

## Speech Verbs in *Game of Thrones*: A Contrastive Analysis in English, Spanish and Romanian

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**Abstract:** The objective of this paper is to analyse the verbs that introduce direct speech in written texts in three languages: English as the original language of the text and Spanish and Romanian as translations. The analysis will help to compare the way in which each language structures speech events in writing through verbs of communication (e.g. “say”/“decir”/“spune” or “ask”/“preguntar”/“întreba”). In order to carry out this research I will complete an inventory of all the verbs used for introducing direct speech. The study draws upon research on the expression of motion events, particularly the work of Talmy and Slobin and their typological dichotomy between English and Spanish. The former language lexicalises path of motion with the help of an adjunct and, as a result, is called a *satellite-framed* language while the latter does this within the motion verb, thus being considered a *verb-framed* language. In this paper I apply insights from this research to the expression of communication events and extend the analysis to Romanian.

**Keywords:** verbs of communication, verb-framed languages, satellite-framed languages, speech events, direct speech

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### 1. Introduction

As a fundamental tool of communication, language is at the base of every aspect of our social interactions. Through it we express our ideas, feelings and desires. The natural complexity of language becomes evident in the variety of characteristics incorporated by speech events. For instance, there are physical-auditory components in “call out” and “snap”, we can infer the speaker’s attitude or emotions from the words “wail” and “swear” and finally, “plead” and “explain” reveal to us the motivation behind the verbal interaction. The specific linguistic means that allow us to interact are called verbs of communication (VoCs). Also called “linguistic action verbs” (Verschueren 1987), verbs of communication are the instruments we use to send out meaningful information, describe others’ interaction or present the exact words someone used in a particular situation, whether orally or in writing. Example (1) shows direct speech being introduced by speech verbs.

- (1) a. “I thought he was going to kill me,” Robb confessed  
b. –Pensé que me iba a matar –le confesó Robb-.  
c. – Credeam că o să mă omoare, îi mărturisii Robb.

While linguistic communication is universal, languages or language groups evolve in certain isolation. This allows them to develop particular characteristics that are not common across all languages. A very good example of fundamental contrast are the verbs of motion. We will see how path of motion is expressed differently in English compared to Spanish. The same happens, albeit to a lesser extent, with VoCs. Example (2) illustrates the greater expressive range of the English verb “laugh” compared to its Spanish and Romanian equivalent.

- (2)
- a. “Why would you want me as your Hand, if you refuse to listen to my counsel?” “Why?” Robert laughed.
  - b. -Por qué quieres que sea la Mano, si te niegas a escuchar mis consejos?  
-Por qué? -Robert se echó a reír-.  
c. – De ce m-ai dori ca Mână dacă refuzi să-mi ascuți sfaturile?  
– De ce? Robert izbucni în râs.

In English “laugh” seems to be sufficient to convey the illocutionary strength but the Spanish verb “reír” and the Romanian “râde” fall short. Thus, there is the necessity of another, more expressive, verb like “burst” which together with the infinitive in Spanish and the noun “râs” in Romanian form the expression “burst into laughter”.

Throughout this paper I will explore the similarities and/or the contrasts that emerge between the three languages. After a brief overview of the literature on verbs of motion and speech verbs, I will present and discuss the findings that arise from the selected corpora.

### 1.1. Literature review

The comparative analysis of words in different languages is a relatively new and underexplored area. The discovery of language specific patterns has sparked the curiosity of many scholars. Talmy’s foundational study on verbs of motion has inspired the search for patterns in other areas such as speech verbs.

In his ‘Lexicalization Patterns’ (1985) and ‘Path to Realization’ (1991) Leonard Talmy lays the foundation of a typological dichotomy characterised by a clear distinction between *satellite-framed* languages versus *verb-framed* languages. The central aspect that separates these two “frames” is the notion of path and its expression through language. Path of motion refers to the direction towards which motion is projected. A *satellite-framed* language, specifically English, expresses path with the help of an adjunct to the verb, a preposition like “out” in “walk out”. Manner appears foregrounded into the verb. The opposite happens in *verb-framed* languages. In these languages, Romanian and Spanish in this analysis, the foregrounded aspect is path (“salir”, “ieși”). Manner could be intrinsic since we assume, in this case, that there is a person that leaves the room by means of walking (“sale andando” or “iese mergând”). In more specific cases, however, the adjuncts mentioned previously are explicitly required in order to express manner. We will see why in the example Talmy chose to demonstrate his theory. To validate the contrast in typology Talmy compares the way motion is lexicalised in English and Spanish. The example he uses is that of a bottle floating out of a cave: “The bottle floated out” versus “La botella salió flotando”. We can observe two differences in this example. The verb in English expresses manner and the satellite path. In Spanish, on the other hand, the verb “salió” expresses path while manner is expressed with the help of the gerund “flotando”, “floating”.

Talmy goes one step further and states that the typological dichotomy discovered between English and Spanish is universal (Talmy 1991):

Languages that characteristically map the core schema into the verb will be said to have a framing verb and to be verb-framed languages. Included among such languages are Romance, Semitic, Japanese, Tamil, Polynesian, most Bantu, most Mayan, Nez Perce, and Caddo. On the other hand, languages that characteristically map the core schema onto the satellite will be said to have a framing satellite and to be satellite-framed languages, and included among them are most Indo-European minus Romance, Finno-Ugric, Chinese, Ojibwa, and Warlpiri. (p. 486)

In accordance with this statement, the languages studied in this paper would fall into two groups: English as a Germanic language in the first (original text) and Spanish and Romanian (both translations) in the second, as representatives of the Romance branch of the Indo-European languages. Being members of the same family of languages, Spanish and Romanian are expected to behave similarly. However, geography shows us that Romanian has developed in certain isolation being surrounded by Slavic and Finno-Ugric languages which, according to Talmy, are *satellite-framed*. A secondary objective of this paper is to verify to what extent Romanian typifies the linguistic group to which it belongs. Having established the dichotomy in verbs of motion, a question arises. Does it apply to verbs of speech?

Faber and Sanchez in their *Semántica de Prototipos* (1990) reach the same conclusion as Talmy. Their analysis of the semantic field of the manner of speech verbs compared to that of sound verbs in English and

Spanish concludes that in Spanish it is impossible to conflate in a single verb the act of speech together with manner of speaking. Therefore, English speech acts are more synthetic while Spanish acts of speech are more analytic. Martinez Vazquez (1998, 2001) suggests that Faber and Sanchez's assertion is accurate. However, in *Communicative constructions in English and Spanish* (2005) Martinez Vazquez finds that Spanish syntax does allow communication and manner to conflate in the same verb.

- (3) a. Me susurró que necesitaba hablarme a solas...  
(s/he) whispered to me that (s/he) needed to talk to me alone.  
b. ...gimió que presentía que iba a morir.  
'(s/he) moaned that (s/he) felt that (s/he) was going to die.

Nonetheless, the seldom use of these constructions by Spanish speakers indicates that there is an inhibiting factor. Martinez Vazquez advances the possibility of constraints of a cognitive nature rather than syntactic rules. Rojo & Valenzuela (2001) contribute to the analysis of speech verbs with a comparative study of verbs of saying. Following Slobin's approach (1996a, 1996b, 2004) to verbs of motion, they compare a corpus of four English novels to their Spanish translations. The results in English were classified as general verbs ("say", "speak", "talk", and "tell") and specific verbs (the rest). In Spanish, the general verbs were "contar", "decir", "hablar", "charlar" while the rest were deemed "specific". Surprisingly, the Spanish inventory of verbs of saying is richer (56 instances) than the English one (46 instances). Despite the relatively small size of the data collection, the unexpected excess of Spanish verbs of saying points towards a different behaviour in comparison with the verbs of motion paradigm. The possible explanation for this inconsistency is the choice Spanish translators made when translating English general verbs. Perhaps due to the synthetic nature of the language, the verb "to say" is used extensively. In contrast, the repeated use in Spanish of a general verb like "decir" would result in an unnatural narrative style.

In an attempt to reconcile previous research on speech events, Caballero (2018) argues in favour of a change in focus. In the expression of motion events English is, undoubtedly, more prolific regarding lexical resources. In contrast, the study of speech events should centre on quality i.e., "the way verbal patterns are used to introduce and reconstruct speech events rather than the availability of lexical resources in each language".

Drawing upon the aforementioned contrastive studies, I analyse the verbs that introduce direct speech in a corpus of approximately nine hundred thousand words, adding one more Romance language to the traditional comparative pair studied by the majority of the above cited scholars. The following section describes the methodology used to carry out the analysis.

## 2. Methodology

### 2.1. Corpus

The source of the data that I have chosen for this analysis is George R.R. Martin's *Game of Thrones* (George R.R. Martin 1996). As mentioned previously, the English text is original and the Spanish and Romanian are translations by Cristina Macia (2002) and Silviu Genescu (2013) respectively. I have chosen this book, firstly, because it is a recent, popular novel and because it is very rich in dialogue. Secondly, the roughly nine hundred thousand words of the three books combined offer a range that allows the type of analysis conducted below.

### 2.2. Data collection and analysis

Data collection and analysis was done in three phases. The first phase consisted of building an inventory of the verbs to be analysed. The process involved a manual search in each of the three books for any instance of DS and the verbs that introduce it. Direct speech can be introduced by other structures like expressions with non-speech verbs (bodily gestures). Note that this analysis does not include them. The examples below illustrate the most common format of direct speech and the verb that introduces it in each of the three languages.

- (4) a. "Such eloquence, Gared" Ser Waymar observed.  
b. -Qué elocuencia, Gared -observó Ser Waymar-  
c. - Câtă elocvență, Gared, remarcă Ser Waymar.

We can see that no two languages follow the same typographical rules. English prefers the inverted commas to signal the direct speech while Spanish and Romanian use dashes. For the introductory verb, we can observe differences between Spanish and Romanian. While the former encloses the verb and the subject between dashes, the latter uses a dash to introduce direct speech and a comma to separate the direct speech from the reporting verb. In English the inverted commas are sufficient to delimit the two instances. Moreover, the very orderly examples shown above are not the only situations in which speech verbs introduce direct speech. In many cases, in all three languages, the verbs of communication appear before, between or after the speaker's words.

In the second phase of the analysis the resulting verbs were organised in three databases, one for each language. Additionally, they were classified in three categories according to the type of information they express: illocutionary or the speaker's intentions, manner or the way that information is transmitted and turn-taking verbs which illustrate the distribution of turns in the dialogue.

The third phase consisted in the exploration of the three databases in order to see how speech events are being reconstructed in each language by means of the verbs introducing the direct speech. The search was done with the help of a concordancer.

### 2.3. Results

Given the small size of the corpus there are expected to be small quantitative differences between the three languages. They can, however, indicate general patterns that could be confirmed with the help of a larger database. In Table 1, we can observe some broad quantitative differences. The first major difference is in size. The Spanish text seems to be greater than the English and the Romanian by roughly 5% with 305,000 words compared to approximately 290,000 for both English and Romanian. Although it might seem irrelevant at first glance, it could indicate different writing/translating styles which, in turn, may affect productivity. In terms of speech verbs, the English corpus yielded 3,535 tokens while the Spanish corpus yielded 3,516 speech tokens and the Romanian reached 3,308 tokens. Here, the English and the Spanish results are quite similar while the Romanian is a little smaller. Speech verb types offer an interesting perspective as the English (135) and the Spanish (137) count is almost identical and the Romanian (148) is notably higher.

	English	Spanish	Romanian	
<b>Types</b>	135	137	148	420
<b>%</b>	32.14%	32.62%	35.25%	100.00%

	English	Spanish	Romanian	
<b>Tokens</b>	3,535	3,516	3,308	10,359
<b>%</b>	34.12%	33.94%	31.93%	100.00%

**Table 1** *Speech verbs corpus: Overall results*

In Tables 2, 3 and 4, we take a more in-depth look at the results. Confirming Caballero's (2015) results, English yields the highest number of tokens of illocutionary verbs (2,865) while being the least varied (70 types). Spanish yields fewer tokens (2,770) but considerably more verb types (85). Romanian seems to be the least productive of the three with only 2,572 tokens albeit almost as varied as Spanish (81). The situation appears to be quite different when we look at manner verbs. Romanian is the metaphorical winner with 617 tokens and 64 verb types. English produced almost the same number of verb types (61) with fewer tokens (513). Spanish yielded the fewest tokens (501) and fewer varied speech verb types (49).

		Assertive	Directive	Expressive	Comissive	Total
<b>English</b>	<b>Types</b>	43	16	8	3	70
	<b>Tokens</b>	1,830	840	159	36	2,865
<b>Spanish</b>	<b>Types</b>	49	23	9	4	85
	<b>Tokens</b>	1,895	722	127	26	2,770
<b>Romanian</b>	<b>Types</b>	47	24	8	2	81
	<b>Tokens</b>	1,744	658	138	32	2,572

**Table 2** *Illocutionary verbs corpus: Overall results*

		Human	Animal	Inanimate	Instrument	
English	Types	43	11	7		61
	tokens	455	39	19		513
Spanish	Types	40	6	3		49
	tokens	427	66	8		501
Romanian	types	48	11	5		64
	tokens	529	58	30		617

Table 3 Manner verbs corpus: Overall results

English	types	9
	tokens	82
Spanish	types	10
	tokens	189
Romanian	types	12
	tokens	127

Table 4 Turn-taking verbs corpus: Overall results

### 3. Discussion

The results allow us to answer the initial questions of this paper. The differences described by typological scholars are confirmed albeit to a lesser extent than in the case of verbs of motion. From the distribution of illocutionary and manner verbs, we can conclude that English is almost equally concerned with the way (61 verbs) information is transmitted as it is with the speaker's intentions (70 verbs). On the other hand, Spanish seems to pay more attention to the illocutionary aspect of communication (85 verb types compared to 49 that describe manner). New to this type of comparisons, Romanian seems to sit somewhere in between. It appears to be equally concerned with the speaker's intentions (81 verb types) as Spanish but also, curiously, just as concerned with the way they are expressed (64 verb types) as English. We have seen, in the previous section, the quantitative variations between the three languages. A closer look at the numbers will reveal a more comprehensive image of how each of them reconstructs speech events.

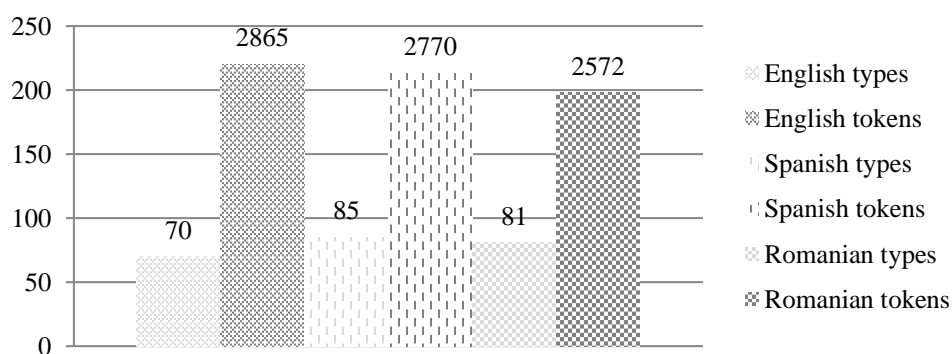
A look at the most common verbs that introduce DS in each of the three languages reveals the first important difference. "Say" (1,760), "tell" (234) and "speak" (14) total 2,008 tokens in English, which is by far the most productive of the three. Somewhat surprisingly, Spanish only has two verbs that directly translate the English ones. They are "decir" (1,399) and "contar" (2). Last but not least, Romanian possesses no fewer than six different words in this respect: "spune" (916) and "zice" (574), which literally mean "say"/"tell", "vorbi" (7) and "glăsu" (24) correspond to "speak"/"hablar" and "povesti" (3) would be translated as "tell"/"contar". A particular use of the verb "face" (158), which normally would be translated as "do"/"hacer", in this case means "say"/"decir" and completes this list.

- (5)
- a. "Wise boys," Lannister said.
  - b. -No son tontos- dijo Lannister.
  - c. -Băieți isteți, face Lannister.

The abundance of verb types shown by Romanian in this case is in line with the general corpus where Romanian (148) is approximately 10% richer compared to English (135) and Spanish (137). However, this is only one aspect of the complex relationships present in this analysis. In the following subsections, we will see, in detail, how each language reconstructs speech events with the help of the VoCs.

#### 3.1. Illocutionary verbs

In spite of having the fewest types (70), English is the most productive language with 2,865 tokens. Spanish and Romanian are more varied with 85 and 81 types respectively albeit they are less productive. While Spanish productivity is lower (2,770) but relatively closer to English, Romanian's performance is notably poorer with only 2,572 tokens.



**Figure 1** Illocutionary verbs

The most frequent verbs in the assertive, directive and expressive groups except “say”/”tell” and their translations are:

*(a) Assertive*

English: agree (32), announce (34), answer (45), call up/out (84), reply (99)

Spanish: asentir (79), contestar (38), repetir (40), replicar (289), responder (117), señalar (67)

Romanian: anunța (35), răspunde (220), repeta (39)

*(b) Directive*

English: ask (208), command (34), demand (17), warn (20)

Spanish: advertir (17), insistir (37), ordenar (45), pedir (17), preguntar (258), suplicar (17)

Romanian: avertiza (15), întreba (220), porunci (33)

*(c) Expressive*

English: complain (15), protest (6), swear (16)

Spanish: maldecir (8), protestar (11), quejarse (13), saludar (7)

Romanian: injura (9), plânge (se) (13), protesta (9)

Assertive verbs paint an interesting picture. The Spanish/English pair largely behaves according to Caballero’s (2015) findings. Spanish is more varied but also, surprisingly, slightly more productive. Romanian seems to position itself somewhere in between the two. The examples below illustrate this.

- (6) a. “The grave casts long shadows, Iron Lord,” Mirri said.  
 b. – La tumba proyecta sombras alargadas, Señor de Hierro – manifestó Mirri.  
 c. – Mormântul lasă umbre lungi, Lordule de Fier, spuse Mirri.
- (7) a. “A pity,” Catelyn said coldly.  
 b. – Una lástima- replicó Catelyn con tono gélido.  
 c. – Ce păcat, zise Catelyn rece.
- (8) a. “I didn’t catch anything,” Bran said.  
 b. – Yo no cogí ninguna (trucha)- siguió Bran.  
 c. - N-am prins nimic atunci, făcu Bran.

We can see here how Romanian translates the verb “say” literally using the verbs “spune”/”zice”/”face”. Spanish uses a different verb in each example, changing the meaning of the verb from the original text. The use of verbs like “manifestar”, “replicar” and “seguir” instead of the verb “say” is consistent with Caballero (2015) where she describes Spanish as being “more fine-tuned than English with regard to verbs expressing “basic” meanings” (p.1405).

### 3.2. Manner Verbs

Previous research in speech verbs has determined that Spanish, as a *verb-framed* language, is not particularly salient when it comes to manner verbs. The results of this study confirm that. Although equally productive compared to Spanish, English proves to be markedly more diverse. Romanian, also a verb-framed language, appears to be just as diverse as English and more abundant.

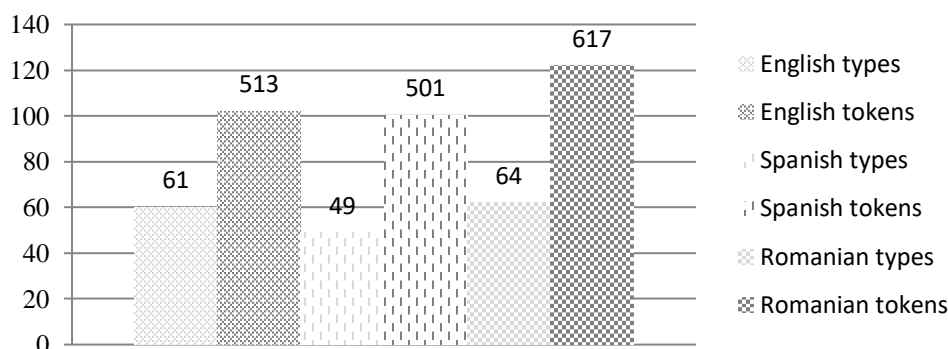


Figure 2 Manner verbs

The unexpected saliency of Romanian could be explained, on the one hand, by an apparent greater lexical availability. On the other, this could be due to the translator's choice of words.

- (9) a. "Who do you belong to, boy?" the septa demanded. "Answer me. What's wrong with you, are you mute?"  
 b. -Quienes son tus padres, chico? -insistió la septa-. Responde. Qué te pasa, eres mudo?  
 c. - De unde ești, băiete? Îl înghesui septa. Răspunde-mi! Ce-i cu tine, ești mut?

Example (9) illustrates the different paths Spanish and Romanian take. Like the English verb "demand", "insistir" is also an illocutionary verb, although the translator's choice is a verb with a slightly different meaning. The Romanian verb "înghesui" would be translated as "corner"/"arrinconar", a manner verb. Both verbs exist and have a similar meaning which is to force someone in a position from which they cannot easily escape.

The previous example has shown how the choice of words contributed to Romanian productivity. Examples (10) and (11) display what appears to be a greater lexical availability of both English and Romanian. It concerns verbs that, broadly, describe various ways of crying. Whereas Spanish used "gemir", "gimotear" and "sollozar", English employed "cry", "moan", "sob", "wail" and "whimper". Romanian, in turn, expressed the same with the verbs "geme", "plânge", "scânci (se)", "smiorcăi (se)", "tângui (se)", "văicări" and "văita".

- (10) a. "The bells again, gods ha'mercy," wailed an old woman.  
 b. -Los dioses se apiaden de nosotros; otra vez las campanas -auzó una vieja.  
 c. - Iarăși clopotele, zeii s-aibă milă, se văită o bătrână.
- (11) a. Promise me, she had cried, in a room that smelled of blood and roses.  
 b. Prométemelo -le había suplicado en una habitación que olía a sangre y a rosas-.  
 c. „Promite-mi”, se tânguise ea în încăperea care mirosea a sânge și trandafiri.

Notice the Spanish preference for another manner (animal) verb in the first example and an illocutionary (directive) in the second. This is not the only case in which English and Romanian pair up. Verbs that express laughter are also more diverse in the aforementioned languages. The verb "reír" is the only one in the Spanish corpus. Meanwhile, English produced the verbs "chuckle", "giggle" and "laugh". Similarly, Romanian employed the verbs "chicoti" ("giggle"/"chuckle"), "hohoti" ("guffaw") and "râde" ("laugh"). The example below illustrates the Spanish choice of a general verb compared to the more specific English and Romanian verbs.

- (12) a. “Payne?” chuckled the young man in the green armour.  
 b. -Payne? -rió el joven de la armadura verde.  
 c. - Payne? chicoti cel tânăr, în armura verde.

The distribution of the most used manner (human and animal) verbs is as follows:

(a) *Human*

English: laugh (33), murmur (25), mutter (31), scream (34), shout (46), whisper (78)

Spanish: exclamar (33), gritar (89), gruñir (27), murmurar (48), suspirar (29), susurrar (67)

Romanian: glăsu (24), murmura (44), ofta (20), rosti (54), striga (100), șopti (72), țipa (30)

(b) *Animal*

English: bark (4), growl (6), grunt (7), roar (12), snarl (4)

Spanish: bufar (10), graznar (19), rugir (28)

Romanian: croncăni (8), hârâi (5), lătra (4), mârâi (5), mormăi (22), urla (4)

### 3.3. Turn-taking verbs

The dynamics of a conversation seems to be the domain of the Spanish language. With only one extra verb type compared to English, it more than doubles the amount of tokens (189 compared to only 82 for English). Romanian, as in other occasions, positions itself somewhere in the middle with slightly more verb types (12) and 127 tokens.

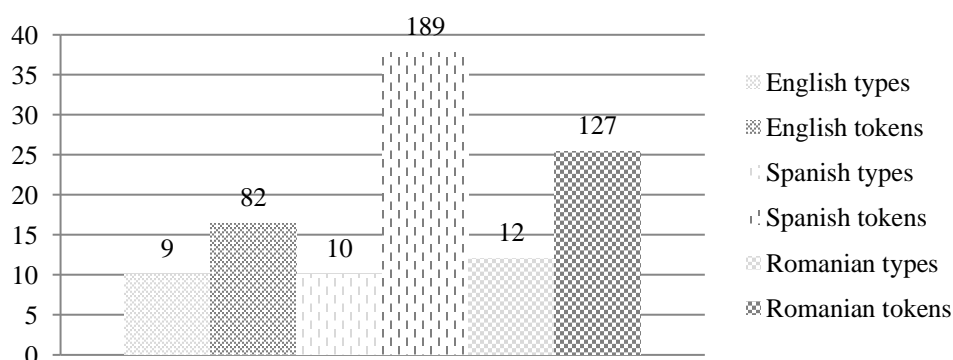


Figure 3 Turn-taking verbs

Given the small numbers of verb types in each language, we can pinpoint the exact reason behind Romanian’s marginally better performance. While English and Spanish use one verb to express the conclusion of a conversation (“finish”, “terminar”), Romanian offers three possibilities: “încheia”, “sfârși” and “termina”. However, it is not a case of greater lexical availability. Both English and Spanish have alternatives. In English we can use “end” or “conclude” and in Spanish “acabar”, “finalizar” or “concluir”. The fact that they have not been used simply points either to the author’s and/or the translator’s preferences or, perhaps, literary style limitations.

The verbs that were used the most frequently are:

English: begin (17), finish (17)

Spanish: añadir (39), empezar (24), intervenir (45), seguir (41), terminar (20)

Romanian: adăuga (25), continua (25), interveni (15), începe (32)

Furthermore, verbs can be classified according to their function in text. In this sense we have verbs that describe the beginning and/or the end of a conversation like “begin” or “finish”, verbs that are concerned with maintaining the flow like “add” or “continue” and finally, verbs that refer to interference or overlapping of turns like “interrupt” or “cut off”. The distribution of the verbs within these categories is as follows:



	Begin/End	Flow	Overlap	Total
English	34	38	10	82
Spanish	44	91	54	189
Romanian	47	54	26	127

Table 5 Overlapping verbs

A few things stand out from the allocation of verb types in the above categories. Conversations in English seem to take place in quite an orderly fashion. With just 10 instances of verbs that indicate an interruption, English seems to show little appetite for disputing the floor. In that regard, Spanish is the most prolific of the three languages with noticeably more tokens than English and Romanian combined. That, however, is not the most salient characteristic of the Spanish corpus. Almost half of the turn-taking verbs in Spanish are concerned with maintaining the flow of the conversation. The same types of verbs are the most numerous in English and Romanian as well, although the productivity compared with the verbs in the other categories is less conspicuous.

To sum up the discussion, looking at the total number of tokens in each language, we can conclude that English (3,535) and Spanish (3,516) give more voice to their characters through direct speech. Romanian (3,308), on the other hand, seems to prefer a more narrative style. Within each of the three categories, the distinctions between English and Spanish demonstrated by scholars are mostly confirmed. The only exception is the lower number of turn-overlapping verbs compared to verbs that refer to the flow of the interaction. This could be due to the limited variety of the corpus.

Spanish and Romanian present an interesting picture. While less productive than Spanish, Romanian appears to be more varied. This is particularly noticeable in manner verbs where it displays a greater variety and productivity compared to the other languages that have been analysed. It would be interesting to see whether these characteristics are maintained in the analysis of a larger corpus.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

The analysis carried out in the present paper allows for some interesting conclusions. It is not the case for the main question as, somewhat unsurprisingly, we see that the typological dichotomy proposed by Talmy for verbs of motion does not apply entirely to verbs of speech. Although there are differences between languages they are not as straightforward as the *satellite-framed* versus *verb-framed* typology. The introduction of Romanian to this comparative analysis, however, does offer new insights. Despite being a Latin language, Romanian does not always perform like Spanish. While it lexicalises motion in the same way Spanish does, in quantitative terms it appears to be a more synthetic language and, from this point of view, more similar to English. The present study, however, is very limited in scope and depth. In order to confirm some of the findings a larger and more varied corpus should be analysed. Having observed that Spanish and Romanian do not always act the same way, particularly when it comes to manner verbs, it would also be interesting to see how the rest of the major Romance languages behave in a similar contrastive study.

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