

## Cause and motion meet manner in translation

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*The SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction, the transitive variant of the V-V-ING-OBL pattern, also incorporates Goal of Motion (cf. Drăgan 2016b). According to Talmy (1985; 2000), Goal of Motion is favoured by speakers of Germanic languages to describe motion events, but it is not generally available in Romance, where motion is typically expressed by Path verbs and optional PPs, and Manner is omitted. Building on Talmy's claims, the article explores the compensation strategies selected to translate the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction from English into Romanian and relates the resulting syntactic structures to his theory of lexicalization patterns. It is shown that, at least in the translation of narratives, Talmy's lexicalization pattern for Romance is the exception rather than the rule as Manner is frequently translated to preserve the visual dynamism of the scenes.*

Keywords: *motion, Path, Manner, translation strategies, lexicalization patterns*

### 1. Introduction

The SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction is the transitive causative variant of the V-V-ING-OBL construction, with which it shares the 'directed motion with a manner component' meaning. Both patterns have a marginal status due to their syntactic heaviness, in the sense that they both combine a Path verb with a Manner verb and a directional prepositional phrase, as illustrated below:

- (1) a. A scrawny lad [came]<sub>Path verb</sub> [stumbling]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [into the firelight]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
b. She (...) snapped his head back and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [him]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [rolling]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [down the bank]<sub>Path PP</sub> and [into the stream]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.

The intransitive structure in (1a) combines the verb of inherently directed motion *come* with *stumble*, a verb expressing the manner of motion, and the Goal-denoting directional prepositional phrase *into the firelight*. In its turn, the transitive structure in (1b) associates *send*, a causative verb that denotes change of location, with the manner-of-motion verb *roll* and two directional prepositional phrases, which lexicalize different segments of the path of motion (*down the bank* expresses the Path and *into the stream*, the Goal of motion).

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It is important to notice that both patterns incorporate what is known in the literature as the Goal of Motion construction (GM), specifically the Manner verb and directional PP combination in the embedded VP (cf. Drăgan 2016b).

The presence of the Goal of Motion structure in the embedded VP makes the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction particularly challenging to translators of English into Romanian since it is not generally available in the latter language. Its absence relates to the semantic properties and the numbers of the classes of lexical items involved in the derivation of GM. In particular, Romanian has far fewer verbs of manner of motion than English does (cf. Coste 2010; Drăgan 2012; 2021), and they are mostly what Slobin (2006) calls 'low manner verbs', i.e., everyday verbs like *run* and *walk*. In contrast, English has a rich class of 'high manner verbs', items which distinguish between 'sauntering', 'swaggering' and 'prancing', for instance. On the other hand, with the exception of a few prepositions like *spre* and *către* (*towards*), Romanian generally lacks specialized simple directional prepositions like *to*, *into* and *onto* to denote the Goal of motion. What is more, simple prepositions in Romanian are locative (cf. Drăgan 2012; 2021), while many of their counterparts in English, items like *under*, *across*, *behind*, etc., have dual status, i.e., they are both dynamic (directional) and stative (locative) (see Mateu 2002; Folli and Ramchand 2005; Zubizarreta and Oh 2007 for other Romance languages).

From a more general perspective, Talmy (1985, 2000) states that Goal of Motion is the lexicalization pattern favoured by speakers of Germanic languages when describing motion events. Speakers of Romance languages, on the other hand, prefer a Path verb and optional locative/directional PP combination (a bare directed motion structure), typically eschewing any Manner specification. The expression of Manner in Romance is a costly strategy to describe motion because it entails the addition of adjuncts to the main lexicalization pattern (cf. Slobin 2004; 2005).

Since Goal of Motion cannot be easily derived in Romance and it is not the pattern of choice for Romance speakers, one may assume that the GM-incorporating SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction must not be readily translatable into Romanian. Moreover, its translation should typically produce a syntactic structure that follows Talmy's suggested lexicalization pattern for Romance (a Manner-omitting bare directed motion pattern). The alternative would be for translators to devise strategies which would compensate for the absence of Goal of Motion from Romanian and allow for the expression of Manner.

In view of the above, the aim of the present article is to explore the translation of the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction into Romanian in order to identify both the translation strategies used to compensate for its unavailability and the range of Manner-denoting expressions. In addition, the analysis intends to assess the translated syntactic structures against Talmy's main lexicalization

pattern for the expression of motion in Romance in order to determine whether they mirror it or deviate from it. The analysis is couched in the theoretical framework proposed by Hervey and Higgins (1992) and uses a fairly substantial corpus built on the translations of three fantasy books by Joe Abercrombie: *The Heroes* (2011), translated by Monica Șerban (*Eroii*, Editura Nemira, 2019) (henceforth, TT1), *Best Served Cold* (2009), translated by Ruxandra Toma (*Dulce răzbușare*, Editura Nemira, 2017) (henceforth, TT2), and *Last Argument of Kings* (2008), translated by Mihnea Columbeanu (*Puterea armelor*, Editura Nemira, 2017) (henceforth, TT3). Abercrombie's books are particularly suited to this investigation as the narratives include numerous battle/fight scenes whose dynamism is supported by the use of both the intransitive and the transitive variants of the V-V-ING-OBL construction.

Overall, the analysis will show that translators favour the expression of Manner over Talmy's bare directed motion lexicalization pattern, which associates a Path verb with a locative or directional PP, most likely in order to preserve the graphic quality and dynamism of the narrative scenes. To achieve that, they resort to grammatical transposition and a variety of compensation strategies (compensation in place, compensation by splitting, compensation by merging). The use of these strategies sheds light on an interesting feature of Romanian, namely, that, despite its lack of a rich class of manner-of-motion verbs, Romanian has numerous alternative means to describe the manner of motion – light-verb-based collocations, adverbial idiomatic expressions, Path-Manner verbs, prepositional phrases, gerunds, etc. Using them in translation may be a costly strategy that results in syntactically heavy structures, but it is one that translators seem willing to adopt, at least in written narratives, in which the translation of Manner is of paramount importance if the aim is to maintain the dynamic flavour of the text.

The article is structured as follows: *Section 2* considers the place of the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction within the large family of V-V-ING patterns and argues for the presence of a Goal of Motion structure in its embedded VP. In *Section 3*, the analysis turns to the translation strategies adopted to render the Manner component. *Section 4* assesses the results of the investigation from the perspective of Talmy's theory of lexicalization patterns. *Section 5* presents the conclusions.

## 2. Theoretical background

As proposed in the literature (Goldberg 2006; Broccias and Torre 2018, 2020, Fanego 2020 a.o.), the V-V-ING pattern stands for an entire family of constructions whose constitutive elements display considerable variation:

- (2) a. She soon came trotting back.  
 b. Murcatto's chair went clattering over as she lurched out of it.  
 c. She ran screaming out of the house.  
 d. She sat sighing (by the sycamore tree).  
 e. He fumbled the knife as he pulled it out of her and sent it spinning across the floor.  
 f. He rolled, the club crashing down (...) and sending stone chips flying.

As illustrated above, the main verb may alternate between a posture verb like *sit* in (2d) and a motion verb like *come/go/run/send* in the other examples. Since it is built on a stative verb, the construction in (2d) expresses location, while all the other constructions, which are built on dynamic verbs, express directed motion. In its turn, the verb in the embedded VP can be a manner-of-motion verb (*trot* in (2a), *spin* in (2e), *fly* in (2f)), a sound emission verb (*clatter* in (2b)), or a verb of manner of speaking (*scream* in (2c), *sigh* in (2d)). The directed motion structures built on *come*, *go* and *run* are intransitive, whereas that built on *send* is a transitive causative structure. Finally, the prepositional phrase in the embedded VP may be locative (*by the sycamore tree* in (2d)) or directional (Source-denoting *out of the house* in (2c), Path-denoting *across the floor* in (2e)) and may even be absent from the construction in the sense that it need not be lexicalized (2d,f). Notice that in (2a, b) the directional element is a mere particle phrase (*trot back*, *clatter over*).

Narrowing down the focus to the dynamic pattern, Fanego (2020) analyzes what she calls 'the V-V-ING-OBL construction'. She defines it as a deictic directional structure built on 'venitive' *come* or 'andative' *go* (denoting motion towards or away from the speaker, respectively), which consists of a macroevent of motion modified by a manner co-event. The pattern describes "deictic motion along a path, which takes place simultaneously with a manner of action involving manner of motion proper, concurrent result, or concomitance" (Fanego 2020, 24). The three subtypes are illustrated below:

- (3) a. He went sauntering into the classroom. (manner of motion)  
 b. He shoved her onto the nearest chest so hard she went squawking over the back of it and into the lap of the man behind. (concurrent result)  
 c. He came roaring down the last steps in triumph. (concomitance)

While in (3a), the manner-of-motion verb *saunter* modifies the event expressed by the main verb in the sense that it describes the manner in which the 'going' event occurs, in (3c) the main verb *come* and the Manner verb *roar* express two distinct events that occur simultaneously. Similarly, (3b) is built on two distinct events, but

in this case, the 'squawking' subevent in the embedded VP is interpreted as the result of the motion event expressed by the main verb *go* (i.e., the motion event generates the squawking).

As mentioned before, the intransitive V-V-ING-OBL construction has a transitive variant built on the causative verb *send*: SEND-NP-V-ING-PP, which Zubizarreta and Oh (2007) label the 'cause-directed motion construction'. According to Talmy (2000), *send* is a transitive change-of-location verb which concurrently expresses Motion and a Co-event, i.e., Cause of motion. In this particular construction, *send* also operates as a Path verb, i.e., a transfer-denoting verb, the only difference being that part of its original argument structure (<Agent, Theme, Goal>) is incorporated into a sentential complement. For instance, in (4b) below, the Theme and Goal arguments (*him* and *the heaving sea*, respectively) are part of the embedded VP *him tumbling into the heaving sea*:

- (4) a. John (Agent) sent the parcel (Theme) to London (Goal).  
 b. The thief (Agent) sent [*him* (Theme) *tumbling into the heaving sea* (Goal)].

An important claim concerning the internal structure of the V-V-ING-OBL construction is that the main (light) verbs *come* and *go* subcategorize for either Goal of Motion (if V-ING is an unergative manner-of-motion verb or a verb of sound emission that freely combines with a directional PP) or a VP denoting directed motion with a manner component (if V-ING is a Path-Manner verb or an unaccusative manner-of-motion verb subcategorizing for a directional PP) (cf. Zubizarreta and Oh 2007; Drăgan 2016a; Drăgan 2016b):

- (5) a. A bounding shape came speeding around the lake's rim toward them.  
 b. He went hastening down the ramp and into the pit.  
 c. I was still expecting that at any moment he would cease his juggling and let all his flying illusions come clattering to the ground.  
 d. A few arrows came zipping down.  
 e. Qantaqa, left to his own devices, went slinking off into the tall brush.  
 f. He ducked as a young boy came hurtling eagerly after them...  
 g. Greylock gave a mighty roar and came charging forwards, swinging the club...  
 h. Walkers and riders came surging up and away in a blur...

The examples in (5a-d) illustrate the former scenario, with *come* and *go* subcategorizing for a Goal of Motion construction, in which the manner-of-motion verbs *speed* (5a) and *hasten* (5b), and the sound emission verbs *clatter* (5c) and *zip* (5d) freely conflate with the empty verbal head of a directed motion construction as a result of the Compound Rule that allows for two lexical categories of the same kind to freely merge (cf. Zubizarreta and Oh 2007). Notice that the unergatives *speed* and *hasten* do not necessarily select a prepositional phrase (*Why were you speeding? / She hastened to get there on time.*). On the other hand, sound emission verbs never denote motion on their own, hence, they cannot select directional PPs, which means that they come to express motion only if they are inserted in directed motion constructions. In the other scenario, *come* and *go* subcategorize for a VP that denotes directed motion with a manner component. The difference is that, in such cases, the Manner-denoting verb is not freely merged with the empty verbal head of a directed motion construction, it actually subcategorizes for a directional PP and thus, 'instantiates' directed motion (cf. Zubizarreta and Oh 2007). Instantiation occurs with Path-Manner verbs, i.e., verbs that concurrently lexicalize the Path and the Manner of motion (cf. Drăgan 2016a; Drăgan 2016b), and with unaccusative manner-of-motion verbs, which always select directional PPs. *Charge* in (5g) and *surge* in (5h) illustrate the former case, since their meanings entail 'sudden forward motion', whereas *slink* in (5e) and *hurtle* in (5f) illustrate the latter case, as they never occur in isolation or with a locative PP (*\*He slunk/hurtled (in the woods.)*).

In its turn, *send* may also subcategorize for an embedded VP that is a Goal of Motion construction, or for a VP that instantiates directed motion with a manner component:

- (6) a. Wonderful slapped the coins from Drofd's hand and sent 'em scattering into the grass.  
 b. A horse (...) sent a tangle of spears clattering to the ground.  
 c. Shenkt caught him under the jaw and sent his corpse hurtling across the room...  
 d. ... he was sent tumbling down the stairs.

The embedded VPs in (6a,b) are Goal of Motion constructions built on the unergative manner of motion verb *scatter* and the sound emission verb *clatter*, while those in (6c,d) are instantiations of a directed motion with a manner component construction, as the Path-Manner verb *tumble* and the unaccusative manner-of-motion verb *hurtle* each subcategorize for a directional PP.

Since the SEND-NP-V-PP pattern, just like its intransitive counterpart, incorporates a Goal of Motion construction and since, except for a small subclass of manner-of-motion verbs that can generate GM (Drăgan 2012; 2021), Goal of Motion is absent from Romanian, it is to be expected that translators will have to adopt compensatory strategies in order to translate both the Path and the Manner components. Similarly, the translation of Manner when the nucleus of the embedded VP is a Path-Manner verb or an unaccusative manner-of-motion verb is expected to be problematic and require the use of some compensation strategies. At the same time, one might assume that the translation of Manner will not be a priority, considering that, according to Talmy (1985; 2000), the lexicalization pattern favoured by Romanian speakers omits Manner and expresses motion events strictly by associating Path verbs with locative or directional prepositional phrases. The analysis of the Abercrombie corpus in the next section will reveal if these expectations are met.

### 3. Corpus analysis

The prevalent strategy the translators adopted to render the SEND-NP-V-PP construction into Romanian is *grammatical transposition* (cf. Hervey and Higgins 1992), which entails the replacement of a given grammatical structure in the source text with another in the target text. In this particular case, the use of grammatical transposition actually generates a substantial variety of patterns in the target text, which range from a structure that mirrors the original, but has variable word order ([Path verb + locative/directional PP + Manner adjunct] or [Path verb + Manner adjunct + locative/directional PP]) to a simplified pattern built on a lexical causative verb or an idiomatic collocation built around causative light verbs like *a pune* (*put*), *a da* (*give*), to a syntactically more complex pattern based on the causative light verb *a face* (*make*), which adds an entire subordinate clause to express the Manner component. If grammatical transposition is the strategy of choice, the translators use it simultaneously with a number of compensation strategies that lengthen or shorten the original construction (compensation in place, compensation by merging, compensation by splitting).

The application of *compensation in place* allows for the rendering of both Path and Manner, hence all the semantic components are preserved in translation. However, as the examples in (7) to (14) below illustrate, there is considerable variation not only in word order, but also and especially in the type of phrases that express the Path and Manner components, with the two at times incorporated in the same verbal collocation:

- (7) a. That face, in the smoke, before he [was sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [tumbling]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [down the stairs]<sub>Path PP</sub>.  
 b. Chipul acela, în fum, înainte ca el [să fie trimis]<sub>Path verb</sub> [de-a berbeleacul]<sub>Manner adjunct – PP-based adverbial collocation</sub> [pe scări]<sub>locative PP</sub>. (TT1)
- (8) a. Shivers (...) [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [him]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [reeling]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [towards the empty fireplace]<sub>directional PP</sub>.  
 b. Fiori (...) [îl]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [trimise]<sub>Path verb</sub> [învârtindu-se]<sub>Manner adjunct - gerund</sub> [spre vatra goală]<sub>directional PP</sub>. (TT2)
- (9) a. A few of them (...) [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [a flight of arrows]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [arcing]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [across]<sub>Path PrtP</sub> [onto the bridge]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. Câțiva (...) [trimiseră]<sub>Path verb</sub> [un nor de săgeți]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [cu boltă]<sub>Manner adjunct - PP</sub> [asupra podului]<sub>locative PP</sub>. (TT3)
- (10) a. The heel of Gobba's big boot cracked down on her right hand and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [pain]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [lancing]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [up her forearm]<sub>Path PP</sub>...  
 b. Călcâiul de la cizma uriașă a lui Gobba îi strivi mâna dreaptă, [trimitând]<sub>Path verb</sub> [săgeți de durere atroce]<sub>Direct Object NP- Manner</sub> [de-a lungul brațului]<sub>Path PP</sub>... (TT2)
- (11) a. ... a horse reared nearby, knocked its cart sideways and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [a tangle of spears]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [clattering]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [to the ground]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. ... un cal se cabră în apropiere, răsturnând o căruță plină cu sulite [care [căzură]<sub>Path verb</sub> [pe pământ]<sub>locative PP</sub> [cu o zarvă nemaipomenită]<sub>Manner adjunct - PP</sub>]<sub>Relative clause</sub>. (TT1)
- (12) a. He flung the dice table over, [sending]<sub>Path verb</sub> [glasses, counters, coins]<sub>Direct Object NPs</sub> [flying]<sub>Manner verb</sub>.  
 b. Răsturnă masa de zaruri, [dezlănțuind]<sub>causative change-of-state verb</sub> [o ploaie de pahare, jetoane și monede]<sub>Direct Object DP - Manner</sub>. (TT2)
- (13) a. She thumped Monza on the side of the head with an open hand and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [her]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [tumbling]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [down the stairs]<sub>Path PP</sub>.  
 b. O pocni pe Monza în tâmplă cu palma deschisă, [dând-<sub>o</sub>]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [de-a rostogolul]<sub>Manner-incorporating causative verb collocation</sub> [pe scară]<sub>locative PP</sub>. (TT2)



- (14) a. Before we [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [Finster's men]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [running]<sub>Manner verb!</sub>  
 b. Înainte de [a-[i]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> pune pe fugă]<sub>Manner-incorporating causative verb collocation</sub>  
 [pe oamenii lui Finster]<sub>Direct Object DP!</sub> (TT3)

Variation begins with the translation of the main verb *send*, which is rendered by its Romanian equivalent (*a trimite*) in most of the examples (see (7) to (10)), though, in some cases, it is translated by a verb of a different nature – for instance, an intransitive verb of inherently directed motion like *a cădea* (*fall*) in (11), or a lexical causative verb denoting change of state like *a dezlănțui* (*unleash*) in (12). Notice the syntactic shift in (11), as the components of the transitive SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction are reshuffled into a relative clause built on the intransitive Path verb *a cădea* (*fall*), which now modifies *o căruță plină cu sulite* (lit. *a cart full of spears*) – the Romanian equivalent of the Direct Object of *send* (*a tangle of spears*). This syntactic shift from a transitive pattern in the source text to an intransitive pattern in the target text is a recurrent strategy the translators most likely adopt because they have access to a substantial class of intransitive Path verbs, as well as to a well-represented class of intransitive Path-Manner verbs (Drăgan 2012; 2016b). At the same time, translating a change-of-location verb (*send*) by means of a change-of-state verb (*a dezlănțui* (*unleash*) in (12)) is also a viable, recurrent choice considering that the semantic field of change of state has often been analyzed as a metaphorical extension of that of change of location (cf. Mateu 2002; Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004; Zubizarreta and Oh 2007 a.o.). What is more, the translators also have access to a rich class of causative verb collocations built on light verbs like *a da* (*give*) in (13) (*a da de-a rostogolul* ('cause to roll'/set rolling')), or *a pune* (*put*) in (14) (*a pune pe fugă* ('cause to flee')). Notice that these idiomatic expressions also incorporate the Manner component, rendered by the prepositional phrases *de-a rostogolul* ( $\approx$  *rolling*) and *pe fugă* ( $\approx$  *on the run*).

Variation also characterizes the translation of Manner, which is rendered by a PP-based adverbial collocation (*de-a berbeleacul* (*head over heels*) in (7), a prepositional phrase headed by *cu* (*with*) (*cu boltă* ( $\approx$  *arcing/high up*) in (9), *cu o zarvă nemaipomenită* ( $\approx$  *causing unbelievable racket*) in (11)), or a gerund (*învârtindu-se* (*reeling*) in (8)). As already discussed, Manner can also be part of idiomatic verb collocations (see (13) and (14) above). An interesting pattern is illustrated by the translation of the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP constructions in (10) and (12). In these cases, Manner is incorporated in the Direct Object; in (10) *pain lancing* is cleverly translated as *săgeți de durere atroce* (lit. *arrows of terrible pain*), which is the Direct Object of *a trimite* (*send*), whereas in (12), *glasses, counters, coins flying* is rendered by *o ploaie de pahare, jetoane și monede* (lit. *a rain of glasses, counters and coins*), the Direct Object of *a dezlănțui* (*unleash*), their

association adding a metaphorical dimension to the prosaic *send flying* combination.

Last but not least, compensation in place generates structures that display variation in word order. While the prevailing pattern in Romanian - [Path verb + Direct Object + Manner adjunct + locative/directional PP] - reflects the word order in the original construction (see (7), (8), (9)), the prepositional phrase can also precede the Manner adjunct (see (11)), or Manner can be incorporated in the causative verb collocation, which is optionally followed by a locative PP (see (13) vs. (14)). Alternatively, Manner can be incorporated in the Direct Object of the main verb followed by a complex Path PP (see (10) and (12)).

*Compensation by splitting* lengthens the original construction since it entails the translation of a particular item in the source text by means of several words in the target text. This strategy is successfully used for the semantic reinforcement of the Manner component or, at a syntactic level, to transform phrases into clauses. In the latter case, it is the equivalent of what Klaudy (2009) calls 'grammatical upgrading', which is one of the many transfer operations that result in explicitation:

- (15) a. ... (he) dealt the man a resounding boot to his backside, [sending]<sub>Path verb</sub> [him]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [sprawling]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [in the gutter]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. ... îi aplică individului un picior răsunător în dos, [trântindu]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [ ]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [de-a berbeleacul]<sub>Manner adjunct – adverbial collocation</sub> [în drum]<sub>locative PP</sub>. (TT3)
- (16) a. Craw (...) caught someone under the jaw and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [his head]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [jerk]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [up]<sub>PrtP...</sub>  
 b. Gât-îngust (...) înhăță pe cineva chiar de sub fălci și îi [smuci]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [brusc]<sub>Manner adjunct - AdvP</sub> [capul]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [pe spate]<sub>directional adverbial collocation...</sub> (TT1)
- (17) a. He [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [another gob]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [sailing]<sub>Manner verb</sub> neatly [into the flames]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. Mai [trimise]<sub>Path verb</sub> [o flegmă]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [care [zbură]<sub>Manner verb</sub> precis [în mijlocul flăcărilor]<sub>locative PP</sub>]<sub>Relative clause</sub>. (TT1)
- (18) a. ... Dogman took the top of his head off with his sword and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [his corpse]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [sprawling]<sub>Manner verb</sub>.  
 b. ... Copoiul îi zbură creștetul cu sabia, [făcând]<sub>causative light verb</sub> [cadavrul]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [[să cadă]<sub>Path verb</sub> [pe burtă]<sub>Manner adjunct – PP</sub>]<sub>Direct Object clause</sub>. (TT3)

- (19) a. Shivers (...) then hooked his legs away with one boot, [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [him]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [squawking]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [onto his back]<sub>Goal PP</sub> and followed him down.
- b. Fiori (...) apoi îi puse piedică și [îl]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [trânti]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [pe spate]<sub>Manner PP</sub>, cât era de lung. [Chelbosul începu [să țipe]<sub>Manner verb</sub>]<sub>Manner-incorporating juxtaposed clause</sub>, dar Fiori se trânti peste el... (TT2)

The examples in (15) and (16) are instances of Manner reinforcement. In (15), the combination *send sprawling* is rendered not only by the Path-Manner verb *a trânti* (*knock down*), but also by *de-a berbeleacul* (*head over heels*) – an adverbial collocation that describes the manner in which the affected entity ends up on the ground. In (16), *send jerking* is translated as the Path-Manner verb *a smuci* (lit. *jerk*) reinforced by the adverb *brusc* (*suddenly*), a Manner adjunct. The structures in (17) to (19) are all cases of grammatical upgrading. In (17), the embedded VP in the source text becomes a Restrictive Relative Clause modifying the Direct Object of *send* - *another gob (o flegmă [care zbură precis în mijlocul flăcărilor]<sub>RRC</sub>)*. In (18) *send* is rendered by the causative transitive light verb *a face* (*make*) followed by a Direct Object Clause (*să cadă pe burtă* (lit. *fall on his belly*)). In (19), the construction *send him squawking* is split into two juxtaposed complex clauses, the former built around the Path-Manner verb *a trânti* (*knock down*) (for *send*), and the latter around the inchoative *a începe* (*start*), which selects the sound emission verb *a țipa* (*scream*) (for *squawk*).

However, the most interesting solutions to the translation of the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction are the result of another strategy, *compensation by merging*, which is generally used to convert a complex phrase in the source text into a single word or a shorter phrase in the target text. What makes the application of this strategy particularly relevant to the present investigation is that it generates several syntactic patterns which, in spite of shortening the original construction, do not generally reduce it to the pattern that Talmy (1985, 2000) assumes to be favoured by speakers of Romance when describing motion events. Specifically, more often than not, the [Path + Manner] combination is not translated by a Path verb, as expected, but rather by a Manner or a Path-Manner verb, as illustrated in (20) to (27) below:

- (20) a. Gorst [was sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [sliding]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [back]<sub>directional PrtP</sub> by the force of it...
- b. Gorst [alunecă]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [în spate]<sub>directional adverbial collocation</sub> din cauza forței loviturii... (TT1)

- (21) a. A spear shaft bent up and shattered [sending]<sub>Path verb</sub> [splinters]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [flying]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [in Logen's face]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. O suliță se îndoi și se frânse, [așchii]<sub>Subject NP</sub> [înțepându]<sub>Manner verb-i</sub> [fața]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> lui Logen. (TT3)
- (22) a. Shivers stepped into it, caught it on his shield then charged on, [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [Friendly]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [stumbling]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [back]<sub>directional PrtP</sub> [against a table]<sub>Goal PP</sub>, metal rattling.  
 b. Fiori îl blocă cu scutul, apoi atacă, [îmbrâncindu]<sub>Path-Manner verb-[I]</sub> Direct Object NP [pe fostul pușcăriaș]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [într-o masă]<sub>locative PP</sub>.
- (23) a. His sword spun out of his hand and Logen hit him on the back of his head, crushed his helmet and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [him]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [sprawling]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [in the mud]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. Sabia îi zbură din mână, învârtindu-se, iar Logen îl lovi în ceafă, îndoindu-i coiful și [doborându]<sub>Path-Manner verb-[I]</sub> Direct Object NP [în mocirlă]<sub>locative PP</sub>. (TT3)
- (24) a. [Sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [him]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [fleeing]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [from the battlefield]<sub>Source PP</sub> at Alfieri with his reputation and his clothes both equally tattered.  
 b. Care [îl]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [goniseră]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub> [de pe câmpul de luptă]<sub>Source PP</sub> de la Alfieri, cu reputația și hainele în zdrențe. (TT2)
- (25) a. He swung it down with a roar and right into the spearman's face. Burst it wide open and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [his corpse]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub> [tumbling]<sub>Path-Manner verb</sub>.  
 b. Începu să urle, învârti arma și-l lovi pe sulițaș în față, despiciându-i capul și [azvârlindu]<sub>Path-Manner verb-[I]</sub> Direct Object NP [departe]<sub>AdvP</sub>. (TT2)
- (26) a. Each blow jarred her hand, [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [pain]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [shooting]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [up her arm]<sub>Path PP</sub>.  
 b. Fiecare lovitură zguduia mâna Monzei, [șocuri]<sub>Subject NP</sub> dureroase [străbătându]<sub>Path verb-i</sub> [brațul]<sub>Direct Object DP</sub>. (TT2)
- (27) a. A sword hacked into a shield and [sent]<sub>Path verb</sub> [splinters]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [flying]<sub>Manner verb</sub> [into Logen's eyes]<sub>Goal PP</sub>.  
 b. O sabie lovi un scut, [trimitând]<sub>Path verb</sub> [fărâme de oase]<sub>Direct Object NP</sub> [în ochii lui Logen]<sub>locative PP</sub>. (TT3)

The [Path + Manner] structures in (20) and (21), *send sliding* and *send flying*, are rendered by a single Manner-denoting verb in Romanian, *a aluneca (slide)* in (20) and *a înțepa (prick)* in (21). Notice that, once again, the translators choose to shift from a transitive *send* construction in the source text to an intransitive pattern built on the aforementioned intransitive verbs, in which the Direct Object NPs of *send* (*Gorst* and *splinters*) are now assigned Subject roles. *Send stumbling* and *send sprawling* in (22) and (23), respectively, are translated as the Path-Manner verbs *a îmbrânci (shove)* and *a doborî (knock down)*. These are lexical causative verbs that entail the unidirectional motion of the affected entity (away motion for *a îmbrânci (shove)*, and downward motion for *a doborî (knock down)*, while also incorporating a Manner component, since both entail the suggestion of violence. The examples in (24) and (25), in which *send* (a Path verb) associates with a Path-Manner verb in the original constructions (*flee* in (24) and *tumble* in (25)), are also rendered by single Path-Manner verbs into Romanian (*a goni (chase/drive away)* and *a azvârli (hurl)*). Finally, the [Path + Manner] constructions in (26) and (27), *send shooting* and *send flying*, are reduced to Path verbs in Romanian, the intransitive *a străbate (pass/cross)* in another shift from the transitive to the intransitive pattern, and the transitive *a trimite (send)*.

Overall, the analyzed examples indicate that, despite the absence of Goal of Motion from Romanian, the translators did pay particular attention to the Manner component and rendered it by using alternative means. Four syntactic patterns emerge, with the [Path + Manner] combination being translated as a Manner verb in (20) and (21), a Path-Manner verb in (22) and (23), and a Path verb in (26) and (27), when the embedded VP in the source text is a Goal of Motion construction, and a Path-Manner verb in (24) and (25), when the nucleus of the embedded VP in the original construction is a Path-Manner verb as well. Quite significantly, three out of the four patterns are built on verbs that incorporate the Manner component, an aspect that will be revisited in the next section.

Last but not least, there are cases in which the translators choose to resort to *free translation*, thus abandoning altogether the form of the original construction in the source text and generating a structure that only manages to preserve its intended meaning. However, even when they choose this strategy, there appears to be an underlying pattern to their solutions, as most structures resulting from free translation seem to switch focus from change-of-location to change-of-state meanings (see (28) to (30) below):

- (28) a. ... when something crashed into the window on her left, *sent splinters of glass flying into her face*.  
 b. ... când fereastra din stânga ei se sparse și o acoperi de cioburi. (TT2)

- (29) a. He jerked his head away to see a Carl throw a desperate hand up, a curved sword sliced into it and *sent a thumb spinning*.  
 b. Întoarse smucit capul pentru a vedea un Carl ridicându-și disperat mâna, din care mușcă o sabie arcuită, *retezând degetul mare*. (TT3)
- (30) a. The Feared's knee sank into his gut, folded him up and *sent him staggering*, needing to cough but not having the air to do it.  
 b. Genunchiul Temutului i se înfipse în burtă, îndoiindu-l de mijloc. *Împleticit*, lui Logen îi veni să tușească, dar nu mai avea aer în piept. (TT3)

In each of the examples above, the *send* constructions are translated by verbs denoting 'change of state': *send splinters flying* is translated as *a acoperi (cover)*, a change-of-state verb, associated with the Instrument-denoting adverbial *de cioburi* (lit. *of glass shards*), i.e. *cover in glass shards*. In similar fashion, *send a thumb spinning* is downsized to *a reteza degetul mare (sever the thumb)*, which also denotes 'change of state'. Finally, *send (him) staggering* is reduced to a past participle of the reflexive verb *a se împletici (stagger)*, denoting the resulting state (*împleticit*). As mentioned before, the shift from the field of 'change of location' to that of 'change of state' is not unexpected if one bears in mind that the latter may be viewed as a metaphorical extension of the former.

Since the translation of Manner appears to be the norm rather than the exception, in the next section, the analysis will focus on the relevance of the resulting (Manner-incorporating) syntactic structures to Talmy's theory of lexicalization patterns.

#### 4. A bird's eye view

According to Talmy (1985, 2000), speakers of Germanic and Romance languages favour different lexicalization patterns to describe motion events in so far as Path, the main semantic component involved in the expression of motion, is lexicalized by different categories:

- (31) a. The drunkard staggered into the pub.  
 b. Bețivul a intrat (împleticit/împleticindu-se/cu pași împleticiți) în cârciumă.

As illustrated above, speakers of Germanic languages use prepositions (or particles) to express the path/direction of motion, which means that the verb position is available to be filled in by a Manner-denoting verb. In (31a), the manner-of-motion

verb *stagger* combines with the directional PP *into the pub*, headed by the dynamic preposition *into*, to express Goal of Motion.

In contrast, speakers of Romance use verbs to lexicalize the path of motion, to which they may add an optional locative or directional prepositional phrase for further specification. In (31b), for instance, the verb of inherently directed motion *a intra* (*enter, go in*) associates with the locative PP *în cârciumă* (lit. *in pub*), resulting in a bare directed motion structure. On the other hand, since the verb position is already occupied by the Path-denoting verb, the manner of motion has to be expressed by an extra element, i.e., an adjunct (a gerund, a PP, an AdvP, etc.). In the structure in (31b), the Manner adjunct is alternatively lexicalized by the predicative adjunct *împleticit* (the past participle of the reflexive verb *a se împletici* (*stagger*)), the gerundial form of the same reflexive verb *împleticindu-se* (*staggering*), or the prepositional phrase *cu pași împleticiți* (*with staggering steps*). The addition of the Manner adjunct to the bare directed motion pattern turns it into a directed motion with a manner component structure (cf. Drăgan 2016a; 2021). Given that the presence of adjuncts lengthens the structure, turning it syntactically heavy, speakers of Romance regularly avoid expressing the manner of motion.

In Talmy's view, these preferences make Germanic languages satellite-framed languages, since they conflate the Path of motion in the preposition/particle, and Romance, verb-framed languages, as they conflate the Path of motion in the verb.

Talmy's (1985, 2000) theory of lexicalization patterns bears direct relevance to the translation of directed motion structures from Germanic to Romance and vice versa. As has often been claimed in the literature (Slobin 2004; 2005; 2006; Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2003; Capelle 2012; R. A. Alonso 2018; Molés-Cases 2019 a.o.), the selection of specific translation strategies is always conditioned by the typological classification of the source and target languages, as well as by their lexical resources and syntactic structures. What is more, these strategies will regularly produce syntactic structures that reflect the typical lexicalization patterns of the target languages. As a result, in this particular case, the expectations would be that, on the one hand, the translation of the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction should reflect Talmy's lexicalization pattern for the expression of motion in Romance (i.e., Path verb and optional locative/directional PP), and that Manner should generally be omitted since, in the original structure, it is part of the Goal of Motion construction in the embedded VP and, as a rule, Goal of Motion cannot be derived in Romanian. On the other hand, if Manner were to be translated, then it should be rendered by strategies that can compensate for the absence of GM from Romanian.

The findings of the present analysis, encapsulated in *Table 1* below, appear to only partially meet the aforementioned expectations:

<b>Patterns in Romanian</b>	<b>TT1</b>	<b>TT2</b>	<b>TT3</b>	<b>Total samples</b>
Path verb + Manner adjunct	4	5	6	15
Path-Manner verb	13	22	10	45
Only Path verb	4	4	3	11
Only Manner verb	7	5	4	16
Lexical causative verb (change of state)	2	8	4	14
Causative light verb pattern ( <i>a face (make)</i> , <i>a pune (put)</i> , <i>a da (give)</i> + Manner (6), + Path (4), + other (2))	0	4	8	12
Other (free translation)	1	7	3	11
<b>Total/TT</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>124</b>

**Table 1.** Pattern distribution

One aspect that becomes immediately apparent is that the translated versions of the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP constructions are, more often than not, illustrations of one of the Manner-incorporating structures. In particular, out of the seven patterns listed above (Path verb + Manner adjunct, Path-Manner verb, only Path verb, only Manner verb, lexical causatives, causative light verb structures and structures produced by free translation) four include some rendition of the Manner component, which results in a total of 82 out of 124 samples (66.1%). This indicates that the lexicalization pattern Talmy (1985; 2000) claims to be favoured by Romance speakers is ignored, at least in the translation of narratives. In fact, the number of samples that illustrate the pattern built exclusively on Path verbs is very low – there are 11 instances, which make up only 8.87% of the total number of samples.

In addition to what Talmy identified as a secondary (Manner-incorporating) pattern, here labeled 'directed motion with a manner component' (Path verb + locative/directional PP + Manner adjunct), the analysis has also shed light on the existence of various alternative syntactic micropatterns generated by the application of grammatical transposition and various compensation strategies. These micropatterns are built on manner-of-motion verbs (see (20), (21) above), change-of-state lexical causatives (see (12), (28) (29), (30) above) or special items like the causative light verbs *a face (make)*, *a da (give)*, *a pune (put)*. Notice that,



while *a face* (*make*) subcategorizes for Direct Object Clauses built mainly on Path verbs or Manner verbs (*a face să cadă* (*make fall*) vs. *a face să se clatine/împleticească* (*make totter/stagger*), the light verbs *a da* (*give*) and *a pune* (*put*) are the abstract heads of idiomatic verb collocations (*a da de-a rostogolul* (*set rolling*), *a pune pe fugă* (*make flee*), *a pune la pământ* (*knock down*)).

Another set of special lexical items of particular relevance is the subclass of Path-Manner verbs (*a îmbrânci* (*shove*), *a doborî* (*knock down*), *a trânti* (*knock down*), *a smuci* (*jerk*), etc.), which actually dominate the picture, given that they have the highest number of occurrences (45 out of 124 instances). The reason for this is that they simultaneously lexicalize both the Path and the Manner of motion, hence, they are the ideal solution for rendering both semantic components in one item – a low-cost strategy that avoids the separate expression of Manner in the form of adjuncts.

One last issue that needs clarifying concerns the reason why the translation of the Manner component seems to be favoured most of the times, considering that a [Path + Manner] pattern is a marked choice because of the high cost of processing both the production and the comprehension of the message (cf. Slobin 2004, 2005). As already suggested, the answer might be that, unlike in everyday conversations, where a simplified lexicalization pattern is to be expected, in narratives, especially of the written kind, the way in which information is packaged matters. Manner foregrounding is required if one is to preserve the dynamism and graphic quality of the epic battle/fight scenes.

## 5. Conclusions

The present investigation into the translation strategies used to render the SEND-NP-V-ING-PP construction into Romanian has revealed that, since this cause-directed motion structure incorporates a Goal of Motion construction, and GM cannot be readily generated in Romanian, translators need to compensate for its absence by using grammatical transposition alongside various other compensation strategies (compensation in place, compensation by splitting, compensation by merging). The same strategies are applied in cases in which the embedded VP in the original construction is built on a Path-Manner verb or a manner-of-motion unaccusative verb subcategorizing for a directional prepositional phrase.

Following the application of these strategies, Manner is frequently expressed by prepositional phrases, gerunds, adverbial phrases, adverbial idiomatic collocations, light-verb-based collocations, and even noun phrases and Direct Object Clauses.

The resulting syntactic structures only infrequently mirror Talmy's (1985, 2000) dominating lexicalization pattern for the expression of motion in Romance, i.e., Path verb and locative/directional prepositional phrase. Instead, the directed motion with a manner component structure is preferred, i.e., Path verb combined with a locative/directional PP and a Manner adjunct, in spite of its syntactic heaviness. What is more, this pattern alternates with a variety of Manner-incorporating syntactic micropatterns, which indicate that, despite its lack of a rich class of manner-of-motion verbs, Romanian has alternative lexical and syntactic resources to express the manner of motion. They all contribute to the foregrounding of the Manner component in order to preserve the visually rich quality of the narratives.

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