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EMPIRICAL STUDY

Embodiment for Spatial Metaphors of Abstract Concepts Differs Across Languages in Chinese–English Bilinguals

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This study was preregistered on AsPredicted (https://aspredicted.org/SG4_5P9). A one-page Accessible Summary of this article in nontechnical language is freely available in the Supporting Information online and at <https://oasis-database.org>. All materials, the data that support the findings of this study, and the analysis code are openly available in on Open Science Framework at <http://osf.io/hm2c5>.

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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Abstract: Embodied cognition posits that processing concepts requires sensorimotor activation. Previous research has shown that perceived power is spatially embodied along the vertical axis. However, it is unclear whether such mapping applies equally in the two languages of bilinguals. Using event-related potentials, we compared spatial embodiment correlates in participants reporting the source of auditory words as being presented from above or below their sitting position. English bilinguals responded faster for congruent presentations of high-power words (presented above) but not for congruent presentations of low-power words (presented below) in both languages. Low-power words together also failed to modulate N400 amplitude or interact with language. However, follow-up analyses on high-power words showed congruency effects on N400 amplitude in Chinese but not in English. Finally, English controls showed no effect. This suggests that spatial embodiment differs across languages in bilinguals, but the roles of culture and proficiency require further research.

Keywords conceptual representation; embodied cognition; metaphor; bilingualism; ERP

Introduction

Concepts are at the very heart of what it means to be human. Theories of conceptual embodiment (Barsalou, 1999, 2008) have struggled to explain how abstract concepts (e.g., peace) may relate to activation of sensorimotor systems that are more readily associated with the processing of concrete concepts (e.g., daffodil). However, people use strategies to relate abstract concepts to concrete experiences in the world, notably by using metaphors (e.g., “the sweet taste of peace”). One interesting question is whether cognitive embodiment of abstract concepts differs across languages in bilinguals. Indeed, metaphorical references are generally implemented differently in the two languages of bilinguals due to idiosyncrasies of language expressions. In the present study, we asked whether metaphorical mapping similarly applies in the native (L1) and second language (L2) of Chinese–English bilinguals when they process abstract concepts. We took the example of spatial metaphors for perceived power (*king* [high-power] – up, *servant* [low-power] – down), to address this question using event-related potentials (ERPs) that provided a high temporal resolution index of implicit semantic processing requiring no conscious evaluation on the part of the participants.

Background Literature

Embodied Theories of Cognition

Embodiment theory posits that accessing concepts in semantic memory systematically involves sensorimotor activation (Barsalou, 1999, 2008; Gallese

& Lakoff, 2005; Glenberg & Kaschak, 2002; Pulvermüller, 2005). This proposal has received empirical support from experiments in which participants processed nouns, verbs, words representing actions performed by specific body parts, or sentences describing actions (Hauk et al., 2004; Marino et al., 2014; Santana & De Vega, 2013; Zwaan & Yaxley, 2003). For instance, an fMRI study showed that reading the words *lick*, *pick*, and *kick* differentially activated cortical regions involved when participants performed the bodily movements associated with these words (e.g., moving their tongue, finger, or foot; Hauk et al., 2004). Aravena et al. (2010) presented participants with sentences that described actions either congruent or incongruent with the motor experiences of their hand. They found that incongruent sentences elicited greater N400 ERP amplitudes than congruent sentences, suggesting that language comprehension involves sensorimotor activation (see Grafton & Tipper, 2012, for a review).

Concrete/Abstract Problem

A major difficulty encountered by proponents of embodiment, however, has been the representation of abstract concepts. Abstract concepts have been defined as mental representations referring to entities that are neither purely physical nor spatially constrained (Barsalou & Wiemer-Hastings, 2005; see also Borghi et al., 2022). Dual coding theory (Paivio, 1990), for instance, assumes that abstract and concrete concepts are stored differently in long-term memory: Abstract concepts would be stored as verbal–symbolic representations, detached from direct bodily experiences, whereas concrete concepts evoke both verbal and visual–perceptual representations. Others have argued that abstract and concrete concepts are similarly grounded in perception and action (Buccino et al., 2016; Kiefer & Pulvermüller, 2012). In addition to sensory–motor experiences, abstract concepts have also been theorized to depend more than concrete concepts on metaphors, situated action, emotion, introspection, and lexical associations (Barsalou et al., 2008, 2018; Borghi, 2020; Gallese & Lakoff, 2005; Vigliocco et al., 2009).

According to conceptual metaphor theory, abstract concepts are grounded in experience through mediation of metaphoric mappings to the concrete domain (e.g., Gallese & Lakoff, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). For instance, time, a highly abstract concept, is often conceived in relation to space, a concrete domain, where experience abounds (Casasanto & Boroditsky, 2008; Li et al., 2019). Studies looking into abstract concept embodiment have exploited the stimulus–response compatibility effect, that is, the fact that participants respond more quickly and accurately in judgement tasks when the nature of

response matches some stimulus feature. Such studies have shown that the effect for concrete concepts also applies to abstract ones. For example, Meier and Robinson (2004) asked participants to indicate whether words such as *hero* and *liar* had a positive or negative meaning. They found that participants responded faster when words with a positive connotation appeared above (congruent) rather than below (incongruent) fixation.

Embodiment and Bilingualism

Although there is increasing evidence supporting embodied cognition theory, the representation of concrete and abstract concepts in bilinguals has remained underexplored. Some researchers have argued that unlike in the L1, sensorimotor information is only partially activated in L2 processing of action-related verbs and nouns (Ahlberg et al., 2018; Bergen et al., 2010; Buccino et al., 2017; Dudschig et al., 2014; Foroni, 2015; see Kogan et al., 2020; Kühne & Gianelli, 2019; Monaco et al., 2019, for review). Buccino et al. (2017) found that the sensorimotor system is involved in the processing of both L1 and L2 nouns denoting graspable items as compared to nongrasable ones using a go/no-go paradigm.

However, other studies have suggested that L2 sensorimotor activations require deeper semantic processing (Bai & He, 2022; Birba et al., 2020; De Grauwe et al., 2014; Tian et al., 2020; Vukovic & Shtyrov, 2014; Xue et al., 2015). For example, De Grauwe et al. (2014) used fMRI to investigate embodiment in L2 using a lexical decision task and found that semantic representations in L2 and L1 could produce activations to simple action words in motor and somatosensory areas. Xue et al. (2015) tested Chinese–English bilinguals in a sentence acceptability task using ERPs in which participants compared high and low body–object-interaction words (i.e., words that imply direct motor control vs. none) embedded in either a rich or poor sensorimotor context. High body–object-interaction L2 words were more acceptable to participants, processed faster, and elicited lower N400 amplitudes than low body–object-interaction L2 words, especially in a rich context, lending support to the idea that L2 concrete words are embodied.

Evidence for sensorimotor activation by L2 abstract words has remained scarce, however, with most research focusing on the processing of emotion words (Dudschig et al., 2014; Vukovic & Shtyrov, 2014). Dudschig et al. (2014) found that L2 input automatically activates sensorimotor representations for implicit location words (e.g., *roof*) and emotion words (e.g., *happy*) using an adapted Stroop paradigm in which participants had to identify word color using upward or downward finger movements to reach target buttons.

Vukovic and Shtyrov (2014) measured event-related desynchronization in L1 speakers of German who were also fluent in English. They presented participants with pairs of verbs that were either semantically congruent (related, but not identical action words, e.g., *chewing – kissing*) or incongruent (action verbs preceded by abstract words, e.g., *knowing – running*). They found that both languages elicited similar patterns of brain activity, with a stronger effect in German than in English. Also, action verbs activated motor areas more than did abstract verbs, especially when action verbs were related in meaning. Vukovic and Shtyrov concluded that embodied cognition applies to both concrete and abstract words in the two languages, while depending on variables such as proficiency, semantic similarity, and word class.

To our knowledge, very limited ERP studies to date have attempted to capture embodied cognition effects in bilinguals in relation to spatial temporal metaphors. Li et al. (2019) presented participants with dates in the form of days of the week or numerical years and asked them to report the interval duration between the date heard and the date of testing. Hearing the word “Friday” from a loudspeaker situated in front of participants on a Wednesday created a mental challenge greater than hearing the same word played behind their back, an effect that Li et al. had hoped to detect because the metaphor for “the day after tomorrow” in Chinese is *hou tian*, which literally translates as “back day” in English. Chinese–English bilinguals suffered interference between the origin of spoken words in the space around them and the spatiotemporal metaphor used to refer to time within 400 ms of stimulus onset time. Strangely, however, such embodiment interference effect was found only when participants operated in L2 English.

The Case of Perceived Power

Perceived power has recently gained attention because it characterizes relatively abstract concepts (e.g., king) while also maintaining a metaphorical relation to the concrete domain of space. Schubert (2005) demonstrated that processing perceived power in a semantic judgement task spontaneously activated vertical space information. Participants responded faster and more accurately when high-power words were presented in a high relative to low screen position. Zanolie et al. (2012) used a spatial cueing paradigm to investigate whether processing perceived power automatically recruits spatial attention. Participants responded significantly faster when a high-power word was followed by a target letter appearing at an upper location compared to a lower location on the screen. They also found increased N1 amplitude for congruent relative to incongruent spatial positions.

In the same vein, Wu et al. (2016) asked participants to judge whether a target word, displayed in the upper or lower part of the screen, was associated with power or weakness. Participants responded significantly faster and displayed increased N1 amplitude in congruent relative to incongruent trials, but P3 and LPC amplitudes were modulated in the opposite direction. To examine this in L2, Qian (2016) gave the same instruction to Chinese–English bilinguals. The congruency effect on response times (RTs) was larger in L1 than L2, and stronger in participants with higher L2 proficiency. Another study conducted by Hu (2021), however, found only the congruency effect in L1.

The Present Study

Current evidence of perceived power embodiment in bilinguals is limited: (a) Although processing of perceived power has been thought to be metaphorically mapped along the vertical axis, only two studies reported differences between languages (Hu, 2021; Qian, 2016); (b) Most of the evidence has come from behavioral data in tasks where power manipulation was explicit, which may differ from the case of natural language processing; and (c) N1 and P1 modulations reported in ERP studies (Wu et al., 2016, Zanolie et al., 2012) may be heavily affected by low-level stimulus characteristics.

To tackle embodiment more directly, we used an auditory source localization task in Chinese–English bilinguals. The participants reported whether spoken words in Chinese and English were played from loudspeakers located above or below their sitting position. Words could relate either to human entities varying in power status (e.g., *king/servant* – power words), names of objects with direct spatial reference (e.g., *sun/ground* – location words), or animal names (e.g., *dog*) serving as fillers. High-power and high-location belonged to the congruent condition when played from above and to the incongruent condition when played from below. It should be noted that the ratio of power words, location words, and fillers was unbalanced (by design), with fewer than half of stimuli being congruent and acting as implicit targets (prone to elicit P300-like modulations, Polich, 2007).

To our knowledge, it is the first time that embodiment of an abstract concept has been tested based on direct mapping with a sensory modality associated with spatial awareness in an ERP experiment. Indeed, we did not use location descriptors (the words *up* and *down*), a visual property of the stimulus (position on the screen), or a symbolic spatial representation (arrow), but rather a direct reference to bodily experience of space (sound origin). Importantly, the participants were asked to report the source of the

sound in the space around them as opposed to deliberately making judgement about perceived power, thus shifting the context toward implicit conceptual processing.

We hypothesized that there would be: (a) effects of embodiment on abstract cognition (i.e., behavioral and ERP effects of congruency) and (b) differences in strength of embodiment across languages (L2 effects reduced compared to L1 effects). If the sensorimotor network is involved in processing spatial metaphors of perceived power, we expected shorter RTs and fewer errors when the participants heard a word referring to a high-power word presented from above compared to hearing it from below. We expected ERPs to show larger P3 amplitudes in congruent than in incongruent conditions due to the relatively lower frequency of congruent pair across the experiment. We also predicted larger N400 amplitudes for incongruent than for congruent conditions, especially when Chinese–English bilinguals are tested in L1 Chinese. This study was preregistered on AsPredicted (https://aspredicted.org/SG4_5P9).

Method

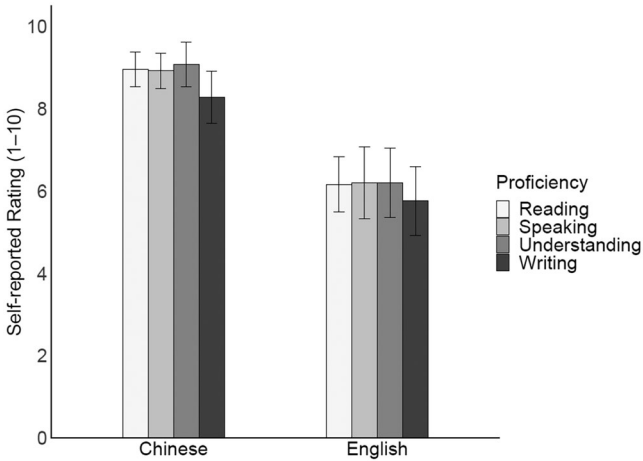
Participants

We recruited 32 Chinese–English bilinguals and 27 English L1 speakers with self-reported normal hearing and normal or corrected-to-normal vision to participate in this experiment. We excluded data from seven bilingual participants and two L1 speakers of English due to: (a) accuracy rate falling below 80% considering the simplicity of the task and (b) electroencephalogram (EEG) data displaying noncorrectable drifting, excessive line noise, and a loss of more than five channels preventing accurate data interpolation. We thus included 25 datasets for each language group in the final analyses (Chinese–English bilinguals: 12 females, $M = 24.1$ years, $SD = 3.7$; English L1 speakers: 17 females, $M = 20.4$ years, $SD = 3.6$).

All the participants were students at Bangor University and residents in the United Kingdom at the time of testing. We assessed language background using the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q; Kaushanskaya et al., 2020; data summarized in Table 1). The bilingual participants had received a mean of 16 years ($SD = 2.3$) of education (undergraduate level education), had had exposure to Chinese from birth, and had low-to-average levels of daily exposure to English ($M = 4.0 \pm 1.6$ on a scale from 0 [*never*] to 10 [*always*]). They had English proficiency scores greater than 6 on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and self-reported their language proficiency in Mandarin Chinese as very high and in English as upper intermediate (see Figure 1).

Table 1 Chinese–English bilingual participants' language background

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age of Chinese acquisition (years)	1.8	1.5
Age of English acquisition (years)	8.0	4.1
Daily Chinese use (%)	65.3	23.2
Daily English use (%)	34.7	17.7

**Figure 1** Chinese–English bilingual participants' self-reported ratings of Chinese and English proficiency (10 point-scale). Error bars represent confidence intervals.

The participants gave written informed consent before taking part in this study and received cash or credits for their participation. The study was approved by the ethics committee of the School of Human and Behavioral Sciences at Bangor University (approval no. 2021–17074).

Materials

The stimuli consisted of 120 Chinese words and 120 translation equivalents in English (see Appendix S1 in the Supporting Information online). We further divided the stimuli into high/low perceived power human words (referring to people, professions, or social status, e.g., *king/servant*, 60 words), high/low spatial references (denoting objects associated with higher or lower positions in space, e.g., *sun/ground*, 30 words) and animal names (fillers, e.g., *tiger/rabbit*, unrelated to space, 30 words). We partially derived the stimuli from the stimulus list compiled by Dudschig et al. (2014). We pre-

sented all words auditorily. We downloaded word recordings from <https://easypronunciation.com/zh/practice-chinese-pronunciation-online> for Chinese and <https://dict.youdao.com/?keyfrom=cidian> for English. All the files were natural-sounding synthesized audio normalized in amplitude and resampled to 44.1 KHz with a 16-bit resolution using Adobe Audition (Version 13.0). The Chinese stimuli varied in length from 240–1,195 ms ($M = 714 \pm 17$ ms). The English stimuli varied in length from 243–1,118 ms ($M = 687 \pm 15$ ms).

Thirty volunteers who did not participate in the experiment rated Chinese words for perceived power, familiarity, and valence on a 5-point Likert scale. We had to change some of the words prior to testing due to low familiarity ratings or ambiguous perceived power in the norming; six high-power and three low-power words were replaced. As we expected, the perceived power of the high-power words was significantly higher ($M = 3.69 \pm 0.74$) than that of low-power words ($M = 1.47 \pm 0.18$), $t(49) = 15.2$, $p < .001$, $d = 4.26$. Valence ratings for high-power words were significantly higher ($M = 3.62 \pm 0.44$) than for low-power words ($M = 2.51 \pm 0.61$), $t(49) = 7.32$, $p < .001$, $d = 2.05$. Familiarity did not differ significantly between high-power ($M = 4.25 \pm 0.42$) and low-power words ($M = 4.19 \pm 0.44$), $t(49) = 0.64$, $d = 0.15$. We controlled lexical frequency using log transformed values from the SUBTLEX-CH corpus (Cai & Brysbaert, 2010). We found no significant difference between high-power ($M = 2.45 \pm 0.53$), and low-power words ($M = 2.31 \pm 0.55$), $t(47) = 1.30$, $p = .361$, $d = .26$.

Another 30 volunteers rated relation to space, familiarity, and valence of words referring to high and low spatial references on a 7-point Likert scale. High-location words were rated as referring to significantly higher location ($M = 6.15 \pm 0.71$) than low-location words ($M = 2.93 \pm 0.35$), $t(28) = 15.75$, $p < .001$, $d = 5.75$. As was the case for words associated with perceived power, valence ratings for high-location words were significantly more positive ($M = 4.54 \pm 0.71$) than low-location words ($M = 3.71 \pm 0.35$), $t(28) = 4.08$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.49$. We found no difference in terms of familiarity (words with higher spatial location: $M = 6.22 \pm 0.37$; words with lower spatial location: $M = 5.94 \pm 0.44$), $t(28) = 1.89$, $p = .07$, $d = .69$, or lexical frequency (words with higher spatial location: $M = 2.58 \pm 0.42$; words with lower spatial location: $M = 2.48 \pm 0.49$), $t(28) = 0.61$, $p = .55$, $d = .22$.

Volunteers who had normed the Chinese stimuli also rated English translated equivalents for perceived power and familiarity. The perceived power of the high-power words was significantly higher ($M = 3.62 \pm 0.59$) than that of low-power words ($M = 1.45 \pm 0.17$), $t(49) = 18.57$, $p < .001$, $d = 5.21$. There was no significant difference in terms of familiarity (high-power words:

$M = 4.32 \pm 0.45$; low-power words: $M = 4.25 \pm 0.46$), $t(49) = 0.54$, $p = .59$, $d = 0.15$. We controlled lexical frequency and valence using values exported from the LexOPS database (Taylor et al., 2020). High-power words ($M = 4.52 \pm 0.49$) had significantly greater lexical frequency than did low-power words ($M = 3.88 \pm 0.76$), $t(56) = 3.81$, $p < .001$, $d = 1.00$. There was no significant difference in valence ratings between high-power words ($M = 5.28 \pm 1.09$) and low-power words ($M = 5.10 \pm 1.45$), $t(56) = 0.55$, $p = .59$, $d = 0.14$.

As regards words referring to high/low spatial locations, there was no significant difference in familiarity (high-location words: $M = 6 \pm 0.52$; low-location words: $M = 5.77 \pm 0.62$), $t(23) = 1.01$, $p = .32$, $d = 0.41$, or lexical frequency (high-location words: $M = 4.49 \pm 0.5$; low-location words: $M = 4.43 \pm 0.52$), $t(28) = 0.32$, $p = .75$, $d = 0.12$. However, valence ratings for high-location words were significantly more positive ($M = 6.17 \pm 0.9$) than for low-location words ($M = 5.07 \pm 1.29$), $t(28) = 2.69$, $p = .01$, $d = 0.98$.

Finally, we used eight Chinese words and eight English words that were not included in the main experimental blocks as practice items.

Procedure

After signing the consent form, the participants sat in the center of a dimly light and quiet testing booth, 75 cm away from a 19-inch CRT monitor. One loudspeaker was located above the participants' head and two loudspeakers were set on the ground on either side of their seat (to simulate a sound origin from below). The distance between the loudspeakers and a participant's ears varied between 1.1–1.4 m depending on the participant's height; it was not technically feasible to change the loudspeakers' position relative to each participant's head, but we assumed that the resulting variations in volume would be negligible. The participants were then asked to complete the LEAP-Q questionnaire.

The information sheet presented the study as being focused on understanding differences in the way Chinese–English bilinguals and English L1 speakers process language. The participants were instructed to report the origin of the stimulus as being above or below their sitting position when it did not refer to an animal by pressing designated buttons on a serial response box. No-go trials featuring an animal name were filler trials. Perceived power or location attributes were not mentioned in the instructions. Response buttons arranged along a front-back axis representing the vertical space were counterbalanced among the participants. At the end of the experiment, the participants were asked why they thought the loudspeakers were placed at different locations,¹ and only one participant reported a potential association between the location

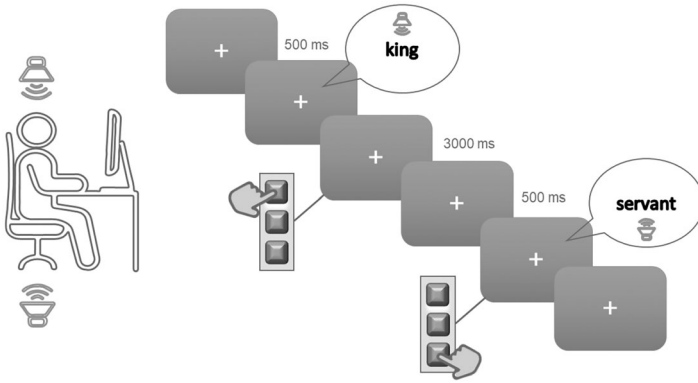


Figure 2 Experimental setup and time sequence of stimulus presentation.

of the loudspeakers and the metaphorical meaning of the stimuli. We excluded the data from this participant from analysis.

The Chinese–English participants performed the experiment once in Chinese and once in English with the order counterbalanced between languages. The stimuli were presented over four blocks (two in Chinese and two in English) preceded by eight practice trials. Each word was presented only once per block, either from above or from below, that is, either in a congruent or an incongruent configuration (90 experimental trials and 30 filler trials per block, adding up to 480 trials in total). The L1 speaker participants performed the experiment only in English. The stimuli were presented once either congruently or incongruently in two blocks; 240 trials were used overall. In the congruent condition, high-power and high-location words (e.g., *king* and *sun*) were played from above, and low-power words and low-location words (e.g., *servant* and *ground*) were presented from below. The sound source was reversed in the incongruent condition.

The experiment was programmed using E-Prime (Version 2.0). Trials started with a fixation cross displayed in the center of the screen (Figure 2). After a random duration of 450–650 ms (in steps of 20 ms), the auditory stimulus was presented via the loudspeaker located above or those located below until the participants' responses were recorded within a 3,000 ms time window. The participants were asked to respond only after the auditory file had finished playing. Upon responding, they received the fixation turned blue to provide feedback, and after each 8–10 trials, the fixation turned pink for 2,000 ms, giving them time to blink should they need to do so. They were

encouraged to blink during the customized 2,000 ms pauses to minimize eye blinks and fatigue-related artefacts.

Data Analysis

Behavioral Data Analysis

We extracted RTs for correct responses only, that is excluding 7.7% error trials. We also excluded trials with RTs shorter than 200 ms or greater than 2,500 ms (0.1%) as a priori improbable values for valid measurements. Then we applied a log transformation after a Box-Cox test to recover a normal distribution for RTs. We considered trials with log-transformed RTs greater than 2.5 standard deviations from each participant's condition mean as outliers (1.5%) and excluded them from the analyses. We then analyzed RTs using linear mixed effects regression (lmer function) using the R (R Core Team, 2022) package lme4 (Bates et al., 2015). As planned in our preregistration, we modeled RTs as a function of three fixed effects predictors that we centered to minimize collinearity: language (Chinese, English), congruency (congruent, incongruent), and relation to space (direct, metaphorical). The participants had 43 ± 15 trials on average remaining per condition after data cleaning. We submitted accuracy data to logistic mixed-effects regression using the glmer function of lme4 with a binominal link function as a function of three fixed effects predictors: language (Chinese, English), congruency (congruent, incongruent), and relation to space (direct, metaphorical).

All models included random intercepts for subjects and items and maximal random slopes for each within-subjects and within-items predictor including main effects and interactions, respectively (Barr et al., 2013). We have reported unstandardized beta estimates computed with the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015). We obtained *p* values using the lmerTest package (Kuznetsova et al., 2017) based on Satterthwaite's approximations. We used an alpha level of .05 to establish statistical significance. We performed pairwise comparisons using the emmeans package (Lenth, 2020) in R to compute the Bonferroni test to correct for multiple comparison in all cases.

Electroencephalogram Data Recording and Analysis

We recorded the electrophysiological data at a rate of 1 kHz from 64 active Ag/AgCl electrodes placed according to the extended 10–20 convention and referenced to electrode Cz. We kept impedances below 7 k Ω . We filtered the EEG using an online bandpass filter (0.05–200 Hz).

We performed EEG data preprocessing offline with scripts in MATLAB (Version R2021b), using functions included in EEGLAB (Version 2022.0;

Delorme & Makeig, 2004) and ERPLAB (Version 9.0; Lopez-Calderon & Luck, 2014). We resampled the data to 250 Hz and filtered them with separate high-pass and low-pass finite impulse response filters (passband edges: 0.1 and 20 Hz, respectively). We corrected line noise at ~ 50 Hz and harmonics using the Cleanline (Version 2.0) procedure before being re-referenced to the global average reference. We performed ocular artefact correction using independent component analysis (Stone, 2002), focusing on visual inspection of components associated with blinks and eye movements (ICLabel, Version 1.4). We then segmented the data into epochs ranging from -200 – $1,000$ ms from stimulus onset and applied baseline correction relative to the EEG signal between -200 – 0 ms. We discarded epochs containing activity exceeding $\pm 150 \mu\text{V}$ at any electrode site apart from the electrooculogram channels within each epoch window, which resulted in a mean of 35 ± 8 trials per condition for each participant.

We computed mean amplitudes of the P3 between 250–350 ms after stimulus onset at six electrodes (i.e., CP1, CP2, CPz, P1, Pz, P2; Polich, 2007) and mean amplitudes of the N400 computed between 350–500 ms after stimulus onset at nine electrodes of predicted maximal sensitivity (i.e., FC1, FCz, FC2, C1, Cz, C2, CP1, CP2, CPz; Kutas & Hillyard, 1980; Schendan & Kutas, 2007). We analyzed mean P3 and N400 amplitudes with a 2 (language: Chinese, English) \times 2 (relation to space: direct, metaphorical) \times 2 (congruency: congruent, incongruent) repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA). We computed Type III ANOVA for main effects and interactions using the `aov_car` function of the `Afex` package in R (Singmann et al., 2023). To quantify the effect size, we reported partial eta squared (η_p^2) in accordance with Cohen's guidelines (Cohen, 1988). When necessary, we applied the Greenhouse-Geisser correction for nonsphericity and implemented the Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons via two-tailed t tests in post hoc pairwise comparisons. Additionally, we calculated Cohen's d as a measure of effect size (Cohen, 1988). All materials, aggregated results, and analysis scripts are available on the Open Science Framework (osf.io/hm2c5).

Results

Results Based on Preregistration

Behavioral Results

The linear mixed model that we conducted on RTs revealed a main effect of language, such that the participants responded faster in Chinese than in English overall, $b = 0.087$, $SE = 0.025$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.50], $t = 3.513$, $p = .001$. However, they were not faster when responding to congruent than to

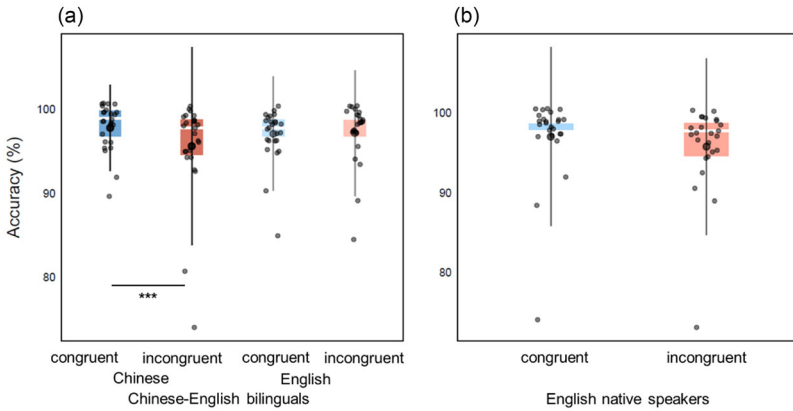


Figure 3 Accuracy for (a) Language \times Congruency interactions in Chinese–English bilinguals and (b) English native speakers for group comparison. *** $p < .001$.

incongruent items, $b = 0.015$, $SE = 0.010$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.03], $t = 1.479$, $p = .140$. Two-way and three-way interactions involving congruency as a variable were not significant ($ps > .1$; see Appendix S2 in the Supporting Information online for summary tables).

The participants had higher accuracy for congruent items than for incongruent items, $b = -0.384$, $SE = .177$, 95% CI [−0.73, −0.03], $z = -2.170$, $p = .030$. They also had fewer errors for direct relationship to space (location words) than for metaphorical relationship to space (power words), $b = -0.452$, $SE = 0.187$, 95% CI [−0.82, −0.09], $z = -2.424$, $p = .015$. Furthermore, we found a significant Language \times Congruency interaction, $b = 0.897$, $SE = 0.339$, 95% CI [0.23, 1.56], $z = 2.647$, $p = .008$, such that the bilingual participants tested in Chinese registered more correct responses to congruent than to incongruent items, $b = 0.832$, $SE = 0.241$, 95% CI [0.36, 1.30], $z = 3.459$, $p < .001$, but we found no such difference in English, $b = -0.064$, $SE = 0.249$, 95% CI [−0.55, 0.42], $z = -0.258$, $p = .796$ (see Figure 3, Panel a). No other two-way or three-way interaction was significant ($ps > .1$).

We also compared bilinguals with English L1 participants, with congruency and relation to space as within-subject variables and group (Chinese–English bilinguals, English L1 speakers) as a between-subjects variable. The linear mixed effects modeling of RTs revealed no fixed effect of congruency, $b = 0.011$, $SE = 0.013$, 95% CI [−0.01, 0.04], $t = 0.880$, $p = .381$, or group, $b = -0.064$, $SE = 0.041$, 95% CI [−0.15, 0.02], $t = -1.565$, $p = .124$, or of

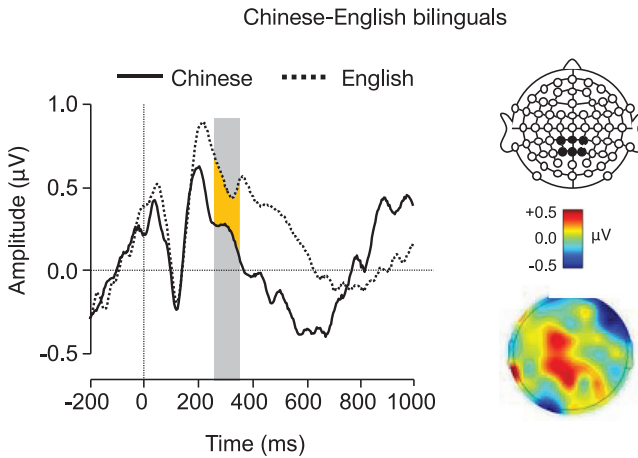


Figure 4 Event-related potential (ERP) plots depicting the main effect of language on P3 mean amplitudes. ERPs were computed from a linear derivation of six electrodes (CP1, CPz, CP2, P1, Pz, P2). The analysis window is shaded in grey to highlight significant differences.

relation to space, $b = 0.004$, $SE = 0.014$, 95% CI $[-0.02, 0.03]$, $t = 0.309$, $p = .756$, and no significant two- or three-way interactions ($ps > .1$). In the corresponding accuracy analysis, no effect reached significance ($ps > .1$; see Figure 3, Panel b).

P3 Event-Related Potentials (250–350 ms)

In Chinese–English bilinguals, repeated measures ANOVA on P3 mean amplitudes showed a main effect of language, $F(1, 24) = 5.50$, $p = .028$, $\eta_p^2 = .186$ (large effect), such that P3 amplitude was significantly more positive in English than in Chinese (Figure 4). There was no main effect of congruency, $F(1, 24) = 1.26$, $p = .272$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$ (small effect), or of relation to space, $F(1, 24) = .27$, $p = .611$, $\eta_p^2 = .011$ (small effect), and no two-way or three-way interactions reached significance ($ps > .1$; see Appendix S3 in the Supporting Information online for summary tables).

The corresponding analyses conducted between groups failed to show a main effect of group, $F(1, 48) = 0.90$, $p = .349$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$ (small effect), of relation to space, $F(1, 48) = 0.01$, $p = .963$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$ (negligible effect), or of congruency, $F(1, 48) = 0.45$, $p = .507$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$ (negligible effect). There was no two-way or three-way interaction ($ps > .2$).

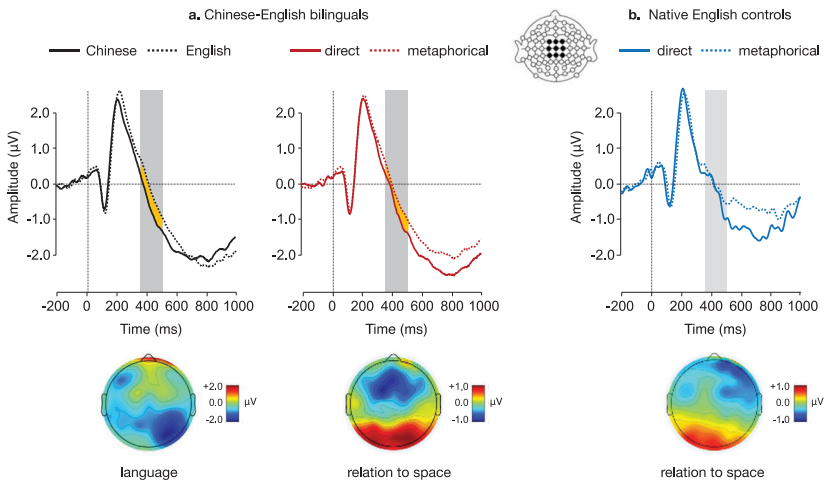


Figure 5 (a) Event-related potential (ERP) plots depicting the main effects of language and relation to space on N400 mean amplitudes. (b) ERPs elicited by stimuli with a direct and metaphorical reference to space in native English controls for comparison. ERPs were computed from a linear derivation of nine central electrodes (FC1, FCZ, FC2, C1, Cz, C2, CP1, CPz, CP2). The analysis window is shaded in grey to highlight significant differences and framed in a lighter shade when differences were not significant.

N400 Event-Related Potentials (350–500 ms)

In Chinese–English bilinguals, a three-way repeated measures ANOVA on N400 mean amplitudes revealed a main effect of language, $F(1, 24) = 9.85$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = .291$ (large effect), such that N400 amplitude was significantly more negative in Chinese than in English (see Figure 5, Panel a). There was no main effect of congruency, $F(1, 24) = 1.33$, $p = .259$, $\eta_p^2 = .053$ (small effect), but there was a significant main effect of relation to space, $F(1, 24) = 12.48$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .342$ (large effect), such that N400 amplitudes were more negative for direct (location words) than for metaphorical (power words) references to space (see Figure 5, Panel a).

The Language \times Relation to Space interaction was close to reaching significance, $F(1, 24) = 3.79$, $p = .063$, $\eta_p^2 = .136$ (medium effect). We found no Language \times Congruency interaction, $F(1, 24) = 0.75$, $p = .394$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$ (small effect), or Congruency \times Relation to Space interaction, $F(1, 24) = 0.05$, $p = .823$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$ (negligible effect), and there was no three-way interaction, $F(1, 24) = 0.22$, $p = .645$, $\eta_p^2 = .009$ (negligible effect).

We also conducted a between-within repeated measures ANOVA on N400 mean amplitude, with congruency and relation to space as within-subjects

variables and group (Chinese–English bilingual, English L1 speaker) as a between-subjects variable. There was no main effect of group, $F(1, 48) = 0.01$, $p = .936$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$ (negligible effect), of congruency, $F(1, 48) = 0.86$, $p = .360$, $\eta_p^2 = .018$ (small effect), or of relation to space, $F(1, 48) = 3.03$, $p = .088$, $\eta_p^2 = .059$ (medium effect; see Figure 5, Panel b for comparisons). None of the two-way interactions was significant ($ps > .1$), and the three-way interaction was not significant either, $F(1, 48) = 0.06$, $p = .807$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$ (negligible effect).

Summary of preregistered analyses and interim discussion

Our preregistered analyses failed to detect any significant effects of semantic/spatial congruency in either the behavioral or the ERP data. One explanation for this lack of effect might relate to the fact that two previous studies reporting power-based congruency effects detected them only for high-power words (Wu et al., 2016; Zanolie et al., 2012). Although we did not consider this possibility in our preregistration, stronger congruency effects could be expected for high-power words, and we will address these further in the general discussion. For now, we consider the possibility that differences between high-power and low-power words may have shadowed the interactions of interest. We therefore have provided additional (not preregistered) analyses that distinguish between high-power and low-power roles. Because this distinction makes sense only for the stimuli with a metaphorical relation to space (i.e., the human words, e.g., *king/servant*), we have restricted our analyses to these items. As in our previous analyses, we started by addressing within-subjects effects in our bilingual group and then addressed between-subjects differences by comparing the bilingual group's performance to matched English L1 controls. It should be noted that these analyses still addressed our core research question, namely whether processing metaphors of power in relation to space differs between languages in bilinguals.

Exploratory Analyses Distinguishing Between High- and Low-Power Words

Behavioral Results

Linear mixed effects regressions modeled RTs as a function of three within-subject variables: language (Chinese, English), power (high-power, low-power), and congruency (congruent, incongruent). The participants had 29 ± 1 trials per condition on average remaining after data cleaning. They responded faster when tested in Chinese compared to in English, $b = 0.085$, $SE = 0.026$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.44], $t = 3.261$, $p = .002$, and faster to high-power

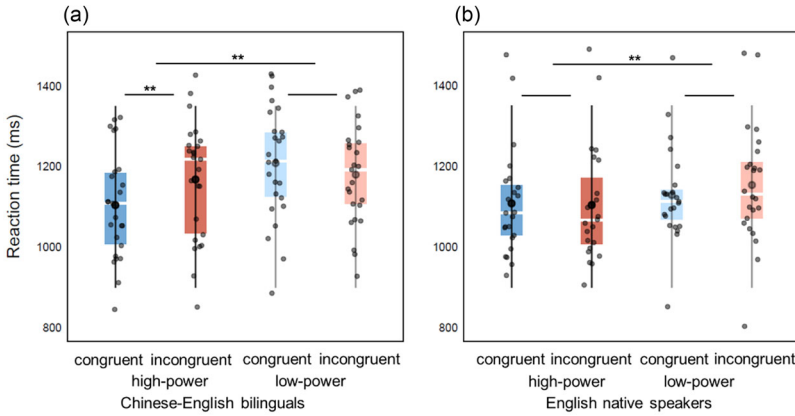


Figure 6 Individual mean response times results when limited to power words: (a) Power \times Congruency interaction in Chinese–English bilinguals and (b) main effect of power in English native speakers for group comparison. $**p < .05$.

words than to low-power words, $b = 0.054$, $SE = 0.012$, 95% CI [0.02, 0.15], $t = 4.393$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, power interacted with congruency, $b = -0.074$, $SE = 0.027$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.14], $t = -2.746$, $p = .007$ (see Figure 6, Panel a). Pairwise comparison showed longer responses time to incongruent than to congruent stimuli for high-power words, $b = -0.051$, $SE = 0.018$, 95% CI [-0.44, -0.08], $t = -2.807$, $p = .006$, but corresponding analyses for low-power words showed no such effect, $b = 0.023$, $SE = 0.018$, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.29], $t = 1.250$, $p = .211$. No other main effects or interactions approached significance ($ps > .2$).

To exclude the possibility that valence might have driven the Power \times Congruency interaction, we entered valence as another predictor into our linear mixed effects model. The model revealed fixed effects of language, $b = 0.089$, $SE = 0.026$, 95% CI [0.04, 0.45], $t = 3.442$, $p = .001$, and power, $b = 0.064$, $SE = 0.019$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.13], $t = 3.439$, $p < .001$. We detected no fixed effect of valence, $b = 0.001$, $SE = 0.015$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.01], $t = 0.093$, $p = .926$. Critically, the Power \times Congruency interaction remained significant, $b = -0.078$, $SE = 0.039$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.08], $t = -2.007$, $p = .046$. Pairwise comparison showed that the congruency effect was larger when the participants responded to high-power words, $b = -0.055$, $SE = .024$, 95% CI [0, 0.10], $z = -2.276$, $p = .024$, than when they responded to low-power words, $b = 0.022$, $SE = 0.023$, 95% CI [-0.07, 0.03], $z = 0.993$, $p = .322$. No two-or-three-way interactions involving valence as a predictor approached significance ($ps > .8$).

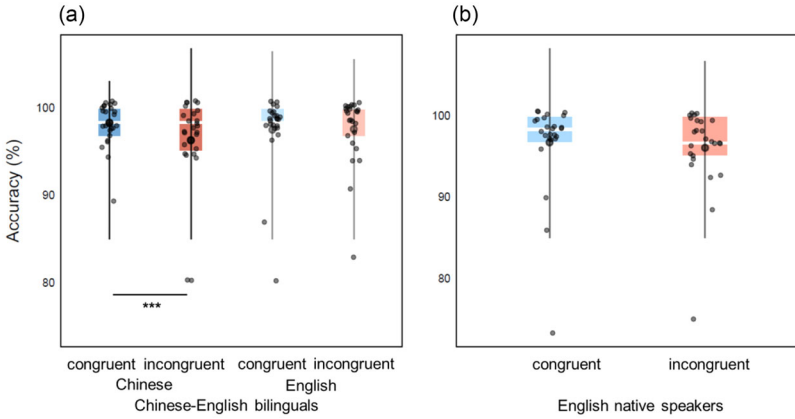


Figure 7 Accuracy results when limited to power words: (a) Language \times Congruency interactions in Chinese–English bilinguals and (b) effect of congruency in English native speakers for group comparison. $**p < .05$.

Mixed effects logistic regression of accuracy data detected no fixed effects of language, $b = 0.085$, $SE = 0.337$, 95% CI $[-0.57, 0.75]$, $z = 0.254$, $p = .8$, or power, $b = -0.117$, $SE = 0.195$, 95% CI $[-0.50, 0.27]$, $z = -0.598$, $p = .550$, but the bilingual participants had higher accuracy in the congruent than in the incongruent condition, $b = -0.448$, $SE = 0.194$, 95% CI $[-0.83, -0.07]$, $z = -2.302$, $p = .021$. We also found a significant Language \times Congruency interaction, $b = 0.851$, $SE = 0.433$, 95% CI $[0.00, 1.70]$, $z = 1.965$, $p = .049$. Planned comparisons showed that when the bilingual participants were tested in Chinese, they had fewer errors for the congruent stimuli than for the incongruent stimuli, $b = 0.873$, $SE = 0.303$, 95% CI $[0.28, 1.47]$, $z = 2.879$, $p = .004$, but this was not the case when they were tested in English, $b = 0.022$, $SE = 0.278$, 95% CI $[-0.52, 0.57]$, $z = 0.080$, $p = .913$ (see Figure 7, Panel a).

Moreover, the analysis revealed a significant Power \times Congruency interaction, $b = 1.567$, $SE = 0.491$, 95% CI $[0.60, 2.53]$, $z = 3.192$, $p = .001$ (see Figure 8, Panel a). Pairwise analysis indicated that when the bilingual participants responded to high-power words, they had more errors for incongruent than for congruent stimuli, $b = 1.231$, $SE = 0.331$, 95% CI $[0.58, 1.88]$, $z = 3.718$, $p < .001$. We found no such effect when the participants responded to low-power words, $b = -0.336$, $SE = 0.294$, 95% CI $[-0.91, 0.24]$, $z = -1.142$, $p = .254$. There was no Language \times Power interaction, $b = 0.178$, $SE = 0.442$, 95% CI $[-0.69, 1.04]$, $z = 0.402$, $p = .688$, and the

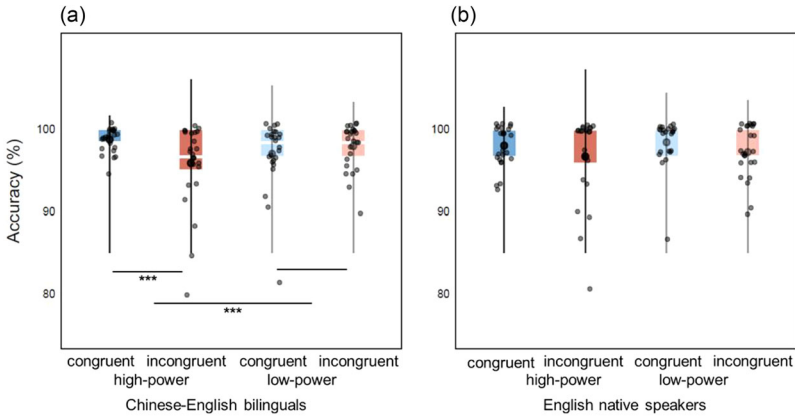


Figure 8 Accuracy results when limited to power words: (a) Power \times Congruency interaction in Chinese–English bilinguals and (b) English native speakers for group comparison. *** $p < .001$.

three-way interaction was not significant either, $b = -1.087$, $SE = 0.873$, 95% CI $[-2.80, 0.62]$, $z = -1.245$, $p = .213$.

When we compared the bilingual group with the English L1 controls, the linear mixed model on RTs revealed a main effect of power, $b = 0.055$, $SE = 0.016$, 95% CI $[0.02, 0.09]$, $t = 3.388$, $p < .001$, such that both groups of participants responded significantly faster to high- than low-power words (see Figure 6, Panel b). Linear mixed effects regressions detected no fixed effects of group, $b = -0.061$, $SE = 0.041$, 95% CI $[-0.14, 0.02]$, $t = -1.497$, $p = .141$, or congruency, $b = 0.009$, $SE = 0.016$, 95% CI $[-0.02, 0.04]$, $t = 0.571$, $p = .569$, or two-way interactions involving congruency as a variable ($ps > .1$), but a significant interaction of the three variables emerged, $b = 0.076$, $SE = 0.024$, 95% CI $[0.03, 0.12]$, $t = 3.211$, $p = .002$. Bonferroni corrected multiple comparisons showed that when the Chinese–English bilinguals were tested in English, they had significantly faster RTs for high-power words in the congruent than in the incongruent condition, $b = -0.051$, $SE = 0.025$, 95% CI $[-0.49, -0.01]$, $t = -2.076$, $p = .040$, whereas we found no such effect when the participants responded to low-power words, $b = 0.020$, $SE = 0.024$, 95% CI $[-0.14, 0.34]$, $t = 0.821$, $p = .413$. There were no such differences in English L1 controls ($ps > .1$). In the corresponding accuracy analysis, no main effect or interaction was significant ($ps > .1$; see Figure 7, Panel b and Figure 8, Panel b).

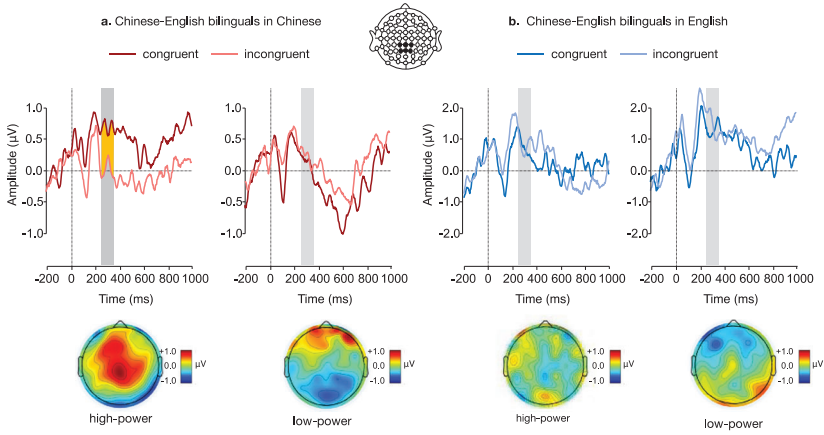


Figure 9 Event-related potential (ERP) plots showing the Language \times Power \times Congruency interaction on P3 mean amplitudes in Chinese–English bilinguals. ERP waves depict potential variation from a linear derivation of six electrodes (CP1, CPz, CP2, P1, Pz, P2). The analysis window is shaded in grey to highlight significant differences and framed in a lighter shade when differences were not significant.

P3 Event-Related Potentials (250–350 ms)

In the exploratory analysis with power as a variable, we analyzed ERP amplitudes by means of a 2 (language: Chinese, English) \times 2 (power: high-power, low-power) \times 2 (congruency: congruent, incongruent) repeated-measures ANOVA.

This ANOVA showed no main effect of language, $F(1, 24) = 1.80, p = .192, \eta_p^2 = .07$ (medium effect), of power, $F(1, 24) = 3.19, p = .087, \eta_p^2 = .117$ (medium effect), or of congruency, $F(1, 24) = 1.64, p = .213, \eta_p^2 = .064$ (medium effect). There was no two-way interaction ($ps > .1$), but we found a significant Language \times Power \times Congruency interaction, $F(1, 24) = 5.84, p = .024, \eta_p^2 = .196$ (large effect). Bonferroni corrected paired sample t tests showed that for high-power words, ERP amplitudes were significantly more positive in the congruent than in the incongruent condition when we tested the bilingual participants in Chinese, $t(24) = 2.673, p = .013, d = 0.44$ (small effect), whereas we found no such difference when we tested them in English, $t(24) = -0.767, p = .451, d = -0.06$ (negligible effect; see Figure 9). We did not find such difference for the low-power words ($ps > .5$).

The between-within repeated measures ANOVA on P3 mean amplitude revealed no main effect of group, $F(1, 48) = 0.74, p = .393, \eta_p^2 = .015$ (small effect), or of congruency, $F(1, 48) = 0.01, p = .932, \eta_p^2 < .001$ (negligible

effect), but showed a marginal main effect of power, $F(1, 48) = 3.94, p = .053, \eta_p^2 = .076$ (medium effect). The Power \times Congruency interaction was not significant over group, $F(1, 48) = 3.24, p = .078, \eta_p^2 = .063$ (medium effect), and there were no other two-way or three-way interactions ($ps > .2$).

N400 Event-Related Potentials (350–500 ms)

The within-subjects repeated measures ANOVA data revealed a marginal main effect of language on mean N400 amplitude in the bilingual participants, $F(1, 24) = 4.10, p = .054, \eta_p^2 = .146$ (large effect), such that N400 amplitudes were more negative when we tested the participants in Chinese compared to in English. There was no main effect of power, $F(1, 24) = 0.60, p = .444, \eta_p^2 = .025$ (small effect), or of congruency, $F(1, 24) = 0.23, p = .636, \eta_p^2 = .01$ (small effect). There was no Language \times Power interaction, $F(1, 24) = 1.91, p = .180, \eta_p^2 = .074$ (medium effect), or Language \times Congruency interaction, $F(1, 24) = 1.06, p = .313, \eta_p^2 = .042$ (small effect), but the Power \times Congruency interaction was close to reaching significance, $F(1, 24) = 3.75, p = .065, \eta_p^2 = .135$ (medium effect). Critically, we found a significant Language \times Power \times Congruency interaction, $F(1, 24) = 5.37, p = .029, \eta_p^2 = .183$ (large effect).

To unpack this interaction, we conducted a 2 (language) \times 2 (congruency) ANOVA separately for high-power words. We found a marginal effect of congruency, $F(1, 24) = 3.91, p = .059, \eta_p^2 = .140$ (large effect), and a significant Language \times Congruency interaction, $F(1, 24) = 4.62, p = .042, \eta_p^2 = .161$ (large effect). Pairwise comparisons corrected for multiple comparison showed that mean ERP amplitude was significantly more negative in the incongruent than the congruent condition when we tested the bilingual participants in Chinese, $t(24) = 3.009, p = .006, d = 0.45$ (small effect), whereas we found no such difference when we tested them in English, $t(24) = -0.406, p = .689, d = -0.12$ (negligible effect; see Figure 10, Panel a).

The corresponding analyses conducted between groups failed to show a main effect of group, $F(1, 24) = 0.00, p = .960, \eta_p^2 < .001$ (negligible effect), of power, $F(1, 24) = 2.25, p = .140, \eta_p^2 = .045$ (small effect), or of congruency, $F(1, 24) = 2.52, p = .119, \eta_p^2 = .050$ (small effect; see Figure 10, Panel b). There was no two-way or three-way interaction ($ps > .1$).

Discussion

In the present study, we compared manifestations of spatial embodiment of abstract concepts in Chinese–English bilinguals and English L1 speakers using ERPs. More specifically, we tested whether patterns of P3 and N400

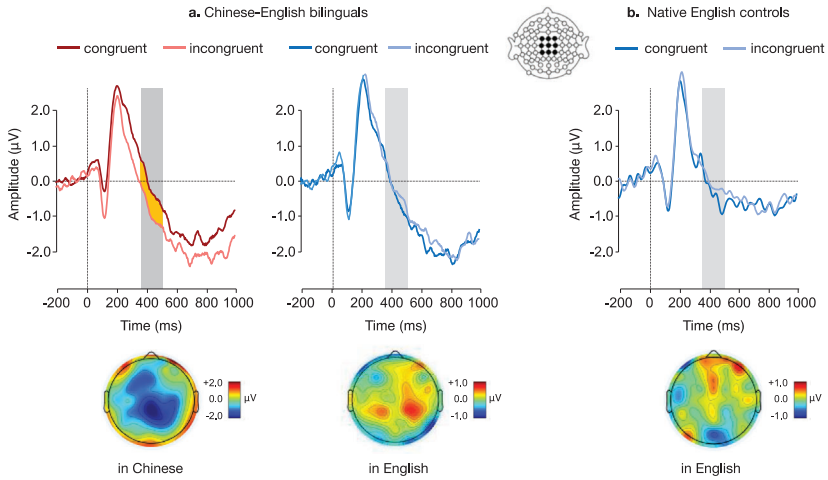


Figure 10 (a) Event-related potential (ERP) plots showing the Language \times Congruency interaction on N400 mean amplitudes in the follow-up ANOVA conducted on power words only in Chinese–English bilinguals; (b) ERPs elicited in native English controls by congruent and incongruent power words for visual comparison. ERP waves depict potential variation from a linear derivation of nine central electrodes (FC1, FCZ, FC2, C1, Cz, C2, CP1, CPz, CP2). The analysis window is shaded in grey to highlight significant differences and framed in a lighter shade when differences were not significant.

modulations elicited by conceptual processing of perceived power differently rely on embodied representations in the two languages of bilinguals.

Behavioral data failed to show the expected main effect of congruency between sound origin and metaphorical relation to space of perceived power. The bilingual participants responded faster in Chinese than in English overall for words either with a direct (location words) or metaphorical (power words) relation to space. They made fewer errors when responding to location words than to power words. Furthermore, the bilingual participants tested in Chinese registered more correct responses to congruent than to incongruent trials, whereas we found no such difference in English. ERP results based on preregistered analyses also failed to show the expected congruency effect in either the P3 or N400 range. However, exploratory analyses restricted to power words and excluding location words showed a congruency effect on RTs for high-power words, but not for low-power words. The participants made fewer errors for congruent than for incongruent stimuli when responding to high- as compared to low-power words and when they were tested in Chinese relative to English;

we found no effect in the English L1 controls. Critically, analyses focusing on high-power words showed that the bilinguals elicited the originally predicted pattern of response: increased P3 amplitudes in the congruent than incongruent condition, and more negative N400 amplitudes in the reverse comparison. This, however, applied when they were tested in Chinese, not in English.

This study attempted to test embodiment theory based on a direct mapping using auditory stimuli presented in space around participants. The bilingual participants made fewer errors in the congruent than in the incongruent condition when tested in Chinese, but not when tested in English. In contrast, participants in Dudschig et al.'s (2014) study made an upward or downward movement to indicate the color of words (e.g., *bird*, *shoes*) implicitly associated with spatial locations. Dudschig et al. found a congruency effect in both German (L1) and English (L2), but the effect was stronger in L1 than in L2. Differences between Dudschig et al.'s results and ours may stem from the fact that such mapping may have been too direct for our participants to map sound origin with visual semantic properties of words across modalities. For instance, because *sun* and *ground* are not spontaneously associated with sounds, they can be considered visual references, and, thus, it is not clear why such concepts should be associated with above and below location in terms of sound origin. Therefore, in hindsight, our attempt to map concrete references to the perceptual world may have failed due to a lack of natural mapping of location across sensory modalities (visual–auditory). As regards the processing of perceived power, we further contend that grouping high- and low-power words together may have masked the congruency effect, given hints in previous studies that high-power words are more effective stimuli for eliciting metaphorical spatial references (Schubert, 2005; Zanolie et al., 2012).

In the exploratory analysis, we found that our participants were slower responding to low- than high-power words, which was consistent with previous studies (Schubert, 2005; Wu et al., 2016; Zanolie et al., 2012). For instance, Schubert (2005) presented power words either at the top or at the bottom of the screen and instructed participants to decide whether the word referred to an individual perceived as powerful or powerless. Schubert's participants were slower when responding to low-power words when compared to high-power words, interpreted as a general tendency to look for powerful entities in the environment.

Our participants also responded significantly faster and more accurately in congruent than in incongruent trials for high-power words but not for low-power words. Arguably, these results could reflect an effect of valence in stimulus selection, with high-power words having more positive valence

than low-power words. Valence has been associated with metaphorical spatial reference previously. Using the same color Stroop task that we described earlier, Dudschig et al. (2015) showed that emotional states associated with upright or downward bodily experiences (e.g., *happy* – upwards; *depression* – downwards) directly affect motor responses along the vertical axis. Participants responded significantly faster when their movement was congruent with the spatial orientation associated with emotion words. This being said, in our experiment, the Power \times Congruency interaction remained significant after adding valence as a predictor in linear mixed effects modeling, meaning that valence on its own could not account for metaphorical spatial mapping.

The participants registered fewer errors for congruent than for incongruent stimuli when tested in Chinese. This is compatible with results from behavioral studies suggesting that metaphorical mapping works differently in the two languages of bilinguals (Hu, 2021; but see Bai & He, 2022; Qian, 2016). Qian (2016) found stronger congruency effects in L1 than in L2, which were again stronger in bilinguals with a higher proficiency in L2. We found no congruency effect in L2, however. It should be noted that Qian: (a) presented stimuli higher or lower on the screen, which potentially led to a shift in spatial attention, and (b) used an overt power judgement task, making it more likely that participants became aware of the aim of the spatial manipulation to some extent, whereas in our study participants reported the source of the sound in space and did not make explicit judgements about perceived power.

The ERP analyses focused on P3 and N400 instead of initial components such as P1 and N1 because we aimed to investigate the processing of perceived power at a semantic level rather than a perceptual–attentional level. In addition, early components in previous studies may have been affected by low-level stimulus characteristics such as position on the screen that likely triggered eye movement artefacts and externally driven—as opposed to endogenously generated—modulations of brain responses. However, this is not to say that the early components recorded in our study were necessarily unaffected by low-level properties of stimuli, namely sound origin, and differences in intensity between sounds coming from above and below the participant's sitting position. Indeed, in our study, sound level was not perfectly balanced between lower and upper source for technical reasons discussed below under limitations.

When we analyzed high-power words separately, we found the predicted congruency effect on P3 and N400 amplitudes. We found this variation in Chinese but not in English in bilinguals and not at all in English controls. This suggests that metaphorical mapping for perceived power differs across languages in bilinguals and that it is weaker or possibly absent in English L1 speakers.

The P3 component is known to reflect orientation of attention, stimulus evaluation, and target detection (Polich, 2007). Due to the unbalanced proportion of power, location, and filler words in the experiment (only one fourth of the stimuli were effectively congruent), the participants likely detected the congruent stimuli as standing out. Furthermore, the participants would have found it easier and less cognitively taxing to process high-power words played from above than below, leading to N400 amplitude reduction. Indeed, the N400 is a well-established index of semantic processing that has shown similar modulation in spatiotemporal metaphor processing (Li et al., 2019).

We thus found that manifestations of embodiment of an abstract concept vary across languages of bilinguals. This could be due to relatively lower proficiency in L2, associated with limited spreading of activation from L2 words. However, the fact that we did not find embodiment effects in our English L1 group suggests lower general reliance on embodiment in English. This may have a conceptual origin or illustrate cultural differences between the two languages.

However, our findings are also partly inconsistent with previous studies (Dudschig et al., 2014; Qian, 2016; Vukovic & Shtyrov, 2014), suggesting that processing abstract concepts is grounded in sensorimotor representations, albeit to a weaker extent. For instance, Vukovic and Shtyrov (2014), investigating motor cortex activity in German–English bilinguals as they responded to L1 and L2 abstract and action prime-probe verb pairs, found motor activations in L1 was stronger than in L2. They concluded that embodied cognition applies to both concrete and abstract words in both languages of bilinguals. It should be noted that participants in Vukovic and Shtyrov's study were late but highly proficient L2 English speakers, which may explain why their L2 successfully triggered access to semantic (and therefore embodied) representations (see also Kroll & Stewart, 1994). Kroll and Stewart (1994) proposed that the lexical and the conceptual are two separate levels of representation, the conceptual level being shared by both languages. As L2 proficiency increases, the link between L2 and conceptual representation strengthens. Since our participants reported their English proficiency as upper intermediate, the connection between L2 words and their conceptual representation may have been too weak to prompt full access to embodied representations.

Another possible interpretation of the observed pattern of results could relate to the implicit nature of the task used: We asked the participants to report the source of a sound rather than make deliberate judgements about perceived power. This potentially reduced the connection between words and conceptual representations when tested in L2. Indeed, at debriefing, the participants

reported no explicit knowledge of hidden manipulations between the sound origin and word meaning or awareness of the purpose of this study (with the exception of one participant whom we excluded). This is partly consistent with results from previous studies suggesting that the L2 sensorimotor activation depends on task demands and depth of semantic processing (Bai & He, 2022; Vukovic et al., 2017). For example, Bai and He (2022) found a congruency effect only in late L2 learners performing a semantic categorization task but not in a lexical decision task, suggesting that motor circuit recruitment in low proficiency bilinguals depends upon semantic task demands.

It remains to be discussed why we observed P3 and N400 amplitude modulations for high- but not low-power words. One possible explanation for such asymmetric embodiment of perceived power is that high-power words entertain stronger metaphorical association with higher positions (i.e., *king* – above) than low-power words with lower positions (i.e., *servant* – below). Our participants were university students who likely perceived professors or supervisors as having a higher status than themselves, whereas employees or interns would not be considered as having a lower social status. It remains, however, that the congruency effect found for high-power words disappeared when the bilingual participants were tested in L2 and that it was not found in the control participants tested in their L1 English. It is thus possible that the asymmetry between high- and low-power words is supplemented by cultural differences. However, evidence regarding potential variations between cultures concerning perceived power is inconsistent (Bond & Hwang, 1986; Yang et al., 2021), and thus it is not possible at this point to determine the origin of differences in embodiment manifestation across languages.

Limitations and Future Directions

Our study has several limitations that should be addressed in the future. The number of stimuli was not balanced across experimental and control conditions (60 power words vs. 30 location words). Although having the same number of stimuli in all conditions would have been ideal, identifying location words that were clearly associated with higher and lower positions proved to be very challenging, especially for the lower positions. But as we discussed above, the lack of a congruency effect for location words might also be attributed to the indirect mapping between the visual and auditory domain concerning spatial localization.

Second, the sound amplitude was not perfectly matched between lower and upper sound sources, potentially increasing the noise in the measurements and rendering early ERP components less reliable. Indeed, due to our inability to

position a loudspeaker underneath the participants' chair to provide clear audio output from below, we resorted to employing two loudspeakers on either side of the participants' chair to simulate sound from below. Despite efforts to minimize volume disparities between higher and lower positions by muffling the floor loudspeakers, some differences remained. Additionally, we were unable to adjust the system's position according to each participants' height, introducing another, albeit weak, source of variance.

Although we recruited Chinese–English bilinguals with an IELTS score of 6 or higher and assessed their fluency in L1 and L2 based on self-reports (LEAP-Q), our fluency measures may have lacked precision since we could not control the timing of IELTS testing. It should be noted, however, that fluency in English would only have improved after our bilingual participants started their studies in the United Kingdom. In addition, it is noteworthy that self-report measures such as those obtained using the LEAP-Q questionnaire are considered a reliable and valid indicator of language ability that reflects competency measured by other means (Kaushanskaya et al., 2020; Marian et al., 2007; Marian & Hayakawa, 2021). Also, and finally, despite the sample size (25) being on the upper end of the range used in previous, comparable ERP studies (e.g., Li et al., 2019; 2022; Wu et al., 2016; Zanolie et al., 2011), we acknowledge that statistical power would be improved with a larger participant sample, especially when looking at higher order interactions.

Future studies could address the limitations listed above and use electrophysiological or neuroimaging methods to explore how linguistic experience (e.g., age of acquisition, L2 proficiency, L2 acquisition stages) and task demands influence L2 embodiment of abstract processing and how such effects can be distinguished from cultural effects.

Conclusion

Altogether, we found that the embodiment of perceived power—a relatively abstract concept, is asymmetric for high- and low-power words and differs across languages in bilinguals. We found embodiment for high-power L1 words in Chinese–English bilinguals but failed to observe such effect in the L2, and such embodiment effect was undetectable in control speakers of English tested in their L1. These results point to either a difference in embodiment representation across languages in bilinguals, a difference in embodiment across cultures, or both. The current dataset, however, did not allow us to determine which variables drive the differences. In any case, we contend that weaker embodiment in L2 is linked to L2 proficiency in bilinguals. Our study provides the first electrophysiological evidence for the involvement of direct sensorial

(auditory) representation in the spatial mapping of perceived power in bilinguals as an index of embodiment.

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Note

- 1 The participants' answers for postexperiment questions can be found on the Open Science Framework (osf.io/hm2c5).

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Supporting Information

Additional Supporting Information may be found in the online version of this article at the publisher's website:

Accessible Summary

Appendix S1. Materials.

Appendix S2. Complete Output From Linear Mixed Models and ANOVAs (Results Based on Preregistration).

Appendix S3. Complete Output From Linear Mixed Models and ANOVAs (Exploratory Analyses).