What Translation Tells Us About Motion:
A Contrastive Study of Typologically Different Languages

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ABSTRACT
Slobin (1991, 1996a, b, 1997) has argued that the typological differences between languages with either a satellite-framed or a verb-framed lexicalisation pattern (Talmy, 2000) have important discourse and rhetorical consequences for the expression of 'paths of movement' and 'manner of movement'. These differences are especially significant for the translator since s/he has to adapt the rhetorical style of the source language to that of the target language. According to Slobin (1996a, 2000, ms.), the major difference lies in the loss or gain of information about path and manner specifications during the translation process. We will focus on three languages, English (satellite-framed), Spanish and Basque (both verb-framed but with important intra-typological differences). Basing ourselves on data from translations of the same English text (Tolkien's The Hobbit) into these two target languages, we will compare and analyse in detail the different strategies that Spanish and Basque translators follow when adapting the English text to the stylistic and typological characteristics of their own languages.

KEYWORDS: Cognitive Linguistics, contrastive typology, translation, lexicalisation patterns.

motion events

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O Servicio de Publicaciones. Universidad de Murcia. All rights reserved. IJES, vol. 3 (2), 2003, pp. 151-176
I. DIFFERENT LEXICALISATION PATTERNS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR TRANSLATION

One of the areas in typology which has received an increasing interest over the last years is the study of lexicalisation patterns, that is to say, the investigation of how particular meaning components are regularly associated with particular morphemes in different languages. One of the ‘culprits’ for such a productive and lively research area is Leonard Talmy. This author argues that the association between meaning components and particular morphemes —‘surface elements’ in his terminology — is not a one-to-one correspondence across language types, but one of multiple possibilities. Languages may follow different packaging strategies; in Talmy’s own words: “a combination of semantic elements can be expressed by a single surface element, or a single semantic element by a combination of surface elements. Or again. semantic elements of different types can be expressed by the same type of surface element, as well as the same type by several different ones” (2000b: 21).

Despite all the possible multiple combinations between semantic and surface elements that languages may have chosen from, Talmy (1991, 2000) proposes that they can be reduced to two main patterns on the basis of how languages encode the core information of a semantic domain onto syntactical and lexical structures. One pattern allocates the core information in the verb, and the other does so in some other elements called “satellites”. “Verb-framed languages” are those that follow the first strategy and “satellite-framed languages” those that follow the second.

Among other domains, Talmy applies this two-way classification to the study of the lexicalisation of motion events. He suggests that the basic information in this type of events is the motion of an entity along a path in a specified direction. In satellite-framed languages like English, the verb does not encode this information. Instead, it usually expresses the act of motion itself conflated with information about manner, that is, information about the way in which motion is performed. For example, verbs like run, jump, crawl. Path information is usually expressed in satellites such as out, into, down, as in run out, jump into and crawl down.

Verb-framed languages like Spanish and Basque, on the other hand, follow the opposite strategy. Here, the core information is not expressed in a separate element but usually conflated with the verb. e.g. bajar, jaitsi ‘go down’, entrar, sortu ‘go in’. The encoding of manner is an optional choice in Spanish and Basque, and thus, it is expressed in a separate element, e.g. Sp. salir corriendo ‘exit running’, Bq. saltoka igo ‘jumping ascend’.

Apart from being a useful tool for the typological classification of languages, Talmy’s typological distinction has been proved to be decisive for the description and analysis of the rhetorical and discourse styles particular to languages within these two groups.

Based on elicited oral narratives in several languages, English and Spanish among them, Dan Slobin (1991, 1996a, b, 1997) has argued that the different lexicalisation patterns that each group follows provoke two main consequences in their expression and description of the motion event. one with respect to manner of movement, the other with regard to paths of movement:
**Consequence 1:** Narratives in satellite-framed languages contain much more information about manner of motion than those in verb-framed languages.

The main reason lies in the fact that verb-framed languages need an extra separate adjunct expression — *salta corriendo* ‘exit running’ —, whereas in satellite-framed languages, this information is incorporated in the verb itself.

**Consequence 2:** Narratives in satellite-framed languages tend to include detailed descriptions of the paths of movement, and focus on the dynamics of motion in their rhetorical style. Narratives in verb-framed languages, on the other hand, contain less detailed path descriptions, and more scene-setting descriptions than the former.

The main reason lies in the fact that path with several components is usually expressed by separate verbs in verb-framed languages, whereas in satellite-framed languages these are lexicalised as single verbs, thus allowing for complex path descriptions instead.

An exception to this characterisation of paths of movement is Basque. This language can be considered a case of intra-typological variation because, although both its characteristic expression of motion and its elaboration of manner correspond to that of verb-framed languages, the degree of path elaboration does not. As I have argued elsewhere (2003, in press), this language shows a peculiar tendency towards a detailed and elaborated description of path, which is more proper of satellite-framed languages rather than those belonging to its own typological group. Consequently, Basque, like Spanish, will tend to contain little information about manner of motion, and unlike Spanish but like English, it will present complete path descriptions.

Although the characterisation of Basque does not correspond to what is expected from this typological group, we have to bear in mind that, in general, it does not contradict Slobin’s main point, that is, the fact that “the native language directs one’s attention, while speaking, to particular ways of filtering and packaging information” (Berman and Slobin 1994: 612). Similar to other satellite-framed languages like English, its morpho-syntactic characteristics allow it to compact to the verb several pieces of path information, and it is therefore only natural that Basque offers more detailed information about this semantic component than other verb-framed languages.

Now that we have briefly described how the three languages under investigation behave with respect to their lexicalisation and expression of motion, our next step is to ask ourselves about the possible techniques that translators may have to follow in order to translate texts in these languages.

One of the major difficulties that translators have to face in the translation process is that they have to accommodate the characteristics of the source language to the demands of the target language while keeping as accurate and fluent as possible the content of the original text. If we take into account the characteristics that we have just described for each language type, it is easy...
to foresee what the main problems they have to cope with are. For those translating from English into Spanish, their main problem will be the adjustment of the abundance and expressiveness of manner and path description. For those translating from English into Basque, on the other hand, it will be just the adjustment of manner of motion information.

Based on data from previous studies on translation (cf. especially 1996a, 2000, ms.), Slobin has argued that verb-framed into satellite-framed language translators may follow a number of different strategies. With regard to manner of motion, in most cases translators tend to omit any manner of motion information. This is of course due to the fact that verb-framed languages possess a less expressive and smaller manner of motion verb lexicon. There are even cases where translators substitute the manner of motion verb for a path verb. With respect to paths of movement, that is, complex paths, Slobin proposes two different techniques: omission of some of the path components, and in case all path information is kept, then the insertion of a new motion verb, usually a path verb. Once again, this is the result of a language constraint namely, the impossibility of attaching multiple path components to a single verb.

Of course, it is also possible for translators to keep faithful to the original, but as Slobin himself (1996a: 213) points out, it all depends on the 'narrative weight' that the translator decides to give to each semantic component at each occasion. Therefore, he suggests that there are translations in which manner of motion information is kept and expressed either in a separate expression or in a manner+motion-conflated verb. The same applies to the path component. There are cases where the translator omits path information because it is neither relevant nor crucial for the description of the scene, or simply because it can be presupposed by the context. At the same time, in some other cases, the translator decides to keep all the path components but in turn, s/he needs to find a solution that solves possible language specific lexical or morphosyntactic constraints such as the insertion of a new verb.

In conclusion, we can summarise the possible translation techniques as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER INFORMATION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-1</td>
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<td>Strategy M-2</td>
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<td>Strategy M-3</td>
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<th>PATH INFORMATION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Strategy P-1</td>
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<td>Strategy P-2</td>
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<td>Strategy P-3</td>
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Table 1: Strategies in satellite-framed into verb-framed language translators

In the following section, we will examine to what extent these techniques are followed by Spanish and Basque translators when translating a rich, complex and expressive English text such as Tolkien’s *The Hobbit*. In general, we will expect Spanish and Basque translators to apply Strategy M-1 and M-2 very often, and Spanish translators only to do so with Strategies P-1 and P-2.
As the empirical basis for our contrastive analysis, we have chosen one of Tolkien’s most popular books, *The Hobbit*. Slobin and his collaborators have used this book with the same purpose because “it has been widely translated and is full of vivid motion events” (ms.). These researchers worked with Chapter 6. In comparison with Slobin’s original study, we have to bear in mind that our goal is not only to contrast translation techniques from satellite-framed into verb-framed languages—English into Spanish and Basque—but also to focus on the possible differences that exist within languages from the same typological group—Spanish and Basque. This is a research area largely untouched until now. In addition, we also find differences regarding our corpus data. *The Hobbit* has not been translated into Basque. We resolved this problem by asking experienced professional translators to translate nine specific passages from Chapter 6. We have, in total, four different Basque versions of the same text. For Spanish, we used only one version, Figueroa’s (1982) published translation *El Hobbit*. These passages (see Appendix 1) were specifically selected either because of their vivid and rich description of motion events or because they had been previously selected by Slobin and his collaborators.

In the next sections we will follow the steps that Slobin (ms.) sets up in his analysis of Chapter 6. Consequently, we will focus on the translation of manner verbs (II.1), the translation of complex paths with manner verbs (II.2), and finally, the translation of manner of motion information (II.3). The results, which are only based on the nine fragments, will lead us to review translation strategies and propose new ones in Section III.

II.1 Translating Manner Verbs

One of the major problems that V-language translators have to face is the translation of the manner component. Verb-framed languages in general do not have such a rich array of manner of motion verbs, and consequently, translators have to find alternative ways of translating these verbs. As we said in the previous section, Slobin suggests that in many cases V-language translators omit the manner information contained in the verb and tend to substitute the manner of motion verb for a path verb. Let us take Slobin’s (ms.) example (Fragment 8), followed by its Spanish and Basque translations, successively.

Fragment 8

*So Dori actually climbed out of the tree and let Bilbo scramble up and stand on his back. Just at that moment the wolves trotted howling into the clearing.*

(1) *De modo que Dori bajó realmente del rbol y ayudó a que Bilbo se le trepase o lo espulase. En ese preciso momento los lobos irrumpieron aullando en el claro.*

So Dori descended really of the tree and helped Bilbo to scramble to the back. At that precise moment the wolves burst howling into the clearing.
From the three original English manner of motion verbs only one is translated into Spanish, i.e., scramble as treparse; the other two are substituted by a different verb clamber by the path verb bajar ‘descend’ and trot by a manner verb with a different type of manner information, irrumpir ‘burst’.

(2) Beruz Dori zuhaitzetik jaitsi zen eta Bilbori utzi zion neketsuki igotzen eta here bizarren zatitzen. Une horretan bertain otsoa ko solairuna uluza atera ziren trostan. [8B1]
So Dori descended from the tree and let Bilbo ascend with effort and stand on his back. At that moment the wolves howling entered to the clearing trotting.

(3) Ordun bain justu Dori zuhaitzetik goiti jaitsi zen, eta Bilbori here bizarrena igotzen etaberiunbermatzen utzizion. Momentu hartan txezoa otsak trostan sartzu ziren orokoa. [8B2]
Then, at that very moment, Dori descended from above from the tree and let Bilbo ascend to his back and stand there. At that very moment the wolves entered trotting to the clearing howling.

(4) Beruz Dori zuhaitzetik jaitsi eta Bilbori here bizarrena igotzen eta zutunen utzi zion. Une horretan txezoa otsako trostan eta uluza helda ziren solairuna. [8B3]
So Dori descended from the tree and let Bilbo ascend and stand on his back. At that moment the wolves arrived to the clearing trotting and howling.

(5) Beruz Dori arbolatik jaitsi zen eta Bilbori utzi zion igotzen hai eta hare herren bizarren zatitzen ere. Une horretan bertain otsak trostan eta uluza argiunera sartu ziren. [8B4]
So Dori descended from the tree and let Bilbo ascend and also stand on his back. At that very moment the wolves entered to the clearing trotting and howling.

Basque translators follow similar strategies (Strategy M-1) for each of the English manner of motion verbs. As Slobin suggests (ms), in most verb-framed languages there is not equivalent verb for climb down, and consequently we see that Basque, as well as Spanish translators, substitute this verb with the path verb jaitsi ‘descend’. In the case of scramble, all Basque translators but one, who uses an adverb — neketsuki ‘with effort’— to partially convey the source information, omit the manner information and insert another path verb instead — igo ‘ascend’.

Finally, the third verb trot is translated into deictically different path verbs — sartu ‘enter’, atera ‘exit’ and helda ‘arrive’. In this occasion, all translators include manner information via the adverb trostan ‘trotting’.

Judging from the verbs used in these translations, we can agree with Slobin’s argument that manner of motion is frequently omitted and substituted by path verbs. This is especially
striking in Basque. In the translations above, none of the Basque translators uses a manner of motion verb in any of the three occasions, and manner information is omitted by all of them in climb down and by three of them in scramble. In all cases we find a path verb. As I have argued elsewhere (Ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004, in press), Basque has quite a reduced lexicon for manner of motion verbs; the great majority of them are complex verbs construed with the light verb egia 'make' and an adverb (korrika egia, lit. run.iterative make, 'run'); due to its rhomorpho-syntactical characteristics, in most cases the first part (korrika) can be used separately with another motion verb (korrikaigo 'running ascend', korrika joan 'running go'), where it functions as an adjunct. This situation is similar to that of the translation of trot. Basque translators use three different path verbs and one adverbial expression that conveys the manner of motion information.

The tendency to substitute the manner of motion verb for a path verb, our strategy M-3, is quite natural and common in these two languages as we can see in Table 2 below. Apart from Fragment 8, we have analysed and compared how Spanish and Basque translators deal with English manner of motion verbs in the nine fragments that we have selected from The Hobbit. There are sixteen different instances of verbs of manner of motion in English. For each of these verbs we have examined not only the translation provided by the Spanish and Basque translator, but also the type of information translated as well as the surface elements, that is, the linguistic means, that lexicalise that information. Our results are summarised in Appendix 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SPANISH (OUT OF 16 EXAMPLES)</th>
<th>BASQUE (OUT OF 64 EXAMPLES)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NO MANNER</td>
<td>MANNER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Path verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6/1, 8/1</td>
<td>3/2, 7/4</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion verb</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Dyn. verb</td>
<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Substitution of English manner of motion verbs in Spanish and Basque

As we can see in this table, the tendency to use path verbs in substitution of English manner of motion verbs is about a 25% rate in Spanish; in Basque it is a little bit higher: 35%. Unlike Spanish, Basque also uses other motion verbs like joan 'go' — 12 and other type of...
verbs —*jarraitu* 'continue'— in the place of manner verbs. In the rest of the relevant cases, translators in both languages use manner of motion verbs. This does not mean, however, that the type and quantity of manner information in the target language corresponds exactly to that of the source language. As we will discuss in more detail in Section 11.3, it is only on few occasions that the translation can be considered more or less faithful to the original, in most cases the translator only translates half of the information or chooses to incorporate a totally different type of manner information.

### 11.2. Translating complex paths by means of manner verbs

The problem that translators face up with when they have to translate complex paths with manner verbs is twofold. On the one hand, they have to make up their minds about how to distribute the information about path and manner; on the other, they have to decide whether they keep all the semantic distinctions contained in the source text.

According to the characterisation of verb-framed languages that we have offered in the Section 1, we would expect that translations into this type of languages would show less information about manner and a higher number of path verbs in order to be able to express complex paths.

What Slobin finds in the translations of our Fragment 1, confirms our expectations. Although all the translations do not show the same strategy, translators choose either to omit manner information, strategy M-1, (Portuguese, example 6) or to insert new path verbs, strategy M-3, (French, example 7). Translators also use yet another strategy, P-1, the omission of some path information. We should remember that, in general, verb-framed languages tend to incorporate only one or no more than two segments to the verb. Since the verb Fragment 1 has three segments, it is only reasonable that some translators Portuguese and Turkish, example 8— choose to omit one of them.

**Fragment 1**

*He still wondered on, out of the little high valley, over its edge, and down the slopes beyond; but all the while a very uncomfortable thought was growing inside him.*

Portuguese (Slobin ms.)

(6) *Continou avançando, saiu do vale alto e estreito, e desceu as ladeiras além*  
'He continued advancing, exited from the high and narrow valley, and descended the slopes beyond'

French (Slobin ms.)

(7) *Il continua d’avancer au hasard, sortit du haut vallon, en franchit le bord et descendit la pente au-delà*  
'He continued to advance aimlessly, exited from the high small valley, cross the edge of
it and descended the slope beyond.'

Turkish (Slobin ms.)

(8) **Küçük, yüksek vadiden çıkıp, kenarında ve arka ndaki göm lerdenden aşağı gezindi.**

'Exiting from the little high valley, he strolled on the edge and from the slopes (that were) behind.'

Let us now turn to what Spanish and Basque translators decide to do in this fragment.

**Spanish**

(9) **Continuó caminando, fuera del pequeño y elevado valle, por el borde, y bajando luego las pendientes**

He continued walking, out of the small and high valley, over the edge, and then descending the slopes

**Basque**

(10) **Beru oraindik norozen zebilien, goiko bailara txikitik kanpo, bere mugaz gain eta bestuldeko aldapen beheru [1B1]**

He was still walking aimlessly, out of the small high valley, over its edge and down the other slopes

(11) **Oraindik norozen zebilien, goiko ibar ttipitik at, huren mugan, aldapetatik haratago jaisten [1B2]**

He was still walking aimlessly, out of the small high valley, on its edge and descending the slopes beyond

(12) **Oinez iarraitu zuen, haran txiki eta garuitik kanpo, ertzak eztartatu eta beste aldeko aldapatik beheru [1B3]**

'He continued [walking] on foot, out of the small and high valley, the edge crossed and down the other slope'

(13) **Oraindik ere norozen iarraitzen zuen, bailaratxo alto horretatik kanpo, eztetik gora eta urrenago, hegieta behera [1B4]**

He continued still [walking] aimlessly, out of the high small valley, up and farther the edge and down slopes

The Spanish translator keeps a manner verb, *caminar*, and all the path information contained in the original three segments. It differs in that a new path verb is inserted in order to encode the information available in the third English path segment (Strategy P-2). The verb *bajar*
conveys the directionality of the English particle *down*.

Basque translators are quite different from the rest of verb-framed language translators.

Let us summarise in Table 3 the strategies that each of the four translators follows in Fragment 1.

| Basque 1B1 | One manner verb only with manner adverbia| and with the same number of path segments (3) |
| Basque 1B2 | One manner verb with manner adverbia| and with two path segments |
| Basque 1B3 | One verb with manner adverbia| and with the same number of path segments (3) |
| Basque 1B4 | One verb with manner adverbia| and with the same number of path segments (3) |

Table 3: Translation strategies in Basque for Fragment 1

As we can see in this table, the four translators keep manner information conveyed either in the verb or in an adverbial expression and do not omit any information about the path. The translators, however, differ in their treatment of their translations for the path segments. One of the translators [1B2] follows what we can call a 'typical' verb-framed language strategy, i.e. the insertion of a new path verb to convey one of the segments information (Strategy P-2). This verb, *jaitsi* 'descend', is nominalised and inflected in the locative case. This type of nominalisations in Basque can be taken as an equivalent to an English gerund *descending*. Another translator uses a participial form of the verb *zeharkatu 'cross' —zeharkatu-ia 'crossed' —in order to convey the information of the second path segment. Finally, the other two translators use just one single verb with the three path segments attached to it, thus following a typical satellite-framed language strategy.

Although Basque translators act in quite a different way from the rest of verb-framed language ones, we should not be taken aback by this finding. We need to recall the short description of motion events in Basque that we summarised in Section 1. We said that Basque behaves quite similarly to other verb-framed languages with respect to the semantic component of manner (Consequence 1), but that it was radically different in relation to that of path (Consequence 2). Basque not only shows a pervasive description of path trajectories but also a rich description of complex paths. Motion verbs allow the incorporation of several path segments, and unlike other verb-framed languages such as Spanish, verbs with more than two path segments are not an exception but a common trait. Therefore, the strategy chosen by Basque translators is not 'unexplainable'; it is only a consequence of the typological characteristics of the Basque language.

11.3. Manner of motion information

In Section 11.1, we started to look at the problem of translating manner of motion verbs from English into Spanish and Basque. We showed that in quite a few cases, translators choose a path verb (or other motion verb in the case of Basque) instead of the original manner of motion verb.
and that this manner information could be lost altogether or expressed in a separate expression. In this section, we will discuss a little bit further the issue of how much and what type of information is translated into the target language.

As Slobin (ms.) suggests, there are several ways of analysing the issue of manner information. One of them is to count the number of manner of motion verbs that appear in each language. As summarised in Table 4, in the Fragments and only counting those verbs describing the movement of animates. English uses 17 types, Spanish 14, and Basque 11.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>BASQUE</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Manner Verbs | Chase, Climb, Creep, Dash, Dodge, Drive, Push (through), Roll, Run, Scramble, Slide, Stand, Swing, Trot, Wander | Abrirse paso 'make one's way through', Ahuyentar 'drive off', Arrastrarse 'crawl', Atropellar 'run over', 'Balancearse 'swing', Caminar 'walk, stroll', Cojear 'limp', Correr 'run', Deslizar 'slide', Huir 'flee', Irrompir 'burst into', Marchar 'march', Revolverse 'roll about', Trepar 'climb, clamber' | Ihili 'walk', Ihes egin 'run', Jauzi 'jump', Korriska 'creep', Laburdatu 'swing', Narrasa egin 'slip', Narrasa egina 'slide', Tturtziria 'craw' |}

Although the difference is not too extreme, we can already observe that Spanish and above all Basque have fewer items. This is only natural since we know that these two languages do not have a manner of motion lexicon as rich as English does. But, this fact does not necessarily imply that translators totally omit manner information. Although these languages do not have an extensive verb vocabulary for this component it is possible for them to express identical manner information but lexicalised in other type of surface elements such as prepositional phrases, adverbs and so on. We have already seen one example in the translation of the verb trot into Basque in Fragment 8. This language lacks any equivalent verb for trot and instead, it needs to use a motion verb plus an adverbial expression such as tronar (trot:LOC) 'at a trot' in order to convey this information. Other examples in the translation of the Fragments (see Appendix 2) are expressions such as Spanish bajarse 'descend' and Basque hurrentza joan 'go crawling' for English crawl in Fragment 2. Therefore, we should also look at the number of manner expressions in order to be sure about manner description in these translations.

Another important point that we should take into account when analysing the translation of manner verbs is the type and quantity of manner information that is transferred from the source language—English—into the target languages Spanish and Basque. Let us illustrate this point with an example.

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IJES, vol. 3 (2), 2003, pp. 151-176
In Fragment 1 above, the original English version contains the manner of motion verb wunder. As we saw in the discussion of this example, the Spanish translator chooses the verb cuminur in the gerundial form to express the semiotic content of wunder. Basque translators offer us three different alternatives: (i) the verb ibili plus an adverbial expression noruezeun, (ii) the verb jarraitu plus the adverbial expression on foot, and (iii) the verb jarruitu plus the adverbial expression noraezeun.

Now, if we were only counting those cases where manner of niotion is expressed in the target language, either via a manner verb or via a manner expression, we would have to say that all translators do actually translate manner of motion. Spanish verb cuminur is a manner of motion verb. According to the RAE Dictionary (2001), it means 'of persons or animals: go walking from one place to another'. The same situation is found in Basque. In the first alternative, we have the verb ibili, a manner of motion verb defined as 'moving always with one body part touching ground', and the adverbial expression noraezeun 'without aim, go nowhere'. In the other two alternatives, there is no verb of motion, the translator chooses the verb jarraitu 'continue' which lexicalises the meaning of the English particle on, but both of them use different adverbial expressions, one oinez 'on foot' and the other one, noraezeun.

However, as we can observe in these translations, the information that translators choose to pass onto the new texts does not necessarily correspond to the original one. The OED defines the verb wunder as 'of persons or animals: To move hither and thither without fixed course or certain aim'. In other words, wunder has two main characteristics: 'translative motion' and 'no specific goal'.

If we go back to the translations, we realise that the Spanish verb cuminur conveys the meaning of 'translative motion' but it does not necessarily do so with 'no specific goal'; what is more, this verb means 'on foot', which is not necessarily meant in the original verb. In Basque, the first alternative conveys both 'translative motion' and 'no specific goal', so we can consider this a faithful translation; the other two alternatives, however, are not. The second one incorporates an adverbial expression with the meaning 'on foot', which is not necessarily conveyed in the original verb, and the third one does use the adverbial expression noraezeun 'aimlessly'. In both of them, however, the meaning 'translative motion' is only presupposed by the verb jarraitu 'continue' and the contextual information.

In our data from the Fragments there are plenty of similar examples. For instance the verb dash. The OED defines this verb as 'Of persons: to throw oneself with violence, such as would overthrow obstacles or resistance; to go, run, or rush with sudden impetuosity, or with spirited or brilliant action'. It is translated as ubrirse paso 'make one's way through' in Spanish. Although this verb implies that there is some difficulty to be overcome, the type of manner of motion in dash 'running, with sudden impetuosity' is not contained in its semantic characterisation. In Basque, dash is translated as ihes egin, arrapaladan igaro and korrika atera. These translations may be considered more faithful to the original dash because they do convey the meaning of 'running, with a sudden impetuosity'. Nevertheless, we should bear in
mind that *ihes egin* also contains the sense of 'escaping', not present in dash, and that the rate of motion in korrika ‘running’ is not as fast as that of dash or the Basque *arrapaladan*. We have even more dramatic cases where the manner of motion translated into the target text is totally different to that of the English text. For example, the verb trot (Fragment 8) is translated into Spanish as *irruprir* ‘burst into’ and, the verb *slide* (Fragment 6) is translated into Basque as *jauzi* ‘jump’. In neither of these two cases does the translator use the manner information contained in the English verb, s/he simply chooses a verb that reflects the action taking place in that scene. In sum, we have seen that the translation of manner information into a target language offers four different possibilities, the last two correspond to our previous strategies M-1 and M-2:

(i) the translation of only a portion of the manner information (→)
(ii) the translation of a different type of manner of motion (≠)
(iii) the translation of the same type of manner of motion (=)
(iv) the omission of any type of manner of motion (Ø)

In Tables 5 and 6, we summarise the results from the analysis of the translation of the Fragments into Spanish and Basque with respect to these four possibilities. Table 5 illustrates the results per verb used in English and Table 6 the percentages that each of these possibilities obtains in the translations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRAG. NO.</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>BASQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>B2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>Wander</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>Creep</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/1</td>
<td>Dash</td>
<td>≠</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/1</td>
<td>Slide</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/2</td>
<td>Slide</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/3</td>
<td>Swing</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/1</td>
<td>Limp</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/2</td>
<td>Push (through)</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/3</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/1</td>
<td>Climb</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/2</td>
<td>Scramble</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8/3</td>
<td>Trot</td>
<td>≠</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/1</td>
<td>Roll</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/2</td>
<td>Run</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/3</td>
<td>Chase</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/4</td>
<td>Flee</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Translation of English manner verbs in Spanish and Basque (per verb)
CONCLUSIONS
In this paper we have examined how Spanish and Basque translators deal with the translation of path and manner information in motion events from a selection of nine fragments from Tolkien’s Chapter 6 of *The Hobbit*. Our theoretical premise has been Slobin’s argument that the same motion event could be described by speakers of typologically different types of languages in ways which are particular to and influenced by the perspectives and tools that these languages offer for the encoding of these events.

Since English, Spanish and Basque follow more or less different patterns of lexicalisation for manner and path information, we could expect from these translators to follow a number of translation strategies in order to cope with both the original type and amount of manner and path information and the linguistic and rhetorical constraints imposed by their own languages. Table 7 summarises our findings.

As we can see from this table, one of our main findings is that there are more possible strategies than those proposed at the beginning of this discussion. Apart from omission or maintenance of manner information, we have to take into account the quantity and type of manner of motion information that translators choose to transfer into the target text. Another strategy that we have found in these fragments regards the type of motion verbs used in the place of manner verbs. Instead of reducing these to only path verbs, we find that Basque translators, unlike Spanish ones, also substitute the manner verb for other motion verbs and for other types of verbs.

In general, we could say that Spanish and Basque translators behave similarly with respect to the translation of the manner component. Both languages are verb-framed and as such, they do not have a wide manner lexicon. Therefore, translators generally opt for including some information about manner but with some kind of manipulation, usually they include only some aspect of the original manner verb. Perhaps we could point out the fact that Basque translators seem to be more prone to omit all manner information whatsoever than Spanish translators are. The latter, in turn, tend to include a totally different manner of motion verb more often than their Basque colleagues do. As far as the path component is concerned, both languages tend to include...
all the information contained in the original path segments. The Spanish translator follows a
typical verb-framed strategy, the insertion of a new path verb. In the case of Basque translators,
we have two different approaches: two of them follow the same strategy, but the other two, as
we expected, incorporate all path segments to one single verb. This, therefore, shows that there
is indeed some intra-typological difference within languages of the same type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MANNER</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Basque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-1</td>
<td>Omission of any manner information</td>
<td>Yes 6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-2</td>
<td>Translation of the same type manner information (verb or separate expression)</td>
<td>Yes 62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-3</td>
<td>Substitution of a manner of motion verb for a path verb</td>
<td>Yes 25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-4</td>
<td>Substitution of a manner of motion verb for a manner of motion verb (no M-3)</td>
<td>No 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-5</td>
<td>Substitution of a manner of motion verb for any verb (no M-3-4)</td>
<td>No 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-6</td>
<td>Translation of a portion of manner information</td>
<td>Yes 18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy M-7</td>
<td>Translation of a different type of manner of motion</td>
<td>Yes 12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATH</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Basque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategy P-1</td>
<td>Omission of some path element</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy P-2</td>
<td>Insertion of a new motion verb, usually a path verb</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy P-3</td>
<td>Translation of all path information</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Strategies for translating path and manner information in Spanish and Basque

What we have offered in this paper is just a preliminary analysis of the possible translation strategies that translators from typologically and intra-typologically different languages may follow when adapting and translating motion events. In order to be sure about all the arguments and hypotheses that we have put forward in this study, we will need to expand this analysis not only with more English into Basque and Spanish translation data but also with other verb-framed languages data. We hope that future research in this area will confirm our findings.
as well as help us to further understand how and to what extent language influences and shapes the translators’ decisions.

Acknowledgements

Preparation for this paper is funded by Grant BF101.429.E from the Basque Country Government's Department of Education, Universities, and Research. I’d like to thank the editors, Ana Rojo and Javier Valenzuela, for inviting me to contribute to this volume. Dan Slobin for allowing me to use unpublished research, and the Basque translators for their generous contribution to this project.

NOTES:

1. A “satellite” is defined as "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun phrase or prepositional phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root. It can be either a bound affix or a free word" (Talmy 2000: 102).

2. See Berman and Slobin (1994) for more information about these narratives, which are commonly known as the Frog Stories, and their elicitation procedure. So far, Frog stories have been collected in more than twenty languages (Germanic languages—English, Dutch, German, Yiddish, Danish, Swedish, Icelandic—, Slavic languages—Russian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Ukrainian—, Romance languages—French, Spanish, Galician, Portuguese, Italian—, as well as Basque, Korean, Japanese, Mandarin Chinese, and Thai). Strömqvist and Verhoeven (2004) is a collection of recent papers which discuss lexicalisation patterns in relation with data from these Frog stories.

3. Intra-typological variation refers to the differences found in languages from the same typological group with respect to the degree if description and elaboration of certain typological features.

4. The translations offered after the Spanish and Basque texts are word-by-word translations into English. These are aimed at facilitating the comprehension of the Spanish and Basque original text.

5. For more information on this type of complex verbs in Basque see Exepeare (2003).

6. As we will discuss in more detail in the following section, although it is true that Spanish uses a manner verb, the manner information conveyed in the English verb does not exactly correspond to that of the verb caminar. Therefore, we have to take into account not only whether the manner component is present in the translation or not, but also the type of manner information that the equivalent verb in the target translation conveys.

7. As we mentioned in the case of Spanish, not all the manner information included in the source text is equally transferred into the target texts. These Basque translations show different degrees of manner information. We will talk about these issues in the following section.

8. Previous studies on the description of motion events in Spanish and Basque (ibarretxe-Antuñano 2004. in press, Slobin 1996a,b, 2000) have also attested that manner of motion verb lexicon is also more expressive in English than in these two languages, and that the former uses what Slobin (1997: 459) calls ‘second-tier’ verbs much more often than the latter.

9. It is quite interesting to notice that the Spanish translator omits this manner information despite the fact that there is an equivalent verb in Spanish trotar. As we have already mentioned, one of the possible reasons why translators
may decide to include any type of manner description is the degree of 'relevance' for the overall understanding of the scene, that is, whether the inclusion or omission of manner information has any effect on the narrative plot. If manner information is important this is usually included, but if this can be presupposed or does not add any relevant information is omitted. In this case, the translator may have omitted this information because the semantic information in the verb trot is already implied not only in the verb irrupir 'burst into', which already tells us about a 'rapid movement', but also in the noun wolf itself. Spanish, unlike other languages, tends to avoid the description of manner of motion if the subject is the prototypical animate that usually moves in that way. For example, expressions such as el pajaro vuela 'the bird flies' and el pez nada 'the fish swims' are considered redundant and, unless the context tells us that there is an exceptional situation — e.g., a bird with a broken wing starts flying again — they are usually avoided. This tendency in Spanish may explain why the verb trobar is omitted in this sentence.

10. 'Dicho de un hombre o animal. ir andando de un lugar a otro' (RAE, 2001)

11. 'Gorputzaren zatiren batek beti lurrautik zuen duela higitu' (Elhuyar, 1993)

12. Since the other alternative in Rasque, atera, does not incorporate manner information it is excluded here.

13. In this table, we have included all motion verbs that include the semantic component of manner in their semantics. This does not mean that some of these verbs are only manner verbs, they can also convey other motion related meaning components. For instance, English swing and Spanish balancearse convey information about both manner and shape of path described in the movement; English flee and chase, Spanish abrítarse and ahuyentar, and Basque ihes egon contain information about manner and directionality.

REFERENCES


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APPENDIX 1:
Fragments from *The Hobbit*, Ch. 6. English into Spanish (Figueroa 1982) and Basque translations (4 professional translators)

**FRAGMENT 1**

He still wandered on, out of the little high valley, over its edge, and down the slopes beyond; but all the while a very uncomfortable thought was growing inside him.

Corintu caminando, fuera del pequeño y elevado valle, por el borde, y bajando luego las pendientes: más en todo este tiempo un pensamiento muy incómodo iba creciendo dentro de él.

1B1

Beriorandik noraezean zibilen, goiko bailarla txikitik kampo, bcre mugat gain eta bestaldeko aldapai beliera; baina dehorra guztiak peitsaiindu jasanezin bat liazen ari zen bere banian.

1B2

Oraundik noraezain zibelen, goiko ibar tiziptik at, hareng mugai, aldapetak haratago jaisten; baina aldi berean pentzamendu latz bat ari zei bere baiatia hazten.

13

Oinez jarraitu zuen. haraii txiki eta garaitik kampo, eitzaz zeharkatuta eta bestc aldeko aldapatik behera: baina oso pentzamendu deserosoa elergabe ari zen bere baiatua haztiet.

1H4

Oraundik cre noraezean jarraitzien zuzen. bailaratxo altu horretatik kampo, ertzetik gora eta urrenago, ugitan behera. Baina bide guztian oso pentzamendu deserossoa hazten ari zen horren haitan.

**FRAGMENT 2**

He stopped and listened. It did not sound like gobliins; so he crept forward carefully. He was on a stony path winding downwards with a rocky wall on the left hand; on the other side the ground sloped away and there were dells below the level of the path overhung with bushes and low trees.

Se detuvo y escuchó. No parecía trasgos; de modo que se arrastró con mucho cuidado hacia delante. Estaba en un sendero pedregoso que se curvaba hacia abajo, con una pared rocosa a la izquierda; al otro lado el terreno descendía en pendiente, y bajo el nivel del sendero había unas cañadas donde crecían matorrales y arbustos.

2B1

Gelditu eta eritzun egizi zuen. Ez zirudien iratozko; beraz aurera jarratua zuen kontuz. Bide harritsu batean zegoen armastuak aldapai behera berez ezker aldean pareta harritsu bat azkarlik, bestc aldean lurraik beliarantz egiten zuen eta bailaratuak zeuden lautada behaldean arbstua eta zulaitzez gainekoa zegoen bidetik.

2B2

Aditzeko gelditu zen. Ez zen irato-zaratzen antzerakorik zantzen; orduan narras egiten zuen aitzina. poliki, Bidexka
harritsu eta bihurri batetik behera zihoa, non: ezkerraldean haitzezko horma bat zegoen, eta beste aldean zorua behera amiltzen baitzen: han, bidea baino beherago, hainbat sakan ziren, zuhaixkez eta sastrakez gainezka.

2B3
Geratu egin zen, adi - adi. Ez zuzirudien iratxoen zaratea zenik; beraz, aurrerantz joan zen. narrasean eta kontuz. Harrizko bide batean zegoen, bihurguntseketa beheranzko, eta ezkerretan bide-zerokoa horma zeukan; beste aldean aldapa bat zegoen eta bidearen mailaren azpian sakonuneak zeuden, zuhamuxka eta zuhaitz txiki irenekin.

284

FRAGMENT 3
There was no time to count, as you know quite well, till we had dashed through the gate-guards, out of the lower door. and helter-skelter down here.

No hubo tiempo para contar, como tú sabes muy bien, hasta que nos abrimos paso entre los centinelas. salimos por la puerta más baja. y descendimos hasta aquí atropellándonos.

301
Ez zegoen denborarik kontatzeko: zuk nahiko ondo dakizun bezala, ate-zaintzaileei ihes egin genien arte. beheko atxik kanpo, eta modu nahasi eta azkarrean jaitsi ginen hemen beherano.

382
Ez zegoen kontatzeko astirik, ederki dakizu zuk hori, zubiaren zaindariak gainditu, ate txikienetik atera eta tarrapataka jaisten ginen bitartean.

3B3
Ez zegoen zenbatzeko astirik, ondo-dakizu, ateetakozaindarien artetik arrapaladan igaro, beheko atetik kanpura atera eta zelan edo halan hona behera heldu arte.

3B4
Ongi dakizunez. ez zegoen zenbatzeko astirik, ez behintzat ateko zaindarien artetik, beheko atetik kanpura korrika atera ginen arte, honaino arrapaladan etom arte.

FRAGMENT 4
Oyes! Lots of them; but I dodged'eni. I got stuck in the door, which was only open a crack. and I lost lots of bunons.

Oh $! Much $imos, pero los esquiv . Me qued trahado en la puerta, que $ lo estaba abierta una redija, y perd muchos botones.

4B1
O hai! Beraietaria asko; baina baztertu egin nituren. Atean trahatu nintzen, zirrikitan bakarrik irekia zegoena, eta
We have gone miles and miles, and come right down through the heart of the mountains, and are now on the other side of a quite a short cut. But we are not at the point to which our pass would have brought us; we are too far to the North, and have some awkward country ahead. And we are still pretty high up.

Hemos recorrido millas y millas, bajamos atravesando el corazón mismo de las montañas, y ahora estamos al otro lado; todo un atajo. Mas no estamos en el punto al que nos hubiese llevado el desfiladero; estamos demasiado al norte, y tenemos por delante una región algo desagradable. Y nos encontramos aún a bastante altura.

5B1 Milak etamiliakegin genituen, eta mendien bihotzean zeharjoan, etaorain beste aldeandaude bai lasterbide polita. Baina ez gaude gure baimen-agiriak ekarriko gintuen lekuan; iparraldera uurrunei gaude. eta herrialde zakar batzuk ditugu aurrean. Eta gu oraindik oso goian gaude.


5B3 Kilometroak eta kilonietroak ibili gara eta mendien muinaren erdi-erditik igaro gara, eta orain beste aldean gaude lasterbide polita. Baina ez gaude igarobideak ekarriko gintuzkeen lekuak; iparraldereggi gaude, eta lagunduko ez gaituen lurraldea daukagu aurrean. Eta oraindik nahiko goian gaude.

5B4 Kilometroak eta kilometroak eginkat ditugu eta mendietako bihotza zeharkatu ondoren zuzen-zuzen jaitsi gara eta orain bestalden gaude lasterbide ederra. Baina gure lepoak ez gintuen puntu honetara ekarriko uurrunei gaude. gehiegio dugu iparraldera eta lurralde zaila dugu zeharkatzeko. Eta oraindik altuegi gaude.

FRAGMENT 6

They found themselves at the top of a wide steep slope of fallen stones, the remains of a landslide. When they began...
to go down this. rubbish aid small pebbles rolled away from their feet; soon larger bits of split stone weoi slithering down and started otliher piecs below them slithering and rolling; then slunips of rock were disturbed and bounded off. crashing down with a dust and a noise. before long the whole slope above them and below them seemed on the inove. and they were sliding away. luddled all together. in a fearful confusion of slipping. rattling, cracking slabs and stones. it was trees at the bottom that saved thei. They slid into the edge of a climbing wood of pines that here stood right up the mountain slope from the deep darker forests of the valleys below. Some caught hold of the trunks and swung themselves into lower branches. some [(like the little hobbits)] got behind a tree to shelter from the onslaught of the rocks.

Y los viajeros se encontraron el día de una pendiente ancha y abrupta. de piedras desprendidas. restos de un deslizamiento de tierras. Empezaron a bajar. y cada vez que apoyaban un pie en el suelo. escorias y pequeños guijarros rodaban cuesta abajo; pronto trozos más grandes de roca bajaron ruidosamente y provocaron que otras piedras de más abajo se deslizaran y rodaran también; luego se desprendieron unos pedazos que rebotaron. reventando con fragor e pedazos envueltos en polvo. Al rato. por encima y por debajo de ellos. la pendiente entera pareció encenderse e ir movimiento. y el grupo descensión en montañas. en medio de una confusión pavorosa de bloques y piedras que se deslizaban golpeando y rociándose. fueron los árboles del fondo los que los salvaron. Se deslizaron hacia el bosque de pinos que trepaba desde el más oscuro e impenetrable de los bosques del valle hasta la faldas de la montaña. Alguinos se aferraron a los troncos y se balancearon en las ranas más bajas. otros [(como el pequeño hobbit)] se escondieron detrás de un árbol para evitar las embestidas furiosas de las rocas.

Eurici burua punta zabala batzcan aurkita zitzuetez harri eroriz betean. lur-jauziaren soberak. Íziendiak beherantz lursi ziren, zaborra eta creakako harri txikiak birkak ibili ziren hainen arriean; laster puskatutakoa harri puska askak zalaparria behera joan ziren eta beste puska batek hasi ziren hauen aztabekoa arrastaka eta bucltaka; gero harri puska corri zirenean dambadaka lursi eta zaratateko. lursi baino lehen euren gaineko eta belieko aldapa gizaki mugitze itxura egin zuen. eta kanporantz irristatzien zirenean. taldean denok batera. irristaldi nahasi edeldurari batean. zarata eginez puska eta harriak pitzatuz. Zuhaitzak zuten beharra. hauek salbatu zituztenak. Belieko bainartakoa bask ilunagotako mendiek ainalda izotzen zen puntu baso baten muturraean ezkutatzez zirenean. Batzuk enborra heldu eta behe-adarretara egiten ziren. batzuk zauhaitzei atzean jari ziren arroken erosa babesteko.

Harri erorien aldapa zabala etamaldatsu batz menikoa ziren. lur-jauzi hatetik geratzen zena. Jaisten hasi, zaraian eta liarritsoek oinen azpikin icles egiten zieten; laster, harri-zati handiagoak triki-traka korri zirenean eta beherago zuendik betsi harri batzuk inistakoa eta piritaran jotzea cargin zutena. gero. haitz-zatia mugitzetan eta saltoka erori zirenean. eta zarata handiarekin eta hautsa harrotuz apurtuz zirenean. Berehala. gainea eta azpian zeukatea inalda

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FRAGMENT 7

They impeded along now as fast as they were able down the gentle slopes of a pine forest in a slanting path leading steadily southeards. At times they were pushing through a sea of bracken with tall fronds rising right above the Hobbit's head; at times they were marching along quietas quiet over a floor of pine-needles; and all the while the forest-gloom got heavier and the forest-silence deeper.

Hajaban cojeando ahora, tan rápido como podían, por la pendiente menos abrupta de un pinar, por uii inclinado sendero que los conducía directamente hacia el sur. En ocasiones se habrían pasado entre un iiar de helechos de altas frondas que se levantaban por encima de la cabeza del hobbit; otras veces inarchabaii con la quietud del silencio, sobre un suelo de agujas de piino; y durante todo ese tiempo la lobreguez se iba haciendo más pesada y la calina del bosque más profunda.

7B1 Herenek, oraiii, errenka joan ziren ahal zuten azkarren aldapa errazcnxtaii pinuzko bnsoko bide aldapsuaia IegoaIzldartz zuzencan aurreratzu. Batzotaii hobbit-eii buruen gainetik altxatzei zenhostotza altuko garo itsaso bat zeharkatzcn ari zirei; batzutan pinu-orratzeczko lur gainean zihoa zei isil-isilik; ctn bitartea bnsotren ilintasuna pisutsuagoa bilakatu zcn eta basoaren isiltasuna sakonagoa.


7B3 Pinudi batcko aldapa leunetatik bchera ahalik cta azkarren jaitzi ziren, etengabe hegoalderantz zihoa bide bihurgunestu hatetik. Batzuetan indarka ibili iar harzi ctno hobbitaren burua baino hosto aluagoak zeuzkak era-itsaso bataiia: beste batzuetsa isit-isil zebiltzun pinu-ostoz csaistakoko lurretik; eta bitaiteak basoko iluntasuna zeria eta astuaagoa cta basoko isiltasuna gero eta sakonagoa zirenei.

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FRAGMENT 8

So Dori actually climbed out of the tree and let Bilbo scramble up and stand on his back. Just at that moment the wolves trotted howling into the clearing.

De modo que Dori bajó realmente del árbol y ayudo a que Bilbo se le trepase a la espalda. En ese preciso momento los lobos rrumpieron aullando en el claro

FRAGMENT 9

Very soon all about the glade wolves were rolling over and over to put out the sparks on their backs, while those that were burning were running about howling and setting others alight, till their own friends chased them away and they fled off down the slopes crying and yarning and looking for water

Muy pronto los lobos estaban revolcándose por todo el claro una y otra vez para quitarse las chispas de los lomos, mientras aquellos que ya ardían, corrían aullando y pegando fuego a las demás, hasta que eran ahuyentados por sus propios compaños, y huían pendiente abajo, chillando y gimoteando y buscando agua.

9B1 Berehalasoitune ososan zehar otsoak biraka eta biraka ari ziren beraien bizkarreko txinpartak itzalzeko, erretzen ari zirenak inguruan korrika ari ziren bitartean, uluka eta besteei su emanetxe, beraen lagunek uztuzen zituzten arte eta munoetan behera zitzu bizian ziohan oihuka eta marmarka eta urren bila.
Berelialaxe biribilka hasi ziren otsoak, soilgune osoan barna. behin eta berriro haien bizkarretako txinpartak amatatu nahian. bien bitartean, sutan ziren oro han-hemenka korrika, orroka eta besteei su emanek zebiltzan, beraien lagunek uxatu arte eta haiek beraiek arroketan behera ihesi arte, negarrez eta garrasika, ur bila.

9B3 Laster batean argigune osoan otsoak pirritan zeuden batera eta bestera bizkarreko txinpartak itzaltzeko. eta erretzen ari zirenak aztera eta aurrerazbiltzan trostan eta beste batzuei suematen. Azkenean, euren lagunek azterik jarraituta maldetatik behera ihes egiten behar izan zuten. adausika eta uluka eta ur bila.

9B4 Handik gutxira argiune osoan otsoak marruskatzen ari ziren bizkarreko txinpartak aniatatu nahian. eta sutan zeuden horiek leku guztietatik korrika ari ziren, uluka. etagainerakoei ere sua emanen zieten, hain adiskideek, eurek. uxatu zituzten arte, eta abiada bizian maldan behera joan ziren. oihuka, etengabeko letanian, ur bila.
APPENDIX 2:

English manner verbs and their translation into Spanish and Basque

(Symbol: "same type and quantity of manner at different type of manner" Z/manner at all - half-quantity of manner)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRAG.</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SPANISH</th>
<th>MANNER DESCRIPTION</th>
<th>BASQUE</th>
<th>MANNER DESCRIPTION</th>
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<tr>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>Slowly</td>
<td>lentamente</td>
<td>V + manner</td>
<td>lentamente Ad - manner</td>
<td>V + manner Ad + manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>cuidadosamente Ad - manner</td>
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<td>atracción Ad - manner</td>
<td>V + manner Ad + manner</td>
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<td>cerca Ad - manner</td>
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