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# **Encoding Motion in L2 English**

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### **Abstract**

The present thesis is concerned with the influence of L1 on the expression of motion in L2 English. The Thinking for Speaking hypothesis claims that the language people speak shifts their attention at the time of speaking to different aspects of reality. Acquiring a new language, therefore, requires the acquisition of a new way of Thinking for Speaking. In the context of encoding motion, language speakers with different linguistic background pay attention to different semantic elements of a motion event. Specifically, the speakers of satellite-framed languages foreground the Manner element while the speakers of verb-framed languages concentrate on the Path. The paper analyses the Frog Story narratives provided by fairly advanced Czech and Spanish learners of English and compares them with the narratives of native English speakers. The narratives are compared with respect to Manner expression and Path expression. Special attention is given to Manner expression in boundary-crossing situations.

### **Key words**

motion, Manner, Path, Figure, Ground, Talmy, verb-framed, satellite-framed, Slobin, Thinking for Speaking, linguistic relativity, SLA

## **Anotace**

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá vlivem mateřského jazyka na vyjádření pohybu v angličtině nerodilých mluvčích. hypotéza Thinking for Speaking tvrdí, že jazyk, kterým lidé mluví zaměřuje jejich pozornost v průběhu mluvení na jiné aspekty reality. Osvojení nového jazyka tedy vyžaduje osvojení nového způsobu Thinking for Speaking (myšlení pro řeč). Při popisu pohybu se mluvčí různých jazyků zaměřují na různé sémantické složky pohybové události: mluvčí satelitně rámcujících jazyků kladou důraz na element Způsobu, zatímco mluvčí slovesně rámcujících jazyků upřednostňují Dráhu. Tato práce analyzuje vyprávění tzv. Frog Story (příběhu o žabákovi) získaná od českých a španělských studentů angličtiny na poměrně pokročilé jazykové úrovni. Tato vyprávění jsou dále porovnána s vyprávěními anglických rodilých mluvčích. Při srovnání se zaměřuji na vyjádření Dráhy a Způsobu pohybu, zvláště pak na vyjádření Způsobu ve scénách, kde dochází k překročení prostorové hranice.

## **Klíčová slova**

pohyb, Způsob, Dráha, Figura, Pozadí, Talmy, slovesně rámcující, satelitně rámcující, Slobin, Thinking for Speaking, jazyková relativita, osvojování cizího jazyka

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# 1 Introduction

Since the introduction of Talmy's semantic typology of languages, the expression of motion in typologically different languages has been the subject of great focus of cognitive linguists. Another important milestone for the cognitive research in motion expression was Slobin's Thinking for Speaking theory.

Slobin examines and revises Talmy's typology in the context of linguistic relativity and claims that due to the fact that speakers of typologically different languages have available different means of expression, their attention at the time of speaking is directed at different semantic elements of motion events. Namely, the speakers of verb-framed languages (typically Romance languages) tend to concentrate more on the Path constituent of a motion event, while the speaker of satellite-framed languages (Indo-European languages other than Romance) foreground the Manner of motion.

Slobin's and Berman's (1994) claim that when a child acquires its first languages, it also acquires a characteristic way of Thinking for Speaking caught the attention of SLA researchers and raised the question whether the acquisition of a new language also requires the acquisition of a new way of Thinking for Speaking and if so, how it manifests itself.

To this date extensive research has been carried out in the area of Thinking for Speaking effects in SLA, however, as far as I am aware, no study has been conducted on Czech speakers of English, which is what the present thesis is aimed at.

The theoretical part of the thesis provides literature review on Talmy's semantic typology and Slobin's Thinking for Speaking in the context of the speakers' L1 as well as in the process of second language acquisition.

The research part aims to contribute to the substantial body of SLA research in the field of motion encoding and scrutinize the expression of motion in the elicited narratives of Czech and Spanish learners of English and compare them with the elicited narratives of native English speakers.

Although the participants of the study had a relatively high level of L2 proficiency, I expect to find some effects of the Thinking for Speaking characteristic for the speakers' L1. Specifically, it can be suggested that the Spanish learners will tend to omit Manner information. On the other hand, little intratypological variation is expected to be revealed in the materials provided by the Czech learners of English and the native speakers of English.

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2 Linguistic relativity

Although cognitive linguistics as a discipline only started being discussed explicitly in the 1980s, Karlík and Nebeská (2017) claim that many argue this approach to language has its predecessors in earlier linguistic theories, one of which is the theory of linguistic relativity, or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. The relativistic approach itself originated in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century in the works of the German philosophers Johann Georg Hamann, Johann Gottfried Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt but gained a much wider audience through the work of the American linguist Edward Sapir and his student Benjamin Lee Whorf.

The basic idea behind the theory is that there is a connection between language and thought. The first possible relation of the two is that “the units of thought are words from natural language” (Wolff and Holmes 2011, 253). As Wolff and Holmes (2011, 253) report, the conception of “language as language-of-thought” was advocated for already by Plato and several centuries later by Immanuel Kant and Max Müller. However, many arguments proved this idea wrong, one of them being that “infants and nonhuman primates are capable of relatively sophisticated forms of thinking, even in the absence of language” (Wolff and Holmes 2011, 254).

Another view known as linguistic determinism suggests there is a structural parallel between language and thought. According to Wolff and Holmes (2011, 254), “this view implies a relatively tight connection between language and thought and a loose connection between thought and the world.” According to the followers of this rather extreme theory, the connection between language and thought is so strong that language actually determines the human thought. This belief was promoted chiefly by Benjamin Lee Whorf. Whorf’s ideas have been severely criticized since the 1950s. As for some more recent objections, Pinker (1995, 60), for example, ridicules the Whorfian hypothesis by claiming that “the more you examine Whorf’s arguments, the less sense they make”.

With reference to the Whorfian hypothesis, Wolff and Holmes (2011, 255) state that “research from the cognitive sciences suggests a different pattern of relationships [between language, thought and the world], namely that the connection between thought and the world is tighter than the connection between thought and language.”

By way of illustration, Malt et al. (1999) argue there is a difference between “categorization as object recognition and as naming” (Malt et al. 1999, 230). In order to prove this claim, their study compared speakers of English, Chinese and Spanish. The participants were asked to name pictures of common storage containers in their native tongue and then make judgments about the similarity of those containers. The speakers varied significantly in the first task but performed similarly on the second one.

Malt et al. (1999, 258) say that “the Whorfian hypothesis would presumably predict a substantial influence of linguistic categories on a person’s perception of the similarities among objects.” Their findings, however, imply that “linguistic categories cannot be the only determinant of perceived similarity among these objects” (Malt et al. 1999, 258), and what is more, they claim that “the magnitude of [the] correlations [between each object’s name distribution to every other object’s name distribution] suggest that linguistic categories are not even the primary determinant of perceived similarity” (Malt et al 1999, 258).

Malt et al’s data suggests the issue of the strength of the relationship between language and thought should be treated more cautiously than the Whorfian hypothesis proposes, yet it does not explain what exactly the nature of the relationship is.

Wolff and Holmes (2011) argue that the views on language and thought held in modern cognitive science can be categorized according to when exactly the effect of language on thought occurs. In the study of motion, most research focuses on the effect Wolff and Holmes (2011) call “Thinking before Language”. Thinking before Language refers to “the thinking that occurs immediately prior to using language—that is, the thought processes associated with producing speech” (Wolff and Holmes 2011, 255). In order to understand what is meant by those “thought

processes associated with producing speech”, we need to examine the stages involved in language processing.

A widely accepted model of speech generation and comprehension, especially for monolingual speakers, is the one introduced by Levelt (1993). The model recognizes three components which are activated during the process of language production; those are Conceptualizer, Formulator and Articulator. The process begins in the Conceptualizer, where the so-called “preverbal message” is generated. In the next stage, the Formulator, two operations take place: grammatical encoding and phonological encoding. First the appropriate words (or “lemmas” is Levelt’s terms) are chosen, based on the concepts contained in the preverbal message. The lemmas also contain grammatical information, which is used to combine lemmas into sentences, and pragmatic information. Then the phonological characteristics of the utterance is generated. The outcome of the phonological encoding is referred to as “internal speech”. Finally, the Articulator is responsible for the motor execution of the phonological information, which results in the production of “overt speech” (Levelt 1993, 9-13).

According to Levelt’s language processing model, Thinking before language occurs in the Conceptualizer. Wolff and Holmes (2011, 255) claim that the influence of language on thought which occurs before speaking, “might be expected to produce differences in thought across languages because languages differ with respect to the aspects of experience to which their users must attend.” This issue is touched also in the discussion of Malt et al.’s experiment with labelling containers, which was referred to above in the context of linguistic determinism.

Malt et al. (1999, 242) report they couldn’t compare the names of objects directly across languages because “the languages, of course, have different sets of names”. For example, the Spanish word “bidon” was used by Spanish speakers to refer to containers which English speakers labelled as “jug”, “bottle” or simply “container” (Malt et al. 1999, 242).

This claim raises a question: Is the conceptualizer language-dependant? Or more generally: How is the Conceptualizer of multilingual speakers organized?

### 3 Linguistic relativity and SLA

One of the first attempts at the description of the organization of the multilingual mind was made by Uriel Weinreich (1953). In accordance with Levelt, Weinreich assumed that words and concepts are stored separately. He suggested three ways in which the words of a multilingual speaker might be stored. There are either separate concepts for each language which are separately connected to words of the individual languages or there is only one set of concepts. The concepts from the common set could be then connected directly to the words of the multiple languages or, as the third option states, there is a possibility that the words from the person's L2 can be only reached via the corresponding words in the person's L1, which are linked directly to concepts. Weinreich's models were static ones. With the increasing popularity of the dynamic approach to SLA, more factors are taken into account, such as the proficiency in each language. Experiments in the field of multilingual brain organization suggest various possibilities and combinations of Weinreich's models, yet complete separation of two or more Conceptualizers seems to be very unlikely.

Conceptualization is, however, not limited to lexicon but can be also applied to grammar. Slobin (1993, 242) states that "construction of the grammar [in adult age] often requires a revision of semantic/pragmatic concepts, along with what may well be a more difficult task of perceptual identification of the relevant morphological elements."

A notorious example of a problematic aspect for ESL learners is the application of English articles. Ekiert (2010, 126) states that "the English article system causes even the most advanced language users to make errors, even when other elements of the language seem to have been mastered to a near-native level." Similarly, Dušková (1969) reports that among Czech speakers of L2 English, articles were the most frequent source of errors. English articles are, therefore, a good example of a grammatical element where the influence of L1 on L2 on the level of Conceptualizer can be observed.

English articles serve a number of different purposes. In fact, according to Samuda and Bygate (2008, 243) the range of uses is so diverse, it would be counter-productive to attempt to scrutinize all of them. For this reason, Ekiert's (2010) research concentrates on the referential uses only, which means the generic uses are ignored. Ekiert reports to have used Maratsos' model (1974) of article distribution as her theoretical background.

Traditionally, two articles are recognized in English: the indefinite article *a/an* and the definite article *the*. Maratsos (1974, 446) argues that "at least two semantic dimensions are employed in the general distinction between definites and indefinites. The first of these is the distinction between nonspecificity and specificity". Example (1) shows the difference between a nonspecific referent (in a)) and a specific referent (in b)). In a), the speaker does not have in mind any particular dog. In contrast, the intended referent in b) is a specific member of the class (i.e. tables), which is "uniquely specified for the conversation" (Maratsos 1974, 446).

- (1) a) Why don't we buy a dog?
- b) Where should we put the table?

Maratsos (1974, 446-447) claims "the distinction between specific and nonspecific does not suffice to make the distinction between definite and indefinite articles." He argues that not only the speaker's but also the listener's perspective needs to be taken into consideration. In a hypothetical situation where a speaker was bitten by a dog when he/she was outside and walks into a room full of people who have not witnessed the scene, he/she could not utter a sentence such as the one in (2) because it would imply the listeners know which particular dog the speaker is talking about. Therefore, indefinite article is required to be used in this situation.

- (2) The dog just bit me.

Ekiert (2010, 130) summarizes the “dog situation” as follows: “in English, the coding for referential indefinites remains identical as the coding for nonreferential identities – in both cases the morpheme *a* is employed.”

As for the English definite article, the scope of Ekiert’s study is restricted to Liu and Gleason’s taxonomy (2002), which recognizes three uses of *the*. An overview of the uses is provided in the table below.

	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE <sup>1</sup>
Textual use	refers to the situation when <i>the</i> is used with a noun which was mentioned in the text before	<i>There is a table. The table is brown.</i>
Structural use	refers to the situations when <i>the</i> is used with a modified noun which was not mentioned before	<i>I saw the table he bought last week.</i>
Situational use	involves situations when the person makes use of information readily available or specific knowledge available to the local community	<i>Look at the table!</i>

Table 1: An overview of uses of *the*, adapted from Liu and Gleason (2002) paraphrased in Ekiert (2010, 130-131).

With respect to the use of articles, languages can be divided into two groups: those that have articles (like English) and those that do not employ them. Ekiert’s study focuses on Polish speakers of L2 English. Polish, as well as most other Slavic languages including Czech, is an articleless language. However, “many claim that definiteness is a universal concept” (Ekiert 2010, 131). Therefore, as Ekiert (2010, 131) points out, “from a cross-linguistic perspective, it is important to determine whether the referent identifiability expressed by articles is in any way similar to the identifiability conveyed by other types of structures available in [articleless] languages.”

Karlík (2017) reports that articleless languages express (in)definiteness for instance by means of demonstrative, possessive or indefinite pronouns. He additionally claims that all authors discussing

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<sup>1</sup> The examples in this overview are my own.

(in)definiteness in Czech unanimously agree that the concept is closely related to other categories, such as functional sentence perspective (or word order in general), modality and verbal aspect. Ekiert (2010, 131) states the same is generally thought true for Polish but highlights that “this view ... is not corroborated by work conducted on typological universals ..., cognitive universals ... or definiteness in English.” Crosslinguistic research reveals that “it appears that demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers in articleless languages can be translational equivalents of English demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers, and not of the articles *the* and *a*” (Ekiert 2010, 132).

Ekiert (2010, 132) therefore claims that “instead of looking for syntactic equivalents of English articles in Slavic languages that do not employ them, it is of more use to assume that semantic definiteness, which in English is conventionally implicated with the presence of the definite articles, [in Polish] is conversationally implicated through relevant context and the speaker’s knowledge of the world.”

Since “in Polish, marking and semantically interpreting nominals for definiteness are not driven by syntax” (Ekiert 2010, 132), Ekiert examines how fairly advanced Polish learners apply articles in English and what kinds of meanings govern their choice. In Ekiert’s study, three adult L1 Polish learners of English were each subjected to three linguistic tasks. In the first task, the participants were asked to watch a short video and retell the story they saw in writing. The second task was a missing article exercise in which the subjects were supposed to fill in the missing articles. No blanks were provided in order not to affect the participants’ placement of articles. This task was included to “assess the participants’ understanding of form-meaning connections involved in the application of articles in discourse” (Ekiert 2010, 133).

In order to reveal what kinds of meanings determined the participants’ application of articles in the second task, the researchers conducted a stimulated recall session with the participants right after the missing article task. In the session, the subjects were asked to explain the reasons for their choices in the missing article task. Over the time of the study, all the tasks were conducted three times with each participant.

Ekiert (2010, 145) reports that the most prominent trend among the participants was the omission of articles. She believes this finding can be explained by the influence of the participants' L1. Ekiert noticed there was a clear tendency among the subjects to avoid articles towards the end of sentences. This would point to the fact that Polish, as an inflectional language, has a relatively free word order, which serves to identify which information is new and which is given. Ekiert (2010, 146) states that "newness of information has been strongly associated by linguists ... with referent unidentifiability (and, by some, with indefiniteness), while givenness has been associated with referent identifiability (hence definiteness). Ekiert (2010, 146) argues that "from a pragmatic point of view, additional marking of these contexts for identifiability [i.e. by articles] may be sensed as redundant." This might be one of the reasons why the speakers in many cases did not see the necessity to use articles as the indicator of functional sentence perspective.

When the articles were actually applied by the learners, it was mainly in textual contexts. In addition, when asked to explain their choices, the participants most frequently referred to the first-mention vs. second-mention rule (Ekiert 2010, 149). Ekiert (2010, 149) hypothesizes that this preference could be explained by the "grammar of narrative", which was described by Berman and Slobin (1994). They explain that in order to acquire the grammar of narrative, the learner must select the main plot and acquire the syntactic forms necessary for its linguistic expression (Berman and Slobin 1994, 7). Ekiert (2010, 149) believes "the participants ... might have been highlighting the main story elements ... with textual uses of *the*."

Finally, Ekiert (2010, 150) proposes that "[the participants'] article use was determined, in part, by the L1-influenced conceptual system." Example (3) taken from Ekiert (2010, 144) shows a sentence with an incorrect use of the definite article in the "first mention context".

- (3) \*The man, his donkey, and a dog were travelling.

Ekiert (2010, 150) reports the speaker explained his choice by stating that the man from the story was made specific by the fact that he was travelling with his donkey. According to Ekiert, one of the reasons why the learners' use of articles was not target-like lies in the fact that the Polish concepts of (in)definiteness do not overlap with the English system, described by Maratsos (1974).

Ekiert (2010, 147) claims that in her study, the patterns in the subjects' application of articles "illustrate how the participants were predisposed to attend to certain aspects of the reference tracking in the narrative due to obligatory categories in their native grammar that were readily available to them, such as word order."

Although Ekiert analysed the written form of language, she explicitly refers to Slobin's Thinking for Speaking theory and interprets the results of her study accordingly. According to Slobin, when people use language, they access their thought in a particular manner. The thinking that immediately precedes the act of speaking or is in use during the process is shaped by the linguistic forms available for the individual. As Slobin (1987, 435) explains, "each language provides a limited set of options for the grammatical encoding of characteristics of objects and events". The characteristics which are selected must both "fit some conceptualization of the event, and ... [be] readily encodable in the language" (Slobin 1987, 435). Slobin's theory deals with encoding motion in narration and is rooted in Talmy's semantic typology of languages.

## 4 Talmy's semantic typology

In 1975, the semanticist Leonard Talmy presented his first attempt to formulate a cross-linguistic typology based on the lexicalization patterns involved in the description of motion events. Talmy returned to the issue again in 1985. With respect to the description of a motion event, Talmy uses the terms Motion, Path, Figure, Ground, Manner and Cause, which he calls semantic elements (1985, 57). As he further explains, “the basic motion event consists of one object (the ‘Figure’) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or ‘Ground’). It is analyzed as having four components: besides ‘Figure’ and ‘Ground’, there are ‘Path’ and ‘Motion’. The ‘Path’ (with a capital P) is the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object. ‘Motion’ (with a capital M) refers to the presence per se in the event of motion or location” (Talmy 1985, 60-61).

All the beforementioned elements are considered internal constituents of a motion events. In addition, Talmy introduces the terms Manner and Cause which “[are analyzed] as constituting a distinct external event” (1985, 61).” When the Figure is placed in a certain location or set in motion by an external force, the motion event is analysed as having a Cause. When no such force is exerted on the Figure, Talmy talks about the Manner of motion of the Figure.

To illustrate Talmy's theory in practice, we can analyse the following sentence:

- (4) The bottle floated into the cave.

the bottle – Figure

floated – Motion + Manner

into – Path

the cave – Ground

As can be seen in (4), Manner and Motion are both expressed by the verb root. Not all world languages are, however, capable of this. As



la botella – Figure  
 entró – Motion + Path  
 la cueva – Ground  
 flotando – Manner

Unlike satellite-framed languages, the verb-framed languages have a wide repertoire of verbs which are capable of expressing motion along various paths. Apart from the verb *entrar* which encodes the meaning “move in”, the inventory includes verbs such as *salir* (move out), *pasar* (move by), *subir* (move up), *bajar* (move down), *volver* (move back) and many others (Talmy 1985, 69-71).

In summary, the differences between the two types of languages according to Talmy are presented in the table below.

Type	Coding of Path	Coding of Manner	Typical representants
<i>Satellite-framed</i>	in the satellite	in the verb	IE languages except the Romance branch; Chinese
<i>Verb-framed</i>	in the verb	in the adjunct or omitted	Romance, Semitic, Polynesian languages

Table 2: Talmy’s language typology summarized

#### 4.1. The two-way typology challenged

Despite the fact that Talmy’s typology is generally recognized as a fundamental work in the field of cognitive linguistics, his view has been revised and subjected to much constructive criticism.

Matsumoto (2003), for example, reacts to terminological inaccuracies of Talmy’s work and proposes different names for the two types of languages Talmy recognizes. He claims that the main problem of Talmy’s approach is “the misleading use of the term ‘verb’” (Matsumoto

2003, 48). According to Matsumoto, when Talmy speaks of a “verb”, what he really has in mind is the head of a clause.

In sentences such as the one in (5), the element expressing Manner, in this case *flotando*, is technically a verb form but cannot function as the head of the clause. The head of the clause in the sentence is the finite verb *entró*. As mentioned before, Talmy (1991, 486) characterizes verb-framed languages as “languages that characteristically map the core schema [the Path] into the verb.” Following Matsumoto’s argument, it would be more accurate to say that these languages map the Path into the head of the clause. Therefore, in Matsumoto’s work, verb-framed languages are referred to as head-framed languages and satellite-framed languages are usually termed as nonhead-framed languages (Matsumoto 2003, 408).

Matsumoto, however, additionally points out that the term “nonhead” is not a direct equivalent to the term “satellite”. According to Talmy (2000, 102), satellite is “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister-relation to the verb root. It relates to the verb root as a dependant to a head” (Talmy 2000, 102). This definition includes English particles, German and Russian verb prefixes as well as Chinese directional verbal complements and Atsugewi directional suffixes, but it denies the possibility of Path being expressed by prepositions.

In example (6) though, the Path is without doubt expressed by the very preposition *through*. Following Talmy’s definitions, it falls into neither of the categories he recognizes. The construction is neither satellite-framed nor verb-framed, it can be, however said, that it is nonhead-framed because although prepositions are not satellites, they do fit the definition of a non-head.

(6) John walked **through** the building.

(Matsumoto 2003, 408)

A similar line of argument is found in Croft et al. (2010). The authors, as well as Matsumoto (2003), mention the problems connected with the definition of “verb” across languages and emphasize Talmy’s

unsatisfactory delimitation of satellite. Croft et al. (2010, 4) argue that what mattered in Talmy’s original typology was which semantic element was lexicalized in the main verb and, therefore, the issue of prepositions was not of much significance then. Talmy’s subsequent two-way classification, which was summarized in Section 4, however, concentrates on a different aspect, namely the grammatical element which expresses the Path. In this case, “it does matter whether prepositions are satellites” (Croft et al. 2010, 5).

Croft et al., unlike Matsumoto, suggest retaining Talmy’s terminology as to the names of the language types, which seems reasonable given the fact that they are well-established in linguistic literature. Instead, Croft et al. (2010) propose a reformulation of Talmy’s definition of satellite. In their view, “anything that is not a verb root but encodes an event component [should] be analyzed as a satellite. This definition therefore includes English prepositions which encode the framing/result subevent, even if they do not occur without an accompanying ground expression.” (Croft et al. 2010, 6).

The reformulated view could be then summarized as follows:

Type	Coding of Path	Coding of Manner
<i>Satellite-framed</i>	in the satellite	in the verb root
<i>Verb-framed</i>	in the verb root	in the satellite or omitted

Table 3: Croft et al.’s redefinition of Talmy’s bipartite semantic typology

Croft et al. (2010, 6) additionally notice that “the two types that Talmy originally proposed, satellite-framing and verb-framing, are **asymmetric** in their encoding of the semantic components of an event: one component is expressed by a verb/main predicate, and the other component by an element that cannot independently function as a verb/main predicate.” Yet some languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, can code semantic components of a motion event **symmetrically**, i.e. “both

event and frame are expressed in forms that may occur as predicates on their own” (Croft et al. 2010, 6) – see example (7).

- (7) a@men      **pa\*o** **chu@** lali    le  
 3PL            run    exit    come   PF  
 “They came running out.”

(Croft et al. 2010, 6)

This issue is also dealt with in Slobin (2004). Slobin revises Talmy’s binary typology and adds a third type, **equipollently-framed languages**, which appears to correspond to Croft et al.’s symmetrical framing. Equipollently-framed languages are languages in which “path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms” (Slobin 2004, 25).

In summary, Croft et al. (2010, 7) distinguish between satellite framing, verb framing and symmetrical framing (or in Slobin’s terminology equipollent framing) but, moreover, add a fourth category – **double framing**. In this framing construction, “the path or framing expression is expressed twice, once as a detached satellite and once as part of the verb” (Croft et al. 2010, 7).

According to Croft et al., this construction can be found in Russian but also French and Spanish. Russian is considered a satellite-framed language which expresses the Path of motion primarily by a verbal prefix. Example (8) a) shows that Path in Russian is encoded not only in the prefix but also in the preposition. The same statement could be made about Czech – a Czech translation of the Russian sentence is presented in (8) b).

- (8) a)    Ja    **vy**-bežal                    **iz**    doma.  
           I    out-ran                        from   house:GEN  
           “I ran out of the house.”

(Croft et al. 2010, 8)

- b)    **Vy**-běhl jsem                **z**    domu.  
       out-ran:1SG                from   house:GEN  
       “I ran out of the house.”

Another problem with Talmy's strictly binary view on languages is that it does not consider varieties within individual languages. As mentioned before, Talmy claims Spanish is a typical representative of verb-framed languages, which means the Path constituent is typically expressed by the main verb. However, if we accept Croft et al.'s definition of a satellite as "anything that is not a verb root but encodes an event component" (Croft et al. 2010, 6), it can be said that Spanish also allows satellite framing in certain situations. Example (9) contrasts two Spanish sentences with a similar meaning but different framing constructions: path framing in a) and satellite framing in b).

(9) a) La botella **entró** a la cueva *flotando*. (The bottle **entered** the cave *floating*.)

(Talmy 1985, 69)

b) La botella *flotó* **hacia** la cueva. (The bottle *floated* **towards** the cave.)

(Aske 1989, 3)

To shed some light on the matter, Aske (1989, 6) draws attention to the existence of two types of path phrases in English, only one of which translates into Spanish. This type is referred to as "locative path phrase". Aske (1989, 6) explains it is "basically a locative ... which adds the location (i.e. the path or one-dimensional region) in which the activity took place." It is noted that this type of a path phrase is easily translatable from English to Spanish. An example of a locative path phrase and its Spanish translation are presented in (10). In both the English and the Spanish sentence, the verb conflates information about Manner and Motion just like in the case of the sentence in (9) b).

(10) a) Lou **ran** in the park.

b) Lou **corrió** en el parque.

The locative path phrase stands in contrast to the telic path phrase. Aske (1989, 6) explains that it “acts semantically as a special type of non-verbal predicate ... [which] predicates, besides a path of notion, an end-of-path location/state of the Figure.” This definition corresponds to the sentence in (9) a).

Perhaps a clearer statement on the two types of phrases with different framing patterns is made by Slobin and Hoiting (1994), who talk about what was later referred to as the “boundary-crossing constraint”. It is argued that verb-framed languages only allow constructions with the main verb expressing Manner if the Path does not include the crossing of a boundary. Slobin (2004, 7) illustrates this point clearly by stating that “it is possible, across a range of V-languages, to say the equivalent of ‘fly to/from the tree’ but not ‘fly out of the hole’.” The reason for the constraint apparently lies in the fact that in verb-framed languages “crossing a spatial boundary is conceived of as a change of state, and state changes require an independent predicate” (Slobin 1997, 441).

As Slobin (2004, 7) puts it, verb-framed languages normally use a neutral verb of motion to talk about any creature’s “normal manner of movement”. A manner verb is used only when it is required for Manner to be foregrounded. Slobin (2004, 7) reports that verbs with “high energy motor patterns that are more like punctual acts than activities, such as equivalents of ‘throw oneself’ and ‘plunge’ ... occur with boundary crossing.” By way of explanation, Slobin (2004, 7) theorizes that this may be due to the fact that “a sudden boundary crossing can be conceptualized as a change of state” and concludes as follows:

The only manner verbs that can occur in boundary-crossing situations are those that are not readily conceived of as activities, but, rather, as "instantaneous" acts.

(Slobin 2004, 7)

An example of such a high energy motion allowing the possibility of satellite-framing in Spanish is presented in the sentence below:

(11) El niño se sumergió en la piscina.

“The child plunged into the swimming-pool.”

(Cadierno 2010, 3)

The possibility of verb-framing in languages such as Spanish points to the fact that strictly defined typological categories are “not particularly satisfying for discourse analysis” (Slobin 2004, 25). Instead, the interest of researchers is shifted to motion in narration, specifically “the impact of various additional options on the structure of narrative and the allocation of attention – especially to features of path and manner” (Slobin 2004, 25).

## **5 Motion in narration and Thinking for Speaking**

In the 1980s Dan Slobin and Ruth Berman began their work on a series of research projects focusing on the expression of motion events in narratives. As a basic material for the studies, they selected a wordless picture book called *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969), which uses a series of illustrations to tell the story of a boy who is searching for his lost frog. The choice of the material was governed by the fact that motion plays a central part in the story.

In their 1994 research, Berman and Slobin examined three verb-framed languages, specifically Spanish, Hebrew and Turkish, and two satellite-framed languages, namely English and German. The participants, who were of various ages, ranging from three up to adult age, were instructed to tell the story of the boy and the frog using their own words. Slobin continued the research in a series of subsequent studies where more languages of both types were subjected to scrutiny.

The main objective of these analyses was to examine individual components of motion events and other factors at play in order to describe the rhetorical styles typical for each language. Particular attention was paid, as outlined at the end of Section 4.1, to “factors that influence the habitual expressions of Path and factors that influence the habitual expressions of Manner” (Slobin 2004, 25).

### **5.1. Manner**

Slobin (2004, 6) states that speakers of satellite-framed languages pay more attention to Manner than speakers of verb-framed languages. To illustrate the point, Slobin (2004, 6) concentrates on the scene from Mayer’s book where an owl emerges from a hole in a tree. The preferred description of the scene provided by the speakers of verb-framed languages make use of a single Path verb with the meaning “to exit” while Manner is not specified at all due to “heavier syntactic packaging” (Özçalışkan and Slobin 2003, 6). Example (12) presents a construction typical for speakers of verb-framed languages taken from Slobin’s data.

Similar types of descriptions were provided Italian, Turkish and Hebrew speakers.

- (12) a) Spanish: **Sale** un buho. (**Exits** an owl.)  
b) French: D'un trou de l'arbre **sort** un hibou. (From a hole of the tree **exits** an owl.)

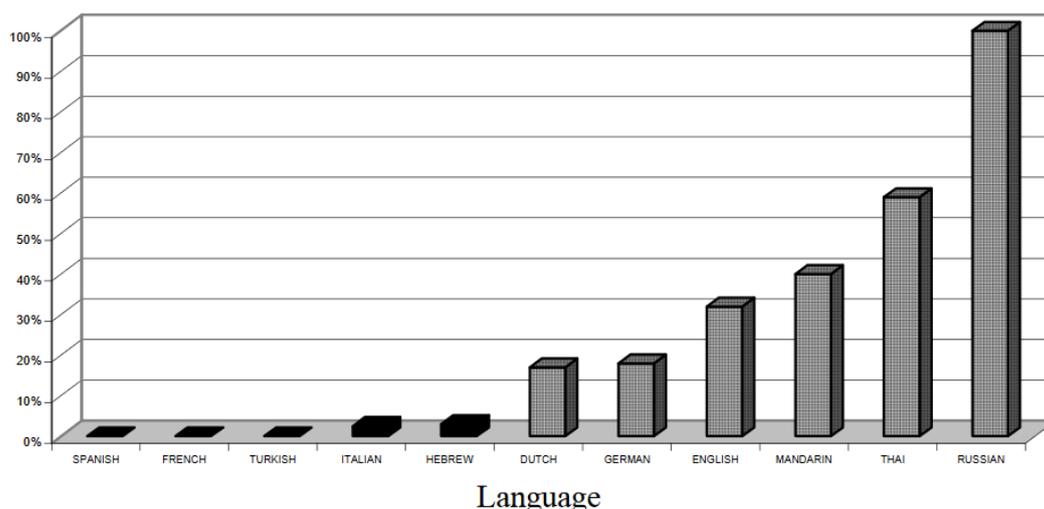
(Slobin 2004, 6)

Speakers of satellite-framed languages, on the contrary, use the verb to express Manner of motion while Path is expressed in the satellite. Below are example sentences from English and Russian. Other languages examined by Slobin included German, Dutch and Mandarin.

- (13) a) English: An owl *popped out*.  
b) Russian: Tam **vy-skočila** sova. (There **out-jumped** owl.)

(Slobin 2004, 6)

Graph 1, taken from Slobin (2004), clearly illustrates the apparent discrepancy between the amount of Manner information provided by speakers of verb-framed (Spanish, French, Turkish, Italian and Hebrew) and satellite-framed languages (Dutch, German, English, Mandarin, Thai and Russian) in the study, with the overwhelming majority being on the side of the latter group.



Graph 1: Percentage of narrators using a manner verb for the owl's emergence

(Slobin 2004,7)

Berman and Slobin (1994, 118) conclude that “satellite-framed languages ... tend towards greater specification of Manner, probably because the lexicon provides a large collection of verbs that conflate Manner with change of location (crawl, swoop, tumble, etc.), often conflating cause as well (dump, hurl, shove, etc.). In verb-framed languages, such elaboration is more of a “luxury”, since Path and Manner are elaborated in separate expressions, which are generally optional, and which are less compact in form [e.g. ‘exit flying (from the hole)’ vs ‘fly out (of the hole)’].”

Despite the clear difference between the salience of Manner in satellite-framed and verb-framed languages, Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Hijazo-Gascón (2012, 352) highlight that “sometimes it is taken for granted that all languages that belong to the same group necessarily behave in the same way, that is, they show similar characterisations of motion events in terms of the degree of expressiveness and detail. However, it has been shown that this is not the case: variation exists intratypologically ... and even diatopically <sup>2</sup>.”

<sup>2</sup> That is within one type and even within one language.

Graph 1 clearly shows how the frequency of the expression of Manner within the group of satellite-framed languages varies. According to the results of Slobin's study (2004), Russian speakers expressed Manner in almost 100 per cent of their descriptions of motion events, whereas English speakers provided information about the Manner of the owl's movement in only 32 per cent. Slobin (2004, 8) reports that the most frequent construction English speaker opted for is "come out". He further argues that in this situation, speakers of Germanic languages are in the same position as speakers of verb-framed languages. They select the viewer's perspective and concentrate on the owl's appearance itself using "a readily available expression" (Slobin 2004, 8). Slobin (2004, 8) explains that to be able to add information about Manner, speakers of Germanic languages would have to use a syntactically heavy expression, such as "come flying out".

Speakers of Slavic languages, on the other hand, have no equivalent of English "come" available. Instead, they always use a Manner verb in combination with a Path-expressing prefix. Slobin argues two options are available in Russian. The first possibility is that the speaker concentrates on the owl's appearance itself, ignoring the fact that it emerges from the hole. In this case, he/she uses the prefix *pri-*, as in *pri-letet* (*come-fly*). This option was chosen only by 11 per cent of the participants. The other available option is that the speaker foregrounds the owl's emergence from the hole and uses the construction *vy-letet* (*out-fly*) which is what the majority of the Russian speakers in the study opted for. Still, in both cases, unlike in English, a Manner verb must be used, which is why speakers of Slavic languages tend to express Manner even more often than speakers of Germanic languages.

Šimoníková (2016) reports similar differences between Manner salience in English and Czech. She compared the script which was provided for the originally wordless Frog story by Salt software with Czech translations of the texts made by students of Translation and Interpreting Studies at Palacký University in Olomouc, all native speakers of Czech. Šimoníková (2016, 52) concludes that "the diversity of the English source text was matched or outstripped by the Czech translations.

Every English Manner verb was translated by 2.6 types in Czech on average, ranging from no less than one to four at the most.”

Having said that satellite-framed languages in general tend to express Manner in the majority of cases while in verb-framed languages the unmarked case is avoiding the use of Manner verb, it would be tempting to draw a hasty conclusion and claim that speakers of verb-framed languages pay less attention to Manner than speakers of satellite-framed languages. However, Slobin (2004, 12) and many others point out it is equally necessary to investigate other linguistic and non-linguistic forms which can be used by speakers to express Manner.

### 5.1.1. Alternative Manner expression

Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003, 7) hypothesized that “V-language speakers [may] make frequent use of ... alternative means to encode Manner of motion, thus compensating for the relative difficulty of encoding both Path and Manner in verbal constructions”. The alternative way of expressing Manner speakers can make use of include **linguistic forms** other than verbs as well as non-linguistic forms. The list of possible lexical alternatives identified by Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003, 7) is provided below:

- adverbial expressions that describe or suggest manner of movement, e.g. *she walked in a crippled way*
- descriptions of internal state or physical condition of a moving entity, allowing one to infer manner of movement, e.g. *he was exhausted*
- descriptions of features of the physical setting that could influence manner of movement e.g., *the trail was steep and slippery.*

To test the hypothesis presented above, Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003) compared descriptions of motion events in nine English and nine Turkish novels as well as oral narrative samples originally collected for the purpose of Slobin and Berman’s 1994 study. As to alternative linguistic

forms, the authors concluded that in both languages, alternative manner expressions were used with similar frequency but for different purposes. While in English, the additional manner indicators were used predominantly with manner verbs and thus provided even more specification, in Turkish, they mostly appeared with non-manner verbs, possibly to compensate for the lack of Manner information in the verb constructions (Özçalışkan and Slobin 2003, 267). Based on these findings, it can be concluded that, although speakers of verb-framed languages typically don't encode Manner of motion in a verb, they do not ignore Manner information completely but instead, they sometimes express it in an alternative way. Still, it could be argued that Manner is more prevalent for speakers of satellite-framed languages because on top of the fact that they typically encode Manner in the main verb, they also use alternative lexical expressions of Manner with higher frequency and more detail than the speakers of verb-framed languages (Özçalışkan and Slobin 2003, 267).

In addition to the alternatives identified in Özçalışkan's and Slobin's study (2003), there is another frequently discussed lexical means of encoding Manner, i.e. sound symbolism. Slobin (2004, 14) admits that "[ideophones] provide an important option for expressing Manner of motion" but, at the same time, he reports that "they are not highly frequent in the languages of the frog story sample considered [in the present study]" (Slobin 2004, 14). Nevertheless, other studies show that sound symbolism does serve an important role in expressing Manner. Sound symbolism as an alternative way of encoding Manner is well-documented in languages such as Basque (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2006), Japanese (Hamano 1998) or Turkish (Slobin 2014), all representatives of verb-framed languages.

By way of illustration, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006, 506-507) reports that sound-symbolic expressions in Basque may be used to describe Ground and Path but, in most cases, they describe Manner. Example (14) presents only a few of many Basque manner-expressing ideophones, specifically those which describe ways of walking.

- (14) a) aka-taka = 'toddling'  
b) tapa-tapa = 'walk lightly'

- c) tipi-tapa = ‘pitterpatter’
- d) zapa-zapa = ‘walk without stopping’

(Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2006, 505)

On top of the various lexical means of Manner expression, studies of Motion in narration also derived interesting data about the role of **non-verbal** communication in the expression of the semantic elements of a motion event. Slobin (2004, 14) reports that for instance in Basque and Japanese, the use of ideophones is frequently accompanied by **gestural expressions**. He further generalizes that in verb-framed languages, the gestures tend to express only Path or only Manner or conflate the two. On the other hand, in English, which is a satellite-framed language, it is reported that gestures are used only to mimic Path or the combination of Path and Manner but hardly ever to express only Manner (Slobin 2004, 15). Arguably, the explanation could be that the amount of Manner information provided by a Manner verb, which is the preferred expression in satellite-framed languages, is detailed enough. Additional Manner information expressed by a gesture might be sensed as redundant, unless the gesture also specifies Path information.

A more detailed study concentrating solely on gestural expressions performed by Özyürek et al. (2005), however, reveals the situation might be slightly more complex. Özyürek et al. (2005, 236) agree with Slobin (2004) that the two types of languages vary in the use of gestural expressions, but only in situations where the two groups of speakers differ also in syntactic packaging. Specifically, in situations where both Path and Manner were encoded in their speech, Turkish speakers were more likely to accompany their speech with two gestures, one expressing Manner and the other one Path, or only one gesture expressing Manner, while English speakers tended to prefer conflated gestures.

The difference, however, disappears in contexts where both Turkish and English speakers decide to express only Manner or only Path in their speech. In this case, regardless of the language, both groups were more likely to accompany a verbal Path expression with a Path gesture and

a verbal Manner expression with a Manner gesture (Özyürek et al. 2005, 232-234).

The results of Özyürek et al.'s study contradict the assumption that speakers of verb-framed languages generally prefer to use a separate Manner gesture to possibly compensate for the lack of Manner information in their speech, whereas speakers of satellite-framed languages tend to use gestures that conflate Manner and Path only to accompany the information already given in their speech. Rather, the authors suggest that “gestural differences between English and Turkish speakers ... could be directly attributed to the online choice of different semantic and syntactic encoding patterns” (Özyürek et al. 2005, 237).

## 5.2. Path

Unlike Manner, Path is an obligatory constituent of a motion event; in other words, all languages must express the Path of motion in some way. Talmy named the two types of languages he distinguishes, i.e. verb-framed and satellite-framed, after the morphological elements which typically encode Path. As Slobin (2004, 17) argues though, as for Path, the differences between languages lie in more than that; to be concrete “languages differ with regard to canonical segmentation of paths as well as the relative ease of building complex path constructions.”

The different possibilities of path segmentation in languages could be demonstrated on the following sentences, which might be all used to depict the frog's escape from the jar at the beginning of Mayer's picture book.

- (15) a) The frog escaped.  
b) The frog exited the jar, passed through the window, and entered the woods.  
c) The frog crawled out of the jar and through the window into the woods.

Slobin (2004, 17)

Sentence (15) a) summarizes the whole event using one verb, sentence (15) b), on the other hand, cuts the Path into a number of shorter “sub-trajectories” and elaborates on each of them. Each sub-trajectory is expressed by a single Path verb. Slobin (2004, 17) claims this is the preferred construction in verb-framed languages. Since each of the Path segments counts as a boundary-crossing situation, each of them must be expressed by a separate verb which conflates Motion and Path. Slobin (2004, 17) adds that the constraint applies not only in boundary-crossing situations but also “whenever a change of path direction occurs.”

Example (15) c) presents another elaborated description of the Path, however, it differs from the sentence in b) in the “tightness of packaging” of the Path information (Slobin 2004, 17). The sentence in (15) c) contains one Manner verb but three different Path-expressing particles which encode the various sub-trajectories. According to Slobin (2004, 18), this type of construction is typical for satellite-framed languages. It was discovered already by Berman and Slobin (1994, 118) that due to different syntactic properties, satellite-framed languages are able to accumulate more path satellites for one verb, as presented in (15) c). However, this construction is not always possible in all satellite-framed languages.

Slobin (2004, 18) reports that a Russian adult speaker described the scene in Mayer’s picture book where the deer suddenly appears after it was hidden behind a rock as follows:

(16)	iz-za	kamnja	olen	vy-skočil
	from-behind	(a) rock	(a) deer	out-jumped

Due to the absence of Czech data, I am forced to use my own translation of the sentence. The Czech version, presented in (17), as well as the Russian sentence in (16) are in agreement with Slobin’s claim about the segmented Path expressions in satellite-framed languages. In both sentences, the speakers were able to express the complex Path within one clause.

(17)	zpoza kamene	vyskočil	jelen
------	--------------	----------	-------

from-behind (a) rock out-jumped (a) deer

However, the elaborated construction depicting the frog's escape presented in (18) a) would not be possible in Czech, as can be seen in (18) b). One of the possible Czech translations of the sentence is given in (18) c).

(18) a) The frog crawled out of the jar and through the window into the woods.

b)	*Žabák	vylezl	ze	a	oknem	do	lesa.
	frog	out-crawled	sklenice from jar	and	through window	into	forest

c)	Žabák	vylezl	ze	vyskočil	z okna	a	utekl	do
	frog	out-crawled	sklenice, from jar	out-jumped	from window	and	ran away	lesa. into forest

In this particular situation where the Path is highly elaborate, Czech must use separate clause for each Path segment, which makes it similar to what is required in verb-framed languages. It could be suggested that the main reason for the difference between the Czech and English construction, with respect to the expression of Path, lies in the morphological properties of Slavic languages. Slavic languages are typically more synthetic than Germanic languages. In Czech, the Path is mainly expressed by a verbal prefix, i.e. a bound morpheme. It is not possible to coordinate more prefixes per verb root, instead the speaker must coordinate whole clauses. English, on the other hand encodes Path in particles, which can be freely coordinated, resulting in a single verb phrase.

In general, verb-framed languages are more limited in their Path expression; each Path segment must be expressed by a separate verb. In satellite-framed languages, the speakers may express a complex Path within one clause. There is, however, some variety within the type. In particular, Czech is to some extent limited by its morphological structure,

which often does not allow complex Path constructions to be expressed in a single clause.

## 6 Thinking for speaking in L2

As outlined in Section 3, learning a foreign language poses a considerable challenge to speakers who have already acquired a characteristic way of Thinking for Speaking. A new language requires acquiring a new way of Thinking for Speaking. In terms of encoding motion, it means learning to decide which aspects of a motion event must be expressed and what the typical lexicalization pattern in the language is.

When learning English, speakers of verb-framed languages, such as Spanish, face a particularly difficult task. The key difference between the languages lies in Manner salience. English, as a satellite-framed language, shows high degree of Manner salience. Typically, Manner is expressed by the verb. In Spanish, on the other hand, verbs characteristically express Path. Using Croft et al.'s terminology, Manner is either expressed by the satellite or omitted altogether.

When a speaker decides to learn a language which belongs to the same semantic type as their L1, hypothetically, the task would require much less effort and cause fewer problems. Nonetheless, to some extent, variety exists even within one semantic type. The fact that Slavic languages lack the equivalent of the English deictic verb “come” contributes to the differences Slavic and Germanic languages show with respect to Manner salience. Slavic languages, e.g. Russian and Czech, tend to express Manner even more frequently than Germanic languages.

As to the expression of the core semantic constituent, i.e. the Path, Slavic languages typically encode Path in a bound prefix, which in some cases prevents them from expressing complex Paths by the “tightly packaged” one-clause constructions typical e.g. for English.

Based on these observations, Slavic learners of English can be, as well as e.g. Spanish learners of English, expected to use non-native patterns of encoding Motion in their English, especially at lower levels of proficiency. The question is how prominent the differences can be compared to the deviations present in the English of the speakers of verb-framed languages.

Cadierno (2010, 8) hypothesizes that “it might be the case that the influence of the L1 thinking-for-speaking patterns is stronger at the initial and intermediate stages of language acquisition and that such an influence disappears as the process of acquisition advances.” For this reason, she aims her study at speakers with a relatively low level of their L2. Cadierno’s objective was to compare the expression of boundary-crossing motion events in the speech of Spanish, German and Russian learners of Danish, all at a low intermediate level (i.e. B1 level according to the CEFR). Additionally, the study also investigated the participants’ productive and receptive knowledge of motion verbs, with a particular interest in Manner verbs. The three learner groups were also compared with a group of native speakers of Danish.

As to the languages involved in the study, Danish, German and Russian are all satellite-framed languages whereas Spanish is the only representative of verb-framed languages. In addition, Danish and German are both Germanic languages, which means both of the languages can express Path by unbound particles. Russian, on the other hand, is a Slavic language, which typically encodes Path into a bound morpheme. In sum, all the three languages, unlike Spanish, express Path by a satellite.

The participants of Cadierno’s study (2010) had to complete three tasks: a picture description task, a production task and a recognition task. The first task was aimed at participants’ use of Manner verbs in the description of movements in and out of a bordered area while the second and the third task aimed directly at the participant’s vocabulary knowledge. In the production task, they were supposed to write down as many motion words as they could think of in 5 minutes. In the recognition task, the subjects were given a list of verbs where they circled all the verbs they knew.

The data from the picture description task showed that the speakers tended to follow the verbalization patterns typical for their L1. In their descriptions of motion, the speakers of Russian and German as well as the Danish comparison group used the combination of a Manner verb and a Path satellite most frequently. In the majority, the Spanish group, on the other hand, used the construction combining a non-Manner verb and a Path

satellite, which slightly deviates from the constructions typical for verb-framed languages, i.e. Path verb + a Manner satellite. At the same time, it can be argued that the Spanish speakers were forced to choose from the options available in the target language and selected the one which was the closest to the construction used in their native tongue. Cadierno (2010, 22) explains that the usage of these constructions points to the fact that Spanish learners pay little attention to the actual Manner of motion depicted in the picture.

As to the vocabulary knowledge, the German and Russian learners were able to produce and recognize a significantly larger proportion of motion verbs than the Spanish learners. This can be explained by the different degree of Manner salience in verb-framed and satellite-framed languages.

In summary, Cadierno's study proved that the inter-typological differences between languages are significantly more important than the intra-typological differences. In addition, the data showed that "speaking about motion in an L2 ... seems to be influenced by the specific verbalized orientation to experience that is characteristic of the learners' L1" (Cadierno 2010, 25-26).

The question is whether or not the difference in the preferred lexicalization patterns between learners with satellite-framed and verb-framed linguistic background will stay significant in higher levels of L2 proficiency. This is what the present study aims to scrutinize.

## RESEARCH

The present research aims to contribute to the substantial number of studies about motion using the picture book *Frog, where are you?* by Mercer Mayer. The main objective of the present study is to investigate the speakers' L1 influence on their L2 English. The theoretical background of the work is drawn from Talmy's semantic language typology and Slobin's Thinking for Speaking model, which critically reacts to Talmy and elaborates on his theory. To be more specific, I worked with two groups of participants, one being speakers of Czech (i.e. a satellite-framed language) and the other speakers of Spanish, which is a verb-framed language. For simplification, I shall call the two groups "Czech group" and "Spanish group". The two groups were compared with the control group of L1 English speakers, whose transcripts I had available from other researchers.

English is, as well as Czech, a satellite-framed language, therefore I expected to find more similarities between the control group and the Czech group than the control group and the Spanish group, mainly in terms of Manner expression. To be more concrete, I suggest that the Spanish group will probably use Manner verbs less often than the English group, while the Czech group would use Manner verbs with a frequency very similar to the English control group. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that despite their very advanced level of English, the Czech speakers' language performance would very likely still show detectable traces of foreign speech. Based on Slobin's (2004) findings on intra-typological differences and Šimoníková's (2016) comparison of English and Czech expression of motion events, L1 Czech speakers are likely to use Manner verbs even more often than L1 English speakers.

Apart from Manner expression, the groups will be also compared with respect to Path expression and the treatment of motion in the stories in general. Additionally, the results of my analysis will be compared with the results of Cadierno's study of motion expression in L2 Danish (2010), especially with respect to Manner expression.

On the basis of the reasoning presented above and especially in the literature review section of the thesis, I formulate the following research questions: **Can crosslinguistic influence of L1 on L2 be observed in the learners' narratives?**

Specifically, I will try to examine the following questions:

1) Will the Czech and the Spanish group differ from each other as well as from the control group in the frequency of the use of motion verbs?

2) Will the Czech and the Spanish group differ from each other as well as from the control group in Manner expression? More specifically, will the Spanish speakers use Manner verbs less frequently when describing boundary-crossing scene?

3) Will the Czech and the Spanish group differ from each other as well as from the control group in Path expression?

4) What strategies will the speakers from the Czech and the Spanish group use to compensate for their presumed lack of language competence in English?

## 7 Methodology

### 7.1. Material

As well as many other researchers interested in motion expression in language, I used Mercer Mayer's wordless picture book *Frog, where are you?* (1969) as a tool for the elicitation of narration. As mentioned in section 5, the book was first used in the series of experiments performed by Berman and Slobin, who described the recommended procedure and analysis of the material in detail in their 1994 work entitled *Relating events in narrative: A crosslinguistic developmental study*.

I was working with a PDF document and a printout where each sheet covered only one page of the book, resulting in the story being divided into 29 pictures. Only after the experiment had been conducted did I notice the original version of the book contained only 24 pictures as 5 of the pictures were printed on double-page spreads. For better illustration, the original layout pictures 8 and 9 on the first double-page spread is provided in Figure 1 and the version I used in the experiment can be seen in Figure 2.

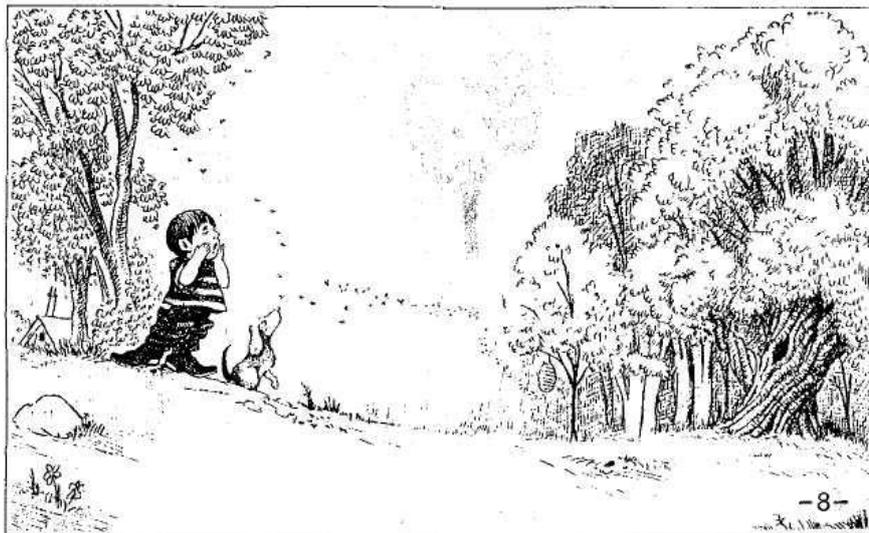


Figure 1: The original layout of the scenes I refer to as 8 and 9



Figure 2: Scenes 8 and 9 as provided to the participants of the study

As the speakers were working with the version where the pictures were separated into two sheets, I decided to analyse the pictures as two separate scenes, which gives us 29 separate scenes. Mayer's picture book is originally wordless, however, Berman and Slobin (1996) provide a brief description of each scene. For easier orientation in my data, I enclose the descriptions divided into 29 scenes, as opposed to the original 25. My additions and alterations to the description are marked in italics or specified in a foot note. The picture book itself can be found on the enclosed CD.

Picture	Description
1	A boy and his dog are in the boy's bedroom admiring a smiling frog in a glass jar. The moon can be seen through an open window. The boy is in his pajamas, his boots are at the foot of the bed and his clothes are on the floor.
2	The boy and the dog are asleep in the boy's bed. The frog is climbing out of the jar.
3	It is now morning. The boy and the dog are awake and have observed that the frog is missing.
4	The boy is looking in one of his boots for the frog while the dog has stuck his head in the frog's jar.
5	The boy and the dog are looking out the window (the reader sees the building exterior). The boy looks like he is calling out something (i.e., both hands are by his mouth, which is open). The glass jar is stuck on the dog's head.

6	The dog is falling out the window and the boy looks puzzled.
7	The boy has come outside and is holding the dog. The jar has broken and pieces are lying on the ground. The boy has a scowl on his face and the dog is licking the boy's cheek.
8	The boy is calling (i.e., both hands are by his mouth, which is open) and the dog is sniffing with his nose in the air. Bees can be seen flying <i>around</i> . <sup>3</sup>
9	In the distance is a forest. A beehive is hanging in a tree by the edge of the forest.
10	The boy is calling (i.e., one hand is by his mouth, which is open) down a hole in the ground while the dog is jumping up toward the beehive.
11	A small ground rodent, such as a ground squirrel or gopher, has popped out of the hole. The boy is holding his nose and looking unhappy. The dog is still jumping up toward the beehive.
12	The beehive has fallen out of the tree and angry bees are swarming. <sup>7</sup>
13	The boy is sitting on a branch of a large tree exploring a hole in the tree.
14	An owl, with open wings, has come out of the hole and the boy has fallen on the ground.
15	The bees are chasing the dog.
16	The boy is running away from the owl. In the background is a large boulder. Branches of trees can be seen behind it.
17	The boy has climbed to the top of the boulder and is calling (i.e., one hand is by his mouth, which is open). He is holding a branch of a tree. The dog can be seen slinking toward the boulder. His tail is between his legs.
18	What appeared to be branches are, in fact, the antlers of a deer. The boy can be seen draped over the deer's head.
19	The deer is walking, with the boy on his head, toward a cliff. The dog is chasing the deer.
20	The deer has tipped the boy over the edge of the cliff and the dog has apparently fallen off the cliff. Both the boy and the dog are in the midst of falling into a marshy pond.
21	<i>The picture shows the other side of the pond, which is bordered by another cliff with a tree on top.</i>
22	The boy and the dog have fallen head first into the water with a splash. Only their legs are visible.
23	The boy is sitting in the water and the dog is sitting on the boy's shoulder looking over his head. The boy is holding his hand to his ear and smiling, as if he has heard something.
24	The boy is kneeling beside a large log. The dog is swimming toward him. The boy is holding one finger to his mouth (i.e. gesture indicating a need for silence).

<sup>3</sup> The description was divided into two scenes.

25	The boy and the dog are looking over the log. The reader observes them from the back and does not know what they are seeing.
26	The boy and the dog are sitting on the log and are looking at a mother and father frog – one or the other may be the frog that escaped. The frogs are snuggled together and smiling.
27	The frogs’ children emerge from tall grasses on the right. The adult frogs have proud smiles on their faces as they look at their children. The boy and the dog are sitting on the log. The boy is smiling.
28	The boy and the dog are leaving. The boy has a small frog in his hand and is waving at the frog family. <sup>7</sup>
29	The frog family is sitting on the big log.

Table 4: Description of the pictures in Mercer Mayer’s *Frog where are you?* (Adapted from Berman and Slobin 1996)

## 7.2. Participants

Personally or with the assistance of Rosalía Calle Bocanegra, I have recorded 12 native speakers of Czech and 12 native speakers of Spanish. Following Talmy’s typology, it was 12 speakers of a satellite-framed language other than English and 12 speakers of a verb-framed language. These two groups were compared with transcripts of the recordings of native English speakers made available by Dan Slobin via CHILDES corpora. In total, the sub-corpus contains 60 transcripts of the Frog Story recordings. Since its primary focus is on child’s speech, I have used only 12 out of those 60 recordings, specifically they were recordings of 20-year-old adults made by Virginia Marchman (1989) for the purpose of her study on language acquisition and performance. Altogether, I was working with 36 recordings.

The speakers in the Czech group were all either present-day or former students of the bachelor’s or master’s programme of English philology or Translation and interpreting at the Department of English and American studies at the Palacký University’s Faculty of Arts, aged between 23 and 27. All of them had passed the C1 level exam as a part of their study programme, three of them had even passed the C2 level exam. None of them had spent a significant time abroad, especially not in a

country where a verb-framed language is spoken, or has reached a particularly high level of language proficiency in a verb-framed language. Specifically, the longest time spent abroad was a 6 month stay in the USA and the highest level of language proficiency reached was A2 in Spanish. There were 4 males and 8 females in the group.

Due to the difficulties of finding native speakers of satellite-framed languages with a very good command of English in Olomouc, the Spanish group was much more heterogenous than the Czech one. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 55, however, the average age of the participants was 32. The main criterion for the subjects' participation in the experiment, except for their will to cooperate and their availability, was their declared level of English. The majority of the participants claimed to have either B2 or C1 level according to the CEFR, which is a slightly lower level than that of the Czech group. Several of them own a certificate of their level of English, although seldom it is recognized internationally. Only one of the participants had passed the Cambridge English: Proficiency exam, which is a C2 proficiency qualification.

As mentioned above, the group consisted of 12 native speakers of Spanish. Interestingly, four of the native Spanish speakers spent a significant part of their lives in a bilingual environment. One participant's other native tongue is Galician, which is a Romance language spoken mainly in Galicia, an autonomous community in north-western Spain. Another participant considered Italian their other native language. Two participants felt to be bilingual in Spanish and German. Both of them were exposed to German language at a very young age because they lived in Germany but spoke Spanish at home. They state their proficiency in German was higher than their proficiency in Spanish while living in Germany, which changed in favour of Spanish when they moved to Spain. Overall, their competence in the two languages is said to be balanced, nonetheless, they both consider Spanish their L1 and German their L2.

No other participants from the Spanish group were advanced in any other language, neither did they spend a significant amount of time abroad. Although 7 of them were at the time of the study living in the Czech Republic temporarily, they all claimed not to be able to communicate in

Czech beyond a rudimentary knowledge of greetings and elementary words. For 6 of them, English was the language they were currently exposed to every day in their work and studies. One of the 7 participants had recently moved to the Czech Republic but speaks Spanish on everyday basis since he works as the teacher of Spanish language. As to the gender of the participants, the Spanish group consisted of 4 males and 8 females.

To determine the participants' level of English more precisely, I subsequently asked all 24 of them to take an online test of vocabulary knowledge called *LexTALE*, available at [www.lextale.com](http://www.lextale.com). According to its authors, *LexTALE* is a vocabulary test designed specifically for cognitive researchers to test the knowledge of "medium to highly proficient speakers"<sup>4</sup> of L2 English. It is an un-speeded lexical decision task consisting of 60 trials. According to a study by Broersma and Lemhöfer (2012), the test is a good indicator of vocabulary knowledge and a sufficient indicator of general English proficiency. Additionally, *LexTALE* is preferable to participants' self-ratings, especially "in population that are rather heterogenous in terms of L2 proficiency and possibly L1 background" (Broersma and Lemhöfer 2012, 340), which was partially the case of my two participant groups.

The subjects took the tests online from their homes if they had never taken the test before. If they had, they reported their score from the first testing, if it was not conducted more than six months ago. It was emphasised in the instructions that participants may not retake the test as there is only one version of the quiz.

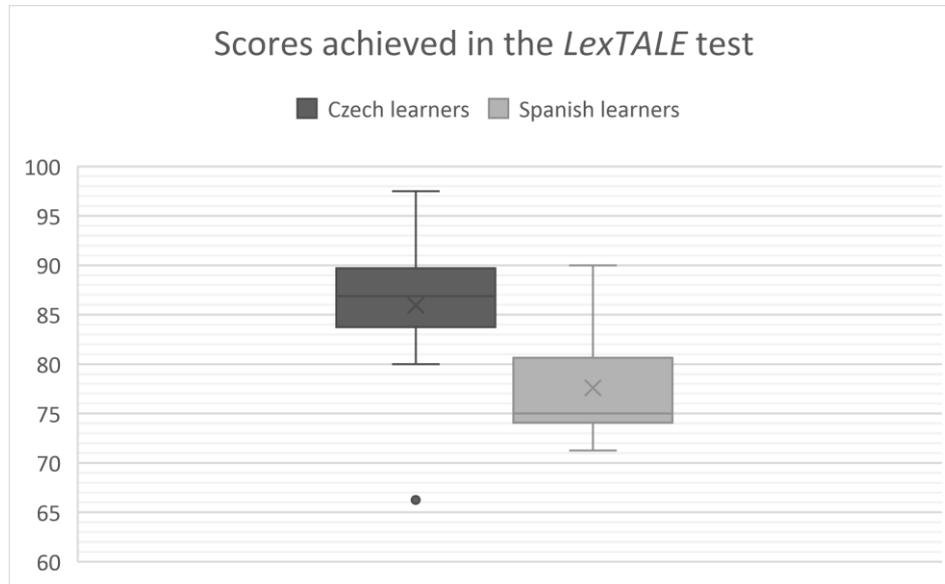
The participants from the Czech group scored between 66.25 and 97.25 %, the average score being 85.94 %. There was only one participant in the Czech group who scored less than 70 % on the test. Interestingly, the person had passed a C2 level exam as a part of their study program.

The participants from the Spanish group scored between 71.25 and 90 per cent, the average score being 77.60 %. As can be seen from the results, the Spanish group had on average a lower level of English than the

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.lextale.com/whatislextale.html>

Czech group. The overview of the scores achieved by the two learner groups is illustrated in Graph 2.



Graph 2: Comparison of the scores received in the *LexTALE* test by the two learner groups.

### 7.3. Procedure

The participants were dealt with individually. Most of the speakers from both groups were recorded personally, either by me (in the case of the Czech group and approximately a third of the participants from the Spanish group) or my colleague Rosalía Calle Bocanegra, who recorded the speakers resident in Spain. Three speakers from the Czech group and two speakers from the Spanish group recorded themselves because they were not available for a personal recording at the time of the study. These participants were explicitly instructed to look at the booklet only a few minutes before the intended recording and record their first trial. It was also highlighted in the instructions that the study aims at natural unprepared speech.

In the assisted recording session as well as in the case of the participants recording themselves, the instructions were given as follows:

*Here's a book, which tells a story about a boy, a dog and a frog. Look through the entire booklet, and then tell the story, while looking at the pictures.*

Afterwards, the participants in the assisted sessions were given the booklet and they were encouraged to ask questions if they wished to. Their queries were mostly concerned with vocabulary; some of the participants also asked if they had to talk about all the pictures in the booklet. This question was clearly provoked by the fact that some of the double-paged spreads were accidentally divided into single sheets, which in some cases depict only the landscape and none of the characters.

Regarding vocabulary, participants in both groups asked for help with words such as “beehive”, “gopher” or “antlers”, in which case they were provided with the English translations. None of the participants asked for help with verbs or other vocabulary items related to motion. As to the other frequently asked question, the participants were instructed to follow their own narrative style but, at the same, to include all the scenes they considered important for the story.

After this brief introduction, the participants were recorded as they told the story while looking at the pictures in the booklet. The recording session was followed by an interview where the participants were asked about their nationality, age, estimated level of English, English language certificates and passed exams, knowledge of other languages and time spent abroad, especially in countries where they got in direct contact with languages other than their native. Last but not least, the participants were asked how they felt during the recording session and whether they experienced any particular problems.

Afterwards the recordings were transcribed. Slips of the tongue were ignored in the transcription as well as utterances such as individual words or unfinished sentences that were corrected by the speaker himself/herself. In this case, only the corrected versions were transcribed. The same rule was applied to the transcripts of L1 English speakers, which were taken from CHILDES corpora. These transcripts had originally included not only words of hesitation and mispronounced words but also

special codes, comments, events, and descriptions of interest to the researchers. All this information was deleted from the transcripts since it was not relevant for this study. The transcripts can be found on the enclosed CD.

## 8 Data analysis

### 8.1. Expression of motion events

The first part of the analysis concentrated on the overall frequency of motion verbs in the samples provided by Czech and Spanish speakers. In order to obtain information about the expression of motion events, I intended to count all motion verbs in the transcripts, which appeared as more of a problem than expected due to the lack of a working definition of a motion verb. A discussion about the delimiting criteria provoked by Stathis Selimis<sup>5</sup> states “it all depends on what investigators look for and why they are interested in motion verbs” (Selimis 2002).

Talmy (2000, 25), whose primary interest is in lexicalization patterns, treats both a situation which involves motion and “the continuation of a stationary location” as a motion event. In this thesis, however, I took the same view as Slobin and other researchers whose focus is on motion itself and concentrated solely on translocational situations. Yet the demarcation of a translocation is not without its problems either. Some verbs, such as *take*, *pick*, *get* or *carry*, can in some cases, but not always, express motion from one place to another. The potential translocational meaning of the verbs depends to great extent on the context. In the arguable cases, I often decided intuitively, examining the verbs in context. If a verb which is in unmarked cases considered a motion verb was used in a figurative meaning (e.g. “fall asleep”), it was not counted as a motion verb. If still in doubt, I consulted Roget’s *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases* (1911) and Levin’s *English Verb Classes and Alternations* (1993). In case the same motion event was described twice or more times within one recording using the same or almost identical words, the verb was counted only once.

The average recording of a Czech L2 learner contained 15.58 motion verbs. Almost identical results were received from the Spanish group; the average recording of a Spanish L2 learner contained 15.50

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<sup>5</sup> The discussion is available at the Linguist LIST platform – a forum for academic linguists.  
<https://www.linguistlist.org/issues/13/13-899.html>

motion verbs. The data from native English speakers contained on average 20.33 motion verbs per recording. Apparently, little variation was found between the two learner groups. The narratives provided by native speakers were, on the other hand, richer in motion events than the two learner groups. The results, however, slightly change if we take into accounts another factor, i.e. the length of an average narrative. The altered data from the three groups are compared in the table below.

	<b>Czech (L2)</b>	<b>Spanish (L2)</b>	<b>English (L1)</b>
<b>Average number of words</b>	377	447	527
<b>Average number of verbs</b>	52.58	65.67	76.92
<b>Average number of motion verbs</b>	15.58	15.50	20.33
<b>Motion richness %</b>	29.63	23.60	26.43

Table 5: Comparison of motion richness in the three groups

The analysis of motion richness, i.e. the ratio of the number of motion verbs to the number of all verbs in the recordings, reveals that the average narrative of a Czech L2 learner was even richer in motion events than that of an average native speaker of English. The motion richness of an average Spanish transcript was, on the other hand, slightly lower than that of a native English speaker.

The difference in the two sets of results presented above arose from the fact that the participants of the study differed considerably with respect to the length and detail of narration. The elicited narratives ranged from extremely detailed descriptions to rather hasty summaries of the story. As can be seen in Table 5, the narratives from Czech speakers contained on average only 377 words (compared to 447 words of the Spanish group and 527 words of the English control group). Since both learner groups used on average fewer words than the comparison group of L1 English speakers, it could be assumed that the shorter length of the narratives might be a consequence of the lack of target language knowledge. This issue will be, therefore, dealt with in more detail in Section 8.5, which addresses the

strategies language learners involved in the experiment used to compensate for their lower level of language proficiency.

## 8.2. Manner expression

In the analysis of the preferred Manner expression in the two learner groups, I distinguished two means of encoding Manner, i.e. Manner expressed by the main verb and Manner expressed by the satellite. In addition, in some motion events Manner information was completely omitted. As in the case of the practically non-existing delimitation of motion verb, again I had to deal with unclear criteria for the identification of Manner verbs. Selimis (2002), for instance, points out that the verb “fall” is by some researchers treated as a Manner verb while others (including Cadierno (2010)) classify it as a Path verb. Slobin (qtd. in Selimis 2002) argues that a Motion verb should express at least one of the following “dimensions”: motor pattern (e.g. “crawl”), rate (e.g. “hurry”) or attitude (e.g. “stroll”). As he sees it, “‘fall’ is a pure change-of-location verb [because] it simply means to move downward without self-control.” At the same time, Slobin admits, there are plausible reasons for treating “fall” as a Manner verb. To be concrete, Zlatev (qtd. in Selimis 2002) suggests verbs like “fall” “conflate an element of Manner (in the broad sense) and of Path too”.

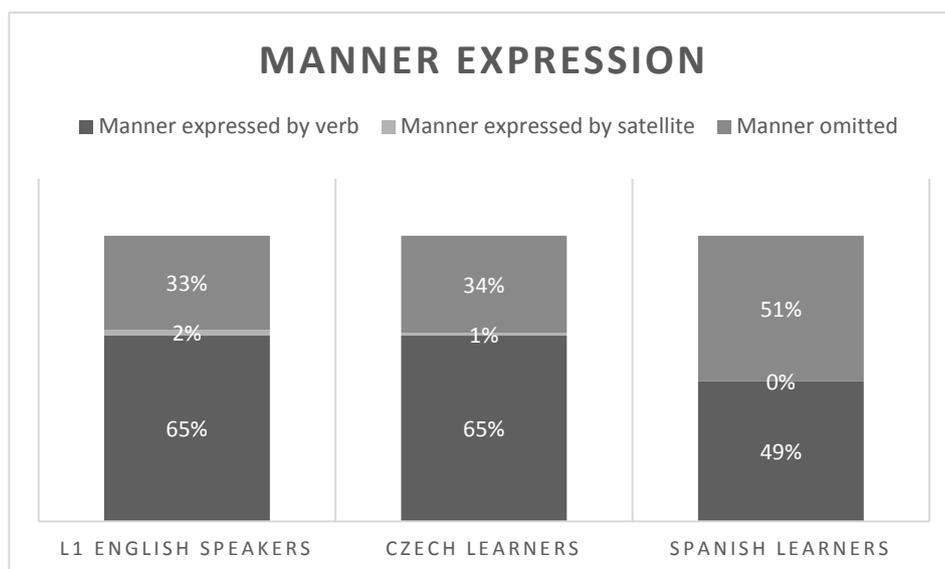
In the present study, I adopt Zlatev’s perspective. The verb “fall” is analysed here as a Manner verb due to the fact that it is not purely Path-expressing. In fact, only a very limited number of motion verbs (or verbs which in the present context express motion) which appeared in the recordings were identified as non-Manner verbs. Specifically, it was these 16 verbs: *take, go, come, put, head, leave, escape, depart, approach, move, motion, raise, make way, return, arrive* and *bring*.

In the **Czech** group, **Manner information was expressed in 66 %** of all motion events. **Spanish** speakers expressed Manner in **49 %** of all motion events. The recordings of native **English** speakers revealed that Manner was expressed in **67 %** of all motion events included in their narratives. These results are in accordance with the previous findings about

Manner salience. in satellite-framed and verb-framed languages. The Spanish learners, whose L1 is characterized as a verb-framed language, expressed Manner in fewer cases than native speakers of satellite-framed languages involved in the study. As to the means of Manner encoding, in the vast majority the participants from both groups as well as the L1 English speakers used the construction with a Manner verb. Interestingly, none of the Spanish learners involved in the study used a construction with a Manner satellite. One such construction was found among the transcripts of Czech learners, namely it was the construction “come chasing” in the sentence “But then the angry bees came chasing him.” Even a higher number of constructions where Manner was encoded in an element other than the main verb were identified in the transcripts of English L1 speakers. Specifically, it was these four phrases: “they go wandering out in the woods”, “the boy and the dog go running with deer”, “the deer went running off” and “the bees come swarming out”.

In summary, the speakers of the two satellite-framed languages involved in the study, i.e. English and Czech, expressed Manner more often than the speakers of Spanish. The preferred way of encoding Manner was the same for all three groups. Except for a few cases in the Czech and the English group, Manner information was almost exclusively encoded in the verb, if expressed at all. The construction non-Manner verb + Manner satellite occurred once in the narratives of Czech learners (standing for less than 1 % of all motion events) and four times in the narratives of English L1 speakers (standing for a little over 2 %). Yet, it could be debated if the element encoding Manner in the “go + gerund” construction, which the speakers used in three of the four occurrences, should be even treated as a satellite.

The overview of the means of Manner expression used by the participants of the study as well as the data from the native speakers are presented in Graph 3.



Graph 3: The comparison of the means of Manner expression in the narratives of the L1 English speakers, the Spanish learners and the Czech learners

Cadierno's study (2010), discussed in Section 6 of the thesis, revealed that in the picture description task, Spanish speakers of L2 Danish used the construction Manner verb + Path satellite in 43 %, while German and Russian used this type of construction in over 80 % of all motion verbs (Cadierno 2010, 17). Cadierno additionally discovered that Russian learners expressed Manner even more frequently than German learners, although the difference was not statistically significant. The results support the generally accepted finding that in Slavic languages the degree of Manner salience is higher than in Germanic languages. However, she also reports that the comparison group of Danish L1 speakers used Manner verbs in an even larger proportion of motion event descriptions than the Russian learner group. Again, the difference was not statistically significant. Yet the results of my analysis revealed that the Czech speakers expressed Manner with about the same frequency as the L1 English speakers. The minor difference between the results of Cadierno's study and the findings of my analysis could be possibly explained by the different repertoire of Manner verbs used in the two experiments.

The pictures the participants of Cadierno's study (2010) were supposed to describe depicted a rather wide repertoire of Manners of motion, ranging from those described by basic verbs, such as "run" or "jump" to more advanced items, such as "dive", "flip" or "tumble". If we look closely at the Frog Story pictures, we can see that the story can be easily narrated using only a very limited number of basic Manner verbs, perhaps only "jump", "run", "fall", "climb" and "fly". The examination of the most frequent Manner verbs in the narratives shows that Czech learners indeed used the verbs "fall" (32 items), "run" (16 items), and "climb" (15 items) most often. In the narratives of Spanish learners, the verb "fall" appeared even more often, namely 43 times, which stands for no less than 40.95 % of all Manner verbs occurring in their narratives. The second and the third most frequent Manner verb in the narratives of Spanish speakers was "run" with 22 occurrences and "jump" with 7 occurrences. The narratives of L1 English speakers were more varied with respect to the Manner verbs used. The first three positions were, as well as in the Czech group, occupied by the verbs "fall" (37 items), "run" (27 items) and "climb" (17 items). In addition to the basic verbs, the speakers also used more specific verbs, such as "limp", "tumble" or "sneak". None of these verbs appeared in the narratives provided by the two learner groups.

Apparently, as far as Manner is concerned, both groups of L2 learners seemed to prefer basic level vocabulary, avoiding the use of more advanced verbs. This is especially true for the Spanish learners, whose level of English was slightly lower than that of the Czech learners. By way of illustration, the verbs "crawl" and "creep", which were rather frequent in the native speakers' narratives were both used only once in the Czech learners' narratives but not even once in the Spanish speakers' narratives. On the contrary, the most frequent item (especially prevalent in the Spanish group) was the verb "fall", whose position among Manner verbs is particularly weak.

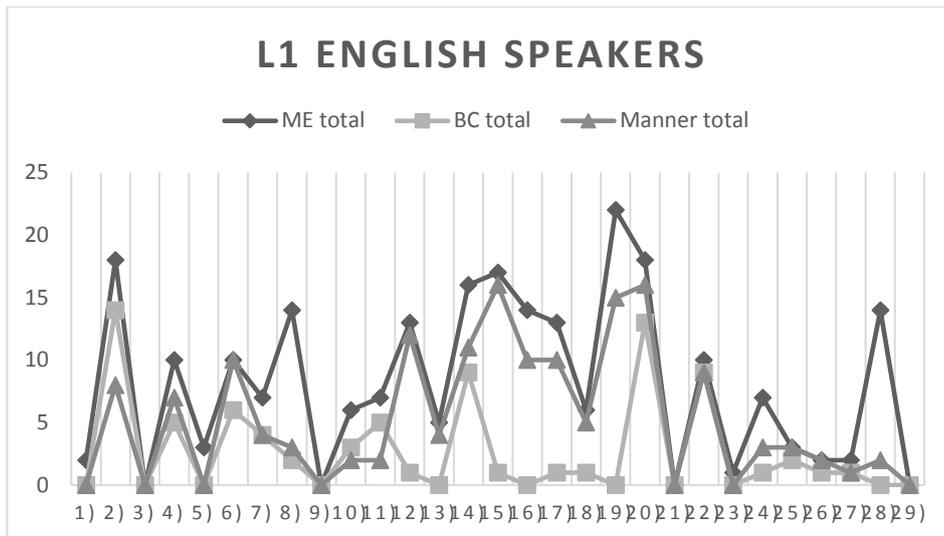
In Cadierno's picture description task, the nature of the pictures forced the participants to use more advanced vocabulary, which they probably, considering their relatively low level of L2 language proficiency, did not have. To compensate for the lack of knowledge of a

fitting Manner verb, the learners might have been forced to use a Path verb, which could be the reason why the Russian learners used Manner verbs less often than the Danish L1 speakers, even though Russian typically expresses higher degree of Manner salience. The participants of my study, on the other hand, could use basic Manner verbs in most of the scenes, which probably allowed them to express Manner as often as they felt necessary, which might be the reason why the Czech learners expressed Manner almost as frequently as the L1 English speakers.

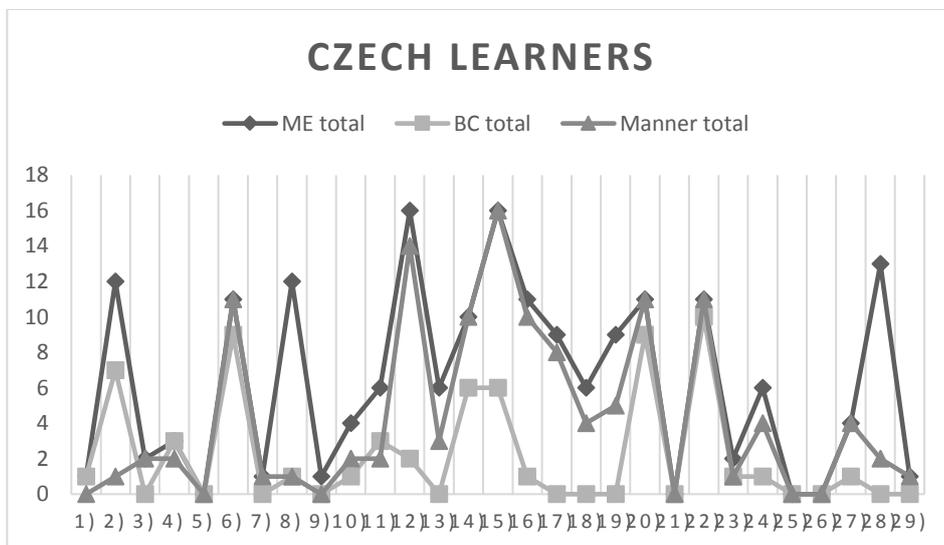
### **8.2.1. Manner expression in the boundary-crossing scenes**

In order to learn more about the rhetorical styles of the speakers involved in the study, especially with respect to the expression of the motion events which involve the crossing of a spatial boundary, I decided to examine the 29 scenes in the picture book individually. As outlined in Section 4.1, the fact that Spanish is a verb-framed language does not imply that Spanish speakers never use satellite-framing constructions. In fact, satellite-framing in Spanish is possible unless the motion event expresses boundary crossing. In the boundary-crossing situations, Manner cannot be normally expressed by the verb because “crossing a spatial boundary is conceived of as a change of state, and state changes require an independent predicate” (Slobin 1997, 441). It means that the verb is “reserved” for encoding Path.

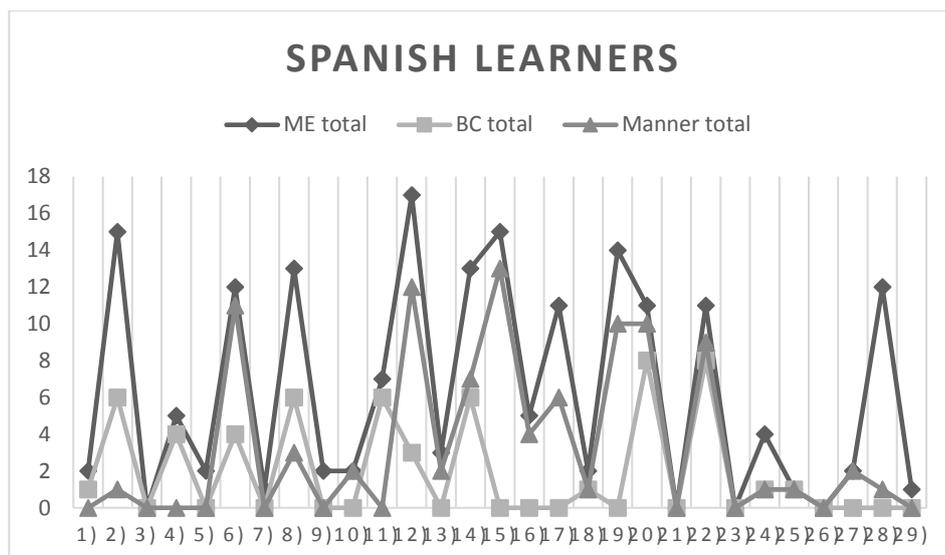
Graph 4.1 shows the most prominent scenes in the narratives of L1 English speakers with respect to the occurrence of motion events in general and boundary-crossing situations in particular. The graph additionally marks the usage of Manner verbs. The same analysis of the narratives of the learner groups is given in Graph 4.2 for the Czech learners and Graph 4.3 for the Spanish learners.



Graph 4.1: Total number of motion events, boundary-crossing situations and Manner verbs mentioned in the individual scenes in the narratives of the L1 English speakers



Graph 4.2: Total number of motion events, boundary-crossing situations and Manner verbs mentioned in the individual scenes in the narratives of the Czech learners of English



Graph 4.3: Total number of motion events, boundary-crossing situations and Manner verbs mentioned in the individual scenes in the narratives of Spanish learners of English

As can be seen in the three graphs above, the peaks of motion richness in all three groups of narratives can be found in scenes 2, 6, 8, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22 and 28. In the storyline, these numbers correspond to the frog's escape from the jar, the dog's fall from the window, the boy's and the dog's arrival in the woods, the fall of the beehive with the bees coming out of it, the bees chasing the dog, the boy climbing the stone, the deer carrying the boy on his antlers while the dog is following them, the fall from the cliff, the fall into the lake, and the boy's departure with the dog and the frog, respectively.

The two learner groups exhibited great motion richness in scenes 12 and 15, i.e. the fall of the beehive with the bees coming out of it and the bees chasing the dog. However, in the narratives of the native English speakers, the motion prominence in these scenes appears to be rather moderate. Yet the average number of motion events used in the description of the two scenes is almost identical in the three groups, the different prominence in the graph is caused by the fact that the greatest number of motion events in the narratives of the L1 English speakers appeared in the scenes 19 and 20, i.e. the deer carrying the boy on his antlers while the dog is following them and the boy's and the dog's fall from the cliff.

Altogether, the L1 English speakers mentioned 22 motion events in scene 19 and 18 motion events in scene 20. While the two scenes were still rather rich in motion events in the narratives of the Spanish learners of English (14 motion events in scene 19 and 11 motion events in scene 20), the Czech learners expressed motion only 9 times in scene 19 and 11 times in scene 20. Although the total number of motion events in the narratives of the two learner groups was the same in the latter scene, it can be still considered less prominent in motion compared to other scenes in the narratives of the Czech participants. Yet the main variance can be observed in scene 19.

In the narratives of the L1 English speakers, scene 19, which depicts the deer running with the boy stuck on his head while the dog is chasing them, was frequently described by an utterance similar to the one presented in (19).

(19) The deer is running to a cliff and the dog is running after the deer.

*L1: English*

*Scene 19*

In the plotline, the scene is located between the picture where the boy accidentally appears on the deer's antlers and the fall from the cliff. Both the native speakers and the Spanish learners (although the Spanish speakers did so in fewer cases than the L1 speakers) tended to describe all three of these scenes in their narratives. On the other hand, the Czech learners often focused only on the deer and left out the information about the dog's motion and sometimes they even ignored scene 19 completely. Their attention was predominantly directed at the previous and the following scene. This claim can be illustrated on the following utterance by one of the Czech learners:

(20) But he didn't notice that behind the rock, there was a deer, who picked the boy on his head and threw him to the lake.

*L1: Czech*

*Scenes 18 and 20 (scene 19 omitted)*

It could be assumed that this finding about the narratives of Czech learners relates to the fact that on average these narratives were shorter than the narratives of native English speakers and even the Spanish learners.

The main area of our interest in the close analysis of the individual scenes was the mutual relationship between the occurrence of boundary-crossing situations and the expression of Manner. According to the graphs, the peaks of Manner expression can be found in scenes 16, 19 and 20 in the narratives of L1 English speakers. For the Czech as well as the Spanish learners, Manner was expressed most frequently in scenes 12 and 15. These results were influenced by the total number of motion events expressed in the scenes. The scenes which were rich in motion events were, with a few exceptions, also rich in Manner expressions. Overall, scenes 12, 15, 16, 19, and 20 were rich in Manner expression in all the three groups.

As mentioned before, the analysis of Manner expression in the narratives revealed that overall the Spanish learners expressed Manner less often than the Czech learners and the L1 English speakers. Instead, the Spanish learners often used the construction non-Manner verb + Path satellite. The question is now whether it was the boundary-crossing scenes where the Spanish learners expressed Manner less often than the participants with the satellite-framed linguistic background.

As can be seen in Graph 4.2, in the narratives of the Czech learners, most of the motion events expressing the crossing of a spatial boundary appeared in scenes 2, 6, 20, and 22, which roughly agrees with the occurrence of boundary crossing scenes in the narratives of the Spanish learners. Scene 2 depicts the escape of the frog from the jar, scene 6 captures the dog's fall from the window, the scene 20 captures the boy's and the dog's fall from the cliff and finally scene 22 depicts the boy and the dog landing in the water. In the narratives of the L1 English speakers, most boundary-crossing situations appeared also in scenes 2, 20 and 22. However, a high number of boundary-crossing situations occurred also in scene 16. In the analysis of the expression of Manner in the boundary-

crossing situation, I will focus only on scenes 2, 20 and 22 because they were rich in boundary-crossing situation in all the three groups.

Scene 2 was rather poor in Manner expressions in all the two learner groups compared with the narratives of the native English speakers: the L1 English speakers expressed Manner in 44 % of the motion events in this scene, the Czech learners did so in only 8 % of the motion events, and finally the Spanish speakers expressed Manner in only 7 % of the motion events. The two learner groups described the frog's escape from the jar almost exclusively using the very verb "escape". The native English speakers, on the other hand, were more creative in this matter, their descriptions of the scene included verbs such as "climb", "crawl", "sneak" or "hop".

It is arguable whether scenes 20 and 22 were rich in Manner expression since the most frequent motion verb used in the description of the scenes across all the three groups was the verb "fall", which is considered a pure Path verb by many researchers. In the present study, "fall" is considered a Manner verb since I believe the verb conflates Path and Manner information. In scene 20, Manner was expressed in 89 % in the narratives of L1 English speakers, in 100 % in the narratives of the Czech learners and in 90 % in the narratives of the Spanish learners. Similarly in scene 22, Manner was expressed in 90 % in the narratives of L1 English speakers, in 100% in the narratives of the Czech learners and in 82 % in the narratives of the Spanish learners.

Additionally, I decided to include also scene 14, which captures the owl's emergence from the tree. Although, the scene was not very rich in boundary-crossing descriptions in the narratives of the participants of the present study, in Slobin (2004) the scene is taken as a prototypical example of a boundary-crossing situation, where the differences between the speakers with different typological backgrounds are very prominent.

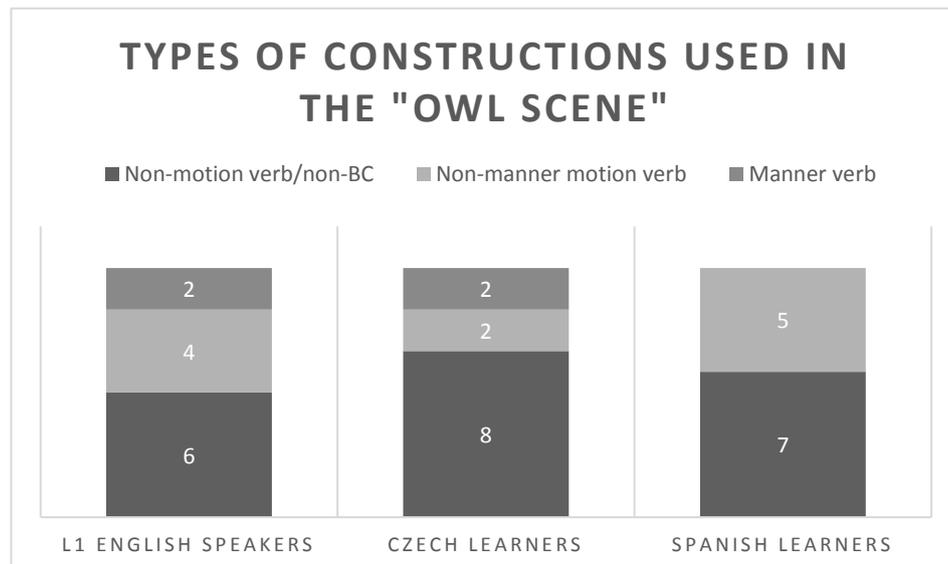
The owl's emergence from the hole in the tree (depicted in scene 14) was described by three possible constructions. The first option was that the description did not include a motion verb, or it did include a motion verb but the verb did not capture the crossing of the boundary. This type

of construction can be illustrated by the following sentences taken from the participants' narratives:

- |      |  |                    |
|------|--|--------------------|
| (21) | a) In this hole, there is an owl.      | <i>L1: Spanish</i> |
|      | b) He was scared by an owl.            | <i>L1: Spanish</i> |
|      | c) The boy was knocked down by an owl. | <i>L1: Czech</i>   |
|      | d) He found an owl.                    | <i>L1: Czech</i>   |
|      | e) The owl has been disturbed.         | <i>L1: English</i> |
|      | f) The boy fends off the owl.          | <i>L1: English</i> |
- Scene 14*

The second option the participants chose was the use of a non-Manner motion verb. This type of construction was represented by the phrases “the owl came out”, “the owl went out”, and “the owl got out”.

The last type of description found in the narratives was a phrase including a Manner verb, such as “the owl flew out” or “the owl popped out”. The share of these three types of constructions in the narratives of the three groups is presented in Graph 5.



Graph 5: The share of the three types of constructions used in the description of the “owl scene” in the narratives of the three groups

Slobin (2004, 6) reports that the speakers of verb-framed languages prefer to describe the “owl scene” using a Path verb meaning “exit” while the speakers of satellite-framed languages usually use a combination of a Manner verb and a Path satellite. My analysis revealed that in all three groups the preferred description of the scene was the one which did not include any motion, or which did include motion but did not focus on the crossing of the boundary. This construction was especially popular with the Czech learners, who used it in 8 out of 12 occurrences. In the narratives of the Czech learners, the use of a deictic verb in combination with a satellite was less common than in the narratives of the L1 English speakers.

It was already pointed out that Slavic languages lack the equivalent of the English “come”, which might be the reason why the level of Manner salience is usually higher in the speech of Slavic speakers. Yet the examination of the “owl scene” shows this was not the case, the Czech participants of this study preferred to concentrate on the owl’s interaction with the boy and not the owl’s emergence. Three examples from the narratives of the Czech speakers are provided in (22).

- (22) a) He was startled by an owl.  
b) The boy annoyed an owl from the tree.  
c) He found an owl which pushed him out of the tree.

*L1: Czech*

*Scene 14*

One of the reasons could be the different perspective of the speakers: while the L1 English speakers might have seen the pattern of the story in the appearance of the various animals the boy met on his journey to the frog and highlighted the moments from the perspective of the animals, the Czech speaker may have focused on the boy’s point of view in these adventures. Another possible explanation could be the lack of language knowledge on the part of the language learners: an issue which will be further dealt with in Section 8.5.

The main objective of the analysis of the boundary-crossing situations was, however, the Manner expression in the narrative of the Spanish speakers. It was expected that Manner verbs will appear less frequently in these scenes. As can be seen in Graph 5, the Spanish speakers indeed did not use a single Manner verb in their descriptions of the owl's emergence. The most frequent way to describe the picture in this group after the non-motion verb was the construction Path verb + satellite. Beside the phrase "come out", which was found also in the narrative of the L1 English speakers, the Spanish learners also used the constructions "go out" and "get out". One of the Spanish learners even used the verb "exit", which directly corresponds to the construction typically used in verb-framed languages. The fact that the use of this construction was caused by the influence of the speaker's L1 was confirmed by the speaker's comment directed at the interviewer stating that the speaker does not know the correct way to describe the scene in English.

According to Slobin (2004, 7), L1 speakers of verb-framed languages almost never use Manner verbs in their descriptions of boundary-crossing motion events. In the analysis of the selected boundary-crossing scenes in the Frog Story narratives, some variation was found in the scene depicting the frog's escape from the jar. A difference in Manner salience appeared between the two learner groups and the native speakers. It could be argued that the learners refrained from the use of Manner verbs because of the fact their English vocabulary was limited. Yet the cause is arguable provided the relatively high level of language proficiency especially on the side of the Czech learners of English.

Little variation was found between the three groups in the two "falling" scenes. In these scenes, the Spanish speakers of English did not express Manner less frequently than the Czech speakers of English or the native English speakers. This finding could be explained by the fact that the verb "fall", which was the most frequent expression used in the description of these scenes is problematic with respect to its status among Manner verbs. Many researchers claim "fall" is simply a Path verb and that might be the reason why it was so common not only in the narratives of

the Czech speakers and the English speakers but also in the descriptions of the Spanish learners of English.

### 8.3. Path expression

Path is an essential element in the description of a motion event, i.e. a motion event virtually cannot exist if Path is not expressed. In the analysis of Path expression, I recognized two types of constructions: 1) Path expressed by the main verb, which is a construction typical for verb-framed languages, and 2) Path expressed by the satellite, which is typical for satellite-framed languages. These typological differences as well as the analysis of Manner expression in the narratives suggest that the Spanish learners of English will encode Path in the verb more likely than the speakers whose L1 prefers satellite framing. The analysis of the elicited narratives, however, revealed **the speakers from the three groups (i.e. Spanish learners of English, Czech learners of English and English native speakers) do not differ in the preferred means of Path encoding.** Specifically, the Czech learners expressed Path by the main verb in 25 % of all motion events, the Spanish learners did so in 22 % and the L1 English speakers encoded Path in the verb in 21% of all motion events.

English as a satellite-framed language does not have available such a broad repertoire of Path conflating verbs as Spanish has. Therefore, Spanish learners of English have to make use of other constructions. Although the study showed that in all three group, in the majority of cases the Path of the motion events was expressed by a particle, it does not mean that the predicate of the clauses always encoded Manner. In fact, the Path particles were in many cases used in combination with the deictic verbs “come” and “go” and other non-Manner verbs, such as “get” or “move”. It can be hypothesized that instead of the Path verb construction typical for their native tongue, the Spanish speakers used the construction non-Manner verb + Path particle. This construction was used in 34 % of all motion events appearing in the narratives of the Spanish learners.

Another issue concerning Path expression was the differences among languages with respect to what Slobin (2004, 17) calls the

“tightness of packaging” of Path information. Slobin suggests that unlike verb-framed languages, satellite-framed languages are able to express complex Path in a syntactically simple way. This means that although English speakers can use a construction such as “the frog crawled out of the jar and through the window into the woods”, the linguistic properties of their language do not allow Spanish speakers to use such a construction. Instead, they would have to divide the Path into individual “subtrajectories” and express each in a separate clause. The following discussion showed that differences exist even intratypologically. That is, although Germanic languages are capable of such “tightly packaged” Path expressions almost without restraint, Slavic languages are in this respect somewhat restricted by the morphosyntactic properties.

To examine this issue in the data provided by the present study, we will look closely on the “fall from the cliff” scene from *Frog, where are you* as it was described in the elicited narratives. The Path captured in this scene can be possibly divided into four scenes, namely “moving to the cliff, stopping at the cliff, throwing the boy and dog down, [and] falling of the boy and dog into the water” (Slobin 2004, 18). Slobin (1997) examined the Path segmentation of this episode in the narratives of L1 speakers and confirmed the proposal that “speakers of S-languages are more likely to break up the event into a larger number of components, based on ‘narrative habits’ of compacting several path components in a single clause. Speakers of V-languages, by contrast, have developed a narrative style that makes more sparing use of individual motion verbs to encode path components” (Slobin 1997, 448). To be more concrete, Slobin (2004, 18) reports the speakers of Germanic languages mentioned all three segments of the Path in 87 % and the speakers of Slavic languages did so in 76 %. The speakers of verb-framed languages, on the other hand, mentioned all three segments in only 30 %.

The analysis of the narratives elicited in the present study shows some variation between the three groups, however, the results are different from Slobin’s conclusions. Whilst three segments were mentioned by 50 % of Spanish learners and 75 % of the English L1 speakers, which is in accordance with Slobin’s findings, the Czech learners involved in the

study mentioned three segments of the scene in only 33 %. The key factor which might explain the different results is the fact mentioned already in Section 8.1, that is the tendency of the Czech speakers to summarize or skip some scenes.

#### **8.4. Strategies employed by language learners in case of insufficient language knowledge**

In SLA experiments, language learners are often forced to deal with linguistic tasks which pose a challenge to their knowledge of the target language. By way of illustration, Cadierno (2010) tested the L2 learners' knowledge of Danish Manner verbs and the application of the knowledge on the task where the participants were asked to describe pictures which depicted different Manners of crossing various spatial boundaries and reported the following communication strategy of the language learners involved in the study:

When the learners do not know or are unsure about the appropriate target-like construction, they provide description that somehow fit what is depicted in the picture, but do not actually describe the translocational motion depicted in them.

(Cadierno 2010, 24)

**When the language learners lack the target means of encoding but still need to pass on the message, they are forced to paraphrase the message using linguistic forms available to them.** In the present study, this strategy could be seen in both learner groups, however, it was more common among the Spanish learners. Apart from the motion description, the Spanish speakers often used present tense verb forms or a combination of a present-tense and a past-tense form to talk about past events or used the *-ed* suffix with irregular verbs. As to the expression of motion itself, the Spanish learners often struggled with the description of the motion which leads to someone's fall. An example is provided in (23).

(23) The dog makes the hive falls (sic!) from the tree

*L1: Spanish*

*Scene 12*

This type of construction frequently appeared in the description of the fall of the beehive but also in the “owl scene”. An example taken from the narratives of the Spanish participants is given in (24).

(24) In this hole, there is an owl that scares the boy and make (sic!) him fall.

*L1: Spanish*

*Scene 14*

Similar constructions appeared also in the narratives of the Czech speakers, although with a much lower frequency. An example of the construction is presented in (25)

(25) The owl made him fall off the tree.

*L1: Czech*

*Scene 14*

**The learners often used a construction which somehow depicts the situations but is not target-like in the situations where the native speakers used the verb “knock”.** Two examples of the sentences taken from the narratives of the native speakers is given in (26)

(26) a) The dog knocked down the beehive.

*Scene 12*

b) [An owl] knocked him down out of the tree.

*Scene 14*

*L1: English*

It could be suggested that the learners were probably able to recognize this word, hence the good results in the vocabulary knowledge test they took, but probably lacked the word in their active vocabulary. This finding could also explain the high number of non-Motion and other non-target-like

descriptions of the scene depicting the owl's emergence from the tree, which were especially frequent in the narratives of the Czech learners of English. This type of construction was probably more natural to them than the construction containing a deictic verb as deictic verb do not appear in Czech.

Throughout the study it was repeatedly mentioned that the narratives of the Czech learners were shorter than the narratives of the L1 English speakers and even the narratives of the Spanish learners. One possible explanation could be that the higher number of non-target-like constructions used by the Spanish learners resulted in the prolonging of their narratives as the constructions were usually longer than the descriptions used by the L1 English speakers. However, this would not explain the fact that it was the native speakers who provided the longest narratives.

An explanation of the situation could be seen in the learner's strategy referred to as avoidance. The phenomenon was first described by Schachter (1974), who found that Japanese and Chinese language learners appear not to make mistakes in English relative clauses, however, the apparent success of the learners arose from the fact that the learners almost completely avoided the use of relative clauses. A similar strategy could be spotted among **the Czech learners who probably avoided the description of the scenes they found problematic.**

In an interview following the elicited narration, the Czech speakers in some cases admitted they were nervous during the performance and therefore tried to shorten the process by skipping or simply summarizing some scenes. The Spanish speakers, on the contrary, did not report such issues, although their level of English was often lower than that of the Czech learners.

The difference between the two learner groups with respect to the strategies used in the problematic scene might be explained by different attitudes of the learners towards their performance. It could be argued that the Czech learners were naturally more careful while the Spanish learners were more "daring". **It could be suggested that different attitudes of the participants were influenced by their distinct status as language**

**learners.** While none of the Spanish learners were students of English philology and English was only a communication tool for them, all the Czech participants were university students majoring in English. Possibly, the Czech participants could have felt under pressure as due to their field of study a very high level of English proficiency is expected from them. To avoid mistakes in their speech, they simply decided to avoid the problematic descriptions completely. To be more concrete, the Czech learners often skipped or decided to only provide a brief summary of the episodes with the animals the boy came across on his way to find his frog. Probably the most striking example of this strategy is given in (27)

(27) The boy was searching through the forest and instead of the frog he found an owl and then a deer.

*L1: Czech  
Scenes 13-18*

## 9 Conclusions

Based on the well-established hypothesis that the acquisition of a new language requires a revision of one's native way Thinking for Speaking, the study sought to investigate the crosslinguistic influence of L1 on L2 in advanced learners. In the present research, I attempted to scrutinize the expression of motion in the elicited narratives of L2 learners of English with different typological background. The study compared the motion expression in the Frog Story narratives provided by fairly advanced Czech learners of English and Spanish learners of English. The narratives of the two learner groups were then contrasted with the narratives of L1 English speakers. Specifically, the study aimed to examine the frequency of the use of motion verbs in the three groups, the preferred way of encoding Manner and Path and, finally, the strategies learners employed when they failed to use the target-like constructions. The results of my analysis were additionally compared with the results of Cadierno's (2010) study of motion expression in L2 Danish.

Although the analysis did not reveal any dramatic differences between the three groups, it confirmed certain tendencies in the encoding of motion in the learners' speech. The overall frequency of motion verbs in the learners' narratives was comparable but slightly lower than in the narratives of the English speakers. The consequent analysis of the length of the narratives, however, revealed that the percentage of motion verbs was the highest in the Czech group (29.63 % of all verbs), followed by the English group (26.43 %) and the Spanish group (23.60 %). Nevertheless, the difference in motion richness was not crucial.

As to Manner expression, the Spanish learners expressed Manner less often than the Czech learners and the L1 English speakers. Specifically, it was in 49 % of all motion events in the case of the Spanish learners compared to 66 % in the narratives of the Czech learners and 67 % in the narratives of the L1 English speakers. In all three groups, the preferred way of encoding Manner was in the verb. In the Spanish group, there were no incidences of Manner being expressed by satellite, however, the construction non-Manner verb + Path satellite was very popular in their

narratives, namely it was used in the description of 34 % of all motion events. The tendency to often use non-Manner motion verbs was observed in the whole Spanish group including the two speakers who had lived in the bilingual Spanish-German environment.

With respect to the description of boundary-crossing scenes, complete omission of Manner information was found in the descriptions of the owl's emergence from the tree provided by the Spanish learners. This finding is in accordance with the preferred way of description of boundary-crossing situations in verb-framed languages, which points to the influence of the preferred lexicalization patterns in the speakers' L1 on their expression of motion in L2.

Furthermore, in the "owl scene", differences were found not only intertypologically but also intratypologically. In 4 cases, the L1 English speakers described the owl's emergence using the deictic verb "come". The Czech learners, on the other hand, used this construction less often, namely in 2 out of 12 descriptions. This finding can be also explained by the influence of the participants' L1 on L2. As deictic verbs do not exist in Czech, the Czech learners preferred constructions with Manner verbs, which are used in their L1. The analysis of other boundary-crossing situation appearing in the story did not confirm the said differences between the three groups, probably due to the type of motion depicted in the scenes (i.e. predominantly falling)

As to Path expression, the speakers of the three groups did not differ in the preferred way of encoding Path. In over 70 % of all motion events appearing in the narratives, the Path was encoded in the satellite, which is the preferred way of Path expression in satellite-framed languages. However, especially in the narratives of the Spanish learners a Path particle or preposition was frequently used in combination with a non-Manner verb, which led to the complete omission of Manner information in some scenes.

Finally, two major strategies were observed in the narratives of the two learner groups in the description of the scenes which depict the boy's interaction with the animals in the woods. While the Spanish learners preferred to use non-target-like constructions to describe the scenes they

found difficult to describe in English, the Czech learners often decided to avoid these scenes instead of providing a non-target-like construction. It is argued that the difference in the strategies between the two learner groups was caused by their different status as language learners. While all the Czech learners were students of English philology and therefore their level of English was expected to be very high, the Spanish learners were not specialists in the field and therefore probably did not feel as anxious to fall short of anybody's expectations.

The comparison with Cadierno's 2010 study showed that the differences in Manner salience between the speakers of a verb-framed language and the speakers of a satellite-framed language in my study were not as striking as in Cadierno's experiment (2010). One of the possible explanations is that the Spanish learners in my study were more advanced than the participants of Cadierno's (2010) experiment and, therefore the participants of my study had already adapted much of the L2 way of Thinking for Speaking. Yet it does not appear to be the case as the Spanish speakers were not as advanced as the study would require and made mistakes even in basic grammar.

A more likely explanation is the delimitation of Manner verbs in this study. In the analysis, only a very limited number of verbs were considered non-Manner. By way of illustration the verb "fall", which appears rather frequently throughout the story, was considered a Manner verb although many researchers consider it a Path verb. The reason for this classification was that, in my view, the verb "fall" expresses a specific way of motion other than the mere direction towards the ground.

For future research, especially in the expression of boundary-crossing situations, it is recommended to use a series of pictures similar to the ones used in Cadierno's (2010) study. Most of the boundary-crossing situations appearing in *Frog, where are you* can be easily described by a non-Manner verb even in the speech of native English speakers. Furthermore, the Frog Story is especially rich in falling scenes (e.g. the dog's fall from the window, the fall of the beehive, the fall from the cliff etc.). As mentioned above, the verb "fall" is problematic with respect to its classification. Therefore, it might be more desirable to ask the

participants to describe pictures depicting various Manners of motion to and from a bounded space to provoke the use of more advanced vocabulary.

Another drawback of the study was the different level of English language proficiency in the two learner groups. In order to gain more relevant data about the motion expression in advanced learners of English, it is recommended to only work with the participants whose level of English is very close to C2. To control for this factor, it could be useful to work with participants who recently passed an internationally recognized language test, which tests both their productive and receptive skills in multiple tasks.

## 10 České resumé

Na základě uznávané hypotézy, která tvrdí, že osvojení cizího jazyka vyžaduje osvojení nového způsobu Thinking for Speaking (myšlení pro řeč), byla jako hlavní cíl práce zvoleno analýza vlivu prvního jazyka na osvojení druhého jazyka u pokročilých mluvčích. Práce zkoumá vyjádření pohybu ve vyprávěních nerodilých mluvčích angličtiny, jejichž první jazyk dle Talmyho typologie zastupuje jiný sémantický typ. Analýza je prováděna na vyprávěních tzv. Frog Story (obrázkové příběhu o žabákovi), která byla získána od českých a španělských studentů angličtiny na pokročilé úrovni. Vyprávění nerodilých mluvčích byla následně porovnána s vyprávěními rodilých mluvčích angličtiny. Studie analyzuje frekvenci použití pohybových sloves, preferovaný způsob vyjádření Pohybu a Dráhy a také strategie, které nerodilí mluvčí systematicky používali, pokud měli problém s vyjádřením dané situace v angličtině.

Přestože analýza neodhalila žádné dramatické rozdíly mezi zmíněnými třemi skupinami mluvčích, potvrdila u nerodilých mluvčích specifické tendence ve vyjádření pohybu. Celková frekvence pohybových sloves v obou skupinách nerodilých mluvčích byla srovnatelná, ale o několik málo stupňů nižší než ve vyprávěních rodilých mluvčích. Následující analýza, která brala v potaz celkový počet sloves, ale ukázala, že procentuální zastoupení pohybových sloves bylo nejvyšší u českých mluvčích (29,63 %), po nich následovali rodilí mluvčí (26,43 %) a na závěr španělští mluvčí (23,60 %). Nicméně rozdíl nebyl příliš výrazný.

Co se týká Způsobu pohybu, španělští mluvčí jej vyjadřovali méně často než čeští mluvčí a rodilí mluvčí angličtiny. Konkrétně se u španělských mluvčích jedná o 49 % všech pohybových událostí, zatímco u českých mluvčích šlo o 66 % a u rodilých mluvčích o 67 %. Mluvčí všech tří skupin nejraději vyjadřovali Způsob pohybu pomocí slovesa. Ve španělské skupině se neobjevil ani jeden výskyt Způsobu vyjádřeného prostřednictvím satelitu. Populární u nich ale bylo spojení slovesa nevyjadřujícího Způsob pohybu a satelitu vyjadřujícího Dráhu, konkrétně se tato konstrukce objevila ve 34 % popisů pohybových událostí. Tendence k vyššímu výskytu pohybových sloves nevyjadřujících Způsob byla

pozorována u všech španělských mluvčích, včetně těch, kteří strávili významnou dobu v německo-španělském bilingvním prostředí

U popisu pohybových událostí, které obsahovaly překročení prostorové hranice se španělští mluvčí dopustili úplného vypuštění informací o Způsobu pohybu ve scéně se sovou. Toto zjištění je v souladu s preferovaným popisem událostí obsahujících překročení prostorové hranice ve slovesně rámcujících jazycích, což naznačuje vliv prvního jazyka mluvčích na vyjádření pohybu v osvojovaném jazyce.

Ve scéně se sovou byly pozorovány nejen intertypologické rozdíly, ale i rozdíly intartypologické. Ve 4 případech použili rodilí mluvčí při popisu scény, kdy sova vyletí ze stromu, deiktické sloveso “come”. Čeští mluvčí užili tuto konstrukci méně často, a to ve 2 případech z 12. Toto zjištění lze také vysvětlit na základě vlivu prvního jazyka studentů na jejich druhý jazyk. Jelikož v češtině deiktická slovesa neexistují, čeští mluvčí raději užili konstrukci se slovesem vyjadřujícím Způsob pohybu, jak je typické pro češtinu. Analýza dalších scén obsahujících překročení pohybové hranice ovšem popsané rozdíly mezi jazyky nepotvrdila. Odlišnost ve výsledcích byla nejspíše způsobená typem pohybu, který byl v těchto scénách zobrazen, tedy převážně padání.

Mluvčí se nelišili ve vyjádření Dráhy pohybu. Ve více než 70 procentech pohybových událostí byla Dráha vyjádřena prostřednictvím satelitu, což je typické pro satelitně rámcující jazyky. Zvláště u španělských mluvčích se ovšem často objevovala kombinace satelitu vyjadřujícího Dráhu se slovesem, které nevyjadřuje Způsob pohybu, což často vedlo k úplnému vynechání informací o Způsobu pohybu v některých scénách.

Na závěr byly vyzorovány dvě hlavní strategie, které nerodilí mluvčí používali při popisu scén, kde se chlapec v lese setkává s různými zvířaty. Zatímco španělští mluvčí u popisu scén, který jim v angličtině dělал potíže, raději využívali opisné konstrukce, čeští mluvčí se popisu těchto scén raději vyhýbali. Je možné, že zvolené strategie souvisely s tím, že čeští student se angličtině věnovali profesionálně (jednalo se u studenty Anglické filologie nebo Překlada a tlumočení na Katedře anglistiky a amerikanistiky FF UP) a očekávalo se od nich, že nebudou příliš chybovat,

zatímco Španělé měli jiné profesní nebo studijní zaměření, a tudíž se chybovat nebáli.

Hlavním nedostatkem studie byla rozdílná úroveň jazyka ve skupině českých a španělských mluvčích. Kvůli nedostatku španělských mluvčích angličtiny na pokročilé úrovni v místě experimentu jsem byla nucena do studie zahrnout mluvčí, jejichž úroveň angličtiny byla nižší než u českých mluvčích. Do budoucího výzkumu by bylo vhodné zahrnout pouze nerodilé mluvčí, jejichž úroveň se blíží C2. Pro relevantnější výsledky by bylo záhodno vybrat účastníky, kteří v nedávné době získali mezinárodně uznávaný jazykový certifikát na požadované úrovni.

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