

The English *-ing* Participial Free Adjunct in Original and Translated Fiction:

an English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus Study

by Petter Fuhre



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Supervisor: Professor Johan Elsness

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In loving memory
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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background and aim

The topic of the present study is the so-called *-ing* participial free adjunct, as seen in bold here:

- (1) **Chewing her gum steadily**, the girl handed him a printed form and a pencil. (AT1)¹
- (2) Hartmann, **waiting for the bill**, frowned. (AB1)
- (3) “One strong Scotch for the Reverend Professor,” said Arthur, **moving to prepare it**. (RDA1)

The *-ing* participial free adjunct may be defined, briefly, as a conjunction-less non-finite clause whose verb is in the *-ing* form, either as the only verb (1-3 above), or as an auxiliary in a passive (4), perfect (5) or perfect passive construction (6):

- (4) Cordelia in an iron lung, then, **being breathed**, as an accordion is played. (MA1)
- (5) **Having parked the car among the milkwood bushes**, they scurry across the small stretch of exposed beach to the shelter of the rocks. (ABR1)
- (6) She spoke, with Sonny; when he came to see her for the first time, **having been introduced a few days before by one of her brothers** ..., they seemed to take up a conversation that had already begun, ... (NG1)

Within a superordinate structure the function of free adjuncts is typically adverbial, although in many cases the exact adverbial relation may be hard to detect, since there is in most cases no overt signal as to whether the free adjunct carries e.g. a temporal, causal or

¹ Reference to a text from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (Section 1.4). See also Appendix B.

conditional meaning. Often the nearest paraphrase would seem to be a co-ordinated clause. Crucial to free adjuncts is, however, their lack of integration into the matrix clause, i.e. they never form parts of phrases, nor do they fall within the scope of the matrix predicator.

It will be a main objective in this study to look at the inter-clausal relations between *-ing* adjuncts and the clause on which they depend – the matrix.

Another focal point will be to contrast these constructions with their Norwegian translations, as Norwegian does not possess a construction that matches the *-ing* adjunct. The corresponding Norwegian present participle *-ende* is comparably very restricted in its use, typically used intransitively only:

- (7) *Louise, strålende av overmøt og styrke, lo mot broren i den andre båten.*(SL1)

Norwegian *-ende* used transitively is, according to Faarlund *et al.* (1997), only used sporadically:

- (8) *De kristne overleveringene, omfattende mer enn 2/3 av alle verdens kristne, var de egentlige og autentiske.* (Faarlund *et al.* 1997: 472)

Not a single instance similar to (8) above was found in our material.

Thirdly, we will look in the opposite direction, where Norwegian constructions have been translated into English *-ing* participial adjuncts, with the ultimate aim to compare and contrast original English with translated English.

1.2 Previous research

1.2.1 Traditional grammars

In reference and student grammars a lot of attention has been given to the vagueness of meaning that the free adjunct has relative to its matrix clause, i.e. whether it has a function corresponding to a finite adverbial subclause introduced by *while*, *although*, etc., or to mere *and*-coordination – see e.g. Quirk *et al.* (1995), Givón (1993).

Another observation which is often made is that its function is typically to provide ‘supplementary background information’ (Biber *et al.* 2002: 260).

Further, much focus – especially in normative discussion – has been given to the so-called ‘dangling’ or unattached participle, which is deemed ‘slipshod language by grammarians’ (Jespersen 1965: 407), and thus considered infelicitous, as in:

- (9) ?**Driving to Chicago that night**, a sudden thought struck me. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1121)

This is related to the fact that the implicit subject of the adjunct verb has to co-refer with the matrix subject.

The *-ing* participial adjunct has also given rise to entire monographs, two of which are Stump (1985) and Kortmann (1991), see Chapter 2.

1.2.2 Contrastive literature

As far as contrastive grammars and studies are concerned, one important point of focus is the lack of a parallel construction in Norwegian, e.g. Hasselgård *et al.* (1998), or in the other Scandinavian languages, e.g. Lindquist (1989), Sørensen (1991).

Especially with the emergence of bilingual and multilingual corpora (see Section 1.4), contrastive studies have appeared in great numbers over the past decade or so, e.g. Ruin (2001), Hagen Engen (2001), Marthinsen Smith (2004), Fabricius-Hansen *et al.* (2005), etc. Such contributions will be referred to repeatedly in the course of this paper.

The largest English-Norwegian contrastive study on *-ing* participial free adjuncts to date, is probably Behrens (1998). We will return to a fuller presentation of her study in Chapter 2. First, we will present Halliday in some detail.

1.2.3 Halliday’s (1985/1994) three kinds of clause expansion

In his functional approach Halliday (1994) presents three ways in which a clause can be expanded: by i) elaborating, ii) extending, or iii) enhancing it. I submit his definitions here, along with one *-ing* adjunct for each:

In ELABORATION, one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by further specifying or describing it. The secondary clause does not introduce a new element into the picture but rather provides a further characterization of one that is already there, restating it, clarifying it, refining it, or adding a descriptive attribute or comment. The thing that is elaborated may be the primary clause as a whole, or it may be just some part of it – one or more of its constituents. (1994: 225)

- (10) I worked for a local firm at that time, **selling office equipment**. (1994: 229)

In (10), the adjunct proposition *selling office equipment* serves to specify the I-person's duties with the firm, and is thus equivalent to a *that is*-clause.

In EXTENSION, one clause extends the meaning of another by adding something new to it. What is added may be just an addition, or a replacement, or an alternative. (1994: 230)

(11) We used to go away at the weekend, **taking all our gear with us**. (1994: 231)

Here, the proposition *taking all our gear with us* does not specify any part of the matrix proposition. Rather, it resembles a coordinate clause 'and took ...' or a juxtaposed sentence 'We took ...', in that it provides an addition to the first clause. In ENHANCEMENT, finally,

one clause enhances the meaning of another by qualifying it in one of a number of possible ways: by reference to time, place, manner, cause or condition. (1994: 232)

(12) They must be crazy, **throwing all that good stuff away**. (1994: 238)

The adjunct in (12) equals a conditional *if*-clause placing a contingency on the subject referent, cf. 'They must be crazy if they throw all that good stuff away'. However, it may equally well refer to a factual situation serving as reason for the speaker's comment (cf. the use of the epistemic *should*), and thus it corresponds to a *because*-clause. This last example, again, illustrates the problem of identifying beyond doubt the exact semantic relation holding between an *-ing* adjunct and its matrix.

In reference grammars, as well as in Kortmann (1991) and many other discussions, Halliday's ENHANCEMENT is represented by traditional adverbial roles.

1.3 Definition of the English *-ing* participial free adjunct

It is a well-known fact that *-ing* forms are an extremely multifaceted area of English grammar, inhabiting most word classes and serving various syntactic functions. It is therefore crucial to a treatment of *-ing* participial free adjuncts that we make clear which constructions are relevant and which are not.

1.3.1 Defining criteria

Excluding right away *-ing* forms which occur as *bona fide* nouns (*ceiling, building, etc.*), adjectives (*interesting, ravishing, etc.*) and – rarely – adverbs (as in *He was raving mad.*), I submit below three criteria, all of which must be met for a construction to be considered a free adjunct. It is defining of *-ing* participial free adjuncts that

- i they are an optional part of the clause-complex;
- ii they have no subject of their own; rather they are controlled by and predicate something of a matrix NP (almost invariably the subject);
- iii they are not linked to their matrix by means of a conjunction.

The *-ing* clauses in the following three sentences violate criterion i), ii) and iii), respectively:

- i He just sat **looking into the fire**.
(*-ing* clause as complement of stance verb *sat*)
- ii **(With) John knowing all the answers**, nobody cared to take part.
(Absolute clause, with explicit subject)
- iii **While walking home**, she sensed spring was coming soon.
(*while*-conjunction)

Those *-ing* constructions which fail to fulfil at least one of the criteria above, will be outside the scope of this investigation. (See Appendix A for a fairly comprehensive list.)

1.3.2 Terminology

The particular construction that here has been labelled *-ing* participial free adjunct occurs in an array of guises in linguistic literature. Some examples are:

‘absolute participle’ (Curme, 1931), ‘appositional participle’ (Jespersen, 1965), ‘participial adverbial clause’ (Givón, 1993), ‘absolute clause’ (Thompson and Longacre, 1985), ‘supplementive clause’ (Quirk *et al.*, 1985), ‘same-subject participial’ (Haiman and Thompson, 1984), ‘detached participial clause’ (Thompson, 1983), and finally, ‘free adjunct’ (Kruisinga 1932, Visser 1966, Stump 1985, Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998).

Varying though these labels may be in terms of descriptive precision, they do reveal quite a lot about the nature of these constructions: They are verbal in character, hence ‘participial’; they are only loosely connected to the clause on which they depend syntactically, as

reflected by the terms ‘absolute’, ‘appositional’, ‘supplementive’ and ‘detached’; and finally, as the term ‘same-subject’ suggests, they almost invariably, but not always, undergo matrix subject control.

Any terminology involving ‘progressive’ (e.g. Toolan, 1990), however, must be discarded, since i) *-ing* adjuncts may well denote a punctual event as in (13), and ii) verbs can freely appear as free adjuncts which normally do not allow the progressive, e.g. KNOW and UNDERSTAND, etc., as in (14):

(13) **Arriving in Amsterdam at twenty-five**, he had become almost overnight the most fashionable portrait painter in the city. (JH1)

(14) **Knowing it was the wrong thing to do**, he did it nonetheless.

The misconception about using the term ‘progressive’ for these particular *-ing* constructions may be due to the impossibility of explicit progressive marking:

(15) ***Being eating**, John couldn’t answer. (Stump 1985: 6)

Following Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998) among others, then, I consider the term ‘free adjunct’ both precise and common enough for its use in this study, the classifier ‘*-ing* participial’ having been appended, i) to exclude infinitival, past participial and verbless free adjuncts, and ii) to cover both present participial and perfect participial adjuncts (the *having V-ed* type).

1.4 Material

Our primary material has been extracted from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus² (ENPC). For a study of this kind the ENPC is invaluable, as it provides non-native speakers of English with a ‘sound basis for language analysis that does not depend on introspection’ (Schmied 2004: 83).

Especially, the ENPC offered a tool to access a sufficient number of *-ing* participial adjuncts, in authentic original and translated English, paired up with their correspondences in Norwegian.

² See <http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cgi-bin/omc/PerITCE.cgi> for information.

As a means of easing the collection of relevant constructions I selected only those instances which followed a comma or, in rare cases, a semicolon or a dash. (This restriction does not, of course, affect initial free adjuncts.)

Admittedly, the requirement that there be some sort of punctuation separating the free adjunct from its matrix, may strike one as manipulative, given the fact that the rules of punctuation in this area often are not particularly clear-cut (cf. e.g. Stump 1985: 4). Still, the comma criterion was used partly to limit the database and partly due to the fact that the typically detached nature of the free adjunct is ‘virtually without exception marked by comma in writing’ (Thompson 1983: 43).

The search was conducted using the search criteria available. A gap of two from the start of a sentence or from a comma (or similar) was chosen so as to allow for instances opening with a conjunct, e.g. *then* (16), and the negative operator *not* (17).

- (16) **Still grinning like a Cheshire cat**, I tossed my pencil way up into the air and tried to catch it. (TH1)
- (17) **Not wishing to antagonise her client**, Trish withdrew, wrote a note on Social Services notepaper and pushed it through the door. (ST1)

The search output was finally sifted manually.

Lastly, only the fictional component of ENPC was chosen, again mainly for practical purposes. However, observations have been made (e.g. Thompson 1983) that the *-ing* participial adjunct is particularly suitable for fiction. According to Tufte (1971), moreover, this particular construction belongs to ‘the very mainstay of modern fiction’ (Tufte 1971: 159).

1.5 Outline

In Chapter 2 we will look more closely at three main contributions to the understanding of the English *-ing* participial free adjunct, Stump (1985), Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998). Next, in Chapter 3, the structural features of the *-ing* adjunct will be explored. In Chapter 4 we turn to the inter-clausal semantic relations, before we look at some of the discourse properties that *-ing* adjuncts have, in Chapter 5. A conclusion will be given in Chapter 6, along with some suggestions for further study.

It will, as pointed out above, be a major concern of ours to compare original English and translated English, and indirectly, the Norwegian correspondences for the *-ing* adjunct, in original and translated Norwegian.

Chapter Two

Approaches to the English Free Adjunct

Three of the most comprehensive discussions of the English free adjunct are Stump (1985), Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998).

2.1 Stump's (1985) semantic variability

Stump (1985) sets out to challenge the view held in traditional grammars that the identification of the logical relationship between a free adjunct and its matrix is primarily a matter of context-based pragmatic inference. Though he admits that this is indeed true for 'the majority of cases' (Stump 1985: xiv), Stump provides three specific situations where the relation is pinned – or at least narrowed – down on purely semantic grounds. These are when the matrix has i) a modal verb; ii) a frequency adverb; or iii) a generic or habitual sense (the so-called Generalization Operator G'').

Moreover, these operators depend on the type of predicate in the free adjunct. Stump divides these predicates into two types: 'strong' and 'weak'. A strong adjunct is one whose truth is entailed, a so-called 'individual-level' adjunct; a weak adjunct is one whose truth is not necessarily entailed, i.e. 'stage-level'. Let us look at some of Stump's examples (1985: 41):

- (1a) **Being a master of disguise**, Bill would fool everyone.
- (1b) **Wearing that outfit**, Bill would fool everyone.

- (2a) **Having unusually long arms**, John can touch the ceiling.
- (2b) **Standing on a chair**, John can touch the ceiling.

The adjuncts in (1a) and (2a) are strong (individual-level), since they denote permanent characteristics of the matrix subject. Their truth is therefore entailed, which means they do not fall within the scope of the matrix modal. According to Stump, such adjuncts are invariably in a causal relationship to their matrix; they behave like *because*-clauses.

The adjuncts in (1b) and (2b), on the other hand, are weak (stage-level), denoting temporary, changeable properties, which means their truth is not entailed, and they fall within the scope of the modal. In other words, only the weak adjuncts condition the meaning of the modal, and so they behave like *if*-clauses.

Similar distinctions are made between strong and weak adjuncts whose matrices have a frequency adverb such as *often* (3), or denote a habitual or generic situation (4). Examples from Stump (Stump 1985: 98f):

- (3a) **Weighing four tons**, our truck often makes the bridge shake.
- (3b) **Carrying a load of over 1500 lbs.**, our truck often makes the bridge shake.

- (4a) **Being a businessman**, John smokes cigars.
- (4b) **Lying on the beach**, John smokes cigars.

Again, the strong adjuncts in (3a) and (4a), Stump claims, are most naturally paraphrased as *because*-clauses. The weak adjuncts in (3b) and (4b), on the other hand, here serve to restrict the time intervals for which the frequency adverb *often* and the generic present tense *smokes* are true. Thus, they behave like *when*-clauses.

Although far from revolutionary, Stump's observations about strong (individual-level) free adjuncts are unquestionably convincing. Stative predicates typically trigger a causal reading, and the more permanent and unchangeable the state is, the more evident the causal interpretation will be, the extreme-most ones being those which involve copular-*being* predicates.

Less helpful for our purposes, however, are Stump's claims concerning weak (stage-level) adjuncts. The reason is this: Whereas Stump mainly discusses non-factual uses of modals, as in (1) and (2) above, what we are concerned with in the present study is narrative fiction, where situations are predominantly anchored in the past and thus presented as factual. Modal predicates are therefore typically of a different kind. Consider:

- (5) **Listening to the laughter, the voices, the talk, the sounds of children playing**, Harriet and David ... would reach for each other's hand, and smile, and breathe happiness. (DL1)

This example represents the most typical modal use in our material. The adjunct predicate is clearly weak in Stump's terms, but since we are dealing with habitual-*would*, a conditional reading is doubtful. The nearest gloss is, rather, a *when*-clause. In fact, I could find only three examples in our data where an *if*-clause is the closest equivalent:

- (6) A fence, hit by a police raid and **facing a long stretch of porridge**, would be quite able to trade information on a coming heist against a let-off for himself. (FF1)
'A fence, if he is hit by a police raid and faces a long stretch of porridge, would be ...'

Consider also the following example, which resembles the 'standing on a chair'-example above (2b):

- (7) **Straining his eyes**, he could just make out the two boxes which were stacked in the far corner of the room ... (MM1)

Again, the situation is narrated as factual, and thus asserted. What we are left with is an interpretation that is indeterminate (!) between cause, condition and same-time. We agree with Behrens, therefore, that the generalizations Stump makes regarding the effect of a modal operator are 'too optimistic' (Behrens 1998: 43).

2.2 Kortmann's (1991) scale of informativeness

A far more pragmatic approach to the relationship between free adjuncts and their matrix is offered by Kortmann (1991). Especially his 'scale of informativeness' has proven to be a valuable contribution to the understanding of free adjuncts, and we will employ it in our study, too, albeit in a somewhat simplified form.

Kortmann arranges present participial free adjuncts along a cline of informativeness based on the amount of knowledge that is required on the part of the reader to arrive at a given semantic relation conveyed by the adjunct. For instance, *-ing* adjuncts of the 'addition' type merely signal that their proposition co-occurs with that of the matrix, without modifying the matrix proposition any further. In terms of inferential processing, they require very little, and thus occupy the lower end of the scale. Conversely, for an adjunct to be understood as concessive, a great deal of inferencing must be done, and so 'concession' is at the top of the scale. To give another example, since a Result reading entails Posteriority, 'result' is placed one step higher than 'time after'. Consider Figure 2.1 below:

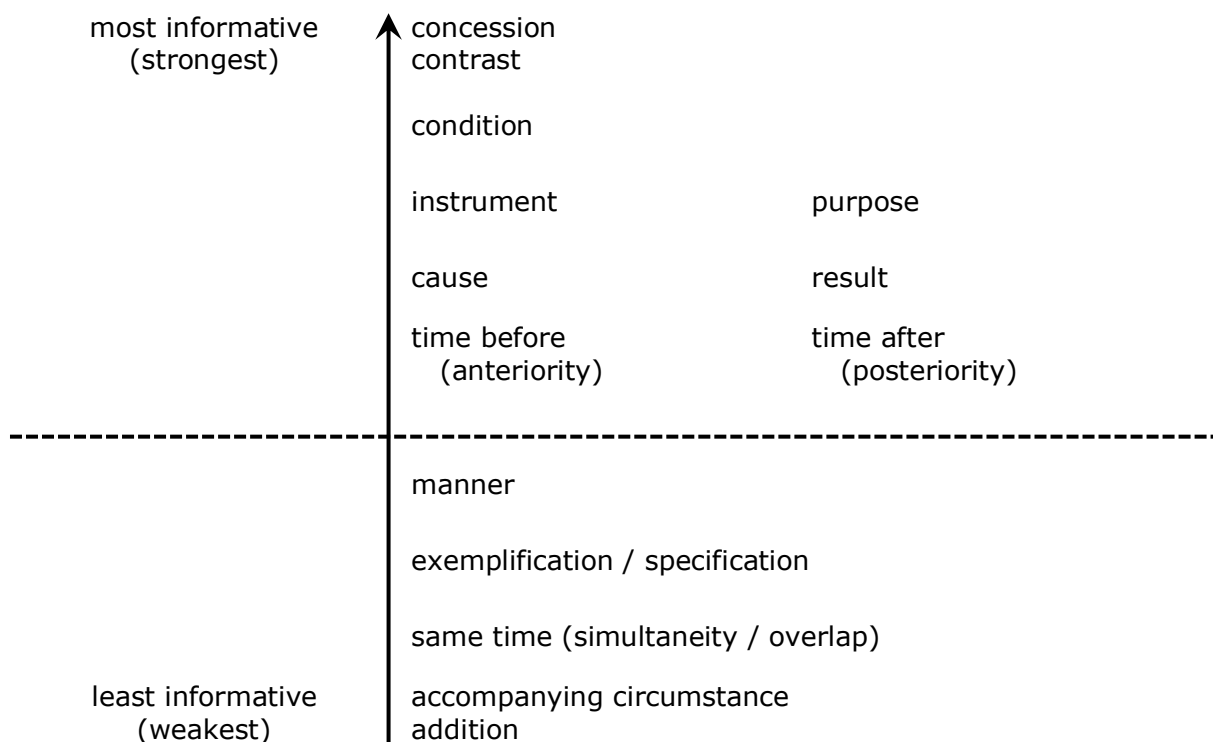


Figure 2.1: Kortmann's scale of informativeness³ (1991: 121)

Kortmann's semantic roles are quite self-explanatory, but 'exemplification/specification', it will be observed, parallels Halliday's ELABORATION (see 1.2.3), whereas 'accompanying circumstance' and 'addition' correspond to EXTENSION.

A crucial division Kortmann makes is that between event co-occurrence and event succession, illustrated by the broken horizontal line. Generally, he claims, identifying two events as succeeding each other temporally 'requires a considerably higher amount of knowledge or evidence' (Kortmann 1991: 121). Thus the least informative half of the scale incorporates relations of co-occurrence, and the most informative half houses various relations to do with sequence.

2.2.1 Augmentation of free adjuncts

An important corollary of this division is, as evidenced by Kortmann's empirical data of close to 1,700 adjuncts and absolutes, that the higher on the informative scale a given construction is placed, the more likely it is to be specified through some sort of augmentation, i.e. it will be introduced by a conjunction (*although, if, etc.*) or contain some

³ Only present-participial free adjuncts are relevant for the scale, since infinitival, past participial *V-ed*, and perfect participial *having* adjuncts by definition belong in the 'most informative' section. This also goes for conjunction-headed clauses and clauses incorporating some type of semantic hint (Kortmann 1991: 120).

other overt linguistic marker, notably adverbs (*therefore, nevertheless, etc.*). Kortmann states:

The more difficult the addresser believes the identification of the intended interpretation to be, the more likely is it that he/she marks it by some lexical item conventionally linked to the expression of the respective relation. (Kortmann 1991: 196)

Consider example (8a) from Kortmann (1991: 197):

(8a) But Mr. Mwinyi's program, **while showing progress**, is moving slowly, ...

Here, the subordinating conjunction *while* explicates the contrastive-concessive relation intended. This relation would be considerably harder to appreciate if the adjunct were unaugmented, as in (8b):

(8b) But Mr. Mwinyi's program, **showing progress**, is moving slowly, ...

Similarly, the contrastive-concessive link may be expressed through an adverb such as *yet* in the following example from our corpus:

(9) It always surprised him that, **apparently taking no account of him**, she could *yet* recall comments he had made months earlier. (PDJ3)

The frequency of explicating augmentation, Kortmann finds, escalates with relations higher on his informativeness scale. Free adjuncts denoting 'same time' are augmented in only 4.4% of the cases, whereas the percentage rises to 16.9% for 'anteriority/posteriority', and ultimately to 30.2% for 'contrast/concession' (Kortmann 1991: 196).

Still, for the overwhelming majority of free adjuncts the relations holding between them and their matrices are left unspecified, and must therefore be inferred. These inferences will be drawn from various linguistic and extra-linguistic elements, ranging from predicate types in the adjunct and the matrix, respectively, via the relative order in which an adjunct and its matrix are presented (i.e. initial, medial or final), to the surrounding – especially preceding – context. Ultimately, an interpretation may be reached largely as a result of one's knowledge of the world. Let us look at an example from Kortmann:

(10) Quickly Sam passed the door and hurried on to the second storey, **dreading at any moment to be attacked and to feel throttling fingers seize his throat from behind**. (1991: 112)

According to Kortmann, three quite different relations may potentially hold between the adjunct in (10) and its matrix: ‘accompanying circumstance’, ‘reason’, and ‘concession’. The Accompanying Circumstance reading would simply relate the two propositions as sharing time and space, without the one modifying the other in any respect. Reason and Concession, on the other hand, would be genuinely adverbial, but fundamentally different as regards how the character Sam comes across.

In a Reason interpretation, Sam hurried to the next storey *because* he was dreading an attack. In other words, he would come across as cautious, perhaps even cowardly. In a concessive (*although*) reading, by contrast, Sam ventured upstairs *despite* the risks of being attacked. Hence, he is portrayed as courageous. Which interpretation Kortmann ultimately landed on, is unclear, but it is presumed that the wider context guided him, for example in that Sam will already have been established in the narration as someone inclined to be scared or daring in this particular situation.

Constructions involving indeterminacy between Cause and Concession are, however, rare indeed. I found only one possible candidate, but a concessive reading requires some stretch of the imagination:

- (11) Violet’s in the drawing-room now, **not feeling too well in the circumstances** ... (MW1)

Here, a Reason vs. Concession interpretation will depend on whether the drawing-room is known as a place of sanctuary to which Violet retreats when feeling unwell, or, conversely, one of sacrifice (Concession), if she goes there despite the unpleasantness. The latter reading is admittedly dubious, and the preceding context precludes it.

2.2.2 Semantic relations in Kortmann’s fiction material

On pages 135 and 138-141 Kortmann presents a number of tables for various distributions of his material. For our purposes the most relevant statistics concern his fiction material (pages 140f). They are summarized in Figure 2.2 below:

The most appreciable asset of Kortmann’s scale of informativeness is arguably that it illustrates the semantic flexibility of *-ing* participial free adjuncts.

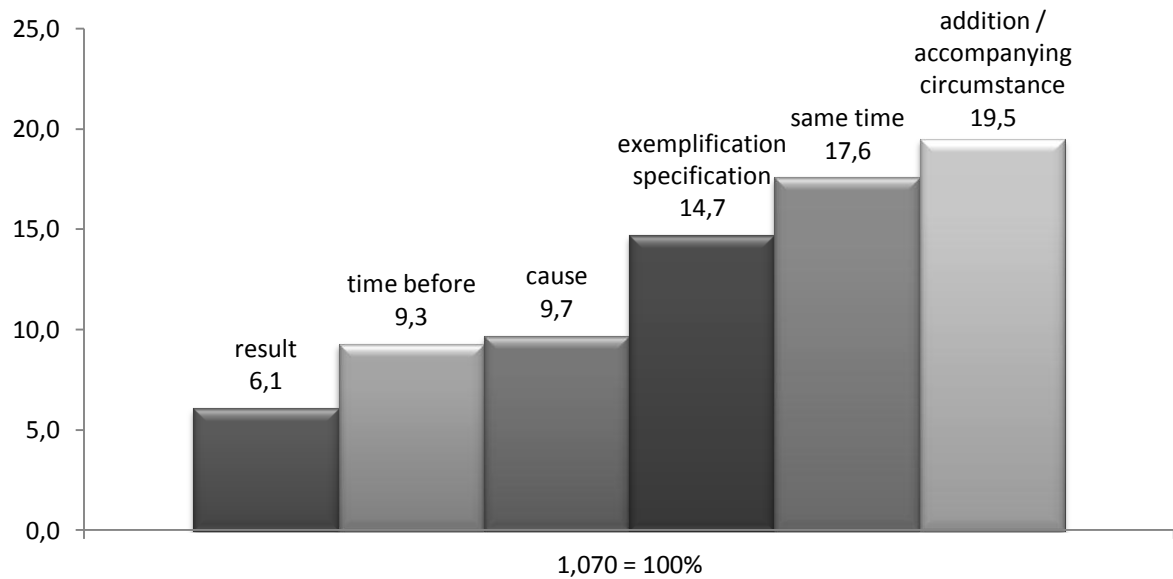


Figure 2.2: Six most frequent relations in fiction, in percentages. (Kortmann 1991: 141)

However, the percentages he gives for the specific semantic roles must be read with some caution, since ‘it was always the “most informative” one justified by the co-/context that was selected’ (Kortmann 1991: 133). His interpretations may thus have been overly skewed towards the ‘strongest’ readings, which means, potentially, that they were never intended as such by the writer, nor that they would be interpreted as such by the average reader. Still, we must appreciate the fact that Kortmann’s analysis shows the *potential* that free adjuncts have in terms of range of meaning.

2.3 Behrens’s (1998) interlingual approach to the interpretation of free adjuncts

Behrens’s approach is anchored in Discourse Representation Theory (DRT). Although formal semantics is outside the scope of our investigation, there are a great many observations in Behrens’s study that prove valuable to the interpretation of *-ing* participial adjuncts. Her aim is i) to establish semantic representations (so-called ‘interlingua’) for various meaning relationships between *-ing* adjuncts and their matrices, and ii) to use this interlingua to evaluate the degree to which a translation into Norwegian is successful or not. In her own words, the *-ing* participial free adjunct

... yields a variety of interpretations, and a discourse semantic approach to interpretation helps disambiguate the expression and assess its translation into

Norwegian. Discourse semantics permits the use of inference mechanisms to update the semantic material from the adjunct with contextual semantic information. (Behrens 1998: 71)

Behrens divides her main analysis between final adjuncts (chapters 4 and 5) and initial adjuncts (chapter 6).

2.3.1 Final adjuncts: causative event structures

By help of discourse semantics Behrens positively identifies final adjuncts as denoting a causative event or an elaboration. Causative-event adjuncts fall into two categories depending on their verb: i) Explicit causative structures contain verbs that are ‘void of any meaning but the causative relation itself’ (Behrens 1998: 93), such as *cause* and *make*. ii) Causative verb structures incorporate verbs that entail causation. These are a much more open class, but seem to have in common that they are transitive. Below, (12) shows an explicit causative structure and (13a) and (14a) causative verb structures:

(12) He towelled himself vigorously, **making the muscles of his biceps ripple** ... (Behrens 1998: 119)

(13a) Thomas ripped the screen door, **breaking the latch** ... (Behrens 1998: 113)

(14a) The volcano erupted, **burying the city in ashes**. (Behrens 1998: 93)

Of the two types, explicit causatives seem the least problematic, since it would be hard to imagine an explicit causative structure to be anything but causative. Type ii) causative verbs, on the other hand, are more challenging since causation here is implicit. If I have understood things correctly, these structures are interpreted as causative if they can be made explicit through a paraphrase with *causing* + NP followed by the causative verb in the infinitive (13b) or the passive infinitive (14b). Consider:

(13b) Thomas ripped the screen door, **causing the latch to break** ...

(14b) The volcano erupted, **causing the city to be buried in ashes**.

Transitive-ergative verbs such as *break*, *split*, *sink*, etc. allow the active infinitive paraphrase (13b), whereas transitive-only verbs require the passive infinitive (14b): *bury*, *knock*, *throw*, etc. We have used this test to establish a Result relation in our material.

Causative structures are, according to Behrens, successfully translated into Norwegian in a variety of ways, but they predominantly fall into three main categories: i) causal connective *så*, *slik at* + ergative verb; ii) causal connective or *og*-coordination + passive verb; or iii) VP conjunction with causative verb. Here are three English-Norwegian pairs, one for each type:

- (15) Table cloths snapped and billowed like sails, **tipping over candles and wine glasses**. (Behrens 1998: 127)
Borddukene blafret og svulmet som seil i storm, så vinglass og tente lys veltet.
 (connective *så* + ergative *veltet*)
- (16) When the atmosphere becomes dry, the capsule wall expands until it suddenly snaps apart, **throwing the spores into the air** ... (Behrens 1998: 129)
Når luften blir tørr, utvides kapselen til den sprekker, og sporene slynges ut
 ...
 (*og*-coordination + S-passive *slynges*)
- (17) Steam hisses between the blocks of lava, **caking the mouths of the vents with yellow sulfur**. (Behrens 1998: 136)
Damp hvisler opp mellom lavablokkene og kliner utløpsmunningen til med gul svovel.
 (VP conjunction + causative *kliner til*)

Other viable translation types exist, too, such as explicit Norwegian causatives *gjøre*, *resultere i*, *få til å* and *føre til*. These typically accompany ‘propositional relative’ *noe som*:

- (18) The hair on his head was dark, nearly black, but receding severely, **giving the effect of a superlatively high forehead**. (Behrens 1998: 144)
Håret på hodet var mørkt, nesten svart, men med dype viker, noe som gjorde at pannen virket eksepsjonelt høy.
 (propositional relative *noe som* + explicit causative *gjorde at*)

Since she is primarily concerned with semantic mechanisms for establishing the meaning relations and for assessing translation felicity, Behrens offers little in terms of clear statistical prominence. However, she does make observations which we will relate to our own data (Chapter 4), e.g. that ‘although passives occur, the ergative structure is chosen in the majority of cases’ (Behrens 1998: 128), and further, that ergatives ‘strongly prefer the causative connective’ (Behrens 1998: 129).

2.3.2 Final adjuncts: elaboration

According to Behrens, Elaboration is the relation type that holds for the ‘majority of final free adjuncts’ (Behrens 1998:150). This particular relation is arrived at through so-called

‘merging’ of propositional content. It means the adjunct proposition is wholly or partly subsumed in the matrix proposition. In other words, ‘the event in the adjunct makes up part of or is identical to the event in the matrix’ (Behrens 1998: 151). Let us look at two examples from our own data. In the first one (19) the adjunct entails the entire matrix event, whereas in (20), only part of the superordinate event is entailed:

- (19) They mistook her gentleness for disdain; perhaps he mistook it, too, in another way, **taking the gentleness for what it appeared to be instead of the strength of will it softly gloved.** (NG1)
- (20) Mostly it was hot chocolate she made, **warming the milk in a saucepan on the stove before mixing it.** (RD1)

In (20), it will be observed, the warming of the milk elaborates on the initial stage of the complex process of making hot chocolate.

In most cases, the matrix denotes an event. But according to Behrens, free adjuncts may also elaborate on states, such as locatives:

- (21) Megan was there, **still eating breakfast.** (TH1)

This also applies to so-called ‘small clauses’, as in (22):

- (22) He called, accordingly, at the latter’s apartment, and found him in bed, **staring at the ceiling and moaning in an undertone.** (Behrens 1998: 201)
(small clause expanded: ‘he was in his bed’)

In all the above examples there is merging between the situations in the adjuncts and their matrices, thus an Elaboration relation is identified. However, in the following example, no such merging can be identified:

- (23) We walked slowly along the rows of trestle tables, **admiring the merciless French housewives at work.** (Behrens 1998: 192)

This is because mental verbs, here *admiring*, ‘do not take a locational argument’ (Behrens 1998: 191). It would be infelicitous to say *‘We admired along the rows of trestle tables’. Therefore, ‘only the weaker relation of Accompanying Circumstance can be inferred’. (Behrens 1998: 192)

As far as translation into Norwegian is concerned, most elaborating adjuncts are successfully rendered by *ved å* + infinitive if the matrix is an event, and by a separate sentence if the matrix is a state. Compare (24) and (25) here:

- (24) He demonstrated winter for us, **wrapping an imaginary overcoat over his shoulders**. (Behrens 1998: 196)
Han demonstrerte vinter for oss ved å trekke en imaginær vinterfrakk over skuldrene.
- (25) Thus the front half of the skating dog may have the intention of proceeding in a straight line, but the rear half is wildly out of control, **fishtailing from side to side and sometimes threatening to overtake**. (Behrens 1998: 199)
Altså kan forparten av en skøyteløpende hund ha til hensikt å bevege seg rett fremover, mens bakparten helt har mistet styringen. Den sklir i sikksakk bortover og truer iblant med å ta igjen sin forpart.

Other translation types are found, too, such as locative-relative *der*, when the matrix is a locative:

- (26) They spend a great deal of time on the ground, **barging their way through the vegetable litter** ... (Behrens 1998: 200)
De tilbringer mye tid på bakken, der de graver seg gjennom vegetasjonen
...

Occasionally, the locative-relative is expanded by a stance verb before the actual rendering of the adjunct verb comes, as in the following example involving a small clause matrix:

- (27) I found him on the track behind his house, **contemplating a five-foot stake that he had planted at the edge of a clearing**. (Behrens 1998: 201)
Jeg fant ham på stein bak huset, der han sto og vurderte ...

There seems to be some inconsistency with regard to the treatment of locative *der* + stance verb, however. Example (28a) below is, according to Behrens, a case of Accompanying Circumstance, since the adjunct has a mental verb (cf. (27) above):

- (28a) ... a dour executive with cropped hair is pictured first at her desk, **grimly pondering an empty family-picture frame**. (Behrens 1998: 202)
En streng sjef med kort hår er først avbildet ved skrivebordet mens hun morskt grunner over en tom fotoramme ...

Behrens seems to find support for her analysis in the fact that the authentic translation has a *mens* clause. However, I would suggest a locative-relative *der* + stance verb would be an equally acceptable rendering, thus facilitating an Elaboration reading similar to (27) above, thus:

- (28b) En streng sjef med kort hår er først avbildet ved skrivebordet, *der hun sitter og grunner morskt over en tom fotoramme ...*

2.3.3 Initial adjuncts: accompanying circumstance

While demonstrating how specific relations can be positively identified between final adjuncts and their matrices, Behrens finds that for initial *-ing* adjuncts relations are ‘generally vague, expressing mere accompanying circumstance’ (Behrens 1998: 205). Their purpose can only be ascertained if the previous context is taken into account.

Behrens draws two important distinctions: i) between contextually new and given information and ii) between culminating and non-culminating events in the free adjunct. These distinctions have bearings on how the free adjunct is understood, as well as how it can be successfully translated into Norwegian.

In a non-culminating event, i.e. states and processes, the relation between the adjunct and the matrix will always be one of time-inclusion (simultaneity or overlap). If the information in the adjunct is contextually given, a translation into a Norwegian *mens*-clause is called for (29). If the information is new, the adjunct is translated into a full sentence, often followed by a *mens*-clause (30):

- (29) He went over to the washbasin and washed his eyes. **Stooping over the basin**, he decided. “I’ll have to tell him.” (Behrens 1998: 246)
Han gikk bort og vasket ansiktet. Mens han holdt på med det, bestemte han seg. ...
- (30) Amy looked at her. “That mean you don’t have no appetite? Well, I got to eat me something.” **Combing her hair with her fingers**, she carefully surveyed the landscape once more. (Behrens 1998: 257)
... Hun kjemmet håret med fingrene mens hun omhyggelig gransket omgivelsene en gang til.

In (29) the stooping entails the washing of eyes, so the information in the adjunct is given. In (30) no contextual clue is given for the combing activity.

Culminating-event adjuncts (achievements and accomplishments) may either precede or overlap the matrix situation. Those carrying new information are rendered by VP conjunction, as in (31) below:

- (31) Dr Streiner stood up from his desk and **crossing to the paneled wall** he pressed a concealed switch ... (Behrens 1998: 253)
Dr Streyner reiste seg. Han gikk bort til veggen og trykte på en skjult knapp.

It is not explicitly stated how culminating adjuncts rendering old information are best translated. However, since Behrens deems *da*-clauses as infelicitous translations of adjuncts denoting new information, we take it that *da*-clauses are valid renderings of old-information adjuncts.

Behrens demonstrates the discursive function that initial adjuncts have, in that they help smooth the transition between main events in the storyline. And while admitting that it is difficult to establish the logical relation that they hold with regard to their matrices -- at least using formal semantics, she suggests that they readily carry an Enablement function, i.e. the matrix proposition follows as a natural consequence of the adjunct proposition.

2.4 Concluding remarks

Stump (1985), Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998) have, as we have seen, quite different approaches to the understanding of the English *-ing* participial free adjunct. Whereas Stump and Behrens approach the analysis of these constructions from a formal semantic point of orientation, Kortmann opts for the largely pragmatic viewpoint.

Both Stump and Behrens document that there may be specific semantic operators within the clause-complexes that will determine the semantic relationship between the adjunct and its matrix. Stump focuses largely on three types of operators in the matrix, viz. modal verbs, frequency adverbs and generic or habitual situations (Generalization Operator G”). Behrens identifies specific relations between final free adjuncts and their matrices depending on whether the adjunct verb has a causal verb, hence a Cause-Consequence relation, or whether the situation in the adjunct can be seen to merge with that of its matrix, thus triggering Elaboration.

Both, however, state that for a number of cases the identification of the semantic relation hinges on pragmatic factors, cf. Stump, who says that

the intuitive logical role of a free adjunct ... is a product of both the semantics of English and the inferences of language users. (Stump 1985: 344)

Similarly, Behrens admits that especially for initial adjuncts, which are generally vague, there sometimes exist finer distinctions, such as Enablement, which is ‘not considered a semantic relation, but a pragmatic implicature’ (Behrens 1998: 54).

Kortmann, on the other hand, while postulating that meaning relationships are largely arrived at by means of pragmatic inferences, repeatedly points to overt semantic elements

in the clause-complexes when establishing the logical role that a free adjunct holds, e.g. verb type, adverbs, negation, etc.

To sum up, we note that both disciplines pick from each other's fields, and this, I think, to a large extent illustrates the fundamentals of the construction at hand; discerning the logical meaning relation that a free adjunct has to its matrix – if at all necessary to discern precisely – will more often than not be an interplay between semantics and pragmatics.

Chapter Three

The Structural Flexibility of Free Adjuncts

3.1 Identifying position

Generally, three main positions are open to *-ing* participial free adjuncts relative to their superordinate clause; initial, medial and final. Initial position means before the subject slot of the matrix, whereas final position means after the last obligatory clause constituent, as in (1) and (2), respectively:

- (1) **Struggling to contain the sadness at the thought of going away**, I covered my face with an elbow to concentrate on the dull warmth ebbing from me. (ABR1)
- (2) Mrs Spede drew a string from around her neck, **revealing a key that had lain within the cleft of her bosom**. (MW1)

Medial position is represented in (3) and (4):

- (3) Matilda, **holding the hat in one hand and a thin tube of Superglue in the other**, proceeded to squeeze a line of glue very neatly all round the inside rim of the hat. (RD1)
- (4) One wondered, **glancing at the photo of Comrade Novotný**, how a man with so disagreeable a mouth would consent to being photographed at all. (BC1)

In (3), the adjunct immediately follows the matrix subject, whereas in (4), it separates the matrix verb from its object. In the literature (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Lindquist, 1989), finer distinctions are made, so that our example (4) would in fact be defined as “initial-end”. However, we will include also these constructions in the medial category, since both type (3) and type (4) above have the effect of putting the completion of the matrix proposition

on hold. In other words, we follow e.g. Hasselgård *et al* (1998) in defining medial position as ‘any slot between the subject and the last obligatory element in a clause’ (Hasselgård *et al.* 1998: 286).

So far our examples have displayed relatively basic clause-complexes where the matrix is the sole independent clause. There are, however, copious examples where the matrix is a coordinate clause (examples (5), (7) and (9) below) or itself a subordinate clause ((6), (8) and (10)). Examples (5) and (6) involve initial adjuncts, (7) and (8) contain medial, and (9) and (10) final. In each case the matrix clause has been italicized:

- (5) He picked it up, *and wrapping it round his neck he went into the hall* and closed the front door carefully behind him. (MM1)
- (6) It always surprised him *that, apparently taking no account of him, she could yet recall comments he had made months earlier.* (PDJ3)
- (7) With that the man dashed out of the room *and Mrs Wormwood, sighing deeply, went to the telephone to call the beauty parlour.* (RD1)
- (8) She was – which meant *that Arthur, being nicer, had no intention of deserting or abandoning his wife and running off with Natalie when she became, as it were, free.* (FW1)
- (9) He closed his mouth then *and looked at me, waiting to see what else I might ask.* (SG1)
- (10) When Lady Fiona returned with the signed receipt she found the nice young man leaning against the door jamb, *from which he straightened up with an apologetic smile, smearing any surplus from the ball of his thumb as he did so.* (FF1)

There are, however, cases where the position of the free adjunct may be slightly more difficult to determine. Let us look at two such cases.

3.1.1 Matrix clause ellipsis

In (11a) below, the second coordinate has an omitted subject:

- (11a) She reached for his bottle *and, seeing the gnawed nipple, threw it against the wall in anger and disgust.* (GN1)

We understand the omitted subject as co-referential with *she* in the first coordinate, thus:

- (11b) She reached for his bottle *and, seeing the gnawed nipple, [she] threw it against the wall in anger and disgust.*

In (12a), both the subject and the verb are deleted, but are recovered from elements earlier in the sentence, (12b):

- (12a) She drops the bath towel, which is green, a muted sea-green to match her eyes, looks over her shoulder, sees in the mirror the dog's-neck folds of skin above the waist, the buttocks drooping like wattles, *and*, **turning**, *the dried fern of hair*. (MA1)
- (12b) ... the buttocks drooping like wattles, *and*, **turning**, [*she sees*] *the dried fern of hair*.

In cases such as these, we interpret the *-ing* clauses as initial adjuncts, as is reflected in gloss (11b) and (12b). This is in accordance with Behrens (1998: 243).

3.1.2 Chains of *-ing* adjuncts

There are a number of sentences where two or more *-ing* adjuncts succeed each other in an unbroken sequence, so-called chaining. In most cases they seem to behave in a unison way with regard to their matrix clause:

- (13) “What is that smell?” he asked, **wiping his eyes with his sleeve** and **placing the laurel amongst their cups and glasses**. (JC1)
- (14) **Rolling** and **thrashing**, he unleashed a violent torrent of curses on us. (BO1)

In other cases, especially clause-initial chains such as (15a) below, one may sometimes be in doubt as to whether both adjuncts together relate to the subsequent matrix, or whether the latter adjunct relates to the former:

- (15a) **Plodding through the paperwork, trying to make decisions**, I realised that I didn't know what Greville would want. (DF1)

Here, the second *-ing* clause ‘trying to make decisions’ may well be regarded as elaborating on the proposition ‘plodding through the paperwork’. This means that i) the first adjunct serves as the matrix on which the second adjunct depends, and ii) the second adjunct is in final position relative to its matrix. To put it differently, if we regard (15a) as an instance of double-initial chaining, we may gloss it thus:

- (15b) **Plodding through the paperwork** [*and*] **trying to make decisions**, I realised that I didn't know what Greville would want.

Conversely, if the second adjunct is taken to elaborate on the first, we get the following paraphrase:

- (15c) [*As I plodded*] **through the paperwork, trying to make decisions**, I realised that I didn't know what Greville would want.

Chains of *-ing* clauses have in the frequency counts in this paper been regarded as single instances, no matter the number of *-ing* clauses in each chain. However, this does not include examples such as (16):

- (16) David had been standing just where he was for an hour drinking judiciously, his serious grey-blue eyes taking their time over this person, that couple, **watching** how people engaged and separated, **ricocheting** off each other. (DL1),

where the first adjunct 'watching ...' expands on the superordinate clause 'David had been standing ...' (or possibly, the absolute clause 'his serious grey-blue eyes taking their time ...'), whereas the second adjunct 'ricocheting ...' relates to the immediately preceding WH-clause 'how people engaged and separated'. In this sentence, therefore, we have two separate free adjuncts, both of which are in final position.

3.2 Position of free adjuncts in EngOrig and EngTran

Having thus established what we mean by position, let us now look at how our data map onto the three positions available. Our material comprises a total of 2,472 free adjuncts: 1,404 original and 1,068 translated. Their distribution across the three main positions – initial, medial and final – is given in Figure 3.1:

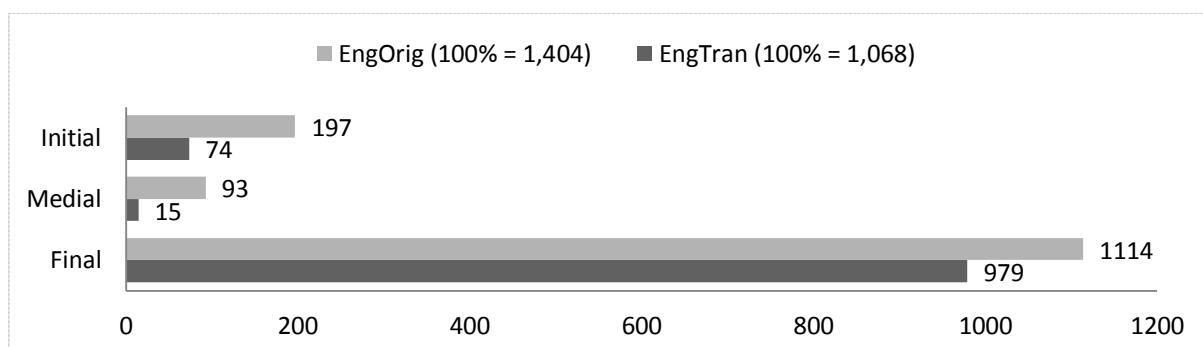


Figure 3.1: Position of free adjuncts

We observe that in both EngOrig and EngTran, clause-final *-ing* adjuncts vastly outnumber the other two positions; there are more than five times as many adjuncts in final position as in the other two positions combined. Moreover, EngTran is not trailing very far behind EngOrig. In both variants it seems that *-ing* adjuncts lend themselves favourably to be hinged onto the end of clauses. However, differences between EngOrig and EngTran become clearer in connection with initial and medial positions. The relative percentages for EngOrig are 14.0%, 6.6% and 79.3% for initial, medial and final positions, respectively. For EngTran the corresponding percentages are 6.9%, 1.4% and 91.7%.

If looked at internally, the EngOrig ratio initial:medial:final is roughly 2:1:12, which means that for every medial adjunct there are two initial and twelve final adjuncts, and that for every initial adjunct there are six final adjuncts. In EngTran, by contrast, the ratio is grossly 5:1:71, i.e. one medial adjunct for every five initials and 71 finals, and one initial for every 14 final adjuncts.

Turning now to a comparison between original and translated English, we see that in initial position free adjuncts in EngOrig outnumber those in EngTran by almost 3 to 1; 197 instances compared to 74. We may hypothesize that i) there is some caution towards translating a Norwegian coordinate or independent clause into an English subordinate clause, and similarly, that ii) translators are reluctant to reduce a Norwegian finite subclause to an English (non-finite) participial clause. Both factors can be traced back to the aforementioned direct-correspondence alternatives.

With medially placed adjuncts, the contrast between original and translated English is even more striking. EngOrig adjuncts in this position outweigh EngTran ones by more than 6 to 1; 93 vs. a mere 15. The same hypotheses apply to medial adjuncts as to initial adjuncts, but we may add a third, that iii) this reflects certain restrictions on the types of element that readily go in medial position, in Norwegian as well as in English. Disregarding restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, normally only phrases and participial clauses occupy mid-position. Bearing in mind, again, that Norwegian does not possess a construction quite similar to the English *-ing* participial adjunct, we should perhaps only expect there to be fewer medial adjuncts in translation, since opting for an *-ing* clause would not only involve a possible reduction of an independent, coordinate or finite clause, but also a reordering of clauses.

Finally, we note with some fascination that although said to occur rather infrequently, medially placed *-ing* adjuncts in original English show a higher bare frequency than initially placed adjuncts in translated English; 93 as compared to 74. It seems only logical to assume that this (and other differences) may be explained by – if not downright translation transfer – then at least by some fundamental structural differences between the two languages.

3.3 Structural correspondences of *-ing* participial free adjuncts

Previous accounts of the *-ing* participial adjunct from a contrastive English-Norwegian perspective recurrently mention three main ways in which the *-ing* adjunct is typically translated, viz. coordination, independent clause and finite subordinate clause. (Johansson and Lysvåg 1987, Hasselgård *et al.* 1998).

As was pointed out in Section 1.1, Norwegian does not have a grammaticalised form with the same range of application as the English *-ing* participial free adjunct. Moreover, for all (or most) Norwegian correspondences of English *-ing* adjuncts, there are direct English counterparts, which in most cases will be viable contestants in translation from Norwegian to English. Consider:

- (17a) **Da han krysset tett forbi den sørligste fløyen**, hørte han en lyd som av knust glass som varte ved og steg og sank. (KAL1)
- (17b) **Passing close by the southern wing**, he heard a sound like that of glass being crushed. (KAL1T)
- (17c) **As he passed close by the southern wing**, he heard a sound like that of glass being crushed.

Version (17b) is the authentic translation of (17a), but (17c) is equally acceptable, at least as far as the spacio-temporal relation between the clauses is concerned; the Norwegian finite adverbial subclause ‘Da han krysset ...’ is successfully rendered by its direct English counterpart ‘As he passed ...’⁴. With this in mind, then, it is no surprise that *-ing* adjuncts are more frequent in original English than in translated English; 1,404 instances as opposed to 1,063.

⁴ Arguably, the progressive ‘As he was passing by ...’ would perhaps better signal the framing function that the adverbial has with respect to its matrix.

Section 3.3 (with subsections) aims to discuss in some detail the full range of Norwegian correspondence types found in our data. But before we can do so, our material needs to be reduced to a more manageable size.

3.3.1 Delimitation of data

Throughout the rest of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, our data comprises 682 free adjuncts; 442 from English original texts and 240 from English translated texts. We have kept all adjuncts in initial and medial position; 197 plus 74 initial adjuncts from EngOrig and EngTran, respectively, and 93 plus 15 medial. However, from the vast number of final adjuncts, 1,114 plus 1,068, we have randomly extracted 150 sentence units from each variant. The first five S-units were sifted from each of the 60 novel extracts⁵, rendering 152 final adjuncts for EngOrig and 151 for EngTran.

3.3.2 Norwegian correspondences

Table 3.1 displays the main Norwegian correspondence types, ordered along a declining scale of structural prominence, from ‘independent clause’, via ‘coordination’ and ‘subordination’, to ‘phrasal correspondent’.

Table 3.1: Main Norwegian correspondence types for *-ing* adjuncts, across positions

Norwegian correspondence	EngOrig			EngTran		
	Initial	Medial	Final	Initial	Medial	Final
Independent clause	25 (12.7%)	14 (15.1%)	46 (30.1%)	12 (16.2%)	1 (6.7%)	30 (19.9%)
Coordination	85 (43.1%)	28 (30.1%)	63 (41.4%)	24 (32.4%)	3 (20.0%)	73 (48.3%)
Subordination	57 (28.9%)	38 (40.9%)	19 (12,5)	12 (16.2%)	6 (40.0%)	21 (13,9%)
Phrase / participle	18 (9.1%)	12 (12.9%)	22 (14,5%)	22 (29.7%)	5 (33.3%)	20 (13,2%)
Other / No correspondence	12 (6.1%)	1 (1.1%)	2 (3.3%)	4 (5.4%)	-	7 (4.6%)
Total	197 (100%)	93 (100%)	152 (100%)	74 (100%)	15 (100%)	151 (100%)

⁵ As two NorwTran texts did not produce five *-ing* adjuncts (THA1T, two S-units and SH1T, one), an extra S-unit was picked from each of the following texts: FC1T, BV1T, EFH1T, EHA1T, HW2T, OEL1T and TB1T.

Each main type will be explored further in subsections 3.3.2.1 – 3.3.2.4. Finally we will mention briefly a number of *-ing* adjuncts whose counterparts fall outside the main categories ('other' and 'no-correspondence').

Needless to say, it will take far too long to go into every variable that can be gleaned from Table 3.1. However, we will point to certain tendencies here, and return to others in the subsections below. Moreover, it should be stated that we do not intend to exhaust the analysis of percentages. Rather, what we are interested in is i) to illuminate the variety of correspondences available to the *-ing* participial adjunct, and ii) to identify and speculate about the main differences between original and translated English.

Evidently, 'coordination' appears to be the most frequent correspondent, in both initial and final position, medial position showing a greater affinity for 'subordination'. Further, we note that 'independent clause' is a more frequent correspondence for final EngOrig than for final EngTran. Most interestingly, perhaps, 'subordination' has a much higher frequency for initial EngOrig than for initial EngTran, whereas the opposite can be observed for 'phrase correspondent', where correspondences for initial EngTran far outnumber those for initial EngOrig. Now let us look more closely at each of the main correspondence types.

3.3.2.1 *Independent clause*

In this group we find main clauses that are not part of coordination. There are five different types: i) 'Merged constructions', where the propositions denoted by the free adjunct and its matrix are subsumed in one single main clause, and where the situation in the adjuncts retains more salience than that of the matrix. There are eight occurrences for EngOrig and seven for EngTran, covering all positions except for medial EngTran.

- (18) **Reliving, mentally, the events of three days earlier**, Andrew said "You'll have to ... (AH1)
Minnet om hendelsene tre dager tidligere fikk ham til å si: "Du må ...

Next, ii) 'Shift' is a label for a set of clause-complexes where the adjunct and the matrix have switched roles, the subordinate clause becoming the superordinate in Norwegian, and vice versa. These types occur most frequently in initial position (nine times for EngOrig; three times for EngTran).

- (19) **Unravelling this carefully**, he worked his way backwards round the room ... (FF1)

Han rullet ledningen omhyggelig opp mens han balanserte seg baklengs langs veggene ...

Such reversal of prominence may potentially have an effect on the discourse. We will return to this aspect in Chapter 5.

A much larger group – for EngOrig, but not for EngTran – is iii) juxtaposed sentences separated by a full-stop, a semicolon or (in a single case) a dash. They show up in no less than 30 cases for EngOrig but only three times for EngTran. However, in the last group, iv) juxtaposition around a comma (with or without an overt subject in the second member), translation into English scores higher than translation from English; 11.3% vs. 7.5%.

These are so-called ‘run-un’ sentences, frowned upon by prescriptivists, whereas others claim this dogmatic reservation is too categorical, cf. Vinje (1994: 143), who indirectly sheds valuable light on the *-ing* participial adjunct:

When there is a close connection between two or more sentences, we may well use a comma instead of a full stop. The sentence after the comma may contain an expected explanation of the preceding proposition, an elaboration, a specification, etc. (Vinje 1994: 143 – my translation⁶)

Here are two examples, the latter of which has ellipted subject:

- (20) The black youth shrugged, nonchalantly, still **smiling**, ... (DL2)
Den svarte gutten trakk likegyldig på skuldrene, han smilte fremdeles ...
- (21) Through cool paved streets I found my way, **having deliberately left my car** ... (ABR1)
Jeg tok meg frem gjennom de svale, brolagte gatene, hadde bevisst latt bilen stå ...

3.3.2.2 Coordination

As mentioned in section 3.3.2, ‘coordination’ is by far the most frequent correspondence type for English *-ing* adjuncts, accounting for almost equally high percentages in both original and translated Norwegian; 41.6 and 39.8 per cent, respectively. Three main types were found in our data: i) *og*-coordination with comma (labelled ‘, og’ here); ii) *og*-coordination without comma (labelled ‘og’); and iii) coordination sequence (‘Seq’), which involves a sequence of three or more coordinated clauses, whose last coordinate is usually

⁶ Source text: ‘Når det er tett forbindelse mellom to eller flere hovedsetninger, kan vi gjerne sette komma i stedet for punktum. Setningen etter komma kan inneholde en ventet forklaring på det foregående, en utdyping, en presisering e l’ (Vinje 1994: 143)

separated off by *og*. When we look more closely at the different types of coordination, some rather interesting differences appear. (Frequencies are given in Figure 3.2 below.)

Although punctuation practice, and perhaps especially the use or non-use of commas, is known to be a subjective thing, certain observations should be commented on. Absence of a comma seems to be the rule, but especially with *-ing* adjuncts in final position, translations into Norwegian make use of the comma far more often than original Norwegian; in NorTran we find 21 instances of ‘, *og*’ and 38 ‘*og*’ (11.5 vs. 20.7 per cent), whereas the figures for NorOrig are 3 and 65, respectively. One motivating factor behind the higher frequency of commas in translation might be that the detachedness of the free adjunct more often ought to

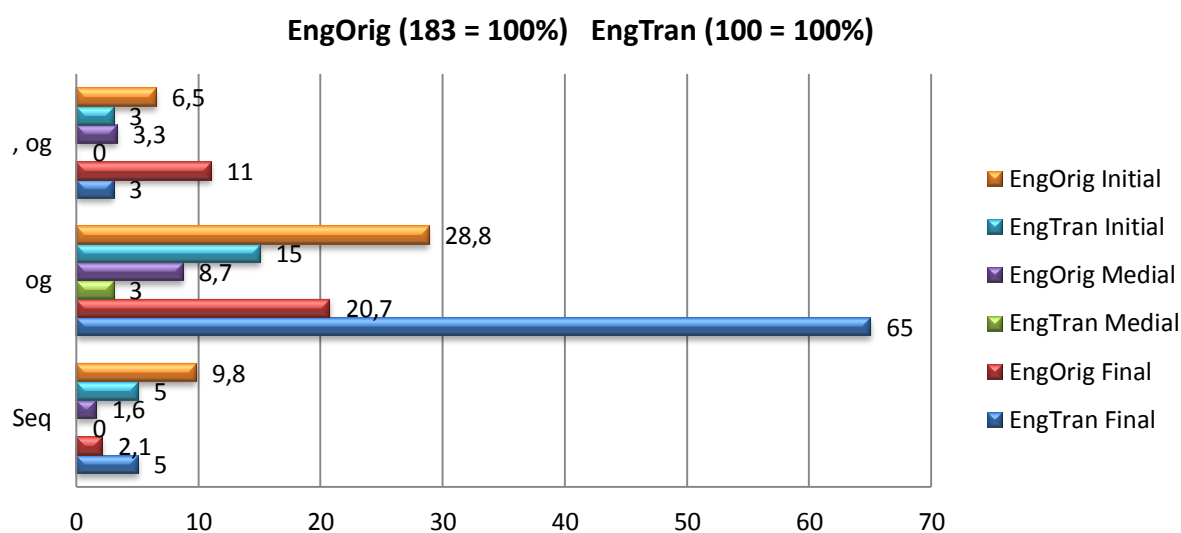


Figure 3.2: Norwegian coordination types in percentages

be underlined orthographically in the translation, viz. through a comma. Another possible explanation is the obvious one; punctuation practices in the original are simply copied in the translation. In original Norwegian, of course, these two factors are absent. Two examples follow which show the difference just mentioned:

- (22) He was up on the platform now, **looking over the railing at the jellyfish.** (RDO1)
*Han var oppe på plattformen nå, **og kikket på maneten over rekkverket.***
- (23) “Beautiful weather,” a horseman greeted them, **doffing his hat with a flourish.** (SL1T)
*“Vakkert vær,” hilste en rytter **og svingte galant med hatten.***

Initial and medial adjuncts show the same preference for comma-less correspondence for both EngTran and EngOrig. Lower frequencies for EngTran are simply a reflection of the fact that initial and medial adjuncts are far more infrequent in English translation than in English original.

However, one more feature is worth mentioning. The subtype ‘Seq’ – sequence – appears more frequently for initial EngOrig than for the other positions; 18 times (8.9%) compared to three and four times in medial and final position, respectively. Consider:

- (24) Without a nod to Orlik he then climbed into the organ loft and, **seating himself amid its choir of giltwood and trumpeting angels**, began to play a funeral march ... (BC1)
Uten et nikk til Orlik kløv han opp i orgelpulpituret, satte seg midt blant forgylte utskjæringer og basunengler og gav seg til å spille en sørgemarsj
...

The original has two coordinates, the second of which is preceded by an *-ing* clause. One appreciable effect of this seems to be a slowing down of the narrative. We will look more closely at this example in Section 5.2.1.

Besides *og* coordination and sequence, a small number of other coordinating conjunctions were found; five instances of *men*-coordination and one *så*-coordination, both types for EngOrig. EngTran, on the other hand, displayed one instance of an *-ing* adjunct stemming from *for*-coordination.

3.3.2.3 Subordination

The correspondence category ‘subordination’ will constitute a major part of chapter 4 ‘semantic versatility’ since in most cases the use of subordinators helps establish the logical relation between a free adjunct and its matrix. In the following we shall merely present a table of frequencies of the different types of subordination along with a few examples. Consider Table 3.2 below.

In two out of every five instances of medial free adjuncts, the Norwegian correspondence is a subordinate clause; 40.9% for EngOrig and 40.0% for EngTran. Relative *som*-clauses are the most frequent renderings. However, the rather high figure for conjunction-headed subclause for EngOrig (13 out of 93) suggests that a relative clause is far from always the desired translation.

Table 3.2: Norwegian subordination as correspondence of English *-ing* adjuncts: raw figures

Norwegian Correspondence	EngOrig			EngTran		
	Initial 197=100%	Medial 93=100%	Final 152=100%	Initial 74=100%	Medial 15=100%	Final 151=100%
Conjunction-headed subclause	49	13	9	5	2	10
Relative <i>som</i> -clause	3	22	4	-	3	6
Locative-relative <i>der</i> -clause	2	-	1	4	1	4
Infinitive clause	3	3	5	3	-	1
Total	57 (28.9%)	38 (40.9%)	19 (12.5%)	12 (16.2%)	6 (40.0%)	21 (13.9 %)

We also observe that final adjuncts show comparably low percentages for subordination, in both corpora. This must be taken as a further indication that *-ing* adjuncts in this position resemble coordination or juxtaposition functionally, both of which show much higher percentages. Lastly, the perhaps most noteworthy aspect of Table 3.2 concerns initial EngOrig, of which as many as 49 out of 57 – or 86% – are rendered as conjunction-headed subclauses. We shall return to a fuller discussion of the two most frequent correspondence types ‘conjunction-headed subclause’ and ‘relative *som*-clause’ in Chapter 4. Let us now briefly look at the two bottom subcategories, ‘infinitive clause’ (25) and ‘locative-relative *der*-clause’ (26) and (27):

- (25) I thanked her, **not knowing exactly what for**, and put down the receiver,
... (DF1)
Jeg takket henne, uten å være sikker på hva jeg egentlig takket for, og la på røret. ...
- (26) To Harriet he did not have the look of someone solidly planted: he seemed almost to hover, **balancing on the balls of his feet**. (DL1)
For Harriet virket det som om han ikke var solid festet, det så nesten ut som om han svevet, der han stod og balanserte på fotsålene.

Locative-relative *der*-clauses, it will be noted, are the only category besides present participial *-ende* (see 3.3.2.4 below) in which EngTran outweighs EngOrig in raw figures; nine instances (30.0% of subordination) as opposed to three (2.6%). In fact, locative-relative *der*-clauses may be regarded as having a one-to-one correspondence with V-*ing there*-clauses, consider:

- (27) **Sitting there**, I was wishing sincerely that she would take her damned watering-can and disappear from my life. FC1T
Der jeg satt, ønsket jeg inderlig at hun ville ta den fordømte vannkannen med seg og forsvinne ut av mitt liv.

In (27) a direct translation into ‘where I was sitting’ may have been interpreted as excessive focus on the location of the I-person, corresponding, rather, to Norwegian ‘der hvor jeg satt’. Not surprisingly, almost all *-ing* adjuncts of this particular type involve a stance verb; ‘sitting’, ‘standing’ or ‘lying’.

3.3.2.4 Phrase and participle correspondence

The Norwegian present participle *V-ende* is, as we have noted, the only direct correspondent of the *-ing* participle. Moreover, EngTran displays a greater number than EngOrig; 17 (7.1%) as opposed to 11 (2.5%). *V-ende* appears in all positions in our material; here, medial:

- (28) She would throw a few drops of cold water on her face and then hurry, **shivering**, after the other women, ... (TTH1T)
Så skvettet hun litt kaldt vann i ansiktet for å bli skikkelig våken og ruslet småhuttorende etter de andre jentene ...

Two much more infrequent constructions, found only in EngOrig, are ‘preposition + *V-ende*’ and ‘preposition + *V-ed*’, three and one instances only. Note how the verbal element has been retained:

- (29) **Expelling carp bones through his beard**, Orlík described how ... (BC1)
Med karpeben dryssende ut av skjegget fortalte Orlík at ...
- (30) Fibich, **clutching his neuralgic head**, might groan at every suggestion ... (AB1)
Fibich, med hendene presset mot sitt nevralgiske hode, kunne nok stønne for hvert forslag ...

A rather more frequent group is ‘prepositional phrase’ (22 for EngOrig; 17 for EngTran), which occurs in all positions, and it is noteworthy that as many as eight initial EngTran adjuncts (10.8%) originate from a prepositional phrase:

- (31) **Going to the city today** I saw her again in the trolley, ... (KF1T)
På trikken til byen i dag så jeg henne igjen, ...

Other phrase types in this group are ‘adjective phrase’ (8 in EngOrig; 9 in EngTran) and ‘adverb phrase’ (4 and 1). I submit one example of each:

- (32) **Feeling hurt**, I come to a halt, ...SL1T
Oppgitt stopper jeg opp,
- (33) **Reaching the phone** he hears that it is Metta Nilsen ... (EH1T)
Framme i telefonen hører han det er Mette Nilsen ...

Examples (32) and (33) might reflect a greater freedom of various sentence openers in Norwegian (Hasselgård 2004: 7).

There were two instances of past participle correspondence, one for EngOrig and one for EngTran:

- (34) She stood back into the shelter of the bushes, **exchanging one fear for another**. (PDJ3)
Hun stilte seg i ly av buskene, grepet av en ny skrekk.

Lastly, ‘noun phrase’ shows up four times in the entire data; twice in each corpus:

- (35) ..., the tone is simple, harmonious, **expressing a friendship** for Leon and a strong self-reliance kept in check. (KH1T)
..., er det en enkel, harmonisk tone, en vennlighet overfor Leon og en sterk selvtillit under kontroll.

3.3.2.5 Other / No correspondence

There were a few examples of *-ing* adjuncts for which there was no correspondence, or for which so much rewriting had been done that they did not fit into any of our categories above.

- (35) But, **seeing the woman’s hardened face and eyes**, she said, “Look, I’ve just been to the Council. (DL2)
Men nabodamen var hard i blikket og stiv i ansiktet. “Du skjønner,” sa Alice, “jeg har nettopp vært oppe hos kommunen.

Here, the possessive determiner introducing the object of the nonfinite verb *seeing* has been lifted to subject status in the Norwegian translation: *the woman’s (hardened face)* → ‘nabodamen var hard i blikket’.

3.4 Concluding remarks

Our survey of Norwegian structural correspondence types for English *-ing* participial adjuncts are summed up in Table 3.3 below, displaying the five most frequent correspondence types for EngOrig and for EngTran, respectively:

Coordination is the most frequent correspondence type over all. Only for medial adjuncts does it rank second to another correspondence type.

For original English there seems to be a clear tendency to retain clausal status. Phrase type correspondence is found only once among the top-five categories in the EngOrig section,

namely in fifth spot for medial adjuncts: prepositional phrases. We also note that for initial original adjuncts, ‘finite clause’ is almost as frequent as ‘coordination’. This would suggest a tendency to keep the subordinate status of the initial *-ing* adjunct in the Norwegian rendering. Another corollary of this is that translators then will have to resort to conjunction-headed subclauses, thereby making the relation between the adjunct and its matrix explicit.

Table 3.3: Top-five Norwegian structural correspondences, across position

EngOrig			EngTran		
<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>
og coord (53)	relative cl (22)	og coord (37)	og coord (15)	-ende (4)	og coord (65)
finite subcl (49)	og coord (16)	, sentence (25)	-ende (9)	og coord (3)	, sentence (23)
sequence (18)	finite subcl (13)	, og coord (22)	PrepPhr (8)	relative cl (3)	finite subcl (10)
, og coord (12)	, og coord (6)	. Sentence (18)	finite subcl (5)	finite subcl (2)	PrepPhr (8)
shift (9)	PP / . Sent (5)	finite subcl (9)	sequence (5)	shift/PP/locrel (1)	relative cl (6)
N=197	N=93	N=152	N=74	N=15	N=151

For English translation, on the other hand, we note a clearer presence of non-verbal correspondences, or at least renderings where the verbal element is reduced (prepositional phrases and *-ende*). In fact, the Norwegian present participle comes as high as second place, behind only *og*-coordination, for initial adjuncts. As we shall see in Chapter 5, this is related to the fact that *-ing* adjunct propositions in translated English much more often than in original English are intransitive.

In final position, run-on sentences abound in both subcorpora, with 25 and 23 instances for EngOrig and EngTran, respectively, indicating a desire to signal a close semantic relation between the adjunct and its matrix. We shall come back to this in Chapter 4.

Lastly, we observe that for medial adjuncts in original English relative clauses are ranked on top, not unexpectedly. However, coordinated clauses and finite subclauses do not trail

far behind, suggesting that medially placed adjuncts have a richer function than that normally associated with non-restrictive relative clauses, i.e. additional, dispensable information about the antecedent. We shall explore this further in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

Chapter Four

The Semantic Versatility of Free Adjuncts

In most linguistic discussions of the English *-ing* participial free adjunct a great deal of attention is given to the logico-semantic relations that may hold between the adjunct and its matrix. The identification of the meaning relationship between propositions comes into play whenever clauses are ordered in such a way that they constitute discourse.

In carefully planned writing most sequences of two propositions – be they paratactically or hypotactically joined – display some sort of coherence, in terms of topic continuity, participant identification, temporal-causal progression, etc. – in short, the logical build-up of discourse. With *-ing* participial adjuncts in particular the reader is invited to identify coherence between the adjunct and its matrix simply because the former is syntactically dependent on the latter; there has to be some reason why a given proposition is coded as non-finite, and therefore dependent.

It is this question that has given rise to a proliferation of meaning relationships, from traditional adverbial roles such as Time and Cause, to more obscure quasi-adverbial roles such as Elaboration and Accompanying Circumstance. Especially, since the participial clause in itself does not specifically signal any one particular role, its relation to the matrix clause is more difficult to arrive at.

It will be the aim of this chapter to investigate the internal semantic relationships involved in clause-complexes displaying *-ing* participial free adjuncts.

4.1 Position and meaning relation

It is a widely acknowledged fact that the position of a given construction may have fundamental bearings on how it is interpreted. This holds for *-ing* participial free adjuncts as well.

Initially placed adjuncts, as we shall see, more readily signal traditional adverbial meanings than do finally placed ones. This has to do with the fact that in initial position, free adjuncts typically have scope over the ensuing matrix proposition. In other words, the matrix, simply by virtue of its position after the adjunct, will be seen in light of the adjunct proposition. For final adjuncts the opposite typically holds; here the matrix proposition forms the grounds against which the adjunct proposition is viewed.

In this position, therefore, we readily see quasi-adverbial roles such as Elaboration and Accompanying Circumstance. Moreover, the term ‘*-ing* coordination’ has been coined to mirror the fact that final *-ing* adjuncts are semantically closer to pure coordination than to traditional adverbial roles.

4.1.1 Initial and final positions

Drawing the line for final *-ing* adjuncts between Elaboration and Accompanying Circumstance is difficult, as Halliday illustrates in his section on extension:

With the additive and adversative [types of extension] ... such clauses are ... identical with non-finite elaborating clauses Examples:
So she wandered on, talking to herself as she went.
Hardly knowing what she did, she picked up a little bit of stick and held it out to the puppy. (Halliday 1994: 232)

Further, he comments on the impact of the relative position of a free adjunct thus:

But where the sequence is [dependent+matrix], such a nexus is likely to be neither elaborating nor extending but enhancing. (Halliday 1994: 232)

In fact, in his definitions of elaboration and extension he is far more categorical. Let us have another look:

In ELABORATION, one clause elaborates on the meaning of another by *further* specifying or describing it. The secondary clause does not introduce a new element into the picture but rather provides a further characterization of *one that is already there*, restating it, clarifying it, refining it, or adding a descriptive attribute or comment. (Halliday 1994: 225 – my emphases)

In EXTENSION, one clause extends the meaning of another by *adding something new to it*. What is added may be just an addition, or a replacement, or an alternative. (Halliday 1994: 230 – my emphasis)

What he is saying here, suggests that elaboration and extension are *de facto* final with respect to the clause they expand. This supports the above observation that initially placed adjuncts are typically traditional adverbials.

4.1.2 Medial position – necessarily non-restrictive?

Medially placed *-ing* participial free adjuncts have been largely neglected in the literature, cf. Behrens's claim that

ING-participial structures are far less frequent in medial position than in the other positions. Moreover, when they occur, they are most naturally glossed as non-restrictive relative clauses. We therefore have reason to believe that the medially placed structures are syntactically adjoined to the NP rather than to any other constituent. If this analysis is chosen, there is no longer an independent argument for analysing free adjuncts as VP-adjoined structures. (Behrens 1998: 75)

This approach should be challenged on at least two grounds: i) Our data shows that less than half of the English medial adjuncts were translated into Norwegian relative *som*-clauses (see section 3.3.2); and as we shall see in Section 4.2.2 below, ii) they can be assigned practically the same range of adverbial roles as initial adjuncts.

Let us illustrate this with the following set of truth-conditionally identical sentences:

- (1a) Jane, knowing the answer, decided to step forward.
- (1b) Jane, who knew the answer, decided to step forward.
- (1c) Jane, because she knew the answer, decided to step forward.⁷
- (1d) Jane knew the answer, so she decided to step forward.
- (1e) Jane knew the answer and decided to step forward.
- (1f) Jane knew the answer. She decided to step forward.

In all these variants we interpret Jane's knowing the answer as reason for her stepping forward. But this causal relationship is explicit only in (1c) and (1d), where we have the causal conjunction *because* and the causal conjunct *so*, respectively. In the other four

⁷ Arguably, a finite adverbial subclause in this position is highly marked. Here it is used for comparative purposes.

variants this relation is inferred, but rather unproblematically so, in the coordinate structure (1e) and the juxtaposed structure (1f), as well as in the non-restrictive construction (1b). There is no foundation, therefore, to bar a causal reading in our medial free adjunct structure (1a)⁸. In fact, the causal implication may be felt to be particularly strong, as Stump demonstrates with the following set of examples (Stump 1985: 22):

- (2a) John, who is an Englishman, is brave.
- (2b) John is an Englishman, and he is brave.
- (2c) John, being an Englishman, is brave.

According to Stump, the causal element in (2a) and (2b) is merely suggested, and so an appropriate reply to these two could be (2d) but not (2e):

- (2d) Are you implying that John is brave *because* he is English?
- (2e) No, that's not why he's brave.

For the adjunct construction in (2c), by contrast, reply (2d) would be odd, whereas (2e) would be absolutely acceptable. This is because 'what is inferred in [(2c)] is actually felt to part of what is asserted' (Stump 1985:22).

True enough, medial adjuncts are less frequent than initial adjuncts (see section 3.2), but it should be clear from what we have seen above that they deserve the same kind of focus. Their use is motivated by concerns beyond that of inter-clausal semantic relationship, as we shall demonstrate in Chapter 5.

4.2 Semantic relations in EngOrig and EngTran

In this section we will present a survey and analysis of how our material of 682 *-ing* participial free adjuncts has been categorized for semantic meaning. As indicated in the previous sections, the specific relation between an adjunct and its matrix is often vague, since it is usually not specified. Deciding on a given relationship, then, typically results from combination of semantic information and pragmatic inference.

⁸ See also Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1271)

4.2.1 Identifying semantic relations – a note of caution

Before we go on to present the data, the same reservations must be made here as were indicated concerning Kortmann's scale of informativeness (section 2.2). The reservations are of two kinds: Firstly, even if most adjunct constructions have been checked against their wider context (especially those involving initial and medial adjuncts), the ultimate decision concerning their specific roles has to some extent been based on intuition. Secondly, following Kortmann, I have always opted for the 'strongest' possible relation that any given adjunct may have.

Especially the latter point is one that might raise objections. In fact, it is reasonable to believe that in choosing an *-ing* adjunct, a writer does so not because he or she wants to specify a particular relation, but precisely because he or she deems it unnecessary to specify it.

Still, it is felt that Kortmann's practice is useful. For one thing, it demonstrates the meaning potential that *-ing* adjuncts have. Moreover, it provides us with a wider spectrum against which to compare original English and translated English. And lastly, my guideline has been that the 'strongest' relation should not be farfetched, although a 'weaker' relation might be the one chosen by most readers (and in some cases indeed reflected in the Norwegian correspondence).

4.2.2 Overview of meaning relationships

The data are presented in table 4.1 below. We observe that the number of occurrences cumulate in the upper four lines of the table, suggesting that *-ing* adjuncts are typically associated with 'same-time', i.e. Accompanying Circumstance and Elaboration (359 occurrences out of a total of 682), and that 'time-before' (Anteriority and Cause) is a good number two, at 234. 'Time-after', or Anteriority and Result, is considerably less frequent, totalling 58 occurrences.

As expected, finally, Kortmann's 'most informative' relations, i.e. Contrast, Concession, Condition and Purpose, are quite infrequent: 26 in all. This would lend further support to the observation that these relations are more often explicated, i.e. rendered as augmented – conjunction-headed – clauses, or accompanied by some other lexical marker explicating the relation.

As regards semantic relations relative to the position of free adjuncts we observe that Accompanying Circumstance is expressed frequently in all three positions, and that ‘time-before’ is predominantly signalled by pre-predication adjuncts, i.e. initial and medial adjuncts. Conversely, ‘time-after’ seems almost exclusively reserved for final adjuncts (57 out of 58). Elaboration, too, is overwhelmingly a final-position category.

Table 4.1: Semantic relations of *-ing* participial free adjuncts: EngOrig vs. EngTran

<i>Semantic relation</i>	<i>EngOrig</i>			<i>EngTran</i>		
	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>
accompanying circumstance	52 (26.4%)	39 (41.9%)	43 (28.3%)	38 (51.4%)	13 (86.7%)	66 (43.7%)
elaboration	6 (3.0%)	4 (4.3%)	53 (34.9%)	3 (4.1%)	-	42 (27.8%)
anteriority	86 (43.7%)	12 (12.9%)	4 (2.6%)	17 (23.0%)	1 (6.7%)	3 (2.0%)
cause ⁹	42 (21.3%)	30 (32.3%)	12 (7.9%)	14 (18.9%)	1 (6.7%)	12 (7.9%)
posteriority	-	-	15 (9.9%)	-	-	15 (9.9%)
result	1 (0.5%)	-	17 (11.2%)	-	-	10 (6.6%)
contrast	2 (1.0%)	4 (4.3%)	3 (2.0%)	1 (1.4%)	-	1 (0.7%)
concession	5 (2.5%)	3 (3.2%)	1 (0.7%)	-	-	-
condition	2 (1.0%)	1 (1.1%)	-	-	-	-
purpose	-	-	3 (2.0%)	-	-	-
other	1 (0.5%)	-	1 (0.7%)	1 (1.4%)	-	2 (1.3%)
Total	197 (100%)	93 (100%)	152 (100%)	74 (100%)	15 (100%)	151 (100%)

⁹ We do not differentiate between ‘objective cause’ and ‘subjective cause’ (commonly referred to as Reason), instead using Cause as a cover term for both.

There are also a number of one-off cases, which is only to be expected in a corpus this size. It does not mean that they are any less interesting, however. We will refer to Table 4.1 frequently throughout Section 4.2.

4.2.2.1 Contrastive observations

Certain contrastive tendencies seem to present themselves already at this point, cf. Figure 4.1 below. Note that in this Figure, ‘strongest 4’ represents Kortmann’s four ‘strongest’ semantic relations: Concession, Contrast, Condition and Purpose.

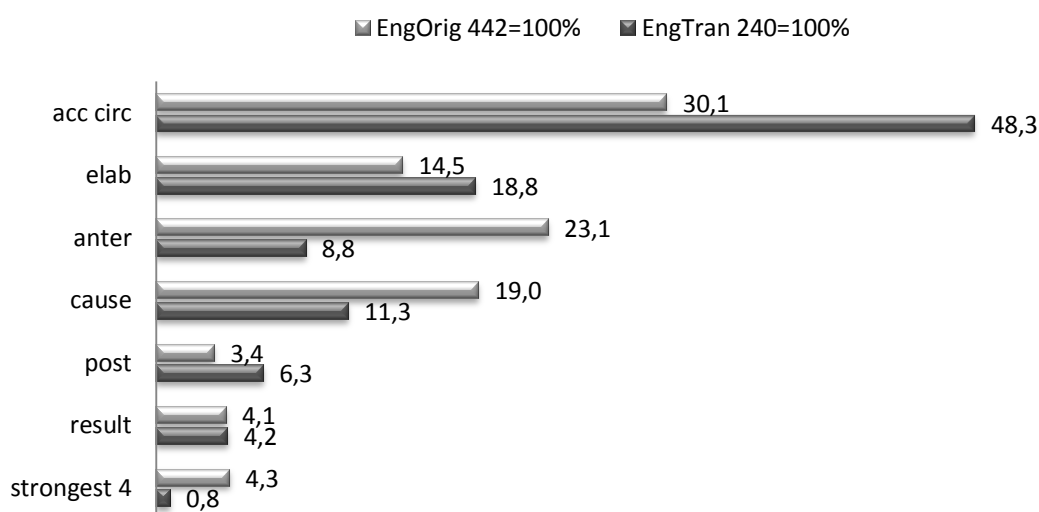


Figure 4.1: Semantic relations for EngOrig and EngTran, in percentages. (See Table 4.1)

We notice that the weakest category, Accompanying Circumstance, incorporates nearly half of all the *-ing* adjuncts in EngTran, but less than one third in EngOrig. Elaboration and Posteriority show somewhat higher percentages for EngTran than for EngOrig: 18.8% vs. 14.5% and 6.3% vs. 3.4%, respectively. For Result we find almost identical frequencies, just over 4%. EngOrig, on the other hand, scores considerably higher for Anteriority (23.1%), Cause (19.0%) and ‘strongest 4’ (4.3%), as opposed to EngTran, with 8.8, 11.3 and 0.8 per cent, respectively.

A tentative explanation for these differences might be found in the conjunctions available for heading finite subclauses. All the categories where EngOrig shows higher frequencies than EngTran are closely linked to subordinators such as *although* (Concession), *whereas* (Contrast), and *if* (Condition). Cause, moreover, has a richer set of subordinators: *because*, *since*, and *as*, and the same can be said for Anteriority: *after*, *when*, *as*, etc. Each of these

has a direct correspondence in Norwegian. We have earlier hypothesized that there may be some tendency in translation to retain conjunction use, e.g. *da* → *when*, and to keep the subclause finite rather than reduce it to a non-finite one.

For Elaboration and Accompanying Circumstance, by contrast, neither English nor Norwegian has explicit linguistic items that are grammaticalised to the same extent as conjunctions.

Obviously, there are conjunctions for Posteriority (*before*) and Result (*so that*), but for these relations, a different factor seems to come into play, viz. position. We will pursue these ideas further in subsections 4.3.3 onwards.

4.2.2.2 *Presentation of findings*

Needless to say, we cannot go into every single example. Nor will it be desirable to discuss all the different combinations of semantic relation – relative position – subcorpus (EngOrig vs. EngTran). Rather, we will stop at the most typical features and suggest tendencies, exemplifying them with relevant examples. We will also discuss occurrences which somehow stand out, causing problems for analysis. And last but not least, it will be of some interest to focus on discrepancies between the subcorpora, since after all, a main objective behind this study has been to compare original and translated English on the one hand and their correspondences in Norwegian on the other.

The different categories have been grouped in the following way: Accompanying Circumstance and Elaboration are subsumed in Section 4.2.3, since their common denominator is ‘same time’. Cause is almost inextricably linked with Anteriority, thus they are grouped together in 4.2.4. A similar reasoning lies behind connecting Posteriority and Result (4.2.5). The four rather infrequent relations Contrast, Concession, Condition and Purpose are treated in 4.2.6. Each subsection will also involve discussions concerning Norwegian correspondences. Lastly, we will look at a small set of examples which somehow defy all the above categories (4.2.7).

4.2.3 ‘Same-time’: Accompanying Circumstance and Elaboration

As we have pointed out earlier, the distinction between Accompanying Circumstance and Elaboration is a notorious one, since it is not always clear whether a given construction belongs in one category rather than the other. In fact, they have so much in common that

they may be felt to be ‘overlapping rather than distinct categories’ (Fabricius-Hansen and Behrens, 2001: 28). Consider the following three examples:

- (3) She leaned forward, **widening her pale bright blue give-away impenetrable eyes at him.** (MD1)
- (4) He got out of bed and walked half asleep toward the white light thrown in a wedge through the half-open door, **already lowering his pajama pants.** (SK1)
- (5) Well, I’ve thought over every moment of that party time and time again, **sifting for pointers, signals, ways of knowing how to do things differently from the way they got done.** (JSM1)

The crucial element that sets Elaboration off from Accompanying Circumstance is whether or not the event in the adjunct entails (part of) the event in the matrix. In (5) above, *sifting for pointers* definitely entails ‘thinking over’, which means this is an example of Elaboration. Example (3), on the other hand, displays no appreciable entailment; widening one’s eyes cannot be said to be a part of leaning forward, and so the adjunct *widening her bright blue ...* simply serves as an addition to the matrix *She leaned forward*, i.e. Accompanying Circumstance. Note, incidentally, that it is impossible to tell with absolute certainty whether the widening of the eyes occurs *while* leaning forward, or *after*; they are only presented as related, and arguably, a simultaneous reading heightens the intensity of the action.

Example (4) is more problematic. The situation here is urgency to relieve oneself in the middle of the night, thus we appreciate the efficiency of lowering one’s pyjama pants while walking to the bathroom. The two events are logically related. However, lowering one’s trousers generally does not entail walking to the bathroom. Therefore, Elaboration seems too strong a relation.

The three examples above serve to illustrate an important point. There are constructions that can be quite positively assigned the Accompanying Circumstance relation, or conversely, Elaboration. But there are also borderline cases, such as (4). The problem seems to lie in exactly how far one should stretch the concept of entailment.

However, when categorizing data, one should attempt consistency, especially in order to have a steady basis for comparing sets of data. I have been restrictive rather than liberal when it comes to the Elaboration category, i.e. I have opted for that category only in those

cases where I felt there was (relatively) clear entailment. Thus, both EngOrig and EngTran have been analysed with the same degree of precision.

I do not consider this a major problem. Indeed, some consolation can be found in Fabricius-Hansen and Behrens's conclusion, where they state: 'Where exactly we draw the borderline between Elaboration and other relevant concepts like Accompanying Circumstance is probably a matter of minor importance' (Fabricius-Hansen and Behrens 2001: 33)

4.2.3.1 *Accompanying Circumstance: EngOrig and EngTran compared*

As we saw in Table 4.1, the category Accompanying Circumstance is the most frequent one when all three positions – initial, medial and final – are combined; in all, 252 out of a total of 682 free adjuncts have been analysed as Accompanying Circumstance, i.e. 37.0%. In fact, it is only with EngOrig initials and finals that it is second to another semantic category in terms of frequency. Clearly, *-ing* adjuncts are particularly well-suited for encoding situations that coexist with another situation, in cases where there is identity of subject referent, space and time. Let us consider three typical examples, representing initial, medial and final position, respectively.

- (6) **Traversing the Heath with Hartmann**, who was the only other person he knew, Fibich would wonder if this life would ever end, since he knew he could not go home again. (AB1)
- (7) The Major, **coolly eating an ice**, said that he would like to think about it, and arranged another luncheon with the Senator for a week from that day. (RDA1)
- (8) I was standing in front of the little window, **looking down on the street below**. (TH1)

The adjunct in (6) resembles a regular *while*-clause, finite or non-finite. Thus, it classifies as simultaneity, describing a situation – here the activity of taking a walk – which coincides with another situation that holds at the same time, in the same place, and for the same character. The medial adjunct in (7) could be paraphrased by a straight-forward non-restrictive relative clause 'who was coolly eating an ice' without any discernable difference in meaning. Again, the adjunct simply describes a parallel situation.

Finally, the adjunct in (8) reports what the *I*-person is doing besides standing at the window. No apparent gloss lends itself, but this is precisely why *-ing* adjuncts are so frequent in final position (see section 3.2)

These three are typical in the sense that they denote situations that do not exclude each other, i.e. they represent combinations of ‘physical activity’ + ‘mental activity’ (example 6), ‘eating’ + ‘having a conversation’ (7) and ‘stance’ + ‘perception activity’ (8).

It will be remembered from Table 4.1 that finally placed adjuncts in English translation are overwhelmingly of the Accompanying Circumstance type, 66 instances (43.7%). Half of these accompany a matrix involving a stance verb:

- (9) He was sitting in the middle of the floor, **crying**. (HW1T)
- (10) There he stood in a pair of green shorts, **holding the light-coloured cord trousers in his hand**. (KA1T)

They can be said to constitute a case of prototypical Accompanying Circumstance. Similarly, a further 15 accompany a speech act:

- (11) “Hello, I ‘m the new cook,” I say, **shaking her hand**. (CL1T)
- (12) “It costs next to nothing,” she declared, **not looking at him**. (OEL1T)

The corresponding figures for original English are 14 for stance verb and six for utterance verb. We may only speculate about the reasons for these slight discrepancies. As regards speech act constructions, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Norwegian novel extracts in ENPC involve more dialogue than the English extracts.

However, a more linguistically based explanation is this: *-ing* adjuncts abound in these situations simply because of their propensity for adding circumstantial information; when literary characters engage in conversations they make gestures and show facial expressions, etc. Likewise, they do more than simply sit or lie or stand; they think, look, point, etc., at the same time.

This subsidiary information typical of Accompanying Circumstance is, as we have noted, highly frequent in initial and medial positions as well: 26.4% and 51.4% in initial EngOrig and EngTran, respectively; 43.0% in medial EngOrig and all but two of the 15 examples found in EngTran. Here are a few examples, for illustration:

- (13) **Frowning**, I turned. (TH1)
- (14) **Reclining in his chair**, Osmundsen was neither friendly nor unfriendly. (KA1T)
- (15) A ghost, **existing as only a pair of milk-white legs**, balanced on the head of the woman. (BO1)
- (16) Little Kristine, **waddling behind her father**, gave Espen a big smile. (KAL1T)

Finally, here are two medial examples following the matrix verb:

- (17) She said, **smiling**, “You’re the doctor.” (AH1)
- (18) She would throw a few drops of cold water on her face and then hurry, **shivering**, after the other women, ... (TTH1T)

4.2.3.2 *Elaboration: EngOrig vs. EngTran*

In comparison with Accompanying Circumstance, Elaboration occurs only rarely in initial and medial position (see Table 4.1). Four of the eight initial adjuncts have the verb *using*, thus corresponding to traditional adverbial ‘manner’ or ‘instrument’:

- (19) **Using his pliers to lift the edge of the carpet**, he worked his way round the walls, ... (FF1)
- (20) **Adding charcoal browns to his cream colors**, Rembrandt bestowed for Aristotle an illusion of flesh ... (JH1)

In mid-position only six have been recorded, some of them not particularly clear-cut in terms of semantic classification:

- (21) Overton, **hurrying**, preceded Andrew down a corridor and into an elevator. (AH1)
- (22) She added, **sounding defiant**, “For at least three years.” (DL1)

In (22), *sounding defiant* may be said to entail ‘(adding) a comment’ and thus meets the requirements for Elaboration. (21) is marginal, but may be rephrased as ‘by hurrying’.

In final position, by contrast, Elaborating adjuncts abound, showing somewhat higher frequencies for EngOrig (34.9%) than for EngTran (27.8%). This positional difference can, I believe, be explained by the very nature of the job that elaborating adjuncts do; they typically restate or clarify things that have already been introduced. No apparent

differences in usage could be found between EngOrig and EngTran. Here follow two examples:

- (23) And in 1975, a former schoolteacher assaulted the lower section of the canvas with a serrated bread knife taken from the downtown Amsterdam restaurant in which he had just eaten lunch, **making vertical cuts in the bodies of Captain Banning Cocq and Lieutenant van Ruytenburch.** (JH1)
- (24) They were almost perfect company because he loved to talk and she was an intelligent listener, **knowing intuitively when to interrupt with her own observations about some person or place.** (GN1)

4.2.3.3 Norwegian correspondences for Accompanying Circumstance and Elaboration

In this subsection we will look at the most salient features concerning Norwegian correspondence types for the two semantic relations discussed above. We will use bar charts derived from Table 4.1 to illustrate the contrastive points. See also section 3.3 (with subsections) where the various Norwegian correspondence types are defined and exemplified.

In the two figures here, as well as in those in subsequent subsections, measures are given in percentages, with raw numbers in footnotes. First, let us consider correspondences for Accompanying Circumstance, Figure 4.2:

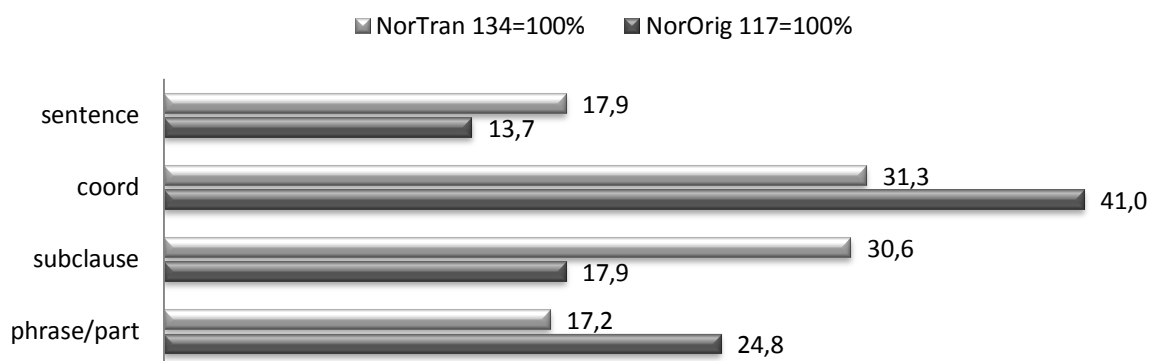


Figure 4.2: Norwegian correspondence types for Accompanying Circumstance, in percentages¹⁰

Coordination is the most frequent correspondence type for Accompanying Circumstance, with NorOrig showing a somewhat higher percentage than NorTran, 41.0% vs. 31.3%. It shows up frequently in all three positions. Here are two examples:

¹⁰ Raw numbers NorTran/NorOrig: sentence 24/16; coordination 43/48; subclause 41/21; phrase/participle 23/29

- (25) **Standing over her**, he had said: “My name’s Neil Pascoe. (PDJ3)
Han stod over henne og sa: “Jeg heter Neil Pascoe.
- (26) “To change your clothes,” said the Colonel, **looking at the rags I was dressed in.** (JM1T)
“Å bytte klær;” sa obersten og saumfarte elendigheta jeg var kledd i.

Subordination, on the other hand, is considerably more frequent in NorTran than in NorOrig, a recurrent trend in all semantic categories except Posterity and Result. 16 out of 62 subclauses are introduced by *mens*, eight by *når*. Both are clear indicators of ‘same-time’. Not surprisingly, we find as many as 14 relative *som*-clauses, Accompanying Circumstance being the predominant relation for medial adjuncts. Moreover, seven of the twelve locative-relative *der*-clauses recorded, belong here. Consider (27) and (28), respectively:

- (27) Her hands, **working calmly on Father’s shirt**, were trembling slightly. (MN1T)
Hendene som arbeidet rolig med fars skjorte dirret svakt.
- (28) **Sitting across from the luxury apartment block**, ..., Jim Rawlings breathed a sigh of relief. (FF1)
Der han satt overfor luksusboligblokken, ..., pustet Jim Rawlings lettet ut.

Phrase and participle correspondences are also frequent. Out of the 28 instances of Norwegian *-ende* found, no less than 20 describe Accompanying Circumstance, 13 in NorOrig, 7 in NorTran, as in example (29) below. Next, 25 of the 39 prepositional phrases appear here, 13 for NorTran and 12 for NorOrig (30):

- (29) **Sobbing**, I cried over and over: “Father! (MN1T)
Gråtende hakket jeg, om og om igjen: “Far!
- (30) **Barking furiously**, Cujo gave chase. (SK1)
Med hissige bjeff satte Cujo etter.

Note how the activity in the English participle *barking* is transformed into a semantically corresponding plural noun phrase *hissige bjeff*. This is what typically happens in PP and NP correspondences. Occasionally, there is a combination of the two constructions above, PP followed by *-ende*, or PP + past participle, see 3.3.2.4.

Sentence correspondence shows fairly similar frequencies in NorTran and NorOrig, 17.9% vs. 13.7%, of which the ‘shift’ type (see 3.3.2.1) appears seven times. In (31) the English matrix is rendered by a subordinate *mens*-clause in Norwegian:

- (31) **Rolling and thrashing**, he unleashed a violent torrent of curses on us.
(BO1)
Han rullet frem og tilbake og slo om seg mens han lot forbannelsene hagle over oss.

Another salient feature is the relatively high frequency of run-on sentences in Norwegian, 16 in all, equally divided between NorTran and NorOrig. Consider example (32):

- (32) “Isn’t that beautiful?” said Hildegun, **pointing at the sculpture in the window**. (BV1T)
“Er den ikke skjønn?” sa Hildegun, hun pekte på skulpturen i vinduet.

Turning now to the semantic category Elaboration, we see that coordination as correspondence type is as frequent here as in Accompanying Circumstance, but that ‘sentence’ has increased considerably, Figure 4.3:

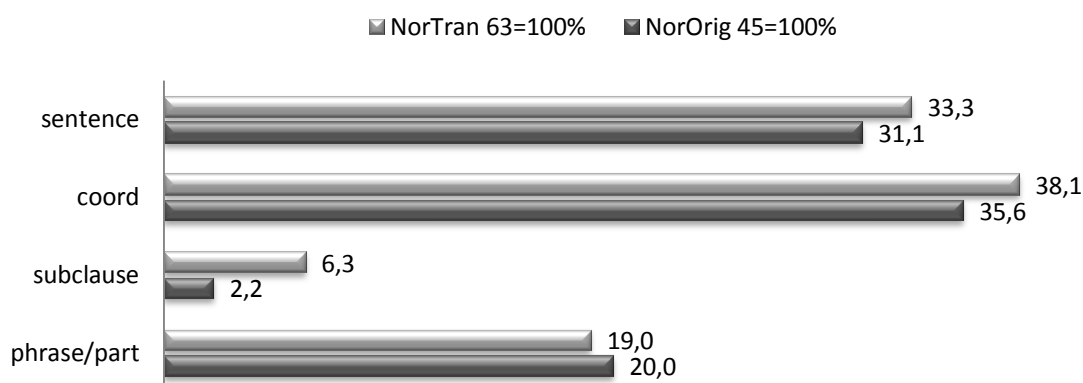


Figure 4.3: Norwegian correspondence types for Elaboration, in percentages¹¹

Again, run-on sentences flourish (20 in all – ten in both subcorpora):

- (33) And it was this kind of anxiety that I felt was in the air, **jeopardizing the triangle I had created to protect us**, and this made me quite sick with apprehension, ... (KF2T)
Og det var nettopp slik en uro som jeg syntes lå i luften, lå og truet trekanten jeg hadde skapt for å beskytte oss, og dette gjorde meg helt syk av engstelse.

As we have observed earlier (4.2.2), Elaboration occurs overwhelmingly in final position. Consider, however, the following initial example, where the chained adjuncts *keeping in step* and *moving my arms* entail *dance* in the matrix:

¹¹ Raw numbers NorTran/NorOrig: sentence 21/14; coordination 24/16; subclause 4/1; phrase/participle 12/9

- (34) **Keeping in step and moving my arms like the others**, hot and breathless
I dance around endlessly, faster and faster. (SL1T)
Det gjelder å gjøre trinn og armbevegelser som de andre, varm og kortpustet løper jeg raskere og raskere rundt og skal aldri stanse.

Subordination, by contrast, occurs very infrequently (five times) but when it does, it may come as a non-finite clause, as predicted by Behrens (1998: 195):

- (35) I hardly ever saw him read the newspaper; instead, he used it in order to emphasize the points in the conversation, **bringing** it down abruptly on the table. (GS1T)
Jeg så sjelden at han leste i avisen, men han brukte den til å understreke poenger i samtalen, ved å dunke den i bordflaten.

Only once is the *-ing* adjunct rendered as a *mens*-clause, as in (36) below:

- (36) As those dismissive, automatic doors rotated Rook into the unconditioned air, a fellow, hardly in his twenties, ..., detached himself from the hard shadows amongst the quirks of a colonnade and followed him onto the mall, **keeping, catlike, to the sunless walls**. (JC1)
... og fulgte ham ut i gågata mens han smøg seg som en katt ...

The reason for this can be found in the very nature of the concept of Elaboration. Since the event in the adjunct is included in the event in the matrix, they are by definition concomitant; there is no need to specify simultaneity by means of a *mens*-clause.).

4.2.4 ‘Time-before’: Anteriority and Cause

We saw in Table 4.1 (section 4.2.2) that the broad category ‘time-before’ is typically associated with pre-predicational free adjuncts, i.e. initial and medial position, but much more comprehensively so in original English than in translated English: 169 times vs. a mere 33. We shall also see that Norwegian correspondence types differ somewhat between the two subcorpora, especially concerning Cause (see 4.3.4.4 below).

As pointed out in 4.2.2.2 we have treated Anteriority and Cause together, since Cause typically entails time-before; an event or situation occurs because of an earlier event or situation. However, correspondence types will be displayed in separate Figures (4.4 and 4.5 below), each of which will be discussed and illustrated with examples from our material.

Anterior *-ing* adjuncts typically encode propositions which naturally lead up to, or enable, the proposition in their matrices, as seen in (37) and (38), respectively:

- (37) **Jumping up suddenly and with such energy that he sent the chair flying from underneath him**, he rushed towards me. (BO1)
- (38) He then removed one of his seven figures of Harlequin ... and, **turning it upside down**, pointed to the “cross-swords” mark of Meissen, ... (BC1)

Immediacy between the events seems to be a recurring feature, for which initial adjuncts are well suited.

Several medial adjuncts, too, denote a natural precursor to the matrix proposition, the main part of which unfolds after the adjunct proposition:

- (39) And now her brain was bursting and the pain in her chest, **growing like a great red flower**, exploded in a silent, wordless scream ... (PDJ3)

In fact, in medial position Anteriority adjuncts seem locked in a position immediately following the matrix subject; not a single instance was found where an adjunct is placed after the matrix verb. However, four were found displaying Cause, as in (40), where the chained adjuncts *seeing their expressions, hearing snatches* ... seem to trigger – or cause – the decision represented in the matrix:

- (40) He told himself – **seeing their expressions, hearing snatches of their remarks in his mind, a day or two afterwards** – that he must first get his higher certificate and then he'd see. (NG1)

Also finally placed adjuncts may signal Cause.. Consider (41) and (42):

- (41) Mattie grew defiant, **realizing that he had been reading her thoughts**. (GN1)
- (42) He was heading for the bank, **intending to draw out enough to cover the garage charges** ... (RR1)

Both adjuncts, *realizing* ... in (41) and *intending* ... in (42) denote mental activities that logically trigger the processes in their respective matrices; hence they precede them temporally, even if they are placed in final position.

4.2.4.1 *Breaking the iconicity principle: final free adjuncts denoting Anteriority?*

Especially as regards Anteriority, then, free adjuncts seem invariably to adhere to the so-called ‘iconicity principle’ in that ‘the order of statements ... corresponds to the order of events they describe’ (Haiman, (1980: 528). The question is whether final adjuncts may

denote Anteriority at all. Kortmann (1991: 144f) seems positive, especially if the clause-complex represents a path or itinerary:

- (43) He arrived in Munich from Tel Aviv by way of Istanbul, **changing passports twice and planes three times**. (Kortmann, 1991: 145)

Consider also the following constructed example:

- (44a) Paul entered the room, **opening the door carefully so as not to wake his wife**.

Our knowledge of how people normally enter a room makes us infer the opening of the door as occurring prior to entering. Constructions of this type seem feasible as long as the clause-complex represents an episode that can naturally be subdivided into different successive components, such as travelling somewhere, or entering or leaving. Entering a room is conceptually a complex activity, with at least a start, a middle part and an end. Thus, example (44a) above seems much less striking if also the end part of entering is included in the adjunct:

- (44b) Paul entered the room, **opening *and closing* the door carefully so as not to wake his wife**.

However, constructions of this type seem to be rare. The only relevant example in EngOrig is not even particularly enlightening:

- (45a) He saw Sandra off the premises, closed the shop, tidied up his office and left, **taking the four primary stones with him**. (FF1)

Naturally, ‘taking the stones’ precedes his leaving, but the prepositional phrase *with him* suggests temporal concomitance as well, as explained by Behrens and Fabricius-Hansen (2005: 3), who discuss the same example. Note, moreover, that in the translation, *taking* is rendered as ‘hadde’, not ‘tok’:

- (45b) ... og gikk; *de fire kostelige steinene hadde han med seg*.

But consider the following example from the translated subcorpus, involving two separate adjuncts, both of which are final, but must be interpreted as Anterior with respect to their matrices:

- (46a) A few minutes later Rudolf closed the door of the office behind him, **leaving his desk in its customary disorder**, and left the building, **only**

stopping on his way to tell Sergeant Antonsen where he could be found. (EG2T)

Admittedly, the prepositional phrase *on his way* helps us to identify the second adjunct as happening prior to ‘leaving the building’. The Norwegian original, by contrast, represents the events in their iconic order:

- (46b) *To minutter på åtte forlot han kontoret i dets vanlige uorden, ga vaktens beskjed om hvor han skulle, og gikk.*

4.2.4.2 Perfect participial free adjuncts: exempt from iconicity constraint

There is one particular *-ing* adjunct type that operates freely in all positions, while irrevocably expressing ‘time-before’, viz. the perfect participle: *having V-ed*:

- (47) Through cool paved streets I found my way, **having deliberately left my car a long way off so that I could absorb the feeling of the town before reaching the cathedral.** (ABR1)

The perfect participle represents situations as past-time relative to the situation in its matrix. Thus, since it does not signal deictic past tense, it may operate in situations where only the preterite occurs while the present perfect cannot, i.e. it may be combined with a temporal expression anchoring its situation in the past (Elsness, 1997). Consider example (48):

- (48) **Having finished his book the day before**, John decided to take the day off yesterday. (Elsness 1997: 19)

A similar example from our own corpus is (49), where the *having*-adjunct occupies final position:

- (49) She spoke, with Sonny; when he came to see her for the first time, **having been introduced a few days before by one of her brothers ...** (NG1)

It follows from this that it is within the two relations Anteriority and Cause that we find the main bulk of the *having V-ed* constructions; out of a total of 18 instances, eleven have been classified for Anteriority and five for Cause. Their affinity for expressing a causal relation is suggested by Fenn (1987), in that they appear ‘to confer causal meaning in many contexts’ (1987: 231). However, our findings suggest that he goes too far in claiming that purely temporal meanings are a ‘small minority’ (Fenn 1987: 232). At least, this does not seem to hold for narrative fiction.

4.2.4.3 Anteriority in EngOrig and EngTran: frequencies and correspondences

Free adjuncts express the relation Anteriority almost five times as often in original English as in translation from Norwegian: 101 times vs. 21. This does not mean, of course, that sequences of events are less frequent in Norwegian fiction; what it does suggest, however, is that when rendering a temporally prior event into English, the translator opts for other constructions than *-ing* participial free adjuncts, supposedly conjunction-headed finite and non-finite subclauses, or independent clauses by means of coordination or juxtaposition.

Figure 4.4 below displays the Norwegian correspondences for *-ing* adjuncts in the Anteriority category.

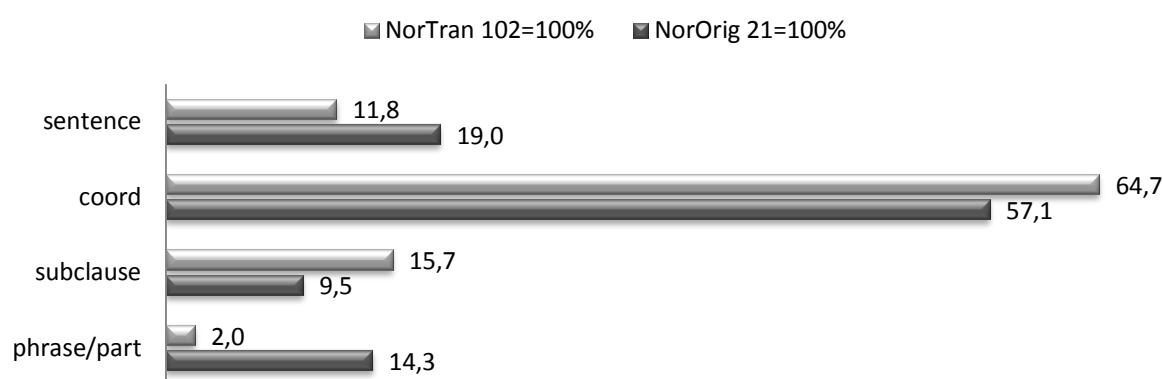


Figure 4.4: Norwegian correspondence types for Anteriority, in percentages¹²

The most obvious conclusion that can be drawn from Figure 3.6 concerns coordination, which represents Anteriority in approximately 60% of the cases in both original and translated Norwegian. Thus, temporal sequence between propositions is usually identified through inference, just as with the main bulk of *-ing* participial adjuncts. Two examples follow:

- (50) **Taking paper and pencil**, Philby began to rough out the first draft of his reply. (FF1)
Philby tok papir og blyant og ga seg til å skrive ned hovedlinjene i første utkast til svaret.
- (51) **Waking up**, he glimpsed huge shadows lying in the bed on the other side of the room. (KAL1T)
Han våknet og skimtet store skygger som lå borte i sengen, fremmede klær hang over benken.

¹² Raw numbers NorTran/NorOrig: sentence 12/4; coordination 66/12; subclause 16/2; phrase/participle 2/3

In 22 cases, the adjunct is part of a sequence of three or more successive propositions:

- (52) Finally Spot settled down on the stool and, **leaning forward**, started playing a Chopin nocturne. (EFH1T)
*Til slutt satte Spot seg til rette på pianokrakken, **bøyet seg fremover**, og begynte å spille en nocturne av Chopin. (EFH1)*

In a few examples, the corresponding proposition in the Norwegian version seems to be linked to the preceding rather than to the subsequent clause:

- (53) The curator went into the bathroom and, **returning with a length of lavatory paper**, wrapped the head and the torso separately, and put them in his pocket. (BC1)
*Konservatoren gikk ut på badet og **hentet toalettpapir**, pakket hodet og torsoen hver for seg og puttet dem i lommen.*

We also note that ‘sentence’ is a more frequent correspondence in original Norwegian than in translation from English, and that the opposite holds for subordination. The latter observation, as we have indicated before, seems to be the norm.

Lastly, we see that correspondence type ‘phrase/participle’ appears more often in NorOrig than in NorTran: 14.3% as opposed to 2.0. This could be related to the relative freedom that Norwegian has with regard to sentence openers, and, as in the following example, to the use of anticipatory *det*:

- (54) **Turning it over**, she saw written on the back: “Course in Philosophy. (JG1T)
På baksiden, der hun skulle åpne konvoluttene, stod det: Filosofikurs.

It should be noted, however, that the overall frequencies for Anteriority in NorOrig/EngTran are so low that any extra single occurrence would sway the percentages quite dramatically.

4.2.4.4 Cause in EngOrig and EngTran: frequencies and correspondences

Turning now to the relation Cause, we observe, again, that initial and medial adjuncts prevail, just as with Anteriority. However, for Cause there is a larger portion of finally placed adjuncts. This is explained in part by the fact that Cause is often read from states, which sometimes temporally stretch out on both sides of the adjunct propositions, and thus only partly precedes them. Consider (55) and (56):

- (55) And something was pushing its way up, **wanting to get into the daylight**, ... (EHA1T)

- (56) A hundred thousand anti-monarchists had walked from Trafalgar Square to Clarence House, **not knowing that the Queen Mother was at the races**. (ST1)

The ‘wanting’ and the ‘not knowing’ clearly exist before and during the ‘pushing up’ and the ‘walking to Clarence House’, respectively. States, as such, occur quite frequently in the Cause category no matter the position; *-ing* participial free adjuncts containing the verbs KNOW, FEEL and SEE etc. abound, as do copular *being*-adjuncts, thus:

- (57) Aunt had been kind, but **being childless herself** was devoid of that instinctive warmth that Fibich craved. (AB1)

Original and translated English show identical figures for final causal adjuncts, twelve a piece. For the other two positions, however, marked differences appear; EngOrig initial adjuncts outnumber EngTran ones by three to one (42 vs. 14), and medial adjuncts by a staggering 30 to 1. The lone medial adjunct in EngTran deserves representation:

- (58) And what if he knew him by sight beforehand and he was the one who, **having seen him enter or leave Irma’s**, immediately linked him with the description given by the rape victim? (KA1T)

As far as correspondence types are concerned, we observe even more marked differences, especially with respect to subordination, which has a frequency almost twice as high in translated Norwegian as in original Norwegian. Consider Figure 4.5:

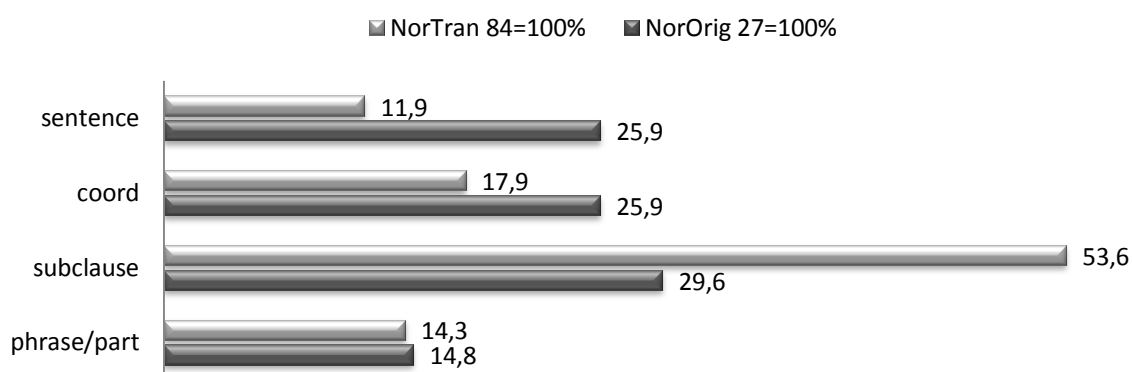


Figure 4.5: Norwegian correspondence types for Cause, in percentages¹³

¹³ Raw numbers NorTran/NorOrig: sentence 9/7; coordination 16/7; subclause 45/8; phrase/participle 12/4

More than half of the original English causal free adjuncts have been rendered as subordinate clauses in translation (45 out of 84). In translated English less a third stem from Norwegian subclauses (eight out of 27). Moreover, six of the eight subclauses appear in final position, and only one in each of the two other positions. In comparison, a full 24 subclauses out of 42 are found for initial EngOrig and 18 out of 30 for medials, whereas only three of the twelve final adjuncts are rendered as subclauses. It seems reasonable to conclude that there does exist some resistance towards rendering Norwegian causal clauses as English *-ing* adjuncts. Two examples follow:

- (59) **Being very small and very young**, the only power Matilda had over anyone in her family was brain-power. (RD1)
Fordi hun var så liten og ung, hadde ikke Matilda andre måter å få makt over foreldrene sine på enn ved å bruke hodet.
- (60) Then, **finding nothing in his luggage that could be classed as a work of art**, they took his copy of “The Magic Mountain” and a pair of tortoiseshell hairbrushes. (BC1)
Og siden de ikke fant noe i bagasjen de kunne klassifisere som kunstverk, tok de hans eksemplar av “Trollfjellet” og et par skilpaddehårbørster.

We should note, however, that only a small number of EngOrig adjuncts – seven, to be precise – are actually translated into explicit causal subclauses like (59) and (60) above, i.e. clauses headed by *fordi*, *siden* (or its synonyms *ettersom* and *eftersom*), or as in (60) below, the multi-word conjunction *i og med at*:

- (61) **Knowing he took them seriously** they expected much of him. (NG1)
I og med at de nå visste at han tok dem på alvor, satte de store forventninger til ham.

The only explicitly causal Norwegian original subclause is (62):

- (62) He felt a bit uneasy, **seeing they were so tall**. (KA1T)
Han følte seg litt beklemt fordi de var så store.

Most subclauses are either temporal (introduced by *når*, *da*, etc.) or relative, the latter appearing twelve times for medial free adjuncts. This means, then, that in the vast majority of cases, the causal dimension itself has to be inferred, as in (63):

- (63) Frightened, **not knowing what to do**, he stared at Petronius, now disintegrating before his very eyes. (EFH1T)
Skremt, uten å vite hva han skulle gjøre, stirret han på Petronius som gikk mer og mer i oppløsning foran øynene hans. (EFH1)

This also holds for correspondence types ‘sentence’ and ‘coordination’, which might explain the proportionally higher percentages for these types in NorOrig:

- (64) **Feeling tired** he stretched out, covering himself with the blanket. (KAT1)
Han følte seg trett og la seg ned, trakk teppet over seg...

However, there are two instances involving coordinating conjunctions other than *og*, viz. ‘purpose’ *så* in (65) and causal *for* in (66):

- (65) **Not wishing to antagonise her client**, Trish withdrew, wrote a note on Social Services notepaper and pushed it through the door. (ST1)
Trish ville nødig støte sin nye klient fra seg, så hun trakk seg tilbake, skrev en beskjed på sosialkontorets brevpapir og stakk arket inn gjennom døren.
- (66) **Feeling a sudden urge to go to the bathroom**, Karsten got to his feet. (EG2T)
Karsten fikk vite hvor badet lå og skjønnte at her i huset sørget enhver for seg selv. Det passet ham utmerket, for han trengte å tømme blæren.

As for ‘sentence’ as correspondence, we note, again, the large number of run-ons, seven in all, four of them in NorOrig final position.

Lastly, correspondence type ‘phrase/participle’ occurs equally frequently in NorTran and NorOrig. Notice, incidentally, how the causal element is virtually absent in the original in (67):

- (67) He was a well-built determined youth; he had few friends, **being silent and rather anti-social**; he had never had a lover. (KH1T)
Han var en sterkbygd ungdom, sammenbitt og med få venner, taus og lite selskaperlig, aldri hadde han hatt en elskerinne.

Here it takes a great deal of inferencing to appreciate the causal connection between *taus og lite selskaperlig* and his having few friends. The link is clearer in the translation, due to copular *being*. This is thus an example of explicitation (see Section 4.4).

4.2.5 ‘Time-after’: Posteriority and Result – frequencies and comparisons

The two categories Posteriority and Result have been collected under the umbrella term ‘time-after’ not only because they together make up a relatively small portion of the material, 58 instances in all, but because they have a lot in common. Posterior *-ing* participial free adjuncts typically display a natural follow-up to the proposition expressed

in their matrices (68), whereas adjuncts denoting Result are seen as logical consequences (69):

- (68) He left, **walking the wet streets alone to his hotel**. (BC1)
- (69) Orlik removed his beret, **revealing a mass of wiry salt-and-pepper hair**, and sat down. (BC1)

In (68), *walking the streets* follows naturally from his leaving; his intention is to return to his hotel. In (69), Orlik's hair becomes visible because the beret is removed. Of the two categories, Result seems the more easily identifiable; the adjuncts almost invariably have causative verbs (see section 2.3.1), the most frequent ones being REVEAL (four times), and LEAVE (seven times), as used in (70) below:

- (70) The windows were covered by blankets, **leaving not a chink of light**. (DL2)

There are a further three examples containing the explicit causative *making*:

- (71) ... thus nobody was surprised when Sir Wilfrid Laurier appointed him to the Senate when he was not yet forty-five, **making him the youngest man, and demonstrably one of the ablest, in the Upper House**. (RDA1)

Posterity is, by contrast, frequently almost impossible to differentiate from temporal overlap:

- (72) "One strong Scotch for the Reverend Professor," said Arthur, **moving to prepare it**. (RDA1)

Whether Arthur moves after he has finished his line or while he is saying it, is impossible to tell (and, admittedly, it is not very important to know).

As regards position of Posterior and Result adjuncts, Table 4.1 showed clearly that both are almost exclusively placed in clause-final position. The only initially placed one is (73) below, a result adjunct. Its position was probably chosen to raise suspense:

- (73) But then, **surprising herself as much as him**, she drew back and away. (FW1)

Our two subcorpora show very similar frequencies and uses of these two categories. This can also be said for correspondence types, Figure 4.6:

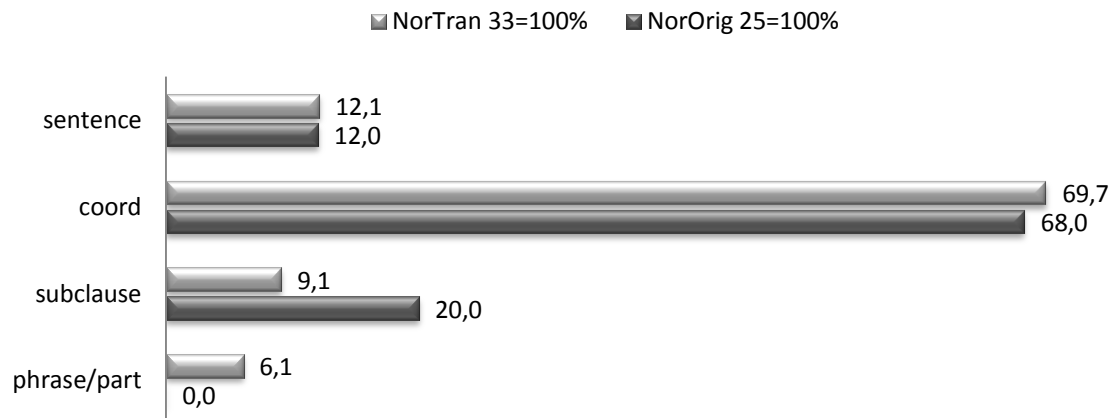


Figure 4.6: Norwegian correspondence types for Posterity and Result, in percentages¹⁴

Examples for Posteriority and Result are too few for us to draw firm conclusions. However, they do suggest that independent clauses, either juxtaposed or – much more frequently – coordinated, are the most natural Norwegian counterparts. For Posterior adjuncts, only one other type of rendering was found: a relative *som*-clause:

- (74) Earlier the air conditioner had been running and now some artificial chill remained, **quickly turning dank, carrying with it the smell of mildew.** (AT1)
De hadde hatt på luftkondisjoneringen tidligere, så der var fremdeles litt kunstig kjølighet, som nå raskt ble klam og luktet mugg.

Although several Posterior adjuncts are ambiguous between time-after and same-time, most seem clearly to occur after the proposition in the matrix, simply because of semantic components in the respective clauses. In (75), glancing through the peephole is possible only after he has entered the kitchen:

- (75) He went into the kitchen, **taking a glance at him now and then through the peephole.** (OEL1T)
Han gikk inn i kjøkkenet og kikket iblant på ham gjennom gluggen.

In the next example, however, the Norwegian original has a verb that indicates time-after, while the translation is indeterminate between Posterior and Accompanying Circumstance.:

- (76) “Do you know that I burned my mother to death?” she asked, **looking straight at him.** (HW2T)
“Veit du at æ har brent opp mor mi, så ho dødde?” spurte hun tilforlatelig og satte øynene i ham.

¹⁴ Raw numbers NorTran/NorOrig: sentence 4/3; coordination 23/17; subclause 3/5; phrase/participle 2/0

Result adjuncts somewhat more frequently correspond to subclauses, but only one is explicitly marked for a Result reading, i.e. through the conjunction *slik at*:

- (77) His hair was almost white and was combed straight back, **receding in a deep V over each temple**. (GS1T)
Håret var nesten hvitt, og det var gredd rett bakover, slik at han fikk dype viker i pannen.

Finally, let us look at an example where the original has the causative verb *flooding*, hence Result reading, but where the translation simply suggests Posteriority:

- (78) They passed a field where the rain seemed to fall in sheets, layers and layers of rain beating down the cornstalks, **flooding the rutted soil**. (AT1)
... regn som slo ned maisstenglene og flommet ut over den oppløyde jorden.

Arguably, the farmer has more reason for concern in the English original than in the Norwegian rendering.

4.2.6 The ‘strongest’ four: Contrast, Concession, Condition and Purpose

Kortmann predicts that adjuncts representing what he classifies as the ‘strongest’ relations (see Section 2.2.1), will be scarce, especially in fiction. His predictions are strongly corroborated by our data; as Table 4.1 indicates, only 26 adjuncts have been assigned one of the semantic relations Contrast, Concession, Condition or Purpose, which strongly suggests that these relations are specified by some sort of augmentation. Moreover, only two of the 26 instances are found in the translated subcorpus, indicating that the threshold is even higher for a translator.

4.2.6.1 Contrast

The semantic category Contrast is the only one of the strongest four found for translated adjuncts, with two instances. In (79) below the contrastive element is highlighted in the translation through the conjunct *however*, although no such semantic marker exists in the original:

- (79) And at the same time he had dismissed Gerda, **taking care, however, to give her a reference that would have gained her entry to heaven itself; plus three months’ wages in lieu of notice**. EG1T
Og samtidig hadde han sagt opp Gerda Lydersen og gitt henne bedre referanser enn noen dødelig kan vente seg i denne verden. Og tre måneders lønn!

They appear more frequently in original English (nine times), four of which are in medial position and three in final position, (80) and (81), respectively:

- (80) Alice, **not giving a damn**, went into the big empty room behind Jasper. (DL2)
Alice blåste i hva de syntes. Hun fulgte Jasper inn i det store tomme værelset.
- (81) She had gone about with a girl friend, younger than the others, for a time, but then this one had become “like all the others,” as Harriet despairingly defined her, **defining herself as a misfit**. (DL1)
..., men så var også hun blitt “som alle de andre”, som Harriet fortvilet beskrev henne, mens hun beskrev seg selv som et mislykket individ.

It should be noted that many of the examples have a strong resemblance to Cause or, simply, Anteriority, as in

- (82) Brutal incidents and crimes, **once shocking everyone**, were now commonplace. (DL1)
Brutale episoder og forbrytelser som før sjokkerte alle, var nå blitt vanlige der.

4.2.6.2 Concession

Kortmann places Concession at the very top of his ‘scale of informativeness’ (Section 2.2). The reason is that it combines Cause with a contradiction of the expected consequence of that Cause. Nine adjuncts have been classified as Concessive, all of them in EngOrig, with five cases in initial position, three in medial, and one in final position. Consider (83):

- (83) **Having qualified**, he decided he didn’t want to be a doctor after all and returned to mosquitoes, monkeys and tropical diseases. (MD1)
Da han hadde tatt eksamen, ville han allikevel ikke bli lege, og vendte tilbake til myggene, apene og tropesykdommene.

In the normal state of affairs, passing the qualifications would lead to the *I*-person becoming a doctor. Note that concession here is explicated through the conjunct *after all*. In four of the nine Concessive adjuncts, some form of explicit marker is present. Here is one without any overt marker, the concessive element being carried by the apparent contradiction between ‘not wanting information’ and ‘asking for it’:

- (84) I said slowly, **not wanting to know**, “What ‘s happened?” (DF1)
“Hva er skjedd?” spurte jeg langsomt, selv om jeg helst ikke ville vite det.

4.2.6.3 Condition

Only three examples in our data can be said to be Conditional. One of them is (7) in Chapter 2. Here are the other two, the second of which has been completely rewritten in the translation:

- (85) **Visiting someone in prison** you only have them shown to you for a few minutes, ... (NG1)
Når du besøker noen i fengselet får du dem bare vist frem noen få minutter ...
- (86) **Paying the town council interest for another twenty-five years, thirty years, the never-never**, we can't even give our kids a little room each. (NG1)
Skal vi fortsette å betale renter til kommunen i de neste femogtyve, tredve årene uten at barna våre engang skal kunne få hvert sitt rom?

4.2.6.4 Purpose

The category Purpose is puzzling for the simple fact that it is a non-factual 'putative' concept (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1108), whereas *-ing* adjuncts typically encode propositions as factual. Normally, *bona fide* Purpose clauses of the type '(in order) to V' may see their result fulfilled or, conversely, unfulfilled. In other words, they are open for contradiction. The question, therefore, is whether *-ing* adjuncts may denote Purpose at all. The following example is offered by Kortmann:

- (87) Christine slowed momentarily, **avoiding a group of unsteady wassailers who** ... (Kortmann 1991: 126)

Here, since the situation is in the past, and therefore presented as factual, it would be peculiar if the following text has something like '... but rammed them nonetheless.' Thus, Purpose seems somewhat odd. Still, as we have set out to use Kortmann's scale, consider the following three examples:

- (88) We had never lived together in a family unit because, by the time I was born, he was away at university, **building a life of his own**. (DF1)
Vi hadde aldri bodd sammen i en familieenhet, for jeg ble ikke født før han hadde flyttet ut for å studere, bygge opp sin egen tilværelse.
- (89) I crouched behind the barrel and breathed in and out real hard, **getting ready to go**. (RDO1)
Jeg huket meg ned bak tønna og heiv etter pusten, gjorde meg klar til å sette på sprang.
- (90) Some people – grim arrivistes in the kingdom of the mind – talk about training your memory, **making it fit and agile like an athlete**. (JB1)

Det finnes folk – grimme arrivistes i sjelens kongerike – som snakker om å trene opp hukommelsen for å gjøre den smidig og rask som en idrettsutøver.

In both (88) and (89) a Purpose reading seems marginal at best. Example (90), on the other hand, is viable. It will be noted that the last example is in the present tense, hence not constrained by the factuality of past-time narration. Moreover, the translator has opted for a genuine Purpose conjunction, *for å*.

4.2.7 “Unclassifiable” adjuncts

A small number of adjuncts were found that somehow do not seem to fit readily into any of the established categories. We shall present them briefly here:

- (91) **Taking things slowly in the morning, as nothing was much better**, I dressed for the day in shirt, tie and sweater as before, with a shoe on the right foot, sock alone on the left, and was ready when Brad arrived five minutes early. (DF1)
Neste morgen tok jeg alt langsomt og rolig, siden ingenting var blitt stort bedre. Jeg kledde meg for dagen i skjorte, slips og genser som før, ...
- (92) The bilirubin in her blood went up and up, **indicating increased jaundice which was obvious from the alarming yellow of her skin**. (AH1)
Det røde galle-farvestoffet i blodet øket og øket som tegn på forverret gulsott, noe som den gule huden understreket.
- (93) Robert Turner sipped the local Greek wine, and when the guest tried to catch his eye, as if to get an answer to his unspoken question, he found him preoccupied, **suggesting that his host’s entire attention was concentrated on the wine’s distinctive taste**. (FC1T)
..., møtte han en fraværenhet som tydet på at vertens hele oppmerksomhet bare var samlet om vinens særegne smak.
- (94) **Approaching middle age and still unmarried**, he’d never even been engaged; hardly been out with a girl, in fact, she’d said. (EG2T)
Femogtredve år var han blitt uten så mye som å ha vært forlovet noen gang!
- (95) She is beautiful, **sitting there in the early evening light**; big brown eyes, full mouth and high cheek bones. (TB1T)
Hun er vakker der hun sitter i ettermiddagslyset;

Example (91) could, for want of a better term, be called ‘inverted Elaboration’, in that the matrix clause seems to specify the content suggested by the adjunct *taking things slowly*. The clause-complex could be rephrased thus: ‘I took things slowly ..., dressing for the day ...’, in which case we would have regular Elaboration.

The nearest gloss for both (92) and (93) seems to be a sentential relative clause: ‘..., which indicated ...’ and ‘..., which suggested ...’, respectively.

The adjunct in (94) strikes me as odd. Without *and still unmarried*, it could have been classified as Concession. Notice that there is no ‘fremdeles ugift’ in the original. Lastly, example (95) resembles Accompanying Circumstance or even Elaboration, but there is an element of speaker evaluation here, suggesting, rather, a Disjunct reading.

In sum, this small set of *-ing* participial free adjuncts lends a few more facets to the semantic intricacies of this particular construction.

4.3 Explication and implicitation

In contrastive studies focusing on translation from English into another language a major point has been to see to what extent information that is implicit in the source language is somehow made explicit in the target language, see e.g. Ruin (2001), Espunya (2009) and Marthinsen Smith (2004). This process of making information more easily retrievable is called explication. Espunya, quoting Séquinot (1988), defines explication thus:

Something is expressed in the translation which was not in the original, something which was implied or understood through presupposition in the source text is overtly expressed in the translation, or an element in the source text is given greater importance in the translation through emphasis or lexical choice. (Espunya 2009: 1)

That the concept of explication is relevant for a contrastive study of *-ing* adjuncts is quite obvious; it is related to the now well-established fact that in most cases the meaning relation that an *-ing* adjunct has with regard to its matrix is implicit, and therefore often vague. The question is whether or not the translator attempts to decode the implicit information, explicating it in the target text.

Further, in connection with the motivation behind expressing informational content in the form of an *-ing* adjunct Kortmann (1991: 208) refers to Levinson’s maxims of minimization (‘say as little as necessary’) and maximization (‘infer as much as necessary’). By using an *-ing* adjunct, Kortmann suggests, the writer minimizes propositional content (by making it implicit through nonfinitization). At the other end of the message exchange, the reader has to maximize this content, i.e. extract from it what he or she feels is necessary to infer.

The concepts maximization and explicitation should be seen as related topics. It means that the translator, by explicating the information, saves the target text reader the extra effort of inferring the minimized information (i.e. maximizing it). See also Espunya (2007).

Two questions will be addressed below: i) by what means is explicitation achieved when translating from English into Norwegian (Section 4.3.1), and ii) to what extent has the translator chosen to serve as an explicating mediator (Section 4.3.2)?

4.3.1 Means of explicating

We take as our starting point here that the source language and the target language combine clauses which contain identical propositional content, in that e.g. the participant roles are the same in both versions. It is the logico-semantic relation *between* the propositions joined that is the central question, i.e. whether the relation is purely one of simultaneity, or one of sequence, etc. In this respect, two explicating operators seem particularly relevant: conjunctions and conjuncts. We will look at them separately below.

4.3.1.1 Explicitation through subordinating conjunctions

The semantic relation between propositions may, of course, be made explicit through subordinating conjunctions such as *da*, *fordi*, *mens*, etc. However, they do not behave in the same way with respect to how precisely they explicate semantic relations. To take two examples, see (96) and (97):

- (96) ... **being an energetic and active person**, she strongly dislikes the feeling of helplessness, the lack of direction, that this uncertainty generates. (MD1)
... *eftersom hun er en energisk og aktiv person*, misliker hun sterkt denne følelsen av hjelpeløshet, denne mangelen på retningslinjer som denne usikkerheten fremkaller.
- (97) Then, **seeing Harriet's face**: "Well, all right, but you aren't to do anything, mind." (DL1)
Da hun så Harriets ansikt, sa hun: "La gå da, men husk at du skal ikke gjøre noen ting."

Both adjuncts above were classified as having a Cause relation to their matrices. In (96) the causal element is made explicit in the target language through the causal conjunction *eftersom*. The conjunction *da* in (97), on the other hand, cannot be said to explicate Cause; only Anteriority is made explicit, which means the extra causal connection has to be inferred, just as much in the Norwegian version as in the original version. Thus, with

regard to subordinating conjunctions, we may differentiate between ‘full explicitation’ as in (96) and ‘partial explicitation’ (97).

4.3.1.2 *Explicitation through discourse conjuncts*

Another way to make semantic relations explicit is through discourse conjuncts such as *dermed*, *deretter*, *derfor*, etc. Here are three examples, one for each relative position. The conjunct has been underlined in each case:

- (98) **Ignoring Matilda**, he turned to his son and said, ... (RD1)
Han overså Matilda fullstendig, og snudde seg i stedet til sønnen sin og sa: ...
- (99) The noises through the wall, **having died down**, were starting off again. (DL2)
Lydene fra det andre rommet hadde dempet seg, men nå begynte de på nytt.
- (100) As an inspired afterthought, he piled books in back at the left like a staircase, **putting firmly in place a geometric boundary to the painting where none had been formerly**, ... (JH1)
Som ved et beåndet innfall stablet han opp bøker i bakgrunnen til venstre, lik en trapp, og satte dermed en markert geometrisk grense hvor det ikke hadde vært noen tidligere, ...

In (98), the conjunct *i stedet* emphasizes the Contrast relation. This can also be said for *nå* in (99), since temporal succession is established well enough by other, parallel, elements in the clauses. In (100), finally, the conjunct *dermed* highlights the fact that it was the piling of books that created the boundary.

Frequencies for the two main explicating mechanisms in the strongest semantic relations are given in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Explicitation of semantic relations: N=total occurrences for each semantic type

Explicitation type	cause N=84	result N=18	contrast N=9	concessio <i>n</i> N=9	condition N=3	purpose N=3
Conjunction	19	1	1	1	-	1
Conjunct	-	2	3	1	-	-
Total	19	3	4	2	-	1

It is important to note here that explicitation is defined as those cases where the relation is explicated in the target language, but is left implicit in the source language. In most cases explicitation is equally present or absent in both versions, as in (101), where explicators have been underlined:

- (101) **Aiming, like all their kind, at an appearance of unconformity**, they were in fact the essence of convention, and disliked any manifestation of the spirit of exaggeration, of excess. (DL1)
Som alle andre av deres slag prøvde de å fremstå som hevet over skikk og bruk, mens de i virkeligheten var uhyre konvensjonelle og mislikte enhver demonstrativ overdrivelse, som dette huset var.

4.3.1.3 Other means of explicating

Only rarely was explicitation found to be expressed by other means. I submit two examples, one for Cause and one for Result:

- (102) **Reliving, mentally, the events of three days earlier**, Andrew said “I have to make allowance for my having been a little dazed at the time.” (AH1)
Minnets om hendelsene tre dager tidligere fikk ham til å si: “Du må ta i betraktning at det gikk litt rundt for meg på det tidspunkt.”
- (103) One of his socks slid half-way down his leg, **revealing a large multicoloured bruise on his shin and a swollen red sore beside**. (MM1)
En av sokkene skled halvveis ned så Tom oppdaget et blåmerke på skinnleggen, ved siden av et rødt sår.

In (102), the two propositions in English have been merged into one. The Norwegian version has the coercive construction ‘FÅ NP *til* å’, thus explicating the causal relation. In (103), Result is explicated through the resultative coordinator *så*.

4.3.2 Implication

The concept ‘explicitation’ carries with it an inverted concept, viz. ‘implication’, in which case the defining characteristics for explicitation (Section 4.2) are turned inside out. This occurs when the translator chooses to minimize information that is explicit in the source text, leaving it to the reader to maximize. More specifically, implication may be said to have occurred when the translator changes an explicit semantic relation into an implicit one, by means of non-finitization. Consider:

- (104) He felt a bit uneasy, **seeing they were so tall**. (KA1T)
Han følte seg litt beklemmt fordi de var så store.

- (105) Panurge chased them away a bit half-heartedly and, **taking his leave of her**, withdrew to a side chapel to watch. (SL1T)
 Panurge jaget dem litt halvhjertet vekk og **tok farvel med henne** for
 å trekke seg tilbake til et kapell der han kunne følge med.

The causal conjunction *fordi* in (104) is not represented in the target text. Rather, an inference has to be made as to the causal connection. Cases like this are rare indeed. In this particular instance, the causal element is easily inferred, cf. that certain constructions with *seeing* have become redefined as causal conjunctions, cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1003). In (105) the expression *for å* makes it clear that Panurge took leave of her in order to withdraw, hence Purpose. In the translated version, this relation can only be inferred with some effort. In fact, in our analysis *taking his leave of her* was simply assigned the Anteriority relation.

Another example of implicitation is (106) below. Here the discourse conjunct *derfor* is not represented in the target language:

- (106) **Feeling that his demeanour merely deepened their suspicion**, Carl Lange said, “And if it were the case? (KA1T)
Tausheten deres virket truende, Carl Lange fikk en følelse av at hans egen oppførsel styrket mistanken deres, derfor sa han: – Og om så var?

However, the causal connection between the adjunct and its matrix can be accessed without much inferencing required; the character I question, Carl Lange, simply reacts according to his feelings when he sees their suspicion.

The extremely low frequencies for subordinate clauses in original Norwegian, on the one hand, and for the strongest relations in translated English, on the other, have been discussed before (Section 4.2.2). It seems reasonable to link this up to the concept of implicitation, which occurs only in a minority of cases, and in those cases, inferences leading to the same relation are mostly easy to draw.

It is this, I think, that most clearly explains the low percentages for the strongest relations in English translations, and for subordination as source construction as such. In other words, the translator feels obliged to keep semantic relations such as Cause and Concession as explicit in the target language as they were in the source language.

As for the low frequencies for subordinate conjunction-headed clauses, our findings support Ruin’s (2001) observations. She finds ‘fewer verbal *-ing* forms corresponding to

Swedish finite clause verbs in English translation than in English originals' (Ruin 2001: 245). And she goes on:

This can be interpreted as a tendency to translate Swedish finite constructions into similar English ones when this is possible and it seems to occur particularly with subordinate clauses. (Ruin 2001: 245)

4.4 Same degree of inferencing required

Considering the low degree of explicitation through discourse conjuncts (Section 4.3.1.2) and the high percentages for 'sentence' and – especially – 'coordination' as correspondence types (Sections 3.3.2.1-2), it would seem that English and Norwegian – in both translation directions – rely equally heavily on inferences for the identification of semantic relations.

The following example, therefore, stands out. Here an explicit causative verb has been further amended to in the translation from Norwegian *gjøre ... lettere* into English *thereby making ... easier*.¹⁵

- (107) Then off with your shoes – steps can easily be heard on the lower floors, though most people nowadays put in wall-to-wall carpeting, **thereby making the thief's work easier**. (KF1T)
*Så av med skoene – skritt høres godt nedover i etasjene, selv om de aller fleste legger vegg-til-vegg-tepper for tiden **og gjør tyvens arbeid lettere**.*

We have, moreover, seen that coordination occurs frequently in both same-time relations and sequential relations. This is not a new observation, however; Ramm and Fabricius-Hansen hypothesize that coordination operates 'differently in Norwegian than in English and German' (2005: 8). Using the following example,

- (108a) He smiled slyly, **nodding**.
(108b) *Er lächelte verstohlen **und nickte dabei**.*
(108c) *Han smilte litt lurt **og nikket**.*

they suggest that 'Norwegian may be less biased to interpreting clause/VP coordination as a temporal sequence (in narration) than German is' (Ramm and Fabricius-Hansen 2005: 8). This is a highly useful observation. It means that while German has the conjunct *dabei* (and also the conjunction *wobei*) to parallel the frequently concomitant nature of the

¹⁵ The rather superfluous conjunct *thereby* may have been stylistically motivated, to avoid two successive *-ing* forms: ...*carpeting, making*...

English *-ing* adjunct, Norwegian has neither a corresponding conjunct or conjunction, nor any other structure quite parallel to the *-ing* adjunct. Rather, Norwegian coordination has to play a double role, sometimes signalling sequence (as it almost invariably does for English and German) and sometimes, unlike the other two languages, signalling simultaneity.

Further, a sequential or a concomitant reading will then depend on whether the propositions temporally exclude each other or not. If the latter is the case, simultaneity is in most cases just as valid an interpretation as consecutiveness. Ramm and Fabricius-Hansen's hypothesis is strongly supported by the findings in our study.

4.5 Concluding remarks

Chapter 4 has sought to demonstrate the range of possible meanings which the English *-ing* participial free adjunct may have with respect to its matrix. This is what we mean by its versatility. Moreover, for a large number of instances it is difficult – if not impossible – to pin down exactly what its logical relation is. Herein lies its indeterminacy, to use Kortmann's term.

We also observed quite considerable differences between original and translated English in terms of frequencies for the various semantic roles, EngTran largely cumulating in the 'simultaneity' categories, and EngOrig spreading over a wider range of semantic relations.

However, we must underline once more that in assigning the different semantic roles to our material, we chose the most informative relation although a weaker relation was just as valid, or in some cases even more plausible. This concerns adjuncts in all three positions. To take one more example, consider (109):

- (109) **Firmly replacing the lid** he marvelled, as he always did, at the difference one girl and an eighteen-month-old baby could make to the volume of household waste. (PDJ3)

Here, although *replacing the lid* may be inferred as denoting an event that is completed before the marvelling starts, hence Anteriority, it is equally possible for the marvelling to start *while* the lid is being replaced, simply because the two situations do not temporally exclude each other.

More importantly, it is probably not crucial to know which relation is more correct; they may be equally correct. The point is that the two propositions are presented as relating to

each other in some way, as two dimensions of the same scene, a scene involving a physical activity and a mental activity. We will return to this example in Section 5.1.2.2 below.

Chapter Five

The Discourse Saliency of Free Adjuncts

It seems to be widely acknowledged in the literature that a major function of *-ing* participial free adjuncts is that of **backgrounding**. That is, they typically present subsidiary, off-the-timeline information against which the information in their matrices is highlighted – or **foregrounded**, see e.g. Thompson (1983), Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998).

Without wanting to challenge this view, I will in this chapter discuss various characteristics that the *-ing* adjunct appears to have with regard to how they function in discourse. The approach taken here is a positive one; while the term ‘background’ itself – in its strictest sense – suggests dispensability, there is believed to be appreciable motivations behind using the *-ing* adjunct. In other words, their contributions to narrative discourse are essential and enriching, but how? This is what the title of this chapter tries to encapsulate.

As with the previous two chapters, we will explore the English *-ing* adjunct constantly with a view to its correspondences in Norwegian on the one hand, and to the differences between original English and translated English on the other. The different sections will not necessarily show the same degree of interconnectedness as in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4; rather, they could be seen as separate contributions to the description of the English *-ing* participial adjunct. And though they themselves may not be exhaustively thorough, they might trigger further investigations using different types of material, approach and analysis.

Above all, analysing of the discourse function that *-ing* adjuncts have would obviously require longer stretches of continuous text. Our comments in the following sections and

subsections deal mostly with the way *-ing* adjuncts seem to function within the clause-complex of which they are a part. However, in Section 5.3 we will take into consideration the wider context.

5.1 Backgrounding vs. foregrounding

One of the earlier explorations of the concepts **background** and **foreground** is Hopper and Thompson (1980). They relate this distinction to the degree to which a given proposition is high or low in **transitivity**, which they define as the ‘carrying-over or transferring an action from one participant to another’ (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 253). Using a set of ten criteria for assessing the transitivity of a clause, such as ‘telicity’, ‘aspect’, ‘type of subject participant’ and ‘affectedness of direct object’, etc., they define background as

that part of discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker’s goal, but which merely assists, amplifies or comments on it,

whereas foreground, they continue, is ‘the material which supplies the main points of the discourse’ (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 280).

5.1.1 Transitivity in *-ing* adjuncts: EngOrig and EngTran compared

Although Hopper and Thompson specify transitivity as something beyond the traditional ‘Verb + Direct Object’ structure, we shall use precisely this simplified methodology for comparing original and translated English *-ing* adjuncts with respect to transitivity, i.e. we will confine ourselves to basic clause patterns such as SVO, SVA, etc..

Each *-ing* adjunct in our corpus has been assigned one of the following four basic syntactic patterns:

- V: sole verb, with no complementation of any sort, nor any adverbials
- VsP: copular constructions, i.e. BE + Subject Predicative¹⁶
- VA: Verb + Adverbial (obligatory or optional)
- VO: transitive verbal constructions, including monotransitive (VdO), ditransitive (ViOdO) and complex-transitive (VdOoP), (+ Adverbials)

An example of each clause pattern follows, in the same order as listed above:

- (1) **Hollering**, he kept throwing me up in the air, filling me with dread. (BO1)

¹⁶ Other copular verbs found are FEEL (four times), TURN (twice), and single occurrences of SOUND and LOOK.

- (2) **Being very much my mother's daughter in respect to height and bone structure**, I was bigger than Grandma O'Malley by the time I was ten. (TH1)
- (3) **Ducking under the bar**, Burden went in first, then Vine. (RR1)
- (4) **Finishing his coffee**, he reached for his file of newspaper cuttings. (FF1)

Obviously, our approach only scratches the surface of the complexities of transitivity as defined by Hopper and Thompson. Still, as Figure 5.1 below shows, even this simplified approach reveals differences between original and translated English.

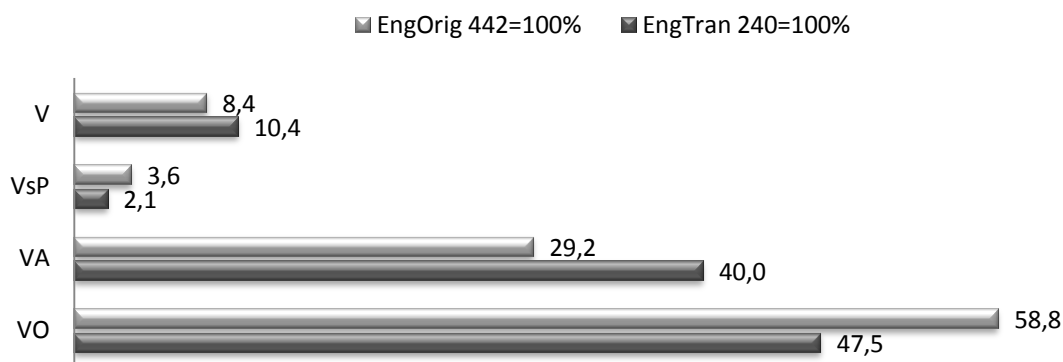


Figure 5.1: Clause patterns in EngOrig and EngTran, in percentages¹⁷

Whereas EngTran shows higher percentages for single intransitive verbs (V-pattern) and transitive verbs followed by adverbials (VA), EngOrig has higher frequencies for the transitive pattern (VO) and also for the copular construction (VsP).

This should be compared to our discussion of semantic roles (Section 4.2.2) where, on the whole, EngTran adjuncts overwhelmingly clustered in the ‘same-time’ categories. These are typical of durative situations, which coincide well with intransitive verbs. EngOrig examples, on the other hand, were dispersed more evenly over a wider range of semantic categories. Most notably, original English scored much higher for ‘time-before’ (Section 4.2.4), i.e. situations which typically have their ending point before the situation in the matrix starts. This is, then, more typical of transitive constructions.

When we compare syntactic patterns for EngOrig and EngTran across relative position (see Figure 5.2 below), the differences indicated above become even clearer. Especially in

¹⁷ Raw numbers EngOrig/EngTran: V 37/25; VsP 16/5; VA 129/96; VO 260/114

initial and medial positions, *-ing* adjuncts in the translated subcorpus seem overwhelmingly to encode intransitive situations, with or without adverbial modification; in initial EngTran almost two-thirds of all adjuncts are intransitive (V and VA combined): 66.3%. In medial position, the figures soar to almost three in four: 73.4%. Original English, by contrast, has 42.6% and 50.6% for the V(A)-pattern in initial and medial positions, respectively.

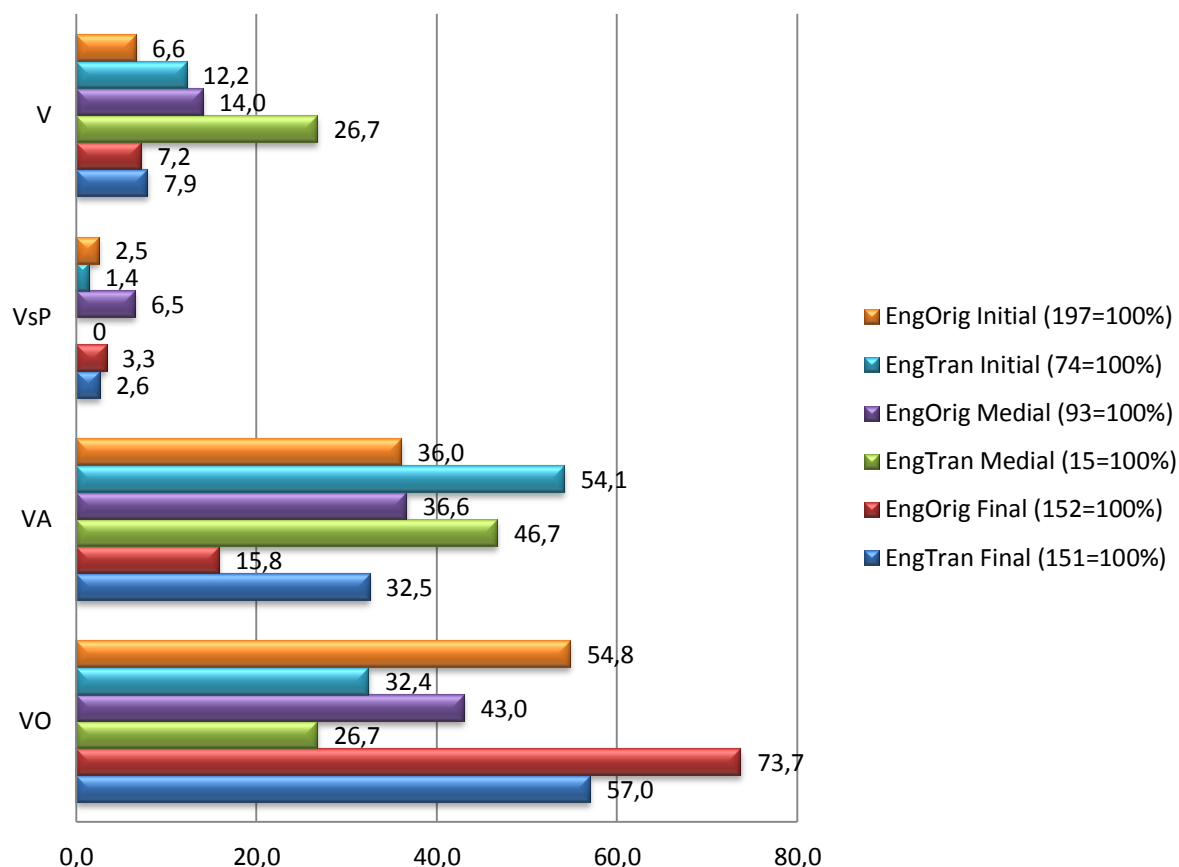


Figure 5.2: Clause patterns in EngOrig and EngTran across positions, in percentages¹⁸

In final position, EngOrig and EngTran show almost identical percentages for the V-pattern, whereas the VA-pattern is twice as frequent in EngTran as in EngOrig, percentage-wise. The figures for the transitive VO-pattern, on the other hand, reveal the opposite tendency; here EngOrig scores considerably higher in all positions.

¹⁸ Raw numbers

Initial EngOrig/EngTran: V 13/9; VsP 5/1; VA 71/40; VO 108/24

Medial EngOrig/EngTran: V 13/4; VsP 6/0; VA 34/7; VO 40/4

Final EngOrig/EngTran: V 11/12; VsP 5/4; VA 24/49; VO 112/86

Behind these percentages lies another quite apparent tendency as far as translated English is concerned, namely that the verbs chosen for non-finitization are typically those that describe characters, i.e. their bodily sensation, their physical position, etc. Verbs like *trembling* and *shivering* for sensation, and various stance verbs, such as *sitting*, seem to be favoured. Put differently, these are situation types that are low in transitivity (in Hopper and Thompson's sense), and thus can positively be said to serve as background. The question is how background is identified for *-ing* adjuncts with the transitive (VO) pattern:

5.1.2 Are *-ing* adjuncts necessarily background?

The observations in Section 5.1.1 beg the obvious question whether *-ing* adjuncts denoting transitive situations should be considered background. In example (5) below Hopper and Thompson put their own model for assigning background or foreground to an *-ing* participial clause to the test:

- (5) She left the room, **slamming the door behind her**. (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 284)

According to them, the adjunct clause *slamming the door behind her* scores high in transitivity. It is kinetic, i.e. it involves action rather than non-action; it has a highly affected object (the door); and, I would add, since the implicit subject is co-referential with the matrix subject, it scores high on subject type, too, 3rd person pronouns scoring highest of all subject NPs. Still, Hopper and Thompson define the proposition denoted by the adjunct as background, for the simple reason that 'material in *-ing* clauses is always *presented as background*' (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 285)¹⁹.

However, this explanation seems less than satisfactory. At least, the transitivity criteria are not in and of themselves sufficient for us to arrive at a background or foreground reading. We do not have access to the context in which example (5) occurs, but we may at least speculate that of the two propositions 'leave the room' and 'slam the door', it is her leaving that plays the more important role in the narration, in that it presumably signals a climax-like end to a situation. Her slamming the door, although Posterior with respect to the leaving, is simply a natural follow-up and probably does not propel the narration forward in any significant way. On the other hand, it describes the manner in which she departs (demonstratively); it reflects her mental state at that moment (frustrated, infuriated, etc.);

¹⁹ See Kortmann (1991: 113) for a similar approach.

and ultimately, it potentially helps to describe her as a character (easily provoked, highly resolved, resolute, or the like). We shall have more to say about this in Section 5.2.2 below.

5.1.2 Final *-ing* adjuncts vs. *-ing* complements

It follows from Hopper and Thompson's explanation above, then, that as far as *-ing* adjuncts are concerned, their backgrounding function is basically attached to their syntax, in that they are morphologically reduced, and syntactically dependent on their matrices. In this particular context it feels natural to draw attention to the following pair:

- (6a) He continued to stand behind the chair, **waiting for him to pass comment on the documents.** (OELIT)
- (6b) He continued to stand behind the chair **waiting for him to pass comment on the documents.**

(6a) is marked for detachedness through the comma, and thus qualifies as a final free adjunct. (6b), on the other hand does not have the comma. This construction belongs to the category of 'stance verb complements', which, according to Ihms (1986: 286), balance on being progressive, the inflected verb *stand* almost assuming mere auxiliary status. As a consequence, it is the *-ing* participle that carries the informational load, and therefore is the foregrounded portion. In other words, what separates (6a) from (6b) is the presence of the comma.

What this suggests is that the notion backgrounding is not as straight-forward as one might first think, especially not in clause-complexes where the adjunct may arguably be said to express the most potent information. According to Givón (1987: 185),

We have taken for too long now that there must be a strong correlation between *main-finite clause* syntax and the foregrounding function in discourse.

Further, Jespersen says that 'what is logically the most important idea is often placed in what grammatically is subordinate' (Jespersen 1965: 345). Though this statement might be slightly exaggerated, example (6a) above is indeed one such example. Moreover, this adjunct occupies final position, which in most – if not all – linguistic approaches to discourse information principles is said to house the most important content.

Interesting though the distinction between foregrounding and backgrounding is, we cannot pursue it any further here, for the obvious reason that it would require involving much longer stretches of running text.

5.1.3 Telicity and perfectivity

Another feature of the *-ing* adjunct which causes problems establishing its ability to forward the progression of the narrative, is illustrated in the following example borrowed from Section 4.5:

- (7b) **Firmly replacing the lid** he marvelled, as he always did, at the difference one girl and an eighteen-month-old baby could make to the volume of household waste. (PDJ3)

The adjunct has several characteristics typical of foregrounded clauses, e.g. the situation is kinetic and telic, the direct object affected, etc.. The matrix situation, on the other hand, is stative and non-kinetic. Yet, one is not in a position to determine whether the replacing of the lid is completed before the marvelling starts, or whether the two propositions overlap temporally, simply because the *-ing* adjunct blurs the perfectivity of the proposition ‘replacing lid’.

The translator, it will be seen, has chosen a *mens*-clause, thereby underlining the durativity of the kinetic situation *la lokket forsvarlig på*, and thus rendering the situations as simultaneous or at least overlapping:

- (7b) *Mens han la lokket forsvarlig på, slo det ham som vanlig med undring at det kunne bli så mye mer avfall med en jente og en atten måneder gammel unge i huset.*

Note how the durative matrix verb *marvelled* has been turned into a very punctual ‘slo det ham’.

Similarly, in (8) below it is impossible to tell a Posterity reading off from Accompanying Circumstance although both the matrix and the adjunct predicates are telic; they have enough internal temporal duration to enable overlap:

- (8) He found St Catherine’s Hospital without much trouble and at the door helped me out and handed me the crutches, **saying he would park and wait inside in the reception area and I could take my time.** (DF1)
Han fant St. Catherine-sykehuset uten nevneverdige vanskeligheter, og ved hovedinngangen hjalp han meg ut av bilen. Han leverte meg krykkene og

sa han skulle parkere bilen og vente i resepsjonen, så kunne jeg bruke den tiden jeg trengte.

We notice also that, given our observations in Section 4.5, the Norwegian coordinator *og* at best only suggests a sequential reading. Moreover, the specific temporal relation is not particularly important; the two propositions are merely presented as being temporally related.

Another factor that may have motivated the use of an *-ing* adjunct in (8) is the fact that the sentence already consists of three coordinated main clauses. This will be our focus in the next section.

5.2 Multi-clause sentences

In most presentations of *-ing* participial free adjuncts, only two-clause complexes are given, i.e. constructions involving a single matrix to which a single *-ing* adjunct is attached, in initial, medial or final position. However, in our data there are a number of clause-complexes involving three or more clauses. In Section 5.2.2 below we will look at chains of *-ing* clauses, but first we will present clause-complexes where the adjunct is attached to matrices of different structural prominence.

5.2.1 Degree of “inclusion” in the superordinate structure

In quite a few instances in our corpus – and more so in original English than in translated English – a sentence contains three or more clauses, two of them usually coordinated. We have distinguished between three main types of *-ing* adjunct inclusion: ‘top clause’, ‘coordinated clauses’ and ‘subclause’. In the ‘top clause’ type, the adjunct is syntactically dependent on a single main clause (example 9). In ‘coordinated clauses’ it is attached to the second (or third, etc.) coordinate (10), and finally, in ‘subclause’, its matrix is itself a subordinate clause (11):

- (9) **Turning to the Queen** he said, "You'll have to nip in now and then, help your mum out. (ST1)
- (10) Burden breathed in and, **finding that he had put up his hand to cover his mouth**, resolutely brought it down again. (RR1)

- (11) Selmer, his body still covered with congealed sweat from his trip down the mountain, ends up in Loading where, **using his bare hands**, he fills huge steel skips with sharp chunks of ... (KFL1T)

The frequencies for the different inclusion types are given in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Structural inclusion of free adjuncts in EngOrig and EngTran, across positions

<i>Structural inclusion within sentence</i>	<i>EngOrig</i>			<i>EngTran</i>		
	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>
attached to top clause	161 (81.7%)	67 (72.0%)	109 (71.7%)	66 (89.2%)	11 (73.3%)	117 (77.4%)
attached to coordinate	33 (16.8%)	10 (10.8%)	19 (12.5%)	6 (8.1%)	1 (6.7%)	17 (11.3%)
attached to subclause	3 (1.5%)	16 (17.2%)	24 (15.8%)	2 (2.7%)	3 (20.0%)	17 (11.3%)
Total	197 (100%)	93 (100%)	152 (100%)	74 (100%)	15 (100%)	151 (100%)

We see that the overwhelming majority of *-ing* adjuncts attach to top clauses; this counts for more than 70% in all positions and in both subcorpora, with EngTran generally showing slightly higher percentages than EngOrig. The rest of the table, too, displays fairly similar percentages, except for coordinate attachment in initial position, where the frequency is twice as high in original as in translated English. Especially interesting in this respect is the type exemplified in (12):

- (12) Utz leaned his head against the leathercloth headrest and, **closing his eyes**, remembered Augustus's aphorism: "The craving for porcelain is like a craving for oranges." (BC1)

Here, the *-ing* adjunct separates the two coordinated clauses *Utz leaned his head ... and remembered ...*. This particular way of presenting several (sequential) situations within the span of just one sentence, is more salient in EngOrig than in EngTran, with 16.8% as opposed to 8.1%. *-ing* adjuncts here seem to have the effect of halting the progression of the narration, an effect that is sometimes less apparent in the translated version

- (13) I made a friendly sign, went back into the house and, **creeping past the sleeping form of the police officer**, slid into my room. (BO1)

Jeg gjorde et vennlig tegn, gikk inn igjen, listet meg forbi den sovende politibetjenten og tilbake til rommet mitt.

In (13) both *creeping* and the Norwegian correspondence *listet meg* denote activities that are slower than the other activities in the clause-complex, but this effect is somewhat heightened due to the form of the English adjunct itself. Let us once more draw attention to the following multi-clause sentence from earlier, where the *-ing* adjunct seems to serve an additional function that is lost in the translated version:

- (14) Without a nod to Orlik he then climbed into the organ loft and, **seating himself amid its choir of giltwood and trumpeting angels**, began to play a funeral march ... (BC1)
Uten et nikk til Orlik kløv han opp i orgelpulpituret, satte seg midt blant fargylte utskjæringer og basunengler og gav seg til å spille en sørgemarsj
...

We mentioned in Section 3.3.2.2 that the adjunct has the effect of slowing the tempo down, something which is not reflected in the translation of (14). The Norwegian version, rather, presents a sequence of fairly abrupt events. What is particularly appealing about this retarding effect of the *-ing* clause lies in the subject matter of that sentence; slowing the tempo down combines neatly with the atmosphere typically associated with funerals.

The retarding function is even more apparent in perfect participial constructions, as in (15) below, where *having read* relates back to and picks up the predication *read him* in the preceding main clause:

- (15) Certainly he wanted some people to read him, one person in particular, and **having read the poems** he wanted her to approve. (PDJ3)

Consider also (16) below, where the entire adjunct *having been shown the way* has been replaced in the Norwegian version by a single word: *dermed*:

- (16) When Celia had finished there was an uncertain silence. Eli Camperdown broke it. The Felding-Roth president sounded surprised.
"I do n't know what the rest of you think, but what Mrs. Jordan has suggested sounds to me like very good sense."
Having been shown the way, others added their agreement, though Dr. Lord remained silent. (AH1)
Det ble en liten usikker pause, som Eli Camperdown brøt. Han virket overrasket.
Jeg vet ikke hva dere andre synes, men det Mrs. Jordan foreslår forekommer meg fornuftig."
Dermed erklærte de andre seg enige, bortsett fra dr. Lord.

In (16), the adjunct picks up the effect of the preceding utterance ‘... *sounds to me like very good sense.*’ without contributing anything new to the narration. Thus, the translator considers it sufficient to represent this by the discourse conjunct *dermed*.

5.2.2 Chains of *-ing* adjuncts

Another salient feature of *-ing* participial free adjuncts is that of chaining, i.e. sequences of adjacent *-ing* adjuncts. In all, our corpus of 682 clause-complexes displayed 53 examples inhibiting *-ing* clause chaining, i.e. 7.8% of the total. Their distribution between EngOrig and EngTran and across positions is given in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2: Chains of *-ing* adjuncts in EngOrig and EngTran, across positions

Number of <i>-ing</i> adjuncts in chain	EngOrig			EngTran		
	Initial 197=100%	Medial 93=100%	Final 152=100%	Initial 74=100%	Medial 15=100%	Final 151=100%
two adjuncts	6 (3.0%)	5 (5.4%)	22 (14.5%)	4 (5.4%)	1 (6.7%)	9 (6.0%)
three adjuncts	-	-	-	1 (1.4%)	-	2 (1.3%)
four adjuncts	-	-	1 (0.6%)	-	-	2 (1.3%)
Total	6 (3.0%)	5 (5.4%)	23 (15.1%)	5 (6.8%)	1 (6.7%)	13 (8.6%)

It will be observed that chaining occurs much more freely in final position than in initial or medial position. In original English as many as 23, or 15.1% of the 152 clause-final instances display chaining, with translated English scoring somewhat lower (13 -- 8.6%). On the other hand, EngTran has more examples of chains of more than two *-ing* adjuncts. For initial and medial position, the frequencies are considerably lower, with EngTran consistently showing higher percentages. However, it must be remembered here that initial and medial adjunct constructions are on the whole much fewer in the translated subcorpus, which means any single occurrence of chaining has an immediate effect on the percentages.

As indicated by Behrens (1998: 151), final *-ing* clause chains readily have an Elaborating function on the matrices to which they are attached, as in (17) below:

- (17) He taught in the same school, **earning regular increments for service and improving his position by ability and gradual seniority** (NG1)

This can also be observed in the following example involving no less than four chained adjuncts:

- (18) At infant school he had been the class milk monitor, **placing a bottle of milk before each pupil, then making them wait for a straw, then collecting the silver foil tops and pressing them into the large ball they were intending to give to the blind.** (ST1)

In other clause-complexes the chain seems to signal, as it were, a mini narrative inside the main narrative, with a series of two temporally subsequent events (19):

- (19) “Was that all the post you got?” asked Hugo, **chasing an elusive chip around his plate, and finally cornering it against a lump of fat.** (MD1)

This also is the case in the following example from the translated subcorpus, with four adjuncts chained together into what is represented as a subsidiary narrative about drinking habits:

- (20) Here, too, came retired factory workers in plain workshirts that were buttoned right up to the neck, **coughing painfully and unpleasantly into the foam in their beer-glasses, drinking up, striking the table with their fists and demanding more.** (GS1T)

For initial and medial adjuncts, the role that the chained adjuncts have is typically Elaboration or Accompanying Circumstance for EngTran, as in example (21), whereas for EngOrig, a wider range of logical roles is identified; a Cause relation seems to hold both in (22) and in (23):

- (21) Louise, **sparkling and flaunting her strength**, laughed at her brother in the other boat. (SL1T)
- (22) She and Jasper, **living with her mother and paying nothing**, had about eighty pounds a week between them, on Social Security. (DL2)
- (23) **Not knowing this, but knowing that the unseen thing he had bitten had tasted foul and horrible**, Cujo decided the game was not worth the candle. (SK1)

It seems that final adjunct chains more so than those in initial and medial position serve to amplify the proposition expressed in the matrix, thus helping the reader to envisage the

scene that is being created. As such they appear to be very central to the intensity of the situations.

This ability that non-finite forms have, to cluster in groups, has led certain linguists once more to question the practice of defining *-ing* adjuncts as background information simply because of their form, cf. Myhill and Hibiya, who consider it a fallacy for linguists to determine ‘that a given form in a given language is in and of itself used for foregrounding’ (Myhill and Hibiya 1988: 362).

Much in the same vein, Toolan (1990) considers chains of *-ing* adjuncts to be very much a central part of the narration itself. He offers the following extract from Faulkner’s ‘Pantaloon in Black’:

- (24) He released one hand in midstroke and flung it backward, ***striking the other across the chest, jolting him back a step***, and restored the hand to the moving shovel, ***flinging the dirt with that effortless fury*** so that the mound seemed *to be rising* of its own volition, not built up from above **but *thrusting visibly upward out of the earth itself***, until ... (Toolan 1990: 116 -- his italics)

In this passage, Toolan claims, the author

only vouches for the serial progression of the most banal, least interesting events in the sentence: "He released one hand in midstroke and flung it backward ... and restored the hand to the moving shovel". It is in the clauses of qualification appended to this narrative statement that the sense of multiple (synchronous) actions (implying a powerful source of all this energy) is promoted. (Toolan 1990:117)

Indeed, chains of *-ing* adjuncts, Toolan continues, ‘often propel the narrative onward with alacrity’ (Toolan 1990: 119f). What this suggests, then, is that the distinction foreground vs. background definitely is a matter of degree; final adjuncts -- chained or not -- seem to play a very profound role indeed in the creation -- and experience -- of narrative discourse.

5.3 *-ing* adjuncts in discourse

Since a concise presentation of the discourse function of *-ing* participial free adjuncts would require longer stretches of running text, we can only make rudimentary observations in this section. We will briefly comment on *-ing* adjuncts in initial and final position first

(Subsections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), before dwelling somewhat more on those which occupy medial position (Subsection 5.3.3).

5.3.1 Initial adjuncts

In the literature there is ample documentation of the discourse function that initial free adjuncts serve, cf. e.g. Givón (1987), Kortmann (1991) and Behrens (1998).

Readily, initial adjuncts provide a discourse bridge between the preceding context and the matrix to which it is attached. This is evidenced by the many instances where the adjunct contains anaphoric elements in terms of deictic pronouns or definite noun phrases. Let us look at a rather long passage to illustrate this point:

- (25) The coffee was hot. While letting it cool, Andrew glanced at a *Newark Star-Ledger*. Prominent on the newspaper's front page was a report about something called "Sputnik".... While President Eisenhower, according to the news story, was expected to order speed-up of a U.S. space programme, American scientists were "shocked and humiliated" by the Russians' technological lead. Andrew hoped some of the shock would spill over into medical science. Though good progress had been made during the twelve years since World War II, there were still so many depressing gaps, unanswered questions.

Discarding the newspaper, he picked up a copy of *Medical Economics*, a magazine that alternately amused and fascinated him. (AH1)

Here, the definite NP *the newspaper* refers back to *Newark Star Ledger* at the start of the preceding paragraph. Moreover, the adjunct verb *discarding* captures the negative emotions the news reportage has evoked in the character, Andrew. In sum, the adjunct provides a delicate link to Andrew's picking up some reading material which is much more to his liking, in the ensuing matrix.

Behrens observes (1998: 259f) that in many cases, the Norwegian rendering inserts an initial discourse conjunct that is not present in the original. Her observation is supported in our data. Consider the following example (discourse conjunct underlined):

- (26) Unravelling this carefully, he worked his way backwards round the room and into the corridor leading to the guest bedrooms. The lee of the passage would give him protection from the blast. **Making his way gingerly to the kitchen**, he filled with water a large polythene bag from his pocket.(FF1)
Han rullet ledningen omhyggelig opp mens han balanserte seg baklengs langs veggene i stuen og inn i gangen som førte til gjesterommene. Her ville han være i ly for eksplosjonen. Så gikk han forsiktig ut i kjøkkenet og fylte vann i en plastpose han tok opp av lommen.

The adjunct *making his way gingerly* here appears at a thematic break (Givón 1987: 182) between the preceding cotext and the following matrix. This seems to be a recurrent discourse function that *-ing* adjuncts have. To compensate, the translator inserts the conjunct *så* to achieve the same function.

Although the vast majority of initial adjuncts in our material appear to have an appreciable discourse function, there are also instances which seem to relate solely to their matrix:

- (27) Coming outside was a shock. After all the noise and humid, sweaty heat, the January cold ripped my breath away. **Shivering violently**, I tried to zip my jacket. (TH1)

However, even here there is a logical thematic link between the adjunct and the preceding text; shivering is a natural reaction to cold weather.

As far as the translated subcorpus is concerned, there is a larger proportion of the type illustrated in example (27). This should be related to the observation that EngTran adjuncts more often than those in EngOrig are intransitive (cf. Section 5.1.1).

5.3.2 Final adjuncts

In contrast to initial adjuncts, which in most cases relate both to the preceding cotext and their following matrices, final adjuncts seem largely to function locally, i.e. they relate entirely to their preceding matrix. This corresponds well with the observation that the vast majority of finally placed adjuncts are temporally concurrent with their matrices (Section 4.2.3). Moreover, those which may be interpreted as forwarding the temporal succession (Posterior and Result adjuncts, cf. Section 4.2.5) seem to do so in a way that follows naturally from the proposition in their matrices. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that it is the combined propositions of the matrix and the adjunct that provide a textual progression which is then continued in the ensuing text.

5.3.3 Medial adjuncts

It was suggested in Section 4.1.2 that medial *-ing* participial free adjuncts have been largely neglected in the literature. We have seen, among other things, that medial adjuncts display logical roles much akin to initial adjuncts (Section 4.2.2). Moreover, they seem to have quite appreciable discourse functions too. The following observation, it should be

emphasised, pertains to those medial adjuncts that are not ‘positionally bound’ (i.e. those following the relative pronoun *who*, *which* or *where*).

According to Winter (1982), a signalling feature of medial adjuncts is that ‘a strong anticipation is set up for the grammatical completion of the main clause’ (1982: 119). This is indeed true of all medial adjuncts. However, what seems crucial for positionally ‘unbound’ medial adjuncts is that they help to contrast their matrix subject with the preceding context. Let us look at two examples:

- (28) He glanced briefly down at Willie who was now retreating rapidly on hearing the tubby man being called "Doctor". Nancy, **noticing how scared he was**, sat down at the side of the trench and took the cigarette out of her mouth. (MM1)
- (29) Pat said to them, as they silently went up, "Alice, don't think we don't think you aren't a bloody marvel!" And laughed. Alice, **not giving a damn**, went into the big empty room behind Jasper. (DL2)

The crucial point to notice here is the interplay between characters, and consequently the alternation between subject NP referents (cf. Fox 1987). The effect that the medial adjuncts here have is that in both examples the matrix subject referents, Nancy (28) and Alice (29), are structurally set off by the inserted *-ing* adjunct. This is a valuable discourse function. It helps to re-establish a character on the scene by halting the completion of the matrix proposition. Thus, the matrix subject re-emerges, as it were, in the reader’s awareness. Moreover, since the adjunct is placed after its matrix subject, there is no risk of misinterpreting the adjunct as relating to the subject NPs in the preceding text.

As regards the very noticeable differences between original and translated English in terms of frequencies for medial adjuncts (Section 3.2), a very plausible explanation can be found precisely in what we have just illustrated; Norwegian does not possess a construction that can match the ‘unbound’ medial adjunct (except, of course, relative clauses). Hence, medial *-ing* adjuncts are comparably very few in EngTran.

5.4 Reordering of propositions

Especially with regard to medial adjuncts in original English, one might expect a desire in the translator to reorder the clauses in the Norwegian rendering, simply because

Norwegian does not allow clauses to intervene between the subject and other constituent parts to the same degree as English. Let us look at Table 5.3:

Table 5.3: Positional change: EngOrig→NorTran and NorOrig→EngTran

<i>Positional change</i>	<i>EngOrig</i>			<i>EngTran</i>		
	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>
no change	172	75	149	60	14	144
change to or from initial		5	1		1	11
change to or from medial	5		-	5		1
change to or from final	9	9		6	-	
no correspondence	11	2	2	3	-	4
Total	197 (100%)	93 (100%)	152 (100%)	74 (100%)	15 (100%)	151 (100%)

As we see, the question indicated above can be answered negatively; reordering of propositions does not occur to a large extent. Rather, the frequencies for positional change clearly indicate that the order of propositions is predominantly kept in translation. This may of course have to do with for example temporal constraints, in that one situation necessarily precedes another, and therefore is represented accordingly in the text. However, keeping the order of clauses sometimes leads to language which one might feel does not sound very natural. One such example is (11):

- (11) Fibich, **clutching his neuralgic head**, might groan at every suggestion that Hartmann put to him, but it was understood between them that they would agree on everything, as they did, and always had done, the ebullient Hartmann literally dragging Fibich along with him, into sheds, warehouses, shops, wherever their greetings cards had led them. (AB1)
Fibich, med hendene presset mot sitt nevralgiske hode, kunne nok stønne for hvert forslag Hartmann fremsatte for ham, men de visste begge at de ville være enige om alt, slik de alltid var, og slik de alltid hadde vært, med den sprudlende Hartmann som nærmest dro

However, in most cases medial adjuncts are translated as relative clauses or as main clauses, in which they are either coordinated or represented in what we have called ‘shifts’ (see Section 3.3.2.1).

In initial and final position, too, a reordering of propositions only rarely occurs. One example is (30) below, where the content of the initial English adjunct has been moved to final position:

- (30) **Leaving**, Andrew wondered: Thanks for what? (AH1)
Takk for hva? tenkte Andrew **da han gikk**.

What triggered this reordering is unclear; there is certainly nothing barring an ordering that parallels the original. In fact, in this case, one might feel that a certain element of suspense is lost in the translation.

5.5 Concluding remarks

We have presented in this chapter a variety of features, many of which seem to increase the saliency of the *-ing* participial free adjunct. In particular, it seems to pose questions related to the distinction foreground vs. background.

We have also seen that original and translated English differ in a number of ways with regard to how *-ing* adjuncts are used.

Section 5.3 on the discourse-cohesive function of free adjuncts merely hinted at features which, due to scope limitations, cannot be pursued any further here. However, they certainly raise curiosity and trigger the need for further studies.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and Suggestions

6.1 Major findings

This paper sought to illuminate some of the many characteristics of the English *-ing* participial free adjunct. Next, our focus was to compare original English with translated English, and in so doing, we went by way of Norwegian correspondences. Various results emerged.

6.1.1 Contrasting original and translated English

As one might have expected the most frequent Norwegian correspondences of *-ing* participial free adjuncts are independent clauses, either appearing as separate sentences or in coordination with another clause. Frequently, it was observed (Section 2.3.2.1), they appear as something in-between, i.e. run-on sentences. However, original English and translated English show diverging preferences for different subtypes, such as a sentence separated off by a comma (EngTran more frequent than EngOrig), and the use or non-use of a comma before coordinating *og* (EngOrig more frequent than EngTran).

In Chapter 3 we showed that the overall frequencies for the *-ing* adjunct are quite suggestive; whereas finally placed adjuncts are used almost equally often in translated English as in original English, diverging tendencies were found for initial position, and even more so for medial position.

As for the lower frequencies for initial adjuncts in EngTran, this was explained by the tendency for those adjuncts to signal traditional adverbial roles (Chapter 4). In situations

where a Norwegian finite adverbial may be translated into an English *-ing* adjunct, we hypothesized that the translator rather opts for a parallel construction in English, i.e. a conjunction-headed finite subclause. At least two motivations might lie behind such a choice: i) the sheer availability of a direct translation opportunity, and ii) reluctance to hide information that is plain to see in the original. We referred to the latter point as *implication* (Section 4.3.2). Moreover, when an *-ing* adjunct *was* chosen, its logical relation was either fairly easily inferable, or they seemed to belong to the weakest semantic category, viz. *Accompanying Circumstance*.

6.1.2 *-ing* adjuncts in discourse

In Chapter 5 we presented -- admittedly very cursorily -- a number of characteristics that the *-ing* adjunct seems to possess. We addressed the concept of backgrounding and foregrounding, simply with the view to problematize them. All we could conclude was that *-ing* adjuncts may employ a high degree of transitivity, also relative to the clause on which they depend syntactically. However, one would need to investigate larger portions of running text to be fully in a position to test the backgrounding label.

It may indeed be so that *-ing* clauses are irretrievably linked to background, either because they denote typical background material, or because they *present* it as such. However, a question that could be raised in this respect is whether the distinction background vs. foreground is relevant at all for *-ing* adjuncts, so long as foreground is defined as ‘belonging to the temporal continuity of discourse’. Rather, one ought to investigate to what extent *-ing* adjuncts help to establish atmosphere, depth and characterizations in narrative discourse.

To use Hopper and Thompson’s example again (Section 4.1.2), the character’s *slamming the door* reveals a great deal about her emotions at that moment. It may even help establish her as a character. This might be just one of those things that *-ing* adjuncts do in discourse; while foregrounded portions serve as ‘the backbone or skeleton of the text’, *ing* adjuncts ‘put flesh on the skeleton’. (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 281). In other words, *-ing* adjuncts might not be discourse creating, but certainly scene-creating. This is their ‘depictive’ role (Thompson 1983).

6.2 Suggestions for further study

As has already been indicated, one needs to look at longer passages of text in order to reveal the true potential *-ing* adjuncts have in terms of discourse function. For instance, why is it that as many as one third of the English original adjuncts that were also sentence-openers, also opened a paragraph?

Moreover, it would be interesting to see how different translators render the same text into English. It might then be possible to establish firmer conclusions as to what promotes a non-finite rendering rather than a finite one, and vice versa?

Another method worth testing is to have a group of professional translators translate the same English text into Norwegian, and as a next step to have another group of translators translate those texts back into English. Mediation is a peculiar thing. Contrasting those re-translated texts with the original might produce fascinating -- but also enlightening -- information about the English *-ing* participial adjunct.

Moreover, since this thesis dealt with fiction material only, an obvious next step would be to investigate nonfiction texts. It is widely acknowledged that nonfiction incorporates logical relations which are typically of a different nature than those that characterize fiction, i.e. they will be more concerned with precise and explicit relations such as Cause -- Effect, and Condition -- Consequence, etc. To quote Thompson (1983):

The point of non-depictive writing [i.e. nonfiction, typically] ... is to analyze situations, propose and support claims, and enhance understanding by relating pieces of information. Background clauses [e.g. *-ing* adjuncts] there are called upon to participate in this endeavor and must, to a much greater extent, bear explicitly labeled relationships with the main clause. (Thompson 1983: 56)

What we have indicated above suggests that further research is needed in order to understand the complexities of the English *-ing* participial free adjunct more fully, not only from a contrastive English-Norwegian point of view, but also with regard to original vs. translated English. It would thus be interesting to see if further investigations into *-ing* participial adjuncts will lead to conclusions which corroborate -- or conversely -- refute the observations made in this paper. It is, however, hoped that the present study has offered some further insight into contrastive linguistics in general, and the *-ing* participial free adjunct in particular.

6.3 A final observation

The so-called dangling -- or misrelated -- participle (see Section 1.2.1) has been largely neglected in this study. In all, ten were found: nine in EngOrig, one in EngTran, and all of them in initial position. One such instance was example (15) in Chapter 5.

Certainly, rules are to be followed, and the fact that only one instance was found in translated English may indicate that translators are truer to the rules of English grammar. Authors, on the other hand, might more often brandish their artistic freedom. However, none of the misrelated adjuncts caused confusion. Nor is it felt that the occasional dangling participle necessarily discredits the author as a skilled craftsman:

'Tis given out that, sleeping in my orchard,
A serpent stung me

Hamlet, Act I, Scene 5

-ing constructions other than free adjuncts

Preposition

By eight o'clock, **according to his wristwatch**, he was in bed. (AT1)

Owing to my hatred ... about the damaging immobility of plaster of Paris I had spent a good deal of the previous day persuading ... (DF1)

In 1944, when Gary Pervier had been twenty, he had single-handedly taken a German pillbox in France and, **following that exploit**, had led the remains of his squad ... (SK1)

Conjunction

"Of course, you can't blame Harry Harris too much, **considering what his wife's like**."
(FW1)

But even **supposing she can handle it**, the Yor Choice Blueberries series is still hanging fire... (SK1)

So, **providing it wasn't smuggled from the country**, it was, in theory, valueless.
(BC1)

Seeing as you'll be going into this business with me one day, you 've got to know how to add up the profits you make at the end of each day. (RD1)

Gerund

Revising the book is going to be difficult (Johansson and Lysvåg 1987: 271)

"Half-gerund"

It is hard to conceive of the Dutch, or anyone else, **being more than halfway around the world**, ... (JH1)

Appositional gerund

... in the end you have no time left for the one thing you set out to do, **writing**. (ABR1)

Dislocated gerund

But it sure had been funny, **hearing Cujo growl like that**. (SK1)

Action nominal

The revising of the book is going to be difficult. (Johansson and Lysvåg 1987: 271)

Complement and coordinated complements

Natalie took twenty minutes **washing, dressing, plucking, preening**. (FW1)

Complement of stance verb

When David went off to catch his train to London in the mornings, Harriet was sitting up in bed **feeding the baby, and drinking the tea David had brought her**. (DL1)

Prepositional complement

On **learning that Klement Gottwald had installed himself in Prague Castle**, ... Utz's reaction was ... (BC1)

Postmodifier and coordinated postmodifiers

Anybody **intimidating, threatening or abusing them, or causing them harm, or invading their privacy** will be dealt with in the criminal courts. (ST1)

Progressives and coordinated progressives

All over the world ordinary people are **marching, demonstrating, making their voices heard, letting the people in power know that what they want is a peaceful world for themselves and their children**. (PDJ3)

Insufficient matrix

But oh the wind outside, **screaming over the roof and skating down black gutters!** (SK1)

Unrelated exemplification FA

Her days passed in relative but nonetheless real innocence, **shopping, rearranging her linen cupboard or her wardrobe, lunching with friends, strolling down Bond Street**. (AB1)

Existential

There was a man **picking pears** (Plag 1992: 123)

Presentative where -ing clause is obligatory

Standing next to the netted window was a young boy. (MM1)

Presentative variant

The first floor had one large bedroom – theirs; and **opening off it** a smallish room, which would be for each new baby. (DL1)

ENPC texts

References used in this thesis are found in the rightmost column.

Title	Author/Translator	Publisher	Place, Year	Lang.	Code
Latecomers	Anita Brookner	Jonathan Cape	London 1988	BrE	AB1
Etternølere	Mette-Cathrine Jahr	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1990	BM	AB1T
The Wall of the Plauge	André Brink	Faber and Faber	London 1984	SAE	ABR1
Pestens mur	Per Malde	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1984	BM	ABR1T
Strong Medicine	Arthur Hailey	Michael Joseph Ltd	London 1984	BrE	AH1
Sterk medisjn	Axel S. Seeberg	Dreyers Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	BM	AH1T
The Accidental Tourist	Anne Tyler	Alfred A. Knopf	New York 1985	AmE	AT1
Tilfeldig turist	Bodil Roald	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1986	BM	AT1T
Utz	Bruce Chatwin	Jonathan Cape	London 1988	BrE	BC1
Utz	Aud Greiff	Aschehoug	Oslo 1989	BM	BC1T
The Famished Road	Ben Okri	Jonathan Cape	London 1991	NGE	BO1
Den sultne veien	Mona Lange	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1993	BM	BO1T
En håndfull lengsel	Bjørg Vik	Cappelen J W Forlag AS	Oslo 1979	BM	BV1
Out of Season and Other Stories	David McDuff & Patrick Browne	Sinclair Browne	London 1983	BrE	BV1T
Kvinneakvariet	Bjørg Vik	Cappelen J W Forlag AS	Oslo 1972	BM	BV2
An Aquarium of Women	Janet Garton	Norvik Press	Norwich 1987	BrE	BV2T
Sug	Cecilie Løveid	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1979	BM	CL1
Sea Swell	Nadia Christensen	Quartet Books	London 1986	BrE	CL1T
Straight	Dick Francis	Michael Joseph Ltd	London 1989	BrE	DF1
Dødelig arv	Henning Kolstad	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1991	BM	DF1T
The Fifth Child	Doris Lessing	Jonathan Cape	London 1988	BrE	DL1
Det femte barnet	Bodil Roald	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	BM	DL1T
The Good Terrorist	Doris Lessing	Jonathan Cape	London 1985	BrE	DL2
Den gode terroristen	Kia Halling	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	BM	DL2T
Salme ved reisens slutt	Erik Fosnes Hansen	J. W. Cappelens Forlag a s	Oslo 1990	BM	EFH1
Psalm at journey's end	Joan Tate	Farrar, Straus and Giroux	New York 1996	AmE	EFH1T
Mord på side 3	Ella Griffiths	Aschehoug	Oslo 1982	BM	EG1
Murder on Page Three	J. Basil Cowlishaw	Quartet Books Limited	London 1984	BrE	EG1T
Vannenken	Ella Griffiths	Grøndahl	Oslo 1977	BM	EG2
The Water Widow	J. Basil Cowlishaw	Quartet	London 1986	BrE	EG2T
Kjærløikens ferjereiser	Edvard Hoem	Det Norske Samlaget	Oslo 1975	NN	EH1
The Ferry Crossing	Frankie Denton Shackelford	Garland Publishing	New York 1989	AmE	EH1T
Det hendte ingenting	Ebba Haslund	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1981	BM	EHA1
Nothing Happened	Barbara Wilson	The Seal Press	Seattle 1987	AmE	EHA1T
Under aftenhimmelen	Finn Carling	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	BM	FC1
Under the Evening Sky	Louis A. Muinzer	Peter Owen Publishers	London 1990	BrE	FC1T
The Fourth Protocol	Frederick Forsyth	Hutchinson	London 1984	BrE	FF1
Den fjerde protokoll	Gerd Hoff	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1984	BM	FF1T
The Heart of the Country	Fay Weldon	Hutchinson	London 1987	BrE	FW1
Landets hjerte	Wivi Aase	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag A/S	Oslo 1988	BM	FW1T
The Women of Brewster Place	Gloria Naylor	Hodder & Stoughton	London 1980	AmE	GN1
Kvinnene på Brewster Place	Mona Lange	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1982	BM	GN1T

I mørket er alle ulver grå	Gunnar Staalesen	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1983	BM	GS1
At Night All Wolves Are Grey	David McDuff	Quartet Books Ltd	London 1986	BrE	GS1T
Huset med den blinde glassveranda	Herbjørg Wassmo	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1981	BM	HW1
The House with the Blind Glass Windows	Roseann Lloyd & Allen Simpson	The Seal Press	Seattle 1987	AmE	HW1T
Dinas bok	Herbjørg Wassmo	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1992	BM	HW2
Dina's Book	Nadia M. Christensen	Black Swan	Reading 1996	AmE	HW2T
Talking It Over	Julian Barnes	Jonathan Cape	London 1991	BrE	JB1
En trekanthistorie	Knut Ofstad	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1993	BM	JB1T
Arcadia	Jim Crace	Jonathan Cape	London 1992	BrE	JC1
Arkadia	Harald Lund	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1992	BM	JC1T
Sofies verden - Roman om filosofiens historie	Jostein Gaarder	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1991	BM	JG1
Sophie's World	Paulette Møller	Phoenix, Orion Books Ltd	London 1995	AmE	JG1T
Picture This	Joseph Heller	G.P. Putnam's Sons	New York 1988	AmE	JH1
Se det	Kari and Kjell Risvik	J. W. Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	BM	JH1T
Orions belte	Jon Michelet	Den norske bokklubben	Oslo 1984	BM	JM1
Orion's Belt	Ellen Nations	Souvenir Press	London 1986	BrE	JM1T
A Thousand Acres	Jane Smiley	Flamingo HarperCollins	London 1991	AmE	JSM1
Fire tusen mål	Anne Elligers	J.W.Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1992	BM	JSM1T
Kvinnen som klede seg naken for sin elskede	Jan Wiese	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1991	BM	JW1
The Naked Madonna	Tom Geddes	The Harvill Press	London 1995	BrE	JW1T
En plutselig frigjørende tanke	Kjell Askildsen	Oktober Forlag AS	Oslo 1987	BM	KA1
A Sudden Liberating Thought	Sverre Lyngstad	Norvik Press	Norwich 1994	AmE	KA1T
Even 1814	Karsten Alnæs	Aventura Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	BM	KAL1
The Boy from Duck River	Rune A. Engebretsen	North Star Press of St. Cloud	St. Cloud, Minn. 1995	AmE	KAL1T
Adams dagbok	Knut Faldbakken	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1978	BM	KF1
Adam's Diary	Sverre Lyngstad	University of Nebraska Press	Lincoln, USA 1988	AmE	KF1T
Insektsommer	Knut Faldbakken	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1977	BM	KF2
Insect Summer	Hal Sutcliffe and Torbjørn Støverud	Peter Owen	London & Chester Springs PA 1991	BrE	KF2T
Dalen Portland	Kjartan Fløgstad	Det Norske Samlaget	Oslo 1978	NN	KFL1
Dollar Road	Nadie Christensen	Louisiana State University Press	Baton Rouge 1989	AmE	KFL1T
Kappløpet	Kåre Holt	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1976	BM	KH1
The Race	Joan Tate	Michael Joseph Ltd	London 1976	BrE	KH1T
Herman	Lars Saabye Christensen	Cappelen J W Forlag AS	Oslo 1982	BM	LSC1
Herman	Steven Michael Nordby	White Pine Press	New York 1992	AmE	LSC1T
Jokeren	Lars Saabye Christensen	Cappelen J W Forlag AS	Oslo 1981	BM	LSC2
The Joker	Michael Nordby	White Pine Press	New York 1991	AmE	LSC2T
Cat's Eye	Margaret Atwood	McClelland and Stewart	Toronto 1988	CaE	MA1
Katteøyet	Inger Gjelsvik	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1989	BM	MA1T
The Middle Ground	Margaret Drabble	Weidenfeld and Nicolson	London 1980	BrE	MD1
Midt på treet	Bodil Roald	Gyldendal	Oslo 1981	BM	MD1T
Goodnight Mister Tom	Michelle Magorian	Puffin Books	London 1981	BrE	MM1
Godnatt Mister Tom	Ole Skau Jakobsen	Den norske Bokklubben AS	Oslo 1990	BM	MM1T
Bortførelsen	Mette Newth	Tiden Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1987	BM	MN1
The Abduction	Tiina Nunnally & Steve Murray	Simon & Schuster	London 1989	BrE	MN1T
The Scold's Bridle	Minette Walters	Pan Books/Macmillan General Books	London 1994	BrE	MW1
Kjerringbissel	Jorunn Carlsen	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag A/S	Oslo 1995	BM	MW1T
My Son's Story	Nadine Gordimer	Penguin Books	London 1991	SAE	NG1
Min sønns historie	Karin Bang	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1991	BM	NG1T
Tom Rebers siste retrett	Øystein Lønn	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1988	BM	OEL1

Tom Reber's Last Retreat	David McDuff	Marion Boyars	London 1992	BrE	OEL1T
Devices and Desires	P.D. James	Faber & Faber Ltd	London 1989	BrE	PDJ3
Intriger og begjær	Aud Greiff	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1990	BM	PDJ3T
Matilda	Roald Dahl	Puffin Books	London 1988	BrE	RD1
Matilda	Tor Edvin Dahl	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	BM	RD1T
What's Bred in the Bone	Robertson Davies	Elizabeth Sifton Books. VIKING	Harmondsworth 1985	BrE	RDA1
Den gamle Adam	Erik Næshagen	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1987	BM	RDA1T
Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha	Roddy Doyle	Secker & Warburg	London 1993	IrE	RDO1
Paddy Clarke Ha ha ha	Bjørn Alex Herrman	J. W. Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1994	BM	RDO1T
Kissing the Gunner's Daughter	Ruth Rendell	Hutchinson	London 1992	BrE	RR1
Brent barn - Et nytt Wexford-mysterium	Birgit Tønnesen	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1993	BM	RR1T
"D" is for Deadbeat	Sue Grafton	Pan Books Ltd	London 1990	AmE	SG1
"D" for druknet	Isak Rogde	Tiden Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1993	BM	SG1T
Tordensønnen	Stig Holmås	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	BM	SH1
Son-of-Thunder	Anne Born	Spindlewood	Barnstaple, Devon 1990	BrE	SH1T
Cujo	Stephen King	Penguin Books USA Inc.	New York 1981	AmE	SK1
Faresonen	Jan Nergaard	Hjemmets Bokforlag AS	Oslo 1983	BM	SK1T
Løvens hjerte	Sissel Lie	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1988	BM	SL1
Lion's Heart	Anne Born	Orkney Press Ltd	Kirkwall, Orkney 1990	BrE	SL1T
The Queen and I	Sue Townsend	Methuen	London 1992	BrE	ST1
Dronninga og jeg	Dag Heyerdahl Larsen	Cappelen J W Forlag AS	Oslo 1993	BM	ST1T
Jakarandablomsten	Toril Brekke	Oktober Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	BM	TB1
The Jacaranda Flower	Anne Born	Methuen	London 1987	BrE	TB1T
The Sunflower Forest	Torey Hayden	Grafton Books	London 1984	AmE	TH1
Solsikkeskogen	Jan Nergaard	Hjemmets Bokforlag	Oslo 1986	BM	TH1T
Zeppelin	Tormod Haugen	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1976	BM	THA1
Zeppelin	David R. Jacobs	Turton & Chambers	England 1991	BrE	THA1T
Røvet av vikinger	Torill Thorstad Hauger	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1978	BM	TTH1
Captured by the Vikings	Marlys Wick Paulsen	Breakwater	Newfoundland 1991	CaE	TTH1T

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