Aires, not giving me time for a final reading.)’

‘...**přiletěl do Barranquilly**, aby si odvezl a poslal...’

fly.PST.PFV.3SG.M to Bangui

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Zit_aby)

- b) *Le dije que **volara a Guatemala**...*

‘I told him to **fly to Guatemala**...’

‘Tak jsem mu řekla, aby **letěl do Guatemaly**...’

fly.PST.IPFV.3SG.M to Guatemala

(es: Bolano-Divoci)

Neither of the tokens suggests boundary-crossing, but rather motion towards a goal. English translations indicate it by using the preposition *to*, while Czech translation in (44a) expresses it by using the perfective verb *přiletět* ‘to arrive by flying’¹⁵ with a prefix *při-* signalling arrival at some location. In (44b), the motion towards a goal is expressed by the imperfective verb *letět* ‘to fly’. Moreover, the preposition *do* again only suggests the location being surrounded by a barrier.

There were also two tokens with abstract Grounds:

(45)

- a) ...y ***había volado a otra dimensión*** *donde su espíritu, libre al fin de los lastres materiales, se sentiría más a gusto.*

‘...and that **she had escaped to another dimension** where her spirit, finally free of its material burden, would be more at home.’

‘...**a odletěla do jiné dimenze**, kde se její duch, osvobozený od materiální zátěže, bude cítit lépe.’

off.fly.PST.PFV.3SG.F to other dimension

¹⁵ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 1st of May 2024, s.v. “přiletět”
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=přiletět>

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

b) *Escuchamos rumores de que **volaban a otros mundos** con hongos alucinógenos...*

‘We heard rumors that **they tripped to other worlds** on hallucinogenic mushrooms...’

‘O sektě šly fámy, že její členové **cestují do jiných světů** prostřednictvím omamných houbiček...’

travel.PRS.IPFV.3PL to other worlds

(es:allende-paula)

Translations of neither (45a) nor (45b) suggest boundary-crossing. Even though both Grounds (dimension and ‘other world’) might be in some specific context conceptualized as containers, both translations suggest that the motion is only towards a goal. English indicates it by using the preposition *to* in both translations, while Czech indicates it by using the imperfective verb *cestovat* ‘to travel’ in (45b) and a perfective verb *odletět* ‘to fly away’¹⁶ with prefix *od-* signifying motion away from the current location in (45a). Moreover, the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’ in Czech again suggests only the conceptualization of the Ground as a barrier.

The last two tokens in my opinion do exemplify boundary-crossing and can be found below:

(46)

a) *Al oírlos llegar debía cerrar el armario a toda prisa y **volar a mi cama** a fingirme dormida.*

‘When I heard my parents coming, I had to close the wardrobe in a wink and **fly to my bed** and pretend to be asleep.’

‘Jakmile jsem zaslechla přicházet rodiče, musela jsem horempádem zamknout skříň, **vkouznout do postele** a tvářit se, že spím.’

in.slip.INF in bed

(es:allende-paula)

¹⁶ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 1st of May 2024, s.v. “odletět”
<https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=odletet>

b) *Vuele a las cuadras.*

‘Get into the barracks.’

‘Vrat’te se na ubikace.’

return.PRS.IMP.2PL REFL on quarters

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

The Ground in (46a) is a bed, which can be conceptualized as a container. The Czech translation reflects this by the use of the imperfective verb *vkrouznout* ‘to slip in’, i.e. a perfective prefixed by a boundary-crossing satellite *v-* ‘in’, and with the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’. The English translation, on the other hand, uses the preposition *to* to indicate that the motion is towards a goal. Nevertheless, by the phrase ‘pretend to be asleep’, it is indicated that the Figure had to be inside of the bed. Therefore, the token is indeed an exemplification of boundary-crossing.

As for (46b), the Ground are barracks, which can be conceptualized as a container. It is supported by the English translation which uses the preposition *into*. The Czech translation in this case uses a path verb *vrátit se* ‘to return’ instead of manner verb and the boundary-crossing is not explicitly demonstrated. English thus does explicitly indicate boundary-crossing while Czech leaves it implicit.

4.4.7 *Lanzarse ‘to throw oneself’ in Latin-American Spanish*

Another verbal lemma in the [V a NP] construction for analysis is *lanzarse* ‘to throw oneself’ with five tokens.

In the tokens below, the Ground is a street:

(47)

a) *En esas ocasiones no había cadena ni puerta que pudiera retenerlo, se lanzaba a la calle...*

‘On such occasions there was neither chain nor door that could hold him back. He would hurl himself onto the street...’

‘Tehdy ho nic nedokázalo zadržet: vrhl se na ulici...’

throw.PST.IPFV.3SG.M REFL on street

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

b) *Esteban Trueba bajó corriendo las anchas escaleras del Congreso y se lanzó a la calle...*

‘Esteban Trueba ran down the broad stairs of Congress and **hurled himself onto the street**...’

‘Esteban Trueba seběhl široké schody Kongresu a **vrhl se na ulici**...’

throw.PST.IPFV.3SG.M REFL on street

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

c) *Salí disparada, crucé la casa, atravesé el jardín sin saber dónde ponía los pies y **me lancé a la calle**.*

‘I bolted from the room, ran through the house and the garden, and **rushed into the street** without any sense of where I was going.’

‘Vyrazila jsem jako blesk, prolétla domem, přeběhla zahradu ani nevím jak a **vrhla se na ulici**.’

throw.PST.IPFV.3SG.F REFL on street

(es:allende-eva_luna)

d) ***Me lancé a la calle** sin protección contra la llovizna imperturbable...*

‘**I rushed out to the street** with no protection against the imperturbable drizzle...’

‘**Vyrazil jsem na ulici**, i když jsem se neměl čím chránit proti vytrvalému mžení...’

<INCEP>dart.PST.IPFV.1SG.M on street

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Zit_aby)

As the Ground is a street, it is not conceptualized as a container but as a surface: English uses the preposition *onto*, Czech uses the preposition *na* ‘on’. In (47c), English uses the preposition *into*, but in the meaning of ‘to the middle of the place’¹⁷ and not inside. Czech also uses the perfective verb *vrhnout se* ‘to throw oneself’ in the majority of the tokens. In (47d), the perfective verb *vyrazit* ‘to dart out’ with an ingressive prefix *vy-*. Both these perfective verbs, however, do not indicate boundary-crossing.

In (48), the Ground is a swimming pool. The verb *lanzarse* ‘to throw oneself’ is used in the context of the verb ‘to jump’ in the English translation by using this exact verb. Moreover, the preposition *into* is used, signalling that the swimming pool is conceptualized as a container. Czech translation uses the perfective verb *vrhnout se* ‘to throw oneself’ along with the

¹⁷ *Cambridge Dictionary*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “into”
<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/into>

preposition *do* which in this context has the meaning of ‘inside a closed place’. Czech thus also conceptualizes the Ground as a container, even though the boundary-crossing satellite *v-* ‘in’ is not used. It is also supported by the context which indicates that the Figure ended up in the swimming pool.

(48) ...y ***se lanzó a la piscina***, *dejando el agua como sopa*.

‘...**they jumped into the swimming pool**, turning the water to a human soup.’

‘...**se vrhl do bazénu** a proměnil jeho vody v hustou polévku.’

REFL throw.PST.IPFV.3SG.M in swimming pool

(es:allende-eva_luna)

4.4.8 *Huir ‘to flee’ in Latin-American Spanish*

There were three tokens found with this verbal lemma in the construction. The first one has a library as a Ground:

(49) ***Huyó a la biblioteca pero no pudo leer***.

‘**He took refuge in the library** but could not read.’

‘**Uchýlil se do knihovny**, ale nebyl s to číst.’

take.refuge.PST.PFV.3SG.M inside library

(es:Garcia_Marquez-O_lasce)

The English translation does not use a verb, but rather a verbo-nominal element ‘to take refuge’ along with the preposition *in*, which does suggest that the Figure is inside the library. The Czech translation uses the perfective verb *uchýlit se* ‘to take refuge’ along with the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’¹⁸. The boundary must have been crossed because the Figure is inside the library in the context that follows. Nevertheless, neither of the languages use the explicit equivalents of boundary-crossing, so the boundary-crossing is only implicit.

Translations of (50) suggest that the motion is towards a goal and no boundary has been crossed even though the Ground is a house which is easily conceptualized as a container. English by using the preposition *to* and Czech by using the preposition *k* ‘towards’. Czech does use an perfective verb *utéct* ‘to flee’, but in this case, it does not indicate boundary-crossing.

¹⁸ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

(50) *Aida huyó a la casa vecina...*

‘Aida **ran to the house next door...**’

‘Aida **utekla k sousedům...**’

Aida flee.PST.PFV.3SG.F towards neighbours

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Zit_aby)

The Ground in (51) is a city, which might be conceptualized as a container. Translations, however, indicate that the motion is towards a goal – English uses the preposition to and Czech uses the imperfective verb *utíkat* ‘to run’ along with the preposition *do* which conceptualizes the city as a container.

(51) (*La violencia arreció en los campos y la gente*) *huyó a las ciudades...*

‘(The violence grew worse in the countryside and people) **fled to the cities...**’

‘...a lidé **utíkali do měst...**’

and people flee.PST.IPFV.3PL to cities

(es:Garcia_Marquez-Zit_aby)

4.4.9 *Andar* ‘to walk’ in Latin-American Spanish

There were four tokens found with this verbal lemma in the [V a NP] construction. In all four tokens, the verbal lemma is used in an imperative form. I divide these four tokens into two groups by the translations into Czech. The first two tokens can be seen below:

(52)

a) - *Anda a la ciudad y me compras papayas confitadas - ordenó secamente.*

“**Go to the city** and buy me some candied papaya,” she told him brusquely.’

“**Dojdeš mi do města** pro kandované papaje,” nařídila mu suše.’

go.get.PRS.IMP.2SG to city

(es:allende-dum_duchu)

b) *Y tú, anda a tu casa y ármate, porque te voy a matar.*

‘You **go home** and get a weapon, because I ’m going to kill you.’

‘A ty **si dojdi domů** pro nějakou zbraň, poněvadž tě zabiju.’

REFL go.get.PRS.IMP.2SG home

(Garcia_Marquez-StoRSam)

As can be seen, in both Czech translations, the perfective verb *dojít* is used. It has many different meanings, but in these contexts, the meaning of *dojít* is ‘going to a certain location and fetching something’¹⁹. Moreover, the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’²⁰ in (52a) only conceptualizes the city as a container. English translations also see the motion only towards a goal: in (52a), the preposition *to* is used, and in (52b), the Ground is encoded on an adverb.

The other two tokens are more easily distinguished as the Czech translation uses imperfective verb. Both tokens can be seen below:

(53)

a) ...y me *sopló un dato*: **anda a la calle República**, *de noche él ronda por allí, me dijo.*

‘...and whispered, **Go to the Calle Republica**, he hangs around there at night.’

‘...a pošeptal mi , at’ **jdu do ulice Republiky**, v noci se tam prý objevuje.’

go.PRS.IPFV.1SG to street Republica

(es:allende-eva_luna)

b) **Anda a la enfermería**, *seguro que te internan.*

‘**Go over to the infirmary**, they ’ll take you in for sure.’

‘**Jdi na ošetřovnu**, určitě si tě tam nechají.’

go.PRS.IMP.2SG on infirmary

(es: vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

The Czech translation uses the imperfective verb *jít* ‘to go’, and English uses the preposition *to* in both tokens, so both translations suggest that the motion is towards a goal. The preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’²¹ in (53a) shows that Czech conceptualizes the street as a container and not a surface, but the focus is put on the trajectory, and not boundary-crossing. As for (53b), the broader context suggests that the Figure does eventually cross the boundary of the infirmary, so the boundary has been crossed implicitly only through the surrounding context.

¹⁹ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “dojít” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?slovo=dojit>

²⁰ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

²¹ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

4.4.10 *Trepar* ‘to climb’ in Latin-American Spanish

Three tokens in total were found with this verbal lemma. Two of them are used in a vertical movement and the Ground does not conceptualize a container:

(54)

a) *Conmovidas, algunas ninfas **treparon a una improvisada tribuna** para...*

‘Greatly moved, several nymphs **clambered onto an improvised platform** to...’

‘Některé nymfy dojatě **vyšplhaly na improvizovanou tribunu**, aby...’

up.climb.PST.PFV.3SG.F on improvised platform

(es:allende-eva_luna)

b) *Echó una última mirada alrededor, se incorporó de un salto, **trepó a los ladrillos**, alzó las manos.*

‘He took a last look around him, jumped to his feet, **climbed up on the bricks** and raised his arms.’

‘Naposled se rozhlédl kolem, jedním skokem se vztyčil, **vyšplhal na cihly** a natáhl ruce vzhůru.’

up.climb.PST.PFV.1SG.M on bricks

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

In both tokens, the Ground is an object which the Figure climbs on. In (54a), it is a platform, and in (54b), they are bricks. Neither of them thus conceptualizes a container. This is reflected in both translations. The English translation in (54a) uses the preposition *onto*, while the translation in (54b) uses the satellite *up* along with the preposition *on*. The Czech translation uses in both tokens the same verb in the same form – *vyšplhat* ‘to climb up’. It is a verb in a perfective form, but the prefix *vy-* signifies only the motion upwards and not boundary-crossing.

There is one token, however, which does, in my opinion, exemplify boundary-crossing:

(55) *y en las noches **se trepaba a mi cama** y quería pasarme la lengua por toda la cara.*

‘At night **she ’d climb up on my bed** and try to lap my face.’

‘v noci mi **lezla do postele** a chtěla mi olízat celý obličej.’

climb.PST.IPFV.3SG.F in bed

(es:vargasllosa-mesto_a_psi)

In this token, the Ground is a bed, which can be conceptualized as a container. The motion is also repeated, which is shown in the Spanish form *trepaba* ‘would climb’, which signalises a repeated action. The Czech translation reflects it. The verb *lézt* ‘to climb’ is in the imperfective form which is how Czech marks a repeated action. It is thus important to look also at other components, mainly at the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’²² which conceptualizes the bed as a container. Czech thus leaves boundary-crossing implicit. English translation does not signalise boundary-crossing as it uses the satellite *up* along with the preposition *on*, conceptualizing the Ground as a surface.

²² *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 12th of April 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

5 Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to investigate to what extent fiction writers follow the boundary-crossing constraint in Spanish. More specifically, I asked whether manner verbs enter the Spanish construction [V a NP] with the path phrases headed by the preposition *a* and whether the Spanish context suggests that the boundary has been crossed. Through my study, I found out that manner verbs do indeed enter the construction and that the context usually does indicate boundary-crossing. I also asked if there was a significant difference between continental Spanish and Latin-American Spanish in the usage of the construction using manner verbs. The corpus calculator Calc showed that there was no statistical significance. My last question was whether English and Czech translations indicate that a boundary has been crossed. Overall, the analysis showcased that English makes the boundary-crossing explicit more often than Czech does, but it is not consistent.

Two subcorpora, one consisting of novels written in continental Spanish and one of those written by various Latin-American authors in Spanish, were created in InterCorp and aligned with their Czech and English translations; the translations were then taken as one of the clues to the meaning of the Spanish construction [V a NP], namely to decide whether a boundary has been crossed (the other clue being the context of the original sentence). Altogether, I identified 5 tokens in the continental Spanish subcorpus and 38 tokens in the Latin-American subcorpus where Manner verb entered the construction with path phrases headed by the preposition *a*. This difference between the two subcorpora was not found to be statistically significant: there were more tokens from the Latin-American Spanish subcorpus only because the subcorpus was larger.

Each token was then analysed for the presence of clues suggesting that a boundary has been crossed. It was found that though in 21 of them, the context in the Spanish original suggested that a boundary has been crossed, this is hardly ever made explicit in the translations.

English translations, however, made the boundary-crossing explicit more often than the Czech translations: the preposition *into* in English translation was used in nine tokens, while the prefix *v-* in Czech translations was used only in two tokens. Only in one token did both translations make the boundary-crossing explicit. In Czech, the prefix *vy-* ‘out’ was more frequent because Czech translators changed the perspective marking that the container is a Source, not the Goal.

Even though English made the boundary-crossing explicit in more examples than Czech, it was not always consistent as telicity was also expressed by the preposition *onto*: it

was the Source that was conceptualized as a container, the Ground was conceptualized as a surface.

Conversely, the Czech translators often avoided the boundary-crossing prefix *v-* because they found different aspects of the situation more important. For example, the ingressive prefix *roz-* was used, leaving the boundary-crossing implicit. Nevertheless, Czech uses the preposition *do* ‘inside or towards a location which is surrounded by a certain type of barrier’²³ frequently. This preposition conceptualizes the Ground as a container which might indicate a boundary-crossing interpretation.

The use of an imperfective verb also does not guarantee that a boundary-crossing did not take place as perfective verbs are not typically used to describe repeated actions.

Both languages also treat train as a Ground differently. English conceptualizes the train as a surface while Czech conceptualizes it as a container. Nevertheless, Czech still does not use the boundary-crossing prefix *v-*, but uses the preposition *do* indicating that the train is a container.

To conclude, translations do not always clearly indicate if the boundary has been crossed and thus do not decide if the Spanish original is a token of boundary-crossing or not. As English makes boundary-crossing explicit in many examples, while Czech leaves it implicit, it can be said that Spanish leaves the interpretation open. This is also supported by the fact that only one token where both translations made boundary-crossing explicit was found and interpretations of translations of other tokens frequently varied.

In the future, it would be interesting to conduct a research with more data to see whether the patterns in Czech and English occur frequently in a larger scale. Additionally, it might be useful to compare Spanish originals with translated Spanish texts and see where the boundary-crossing occurs more often.

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²³ *Internetová jazyková příručka*, accessed 1st of May 2024, s.v. “do” <https://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=do#bref1>

6 Resumé

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá zkoumáním fenoménu zvaného „boundary-crossing constraint“ ve španělském jazyce skrz porovnávání překladů španělských originálních textů z kontinentální i latinské Ameriky do českého a anglického jazyka.

Teoretická část se zabývá shrnutím všech relevantních lingvistických postojů. Její součástí je typologická klasifikace jazyků, kterou představil kognitivní sémantik Talmy (1985). Tato typologie rozděluje jazyky podle toho, zdali na hlavním slovese kódují Dráhu, Způsob, nebo Figuru. Svou klasifikaci následně zdokonaluje a představuje dva typy jazyků podle toho, kde kódují dráhu. Prvním typem jsou S-jazyky, které kódují Dráhu na satelitu, tím druhým jsou V-jazyky, které kódují Dráhu přímo na slovese. Tato klasifikace přináší do lingvistiky řadu nových výzkumů.

Aske (1989) například nachází v rozdělení Talmyho nesrovnalosti. Vyzdvihuje hlavně španělský jazyk a jeho schopnost využívat slovesa způsobu jako hlavní slovesa pohybu i přesto, že se jedná o V-jazyk. Skrz to poté sám předkládá svou teorii o tom, že španělská slovesa způsobu se mohou využít pouze ve chvíli, kdy Dráha neindikuje konkrétní konečný cíl (tzn. není telická), ale její význam je čistě lokativní. Hoiting a Slobin (1994) zdokonalují toto rozdělení představením dvou orientací Dráhy – zaměření se na trajektorii a zaměření se na překročení hranice. Zároveň zavádí termín „boundary-crossing constraint“, čímž vysvětlují, že španělská slovesa způsobu se mohou využívat jen s Dráhou, která se zaměřuje na trajektorii, ale ne s Dráhou, která se zaměřuje na překročení hranice.

Lewandowski a Mateu (2020) přináší další posun ve výzkumu a to v podobě představení kontinua směru. Tvrdí, že přijatelnost sloves způsobu ve španělském telickém pohybu závisí na tom, jak explicitně konkrétní slova indikují směr pohybu sama o sobě. Toto podporuje i jejich výzkum, který ukazuje, že slovesa způsobu indikující směr pohybu sama o sobě jsou pro rodilé mluvčí španělského jazyka přijatelnější ve spojení s pohybem určujícím konkrétní cíl než slovesa, která směr sama o sobě neindikují. Pedersen (2014) naopak pracuje se španělským korpusem, kde zkoumá, která slovesa se vyskytují v telickém pohybu. I on dochází k závěru, že směrová slovesa způsobu se vyskytují v telickém pohybu častěji než čistě způsobová slovesa, která se v telickém pohybu nevyskytují prakticky vůbec. Calle Bocanegra (2023) skrz svou studii zjistila, že rodilí mluvčí ze Španělska i Latinské Ameriky používají slovesa způsobu při překračování hranice a stejně tak je hodnotí za přijatelné při interpretaci navzdory tomu, co předchozí studie naznačovaly.

Praktická část mé práce se tedy zaměřila na to, zdali české a anglické překlady španělských originálních textů mohou prokázat, že se v originálu jednalo o překročení hranice či nikoli. Zkoumala jsem také to, jestli je rozdíl mezi kontinentální a latinskoamerickou španělštinou. Pro svůj výzkum jsem využila paralelní korpus InterCorp, kde jsem vytvořila dva subkorpusy. Subkorpus obsahující kontinentální španělštinu čítal 5 743 tokenů, z nichž 5 z nich bylo podrobena detailní analýze. Subkorpus latinskoamerické španělštiny čítal 24 458 tokenů, z nichž 38 bylo podrobena detailní analýze. Důležitost rozdílu mezi kontinentální a latinskoamerickou španělštinou v počtu tokenů podrobených k analýze jsem zjistila využitím korpusové kalkulačky Calc, která zjistila, že žádný signifikantní rozdíl mezi subkorpusy není.

Výsledky analýzy poté ukázaly, že španělský jazyk většinu času ponechává svou interpretaci otevřenou. Nejčastěji se překročení hranice vyskytlo pouze implicitně skrz kontext. Obojí reflektovaly české překlady, které zexplicitnily překročení hranice pouze ve dvou případech. Naopak anglické překlady zexplicitňovaly překročení hranice ve více případech, ale překlady i přesto nebyly konzistentní. Z tohoto se dá odvodit, že překlady nerozhodnou, jestli se ve španělském originále jednalo o překročení hranice nebo ne.

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