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Additional Information

Translating narrative style. How do translation students and professional translators deal with Manner and boundary-crossing?

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Within the context of the Thinking-for-translating framework, this paper analyses the translation of boundary-crossing events including Manner from English into German (both satellite-framed languages) and Catalan and Spanish (both verb-framed languages) to investigate whether student translators transfer these specific types of motion event or otherwise omit (or modulate) some information. Three groups of student translators (having respectively German, Catalan and Spanish as their mother tongues) were asked to translate a series of excerpts from English narrative texts into their respective first languages. The resulting data suggest that the way student translators deal with the translation of these events is influenced by their mother tongues and the nature of the event itself (axis, suddenness, type of Figure, type of Path, type of Manner). It is also noted that German students' translations are much more similar to the published versions than the Catalan and Spanish ones, and that Catalan and Spanish-speaking students tend to omit boundary-crossing.

Keywords: motion events, boundary-crossing, Manner, translation, Thinking-for-translating

1. Introduction

The study of cross-linguistic influence in the translation of motion events has generally been approached within the Thinking-for-translating framework (Slobin, 1997, 2000), drawing on Talmy's (1985, 2000) theory of lexicalization patterns and Slobin's

Thinking-for-speaking hypothesis (Slobin, 1987, 1991, 1996, 1997). Talmy (1985) distinguishes between two types of language, defined according to where the Path-of-motion component is encoded or expressed: whereas satellite-framed languages, such as English and German, typically encode Path in a satellite and Manner in the verb (e.g., *The bird flew away*; *Der Vogel flog weg*), verb-framed languages, such as Spanish and Catalan, usually encode Path in the verb and Manner in adjuncts (e.g., *La madre entró cojeando*; *La mare entrà coixejant* ‘The mother entered limping’).

Inspired by this classification, Slobin (1987) proposed the Thinking-for-speaking hypothesis, according to which speakers of different types of language pay divergent attention to the characteristics of objects and events (e.g., Path or Manner), and this is due to the fact that “each language provides a limited set of options for their grammatical encoding” (Slobin, 1987, p. 435). Slobin expands this hypothesis to the field of translation, where he refers to the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis (Slobin, 1997, 2000). Here Slobin focuses, among other things, on the analysis of the translation of Manner between languages belonging to the same and different typological group, and observes the general tendency of translators to follow the rhetorical or narrative style of the target language. Thus, for example, when the linguistic combination includes a satellite-framed language as source language and a verb-framed language as target language, loss of Manner is often observed in the translation product; by contrast, between languages belonging to the same typological group, Manner is usually transferred, although some intratypological variation has been identified in the literature too (e.g., Filipović, 1999).

Despite the wealth of research on the translation of Manner of motion in

narrative texts (for instance: Alonso, 2018; Cifuentes-Férez and Rojo, 2015; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003; Slobin, 1996, 1997), no special attention has been given in the literature to the translation of manner-of-motion events including boundary-crossing. Using a student-based experiment, this paper aims to fill this gap as a continuation of a previous work (Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases, 2020). When crossing a boundary, while satellite-framed languages usually encode Path (and thus boundary-crossing) in a satellite, leaving the verb slot free for encoding Manner (e.g., He ran out of the room), verb-framed languages do have to express Path (and boundary-crossing) in the main verb, while Manner, if possible, is expressed in adjuncts (Aske, 1989) (e.g., *Salió de la habitación corriendo; Va eixir de l'habitació corrents* 'He/She exited running').

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical background of the research, and more specifically the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis and the boundary-crossing constraint. Section 3 outlines the experimental study. Here the research questions and hypotheses, as well as the materials and methods, are first introduced, and the results detailed and discussed. Section 4 provides concluding remarks.

2. Theoretical background issues

2.1. The Thinking-for-translating hypothesis

As has already been pointed out, Slobin adapted the principles of Thinking-for-speaking to the field of Translation Studies, formulating the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis (Slobin, 1997, 2000). According to this hypothesis, translators tend to follow the target language's rhetorical style, which can have consequences in terms of any loss or gain of

information in the translation of motion events. The hypothesis inspired numerous contributions focusing on the translation of narrative texts in both inter- and intratypological translation scenarios. Slobin's first studies on the phenomenon, and a representative selection of contributions focusing on Manner, will be briefly reviewed below (for a detailed account of this issue, see Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović, 2013, and Molés-Cases, 2016).

Slobin analysed the translation of motion events in a series of English and Spanish novels (1996) and in Chapter 6 of *The Hobbit* (Tolkien, 1937) (Slobin, 1997, 2000) (and its translation into a series of satellite-framed and verb-framed languages). With regard to the translation of Manner in the English>Spanish combination, Slobin observed not only translation in general (They ran downstairs > *Corrieron escaleras abajo*), but also omission (I ran out the kitchen door > *Salí por la puerta de la cocina* 'I exited through the kitchen door') and neutralization (to scramble up > *trepar* 'to climb'); meanwhile, addition ([...] *lorsque le comte de Buondelmonte entra dans sa chambre* 'when the Count of Buondelmonte entered his room' > when the Count of Buondelmonte stepped into his room) was identified in the inverse typological combination.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2003) also studied Chapter 6 of *The Hobbit* and its translations into Basque and Spanish, both verb-framed languages. The originality of her contribution is twofold: she considers the degree and type of Manner and Path translated, and proposes a classification of translation techniques for both semantic subcomponents, including Slobin's prior findings. For the avoidance of repetition, this classification and its subsequent reformulations by other authors working on the same line of research are summarized at the end of this section.

Cifuentes-Férez (2006, 2013) examined the translation into Spanish of both Path and Manner in motion events in J.K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (2003). Here it is concluded that the English lexicon of ways of walking, running and jumping is richer than the Spanish lexicon; the proposed translation techniques were also validated in the field of manner-of-vision (Cifuentes-Férez, 2006, 2014). But, most importantly, in this paper attention is paid to the Manner-information expressed in the whole motion event, not only in the main verb. This has allowed the identification of a compensatory function in Spanish and an augmentative strategy in English, when Manner is not expressed in the main verb.

Iacobini and Vergaro (2012) analysed a literary corpus of novels in British, American and South-African English and their corresponding translations into Italian, focusing on the translation of around 300 motion events including a basic manner verb (e.g., crawl, tiptoe) or an oriented manner verb (e.g., escape, flee) in English. In a later study, Iacobini and Vergaro (2014) studied a different literary corpus composed of four novels originally written in English and their translations into Italian. Here they analysed around 500 motion events, including not only dynamic and static motion events, but also events with basic and oriented manner verbs, and both boundary- and non-boundary-crossing events. The interest of these studies lies in the fact that, although Italian is a verb-framed language, the results show that it presents the same availability/richness when expressing Manner as satellite-framed languages (mainly in the case of oriented manner verbs). Similarly, regarding the differences between boundary-crossing and non-boundary-crossing events, the results are contrary to what was expected according to the boundary-crossing constraint (see 2.2): while in nearly 40% of the boundary-crossing events in Italian the main verb was a manner verb,

manner verbs were observed as main verbs with a similar frequency in non-boundary-crossing events in the same language.

Molés-Cases (2016) examined the translation of manner-of-motion events in a German>Spanish corpus of narrative texts. Here translation techniques for Manner-of-motion are classified based on both traditional classifications of translation techniques (see, for instance, Molina and Hurtado, 2002) and the proposals inspired by the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis. The classification can be summarized as a continuum of lower to higher degrees of translation of Manner.

Alonso (2018) studied the translation of *The Hobbit*, in this case into Galician. Her empirical data are drawn from the translation of six professional translations (including the published version) and eight translations by translation students whose mother tongue was Galician. The results of the study indicate that the translation of Manner-of-motion is influenced by typological differences between English and Galician, and that expertise did not have a strong effect on the types of verbs, strategies and constructions used (Alonso, 2018, p. 372), except in the following respects: professional translators used slightly more non-motion verbs than students; in-training translators omitted Manner information with more frequency than professional translators; and translation students used more constructions including motion verbs.

The literature also includes studies of intratypological scenarios. Filipović (1999) conducted a bidirectional study on the English–Serbo-Croatian translation of motion events. The empirical data consisted of 70 motion events in English from George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* (1945) and its translation into Serbo-Croatian, and 40 motion events in Serbo-Croatian from two short stories by Ivo Andrić – *Prokleta avlija* (1954) and *Priča o vezirovom slonu* (1948) – and their translations into English.

Filipović focused on Path, Manner and Ground. Regarding Manner, the author confirmed intratypological variation, observing some differences regarding the translation of this subcomponent when translating from English into Serbo-Croatian – namely, the morphological complexity of Serbo-Croatian limits the use of verbs expressing Manner and their combination with prepositions.

Similarly, Lewandowski and Mateu (2016) conducted another intratypological study between satellite-framed languages. They analysed the translation of motion events in *The Hobbit* into Polish and German. In general, they observed that German is more likely to follow the patterns of satellite-framed languages than Polish, and indicated that the possible cause of this variation is the flexibility of the German language in relation to the compatibility of manner verbs with Path components.

The following table summarizes the techniques proposed in the literature for the translation of Manner.

PLACE TABLE 1 AROUND HERE

Table 1. Translation techniques proposed in the literature for Manner

Translation technique	Example
Translation	(en>es) They <u>ran</u> downstairs > <i>Corrieron escaleras abajo</i> (Slobin, 1996)
Partial translation/reduction	(en>eu) flee > <i>ziztu bizian ibili</i> ‘to walk very fast’ (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003)
Omission	(en>es)

	<p>I <u>ran</u> out the kitchen door > <i>Salí por la puerta de la cocina</i> ‘I exited through the kitchen door’</p> <p>(Slobin, 1996)</p>
Specification	<p>(en>it)</p> <p>But Ettinger will die one of these days, and the Ettinger son has fled > <i>Ma prima o poi Ettinger morirà, e suo figlio ha tagliato la corda</i> ‘But sooner or later Ettinger will die, and his son has <u>sneaked away</u>’</p> <p>(Iacobini and Vergaro, 2012)</p>
Addition	<p>(fr>en)</p> <p><i>Lorsque le compte de Boundelmonte entra dans sa chambre</i> ‘when the Count of Buondelmonte entered his room’ > when the Count of Buondelmonte <u>stepped</u> into his room</p> <p>(Slobin, 1996)</p>
Modulation / alteration	<p>(en>eu)</p> <p>swing > <i>jauzi</i> ‘to jump’</p> <p>(Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003)</p>
Omission of motion event	<p>(en>es)</p> <p>Travel from X to Y > [not translated]</p> <p>(Cifuentes-Férez, 2006)</p>
Addition of motion event	<p>(de>es)</p> <p><i>Denn ich habe sie gestern vom Dach meines Hauses aus in Eurem Garten gesehen</i> ‘I saw her yesterday</p>

	<p>from the roof of my house out in your garden’> <i>La he visto ayer desde mi tejado paseando por su jardín</i> ‘I saw her yesterday from my roof walking in your garden’ (Molés-Cases, 2016)</p>
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As can be observed in Table 1, a total of nine translation techniques has been proposed to date in the literature on Thinking-for-translating, the first seven referring to the degree of Manner transferred, and the last two to the transference or lexicalization of the whole motion event.

2.2. The boundary-crossing constraint

As has already been explained, Manner is more or less salient according to the typical lexicalization pattern of each language; but the presence of boundary-crossing also seems to be a conditioning factor in this regard. Aske (1989) studied telicity in motion events in Spanish and English, and concluded that the Spanish language does not license manner verbs in telic (resultative) events – that is, events indicating the end of a trajectory and implying a change of state (e.g., They swam into the cave > *Nadaron adentro de la cueva**; this example is incorrect in Spanish with directional meaning; it is only correct with locative meaning, ‘They swam inside the cave’). The Spanish language does license manner verbs in atelic events, however (e.g., John danced in circles all the way to the door > *Juan bailó en círculos hasta la puerta*) (Aske, 1989, p.3). By way of illustration, while Manner in Spanish can be encoded in the verb in non-boundary-crossing events (e.g., *Los niños corrieron hasta la escuela* ‘The kids ran up to the school’; here literally the kids ran towards the school, but they did not enter it), in

the event of a boundary-crossing event Manner cannot be expressed in the verb, but only through a separate constituent (adverbial expression, gerund, etc.) (e.g., *Los niños entraron en la escuela corriendo*, ‘The kids entered the school running’). Since this contribution focuses on the satellites *over*, *into* and *out of*, some additional considerations should be stressed. While the prepositional expressions *into* and *out of* clearly express the crossing of a spatial boundary – inwards and outwards respectively (e.g., The boys ran into the house, The girls ran out of the school) – the utterances including *over* may be more ambiguous in this respect (e.g., He climbed over the wall, He crawled over the carpet). In this regard, Özçalışkan (2013: 495) refers to “unenclosed two-dimensional boundaries (e.g., carpet, beam) that are crossed OVER and others depicting three-dimensional enclosed boundaries (e.g., a house, a container) that are traversed by going INTO or OUT OF”.

Drawing on Aske’s contribution (1989), Slobin and Hoiting (1994) observed this restriction in other verb-framed languages (French, Turkish, Japanese and Korean), referring to it as the boundary-crossing constraint. Naigles et al. (1998) studied this issue further by analysing the use of English and Spanish verbs in motion events, and observed a general tendency of Spanish speakers to resort to path verbs in horizontal events (e.g., *El chico entra al edificio* ‘The boy enters the building’) and to manner verbs in punctual vertical events (e.g., *El chico se tira a la piscina* ‘The boy throws himself into the swimming pool’) (cf. Özçalışkan 2015, for the case of Turkish). Inspired by a twelve-picture linguistic description task used previously in Cadierno (2010) and Özçalışkan (2015), Alonso (2016) examined the interpretation of pictures depicting non-boundary-crossing and boundary-crossing events by L2 learners of English and native English speakers. She found that pictures expressing *over* make

participants more likely to choose manner verbs than pictures depicting *in* and *out of*. Besides, she showed that cross-linguistic influence is found specially in cases of ‘*into/out of* + a bounded space’, such as *The girl walked into the house*. In a subsequent contribution, Alonso (2020) addressed the written production of boundary-crossing events by three groups of university students: English native speakers, Spanish native speakers and Spanish second-language learners of English. Regarding boundary-crossing, her findings showed that there are significant variations in lexicalization across satellite- and verb-framed languages: English native speakers preferred to express boundary-crossing explicitly, while Spanish speakers and L2 learners presented more varied behaviour (including explicit boundary-crossing, non-boundary-crossing and implicit boundary-crossing, e.g., *He runs towards the house and he is in the house now*). All in all, research on first and second language acquisition has suggested that verb-framed and satellite-framed languages differ in the ways of encoding boundary-crossing and that both the duration of the event and the type of boundary-crossing play a role in the use of manner verbs in verb-framed languages.

Inspired by Alonso (2016), and by the fact that there is no mention in the literature to how translation students deal with the interpretation and translation of manner-of-motion events including boundary-crossing, in Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases (2020) we presented a student-based experiment focused on the translation of boundary-crossing events (specifically: ‘manner verb + *into* + a bounded space’) from English into German and Spanish. The study aimed at answering the question of whether translation students are guided by the target language (usually their mother tongue) when translating motion events with boundary-crossing and Manner. The results of the study suggested that the way translation students deal with these

phenomena is mainly influenced by the lexicalization patterns of their mother tongues, though the nature of the event itself and the context also seem to be important in some cases. More specifically, the results for the translation of vertical boundary-crossing events showed that these were the events with the lowest rate of translation of boundary-crossing and the highest loss of Manner information in Spanish. In contrast, it was also noticed that Spanish student translators were more likely to include Manner information when translating quick motion events.

Although there is a wealth of research on the translation of Manner of motion in narrative texts, as far as we are aware, Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases (2020) is the only contribution dealing specifically with motion events including both Manner and boundary-crossing, and their interpretation and translation by translation students. As has been explained before, in Alonso's (2018) translation experiment (using both students and professionals) the focus is exclusively placed on Manner-of-motion; Alonso's (2016) contribution refers to the interpretation of pictures depicting both non-boundary-crossing and boundary-crossing events (and denoting *over*, *into* and *out of*) by L2 and L1 speakers; similarly, Alonso (2020) pays attention to written production, but not to translation; while Iacobini and Vergaro (2012, 2014) study Manner and boundary-crossing through analysis of corpora of translated novels from English into Italian. The aim of this paper is thus to continue the work begun in Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases (2020).

3. The experimental study

3.1. Research questions and hypotheses

As we have noted, the present research follows up the previous work by Cifuentes-

Férez and Molés-Cases (2020), which addressed whether Spanish and German translation students translate both boundary-crossing and Manner information in motion events in English narrative texts. The present paper includes the following new considerations: it presents the results of a new translation experiment, it incorporates translation students whose mother tongue is Catalan and a new sample of translation students whose mother tongue is German and Spanish to that of Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases (2020), it makes use of a more varied set of Paths (*into*, *out of* and *over*), and it compares students' translations and published translations. Although both Spanish and Catalan are verb-framed languages, it is worth examining possible contrasts between translations into these two languages, since intratypological variation has been identified in the literature (e.g., Filipović 1999, 2008, for English and Serbo-Croatian; Lewandowski and Mateu 2016, for German and Polish; Iacobini and Vergaro 2012, 2014; Baicchi 2005, for Italian and other verb-framed languages). Moreover, to be able to compare the results of two groups of translation students having L1 belonging to the same typological group is important in terms of translation training and practice (i.e., it would be enriching for students to know these differences between language typologies and narrative style).

The study addresses the following research questions:

- (1) When translating motion events with boundary-crossing and Manner, are translation students guided by the target language – that is, their mother tongue?
- (2) To what extent are students' translations similar to the published versions in terms of the lexicalization of motion events (and, more specifically, Manner and boundary-crossing)?

Based on previous findings on the interpretation and translation of boundary-crossing motion events (e.g., Alonso, 2016, 2018, 2020; Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases, 2020), the following hypotheses were posited.

Regarding the translation of Manner, hypothesis 1a states that, in the English > German linguistic combination, German translation students are expected to translate Manner in most cases, as both English and German are satellite-framed languages; by contrast, hypothesis 1b states that, in the English > Spanish/Catalan linguistic combinations, translation students are expected to omit or modulate Manner in their translations because of the typological differences in the expression of this semantic subcomponent, for several reasons: the inclusion of a manner verb could make a text sound unnatural in some cases; some very specific manner verbs from satellite-framed languages lack a lexical equivalent in verb-framed languages.

In the case of boundary-crossing, hypothesis 2a holds that, in the English > German linguistic combination, German translation students are expected to translate all boundary-crossing events; whereas, in the English > Spanish/Catalan linguistic combinations, translation students are expected to omit boundary-crossing more often (hypothesis 2b) (cf. Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases, 2020). The Spanish and Catalan students are more likely not to transfer boundary-crossing events because they tend to focus their attention on the translation of the manner-of-motion verb, thus overlooking the meaning conveyed in the satellite (*in, out of, over*) – that is, the boundary-crossing event – and also because they prefer to use constructions typical of their L1.

As far as the second research question is concerned, our hypothesis was that German students' translations will be much like the published translations – that is, will

contain a high degree of Manner and include all instances of boundary-crossing (hypothesis 3a), whereas Spanish and Catalan translation students' translations will be similar to the published ones with regard to the degree of omission of Manner (hypothesis 3b), but will include fewer instances of boundary-crossing, as it is expected that translation students are sometimes unable to access a direct equivalent when translating boundary-crossing events with Manner (hypothesis 3c).

3.2. Materials and methods

3.2.1. Participants

Participants volunteered to take part in the study. We resorted to a convenience sample of 13 German translation students from Universität Leipzig and Universität Heidelberg in Germany (mean age: 25.69); 22 Spanish translation students from Universidad de Murcia in Spain (mean age: 19.36); and 15 translation students whose mother tongue was Catalan, from Universitat Jaume I in Spain (mean age: 20.07). None had professional experience as translators, and their proficiency in English ranged from B2 to C1/C2, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.¹

¹ Due to the fact that all translation students have a proficiency level in English that guarantees the necessary minimum comprehension of source texts to complete the experiment (i.e., translation into their mother tongues), we decided to leave for future research the study of the role of translation students' proficiency in English might have in translation.

3.2.2. Material and procedure

We requested native German-, Spanish- and Catalan-speaking translation students to translate some narrative excerpts from English into their respective mother tongues. The materials consisted of five fragments with a total of 374 words taken from four novels originally written in English, which were extracted from the COVALT corpus (Corpus Valencià de Literatura Traduïda, Universitat Jaume I), specifically from the subcorpus of original texts in English (<http://www.covalt.uji.es>) (see the complete fragments in Appendix 1).

The five excerpts (henceforth, E1, E2, E3, E4 and E5) included the motion events displayed in Table 2.

PLACE TABLE 2 AROUND HERE

Table 2. Motion events selected for the study

Excerpts	Source	Author	Year
E1. [...] Aunt Em, badly frightened, threw open the trap door in the floor and <u>climbed down the ladder into</u> the small, dark hole [...]	<i>The Wonderful Wizard of Oz</i>	L. Frank Baum	1900
E2. [...] and off Fort Point <u>a fishing-boat was creeping into port</u> before the last light breeze. [...]	<i>The Cruise of the Dazzler</i>	Jack London	1902
E3. [...] They began to <u>scramble out of the excavation</u> , darting furious glances behind them [...]	<i>Treasure Island</i>	Robert L. Stevenson	1883
E4. [...] Then he licked his chops in quite the same way his mother did, and began <u>to crawl out of the bush</u> [...]	<i>White Fang</i>	Jack London	1906
E5. [...] “I will make a ladder,” said the Tin Woodman, “for we certainly must <u>climb over the wall</u> ” [...]	<i>The Wonderful Wizard of Oz</i>	L. Frank Baum	1900

As can be observed, every fragment includes Manner and boundary-crossing (encoded in the prepositional phrases ‘*into/out of/over* + a Ground’). We decided to include other types of Paths involving both horizontal and vertical axes, as earlier research mostly focused on motion events along a horizontal axis: ‘*into* + a bounded space’ (cf. Alonso, 2016; Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases, 2020). Thus, these materials show a more balanced set of motion events that will allow us to achieve a broader picture of the potential impact of these factors – namely, types of Path (*into, out of, over*) and vertical/horizontal axes – on the translation of boundary-crossing events with Manner. Moreover, it should be noticed that E1 and E2 depict motion *into* a bounded space, E3 and E4 *out of* a bounded space, and E5 *over* a bounded space. In addition, E1, E3 and E5 describe motion along a vertical axis, while E2 and E4 describe motion along a horizontal axis. In the corpus analysed, some instances of ‘*over* + horizontal axis’ were found, but none of them involved boundary-crossing. This is why only one excerpt for the structure ‘*over* + vertical axis’ was included as a stimulus in this study.

The students were given a Word document containing the five complete excerpts (Appendix 1), followed by an empty space to type the translation down. They were told that they could use the Internet and any other resource, including online dictionaries or corpora, because professional translators do resort to those resources and this is also usual in translator training. The translation experiment was designed to be as more realistic as possible to guarantee its ecological validity. Otherwise, students would have been at a disadvantage in comparison with professionals. Moreover, they were allowed up to 90 minutes to complete the task. They were neither informed of the purpose of the study nor the source of the texts, so that they did not look for the published translations

of the excerpts. Once the experiment was over, they were thanked for their participation and debriefed.

3.2.3. Data coding

It is important to point out that, for the analysis of the data, the inclusion of Manner was always considered independent of the encoding patterns: the main verb (*y se arrastró fuera de los arbustos* ‘And he/she crawled out of the bush’), an adverb (*un barco de pesca estaba entrando sigilosamente en el puerto* ‘A fishing boat was entering silently into the port’) or any other constituent (*començaren a eixir a correuita de l’excavació* ‘They started to exit in a rush from the excavation’). These differences were considered in the coding, where the following categories were used: path verb, manner verb, other constituents, omission of Manner, translation of boundary-crossing, and translation technique (see Table 1).

3.3. Results and discussion

To address our first research question – that is, whether translation students are guided by the target language when translating motion events with Manner and boundary-crossing – our results will be presented in two subsections: the first devoted to the rendering of Manner and the second to the rendering of boundary-crossing in the three language-pair combinations (en>de; en>es; en>cat). The focus will then switch to the second research question, regarding the extent to which students’ translations are similar to the published versions in terms of lexicalization of motion events.

3.3.1. Translation of Manner (hypotheses 1a and 1b)

In line with the bulk of research on this topic, hypothesis 1a stated that in the English > German linguistic combination, German translation students are expected to translate Manner information in most cases, whereas hypothesis 1b stated that in the English > Spanish/Catalan linguistic combinations, translation students are expected to omit or modulate Manner much more often than their German counterparts.

Figure 1 displays the results of the degree of loss of Manner information for each of the five excerpts and for the three linguistic combinations.

PLACE FIGURE 1 AROUND HERE

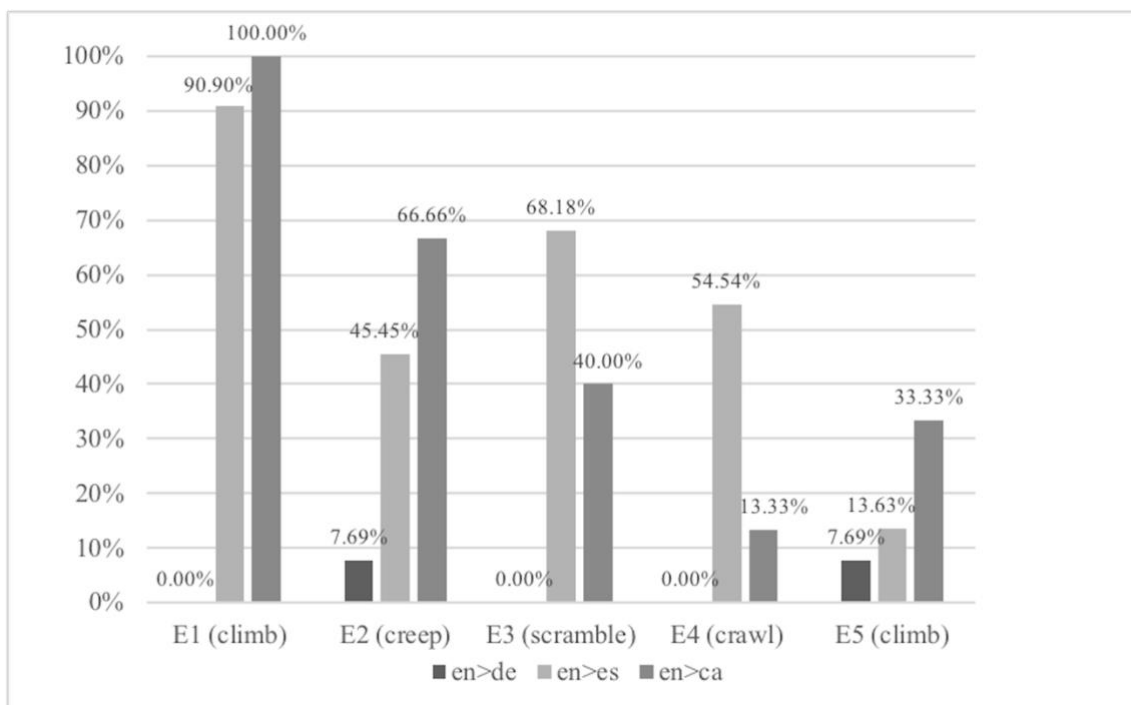


Figure 1. Percentage of loss of Manner information

Data were analysed statistically by means of a chi-square test (for 2x2 tables), a non-parametric test that allows us to investigate whether distributions of categorical or

nominal variables differ from one another (for a more detailed explanation, see Cantos Gómez, 2013). It was carried out using the software package Statgraphics. Since the obtained p-value (0.000) is less than the significance level (0.05) ($\chi^2=50.176$; $p < 0.05$), the results showed that there is a relationship between the students' mother tongue (German, Spanish, Catalan) and the translation of Manner. This is reflected in Figure 2, and is in line with our expectations. In addition, lambda's value ($\lambda=0.1100$) suggests a strong association between the variables.

PLACE FIGURE 2 AROUND HERE

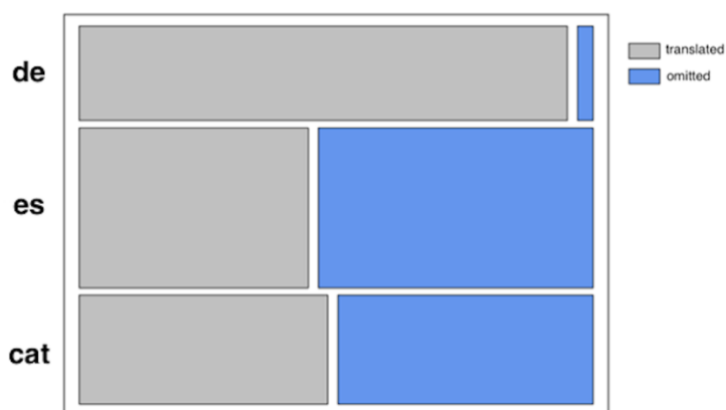


Figure 2. Mosaic plot for transference of Manner (Statgraphics)

Across the five fragments, as expected due to typological differences, it can be observed that far more Manner is lost in the Spanish and Catalan target texts than in the German ones. In the German target texts, it can be observed that, in general, Manner has been fully translated in fragments E1, E3 and E4 (see examples 1, 2 and 3, below), whereas for E2 and E5 the amount of Manner lost is below 8%. Thus, German translation students tend to render most of the Manner information encoded in the English manner verbs, supporting hypothesis 1a.

- 1) E1: [...] climbed down the ladder into the small, dark hole.
 [...] *und kletterte die Leiter in das kleine, schwarze Loch.*
 And climb.PAST.3SG the.F ladder in the.N.ACC small.N dark.N hole
 ‘and climbed the ladder into the small black hole’

- 2) E3: They began to scramble out of the excavation [...]
Sie begannen aus der Grube zu klettern [...]
 They begin.PAST.3PL out the.F.DAT hole to climb
 ‘They began to climb out of the pit’

- 3) E4: [...] and began to crawl out of the bush [...]
 [...] *und kroch aus dem Busch hervor [...]*
 And crawl.PAST.3SG out the.M.DAT bush out
 ‘And crawled out of the bush’

If we focus on the Spanish translations, we see that, for four out of the five texts, Manner is lost to a considerable extent. It is even more notable in the case of E1 (90.90%), where the Figure *climbs down a ladder into a dark hole* (i.e., vertical axis). This finding aligns well with Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases (2020), which suggests that, for this type of vertical boundary-crossing event, in which Manner is not sudden, Manner tends to be omitted in favour of the translation of Path information. By way of illustration, example 4 shows how the English manner verb *to climb* has been rendered with the Spanish path verbs *descender* ‘to descend’ and *bajar* ‘to go down’.

- 4) E1: [...] climbed down the ladder into the small, dark hole [...]
- a. [...] *descendió por las escaleras hacia el pequeño agujero oscuro*
 [...]
 Descend.PAST.3SG through the.F.PL stair.F.PL towards the.M
 small.M hole dark.M
 ‘Descended the stairs towards the small dark hole’
- b. [...] *bajó por las escaleras hasta el pequeño agujero oscuro* [...]
 Descend.PAST.3SG through the.F.PL stair.F.PL until the.M small.M
 hole dark.M
 ‘Went down the stairs up to the small dark hole’

The previous example of a motion event is distinctive, however. While the expression “to climb a ladder” refers to the use of both arms/hands and legs, and hence could be classified as a motion evoking the semantic subcomponent of motor pattern (Molés-Cases, 2016), other similar expressions such as “to climb a rock” or “to crawl out of the bush” are more evocative in terms of Manner-of-motion. Besides, “to climb” is the conventional verb in English when going up or down a ladder (similarly *klettern* ‘to climb’ in German). For these reasons, it would seem normal that Spanish (and Catalan) translation students would resort to a path verb in this specific context, since the reference to arms and legs would be implicit in the context of going down a ladder. While the concept ladder has been in general translated here into Spanish as *escalera* ‘ladder’, in a very few cases (4 out of 22) the alternative option chosen was *escaleras*

‘stairs’, which is a more general term from which the mentioned motor pattern cannot be inferred.

However, for E5, which includes the verb *to climb* and the prepositional phrase *over the wall*, the degree of Manner lost is not very high, at only 13.63%. A closer look at the nature of the motion event depicted in E5 might explain this. The manner verb *to climb* is an everyday type of manner verb, or ‘first-tier verb’ (Slobin, 1997, p. 459), which, combined with the upward direction (vertical axis) encoded in the prepositional phrase *over the wall*, finds two equivalent manner verbs in Spanish (*escalar* and *trepar*). As example 5 illustrates, this fact seems to have facilitated the high inclusion of the Manner information contained in the English motion verb *to climb* – namely, the effortful clambering movement with the use of the Figure’s limbs:

5) E5: [...] for we certainly must climb over the wall.

a. [...] *porque el muro tenemos que escalarlo.*

Because the.M wall.M have.3.PL to climb.it.M.

‘Because we must climb the wall’

b. [...] *pues sin duda hemos de trepar el muro.*

So doubtless have.3.PL to climb the.M wall.M

‘So doubtless we must climb the wall’

In line with the results for Spanish translations, in the Catalan target texts it can be observed that, for four out of the five texts, Manner is also lost to a certain degree. In the case of E1, Manner is totally lost in all translations into this language. As shown in example 6, the Manner information encoded in the English motion verb *to climb* is

sacrificed by all participants in order to translate the Path of the motion event (downwards motion along a vertical axis), encoded in the Catalan path verb *baixar* ‘to go down’. Here again, the evocation of the use of arms and legs would be implicit in the context if the concept ladder were transferred, but this is transferred (*escala* ‘ladder’) by the Catalan translation students on little more than half of the occasions, while in the remaining cases the more general concept *escales* ‘stairs’ has been used.

6) E1: [...] climbed down the ladder into the small, dark hole [...]

a. [...] *va baixar per l'escala fins al xicotet i obscur forat [...]*

PAST.3SG go.down through the.F ladder.F up to the.small.M and dark.M hole.M

‘Went down the ladder up to the small and dark hole’

b. [...] *va baixar per les escales al xicotet i fosc forat [...]*

PAST.3SG go.down through the.F.PL stair.F.PL up to small.M and dark.M hole.M

‘Went down the stairs towards the small and dark hole’

Nevertheless, for E4, which includes the verb *to crawl* and the prepositional phrase *out of the bush*, the degree of Manner lost is the lowest (13.33%) in the Catalan target texts. One plausible explanation for these results might be that the Figure being an animal (a wolf dog) allows the use of some manner verbs that are not associated with default or expected ways of moving for human Figures.

7) E4: [...] and began to crawl out of the bush [...]

- a. *[...] i va eixir de l'arbust reptant [...]*
 And PAST.3SG go.out from the.bush.M crawl.GER
 ‘And went out of the bush crawling’
- b. *[...] començà a arrossegar-se fora de l'arbust. [...]*
 Begin.PAST.3SG to crawl.REFL out of the.bush.M
 ‘Began to crawl out of the bush’

Despite these two exceptions in Spanish and Catalan, respectively, our data overall provide partial support for hypothesis 1b, which predicted that the Spanish and Catalan target texts would lose (or modulate) a high degree of Manner information contained in the original English excerpts.

At this point it is interesting to note that Spanish student translators, when they opted for including Manner in their translations, produced more instances of modulation of Manner than their German and Catalan counterparts. Here modulation is understood in the terms used by Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2003, p. 163–165) (Strategy M-7: “the translation of a different type of manner of motion”). Table 3 shows the cases of modulation of Manner found in the three language pairs across the five excerpts.

PLACE TABLE 3 AROUND HERE

Table 3. Modulation of Manner in German, Spanish and Catalan

E	Manner verb	en>de	en>es	en>ca

1	climb	-	<i>refugiar-se</i> (1) ‘to hide, to take refuge’, <i>deslizar-se</i> (1) ‘to slide’	-
2	creep	<i>fahren</i> (1) ‘to drive’, <i>segeln</i> (1) ‘to sail’, <i>schunkeln</i> ‘to sway’ (1), <i>tuckern</i> (1) ‘to chug’, <i>schippern</i> (1) ‘to sail’	-	<i>navegar</i> (1) ‘to sail’
3	scramble	<i>kriechen</i> (1) ‘to crawl’	<i>trepar</i> (4) ‘to climb’	<i>trepar</i> (1) ‘to climb’ (Spanish loanword, <i>Diccionari català-valencià-balear</i>)
4	crawl	-	-	-
5	climb	-	<i>saltar</i> (2) ‘to jump’	-
	Total	6	8	2
	Relative frequency (%)	2.4%	3.2%	0.8%

As Table 3 shows, there was a modulation of the manner verbs in the English source texts in three excerpts, most frequently for E3 (*scramble out of the excavation*), where the verb *to scramble* was modulated on four occasions in the Spanish target texts use of the verb *trepar* ‘to climb’. In contrast, modulation of Manner in German and Catalan was lower than in Spanish: 3.2% in Spanish target texts, versus 2.4% in German and 0.8% in Catalan ones. As can be observed, modulation in Catalan is quite low: for the translation of E2 (*creep into port*), the Catalan verb *navegar* ‘to sail’ was used, and for the translation of E3 (*scramble out of the excavation*), the manner verb *trepar* ‘to climb’ was used. In the case of German, modulation of Manner was mainly used in the translation of E2 (*creep into port*), with five instances out of a total of six cases of modulation. In this way, the English manner verb *to creep*, in the sense of moving silently or furtively, was modulated by various German manner verbs (e.g., *fahren* ‘to drive’, *segeln* ‘to sail’, *schunkeln* ‘to sway’, etc.). The other instance of modulation in German was found for E3 (*scramble out of the bush*), in which the manner verb *to scramble* was modulated as *kriechen* ‘to crawl’ in German.

3.3.2. Translation of boundary-crossing (hypotheses 2a and 2b)

In the case of boundary-crossing, it should be recalled that hypothesis 2a holds that, in the English > German linguistic combination, German translation students are expected to translate boundary-crossing in most cases, whereas hypothesis 2b holds that, in the English > Spanish/Catalan linguistic pairs, translation students are expected to omit boundary-crossing with some frequency.

PLACE FIGURE 3 AROUND HERE

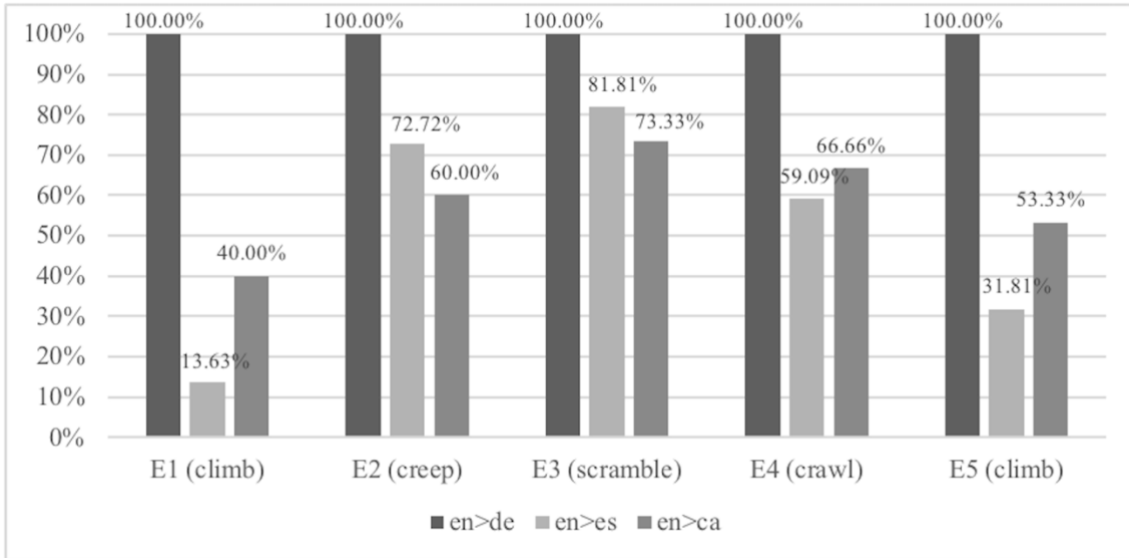


Figure 3. Percentage of translation of boundary-crossing

Chi-square (for 2×2 tables) was here applied again. The analysis revealed statistically significant results ($\chi^2=45.368$; $p= 0.000$; $p <0.05$). It can be concluded that there is also a relationship between the students' mother tongue (German, Spanish, Catalan) and the translation of boundary-crossing, as reflected in Figure 4. Lambda's value ($\lambda=0.0000$) suggests a very strong association between the variables here, too.

PLACE FIGURE 4 AROUND HERE

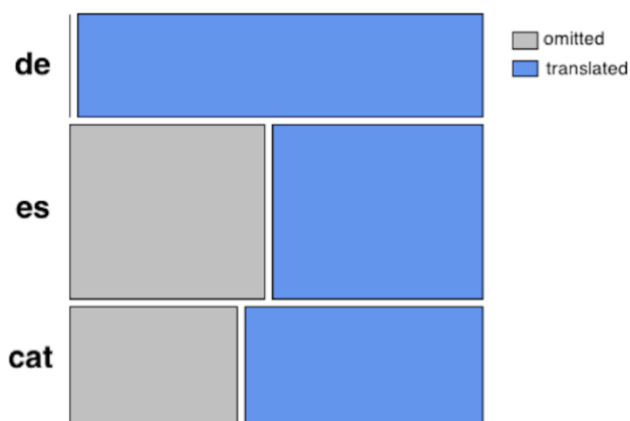


Figure 4. Mosaic plot for transference of boundary-crossing (Statgraphics)

German students translated the boundary-crossing events in all cases (see examples 1, 2 and 3). By way of illustration, in example 2 the Figure goes *out* from an excavation (vertical axis), whereas in example 3 the Figure crawls *out* of a bush (horizontal axis). In both cases, the German preposition *aus* ‘out’ is used to express the crossing of a boundary. The fact that the English preposition *out of* does find a direct equivalent in the German preposition *aus* can account for the total translation of this type of Path. On the whole, German translation students translated boundary-crossing across the five excerpts, supporting hypothesis 2a.

In contrast, most Spanish students seemed to fail to translate boundary-crossing events in two out of five of the texts. Example 4, discussed earlier, includes two of the most frequent translations for E1 (*climb down the ladder into the small, dark hole*), and is the excerpt that saw the lowest percentage of translation of boundary-crossing (only 13.63%). Most of the Spanish translations show that the Figure is going down a ladder; but it is not clear that the Figure gets inside the dark hole, since the prepositions used are *hacia* ‘towards’ and *hasta* ‘up to’, neither of which encodes boundary-crossing. Example 8 includes four translations for E5, which yielded a low overall degree of translation of boundary-crossing (31.81%). As shown in the examples *a* and *b*, most of the Spanish students focused on translating the manner verb *to climb*, relegating the expression of the boundary-crossing encoded in *over the wall*. In these translations it is thus clear that the Figures climb the wall, but it seems to be left to be inferred that the Figures continue after climbing the wall. One possible explanation for this behaviour might be found in the fact that vertical motion is not a default way of moving for humans, and students may therefore have focused on how this vertical motion with upward direction was being performed. In contrast to this, examples *c* and *d* include

boundary-crossing. As can be observed, in the former case Manner has been translated (through a modulation: to climb > *saltar* ‘to jump’), while in the latter case it has been left to be inferred that the way of passing over the wall is through the help of the Figure’s limbs. No instances of implicit boundary-crossing (Özçaliskan 2015, Alonso 2020) were identified either in Spanish or in Catalan.

8) E5: [...] for we certainly must climb over the wall.

a. *Seguro que hay que escalar el muro.*

Sure that it.be.necessary.3SG to climb the.M wall.M

‘Sure the wall must be climbed’

b. *[...] porque es obvio que tenemos que escalar la pared.*

Because is.3SG obvious that have.3PL to climb the.F wall.F

‘Because it is obvious that we must climb the wall’

c. *[...] porque sí o sí tenemos que saltar ese muro.*

Because no matter what have.3PL to jump that.M wall.M

‘Because no matter what we must jump over that wall’

d. *[...] porque seguro que tenemos que pasar el muro.*

Because sure that have.3PL to pass the.M wall.M

‘Because we must certainly pass over the wall’

However, in E2 (*creep into port*), E3 (*scramble out of the excavation*) and E4 (*began to crawl out of the bush*), around 70–80% of Spanish participants translated those three boundary-crossing events.

9) E2: [...] a fishing-boat was creeping into port [...]

a. [...] *un barco pesquero se adentraba en el puerto [...]*

A.M boat.M fishing.M get.inside.PAST.3SG.REFL in the.M
port.M

‘A fishing boat got inside the port’

b. [...] *un bote de pesca entraba en el puerto [...]*

A.M boat.M of fishing.F enter.PAST.3SG in the.M port.M

‘A fishing boat went into the port’

10) E3: They began to scramble out of the excavation [...]

a. *Empezaron a salir de la excavación*

Begin.PAST.3PL to exit from the.F excavation.F

‘They began to go out of the excavation’

b. *Comenzaron a salir de la excavación*

Begin.PAST.3PL to exit from the.F excavation.F

‘They began to go out of the excavation’

11) E4: [...] began to crawl out of the bush [...]

a. *Y comenzó a salir del arbusto*

And begin.PAST.3SG to exit from.the.M bush.M

‘And began to get out of the bush’

b. *Y se arrastró fuera de los arbustos*

And crawl.PAST.3SG.REFL outside from the.M.PL bush.M.PL

‘And crawled out of the bush’

In example 9, Spanish students have transferred the boundary-crossing encoded in *into*, and rendered this information into the Spanish path verbs *adentrarse* ‘to go into’ and *entrar* ‘to enter’. Much in the same way, for example 10, they used the Spanish verb *salir* ‘to go out’ to encode the boundary-crossing information expressed in English *out of*. Similarly, for example 11, the path verb *salir* ‘to go out’ and the adverb *fuera* ‘outside’ have been used to express the crossing of a boundary.

In the case of Catalan, the translation of boundary-crossing is more homogeneous than in Spanish; in other words, Catalan translations do not display a large variation across excerpts in the percentage of inclusion of boundary-crossing. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in the same way that was discussed in the case of Spanish, E3 exhibits the highest degree of translation of boundary-crossing. In example 12, boundary-crossing is expressed in Catalan through the path verb *eixir* ‘to go out’ and the expression *cap a l'eixida* ‘towards the exit’.

12) E3: They began to scramble out of the excavation [...]

a. *Van començar a eixir de l'excavació [...]*

PAST.3PL begin to exit from the.excavation.F

‘They began to go out of the excavation’

b. *Van començar a trepar cap a l'eixida de l'excavació [...]*

PAST.3PL begin to climb towards the.exit.F from
the.excavation.F

‘They began to climb towards the exit of the excavation’

Taken together, these data for Spanish and Catalan provide partial support for hypothesis 2b, predicting that the Spanish and Catalan target texts would lose a high degree of boundary-crossing, since it was expected that students would be likely to omit boundary-crossing events. The question that arises here is why Excerpt 3 (*scramble out of the excavation*) yielded more translations of boundary-crossing in Spanish and Catalan. In our opinion, it seems that the type of Path depicted (*out of* + vertical axis) might have played a role in ensuring the correct interpretation of the boundary-crossing event, since vertical Paths, as opposed to horizontal ones, are not the default for human beings; thus, it is likely that participants focused more closely on the translation of boundary-crossing.

3.3.3. Translation expertise: student translators' translations vs. published translations (hypotheses 3a, 3b and 3c)

In addition to analysing the translation experiment, we also examined how the original fragments in English were translated and published in German, Spanish and Catalan (see Appendix 2), which is closely related to the second research question. In this respect, as noted above, we hypothesised that German students' translations would be much like the published translations – that is, they would contain a high degree of both Manner and boundary-crossing (hypothesis 3a), as we expected that German students would have an easier task when translating those events, thanks to typological similarities between German and English. On the other hand, we anticipated that Spanish and Catalan students' translations would be similar to the published ones with regard to the degree of omission of Manner (hypothesis 3b), but would include fewer instances of boundary-crossing, as we expected that students would still have problems

transferring boundary-crossing events with Manner (hypothesis 3c), due to typological differences between these languages and English in the encoding of motion events, which favours the foregrounding of Manner in English.

Before testing these hypotheses, we first examined the degrees of Manner loss and inclusion of boundary-crossing in the published translations in German, Spanish and Catalan.

PLACE FIGURE 5 AROUND HERE

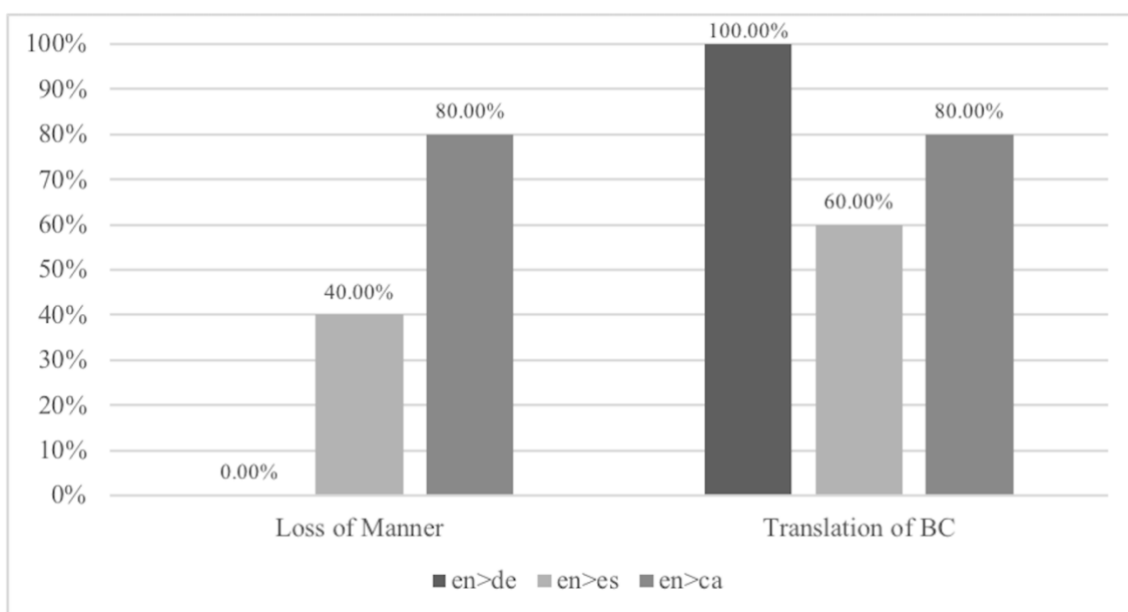


Figure 5. Percentages of Manner loss and translation of boundary-crossing in the published translations

As Figure 3 shows, Manner was mainly translated in the German published translations, but mainly omitted in the Spanish and Catalan published translations – the degree of Manner loss being greater in Catalan than in Spanish. It should be noted that in Catalan the same translator is responsible for three of the four novels, which might explain the greater Manner loss in this language. Meanwhile, boundary-crossing was mostly maintained in all published translations, although the degree of its retention in Spanish

was 20% lower than in the Catalan published translations. An interesting case in point of the loss of Manner is the translation of E1 (climbed down the ladder into the small dark hole), which was discussed earlier in relation to translation students' behaviour. In the case of professionals, both Spanish and Catalan translators resorted to path verbs, but the former retained the reference to a ladder (*escalerilla*) (and the possible inference of the use of the Figure's limbs) while the latter omitted it.

Since the phenomenon studied here is stylistic in nature, it should be pointed out that some translators may prefer a text that sounds more natural in Catalan/Spanish in spite of not including each specific piece of information regarding Manner and boundary-crossing, while others may prefer to stick more closely to the original nuances (these preferences might also be conditioned by some features of the original text, such as its purpose, target audience, editorial guidelines, etc.). However, it is important to bear in mind that the corpus examined here is small in size, and larger corpora and a more diverse sample of translators would be necessary to reach conclusions regarding translators' behaviour. In future investigations, it might be interesting to analyse whether Spanish and Catalan, both being verb-framed languages, present divergent Manner salience (cf. the case of Italian, which is more Manner salient than other verb-framed languages – see e.g., Iacobini and Vergaro, 2012; Baicchi, 2005).

Table 4 shows the percentages of loss of Manner and translation of boundary-crossing in the published translations (by German, Spanish and Catalan professional translators) and in the student-based experiment (by German, Spanish and Catalan student translators).

PLACE TABLE 4 AROUND HERE

Table 4. Percentages of Manner loss and translation of boundary-crossing (BC) by students and professional translators

	German professional translators	German students	Spanish professional translators	Spanish students	Catalan professional translators	Catalan students
Loss of Manner	0%	3.08%	40%	54.55%	80%	50.67%
Translation of BC	100%	100%	60%	51.82%	80%	58.67%

In the case of German, it can be seen that both professionals and students include the boundary-crossing information, and that only around 3% of Manner loss is found in translations by students. As we saw, excerpts E2 (*creep into port*) and E5 (*climb over the wall*) were the ones in which a low degree of Manner loss was observed. Thus, in the light of these results, hypothesis 3a is partly supported, since German students managed to include all instances of boundary-crossing in the published translations, and managed to translate almost all of Manner information.

In the case of Spanish, the data reveal that students' behaviour is not far from that of professionals, in that around 55% of Manner information is lost and around 52% of boundary-crossing information is included in students' translations, versus 40% of Manner loss and 60% of inclusion of boundary-crossing in published versions translated by professionals. In other words, students' translations omitted around 15 % more Manner information and around 10 % more boundary-crossing than professionals.

However, larger differences can be observed in the case of Catalan for both loss of Manner and translation of boundary-crossing between students' and professionals' translations: there was around 51% of Manner loss in students' translations, versus 80

% in those of professionals; and around 59 % inclusion of boundary-crossing by students, versus 80 % by professionals. In other words, Catalan students' translations included almost 30% more Manner information, but omitted around 22% more boundary-crossing than those of professional Catalan translators. As we have noted, the greater Manner loss and larger inclusion of boundary-crossing in published translations into Catalan might have been partly a product of the fact that the same translator into Catalan is responsible for three of the four novels analysed.

Focusing only on the data from students' translations, it can be seen that Spanish and Catalan students mostly managed to include a similar degree of Manner information and of boundary-crossing in their target texts, which suggests that they each face similar problems due to the typological differences between English vs. Spanish and Catalan. Thus, hypothesis 3b, stating that Spanish and Catalan translation students' translations would be similar to the published ones with regard to the degree of omission of Manner, can be confirmed only in the case of Spanish. Meanwhile, hypothesis 3c, which predicted fewer instances of boundary-crossing by students, can be confirmed for both Spanish and Catalan – since, based on previous research, we expected that students would have some difficulties when translating English boundary-crossing motion events.

Our findings do not completely agree with previous comparable studies regarding the impact of expertise on the experiment, such as Alonso (2018). On the one hand, the results for Spanish are fairly similar, since students omitted Manner with more frequency than professional translators (55% vs. 40%, respectively). On the other hand, this observation was not made for Catalan, where Manner was omitted far more often by professionals than by in-training translators (80% vs. 51%). Again, these results may

have been conditioned by professional translators' behaviour, namely by the fact that in Spanish the translation product of four professionals was examined, while in Catalan the translation product of just two professional translators was analysed.

4. Conclusions

This paper has examined how German, Spanish and Catalan translation students dealt with the translation of a series of English boundary-crossing events with Manner into their respective mother tongues. Our research takes a step towards understanding how typological and other factors pertaining to the intrinsic nature of the events affect the translation of this particular type of motion event, which has been shown to be particularly difficult for Spanish student translators (Cifuentes-Férez and Molés-Cases, 2020). In general terms, the results suggest that the way student translators deal with motion events including Manner and boundary-crossing is influenced both by their mother tongues and by the nature of the event itself (axis, suddenness, type of Figure, type of Path, type of Manner).

In line with previous research on the topic, our results show that our sample of German students managed to translate boundary-crossing across all narrative texts, and rendered Manner in almost all cases. In contrast, Spanish and Catalan students tended to omit Manner and boundary-crossing, due to typological differences between verb- and satellite-framed languages and the tendency observed to conform to the rhetorical or narrative style of the target language. As noted above, on most occasions, translated texts including boundary-crossing events with Manner could be considered unnatural by Spanish and Catalan readers. Given the particular features of these languages and the way in which their native speakers process information, it may sometimes be

appropriate (or even advisable) not to transfer every detail from the original, in favour of a more natural-sounding target text.

Our research has also aimed to explore the extent to which students' translations are similar to professionally translated published versions. Our data show that German students' translations are much more similar to the published versions than those of Spanish or Catalan students, as far as the degree of inclusion of boundary-crossing and Manner is concerned. In addition, we found that Spanish and Catalan students' translations retained a similar degree of Manner information and boundary-crossing, suggesting that Catalan and Spanish students face similar problems translating from English into their mother tongues due to the typological differences between English and both of those languages. Curiously, Catalan students' target texts exhibited a much lower degree of Manner loss than was found in the published Catalan versions; but, as discussed above, this might reflect the fact that three out of the four novels had been translated into Catalan by the same translator.

This study has described and highlighted a series of stylistic procedures typical of intra- and intertypological translation scenarios. In our view, translation students would benefit from a better knowledge of the theoretical assumptions presented and discussed here, since future translation practitioners might then consciously include or omit information (regarding Manner and/or boundary-crossing) for stylistic reasons. Further research is needed including more tokens per type of factor (i.e., vertical and horizontal axes, suddenness of motion, type of Figure, etc.) and larger samples of participants, and it would also be desirable to incorporate other verb- and satellite-framed languages, so as to achieve a wider picture of how boundary-crossing is translated and lexicalised in other languages, which might deviate in these respects from

the languages we have examined here. Finally, it would be interesting to explore the impact that different levels of proficiency in English might have on the translation of these types of motion event.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Excerpts for the experiment

Excerpts	Source	Author	Year
<p>E1. “Quick, Dorothy!” she screamed.</p> <p>“Run for the cellar!” Toto jumped out of Dorothy's arms and hid under the bed, and the girl started to get him. Aunt Em, badly frightened, threw open the trap door in the floor and <u>climbed down the ladder into</u> the small, dark hole. Dorothy caught Toto at last and started to follow her aunt.</p>	<p><i>The Wonderful Wizard of Oz</i></p>	<p>L. Frank Baum</p>	<p>1900</p>
<p>E2. His gaze dropped from the clouds to the bay beneath. The sea-breeze was dying down with the day, and off Fort Point <u>a fishing-boat was creeping into port</u> before the last light breeze. A little beyond, a tug was sending up a twisted pillar of smoke as it towed a three-masted schooner to sea. His eyes wandered over toward the Marin County shore.</p>	<p><i>The Cruise of the Dazzler</i></p>	<p>Jack London</p>	<p>1902</p>
<p>E3. “I tell you now, that man there knew it all along. Look in the face of him and you 'll see it wrote there.”</p> <p>“Ah, Merry,” remarked Silver, “standing for cap'n again? You 're a pushing lad, to be sure.”</p> <p>But this time everyone was entirely in Merry 's favour. They began to <u>scramble out of the excavation</u>, darting furious glances behind them. One thing I observed, which looked well for us: they all got out upon the opposite side from Silver.</p>	<p><i>Treasure Island</i></p>	<p>Robert L. Stevenson</p>	<p>1883</p>

<p>E4. At the same time he was made aware of a sensation of hunger. His jaws closed together. There was a crunching of fragile bones, and warm blood ran in his mouth. The taste of it was good. This was meat, the same as his mother gave him, only it was alive between his teeth and therefore better. So he ate the ptarmigan. Nor did he stop till he had devoured the whole brood. Then he licked his chops in quite the same way his mother did, and began <u>to crawl out of the bush</u>.</p>	<p><i>White Fang</i></p>	<p>Jack London</p>	<p>1906</p>
<p>E5. The four travellers walked with ease through the trees until they came to the farther edge of the wood. Then, to their surprise, they found before them a high wall which seemed to be made of white china. It was smooth, like the surface of a dish, and higher than their heads.</p> <p>“What shall we do now?” asked Dorothy.</p> <p>“I will make a ladder,” said the Tin Woodman,” for we certainly must <u>climb over the wall</u>.</p>	<p><i>The Wonderful Wizard of Oz</i></p>	<p>L. Frank Baum</p>	<p>1900</p>

Appendix 2. Published translations

	<i>The Wizard of Oz</i>	<i>The Cruise of the Dazzler</i>	<i>Treasure Island</i>	<i>White Fang</i>
de	<i>Der Zauberer von Oz</i> (Felix Mayer, Anaconda)	<i>Die Fahrt der Dazzler</i> (Frisco Kid, Hermmann Schladt)	<i>Die Schatzinsel</i> (Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld)	<i>Wolfsblut</i> (Friedrich Ernst Fehsenfeld)
es	<i>El mago de oz</i> (Verónica Fernández-Muro, Alianza)	<i>El crucero del Dazzler</i> (José María Carandell, Orbis)	<i>La isla del tesoro</i> (Caire Ubac, Edelvives)	<i>Colmillo blanco</i> (Ramón D. Peres, SM)
ca	<i>El meravellós màgic d'Oz</i> (J. Franco, Bromera)	<i>El creuer del Dazzler</i> (Gerard Bataller; Remei Bataller, Bromera)	<i>L'illa del tresor</i> (Josep Franco, Bromera)	<i>Claubanc</i> (Josep Franco, Bromera)

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