8

Research Article

Daria Protopopescu*

"Buoyantly, nippily, testily" – Remarks on translating manner adverbs into Romanian

https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2022-0202 received May 21, 2022; accepted August 26, 2022

Abstract: Adverbs are a very heterogeneous class that raise a lot of problems not only for their syntactic and semantic interpretation but also for their translation. The current analysis draws on previous formal work on manner adverbs as a very heterogeneous class that exhibits different interpretations with respect to their context of occurrence and their position in the clause. Our current discussion of manner adverbs aims at investigating the different strategies employed by the Romanian translator in rendering the variety of manner adverbs occurring in the translation of P.G. Wodehouse's "*Right ho, Jeeves.*" Because English is an adverbial language while Romanian appears to be partly adverbial, it will be interesting to see how the Romanian translator fares in the endeavour of translating manner adverbs and if the predictions made in formal studies on manner adverbs are borne out by the data provided by translation.

Keywords: manner of speaking verbs, translation strategies, paraphrase, substitution, mistranslation, omission

1 Introduction

The focus of the present study is on the analysis of different strategies of translating manner adverbs in P.G. Wodehouse's "Right ho, Jeeves" into Romanian. We start from the hypothesis that this has largely to do with the structural difference between English and Romanian, as well as with the status of the two languages with respect to adverbs. Because English is considered an adverbial language, with at least one category-forming suffix, -ly, Romanian is partly adverbial, which in turn generates only partial equivalence of adverbs when dealing with translated texts.

2 Theoretical framework

Before embarking on a proper analysis of the corpus, we need to clarify certain aspects related to the theoretical framework employed. While this is a study on translation techniques and strategies, we also employ the formal theory related to adverb interpretation in the spirit of Ernst (2002), among others.

We will start by stipulating the hypothesis that in the translation of this particular class of adverbs, equivalence is probably not the most currently employed strategy due to the existing parametric variation between English and Romanian (Protopopescu 2012). While English is an adverbial language, Romanian appears to be partly adverbial only, setting it apart from other Romance languages. This is most likely due

^{*} Corresponding author: Daria Protopopescu, English Department, School of Foreign Languages and Literatures, University of Bucharest, Bucharest, 010451, Romania, e-mail: daria.protopopescu@lls.unibuc.ro
ORCID: Daria Protopopescu 0000-0003-3489-7146

to the fact that Romanian does not have a category-forming suffix like English does with -ly, or like other Romance languages do with -mente. Romanian manner adverbs are mostly formed by zero suffixation from the masculine singular form of the corresponding adjective, making them sometimes oblique for interpretation as adverbs. Romanian, in fact, prefers to use a prepositional phrase (PP) paraphrase instead of a manner adverb. Additionally, in many cases, where the English version of a sentence makes use of a manner adverb, its Romanian counterpart clearly uses an adjective in its feminine form. This usually happens whenever the English adverb exhibits a subject-oriented interpretation. Sometimes, however, this happens in the case of manner adverbs as well.

(1)								
(a)	She sighed resigned	<i>lly</i> . (ST, p	. 247)					
(b)	A		oftat	resemnată. (T	Т, р.	288)		
	Has-3SG		sighed	resigned-ADJ	-fem,	SG		
(c)	"Gimme," said Aunt Dahlia listlessly . (ST, p. 247)							
(d)	– Dă-mi		și	mie,			a	spus
	Give-me-cl. 1SG		and	me-1SG-Dat.			has-3SG	said
	mătușa	Dahlia		pe	un	ton	indifferent. (TT, p. 288)	
	aunt-THE	Dahlia		on	a	tone	indifferent	

The set of aforementioned examples is taken from the corpus and it illustrates our assumption regarding the translation of manner adverbs into Romanian. Moreover, (1a) could be said to be ambiguous between a subject-oriented interpretation She was resigned in sighing and a manner interpretation She sighed in a resigned manner. Yet, (1b) shows that the Romanian translator interpreted the adverb as a subject-oriented one because the translation is done with the feminine form of the adjective. The alternative A oftat resemnat, where resemnat, i.e. "resigned," is either an adjective with the masculine form or a manner adverb. One possible reason as to why in (1b) the translator prefers the feminine adjective is the fact that Romanian has a pro-drop parameter due to its rich morphology on the verb (Visan and Protopopescu 2022). The examples in (1c) and (1d) display the clear preference that Romanian has towards using a PP paraphrase instead of a manner adverb. To better understand the problem of ambiguity in the interpretation of certain manner adverbs, we need to further explain what triggers this ambiguity and how it can be resolved.

In analysing the data in our corpus, we employ translation strategies such as equivalence, PP paraphrase, substitution with an adjective, omission, overtranslation, and mistranslation. While equivalence and PP paraphrase are clearly the most expected strategies used in the translation of Romanian adverbs, our corpus evinced instances of substitution, omission, and sometimes even overtranslation. In the latter case, the overtranslation occurring as a strategy of compensating for substituting the English adverb with a verb.

2.1 Manner adverbs and their interpretations

The clausal reading, however, is not completely unexpected. There are diachronic reasons assumed in Schäfer (2002, 318) for certain pure manner adverbs to acquire a clausal interpretation as well. Swan (1988a 1988b, 1997) argues that sentence adverbs (SAs) have evolved from intensifier/manner adverbs to degree and later into SAs. Swan (1988a, 1988b) argues that, while some truth intensifiers appear to be full-fledged SAs even in Old English, evaluatives can hardly be called anything but "embryo SA." So, although these adverbs are very rare both in Old English and Middle English and have developed as a true and relatively large class only in Modern English, we do not mean to say that Old English does not have SAs. However, Protopopescu (2012, 166) claims that SAs must have already existed in older stages of the language, evolving from already existing manner adverbs and acquiring pragmatic functions. This line of reasoning

actually supports findings by Schäfer (2002, 318) and Ernst (2002) who come up with a template for manner adverbs with respect to their semantic interpretation correlated with their syntactic positions.

Schäfer (2002, 317) notices that, at least for German, the two readings of the manner adverb *quietly* would be expressed by two different adverbs, *still* for the clausal and *leise* for the manner variant. Alternatively, Romanian prefers a paraphrase at best for the clausal reading, i.e. *în tăcere* 'in silence silently' and an adverb *încet* 'quietly' for the manner reading as in (2c) and (2d).

(2)					
(a)	He quietly left home.				
(b)	He sang quietly .				
(c)	A	plecat	acasă	în	tăcere.
	Has-3SG	left	home	in	silence.
(d)	A	cântat	încet.		
	Has-3SG	sung	quietly		

Therefore, manner adverbs trigger a different interpretation in correlation with their syntactic position in the sentence (cf. Schäfer 2002, 318, Ernst 2002, Protopopescu 2012, 166, inter alia). Additionally, it appears that, at least for German and Romanian, they may also be expressed by means of different adverbs or adverbial-like phrases. These differences are captured in Table 1.

Table 1: Syntactic positions correlated with semantic interpretation

Syntactic position	Quality adverbs	Pure manner adverbs
Verb phrase (VP)-external (clausal reading) VP-internal (VP reading)	Primary reading Derived reading	Derived reading Primary reading

Schäfer (2004a) puts forward a more refined classification within the manner adverb class. He argues contra Ernst (2002) that there needs to be some sort of distinction between what he calls core pure manner adverbs such as *loudly* or *tightly* and other pure manner adverbs, such as *quickly*, *slowly* or *quietly*, whose meanings can be extended metaphorically and thus yield a different reading. Interestingly, Schäfer (2004a) further argues that synonyms and antonyms of *quickly* cannot be expected to have the same possibilities as far as their interpretation is concerned. This hypothesis is borne out by data from English, where the adverb *fast*, close in meaning to *quickly*, lacks the metaphorical extension of temporal (aspectual) reading and cannot occur in pre-verbal position, while *quickly* obviously can.

(3)	
(a) John quickly lifted the parcel.	aspectual reading
(b) John was quick in lifting the parcel.	
(c) John lifted the parcel quickly .	manner reading
(d) John lifted the parcel and that was quick.	
(e) *John fast lifted the parcel.	*aspectual reading
(f) John lifted the parcel fast .	manner reading
(g) John lifted the parcel and that was done fast.	

Therefore, in the spirit of Schäfer (2004a and 2004b), manner adverbs can be further subdivided into pure manner adverbs and core pure manner adverbs, where they develop two reading with respect to the syntactic position in which they are generated, as in Table 2 and examples (4) and (5).

Table 2: Subclasses and syntactic positions of manner adverbs

Syntactic position VP-external (clausal reading) VP-internal (VP reading)				Pure manner adverbs (quietly, graciously, quickly, slowly) Core pure manner adverbs (loudly, woodenly) Derived reading (metaphorical extension) Primary reading			
(4) (a) (b)	Kim quietly had gone A Has-3SG	home to think plecat left	<i>it over.</i> acasă home	în in	tăcere. silence	Clausal reading	
	"He went home quiet	ly."					
(5)	V:					VD/	
(a) (b)	Kim sang quietly . A Has -3SG "He/She sang quietly"	cântat sung		încet . quietly.		VP/manner reading	

As was the case with German noticed by Schäfer (2004a), Romanian shows a similar behaviour, in that in the clausal interpretation, it prefers a PP paraphrase (\hat{n} tăcere 'in silence'), whereas in the VP/manner reading, it prefers a manner adverb derived from the corresponding adjective in its masculine form (\hat{n} cet, 'quietly').

Additionally, Katz (2008) proposes that, when combined with state verbs, manner adverbs have a metaphoric, non-literal meaning:

In brief, manner modifiers cannot play their normal event-predicational role when they modify state verbs, so they must be reinterpreted. (Katz 2008, 238)

He also claims that:

the use of manner adverbs when combined with state verbs is, in a sense, metaphorical. There is no passionate state, but rather there are passionate events that are closely related to certain states, and we can use adverbials to call up these passionate events, even when talking about states. (Katz 2008, 246)

We intend to check all these properties of manner adverbs against the corpus under discussion.

2.2 Manner adverbs and manner of saying verbs (MoSvs)

Because the data we discuss in this article are taken from literary texts with a lot of dialogue, it is interesting to also have a look at the interaction between MoSvs and manner adverbs. We do not intend at this point to investigate the more refined analysis of MoS with the impressive variety of MoS verbs in both English and Romanian, as discussed in Stoica (2021), although their syntactic behaviour shows a wide range of differences among them. The reason for it is that the contexts that are part of our corpus are mostly made up of instances of the verb *say*.

(6) ... (I/he/she) said carelessly/coldly/a little sternly/quietly/a little distantly/a little testily/warmly/ reverently/formally/firmly/hastily/rather unpleasantly/cordially/gently/rebukingly/genially/earnestly/ doubtfully/gentlemanly/keenly/a little hurriedly/listlessly/absently/thoughtfully/curtly. (Wodehouse 2008, various pages) The interesting part is that, although the preferred MoSv is *say*, it is accompanied by a plethora of manner adverbs as can be seen in (6).

3 The corpus

Unlike other writers, P.G. Wodehouse is very keen on using adverbs in his prose. "Right ho, Jeeves" boasts a total of 210 -ly adverbs. Some of these adverbs appear more than once throughout the text, while a vast majority occur only once. Not all of them are manner adverbs, but manner adverbs make up the majority of them. Some of these manner adverbs are quite unique: buoyantly, sedulously, testily, nippily, resignedly, rollickingly, etc. Their translation into Romanian poses problems of equivalence, as we are going to see in the analysis of the data. The corpus is made up of the source text (ST) "Right ho, Jeeves" by P.G. Wodehouse, the version published in 2008 and the Romanian translation "S-a făcut, Jeeves!" by translator Carmen Toader, published in 2004 by Polirom Publishing House (target text [TT]). The Romanian translation is some 70 years apart from the source text, which makes the TT a little less accurate and at times awkward with respect to the ST. The many instances of the verb say are rendered as such in the TT, with variations between a spune/a zice 'to say.'

3.1 Analysis of the data

In this section, we intend to check the predictions made in the beginning with respect to the strategies employed in the translation of manner adverbs in the corpus. Our hypothesis is that due to the partly adverbial status of Romanian, there will be fewer instances of equivalence and more instances of paraphrase by means of a PP.

We will start our analysis, however, with instances of equivalence, because as announced, this is amongst the least expected strategies for translating adverbs. For reasons of space, we are not going to provide back translations for any of the examples.

(7)

- (a) "But ask yourself how he will feel in a week or so, after he and she have been helping themselves to sausages out of the same dish day after day at the breakfast sideboard. Cutting the same ham, ladling out communal kidneys and bacon why "
 - I broke off abruptly. I had one of my ideas. (ST, p. 59)
- (b) –. Dar nu îţi pui întrebarea cum o să se sită peste vreo săptămână, după ce în fiecare zi s-au servit împreună din cârnaţii puşi pe acelaşi platou la micul dejun. Tăind aceeaşi şuncă, scoţând cu lingura slănina şi rinichii obşteşti păi.

M-am întrerupt *brusc*. Mă trăsnise o idee. (TT, p. 64)

In this particular case, the strategy used is equivalence, and we can see that there is a literal/semantic match between *abruptly* and *brusc*.

(8)

⁽a) Gussie, after the departure of P.K. Purvis, had fallen into a sort of daydream and was standing with his mouth open and his hands in his pockets. Becoming abruptly aware that a fat kid in knickerbockers was at his elbow, he started violently. "Hullo!" he said, visibly shaken. "Who are you?"

- "This," said the bearded bloke, "is R.V. Smethurst."
- "What's he doing here?" asked Gussie suspiciously. (ST, p. 208–209)
- (b) Gussie, după plecarea lui P.K. Purvis, căzuse într-un soi de reverie diurnă și stătea în picioare cu gura căscată și mâinile în buzunare. Devenind *brusc* conștient de faptul că un copil gras în bermude largi se afla lângă cotul lui, a zvâcnit violent.
 - Bună, a zis el vizibil zguduit. Cine ești tu?
 - El, a spus bărbosul este R.V. Smethurst.
 - Ce face aici? a întrebat Gussie *suspicios*. (TT, p. 246)

This is a longer excerpt with four instances of adverbs. Here, abruptly and visibly are not used as manner adverbs but as intensifiers, modifying other adjectives. The strategy adopted in the TT is that of equivalence, although in the case of visibly shaken - "vizibil zguduit," the Romanian version is awkward because we would expect a phrase of the type ADV + de (preposition) + ADJ (vizibil de zguduit, "visibly shaken"). The alternative without the preposition is possible in Romanian, but less commonly used. To better understand why this is a problem, let us consider a similar set of examples:

(8)					
(c)	*, a	zis	dureros	zguduit.	
	Has-3SG	said	painfully	shaken.	
(d)	, a	zis	dureros	de	zguduit.
	Has-3SG	said	painfully	of	shaken.

So, while (8c) is grammatically incorrect, (8d) is the only accepted version. The context is similar to what we have in (8a), yet, unlike the translator's version (8c) is not acceptable in Romanian. So, the ADV + de 'of' (preposition) + ADJ is clearly the preferred structure in this case.

The other two adverbs in the excerpt in (8a) are manner adverbs used in a construction with MoSv. The translator opts again for equivalence, the problem being the verb to start, in start violently, which is rendered as a zvâcni ('to twitch'). Because it is used in front of a dialogue, and it shows inception of an activity (speaking in this case), a better equivalent for this verb would have been a izbucni ('to burst out'). The other instance of an MoSv is ask combined with the adverb suspiciously. In this case, the TT uses the manner adverb correctly with the right MoSv in Romanian.

(9)

- "Golly, Jeeves. I've been through that sort of thing once, what? You remember that time at the girls" (a) school?"
 - "Very vividly, sir."
 - "What an ass I made of myself!" (ST, p. 60)
- (b) -. "La dracu," Jeeves. Am mai trecut o dată prin asta, nu? Îti aduci aminte scoala aia de fete?
 - Foarte limpede, domnule.
 - Cât de tare m-am făcut de râs! (TT, p. 66)

In this case, the pure manner adverb appears in a context with ellipsis, but this is probably why it does not pose problems for translation as the TT provides an appropriate equivalent.

(10)

- "Was Tuppy after you?" I asked **sympathetically**. (ST, p. 240) (a)
- Tuppy te-a fugărit? l-am întrebat *consolator*. (TT, p. 283)

Another example of equivalence in a structure with an MoSv is the one in (10). The adverb in this case is ambiguous between a subject-oriented interpretation because the reading could be that "I was sympathetic in asking" and a manner interpretation "I asked in a sympathetic manner."

In the following examples, we discuss instances of paraphrase by means of PP structures. This is the preferred strategy for Romanian, as stated in our predictions.

This first example under analysis displays instances of manner adverbs that occur in similar structures with MoSvs.

(11)

- (a) "Oh, you met Madeline at Cannes, did you? By Jove, Bertie," said the poor lizard **devoutly**, "I wish I could have seen her at Cannes. How wonderful she must have looked in beach pyjamas! Oh, Bertie -"
 "Quite," I said, **a little distantly**. (TT, p. 58)
- (b) O, ai cunoscut-o pe Madeline la Cannes, nu-i așa? Pe cinstea mea, Bertie, a zis sărmana șopârlă *cu evlavie în voce*, mi-aș fi dorit să o văd la Cannes. Ce minunat cred că arăta în costum de baie! O, Bertie.
 - Mda, am zis *puţin glacial*. (ST, p. 62-3)

Interestingly, the first adverb is translated with a PP paraphrase, while the second adverb, "a little distantly," is translated with equivalence. "Devoutly" is paraphrased with a PP but the whole thing is also overtranslated "cu evlavie în voce" ('with piety in the voice'). We could speculate as to why this overtranslation occurs as a case of avoiding the constant repetition of the verb "say."

(12)

- (a) And I confess that as I beheld him and felt that there but for the grace of God went Bertram Wooster, a shudder ran through the frame. It all reminded me **so vividly** of the time I had addressed that girls' school. (ST, p. 197)
- (b) Mărturisesc că zărindu-l și dându-mi seama că numai din mila Domnului nu era Bertram Wooster în locul lui, un fior mi-a străbătut trupul. Totul îmi aducea aminte *cu atâta limpezime* de ocazia când m-am adresat școlii ăleia de fete. TT, p. 281)

In (9b), the translator opted for equivalence of the pure manner adverb *vividly*, probably because of the ellipsis. However, in (12b), the TT goes for a PP paraphrase (*cu atâta limpezime* – 'with so much clarity'), although a version with equivalence, *atât de limpede*, "so clearly," would have been just as good. The fact that the two structures are interchangeable, and more often than not the PP paraphrase is the preferred alternative, is due to the partly adverbial status of Romanian.

(13)

- (a) "Yet when I got to the party and found myself surrounded by scores of other children, many in costumes even ghastlier than my own, I perked up **amazingly**, joined **freely** in the revels, and was able to eat so hearty a supper that I was sick twice in the cab coming home. What I mean is, you can't tell in cold blood." (ST, p. 30)
- (b) -.:Şi totuşi, după ce am ajuns la petrecere şi m-am trezit înconjurat de o droaie de copii, mulţi dintre ei în costume şi mai îngrozitoare decât al meu, mi-am ridicat *surprinzător de ţanţoş capul*, m-am alăturat *lejer* zaiafetului şi am mâncat cu atâta poftă la cină, încât am vomitat de două ori în taxi, când mă întorceam acasă. Ce vreau să zic e că nu poţi să fii sigur. (TT, p. 31)

That the PP paraphrase and the equivalence strategies are equally valid and the PP structure is interchangeable with the adverb equivalent is supported in (13b), where we have an asyndetic coordination, so

the elements under coordination are of the same rank, yet the TT version coordinates a paraphrase + substitution in the first conjunct, <code>surprinzător</code> <code>de țanțoș</code> ('surprisingly proudly') with an equivalent in the second conjunct, <code>lejer</code> 'easily.. The structure employed in the first conjunct is quite interesting because it combines a paraphrase with equivalence and substitution. <code>Surprinzător</code> "surprisingly/amazingly" is in fact an adverb, but we cannot argue that this is entirely equivalence because the verb <code>perk up</code> is somehow substituted with a less specialised verb, <code>a se ridica</code> 'to stand up,' and to compensate for the richer meaning associated with the phrasal verb <code>perk up</code>, i.e. "to rise or cause to rise briskly," the translator opted for a substitution to be added to the adverb. Thus, <code>I perked up amazingly</code> becomes <code>mi-am ridicat surprinzător de țanțoș capul</code> 'I raised my head surprisingly proudly.' The manner adverb <code>amazingly</code> from the ST is used in the TT as an intensifier for another adverb <code>ṭantoș</code> 'proudly,' which now substitutes/compensates for the verb "<code>perk up</code>."

(14)

- (a) "Tails up, Aunt Dahlia," I urged buoyantly. (ST, p. 95)
- (b) Capul sus, mătușă Dahlia, am îndemnat-o eu *cu optimism*. (TT, p. 105)
- (c) He moved **buoyantly** from the wash-hand stand and endeavoured to slosh me on the back again. (ST, p. 189)
- (d) A plecat *plin de optimism* de lângă spălător și a încercat să-mi mai ardă una pe spate. (TT, p. 220)

In (14b) and (14d), the TT chooses the PP paraphrase again, buoyantly = cu optimism, 'with optimism' and the second instance of buoyantly being rendered with intensification and a PP paraphrase, "plin de optimism," 'full of optimism.' Both instances of buoyantly are in the manner reading of the verb, which might explain the preference for the PP paraphrase.

(15)

- (a) I gave the thing the cream of the Wooster brain all the way down, but it continued to beat me what could have caused the outbreak of hostilities, and I bunged my foot **sedulously** on the accelerator in order to get to Aunt Dahlia with the greatest possible speed and learn the inside history straight from the horse's mouth. (ST, p. 67)
- (b) I-am dedicat problemei crema creierului woosterian întregul drum, dar continua să mă depășească ce ar fi putut să provoace această izbucnire a ostilităților și mi-am înfipt *cu nădejde* piciorul în accelerator pentru a ajunge la mătușa Dahlia cu cea mai mare viteză posibilă ca să aflu dedesubturile afacerii direct de la sursă. (TT, p. 73)

The adverb in (15a) is used with its manner reading, so the TT opts again for a PP paraphrase, *cu nădejde* 'with strength,' which is a rough equivalent for the meaning of *sedulously* = 'diligently, persistently.'

(16)

- (a) Then, he made a dive for the cupboard and was inside it before one really got on to it that he had started leaping. I have seen fellows late for the 9.15 move **less nippily**. (ST, p. 223)
- (b) Apoi s-a năpustit spre dulap și a intrat în el înainte ca să-i fi putut sesiza cineva saltul. Am văzut flăcăi care au întârziat la trenul de 9.15 mișcându-se *cu mai puțină agilitate*. (TT, p. 261–2)

The adverb in (16a) is also used in its pure manner interpretation. Moreover, this is a case where we also have a degree of comparison of inferiority, *less nippily*. The TT in (16b) correctly rendered the degree of comparison but still uses a PP paraphrase *cu mai puțină agilitate* 'with less agility,' confirming the tendency of a PP paraphrase for the manner reading.

The following set of examples is dedicated to another translation strategy, substitution. In the case of manner adverbs, substitution is achieved by replacing the adverb in the ST by an adjective in the TT.

(17)

- (a) "I wish there was something else you could call him except 'Uncle Tom,'" said Aunt Dahlia a little **testily**. (ST, p. 68)
- (b) Mi-aş dori să-i poți spune şi altfel în afară de "unchiul Tom," a zis mătuşa Dahlia cam morocănoasă. (TT, p. 75)

(17a) is an instance of a manner adverb combined with an MoSv. The problem here is that the TT somehow misses or undertranslates the meaning of the adverb. *Testily* means 'bitterly, fiercely, furiously,' and the TT substitutes the manner adverb by an adjective in its feminine form *morocănoasă* meaning 'grumpy' in (17b). Something similar happens in the following example.

(18)

- (a) "You rather expect to be coming along shortly with another of your schemes?" "At any minute."
 - She sighed **resignedly**. (ST, p. 244)
- (b) Ai de gând să mai vii în curând cu vreuna dintre stratagemele tale?
 - Din clipă în clipă.

A oftat resemnată. (TT, p. 287-288)

(18a) would be almost a case of equivalence if it were not for the fact that the manner adverb *resignedly* is substituted again with a corresponding feminine adjective, *resemnată*, 'resigned.'

The structure in (19a) is not that of a manner adverb proper. Here, the adverb *markedly* is used as a modifier for the adjective *feverish*.

(19)

- (a) The bird accepted the morsel gratefully and consumed it with every indication of satisfaction. Almost immediately afterwards, however, its manner became **markedly** feverish. (ST, p. 154)
- (b) Pasărea a acceptat recunoscătoare bucățica și a consumat-o dând toate semnele de satisfacție. Însă aproape imediat după aceea comportamentul *i-a fost marcat de o febrilitate pronunțată*. (TT, p. 177)

What is interesting, however, is the fact that in (17b) it is completely substituted by means of a verb, *a marca*, 'to mark,' and the adjective it modified in the ST is substituted by a noun to which the Romanian translator feels the need of adding the adjective *pronunțată*, 'accentuated.' This, in turn, leads to an instance of overtranslation. So, the adverb *markedly* is substituted by means of a verb and its meaning is recaptured by the addition of the adjective modifying the noun substituting the adjective in the ST.

The last example I would like to discuss involves several instances of mistranslation in the TT, amongst which the most interesting instance of mistranslation is that of the adverb *rollickingly*.

(20)

- (a) "But don't you understand? Don't you see what this means? It means that Angela is once more out of pawn, and you have only to play your cards properly."
 - He bellowed rollickingly. I saw now that he was in the pink. (ST, p. 285)
- Dar nu înțelegi? Nu înțelegi ce înseamnă asta? Înseamnă că Angela a ieșit de la amanet, și că nu trebuie decât să-ți joci corect cărțile. S-a înclinat *plin de exuberanță*. Acum mi-am dat seama că era vesel. (TT, p. 336)

Table 3: Distribution of translation strategies for manner adverbs in "Right ho, Jeeves"

ST	Translation strategies for manner adverbs	115 Instances
TT	Equivalence	33
	PP paraphrase	42
	Substitution with an adjective	23
	Omission	6
	Overtranslation	5
	Mistranslation	6

The whole excerpt is full of mistranslations: out of pawn, bellow, rollickingly, and in the pink are all mistranslated to various degrees. We are not going to detail the mistranslations of out of pawn and in the pink because we are not interested in the mistranslation of idiomatic phrases. The mistranslations of bellow, 'shout angrily in a loud, deep voice,' which is an MoSv and which combines with the manner adverb rollickingly are, however, of interest to the present analysis. Both are mistranslated to various degrees. The MoSv is completely botched because the TT interprets it as s-a înclinat 'he took a bow,' thus missing the entire manner of speaking structure. The manner adverb rollickingly, meaning 'cheerfully and usually noisily' or 'boisterously' is mistranslated with a PP paraphrase plin de exuberanță, 'full of exuberance,' which in itself is not completely wrong with respect to the issue of the MoSv. A more appropriate rendering of this constituent would have been a tunat cu veselie, 'he thundered joyfully,' where we would compensate for the richer meaning of rollickingly with the verb a tuna, 'to thunder.'

From a statistics point of view, out of the 210 adverbs identified in the novel, 115 are instances of manner adverbs (Table 3). Some of them are used both as pure manner and with clausal readings in the sense of Schäfer (2002, 2004a, 2004b), Ernst (2002), and Protopopescu (2012).

As predicted at the beginning, equivalence and PP paraphrase were the preferred translation strategies, with PP paraphrase slightly higher as a preference, with 42 instances versus 33 for equivalence. Substitution by means of adjectives was quite favoured with 23 instances. We also found six cases of omission of the adverb, mostly with MoSvs, five cases of overtranslation, and six cases of mistranslation.

4 Conclusions

As we have seen throughout the analysis of our corpus, the translation of manner adverbs into Romanian relies heavily on PP paraphrase and equivalence, sometimes resorting to substitution by adjective, which in Romanian seems to change the manner interpretation (VP reading) towards a subject-oriented reading (clausal reading). This is explained mostly by the status of Romanian as a partly adverbial language. Sometimes, the PP paraphrase may also lead to instances of overtranslation. In our corpus, this usually happened with MoSvs.

We envisage a more extensive analysis of a larger corpus of English literary texts to further check the translation strategies for Romanian manner adverbs for an even clearer view of the preferred patterns for Romanian.

The fact that the same adverb with two different interpretations can be rendered by means of two different adverbs in German (see Schäfer 2002, 317) and Romanian needs further analysis in order to see whether there is some pattern that might indicate that translation strategies might be influenced by stylistic preference or they are indeed related to the different positions and the interpretations associated with those positions.

Another point of further investigation is an analysis of the structure where MoSvs combine with manner adverbs. It would be interesting to analyse such patterns in a larger corpus that uses other MoSvs as well, because here the preferred MoSv was *say*, which was translated as such in Romanian. We predict a wider variety of translation strategies with other MoSvs.

To conclude, the theoretical premise we started from, namely that the translation of manner adverbs from English into Romanian poses problems of equivalence arising from the parametric difference between the two languages, was borne out by the data in our corpus. The article demonstrated that given the parametric variation between English and Romanian, the translation of manner adverbs was achieved mostly by means of PP paraphrase and substitution by means of corresponding adjectives in most cases.

Acknowledgments: The author wishes to thank the organisers of the first "Translation Times" international conference hosted by The Faculty of Letters of the University of Craiova. The author appreciates the feedback received from the audiences of the RSEAS and ESSE meetings.

Conflict of interest: The author states no conflict of interest.

References

Ernst, Thomas. 2002. The syntax of adjuncts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Katz, Graham. 2008. "Manner modification of state verbs." In *Adjectives and adverbs. Syntax, semantics, discourse*, edited by Louise M., and C. Kennedy, p. 220–48, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Protopopescu, Daria. 2012. *The Syntax of manner adverbs in English and Romanian*, București: Editura Universității Din București.

Schäfer, Martin. 2002. "Pure manner adverbs, revisited." In Sinn & Bedeutung VI, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Gesellschaft für Semantik, edited by Graham K., R. Sabine, and R. Philip, p. 311–23.

Schäfer, Martin. 2004a. "Manner adverbs and scope." In *Grammatik und Kontext: zur interaktion von syntax, semantik und prosodie bei der informationsstrukturierung*, edited by A. Steube, p. 33–51. Linguistische Arbeitsberichte 81. Osnabrück: Universität Konstantz.

Schäfer, Martin. 2004b. "Manners and causation." In *Proceedings of the Conference "Sub8 – Sinn und Bedeutung*, edited by Cecile Meier, and Matthias Weisgerber, p. 249–58. Arbeitspapier 117.

Stoica, Irina. 2021. The Syntax and semantics of manner of speaking verbs. București: Editura Universității din București.

Swan, Toril. 1988a. "The development of sentence adverbs in English." Studia Linguistica 42(1), 1-18.

Swan, Toril. 1988b. Sentence adverbials in English: A synchronic and diachronic investigation. Oslo: Novus.

Swan, Toril. 1997. "From manner to subject modification: adverbialization in English." Nordic Journal of Linquistics 20, 179-95.

Vişan, Nadina, and Daria Protopopescu. 2022. Some notes on A/A adverbs in literary translation To appear in Analele Universității din București – Limbi și literaturi Străine, vol. 1/2021.

Wodehouse, Pelham. G. 2004. S-a făcut, Jeeves, translated by Carmen Toader, Iași: Editura Polirom.

Wodehouse, Pelham. G. 2008. Right ho, Jeeves, London: Arrow Books.