# ONOMÁZEIN

## Journal of linguistics, philology and translation

# Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

## Teresa Molés-Cases

Universitat Politècnica de València
España

## Joel Olofsson

University West
Sweden

**Teresa Molés-Cases:** Departament de Lingüística Aplicada , Escola Politècnica Superior de Gandia, Universitat Politècnica de València, España. Orcid: 0000-0002-2829-8369.   |   E-mail: temoca1@upv.es
**Joel Olofsson:** Division of Educational Science and Languages, University West, Sweden.
|   E-mail: joel.olofsson@hv.se

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

87

# Abstract

This paper analyzes the translation of Manner-of-motion in a Swedish>Spanish parallel corpus of crime novels by Henning Mankell (and more specifically, a selection of the Wallander series). Since Swedish is a satellite-framed language, while Spanish is a verb-framed language, the aim of the research is to identify translation techniques adapted to the issue of translating Manner-of-motion in an intertypological translation scenario. The results of this study are compared with previous research on the topic, which has focused mainly on general prose fiction and fiction for children and young adults. Our findings confirm that Manner-of-motion is omitted to a great extent in the Spanish translations, compared with the original texts in Swedish. Moreover, some differences are encountered in the translation of original fragments, including general and specific Manner-of-motion verbs.

**Keywords:** Thinking-for-translating; Manner-of-motion; translation techniques; Swedish>Spanish translation; crime novel.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

88

## 1. Introduction

Although motion is a universal concept, its semantic components (mainly Path and Manner) have been shown to be divergently expressed depending on linguistic typology. In other words, the way each language structures reality depends on the mechanisms it has available. These ideas have been developed and confirmed empirically within Slobin's Thinking-for-speaking hypothesis (1987, 1991), according to which native speakers of satellite-framed languages (like Swedish) tend to focus more on Manner, while users of verb-framed languages (like Spanish) often devote more attention to Path. These differences in the means of lexicalizing the semantic information have been confirmed to have consequences for translation (see, for example, Alonso Alonso, 2018; Cifuentes-Férez, 2006, 2013; Iacobini and Vergaro, 2012, 2014; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003; Molés-Cases, 2016), in what has come to be known as the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis (Slobin, 2003, 2005). In the translation of Manner specifically, translation techniques such as omission, modulation and addition, among others, have been identified in translated novels, in comparison with their corresponding source texts (see, for example, Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003; Cifuentes-Férez, 2006, 2013; Molés-Cases, 2016). Inspired by these findings and by the fact that, as far as we are aware, the Swedish language and the textual subgenre of the crime novel have not been explored within the Thinking-for-translating approach[1], this paper aims to fill this gap in the literature by analyzing a parallel corpus composed of a selection of crime novels from the Wallander series by Henning Mankell and their corresponding translations into Spanish.

The structure of the paper is as follows. First, we provide a brief review of Talmy's theory of lexicalization patterns and Slobin's Thinking-for-speaking/translating hypotheses. We then detail the elements of the study—aim, hypothesis, materials and methods, analysis and discussion. The paper then finishes with conclusions and suggestions for further research.

## 2. Cognitive approaches to the study of motion events

### 2.1. Lexicalization patterns and Thinking-for-speaking

Motion being a basic concept, the means of its linguistic expression has been an object of study for the last five decades (for example, Jackendoff, 1983, 1990; Talmy, 2000; Tesnière,

---

1    In the Thinking-for-speaking research literature, a series of works have focused on the Swedish language. For example: Strömqvist and Verhoeven (2004), on elicitation of the picture book *Frog, where are you?*; Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist (2004), on Path and Ground encoding in Icelandic and Swedish; Strömqvist, Holmqvist and Andersson (2009), on Thinking-for-speaking and channeling of attention as a case for eye-tracking research; Montero-Melis (2017), on talking and thinking of caused motion in L2 Swedish and Spanish; Olofsson (2022), on co-event relations in Swedish motion constructions.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

89

1966; Wotjak, 1971). From a cognitive perspective, the contributions of Leonard Talmy and Dan Slobin deserve special attention.

Talmy defines a motion event as "a situation containing movement or maintenance of a stationary location. The basic motion event consists of one object (the 'Figure') moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or 'Ground')" (1985: 60-61). This author distinguishes two types of semantic component in motion events: on the one hand, four internal components constitute the framing event (Figure, Ground, Motion and Path); on the other hand, two external components constitute the co-event (Manner, Cause). Examples 1 and 2 illustrate these components:

(1) The pencil     rolled     off     the table.
     Figure     Motion + Manner     Path     Ground

(2) The pencil     blew     off     the table.
     Figure     Motion + Cause     Path     Ground

Path being the main semantic component of every motion event, Talmy divides languages into two groups, depending on how they lexicalize this component. Satellite-framed languages (SFL) (Germanic languages, among others) usually encode Manner and Motion in the verb, and Path through a "satellite". The following example in Swedish (Example 3) illustrates this:

(3) *Flaskan*     *flöt*     *ut*     *från grottan.*
     'The bottle     floated     out     from the cave'
     Figure     Motion + Manner     Path     Ground

By contrast, verb-framed languages (VFL) (Romance languages, among others) tend to lexicalize Motion and Path in the verb, and Manner through other forms, like gerunds, adverbial clauses, and so on. Example 4, in Spanish, illustrates this:

(4) *La botella*     *salió*     *de la cueva*     *flotando.*
     'The bottle     exited     the cave     floating.'
     Figure     Motion + Path     Ground     Manner

Inspired by Talmy, Slobin (1991) proposes the Thinking-for-speaking hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, speakers of different languages conceptualize reality divergently, since they pay different attention to the characteristics of objects and events:

> [E]ach language provides a limited set of options for the grammatical encoding of characteristics of objects and events. "Thinking for speaking" involves picking those characteristics that (a) fit some conceptualization of the event, and (b) are readily encodable in the language (Slobin, 1987: 435).

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

90

One of the firsts contributions to apply Talmy's theory of lexicalization patterns and Slobin's Thinking-for-speaking to the study of narrative style is the research presented in Berman and Slobin (1994). These authors make use of the wordless picture book *Frog, where are you?* (Mayer, 1969), and examine how groups of native speakers of SFL (English and German) and VFL (Hebrew and Turkish) elicit motion events depicted by the images included in it. The main findings of the study indicate that native speakers of SFL devote more attention to Manner, whereas speakers of VFL tend to focus mostly on Path (see also Özçalışkan and Slobin, 2003). In a similar study, Strömqvist and Verhoeven (2004) expand the number of languages studied through the frog stories to 14 (American sign language, Arrernte, Basque, Icelandic, Swedish, Thai, Tzeltal, Walpiri, Greenlandic, Turkish, English, Japanese, Spanish and Hebrew). They conclude that two typological groups are not enough to cover the spectrum of linguistic expression in the languages of the world (cf. Zlatev and Yangklang, 2004).

In response to this, and to the observation of intratypological variation in the literature[2], Manner- (Slobin, 2004) and Path-salience (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2009) language clines are proposed, which have been considered as a more flexible alternative to the bipartite typology SFL-VFL. Specifically according to the Manner silence cline proposed by Slobin (2004) (drawing on factors such as lexical availability, richness of verbal lexicon and cognitive processing), speakers of high-manner-salient languages often encode Manner in motion events, while users of low-manner-salient languages only provide this information when it has special relevance. At this point, it is important to mention that Slobin (1997) proposes two tiers of lexicons with respect to the encoding of Manner: a) verbs in the first tier include basic motion verbs (for instance: to walk), and b) verbs in the second tier denote expressive information (for instance: to dash). Among other assumptions, this author argues that satellite-framed languages include more diversity of second-tier verbs, and thus a larger diversity of manner verbs than verb-framed languages.

The Thinking-for-speaking hypothesis has also been confirmed in novels—that is, in the form of Thinking-for-writing. For instance, Slobin (1996) examines 100 motion events in five English and Spanish novels; Özçalışkan and Slobin (2003) analyze 180 motion events from nine novels in English and nine novels in Turkish. Both studies confirm typological influence when encoding Manner, as well as a higher diversity, richness and frequency of the lexicon of Manner-of-motion in SFL, in comparison with VFL.

## 2.2. Thinking-for-translating

Slobin (2000) applies the principles of Thinking-for-speaking to other fields of linguistic reception, production and mental processing, such as translation, where he proposes the

---

2    For a detailed revision of Talmy's lexicalization patterns, see, for example, Filipović (2007), Goschler and Stefanowitsch (2013), Matsumoto (2003) and Pourcel (2005).

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

91

Thinking-for-translating hypothesis (Slobin, 1997, 2000, 2005). According to this hypothesis, the translator's mother tongue has an influence on the translation process, and thus on the way motion events are translated. Here the principles of Thinking-for-reading and Thinking-for-writing are also central, since the translator is a mediator between cultures and texts and is responsible for transforming a source mental image into a target mental image through the mechanisms available in the target language. As a way of illustrating research within this framework, Slobin (1996) examines, on the one hand, the translation of motion events in a series of English novels and their translations into Spanish, and vice versa; and, on the other hand (1997, 2000, 2005), analyzes this same phenomenon in Chapter 6 of *The Hobbit* (Tolkien, 1937) and its translation into a selection of SFL (Dutch, German, Russian and Serbo-Croatian) and VFL (French, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, Hebrew and Turkish). His findings indicate that translators into Spanish (from English) translate Manner on only half of the occasions (They ran downstairs > *Corrieron escaleras abajo* 'They run downstairs')—otherwise omitting (I ran out of the kitchen door > *Salí por la puerta de la cocina* 'I went out of the kitchen door') or neutralizing it (scramble up > *trepar* 'to climb'). By contrast, when the typological combination is VFL>SFL, Slobin identifies the addition of Manner (at a level of around 25 per cent) (*lorsque le comte de Buondelmonte entra dans sa chambre* 'when the Count of Buondelmonte entered his room' > when the Count of Buondelmonte stepped into his room). Between SFL, Manner is generally maintained.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2003) organizes Slobin's results into various translation strategies and proposes new ones[3], drawing on her observations of the translation of Chapter 6 of *The Hobbit* into Spanish and Basque (both VFL). The originality of her contribution lies in the fact that she examines not only the translation or omission of Manner, but also the quantity and type of Manner-related information that is transferred. The translation strategies for Manner that she proposes include the following: a) omission (bound up > *subir* 'to go up'), b) translation (climb > *trepar* 'to climb'), c) substitution of a manner-verb by a path-verb (rustle out > *salir* 'go out'), d) substitution of a manner-verb by a motion-verb (creep > *jarraitu* 'to keep on moving'), e) substitution of a manner-verb by another verb (neither path-verb nor motion-verb) (roll > *marruskatu* 'to rub'), f) partial translation (flee > *ziztu bizian ibili* 'to walk hastily') and g) translation into another kind of Manner (swing > *jauzi* 'to jump'). Her findings indicate that Manner is translated in approximately 60 per cent of cases in translation into Spanish, and in around 50 per cent of cases in translation into Basque. In the remaining cases, Manner is either omitted, reduced or modified.

Cifuentes-Férez (2006, 2013) analyzes Manner-of-motion events in J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (2003) and its translation into Spanish. Among other tech-

---

3     Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2003) uses the term *strategy* in a "theory-free" sense, given the controversy in the literature on Descriptive Translation Studies about the use of the terms *strategy* and *technique*.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

92

niques, she identifies omission of motion event (Travel from X to Y > –), a technique which had not been observed until that moment in the literature. In her analysis, this author observes around 36 per cent of cases of omission of Manner; in the remaining cases, Manner is translated, reduced or modulated.

Two contributions by Molés-Cases (2018, 2016) include an analysis of Manner-of-motion events in a German>Spanish corpus of novels for children and young adults, presenting a proposal of translation techniques adapted to Manner-of-motion[4]. Specifically, this proposal suggests a continuum of lower to higher degrees of translation of Manner, and is based on both traditional classifications of translation techniques (see, for example, Molina and Hurtado, 2002) and the proposals inspired by the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis (for example: Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003; Cifuentes-Férez, 2006, 2013): a) lexical equivalence (*Viele kleine Fische schwammen zu Pinocchio* 'Many small fish swam to Pinocchio' > *Muchos peces nadaron en dirección a Pinocho* 'Many small fish swam to Pinocchio'); b) paraphrase (*robbte ich immer auf dem Bauch durch die Wohnung* 'I always crawled (like a seal) face down through the flat' > *me arrastraba por la casa como las focas* 'I always dragged myself through the flat like a seal')[5]; c) modulation (*Pups und Jakob trotteten zum Auto* 'Pups and Jakob trudged towards the car' > *Pups y Yago trotaron hacia el coche* 'Pups and Jakob trotted towards the car'); d) specification (*Muhar stief aufs Pferd und ritt aus der Stadt* 'Muhar got on his horse and rode out of the city' > *Muhar montó el caballo y se marchó galopando* 'Muhar got on his horse and left galloping'); e) addition (of Manner) (*Sie [eine Katze] ist nicht auf die Säule gekommen, das konnte sie nicht* 'It [a cat] did not get on the column, it could not' > *Él [un gato] no podia trepar a la columna* 'It [a cat] could not climb to the column'); f) addition (of motion event including Manner) (*Ich habe Sie gestern [...] aus Eurem Garten gesehen* 'Yesterday I saw her in your garden [...]'> *La he visto ayer [...] paseando por su jardín* 'I saw her yesterday walking in the garden'); g) reduction ([...] *brauste aus beiden Länder gleichzeitig davon* '[...] roared simultaneously out of both countries' > *partió a toda velocidad de ambos países a la vez* 'left at high speed both countries simultaneously'); h) omission (of Manner) (*durch die [Löcher] flatterten Tauben aus und ein* '[...] through which [holes] doves fluttered in and out'> *Tenía agujeros por los que entraban y salían las palomas* 'It had holes through which doves got into and out'); and i) omission (of motion event including Manner) (*trotten ins Haus, stiegen die Treppe hoch* [...] 'trudging into the house, they went up the stairs [...]' > *subieron las escaleras* 'they went up the stairs'). The findings indicate that omission of Manner is observed in around 30 per cent of cases in the corpus, and that

---

4    Here the term *technique* is used in the sense understood by Molina and Hurtado (2002: 58): solutions for translation units are "materialized by using a particular [translation] technique" (2002: 58).

5    In later works drawing on comics (Molés-Cases, 2020), the techniques of lexical equivalence and paraphrase have been combined in the technique of translation.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

93

motor pattern (the different ways in which a Figure moves) is the semantic subcomponent most often affected in the translation process.

This section has briefly summarized some of the main contributions on Thinking-for-translating in narrative texts and on the SFL>VFL typological combination. For a detailed survey of the confirmation of the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis, see, for example, Ibarretxe-Antuñano and Filipović (2013) and Molés-Cases (2016). As far as we are aware, this framework has never been deployed to deal with texts in Swedish (either as source language nor target language), nor have texts belonging to the crime novel genre. It is this gap that our paper aims to fill.

## 3. Study

### 3.1. Aim and hypothesis

This paper aims to analyze the translation of Manner-of-motion in an intertypological corpus composed of crime novels originally written in Swedish and their translations into Spanish. In particular, it focuses on translation techniques adapted to Manner. This analysis will allow us to test the following hypothesis: in the translation of Swedish crime novels into Spanish, a certain degree of Manner-of-motion is omitted. The explanation for this eventual omission derives from the typological differences between source language (Swedish) and target language (Spanish), as well as directionality (satellite-framed language > verb-framed language).

### 3.2. Materials and methods

We analyze a parallel corpus composed of a selection of five crime novels from the Wallander series by Henning Mankell—*Mördare utan ansikte* (1991), *Hundarna i Riga* (1992), *Mannen som log* (1994), *Brandvägg* (1998) and *Den orolige mannen* (2009)—and their corresponding translations into Spanish[6]. The corpus amounts to a total of approximately 1,130,000 tokens (including both Swedish and Spanish versions). The original and translated versions were available in digital format.

The unit of analysis was Swedish self-agentive motion events including Manner-of-motion (for instance: *Han rodde in till stranden* 'He rowed in to the beach')—in other words,

---

6    The Spanish translations studied are the following: *Asesinos sin rostro* (2001, trans. Amanda Monjonell Mansten and Dea Marie Mansten), *Los perros de Riga* (2002, trans. Amanda Monjonell Mansten and Dea Marie Mansten), *El hombre sonriente* (2003, trans. Carmen Montes Cano), *Cortafuegos* (2004, trans. Carmen Montes Cano) and *El hombre inquieto* (2009, trans. Carmen Montes Cano). Spanish versions were directly translated from Swedish, so any eventual effects of relay translation (from English) on the phenomenon studied are disregarded.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

94

events "in which the Figure moves under its own steam and controls its own motion, and this movement results in a change of place" (Talmy, 2000: 28)[7]. Specifically, we have focused on four Swedish double-adverbial motion constructions and their occurrence in the corpus[8]. The constructions, illustrated in Table 1, consist of a verb followed by a directional adverb and a prepositional phrase, where the verb slot and nominal phrase (NP) slot of the prepositional phrase are open, while the adverb and the preposition are lexically filled (cf. Olofsson, 2018).

**TABLE 1**

The four investigated constructions in Swedish

| CONSTRUCTION | SPATIAL TYPE | EXAMPLE |
| --- | --- | --- |
| [VERB – *in* – *i* – NP] 'verb-into' | GOAL-oriented | *Wallander gick in i rummet* 'Wallander walked into the room' |
| [VERB – *in* – *till* – NP] 'verb-in-to' | GOAL-oriented | *Han körde in till Malmö* 'He drove in to Malmö' |
| [VERB – *ut* – *ur* – NP] 'verb-out-of' | SOURCE-oriented | *Han gick ut ur rummet* 'He walked out of the room' |
| [VERB – *ut* – *från* – NP] 'verb-out-from' | SOURCE-oriented | *Niklasson steg ut från sin husvagn* 'Niklasson stepped out of his caravan' |

Simple strings, such as 'in-i' and 'ut-ur', were used to search for self-agentive motion events including Manner in the original corpus. However, not all the hits were instances of the investigated constructions. The types that fall outside of the scope of our analysis, and hence have been disregarded, include the following:

(5) *Han kastade sig handlöst in i en portgång*
   'He flung himself headlong into a doorway'

(6) *Våra liv glider sakta in i den sista delen*
   'Our lives are slowly slipping into the last part'

---

7    We also considered situations in which motion can be executed with the help of some mechanical means or an automobile, which some authors consider transport rather than motion (cf. Wotjak, 1971).

8    By *construction* we mean the construction grammar notion—that is, "conventional, learned form-function pairings at varying levels of complexity and abstraction" (Goldberg, 2013: 17).

9    "Into" and the "out-of/from" are two commonly described and discussed structures in the literature of motion-event typology (see, for example, Talmy, 2000, among others).

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

95

(7) *Wallander stirrade in i    baksätet*
  'Wallander stared into the back seat'

(8) *Wallander kom in i  rummet*
  'Wallander came into the room'

Example (5) is related to, but is not an instance of, the constructions investigated in Table 1. It contains a reflexive pronoun, and is rather a counterpart of English way-construction (see, for example, Brunner and Hoffman, 2020). Example (6) is figurative, not a case of actual self-agentive motion. Example (7) expresses fictive motion (cf. Talmy, 1996). Besides, since our investigation focuses on the Manner-of-motion verbs used in the four constructions, we excluded cases such as (8), in which the main verb does not denote Manner[10].

## 3.3. Analysis and results

We examined 286 pairs of fragments from the Swedish>Spanish parallel corpus of crime novels compiled for the purposes of this investigation. As noted above, the starting point in each case was the Swedish original, and the units of analysis were self-agentive Manner-of-motion events including four specific constructions in Swedish (see section 3.2). Information on usage of verbs and constructions in the Swedish original texts is shown in Table 2.

**TABLE 2**

Frequency of the constructions observed in the corpus

| CONSTRUCTION | OCCURRENCES | MANNER-VERBS |
|---|---|---|
| [VERB – *in* – *i* – NP] (GOAL-oriented) | 173 (first-tier: 140 second-tier: 33) | 20 (first-tier: 7 second-tier:13) |
| [VERB – *in* – *till* – NP] (GOAL-oriented) | 70 (first-tier: 57 second-tier: 13) | 9 (first-tier: 6 second-tier: 3) |
| [VERB – *ut* – *ur* – NP] (SOURCE-oriented) | 30 (first-tier: 22 second-tier: 8) | 10 (first-tier: 4 second-tier: 6) |
| [VERB – *ut* – *från* – NP] (SOURCE-oriented) | 13 (first-tier: 9 second-tier: 4) | 8 (first-tier: 4 second-tier: 4) |

---

10  All of these examples are of interest for future investigations of translation between Swedish and Spanish.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

96

Table 2 shows that [VERB–*in–i*–NP] is the most common construction used in Mankell's books, and that SOURCE-oriented constructions are less common. These observations support extensive corpus studies in Swedish (see Olofsson, 2018), and also the idea that there is a goal-biased tendency among languages like Swedish (cf. Stefanowitsch and Rohde, 2004; Guse, 2022). Furthermore, as the table shows, although both first- and second-tier manner-verbs were identified in the corpus, first-tier verbs are clearly more common[11].

A total of 31 Swedish Manner-of-motion verbs were identified in the five novels: 20 were used in [VERB–*in–i*–NP], 10 in [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP], 9 in [VERB–*in–till*–NP] and 8 in [VERB–*ut–från*–NP][12]. The most common verbs used in the Swedish versions are *gå* 'to walk' (120), *stiga* 'to step' (55), and *köra* 'to drive' (22), which are used frequently in all four constructions, and constitute nearly 70 per cent of all motion event occurrences in the corpus. In other words, most of the Manner-of-motion verbs present in the original texts refer to a general Manner-of-motion verb (cf. Slobin's first-tier verbs). Other manner-verbs identified, such as *dyka* 'to dive', *marschera* 'to march' and *ränna* 'to run', only occurred once or a few times in the corpus. A majority of the verbs—for instance, *krypa* 'to crawl' (13), *glida* 'to glide' (6), *kliva* 'to step' (4) and *klättra* 'to climb' (4)—only occurred in the [VERB–*in–i*–NP] construction[13]. Verbs related to travel or operating a vehicle—such as *åka* 'to go by vehicle' (8), *navigera* 'to navigate' (2), *cykla* 'to cycle' (2) and *ro* 'to row' (2)—are only used in the form [VERB–*in–till*–NP]. Although not exclusively, this construction is used with other verbs of that type, such as *fara* 'to travel' (12), *resa* 'to travel' (8) and *köra* 'to drive' (5). The verbs *vackla* 'to trot' (1), *snubbla* 'to stumble' (1) and *rulla* 'to roll' (2) are only used with [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP], while the verbs *snava* 'to stumble' and *springa* 'to run' are used only with [VERB–*ut–från*–NP].

Regarding the Spanish translations, Manner information was not only indicated through equivalent Manner-of-motion verbs (for example, *precipitarse* 'to hurry', *deslizarse* 'to slide', *escurrirse* 'to slip', *trepar* 'to climb', *remar* 'to row'), but also through adverbial or prepositional phrases (for example, *en bicicleta* 'by bike', *a velocidad* 'to speed', *a toda prisa* 'at high speed', *de un salto* 'in a jump', *con prisa* 'in a hurry', *deprisa* 'fast', *a hurtadillas* 'stealthily') introduced by a path-verb.

---

11   Appendix 1 lists all Manner-of-motion verbs identified in the original corpus, and the subsequent translation solutions into Spanish. Appendix 2 classifies Swedish and Spanish Manner-of-motion verbs found in the corpus according to whether they were first- or second-tier verbs (Slobin, 1997) (this sort of classification is complex, and some ambiguous cases were identified).

12   This reflects the type frequency, which in this case refers to the number of different items that occur in the verb slot in the construction. This is proposed to reflect the productivity of the construction (cf. Olofsson, 2018).

13   Olofsson (2019) accounts for construction-unique verbs that exclusively occur in one construction. It is important to point out that, compared to such extensive corpus studies, the material in this paper is limited to make such distinctions clear.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

97

Some illustrations of the translation techniques identified in the Swedish>Spanish parallel corpus examined here will follow. The starting point of this analysis is a previous proposal of translation techniques adapted to Manner in narrative texts (Molés-Cases, 2016) (see also section 2.2, above).

a) Translation of Manner

(9) *Han rusade in i huset*
'He rushed into the house'

*Entró en la casa a la carrera*
'He entered the house in a rush'

In example (9), both the original and the target text include information regarding Manner. Although the solution adopted does not correspond to the use of a lexical equivalent, both Swedish and Spanish expressions refer to a fast motion into a house.

b) Modulation of Manner

(10) *Genom regnet for han in till staden [...]*
'Through the rain he went (by vehicle) into the city [...]'

*[...] se precipitó bajo la lluvia en dirección a la ciudad [...]*
'[...] he rushed into the rain heading towards the city [...]'

Here the Manner information from the target text differs from that included in the source text: while the verb included in the original version (*fara* 'to go by vehicle') refers to the motion executed by a vehicle, the Manner in the translated version refers to a quick motion (*precipitarse*, 'to rush'). Since these types of motion differ from one another, the translation technique in this case is modulation of Manner.

c) Omission of Manner

(11) *Wallander gled djupare in i mörkret*
'Wallander slid deeper into the darkness'

*Wallander se adentró aún más en la espesa sombra*
'Wallander got into the thick shadow'

In example (11) the Manner information from the original (*glida* 'to slide') is completely missing in the translation. Here only the Path information is transferred (through *in* 'into' and *adentrarse* 'to get into').

d) Omission of motion event (including Manner)

(12) *De gick ut på gården igen. Brandmännen hade klättrat in i bilarna och väntade på sin förman.*

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

98

'They went out into the yard again. The firefighters had climbed into the cars waiting for their foreman'.

*Salieron al jardín, donde los bomberos, ya en los coches, aguardaban a su jefe.*
'They went out into the garden, where the firefighters, already in the cars, were waiting for their foreman'.

In this case, the whole Manner-of-motion event included in the original (*Brandmännen hade klättrat in i bilarna* 'The firefighters had climbed into the cars') has been omitted in the translation. Here a temporal-local expression (*ya en los coches* 'already in the cars') has been used to express the information from the source text.

e) Reduction of Manner

(13)  *Han kröp hastigt in i bilen*
      'He crawled quickly into the car'

      *Se metió aprisa en el coche*
      'He entered quickly into the car'

In example (13), the Manner information from the original is reduced in the translation. More specifically, whereas in the source text information is found about motor pattern (*krypa* 'to crawl') and speed (*hastigt* 'quickly'), in the translation only the nuance of speed (*aprisa* 'quickly') is preserved.

Given the methodology applied, no cases of addition and specification were encountered in the analysis. However, according to the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis, none or very few instances of these techniques would be expected, since that would be a frequent tendency when translating from a verb-framed language into a satellite-framed language. The frequency of the translation techniques identified in the corpus is presented in Table 3.

**TABLE 3**
Frequency of translation techniques observed in the corpus

| TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE (TT) | FREQUENCY IN % (OCCURRENCES) |
| --- | --- |
| Omission M (– M) | 72.73 (208) |
| Translation (=) | 13.64 (39) |
| Omission ME (– ME) | 11.19 (32) |
| Reduction (÷) | 1.40 (4) |
| Modulation (≠) | 1.04 (3) |

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

99

As Table 3 shows, omission of Manner is by far the most commonly observed technique in the Spanish translations, in relation to the Swedish originals. In addition, if the frequencies of omission of Manner and omission of motion event (including Manner) are considered together, Manner is omitted in around 83 per cent of the corpus. Thus, Manner is translated in only approximately 14 per cent of cases. The techniques of modulation and reduction were also observed, but to a lesser extent.

Table 4 details the previous data for each of the four investigated constructions. This allows us to see whether the techniques were used similarly with each construction, or whether some techniques are more specific to certain constructions.

**TABLE 4**

Frequency of translation techniques observed in the corpus in total and for each construction

| | FREQUENCY IN % (OCCURRENCES) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TT** | Total | [VERB–*in*–*i*–NP] (GOAL-oriented) | [VERB–*in*–*till*–NP] (GOAL-oriented) | [VERB–*ut*–*från*–NP] (SOURCE-oriented) | [VERB–*ut*–*ur*–NP] (SOURCE-oriented) |
| − M | 72.73 (208) | 75.14 (130) | 72.86 (51) | 69.23 (9) | 60.00 (18) |
| = | 13.64 (39) | 9.25 (16) | 15.71 (11) | 30.77 (4) | 26.67 (8) |
| − ME | 11.19 (32) | 13.29 (23) | 10.00 (7) | 0 (0) | 6.67 (2) |
| ÷ | 1.40 (4) | 1.73 (3) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 3.33 (1) |
| ≠ | 1.04 (3) | 0.6 (1) | 1.43 (1) | 0 (0) | 3.33 (1) |

Table 4 shows that the four individual constructions follow the overall observations to a large extent. There is a somewhat higher amount of translations for the SOURCE-oriented constructions [VERB–*ut*–*från*–NP] and [VERB–*ut*–*ur*–NP]. Based on the relatively low number of instances, we cannot confirm any correlation between translation techniques and specific constructions.

Next, the observed techniques in each of the five novels are accounted for in Table 5. This allows us to see if the distribution of techniques is consistent, or if there is variation between the translations.

As Table 5 shows, in two translated novels, *Los perros de Riga (Hundarna i Riga)* and *Asesinos sin rostro (Mördare utan ansikte)*, the percentage of translation of Manner is lower than average (less than 8 per cent), and thus the cases of omission of Manner together with the cases of omission of motion event in these translations are the highest in the corpus (around 93 per cent). Interestingly, these two novels were translated by the same

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

100

**TABLE 5**

Frequency of translation techniques observed in the corpus in total and for each book

| | FREQUENCY IN % (OCCURRENCES) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TT** | Total | *Cortafuegos* (66) | *El hombre inquieto* (52) | *Los perros de Riga* (59) | *El hombre sonriente* (45) | *Asesinos sin rostro* (64) |
| − M | 72.73 (208) | 71.21 (47) | 67.31 (35) | 79.66 (47) | 53.34 (24) | 85.94 (55) |
| = | 13.64 (39) | 16.67 (11) | 19.23 (10) | 5.08 (3) | 24.44 (11) | 6.25 (4) |
| − ME | 11.19 (32) | 7.58 (5) | 11.54 (6) | 13.56 (8) | 17.78 (8) | 7.81 (5) |
| ÷ | 1.40 (4) | 3.03 (2) | 1.92 (1) | 1.70 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) |
| ≠ | 1.04 (3) | 1.51 (1) | 0 (0) | 0 (0) | 4.44 (2) | 0 (0) |

pair of translators[14], who were different from the translator in charge of the other three novels included in the corpus.

In an attempt to correlate the technique of omission with the type of manner-verb found in the original, the following table indicates the cases of omission (of Manner and of motion event), classified depending on the presence of a first- or second-tier verb. As can be observed, the cases of omission including a first-tier verb outnumber the cases of omission of those originals including more fine-grained verbs.

**TABLE 6**

Techniques of omission (M and ME) classified according to verb tiers

| FREQUENCY IN % OF THE TECHNIQUES – M AND – ME (OCCURRENCES) | |
|---|---|
| **Originals (first-tier verb)** | 89.17 (214) |
| **Originals (second-tier verb)** | 10.83 (26) |

Similarly, the translation techniques for those originals including a second-tier verb are also itemized. As can be inferred from Table 6, if only the original fragments with specific

---

14    It is worth pointing out the following circumstances about the pair of translators whose translated versions include a higher percentage of omission of Manner: they are a partnership of mother and daughter (while the mother was born in Sweden, the daughter was born in Spain; they both live in Spain, but usually speak Swedish with each other) (Institut Nòrdic, 2013).

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

101

manner-verbs are considered, the percentage of omission of Manner in these terms is slightly lower (around 50 per cent) than if the original fragments with general manner-verbs were also considered.

**TABLE 7**
Translation techniques for the original cases including second-tier verbs

| TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE (TT) | FREQUENCY IN % (OCCURRENCES) |
|---|---|
| − M and − ME | 52 (26) |
| = | 44 (22) |
| ÷ | 2 (1) |
| ≠ | 2 (1) |

## 3.4. Discussion

This research study hypothesized that, in the translation of Swedish crime novels into Spanish, a certain degree of omission of Manner-of-motion is expected to be observed, resulting from both typological differences between source and target language and directionality (satellite-framed language > verb-framed language). The resulting data allow us to validate this hypothesis, since omission of Manner is clearly the predominant technique observed in the corpus. Moreover, if the percentages of the techniques of omission of Manner and omission of motion event are considered together, Manner is omitted in an average of around 83 per cent of cases. In two specific Spanish versions translated by the same pair of translators, this rate is even higher (ascending to an average of around 93 per cent). The significance of this observation is that it perhaps indicates that the high rate of omission in these two translated novels may have been partly affected by the translators' behavior. This pair of translators is composed of a Swedish and a Spanish translator working in tandem. With the data available (the results from two translated novels), is not possible to reach conclusions on this, however; further studies with larger empirical bases will be necessary. All in all, these data of omission of Manner (and of motion event) are significantly higher than the results reached in previous research studies drawing on the translation of narrative texts in the typological combination satellite-framed > verb-framed language, where Manner has been shown to be omitted, but to a lesser extent. See, for example, Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2003), which finds a rate of omission of around 40 per cent in an English>Spanish study of fiction; for the same linguistic combination, Cifuentes-Férez (2013) observes around 36 per cent of omission in the translation of a corpus with novels for young adults; in Molés-Cases (2016), around 30 per cent of omission is seen in a German>Spanish study composed of narrative texts for children and young adults. The possible causes of these differences could

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

102

be many: textual genre, linguistic combination, corpus size, number of translators, transla-tors' behavior, and authorship—among other factors. However, as we have indicated, if focus is placed on the omission rate of those originals including a second-tier verb, it is lower (around 50 per cent), and more consistent with comparable studies—albeit a little higher.

Regarding the Manner-of-motion verb lexicon, the following observations should be re-called. As for the Swedish manner-verb lexicon found in the original corpus, both first-tier verbs (such as *fara* 'to travel by vehicle') and second-tier verbs (such as *hoppa* 'to jump') were identified in the corpus. But we have shown that first-tier verbs outnumber second-ti-er verbs. In other words, although in the Swedish originals Manner is frequently expressed explicitly, most of the lexical elements encountered for the lexicalization of this semantic component correspond to first-tier verbs—that is, to general Manner-of-motion verbs. We argue that the omission of these general Manner-of-motion verbs (as opposed to sec-ond-tier verbs) when translating into Spanish would have fewer consequences in terms of narrative style and description of the scene, since target readers could infer general Manner information. For example, Kurt Wallander drives often from Ystad to Malmö, and this sort of information would usually be expressed through a Manner-of-motion verb (first-tier) in Swedish (such as *driva* 'to drive'), but through a path-verb in Spanish (such as *ir* 'to go', *dirigirse* 'to head'). Even were such information not explicitly expressed in the target text in Spanish, it would be clearly inferred by the Spanish reader.

## 4. Concluding remarks

This paper has offered an analysis of the translation of Manner-of-motion in a Swed-ish>Spanish parallel corpus of crime novels by Henning Mankell. It has confirmed that Manner-of-motion is mostly omitted in the translations into Spanish (from Swedish), due both to the typological differences between source and target language, and to direc-tionality (satellite-framed language > verb-framed language). We have confirmed that the tendencies of Thinking-for-translating observed to date in general prose fiction are also to be found, though to a greater extent, in the crime novel genre, and in the linguistic combination Swedish>Spanish. Furthermore, some differences were encountered in the translation of original fragments including general and specific Manner-of-motion verbs: motion events including first-tier verbs are more frequently omitted than motion events including second-tier verbs. Despite the fact that Manner is omitted, this omission in the case of general Manner-of-motion events (as opposed to specific Manner-of-motion events) will have less impact on narrative style and description of the scene. Finally, this research presents a first approach to the Thinking-for-translating hypothesis through the analysis of a Swedish>Spanish corpus of crime novels. Further investigations drawing on larger corpora, other crime novels and/or series with different authorship are necessary in order to compare and replicate our findings.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

103

## 5. Bibliographic references

Alonso Alonso, Rosa, 2018: "Translating motion events into typologically distinct languages", *Perspectives* 26 (3), 357-376.

Berman, Ruth A., and Dan Slobin, 1994: *Relating events in narrative. A crosslinguistic developmental study*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Brunner, Thomas, and Thomas Hoffman, 2020: "The way-construction in World Englishes", *English World-Wide* 41 (1), 1-32.

Cifuentes-Férez, Paula, 2006: *La expresión de los dominios de movimiento y visión en inglés y en español desde la perspectiva de la lingüística cognitiva*. Masters Thesis, Universidad de Murcia (Spain).

Cifuentes-Férez, Paula, 2013: "El tratamiento de los verbos de manera de movimiento y de los caminos en la traducción inglés-español de textos narrativos", *Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies* 47, 53-80.

Filipović, Luna, 2007: "On the nature of lexicalization patterns: a cross-linguistic inquiry" in Nicole Delbecque and Bert Cornillie (eds.): *On interpreting construction schemas. From action and motion to transivitiy and causality*, Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 307-330.

Goldberg, Adele, 2013: "Constructionist approaches" in Thomas Hoffmann and Graeme Trousdale (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 15-31.

Goschler, Juliana, and Anatol Stefanowitsch, 2013: *Variation and change in the encoding of motion events*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Guse, Laura, 2022: "Goal-Source Asymmetry in German – Granularity of Lexicalization Patterns, Frequency of Encoding and the Factors Animacy and Volition" in Benjamin Fagard and Laura Sarda (eds.): *Neglected Aspects of Motion-Event Descriptions*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 173-185.

Iacobini, Claudio, and Carla Vergaro, 2012: "Manner of motion verbs in Italian: semantic distinctions and interlingual comparisons" in Silvana Ferreri (ed.): *Lessico e lessicologia. Proceedings from XLII Congresso internazionale di Studi della Società di Linguistica Italiana*, Roma: Bulzoni, 71-87.

Iacobini, Claudio, and Carla Vergaro, 2014: "The role of inference in motion event encoding / decoding: A cross-linguistic inquiry into English and Italian", *Lingue e Linguaggio* 13 (1), 211-240.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

104

Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide, 2003: "What Translation tells us about Motion: A Contrastive Study of Typologically different Languages", *IJES, International Journal of English Studies* 3 (2), 151-175.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide, 2009: "Path Salience in Motion Events" in Jiansheng Guo, Elena Lieven, Nancy Budwig, Susan Ervin-Tripp, Keiko Nakamura and Şeyda Őzçalışkan (eds.): *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language: Research in the Tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*, New York: Psychology Press, 403-414.

Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Iraide, and Luna Filipović, 2013: "Lexicalisation patterns and translation" in Ana Rojo and Iraide Ibarretxe Antuñano (eds.): *Cognitive Linguistics and Translation: Advances in Some Theoretical Models and Applications*, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 251-281.

Institut Nòrdic, 2013: "Para aprender sueco hay que tener interés y poner ganas" [https://institutnordic.com/para-aprender-sueco-hay-que-tener-interes-y-poner-ganas/, date of retrieval: May 26th 2020].

Jackendoff, Ray, 1983: *Semantics and Cognition* (vol. Cambridge), Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jackendoff, Ray 1990: *Semantic structures*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Matsumoto, Yo, 2003: "Lexical and Conceptual Structures in Expressions" in Shuji Chiba (ed.): *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language: A Festschrift for Masaru Kajita*, Tokyo: Kaitakusha, 403-418.

Molés-Cases, Teresa, 2016: *La traducción de los eventos de movimiento en un corpus paralelo alemán-español de literatura infantil y juvenil*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Molés-Cases, Teresa, 2018: "Some advances in the study of the translation of manner of motion events: Integrating key concepts of Descriptive Translation Studies and 'Thinking for Translating'", *Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 16 (1), 152-190.

Molés-Cases, Teresa, 2020: "On the translation of Manner-of-motion in comics: Evidence from an inter- and intratypological corpus-based study", *Languages in Contrast* 20 (1), 141-165.

Molina, Lucía, and Amparo Hurtado, 2002: "Translation Techniques Revisited: A Dynamic and Functionalist Approach", *Meta* 47 (4), 498-512.

Montero-Melis, Guillerm, 2017: *Thoughts in motion: the role of long-term L1 and short-term L2 experience when talking and thinking of caused motion*. Doctoral Thesis, Stockholm University (Sweden).

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

105

OLOFSSON, Joel, 2018: *Förflyttning på svenska. Om produktivitet från ett konstruktionsperspektiv* ["Motion in Swedish – on productivity from a construction grammar perspective"]. Doctoral thesis, University of Gothenburg (Sweden).

OLOFSSON, Joel, 2019: "Frekvens som mått på produktivitet. En konstruktionsgrammatisk undersökning av förflyttningskonstruktioner i svenskan" ["Frequency as a measure of productivity – a construction grammar study of motion constructions in Swedish"], *Språk och Stil* 29, 168-202.

OLOFSSON, Joel (2022): "Co-event Relations in Swedish Motion Constructions" in Benjamin FAGARD and Laura SARDA (eds.): *Neglected Aspects of Motion-Event Description*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 189-207.

ÖZÇALIŞKAN, Şeyda, and Dan SLOBIN, 2003: "Codability Effects on the Expression of Manner of Motion in Turkish and English" in Sumru ÖZSOY, Didar AKAR, Mine Nakipoğlu-DEMIRALP, Eser ERGUVANLI-TAYLAN and Ayhan AKSU-KOC (eds.): *Studies in Turkish linguistics*, Estambul: Boğaziçi University Press, 259-270.

POURCEL, Stephanie, 2005: *Relativism in the linguistic representation and cognitive conceptualisation of motion events across verb-framed and satellite-framed languages*. Doctoral thesis, Durham University (United Kingdom).

RAGNARSDÓTTIR, Hrafnhildur, and Sven STRÖMQVIST, 2004: "Time, Space and Manner in Icelandic and Swedish. Narrative Constructions in Two Closely Related Languages" in Sven STRÖMQVIST and Ludo VERHOEVEN (eds.): *Relating events in narrative. Typological and contextual perspectives*, Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 113-141.

SLOBIN, Dan, 1987: "Thinking for Speaking" in Berkeley Linguistics Society (ed.): *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 435-445.

SLOBIN, Dan, 1991: "Learning to think for speaking: Native language, cognition, and rhetorical style", *Pragmatics* 1, 7-26.

SLOBIN, Dan, 1996: "Two ways to travel: Verbs of motion in English and Spanish" in Masayoshi SHIBATANI and Sandra A. THOMPSON (eds.): *Grammatical Constructions: their form and meaning*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 195-220.

SLOBIN, Dan, 1997: "Mind, code and text" in Joan L. BYBEE, John HAIMAN and Sandra A. THOMPSON (eds.): *Essays on language function and language type. Dedicated to T. Givón*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 436-467.

SLOBIN, Dan, 2000: "Verbalized events: A dynamic approach to linguistic relativity and determinism" in Susanne NIEMEIER and René DIRVEN (eds.): *Evidence for linguistic relativity*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 107-138.

SLOBIN, Dan, 2003: "Language and thought online: cognitive consequences of linguistic relativity" in Dedre GENTNER and Susan GOLDIN-MEADOW (eds.): *Language in mind: Advances in the study of language and thought*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 157-192.

SLOBIN, Dan, 2004: "The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events" in Sven STRÖMQVIST and Ludo VERHOEV en (eds.): *Relating events in narrative. Typological and contextual perspectives*, Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 219-257.

SLOBIN, Dan, 2005: "Relating Narrative Events in Translation" in Dorit RAVID and Hava BAT-ZEEV SHYLDKRO (eds.): *Perspectives on language and language development: Essays in honor of Ruth A. Berman*, Dordrecht: Kluwer, 115-130.

STEFANOWITSCH, Anatol, and Ada ROHDE, 2004: "The goal bias in the encoding of motion events" in Günter RADDEN and Klaus-Uwe PANTHER (eds.): *Studies in linguistic motivation*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 249-267.

STRÖMQVIST, Sven, and Ludo VERHOEVEN, 2004: *Relating Events in Narrative. Volume 2: Typological and Contextual Perspectives*, Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

STRÖMQVIST, Sven, Kenneth HOLMQVIST and Richard ANDERSSON, 2009: "Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language" in Jiansheng GUO, Elena LIEVEN, Nancy BUDWIG, Susan ERVIN-TRIPP, Keiko NAKAMURA and Şeyda ŐZÇALIŞKAN (eds.): *Crosslinguistic Approaches to the Psychology of Language: Research in the Tradition of Dan Isaac Slobin*, New York: Psychology Press, 505-515.

TALMY, Leonard, 1985: "Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structures in lexical forms" in Timothy SHOPEN (ed.): *Language typology and syntactic description, vol. 3: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57-149.

TALMY, Leonard, 1996, "Fictive motion in language and «ception»" in Paul BLOOM, Mary PETERSON, Lynn Nadel and Merrill GARRETT (eds.): *Language and Space*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 211-276.

TALMY, Lenoard, 2000: *Toward a cognitive semantics. Volume 2: Typology and process in concept structuring*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

TESNIÈRE, Lucien, 1966: *Élements de syntaxe structurale*, Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

WOTJAK, Gerd, 1971: *Untersuchung zur Struktur der Bedeutung*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

107

ZLATEV, Jordan, and Peerapat YANGKLANG, 2004: "A third way to travel: the place of Thai in motion-event typology" in Sven STRÖMQVIST and Ludo VERHOEVEN (eds.): *Relating events in narrative: Topological and contextual perspectives*, Mahwah, NJ: LEA Publishers, 159-190.

## 6. Appendixes

**Appendix 1.** The Swedish verbs and constructions analyzed and the Spanish translation solutions

| SWEDISH VERBS (N) | CONSTRUCTION (N) | TRANSLATED TO THE SPANISH VERBS (N) |
|---|---|---|
| *cykla* 'to cycle' (2) | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (2) | *ir en bicicleta* (2) |
| *dyka* 'to dive' (1) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *introducirse* (1) |
| *fara* 'to travel by vehicle' (12) | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (8) | *dirigirse* (2), *ir/irse* (4), *partir* (1), *precipitarse* (1) |
| | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *empotrarse* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (3) | *salir* (2), *salir a velocidad* (1) |
| *glida* 'to glide' (6) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (6) | *adentrarse* (2), *deslizarse* (2), *introducirse* (1) |
| *gå* 'to walk' (120) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (72) | *acudir* (1), *colarse* (1), *desaparecer raudos* (1), *dirigirse* (8), *encaminarse* (2), *entrar* (42), *entrar cauteloso* (1), *entrar y salir* (1), *ir* (4), *meterse* (1), *regresar* (1), *salir/entrar* (1), *subir* (1), *subir/dirigirse* (1), *volver* (3) |
| | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (34) | *andar* (1), *dirigirse* (4), *entrar* (4), *ir/irse* (15), *marcharse* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (4) | *salir* (4) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (5) | *abandonar* (1), *salir* (3), *salir a toda prisa* (1) |
| *hoppa* 'to jump' (4) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (2) | *meterse* (1), *meterse de un salto* (2) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (2) | *salir a toda prisa* (1), *salir de un salto* (1) |
| *kliva* 'to step' (4) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (4) | *adentrarse* (1) |
| *klättra* 'to climb' (4) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (4) | *subir* (1), *trepar* (2) |
| *krypa* 'to crawl' (13) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (13) | *entrar* (1), *escurrirse* (1), *introducirse* (1), *meterse* (4), *meterse aprisa* (1) |
| *köra* 'to drive' (22) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (6) | *chocar* (1), *entrar* (3), *estrellar* (1) |
| | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (5) | *desviar* (1), *dirigirse* (1), *ir* (1), *volver* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (3) | *partir* (1), *salir* (2) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (8) | *alejarse* (1), *ponerse en marcha hacia la salida* (1), *salir* (3) |

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

108

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *marschera* 'to march' (1) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *entrar* (1) |
| *navigera* 'to navigate' (2) | [VERB–in–till–NP] (2) | *navegar* (2) |
| *ragla* 'to stagger' (1) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *dirigirse trastabillando* (1) |
| *resa* 'to travel' (9) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *viajar* (1) |
| | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (8) | *ir/irse* (5), *salir* (1), *viajar* (1) |
| *ro* 'to row' (2) | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (2) | *remar* (2) |
| *rulla* 'to roll' (2) | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (2) | *salir* (1), *salir rodando* (1) |
| *rusa* 'to rush' (4) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (3) | *entrar a la carrera* (1), *precipitarse* (1), *salir corriendo* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (1) | *salir corriendo* (1) |
| *ränna* 'to run' (1) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *chocar* (1) |
| *skynda* 'to hasten/ hurry' (2) | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (1) | *ir* (1) |
| | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *entrar deprisa* (1) |
| *smita* 'to slip away/ sneak' (3) | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (1) | *ir* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (1) | *salir a hurtadillas* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (1) | *salir* (1) |
| *snava* 'to stumble' | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (1) | *resbalar* (1) |
| *snubbla* 'to stumble' | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (1) | *recular tambaleándose* (1) |
| *springa* 'to run' | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (1) | *cruzar* (1) |
| *spritta* 'to jump/walk' (1) | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (1) | *dar un salto* (1) |
| *stega* 'to step' (4) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (4) | *entrar* (3) |
| *stiga* 'to step' (55) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (48) | *acceder* (1), *acomodarse* (2), *entrar* (40), *pasar* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] (1) | *salir* (1) |
| | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (6) | *salir* (4) |
| *strömma* 'to stream' (1) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *entrar a raudales* (1) |
| *störta* 'to crash' (1) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (1) | *irrumpir* (1) |
| *träda* 'to step in/ enter' (2) | [VERB–*in–i*–NP] (2) | *adentrarse* (1), *acceder* (1) |
| *vackla* 'to trot' (1) | [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] (1) | *salir trastabillando* (1) |
| *åka* 'to go by vehicle' (8) | [VERB–*in–till*–NP] (8) | *dirigirse* (1), *ir/irse* (4), *recorrer en coche* (1), *venir* (1) |

ONOMÁZEIN 63 (March 2024): 86 - 109
**Teresa Molés-Cases and Joel Olofsson**
Thinking-for-translating: Manner-of-motion in a parallel corpus of Henning Mankell's crime novels

109

**Appendix 2.** Manner-of-motion verb lexicon in the parallel corpus

| SWEDISH MANNER-OF-MOTION VERBS IN THE ORIGINALS | |
| --- | --- |
| [VERB–*in–till*–NP] | **first-tier: (6)** *fara, gå, köra, navigera, resa, åka* |
| | **second-tier: (3)** *cykla, ro, smita* |
| [VERB–*in–i*–NP] | **first-tier: (7)** *fara, gå, klättra, köra, resa, stiga, träda* |
| | **second-tier: (13)** *dyka, glida, hoppa, kliva, krypa, marschera, ragla, rusa, ränna, skynda, stega, strömma, störta* |
| [VERB–*ut–ur*–NP] | **first-tier: (4)** *fara, gå, köra, stiga* |
| | **second-tier: (6)** *hoppa, rulla, rusa, smita, snubbla, vackla* |
| [VERB–*ut–från*–NP] | **first-tier: (4)** *gå, köra, springa, stiga* |
| | **second-tier: (4)** *skynda, smita, snava, spritta* |
| | |
| **Spanish Manner-of-motion verbs in the translations** | **first-tier (5):** *andar, correr, navegar, trepar, viajar* |
| | **second-tier (8):** *deslizarse, escurrirse, irrumpir, precipitarse, remar, rodar, tambalearse, trastabillar* |