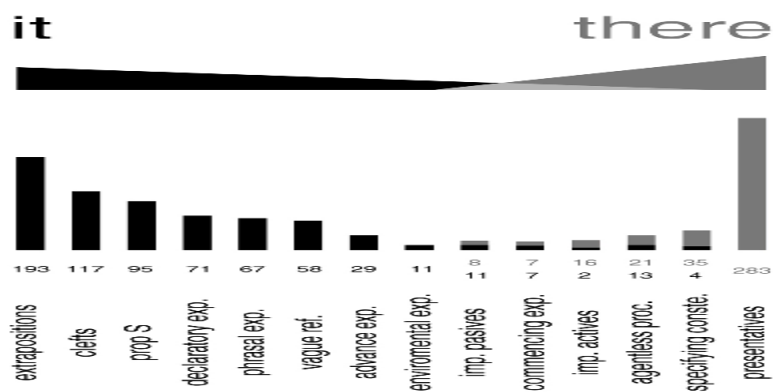


# ***There and it*** **in a cross-linguistic perspective**



A parallel corpus study of English dummy subjects and their translation equivalents in Norwegian and German

by  
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## List of abbreviations

AntiDSMC	= anticipatory dummy subject matrix clause (introductory clause in specific construction types)
ApR	= agent proto roles (strong thematic roles typical for subjects, ranking high in the Hierarchy of thematic roles)
AS	= Agentive subject (subject is an Agent)
Def. NP	= definite noun phrase (i.e. noun phrase containing definite article)
DS	= dummy subject (such as <i>it</i> , <i>det</i> and <i>es</i> in English, Norwegian, and German)
DSC	= dummy subject construction (such as extraposition, presentative, clefts...etc.)
ES	= environmental subject (environmental expression, such as <i>air</i> , <i>wind</i> ...etc. in the role of sentence subject)
FSP	= functional sentence perspective (the pragmatic theme=rheme orientation of a sentence)
GR	= grammar
GS	= generic subject (subject with generic reference, such as <i>man</i> in German, and <i>one</i> in English)
Indef. NP	= indefinite noun phrase (noun phrase preceded by indefinite article)
IS	= information structure (the pragmatic arrangement of sentence constituents in binary oppositions, such as given-new, topic-comment or theme-rheme)
Loc	= locative (thematic role of a locative element)
LS	= locative subject (subject with thematic role of sentence Locative)
NP	= noun phrase
NS	= notional subject (the logical subject of the clause regardless its syntactic function)
O	= object
PpR	= patient proto roles (weak thematic roles typical for objects, ranking low in the Hierarchy of thematic roles)
PpS	= Patient=proto subject (subject with low thematic role, i.e. patient=like subject)
S	= subject

- SS = specifying subject (subject conforming to indefinite pronouns in specifying constructions)
- SVO = subject=verb=object (the basic word ordering principle in languages such as English)
- ThR = thematic roles (the semantic distribution of agent- and patient-like roles)
- TS = temporal subject (time referent in the role of sentence subject)
- V = verb
- V2 = verb second language (finite verb is always restricted to be the second sentential element, such as in German and Norwegian)
- V3 = verb medial language (finite verb typically follows the sentence subject, such as in English)

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

This thesis is devoted to the study of English *it* and *there* as ‘dummy’ subjects, and their translation equivalents in Norwegian and German.

The discussion could hardly proceed without giving an exact definition of the phenomena under scrutiny. The term ‘**dummy subject**’ (DS) stands for non-referential uses of referential pronouns in subject positions, such as *it* and *there* (in English), *det* and *der* (in Norwegian) and *es* (in German), which often appear in specific clause types, so-called ‘dummy subject constructions’ (see Section 1.2.2.1. for detailed description).

It is widely believed (Quirk et al., 1985) that the most prevalent function of such ‘empty’, ‘grammatical’ or ‘dummy’ subjects (i.e. referential pronouns deprived of their referentiality) is to satisfy the structural needs for a sentence subject. Undoubtedly, dummy subjects play a major role in forming grammatical constructions (see Section 1.2.2.1 below); however, there might be much more to them than this.

In order to facilitate a broader comparison of the material, a preliminary study of Norwegian *det* as a dummy subject was carried out (and used as a parallel Master degree thesis at the University of Brno – Czech Republic; Chocholousova, 2007). This is similar with respect to theoretical background and uses similar corpora to generate the necessary material for the analysis. In the preliminary study Norwegian originals were investigated for all instances of dummy subjects and compared to their English and German counterparts. It is evident from the results that constructions with dummy subjects are much more frequently used in Norwegian than in English and German, and appear in a greater variety of construction types (cf. Chocholousova, 2007:45ff). The fact that the dissimilarities are greater than was expected is also evident from the results of other contrastive corpus-based studies, aimed particularly at the investigation of ‘presentative constructions’ (Ebeling, 2000) and ‘clefts’ (Gundel, 2002).

When studying languages as closely typologically related as English, Norwegian, and German, it often takes the smallest elements to make the greatest contrast (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Although all the three investigated languages have almost identical structural resources as far as dummy subject constructions are concerned, they differ in the manner and degree of their use (cf. Ebeling, 2000; Gundel, 2002).

In order to explain such dissimilarities one often has to look both inside and outside grammar; and consider not only the syntax, but also the pragmatics, semantics and general discourse function of dummy subjects. A great many linguists have already approached dummy subject constructions with great care; this is demonstrated by the extensive literature written around the topic (see Section 1.2. below).

However, to fully resolve all the arguments raised by the previous researchers is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present study. The main intention of this thesis is to find out more about the linguistic status of English, Norwegian and German ‘dummy subjects’ as revealed by a direct comparison of English original texts and their Norwegian and German translations and to describe where and how the differences between the individual languages occur, with special emphasis on what other subject choices the languages opt for in the light of translation data.

## 1.2 Previous research

Before specifying the research questions further, it is necessary to take a brief look at what has been written on the topic already. The literature devoted to ‘dummy subjects’ is quite extensive and involves a broad range of different linguistic disciplines (cf. also Chocholousova, 2007). The main dividing line is drawn between **diachronic** and **syndronic** linguistic approaches. The former focuses on the history of the language, its development, and present-day language typology. The latter, on the other hand, takes the present stage of the language as its starting point and focuses on the individual linguistic patterns, their use, contextual meaning and possible variants of the investigated forms.

### 1.2.1 Dummy subjects from a diachronic perspective

The study of dummy subject constructions in the light of historical data offers an interesting insight into syntactic change and evolution, as well as into present-day language typology. Several accounts of dummy subjects have been presented from a diachronic perspective. *It* as a dummy subject in Old and Middle English has been discussed by Breivik (1989) and Jørgensen (1996), connecting the extensive use of Middle English dummy subjects to the syntactic shift from V2 to V3 language, and assigning the dummy *it* a special significance. The historical syntax of Old Norse is

investigated by Faarlund (1989) and compared to contemporary Norwegian, with special focus on the development of presentative constructions. The historical syntax of Old German and its etymology is presented in the study by Heider (1989), with special emphasis on the German case system. Hawkins (1986) systemically compares English and German from both a diachronic and synchronic perspective, and provides a thorough introduction into the typology of the two languages investigated.

## 1.2.2 Dummy subjects from a synchronic perspective

To introduce the topic of dummy subjects, I will start with dummy subject constructions as described in the major reference grammars for each of the three languages separately. Then an overview of the different linguistic studies devoted solely to the topic of dummy subjects will be presented. As the material is quite vast, the studies will be divided into monolingual and contrastive studies.

### 1.2.2.1 Dummy subjects in major reference grammars

All the main dummy subject construction types as listed in major reference grammars are introduced here and followed by authentic examples retrieved from the corpus material as described in Section 2.1. Where possible, I have tried to choose a reference grammar that is based on general corpus research, and thus more congruent with the data investigated in the present study, such as Biber et al. (1999) for English; and Faarlund et al. (1997) for Norwegian. The German part is represented by Helbig & Buscha (1980).

#### 1.2.2.1.1 English dummy subject constructions

Biber et al. (1999:125f. and 155ff.) identifies both semantically empty *it* and referentially empty *there* as formal ‘grammatical’ subjects that appear in specific ‘clause types’. The use of *it* and *there* in subject positions is clause specific. Semantically empty *it* is used in constructions denoting weather, distance and time (i.e. as prop-*it*) as well as in specific clause structures, such as extrapositions and clefts (see the examples below<sup>1</sup>).

- **Prop *it*** – denotes weather distance and time:

---

<sup>1</sup> All the examples presented in this study are authentic corpus samples retrieved from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC) <http://www.hf.uio.no/forskning/prosjekter/sprik/> (for detailed description of the corpus material used see Section 2.1)

(1.1a) It was midday. (DL1)

- **Clefting** – structural clause division that brings focus on the clefted element:

(1.2a) It was just depression and unhappiness that made her blow up. (FW1)

- **Extraposition** – clauses where dummy subjects anticipate finite or non-finite clause:

(1.3a) It is not true that the Crown jewels are "priceless". (ST1)

So-called ‘existential *there*’ is in Biber et al. (1999:154) restricted to ‘existential clauses’, the major function of which is to present new information. In accordance with Ebeling’s (2000) terminology, I refer to these dummy subject construction types as ‘presentative constructions’ throughout the present thesis.

- **Presentative constructions**– (i.e. existential clauses in Biber et al. 1999) – the only specified construction type that uses *there* as a dummy subject; it introduces new discourse entities, and is formed with verbs denoting existence, appearance and motion:

(1.4a) There are trout. (BC1)

Dummy subjects are thus in Biber et al. (1999) described in terms of specific construction types, which are: prop-*it*, clefts, extrapositions and presentative constructions. Special emphasis is paid to their non-referentiality and the grammatical function of dummy subjects:

[...] the predicates here do not suggest any participant involved semantically, but [...] are obligatorily inserted simply to complete the structure of the clause grammatically (Biber et al., 1999: 125).

It is worth mentioning here that dummy *there* in Biber et al. (1999) is restricted in its use to existential constructions (i.e. presentatives). The description of individual dummy subject construction patterns is limited to four basic patterns, which is considerably less than in the other two referential grammars. Helbig & Buscha (1980) and Faarlund et al. (1997) list additional two categories, viz. impersonal passives and agentless processes, which are not dealt with in Biber et al. (1999). It does not mean, however, that these construction types are not equally structurally acceptable in English, although some grammatical restrictions may apply (see the following examples):

- **Impersonal passives** – this type of construction is not structurally allowed to be formed with intransitive verbs in English (Anward, 1981); however, in many

cases its function is similar to Norwegian and German, where the ‘doer’ of the action stays implicit or suppressed:

(1.5a) It's signed and witnessed." (AH1)

- **Agentless processes** – typically occur with sensual verbs and their main function is also to suppress the agentive role of a subject. Similar constructions are equally possible but rather rare in English:

(1.6a) "It smells like a mothball convention back there." (SK1)

Faarlund et al. (1997) additionally introduces a category of dummy subjects, which is clearly on the borderline of referentiality. It is the category of dummy subject constructions with vague reference, where the referential function of the dummy subject is so vague and undetermined that it is not possible to clearly identify its referent, neither in the contextual nor situational context.

- **Vague reference** – cases where the dummy subject refers to some loose situational context in general and is referentially undetermined:

(1.7a) "It is over", he would say, simply. (AB1)

It is thus evident that although the English reference grammar does not acknowledge these last three construction patterns as separate grammatical categories, they nevertheless exist in English. The difference in the way dummy subject constructions are described in major reference grammars in the three languages may have something to say about the status of dummy subjects in the languages compared.

### 1.2.2.1.2 Norwegian dummy subject constructions

Faarlund et al. (1997:678ff) have devoted a whole section to the topic of dummy subjects, or as they are called in Norwegian ‘formelle subjekter’. As in English, their non-referentiality and grammatical function is stressed, and special emphasis is then paid to particular construction types in which they appear. The Norwegian reference grammar gives the most detailed list of linguistic constructions with dummy subjects from the three languages compared. Faarlund et al. (1997:679) list six main dummy subject construction types, which are defined as:

- **Prop *det*** – describes meteorological conditions:

(1.1b) Det var middag. (DL1TN)

- **Clefts** – the informational focus shifts to the clefted phenomenon in the sentence:

(1.2b) Det var bare depresjon og tristhet som fikk henne til å blåse opp. (FW1TN)



- **Extrapolation** – one sentence part is pre-posed before the other or dislocated:

(1.3b) Det er ikke sant at kronjuvelene er uvurderlige. (ST1TN)

- **Presentatives** – introduce or describe a new entity appearing on the scene. Some of the Norwegian dialects allow the adverbial *der* (instead of *det*) to be used as a dummy subject in presentative constructions; however, this is regionally restricted and marginal in use:

(1.4b) Det [/Der] er ørret her. (BC1TN)

- **Impersonal passives** – the agentive role of a subject is suppressed:

(1.5b) Det er undertegnet og bevitnet. (AH1TN)

- **Agentless processes** – denote sensual processes or processes that can be sensed:

(1.6b) "Det lukter som en møllkulekongress der inne." (SK1TN)

- **Vague reference** – cases with very vague referential content, where the referent is not identifiable directly, but rather through some kind of notional content:

(1.7b) "Det er over," sa han enkelt. (AB1TN)

Such cases of vague referential subjects with very weak or undetermined reference according to Faarlund et al. (1997:679; see also examples 1.7a and 1.7c) border on the status of a dummy subject; however, they are recognized as a separate grammatical category.

According to Faarlund et al. (1997:687), ‘formal’ or dummy subjects are needed in Norwegian in order to fulfill the syntactic need for every Norwegian sentence to have a subject (this definition of dummy subjects seems to appear invariably in all three of the investigated languages). Such obligatory formal subjects are thus defined as ‘syntactic subject slot-fillers’ in cases where other subjects are either suppressed or irretrievable from the context.

The Norwegian pronoun *det* is always de-accented when used as functional particle or ‘dummy subject’ without a referential function in all the construction patterns listed above (Faarlund et al., 1997:679).

### 1.2.2.1.3 German dummy subject constructions

Helbig & Buscha (1980:359ff.) classify the grammatical function of the dummy particle *es* according to the valency patterns of German verbs; however, no specific groups of verbs can be classified as specifically preferring *es* as formal or grammatical

subject. The non-referential uses of German *es* are classified as into two main categories (which is true of the other two languages as well).

First, *es* described as a dummy or ‘grammatical’ subject appears in clauses denoting meteorological phenomena. This is the only ‘**grammatical subject proper**’ in German:

- **Prop *es*** – describing natural conditions:

(1.1c) Es war Mittag. (DL1TD)

Second, *es* in other construction types where it has not only grammatical, but also textual function is referred to as ‘position keeper’, or in German ‘**Platzhalter**’. It applies to the following construction patterns:

- **Clefting** – used to add sentence stress and special emphasis:

(1.2c) Es lag nur an den Depressionen und dem Elend, daß sie aus allen Nähten platzte.  
(FW1TD)

- **Extraposition** – introducing another clause:

(1.3c) Es entspricht nicht der Wahrheit, daß die Kronjuwelen von "unschätzbarem Wert" sind.  
(ST1TD)

- **Presentatives** – introducing a new theme to the scene:

(1.4c) Es gibt Forellen. (BC1TD)

- **Impersonal passives** – creating speaker distance:

(1.5c) Es ist alles unterzeichnet und von Zeugen bestätigt. (AH1TD)

- **Agentless processes** – with verbs of perception de-agentizing the subject:

(1.6c) "Da riecht es wie in einer Mottenkugelfabrik." (SK1TD)

Vague referential subjects, as identified by Faarlund et al. (1997), are the only grammatical category that is missing in the German reference grammar. The dummy or ‘semi-dummy’ subject with ‘**vague reference**’ is nevertheless equally possible in German as in the other two languages:

- **Vague reference** – cases where the referentiality of the pronoun in the subject position is too weak to be assigned any particular referent, so that it is rather connected to some notion of the situational context in general:

(1.7c) "Es ist vorbei", sagte er einfach. (AB1TD)

It is thus evident that all three of the investigated languages agree more or less on the function, structure, and use of the individual dummy subject constructions, whether or

not they come under a separate entry in the reference grammars. So far it seems that dummy subjects structurally concur more in Norwegian and German than with their English counterparts.

### 1.2.2.2 Monolingual studies

The most substantial contribution to the discussion of the semantic status of English *it* as a dummy subject was presented by Bolinger (1977:67), who disputes the referential emptiness of the dummy pronoun and claims that *it*:

‘[...] retains at least some value beyond that of plugging a grammatical hole... [*it* can have]...the greatest possible generality of meaning, limited only in the sense that it is neuter singular’ (Bolinger, 1977:67, 84).

Dummy *it* can thus be said to always retain at least some referential content that might be encoded in another level, i.e. the level of context (linguistic or situational), and from that context *it* often has to be retrieved (cf. also Johansson & Lysvåg, 1987, II:326).

This view is further supported by Kaltenböck’s (2003) most recent account of dummy subjects, which supports Bolinger’s idea of unlimited referential potential of the ‘meaningless’ dummy. Kaltenböck (2003:248) attempts to classify all the dummy-subject construction types according to the ‘gradience’ of their referential function, and claims that:

‘*it* [...] has a referent of an extremely general nature, i.e. typically the ‘environment’ or ‘ambience’ that is central to the area, [...and...] defies any further questioning [...] whether the scope of reference is still of a very general and vague nature or whether the pronoun has the more clearly and narrowly defined reference delimited by the extraposed complement clause’ (Kaltenböck, 2003:245).

Both Bolinger (1977) and Kaltenböck (2003) thus seem to agree that the individual dummy subjects appearing in different construction types are one and the same category of ‘grammatical patterns’ connected through:

‘some common underlying meaning of *it* which can be actualized in different ways by the context’ (Kaltenböck, 2003:244) [and limited only by being] ‘abstract nominal with the meaning “definite”’ (Bolinger, 1977:82).

The context is thus crucial, and it plays a major role in the investigation of corpus-based data which often present ‘border-line cases’ and ‘fuzzy boundaries’ that cannot be judged solely on the basis of strict grammatical categories without considering the underlying contextual coding.

In his corpus-based study (1991) Peter C. Collins concentrates on cleft constructions. He compares all types of clefts in many different genres of English, and takes a somewhat more structural point of view on the matter claiming that:

‘[...] the subject *it* of clefts is a non-referential dummy pronoun [...] taken as the by-product of a cleft-extraposition operation (with the relative clause thus serving as a postponed modifier to *it* in surface structure)’ (Collins, 1991:50).

Throughout the investigation he claims, however, that the key to the analysis of clefts is more functional, i.e. ‘informational/thematic’, as the main function of clefts is:

‘[...] directing the reader into a particular interpretation of the information structure (namely one where the locus of new information is mapped on to the theme)’ (Collins, 1991:214).

Jennifer Herriman (2000) gives an account of the function of extraposition in English texts through a corpus-based monolingual study. She classifies the function of extraposition in terms of the ‘Hallidayan’ system of processes, participants and circumstances, and she includes the analysis of individual text types. Herriman (2000:223) concludes that the overall function of extraposition is to express attitudinal meaning through an explicit, further modifiable proposition.

A study by Peter Alrenga (2005) discusses the question of dummy subjects and extraposition from a more theoretical generative perspective. Special emphasis is then paid to verbs such as *seem* and *happen* and their argument selection. The solution to the syntactic behavior of such verbs and their ‘predisposition’ to form extraposed clauses with dummy subjects is explained by means of null operator selection in argument structure. As Alrenga (2005:205) suggests, such null-operator analysis implies that some of the idiosyncratic DP complementation is present within the lexical context.

Last but not least, Peter Erdmann’s (1987) work on the status of *it* as a sentence subject should not go unmentioned here. Erdmann concentrates on the structural as well as functional aspects of English *it*-construction types, and gives a thorough introduction, as well as a classification of the individual construction patterns in light of the typological constraints of English syntax.

Norwegian dummy subjects have been investigated closely by Vigleik Leira (1970, 1992), who emphasizes the grammatical function of Norwegian *det*, and

introduces the term ‘**inject**’ for “an element that is so to speak being introduced into the scene” (1970:56)<sup>2</sup> as an independent grammatical category for its description.

According to Leira (cf. 1970:56), Norwegian syntax falls into two categories, namely:

- (i) ‘**subjective statements**’ where the subject is what is being talked about and elaborated on, as in: ‘Boka ligger på bordet’ [The book lies on the table]; and
- (ii) ‘**injective statements**’ where it is an action, state or process etc. that is being described, and new elements might be introduced in the context, e.g.: ‘Det lå noen bøker på bordet’ [There ‘lay’ some books on the table].

What is revolutionary in Leira’s account is the fact that, although he categorizes the various functions of *det*, involving all the construction types, he is also able to put things into a larger perspective and state that:

‘The way [*det*] constructions are, they form one and the same (type of) construction, I would say. [...] It’s only when [*det*] constructions are converted, i.e. transformed into another construction type, that they form different structures.’ (Leira, 1970:58)<sup>3</sup>

All types of *det*-constructions are thus so to speak essentially related and belong to one and the same grammatical category or ‘pattern’. This holistic view shares the characteristics of some of the contemporary linguistic approaches to the study of grammar, based on large corpus data analysis, and identifies structural relations in terms of syntactic patterns and their similarity, rather than dependency rules (cf. Hunston & Francis, 2000).

Generative linguists have also devoted a great deal of attention to dummy subjects. Helge Lødrup’s (1988) analysis of *det*-constructions starts from the semantics of the verb and its argument structure, and argues for a somewhat more ‘functional’ view of the matter. This is in line with Thorstein Fretheim’s (1977) analysis which involves both a ‘formalistic’ and a ‘functional’ perspective. He puts forth a theory of ‘syntactic conversion’ of dummy subjects and claims that the formal subject *det* is inserted for analogical purposes in all the *det*-construction types examined. The main function of *det*

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<sup>2</sup> Orig.: ”injekt [dvs.] et ledd som så å si føres inn i handlingen”

<sup>3</sup> Orig.: ”Slik som [det] setningene står, vil jeg si at det dreier seg om en og samme konstruksjon(stype). [...] Det er først når [det]-setningene skal omskrives, dvs. overføres til en annen konstruksjonstype, at en får forskjellige strukturer.”

is thus to enable a shift from a ‘subjective’ statement into ‘objective one (cf. Fretheim 1977:141). Fretheim predicts that this analogical shift can constantly form new construction types:

[...] the analogical shift discussed which among other things has caused presentatives and extrapositions to fall under the category of passivisation [in Norwegian] can be spread into new areas. (Fretheim 1977:167)<sup>4</sup>

In his study of the Norwegian passive, Åfarli (1992) pays due attention to impersonal passive constructions with the use of *det* as a dummy subject, and he also notes that the variety of impersonal passive constructions is remarkable in Norwegian.

*Det*-constructions, or so-called ‘impersonal constructions’, have also been the topic of several dissertation projects. The most recent one is the study by Andreas Sveen (1996) on Norwegian impersonal actives, studied from a purely generative perspective, and discussing the (un)accusativity and argument structure of Norwegian verbs. Another study devoted to impersonal constructions was written by Jan Anward (1981), who takes a somewhat more functional perspective on the matter and classifies Swedish dummy subject constructions into impersonal passives and impersonal active ones. The semantic aspect of Norwegian dummy subjects is presented and discussed from a formalistic point of view in the study by Aareskjold (1972), which should not go unmentioned here.

As far as German dummy subjects in monolingual studies are concerned, the list starts and ends with a pivotal study of dummy subjects and their construction types by Odo Leys (1979), who presents German *es* as a syntactic dummy, and introduces the necessary classification of the various construction types based on the word-class function of dummy *es*. His account categorizes individual construction patterns systematically both with respect to their linguistic function, and with respect to the valency and semantics of their verbs.

### **1.2.2.3 Contrastive studies**

#### ***1.2.2.3.1 Theoretically based contrastive studies***

Most of the theoretically based contrastive studies stem from the generative linguistic tradition and thus require a level of formalization. They discuss dummy subjects in a perspective which concentrates on the formal possibilities and constraints of

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<sup>4</sup> Orig: ”[...] den omtalte analogiske utviklingen, som blant annet har ført til at presentering og ekstraponering faller sammen i passivering, kan spre seg til nye områder.”

the individual language systems, with regard to the individual construction types. In order to attain such objectives, it is necessary to consider and contrast a wider selection of construction types, and often rely on data generated by the linguist's mind.

An important account of dummy subject constructions in Norwegian, English and German has been presented by Helge Lødrup (1993) which draws on generative formal semantics. The study focuses on the deep thematic structure of all three languages, but also considers the pragmatic aspect of the topological arrangement of the individual sentence elements in the individual language systems (see Section 3.3 for further analysis).

Apart from this work, other contrastive studies on the borderline between a functional and a formal approach must be mentioned here. To begin with, Norwegian and German dummy subject constructions have been studied by John Ole Askedal (1984, 1985) with special emphasis on extraposition. His approach combines a generative syntactic approach and lexical transformational rules with functional principles and arrives at a conclusion that German syntax is governed primarily by transformational rules, whereas Norwegian syntax mainly relies on lexical ones.

Another direct comparison of English and German dummy subject constructions is presented in Henry Kirkwood's studies (1968, 1978), which focus on the fundamental typological differences between the two languages based on the analysis of their thematic structures, sequential ordering of elements and information status.

A remarkable account of English and German dummy subjects is also presented in Rohdenburg's (1974) book on German and English syntax, where the systemic differences become evident mainly in the discussion of impersonal constructions and agentless processes.

#### *1.2.2.3.2 Corpus-based contrastive studies*

Some of the contrastive approaches devoted to dummy subjects have been based on corpus data analysis. Unlike approaches undertaken from a purely theoretical point of view, which compare a wide spectrum of construction types, corpus-based contrastive studies are usually limited to one or two construction types specifically and present an in-depth analysis of the particular construction.

The major corpus study of **presentative constructions**, or existential clauses, has been presented by Jarle Ebeling (2000), who gives a thorough overview of Norwegian and English dummy subjects. He presents all the main dummy subject construction types and classifies them into several categories, following the patterns described in major reference grammars, such as Faarlund et al. (1997), and he adds several others, which are outside the main focus of reference grammars. As far as presentative constructions are concerned, Ebeling states that there are much greater possibilities in Norwegian of forming presentative constructions with a wide selection of verbs, as compared to English which only allows presentatives to be formed with a restricted selection of verbs. Furthermore,

[...] it may seem as if the *there*-construction is accepting fewer and fewer verbs while the *det*-construction allows more and more verbs (Ebeling, 2000:141).

Ebeling works with real data analysis and states that there are many more different construction types and instances in the corpus that should not go unnoticed although they fall outside the class of presentative constructions.

Two corpus-based studies have been devoted to **clefts**: one from a Norwegian-English perspective by Jeanette Gundel (2002), and the other from a Swedish-English perspective by Mats Johansson (2001). In both studies, the authors agree that the structural possibilities for clefts are similar in English and in the Scandinavian languages, although the Scandinavian languages make use of clefting much more frequently than English does. Johansson (2001:147) highlights the ease with which elements may be fronted in Swedish (and Scandinavian languages generally), which especially explains the extensive use of *it*-clefts in Swedish. Gundel claims (cf. 2002:127) that both English and Norwegian use clefts in order to keep focal material out of the subject position, although Norwegian clefting is much more frequent in cases where the focal material itself is part of the clefted clause. She concludes that:

[...] this is due to a stronger tendency to map information structure directly onto syntactic structure in Norwegian (Gundel, 2002:127).

Both Gundel's and Ebeling's analyses of Norwegian dummy subjects are based on material from the Norwegian-English Parallel Corpus (ENPC), which is related to the corpus material used in this study. In their material the dummy subject construction types examined were far more frequent in Norwegian than in English. This was so both in the original and in the translated texts. It can thus be predicted that Norwegian dummy subjects will generally be more frequent in use than their English counterparts.



This tendency was confirmed by the preliminary study of Norwegian dummy subjects (Chocholousova, 2007) that used dummy subject constructions in Norwegian original texts and compared them to their English and German translations. The preliminary study was to provide a starting point for the present analysis and made use of similar corpus material, i.e. Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC), which is also the source of the corpus data presented in this study (see Section 2.1). The results of the preliminary investigation show that:

Norwegian dummy subjects are 1.5 times more frequent than their English counterparts, and 1.7 times more frequent than their German counterparts (Chocholousova, 2007:109)

Without going into the analysis of exact figures here, Chocholousova's analysis claims that Norwegian *det*-constructions are not only more frequent but also syntactically more diverse than both their English and German translations. In this study it can thus be expected that Norwegian dummy subjects will have a marked tendency to be used more frequently than in English and German, regardless of the translation direction. However, before taking a close look at the material, I would like to say a few words about the focus and limitations of the present study.

### 1.3 Aim and scope of the study

The main focus of the present thesis lies on the investigation of the actual frequency and use of the English dummy subjects *it* and *there* in the corpus material, and the comparison to their Norwegian and German counterparts found in the translation material. Special emphasis is then paid to the dummy subject constructions that have not been studied contrastively in corpus-based surveys before; this automatically drives the attention away from looking specifically at individual construction patterns, such as presentatives and clefts which have been thoroughly investigated in the ENPC already (cf. Ebeling, 2000 and Gundel, 2002 in Section 1.2.2.2.2).

The gist of the investigation is dummy subject construction types that are actually found in the corpus material. The starting point for the present thesis thus is to answer the question 'what is it that is actually found in the corpus material apart from the main dummy subject categories that have been described by reference grammars already?' And 'what can the corpus findings reveal about the linguistic status of dummy subjects in the light of contrastive data?' The results of the analysis should give some answers to the following questions:

- What dummy subject construction types can be retrieved from the corpus material?
- To what extent are dummy subjects kept/replaced in the translation?
- Why are the individual subjects kept/replaced in the translation?
- Where do the new subjects come from?
- What functions do the dummy subjects perform in the discourse?

All this will hopefully give some interesting insights into the use and function of dummy subject constructions in the three languages investigated.

## 1.4 Justification of the study

As Hunston & Sinclair put it:

there are gaps in the coverage of grammatical structures achieved by a generalisable system of structural analysis... (2000:75)

Through contrastive studies of authentic syntactic patterns in context, new possibilities open up for additional insights, methodological renewals and empirical theory development based on the study of sentence form. The main advantage of a multilingual parallel corpus is that the languages interrelate with each other. The contribution of the thesis is thus to survey the dummy subject construction types actually formed in the corpora, provide some evidence of their **use** in the discourse, and compare their linguistic properties and behavior to the findings presented in theoretical accounts of the topic. According to Wasow:

there is no good excuse for failing to test theoretical work against corpora (2002:163)  
[...] our only evidence of competence is performance. (2002:159)

## 1.5 Outline of the study

Chapter 2 begins a description of the corpus material used, introduces the methodology applied, and presents the theoretical grounding for a three-level functional analysis. Chapter 3 presents the corpus data analysis, and lists all types of dummy subject constructions found, as well as their translation alternatives in the material. Chapter 4 briefly discusses the findings, and attempts to find justifications for the linguistic

tendencies found in the translation material. Finally, Chapter 5 sums up the discussion in a general conclusion.

## 2. Theory and method

### 2.1 Material

First of all, it is necessary to introduce the corpus material used for the data collection, and describe the methodology behind the procedure of data extraction.

#### 2.1.1 Description of the corpora

In order to facilitate a more general cross-linguistic and translational comparison of the dummy subject constructions, it was desirable to extend the contrastive study beyond a language pair. The comparison of dummy subjects in Norwegian and English was thus extended by adding German. For that purpose, the data collection is retrieved from the English-Norwegian-German part of the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (OMC).<sup>5</sup> The OMC started as an extension project of the ENPC, comprises several languages; and was compiled with the intention of providing a computer searchable parallel corpus for general use in contrastive analysis and translation studies (cf. Johansson & Ebeling, 1996).

The main advantage of the OMC is that it makes possible both the comparison of parallel original texts, and the comparison of the translations in the investigated languages (cf. Johansson & Hofland, 1994). The OMC consists of a number of different parallel sub-corpora, differentiated by the languages it involves, and each comprises a different number of original texts with their translations (cf. Johansson, 1998:9).

The status of the English-Norwegian-German part of the OMC at the time of the investigation (January 2006) was 33 English, 22 Norwegian and 20 German original texts. For the purposes of the present study, only the English original texts and their translations have been included in the study. Where a direct comparison of original texts is used, a reference is given to the preliminary study of dummy subjects in Norwegian originals (cf. Chocholousova, 2007). The investigated texts are listed in the Appendix of

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.hf.uio.no/forskningsprosjekter/sprik/>

the present thesis. The genre represented is fiction, and the number of words in each of the sub-corpora is listed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 The size of the English-Norwegian-German and Norwegian-English-German sub-corpora of the OMC

OMC	English original	Norwegian translation	German Translation	Total
		432,500	430,300	442,200
OMC	English Translation	Norwegian original	German Translation	Total
		306,050	289,230	289,860

## 2.1.2 Types of comparison

The main advantage of parallel corpora is that the link between the compared languages is established via the translator. Although there are certain limitations (see Section 2.1.3 below),

[...] translation equivalence provides the best available basis for comparison in contrastive analysis (James, 1980:178).

As is evident from the size and structure of the corpora, the thesis is biased towards English. English dummy subject constructions are the starting point of the analysis, with a possible extension of the comparison to English and German translations. The English-Norwegian sub-corpus is larger; thus proportional frequency counts are necessary for direct comparison. Figure 2.1 specifies the basic structure of the comparison involved in the data analysis.

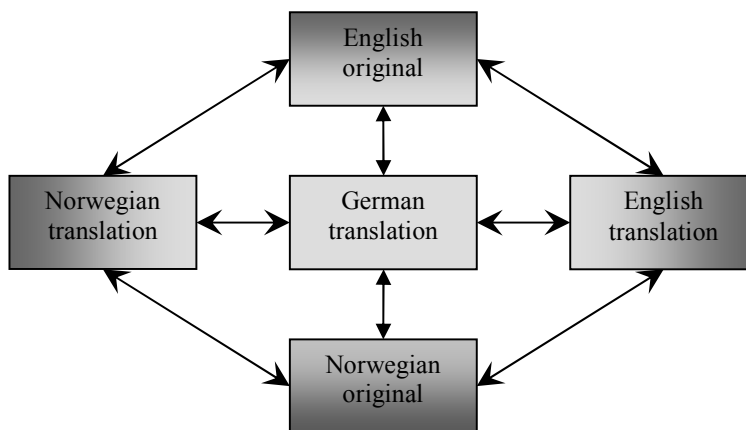


Figure 2.1: The structure of the comparison of the material

### 2.1.3 Defining the corpus search

When contemplating the representativeness of the material, it is necessary to consider the possibilities as well as the technical limitations of the corpora in use. As mentioned before, only one genre (i.e. fiction) is included in the present study. The alignment of the OMC on the <s> (sentence) level enables the access to a given syntactic form through a simple lexical search, which is applied simultaneously on a parallel sentence level in all the investigated languages. A detailed description of the tagging, alignment and annotation of ENPC is presented in Johansson, Ebeling and Hofland (1996), and Ebeling (1998).

In order to facilitate the access to the dummy-subject constructions in focus, a lexical query was designed complying with the grammatical structure of the construction types. The English original texts were thus searched for instances with structures that were opened with *it* or *there* in the first sentence position (which is the most probable position of a sentence subject). These were manually sifted and carefully registered together with their translations. Additionally, instances where the dummy subject pronouns *det* and *es* in the first sentence position were inserted in the translation material (without coming from dummy *it* or *there* in the original) were also included in the counts and carefully analyzed.

It was unfortunately impossible to extent the search further to the other sentence positions, taking into account the limited scope of the present study. In order to limit the extensive material and exclude instances of the pronouns with referential or demonstrative function, the translation correspondences with demonstrative pronouns, such as *this/that* in English, *denne/dette* in Norwegian, and *das* in German were excluded from the search. This of course has some drawbacks. Firstly, dummy subjects do not always appear in the first sentence position. Secondly, if all the referential pronouns are excluded from the translation texts, some relevant examples might also be missed.

All in all, through such a corpus search definition, it is not possible to arrive at any completely reliable frequency counts or data concerning the total frequency of the searched patterns. The thesis thus concentrates on the diversity of syntactic patterns found, their proportional frequencies, and linguistic categorization (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2). The final classification of all the retrieved examples was preformed manually using an Access database.

## 2.2 Method

### 2.2.1 Corpus-based inquiry

Corpus-based studies are sometimes referred to as ‘microlinguistic’, due to their concern with language subtleties which may easily go unnoticed without the use of large amounts of corpus data. As Mair (2006:53) points out:

corpora are suited best for the investigation of precisely those grammatical phenomena which do not tend to take centre stage in reference grammars e.g. for describing finer points of synchronic and diachronic variability, exceptional behavior of regular constructions in specific context or text-types, and collocation preferences that resist any easy generalization into rules.

Seen from this perspective, the corpus is the ideal tool for the analysis of dummy subject constructions, which usually stay outside the main focus of the non-specialized grammars. With respect to the compilation of the corpora in use, their browsing possibilities, as well as the formulation of the corpus search (see Section 2.1 above), the approach to the data analysis falls under the category ‘**corpus emerging**’ or ‘**corpus based**’, i.e. applying a methodology that uses the corpus to expound, test or exemplify already *existing* linguistic theories and descriptions (cf. Tognini-Bonelli, 2001).

The main question that arises when using parallel corpora is to what extent translations can be used to mirror the linguistic equivalence necessary for every comparison. This of course brings us to the problem of translation-specific language or translationese (Baker, 1993). In an ideal case, translation data should be checked against a control corpus of original texts. This is only possible in an indirect way here through a comparison of the patterns in the English original texts to the results from the preliminary study coming from the Norwegian original texts (cf. Chocholousova, 2007). Original material is thus only available in English and Norwegian, and the comparison with German has to rely solely on the translation data from both directions.

Despite the indisputable interference between original texts and their translations, one cannot disregard the translation data completely; they still have the important qualities and features of the target language, and represent its structural principles.

What the translations have to offer the analyst [...] is a way of getting at an ordinary language user’s interpretation of a given construction which is made explicit in the translator’s attempt at reproducing the content of the original text (Johansson & Hofland, 1994:148).

According to many researchers (cf. Ebeling, 2003; Rørvik 2004 and the references given there), translation data still have the ability to pinpoint general rules valid for the languages in which they are written. Although all the limitations of the translations must be kept in mind in evaluating the results, I do believe that translations have something to say about the structure of the language in which they are written.

### **2.2.2 Contrastive Analysis**

Contrasting individual language structures in different languages has become one of the most essential linguistic tools in understanding language systems ever since the first calls for non-historic approaches to the language study were published (cf. Mathesius, 1911). Over the years, contrastive analysis has undergone a dramatic development. It has sometimes been disregarded by applied linguists and limited to error analysis (cf. James, 1980). Nevertheless, it has proved useful and has nowadays become a practical, functioning and valid linguistic method. Carl James describes contrastive analysis as:

[...] a linguistic enterprise aimed at producing inverted (i.e. contrastive, not comparative) two-valued typologies. Contrastive analysis is always concerned with a pair of languages, and founded on the assumption that languages can be compared (James, 1980:3).

Such an assumption has two basic implications for the present study. Firstly, the notion of contrast must be established against a notion of sameness. In practice, that means that the languages compared must have analogical structural potential, and similar syntactic conventions enabling the direct comparison (or contrast) of the investigated items. Secondly, there has to be a reason for the structures to be compared, i.e. they must differ at some point. In our case, the link between individual structures compared is established via the translation pair. The proper '**tertium comparationis**' is thus formed on the basis of translation equivalence, and contrast is based on the comparison of different syntactic choices despite similar structural possibilities in the languages compared.

### **2.2.3 Functional approach and three-level analysis**

Functional linguistics, as advocated by M.A.K. Halliday (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), focuses on the pragmatic aspect of the phenomenon investigated. In



this respect, the present study understands the role of grammatical construction as a ‘**conventionalized pairing of form and function**’. The major role in the classification of grammatical patterns is then played by the context. As Collins (1991:33) puts it:

[...] each situational component [is] reflected in the type of choice made from one particular functional component of the linguistic system.

The syntactic patterns under scrutiny here are often interrelated on different levels; thus the analysis of dummy subject constructions in the light of contrastive data often requires a holistic treatment. This is in line with the functional approach to language analysis, treating the levels of syntax, lexis and discourse semantics as joint domains (see Figure 2.2 below).

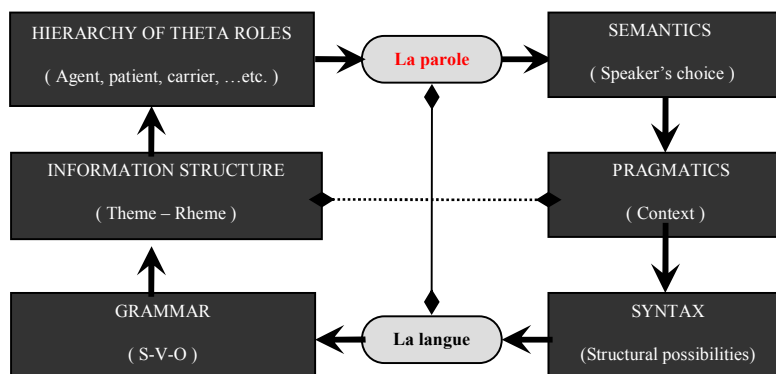


Figure 2.2: Three-level analysis

Such an analysis equally involves all the linguistic aspects involved in the formation of pragmatic meaning (assigned to the particular construction in the context), as well as the structural, syntactic and formal constraints of the given language. The grammatical analysis is thus the basis that opens up the possibilities of analysis on other levels, such as information structure (or FSP) on the level of pragmatics, the hierarchy of thematic roles (such as agent, patient or location) on the level of semantics (cf. also Daneš’s ‘three-level approach’ in Daneš, 1964, 1971, and Štícha’s ‘hierarchy of sentence form’ in Štícha, 1984).

## 2.3 Theoretical considerations

### 2.3.1 Grammatical possibilities in the three languages

English, Norwegian and German are all Germanic languages. Their structural possibilities are very similar, although there are some basic typological differences. Both Norwegian and German are verb-second (V2) languages, i.e. the placement of the finite verb is restricted to the second position in declarative sentences. English word order, on the other hand, has no such restriction on the placement of the verb; it is sometimes regarded as a verb-medial (V3) language. Generally, however, the English word order is much stricter with regard to the placement of its sentence elements. All sentence positions are fixed and predefined due to the absence of case. Similarly, Norwegian has no case, and like English, its basic word order has the sequence of subject – verb – object (S-V-O pattern). It is well known, though, that Norwegian is much more open for the positioning of the non-subject elements, such as adjuncts and conjuncts, in initial sentence positions (Hasselgård, 2004), and that its word order is to some extent freer as compared to English. German, on the other hand, has the case system available, which makes its word order much freer and far more sensitive to other aspects, such as context and pragmatic prominence. Of the three languages, German word order is the most responsive one to the linear thematic progression of communicative dynamism (CD). Norwegian, as it seems, can shift elements more easily than English does, and like German, it has a tendency towards light and pragmatically unmarked sentence openings. English subjects, in contrast, are the least sensitive of the three languages to the informational status of its elements (cf. Hasselgård, 1997, Johansson, 2004 & 2005).

### 2.3.2 Determining factors in the choice of sentence subject and sentence form

The choice of a **subject** (S) to a large extent determines the topological, semantic and pragmatic arrangement of the whole sentence. With respect to the three-level analysis indicated in Figure 2.2 above, the subject in an unmarked case is (cf. Aareskjold, 1972):

- (i) the starting point for the structural composition of a sentence (S-V-O pattern, as is the basic syntactic arrangement of the three investigated languages);

- (ii) the starting point for the pragmatic linear composition of a sentence (S is the theme or the topic, i.e. the most identifiable element in the contextual progression of the discourse); and
- (iii) the starting point of the semantic composition of the information uttered (S is the element with the highest position in the hierarchy of thematic roles within the sentence; i.e. S is the doer or the performer of the action described).

The following example illustrates these properties:

(2.1a) I smelt rose blossoms from the garbage. (BO1)

The sentence subject in example (2.1a) equally satisfies all the three requirements stated above (i.e. *I* is in the first sentence position, *I* is the theme, and the senser of the phenomenon described). In the light of these facts it can be considered an exemplary subject.

As will be shown, sentence subjects have a crucial function in the construction of meaning coded in the particular grammatical form. Despite the ‘ideal’ properties of the English subject in (2.1a), both Norwegian and German translators have opted for different subjects (due to the lexical properties of the verb *seem*):

(2.1b) Der Müll roch nach Rosenblüten. (BO1TG)  
 (2.1c) Det luktet roser av søppelkassene. (BO1TN)

The German translator in (2.1b) has suppressed the agentive *I*, which is the ‘senser’ in this case, and promoted the location to the subject position. The Norwegian translator in (2.1c) has opted for the dummy subject *det* and has translated the sentence with an impersonal construction, pointing the reader’s attention towards the phenomenon sensed, i.e. *roser*, and leaving both the ‘senser’ and the ‘location’ either implicit or backgrounded.

As these examples indicate, changing the sentence subject often means changing the perspective of the whole situation uttered. Sentence subjects can be assigned a whole range of thematic roles; nevertheless, the ones with the highest positions in the thematic hierarchy are generally preferred. Some thematic roles are typically assigned to sentence subjects, others to sentence objects. The former are often called ‘**Agent proto-roles**’, and denote the active or volitional elements; the latter are known as ‘**Patient proto-roles**’, and characterize the phenomena influenced or affected by the situation uttered. (cf. Saeed, 1997:139ff).

Figure 2.3 below represents the hierarchy of thematic roles as described in Dowty (1991:572) with the division of strong agentive roles (typically assigned to subjects), weak patient-like roles (typically assigned to objects), as well as lower or peripheral thematic roles (which are typically carried by other sentence constituents).

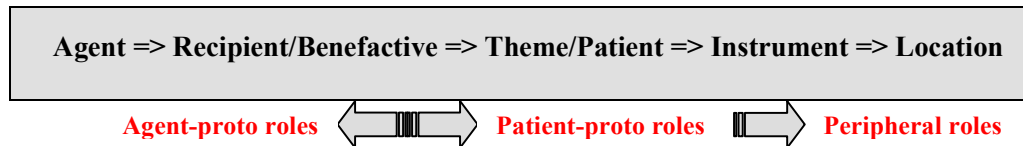


Figure 2.3: The hierarchy of thematic roles

The degree to which the individual languages investigated assign the different thematic roles to their subjects might differ and often does (cf. Lødrup, 1993). Strong, agentive-like referents, i.e. **Agent-proto subjects** are usually preferred, such as *I* in (2.1a). If a weak or patient-like referent becomes the sentence subject, it is then called **Patient-proto subject**. As will be demonstrated in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 Patient-proto subjects with weak thematic roles can also often be in the subject positions. The **Locative subject** *der Müll* in (2.1b) is an example of such a thematically weak element promoted to the subject position. Sentence elements with **Peripheral thematic roles**, which are marginal in the hierarchy of theta roles, such as location or instrument, are nevertheless seldom used as sentence subjects (for more on this topic, see Section 3.2 and 3.3).

In order to see the picture as a whole, however, we also need to consider the discourse context, so let us again use example 2.1. In the case of (2.1a) and (2.1b), both the narrator *I* and the location *der Müll* are known. We can thus state that both are thematic expressions, and as such rightly are in the initial sentence position both in the English and the German examples. German, however, is more sensitive to the gradual rise of communicative dynamism and places the most topical expression *Rosenblüten* at the end of the sentence. In (2.1c) Norwegian opts for an impersonal construction with the dummy subject *det* placed in the sentence-initial position. The effect of such a solution is twofold: firstly, it shifts the focus to the rhematic expression *rosen*, and secondly, it allows the notional subject (i.e. the senser of the phenomenon) to remain implicit. The succession of the sentence elements in the Norwegian example ends with the thematic element *søppelkassene*, as is the case in the English original.

All three languages thus use different construction patterns for coding the same situational meaning, despite their structural similarity. English has the least and German has the most sensitive word-order system in trying to follow the gradual rise of

communicative dynamism (CD) within a sentence. Norwegian, as it seems, is halfway between English and German, preferring to have weak sentence openings, but still has grammatical restrictions on the placement of the sentence elements due to the absence of its case system (cf. Hasselgård, 1997, Johansson, 2004 & 2005).

### 2.3.3 Formulating the research hypothesis

In the preliminary study of Norwegian *det*-constructions (Chocholousova, 2007:41) the dummy subjects (DSs) were far more frequent in use in the Norwegian originals (87.7%)<sup>6</sup> than in their English (57.9%) and German (55.5%) translations. As the main intention of the present study is to provide data analysis from the opposite direction, i.e. from English as the source language, it is reasonable to expect that the source language will affect the frequencies of the investigated phenomenon. It can be thus predicted that the somewhat lower frequency of dummy subject constructions in English will to a certain degree influence the frequencies of DS in the other two investigated languages. It can be assumed, however, that the dummy subject constructions (DSC) will still be used most frequently in Norwegian translations, as well as in their originals. Similar tendencies were observed in the study of presentative constructions (Ebeling, 2000) and clefts (Gundel, 2002).

Lødrup states that English subjects take the greatest variety of thematic roles, due to the fact that its word order is fixed (cf. Lødrup, 1993:119ff.). It will thus be interesting to see how the other two languages deal with this phenomenon in the translation. The level of congruent translations of dummy subjects was reported to be slightly higher between Norwegian and German (51.5%), as compared to Norwegian and English (45.7%) (Chocholousova, 2007:42). We can thus expect that different subjects will be inserted in roughly 50% of cases in the translation material. German (more often than Norwegian) will replace the DS with full subjects and other types of constructions, as it is typologically further from English (than Norwegian). The German case system has different means for shifting the sentence elements more freely, and its word order is more responsive to the FSP factors.

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<sup>6</sup> The percentages in round brackets throughout the thesis indicate the frequency of occurrence of the phenomena described out of the total number of investigated sentences.

From the literature written about the topic it is evident that Norwegian has a marked tendency for weak sentence openings, and pragmatically light subjects (Hasselgård, 2004). Additionally, Norwegian sentence subjects are much more sensitive to distribution of thematic roles as compared to English (cf. Lødrup, 1993). We can thus predict that Norwegian DS will be used in a greater variety of construction patterns, due to their crucial role in shifting semantically and pragmatically prominent constituents away from the sentence-initial subject position.

### 3. Data Analysis

This Chapter presents the analysis of real language data retrieved from the OMC. Firstly, the overall frequencies of dummy subjects and dummy subject constructions will be presented; and secondly, the data will be analyzed with respect to individual construction types emerging from the corpus, as well as with respect to any recurrent translation patterns. The starting point of the analysis is the data from the English original texts.

#### 3.1 Quantitative analysis

The corpus search, as defined in Section 2.1.3, yielded roughly 2,410 sentence triplets, each starting from the English original, and each paired up with the German and Norwegian translation (i.e. 7,230 examples in total). The whole material was then sorted manually; all instances of the pronouns *it*, *there*, *det* and *es* carrying referential meaning have been disregarded, as well as *there* functioning as an adverb, and *det* in the function of determiner. Cases of mismatched or missing translations were not included in the comparison. For detailed description of the overall frequencies see Sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 below.

##### 3.1.1 The frequency of dummy subjects

As the definition of the corpus search suggests (see Section 2.1.3 for detailed description), the English dummy subjects were the starting point for the analysis. Additionally, instances of the dummy subjects inserted in the Norwegian and German translations were included in the analysis, together with their corresponding full subject noun phrases in the English originals. Such a corpus search treats the instantiations of dummy subjects equally in each language, and enables a direct comparison of the translation possibilities in each language pair.

It is evident from the frequency counts, that Norwegian dummy subjects (83.7%) are closer in frequency to the English originals (78.9%) as compared to the German translations (50.2%). The overall frequencies of dummy subjects and their full subject equivalents found in the corpus material are indicated in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: The total and relative frequency of dummy subjects in the English originals and their Norwegian and German translations

Features	English original	Norwegian Translation	German Translation
Total number of investigated sentences	1,323	1,520	1,160
Total number of instances of dummy S	1,045	1,273	583
The occurrences of dummy S per 10,000 words	24.16	28.74	15.92
Total number of instances of dummy S in %	78.9%	83.7%	50.2%
Total number of instances of full S	243	225	546
Total number of instances of full S in %	18.3%	14.8%	47.1%
Other	35	22	31
Other in %	2.6%	1.4%	2.6%
<b>Total in %</b>	<b>99.9%</b>	<b>99.9%</b>	<b>99.9%</b>

All these numbers indicate that there are some differences in the grammatical status and use of dummy subject constructions. Whereas Norwegian translations contain more dummy subjects (83.7%), German translations contain more full S NPs (47.1%). It is evident from the results that the preliminary expectations have been confirmed by the present analysis. Norwegian dummy subjects are 1.2 times more frequent than their English counterparts, and as much as almost twice as frequent as in German. These results roughly comply with the results of the preliminary study where Norwegian originals contained roughly 1-1.7 times more dummy subjects than their English and German translations (cf. Chocholousova, 2007).

The fact that dummy subjects in sentence initial positions appear 24.16 times per 10,000 words in the English original material is quite surprising. This means that both *it* and *there* are chosen as sentence subjects in 0.25% of all other possible subject candidates, and that is quite a considerable number. The frequency of the Norwegian dummy *det* is even more obvious, close to 3 instances of dummy subjects per 1,000 words in the Norwegian translated texts.

The German dummy *es* stays far behind in use as compared to the other two languages.<sup>7</sup> The ratio of dummy subjects is about half as frequent in German (15.92) than in Norwegian (28.74), which means that German translators insert full subjects in about

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<sup>7</sup> The low frequency of German dummy subjects in the material might be partly explained by the fact that the corpus search was limited to the first sentence position. As is well known for German, its word order is much freer as compared to the other two languages; and it often prefers other than sentence initial positions for its subjects. Some relevant instances of dummy subjects in sentence medial positions might thus have been missed by the corpus search. This restriction, however, equally applies to all the three languages investigated; and to show to what extent it affects German specifically necessitates further investigation. With respect to the limited scope and the purpose of this study, I will rely on the results from the present data analysis.



every other translated construction. This is also in agreement with the preliminary expectations based on the Lødrup's (1993) findings.

When working with real data language one often encounters examples which do not fully match the clear-cut categories of full or dummy subjects. About 2.6% of the English original sentences were either restructured in the translation or wrongly matched in the corpus search. English original sentences which were skipped by the translators or mismatched were disregarded from further analysis. In contrast, original sentences with dummy subjects which were restructured and became a part of another sentence structure in the translated texts were carefully analyzed and included in the further investigation.

To fully understand the mechanisms that apply the translation process, we need to consider to what extent individual subjects are kept or replaced in transition to the particular target language. For a more direct comparison, I have added proportional counts of the translation patterns, which can be found in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: The proportion of subject consistency in the translated material

<b>Translation patterns in direction from English originals</b>	<b>Norwegian Translation</b>	<b>German Translation</b>
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	784	416
Congruent translations of dummy S in %	51.5%	35.8%
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	489	167
Dummy S insertion in %	32.1%	14.3%
Total number of dummy S omitted in translation (dummy S => full S)	225	546
Full S insertion in %	14.8%	47.1%
Total number of dummy S omitted/restructured in translation (dummy S => 0)	22	31
Dummy S omission/restructuring in %	1.4%	2.6%
Total number of investigated sentences	1,520	1,160
<b>Total in %</b>	<b>99.8%</b>	<b>99.8%</b>

The level of subject consistency is considerably higher between English and Norwegian, where congruent translations appear in 51.5% of cases. German only keeps the dummy subject in 35.8% of cases. If we look at the non-congruent translations, however, we can see that Norwegian and German subject choices differ systemically in respect to what types of alternative subjects are inserted. Whereas Norwegian inserts more dummy subjects (32.1%), German in most cases opts for the insertion of full subject NPs (47.1%). German also has a greater tendency for restructuring of the English original sentences in the translation: 2.6% as compared to 1.4% for Norwegian.

The category of omitted/restructured DSs contains two basic types of translation patterns. First, there is the category of dummy Ss that have been omitted in the translation, as in the example 3.1.

- (3.1) “It 's both.” (AT1)  
 “Beides.” (AT1TD)  
 ”Begge deler.” (AT1TN)

Second, it also contains cases where the syntactic structure of the original construction becomes lost and/or is merged into another structure in the translation, as in the German translation of the following example 3.2.

- (3.2) It was pure nineteen-twenties, for her black hair was sleeked down into a spike on her neck at the back, with two glossy black spikes over her ears, and a black lock on her forehead. (DL1)  
 Übrigens war sie heute abend hier, in Feuerrot mit schwarzer Spitze, der witzigen Version eines Flamenco-Kostüms, das ihren Kopf frappierend zur Geltung brachte, ganz im Stil der Roaring Twenties, mit glattem schwarzem Haar, das im Nacken spitz zulief, zwei glänzenden schwarzen Sechsen vor den Ohren und einem ebensolchen Kringel auf der Stirn. (DL1TD)  
 Det var fullstendig tyveårene, for det sorte håret var glattet ned i en spiss bak i nakken, med to skinnende spisser over ørene og en sort lokk i pannen. (DL1TN)

All translation patterns listed here are thoroughly introduced in Section 3.2 together with their examples, and listed under each DS construction type specifically. Examples 3.1 and 3.2 only illustrate the translation patterns covered by the category of restructured/omitted subjects.

In order to present a wider comparison of the presented frequencies, I will briefly mention two other contrastive corpus studies which use the same type of corpora. They both make use of data coming from the same translation material, i.e. with English as a source language. Such a comparison will hopefully shed some light on the reliability of the data under scrutiny here.

Firstly, with focus on Stig Johansson’s (2004) analysis of subject selection and subject consistency in Norwegian and English, which was carried away in a multiple translation corpus project. In his study, Johansson (2004:34) investigates two English original texts and their multiple Norwegian translations and arrives at the conclusion that dummy subjects are inserted in 30 – 40% of cases in Norwegian translations. Johansson’s figures broadly tally with the findings of the present analysis, where Norwegian dummy subjects are inserted in 32.1% of cases in the translation from English (see Table 3.2).

Similarly, Hilde Hasselgård’s (2004) contrastive corpus analysis of sentence openings in English and Norwegian reveals that the insertion/deletion of dummy subjects is among the top five most frequent changes in sentence openings in translation texts from both languages. Hasselgård (2004:197) reports that the Norwegian formal subject *det* is omitted in 6.2% of cases in the English translations; and added in 11.3% of cases in the opposite direction, i.e. Norwegian translations. It more or less indicates that dummy

subject constructions are consistently more frequent in Norwegian than in English, regardless if measured by the comparison of translated or original texts. Hasselgård's (2004) figures are slightly lower than the frequencies found in the present material, but they show similar tendencies. In this material, the Norwegian dummy subjects are inserted in 32.1% of cases, which makes them by 4.8% more frequent than dummy subjects found in the English originals, and 17.8% more frequent than DSs in the German translations (see Table 3.1 above).

The data presented in this analysis broadly agree with the findings of the previous studies. Thus, it can be assumed that the data yielded from the corpus search do comply with language reality, and are suitable for the purposes of further analysis. Both Hasselgård (2004) and Johansson (2004) agree on the conclusion that sentence subjects have a tendency to be kept in translated material in the great majority of cases. So far it is evident from the results that the level of subject consistency is generally high between all the three compared languages (40% in average), although somewhat lower than could have been expected for languages as closely typologically related as English, Norwegian and German.

Two basic patterns can be observed on the basis of the proportional counts of the frequencies of dummy subjects (see Table 3.2 above): (i) whereas Norwegian translators opt for the insertion of more dummy subjects in the translation, (ii) German translators tend to opt for the insertion of full subject NPs instead. So far it is evident that the level of subject consistency is higher between English and Norwegian (51.5%) than between English and German (35.4%). It is nevertheless necessary to learn more about the individual translation patterns, as well as the motivation for subject changes.

### **3.1.2 The frequency of dummy subject constructions**

Let us first have a look at the frequencies of individual dummy subject constructions (DSC) in the material. In order to understand the principles involved in subject changes, we need to trace the individual translation patterns, and their relative frequencies in the corpora. This section focuses on the different types of DSC and their relative frequency counts in the investigated material.

Some of the DSC types listed here might not be described as separate categories in major reference grammars (see Section 1.2.2.1). In order to reflect language reality, it was necessary to expand the general categories and add new ones to pinpoint the

individual linguistic patterns. All the categories of DSC types will be dealt with in detail, and described in Section 3.2. Table 3.3 gives an overview of the DSC types found in the corpora, and their relative frequency in the three investigated languages.

Table 3.3: The ranking and frequency of the individual dummy subject construction types found in the corpora

Dummy subject construction type:	English original			Norwegian transl.			German transl.		
	rank	instances	%	rank	instances	%	rank	instances	%
Presentative constructions	1.	283	27.2	1.	323	26.2	1.	180	29.0
Extrapositions	2.	193	18.5	2.	219	17.7	2.	123	19.7
Clefts	3.	117	11.2	3.	166	13.4	3.	76	12.2
Prop subjects	4.	91	8.7	5.	89	7.2	5.	52	8.4
Declaratory expressions	5.	71	6.8	6.	74	6.1	4.	57	9.1
Phrasal expressions	6.	67	6.4	4.	98	7.8	7.	32	5.2
Vague reference	7.	58	5.5	9.	46	3.7	6.	36	5.8
Specifying constructions	8.	39	3.7	10.	46	3.7	13.	8	1.3
Agentless processes	9.	34	3.2	8.	51	4.2	9.	10	1.6
Advance expressions	10.	29	2.7	7.	47	3.8	8.	14	2.5
Impersonal passives	11.	20	1.9	11.	26	2.1	10.	10	1.6
Impersonal actives	12.	18	1.7	12.	24	1.9	14.	5	0.8
Commencing expressions	13.	14	1.3	13.	16	1.2	11.	9	1.4
Environmental expressions	14.	11	1.1	14.	12	0.9	12.	8	1.3
<b>Total</b>	-	<b>1,045</b>	<b>99.9</b>	-	<b>1,237</b>	<b>99.9</b>	-	<b>620</b>	<b>99.9</b>

As obvious from the range of DSC categories given in Table 3.3 above, the list of dummy subject constructions presented in major reference grammars almost doubled during the processing of data analysis. It seems that Fretheim's (1977:167) hypothesis that the phenomenon of dummy subjects may spread into new areas was confirmed by the results of this study, where the range of DS samples was taken directly from the corpora offering the access to the real language subtleties. For a detailed survey and explication of the individual features related to the particular construction types listed here, see Section 3.2 below; however, the major proportional differences are summarized here.

When looking closely at the frequencies of the individual DSC types in Table 3.3, it is evident that they differ in the three investigated languages. There are, however, some common tendencies. The most commonly known DSC types, such as presentatives, extrapositions and clefts, rank highest in frequency in all the three languages. When looking closer, we can see that proportionally they are most frequent in German (ranking 29%, 19.7% and 12.2% respectively), with the exception of clefts, which are relatively more frequent in Norwegian (13.4%). English original texts contain proportionally more presentative constructions (27.2%) and extrapositions (18.5%) than their Norwegian translations (with 26.2% for presentatives, and 17.7% for extrapositions). The use of clefted clauses in English stays halfway between Norwegian and German (11.2%).

Prop subjects and Declaratory expressions are evenly distributed between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> place in all the investigated languages. Prop subjects are most frequent in English (8.7%), closely followed by German (8.4%) and Norwegian (7.2%). Declaratory expressions (as defined in Section 3.2.5) rank highest in German (9.1%), and somewhat lower in English (6.8%) and Norwegian (6.1%). Phrasal expressions that involve dummy subjects are proportionally most common in Norwegian (7.8%), whereas phrases in both English (6.4%) and German (5.2%) employ less dummy subjects. Vague referential dummy subjects, on the other hand, are quite frequent in both English (5.5%) and German (5.8%), but tend to be specified in the Norwegian translations (3.7%).

Specifying constructions (analyzed in Section 3.2.8) are equally common in English and Norwegian (both amounting to 3.7%), but quite marginally used in German (1.3%). The situation is similar with Agentless processes (described in Section 3.2.9), where German translations contain proportionally the least dummy subjects (1.6%) as compared to the English originals (3.2%). Norwegian translations, on the other hand, insert a higher proportion of dummy subjects (4.2%). The situation of Advance expressions (Section 3.2.10) is similar, where the proportion of dummy subjects increases markedly in the Norwegian translations (3.8%), but stays on the same level in the German translations (2.5%) as compared to the English originals (2.7%).

On the basis of the present data analysis, impersonal constructions have been divided into two separate categories, i.e. Impersonal passives (Section 3.2.11) and Impersonal actives (Section 3.2.12). The ranking of dummy subjects in impersonal actives and impersonal passives is very close in the English originals (1.7% and 1.9% respectively). Norwegian translators apply proportionally more dummy subjects in both impersonal actives (1.9%) and impersonal passives (2.1%). Impersonal actives are generally avoided in German translations (0.8%), and so is the case with impersonal passives and their frequencies (1.6%).

The detailed investigation of individual DSC patterns gave rise to a finer grained classification, and led to a subtle description of all recurrent syntactic patterns with dummy subjects found in the corpora. On the basis of the data analysis, two new DSC categories have been defined, i.e. Commencing and Environmental expressions (see Sections 3.2.13 and 3.2.14 respectively for detailed description). Although they are quite marginal with their 1.3% and 1.1% of dummy subjects used in the English original texts, they still form a distinct grammatical category. Both commencing expressions (1.4%) and environmental expressions (1.3%) are a proportionally more frequent DSC type in the

German translations, whereas Norwegian translators stay far behind in both cases (1.2% and 0.9% respectively). To enable an easier orientation in the material described above, Figure 3.1 will follow, indicating the individual proportional frequencies for every dummy subject construction investigated.

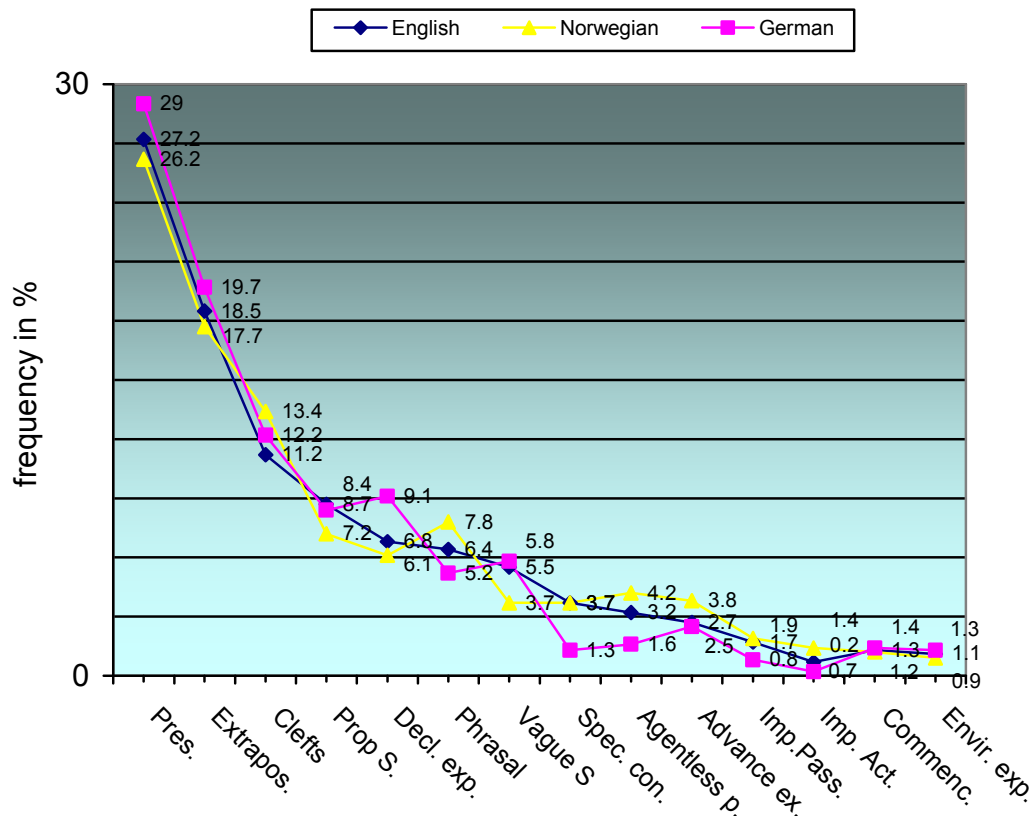


Figure 3.1: The agreement and proportional frequency (in %) of dummy S construction types

It is interesting to see that the division of dummy subjects between the individual DSC types in the three languages differs only in small proportions, the major tendencies, however, remain similar in each of the investigated languages. Naturally, the greatest proportion of dummy subjects is always found in the most prevalent DSC categories, such as clefts, extrapositions, presentatives and prop dummy subjects. Other categories remain very marginal in frequencies and are often neglected by the major reference grammars (see Section 1.2.2.1 for a comparison).

### 3.1.3 *There* and *it* as dummy subjects

So far we have discussed the frequencies of dummy subjects and DSC types as a single category, without distinguishing between *there* and *it*. This section focuses on the distribution of the individual dummy pronouns across the range of DS constructions. As the corpus analysis revealed, there are no clear-cut boundaries between *there* and *it*, and they can coexist in some cases within one and the same grammatical category (see Figure 3.2).

Dummy *it* is considerably more frequently used as a dummy subject (with its 673 instances and 64.4%) as compared to *there* (appearing in 372 sentences, i.e. 35.4% of all instances of DS). Dummy *it* is not only more frequent as compared to *there*, but also covers a wider range of DSCs, as indicated in the following Figure 3.2:

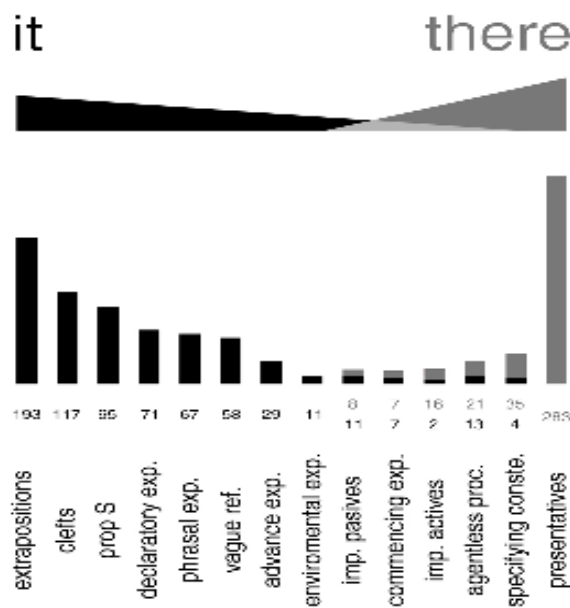


Figure 3.2: The distribution and frequencies of *there* and *it* as dummy subjects

What is worth mentioning here is that dummy *there* is by no means limited only to presentative constructions. It is evident from the results that apart from presentatives (which are the only DSC type that contains *there* exclusively as their dummy subject), *it* and *there* commonly appear alongside each other in several other construction types, such as specifying constructions, agentless processes, impersonal constructions and commencing expressions. As demonstrated in Section 1.2.2.1 above, none of these

construction patterns are recognized as specific grammatical categories in major reference grammars for English (cf. Biber et al. 1999; see also Quirk et al., 1985). It can be claimed, however, that based on translation equivalence they clearly form a separate linguistic category with a distinct linguistic form and function. Detailed descriptions of the individual DSC patterns and their numerous examples are given in Section 3.2 below.

Construction patterns containing solely dummy *it* as their subject are both more numerous and more varied. Such DSC patterns are extrapositions, clefts and *prop* subjects, which are all well established grammatical categories with separate entries in major reference grammars (Section 1.2.2.1). However, as has been pointed out before, *it* has a very wide range of reference and can be very indefinite in its meaning (see Section 1.2.2.2 above). In this sense *it* cannot be compared to *there*, which can only function as a formal subject slot-filler with co-referential function within one and the same sentence. These aspects are best illustrated by the real data examples presented in Sections 3.2.1 – 3.2.14 below. The fact that the meaning of *it* remains to certain extent undetermined is best demonstrated by the examples of phrasal expressions (Section 3.2.6) and constructions containing vague referential subjects (Section 3.2.7).

### 3.2 Qualitative analysis

In order to investigate the principles and motivations behind the subject changes, we need to look closely at the linguistic properties of the individual dummy subject construction (DSC) types. All the grammatical patterns found in the corpora are treated under separate sections here, ordered by their relative frequencies in the corpus material. Individual construction patterns are then analyzed in relation to the syntactic, pragmatic and semantic qualities which may have influenced the subject choices.

Each sentence triplet is listed under one category, i.e. the one conforming to the DSC type of the source language, i.e. the English original. The individual features under scrutiny here will be illustrated by a set of authentic corpus examples. Some of the DS constructions have been analyzed in contrastive corpus studies before; hence, their results will be compared to those of the present study.



### 3.2.1 Presentative constructions

Presentative constructions are by far the most numerous type of DSC found in the corpora. They represent almost 30% of all DSC types in the investigated material (see Figure 3.1 above). Ebeling (2000:131) compares Norwegian and English original texts and reports that English presentatives are 1.7 times less frequent than in Norwegian. The data of the present study only compare English original texts to their Norwegian and German translations; however, they seem to follow the same pattern. The overall frequency of presentative constructions is highest in Norwegian (323 instances), closely followed by English (283 instances), with German following further behind (with its 180 instances).

The linguistic function of ‘presentative constructions’ - or ‘existential clauses’ (cf. Biber et al., 1999) - is to introduce new entities into the scene, and bring them into the discourse context. They often ‘present’ new themes (cf. Ebeling, 2000), and thus perform a grammatical function in the pragmatic ordering of new information in the flow of discourse. In this material, presentative constructions conform to the following syntactic pattern DS + V [of appearance/existence/motion] + indef NP + (Loc + other optional elements):

- (3.3) There were arguments and even brawls every day. (ABR1)  
Jeden Tag gab es Streit und Prügeleien. (ABR1TD)  
Det var krangel og til og med slagsmål hver eneste dag. (ABR1TN)

The locative element of the presentative construction is sometimes omitted or replaced by other elements, such as relative clauses, adverbial modifiers or temporal specifications. As example 3.3 indicates, German often restructures the sequence of individual sentence elements and shifts the dummy subject away from the sentence initial position. Such a solution often follows the gradual rise of communicative dynamism (CD) within the sentence better, and enables the most focal element (such as *Streit und Prügeleien* in Example 3.3) to be placed sentence finally, i.e. in the most prominent informational position of a sentence. Presentative constructions with such moved dummy subjects were quite frequent in German (amounting to 74 instances out of 180), which means that in 41.1% of cases the German translation of all English presentatives involves a shift of the dummy subject. Norwegian is, in this aspect, far less flexible. Although the Norwegian dummy subject can equally be shifted behind the finite verb, this pattern is only marginal in use and was only registered in 2.2% (i.e. 7 instances) of cases in the translation.

The overall frequencies and basic translation patterns of the presentative constructions are introduced in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: The level of subject consistency in the case of presentative constructions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>169</b>	52.3	<b>55</b>	30.6
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	154	47.6	125	69.4
Total number of presentative constructions with dummy S in translations	323	99.9	180	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	114	40.2	226	79.8
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	6	2.1	2	0.7
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>169</b>	59.7	<b>55</b>	19.4
Total number of presentative constructions in the English original	283	99.9	283	99.9

The fact that presentative constructions are used much less frequently in German (180) as compared to both the English originals (283) and the Norwegian translations (323), might be explained by the syntactic possibilities of German and its freer word order. Generally, the case system of German allows the sentence elements to be ordered according to the gradual rise of CD within the sentence. The information structure is thus closely mapped onto the word order of German, and there is no pragmatic motivation for employing the presentative construction. This is demonstrated by the lower number of presentative constructions found in the corpus material, as well as the number of both dummy and full German subjects that were moved away from their initial sentence positions (as in examples 3.3 and 3.4).

- (3.4) There was a girl on a stool behind the counter, a waifish little person in a halter top. (AT1)  
 Auf einem Hocker hinter dem Schalter saß ein leicht verwahrlost aussehendes Persönchen in einem Sonnentop. (AT1TD)  
 Bak disken satt en pike på en stol, en spinkel liten skikkelse i en strikket topp. (AT1TN)

Example 3.4 shows that locatives and other elements can be also placed in front of the inserted full S in the translations. German is able to shift sentence elements more freely as compared to Norwegian, thus it also is more accurate in following the gradual rise of CD. The total number of inserted full Ss which were moved from the sentence initial positions in the translations were 71 in German (31.4%) and 20 in Norwegian (17.5%). We can thus see that Norwegian is closer to English in applying other structural resources for keeping the functional sentence perspective (FSP) principles. Instead of reordering the sentence as freely as German does, it often follows English in applying dummy subject constructions to keep its focal elements away from sentence initial positions.

So far we have been analyzing the basic word ordering structures of the presentative constructions, but that says nothing about the reason why certain dummy subjects of the original texts are replaced by full subjects in the translations. German (79.8%) proportionally inserts more full subjects than Norwegian (40.2%) does. Table 3.5 indicates the basic structure and enumerates what types of full S are inserted in the translations:

Table 3.5: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English presentative constructions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	55	48.3	69	30.6
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	44	38.6	121	53.6
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	8	7.0	16	7.0
Environmental S (dummy S => full ES)	3	2.6	11	4.9
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	1	0.8	7	3.1
Temporal S (dummy S => full TS)	1	0.8	0	0
Other restructured/merged clauses	2	1.8	6	2.7
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>114</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>99.9</b>

Norwegian translators seem to prefer insertion of more personalized subjects (48.3%) with higher thematic roles as compared to German (30.6%). An illustration of such a personalized S is given in example 3.4 above. German, on the other hand, often promotes sentence elements with lower thematic roles into subject positions. The most frequent type of such insertion is the promotion of a former sentence object into a subject position, i.e. insertion of a patient-proto subject (with 53.6% of instances in German, and 38.6% in Norwegian):

- (3.5) There were inhuman footsteps all over the house. (BO1)  
 Im ganzen Haus waren Schritte zu hören, die nicht von Menschen stammten. (BO1TD)  
 Umenneskelige fottrinn lød over hele huset. (BO1TN)

In example 3.5 the German translator again not only inserts a patient-proto subject *Schritte*, but also moves forward the locative element into the sentence initial position. The Norwegian translator, on the other hand, opts for the adjective modifier *umenneskelige* and leaves the locative to be placed sentence finally. As this example demonstrates, German is much more sensitive to the FSP principles, and Norwegian often neglects to restructure its sentence constituents according to the gradual rise of their CD.

Another very frequent type of full S insertion was the insertion of Generic S, which appeared in roughly 7% of cases in both the Norwegian and the German translations:

- (3.6) There's a right way and a wrong way for everything. (ABR1)  
Für alles, was man tut, gab es ein Recht und ein Unrecht. (ABR1TD)  
Alt kan gjøres på en riktig måte og en gal måte. (ABR1TN)

Generic subjects included both generic pronouns like *alt*, *alles* or *man*, and generic nouns, such as *Öffentlichkeit* or *menneskelighet*. Example 3.6 demonstrates the use of the passive, which was often employed in the Norwegian translations. Although the German translation also uses generic pronouns in the construction, it is nevertheless able to keep the dummy subject of the English original.

Another interesting and quite numerous category was Environmental S, which appeared slightly more often in German (4.9%) than in Norwegian (2.6%). Environmental subjects are often connected to the environmental conditions, meteorological and natural phenomena, as well as general surroundings and sensually perceivable qualities, as in the following example:

- (3.7) There was a silence. (RD1)  
Tiefes Schweigen herrschte. (RD1TD)  
Stillheten varte. (RD1TN)

Locative subjects are very rare in the material. It is evident that German (4.1%) allows more such subjects with peripheral thematic roles than Norwegian (0.8%) does. In the case of locative subjects it is interesting to note that both Rohdenburg (1974) and Lødrup (1993) claimed for both German and Norwegian that these languages would avoid the use of such thematically low positioned elements as sentence subjects. As is evident from the corpus search, Locative Ss are not only well functioning, but also fairly common in the corpora, such as the German translation of the following example.

- (3.8) There was no one at the counter. (AT1)  
Der Schalter war verwaist. (AT1TD)  
Det stod ingen ved skranken. (AT1TN)

Ebeling (1999:118ff) claims that one of the reasons why Norwegian presentative constructions rank highest in frequency as compared to both English and German is that Norwegian presentatives function with a greater variety of verbs, including s-passive forms. Although posture verbs are also possible in English, they are very rare in the corpora. Apart from copula verbs and verbs of appearance, *come* (4 instances) was the only posture verb that was repeatedly used in the English original texts.

Norwegian posture verbs, on the other hand, were markedly common in the translations. As example 3.8 indicates, copula verbs of the English translations were often changed, and a verb of motion or posture was used instead, such as *komme ligge stå sitte* etc. Where the English verb *be* functions perfectly well in the original sentence,

Norwegian translators often seemed to need to employ a semantically richer verb, such as *herske* or *rå*, as in the following example.

- (3.9) There's a kind of hush and lassitude until that first snow, with the light waning and the last moose-maple leaves dangling from the branches like seaweed. (MA1)  
Das Licht verblaßt, und die letzten Ahornblätter hängen wie Seetang von den Zweigen, während es immer dunkler wird und sich ein mattes Schweigen vor diesem ersten Schnee ausbreitet. (MA1TD)  
Det rår en taushet, en lede før denne første snøen, med det svinnende lyset og de siste lønnebladene som henger fra greinene som tare. (MA1TN)

German presentative constructions function perfectly fine with copula verbs; other types of verbs were not substantially present in the corpora. However, as is evident from example 3.9 German translations (2.7%) involved somewhat more restructuring and syntactic reordering as compared to the Norwegian translations (1.8%).

According to Faarlund et al. (1997:678) some of the Norwegian dialects allow *der* to be used instead of *det* as a dummy S in presentative constructions (cf. Section 1.2.2.1.2 above). Such cases were very marginal in the Norwegian material, and *der* was only used 6 times as a dummy subject in presentative constructions translated from English. All in all it amounted to 1.8% of all cases.

- (3.10) There was the drop-leaf desk in the living room, its pigeonholes stuffed with her clutter of torn envelopes and unanswered letters. (AT1)  
Da war der Schreibsekretär im Wohnzimmer, die Fächer vollgestopft mit ihrem Sammelsurium aufgerissener Kuverts und unbeantworteter Briefe. (AT1TD)  
Der var klaffebordet i stuen, med alle småskuffene fullstappet av hennes virvar av oppsprettede konvolutter og ubesvarte brev. (AT1TN)

What is worth noticing in the example 3.10 is the use of definite NP *the drop-leaf desk* in the English original. Although the syntactic pattern of the original sentence conforms to the ideal structure of a presentative construction, the use of a definite article with the presented phenomenon is a non-standard variation of the basic pattern. According to Ebeling (1999:122)

It has generally been accepted that the postverbal NP is semantically indefinite, even if it is definite in form.

With respect to the basic fact that presentative constructions bring new information into focus, a discussion can be started on whether or not in this case the definite article marks a hearer-known or hearer-unknown entity. The resort to this discussion is pragmatically marked in the discourse context. There are no signs of any recurrent presence of the definite NP within the retrievability span (cf. Chafe, 1976) in the immediate discourse context. We can, nevertheless, expect that the definite article, at least in this case, is used for stylistic purposes, in order to create a notion of known-ness

around the topic that was being described (see also Ebeling, 1999: 67ff and 122ff for further specification).

### 3.2.2 Extrapositions

Extraposition is the second most frequent DSC type in the material. Extraposed clauses are by far most frequent in Norwegian (219 instances), followed by English (193 instances) and German (123). Extraposition represents roughly 20% of all dummy subject construction patterns in each of the investigated languages. Proportionally the greatest number of dummy subjects are involved in extraposition in German (19.7%), followed by English (18.5%) and Norwegian (17.7%; see Table 3.3 above for comparison).

Extraposed clauses share the same purpose and function in all the three investigated languages, i.e. they are applied mainly in order to express attitudinal meaning. Structurally, extraposition conforms to a complex sentence that is split into (i) a matrix clause – which expresses the attitudinal meaning; and (ii) a sub-clause – that brings up the phenomenon that is being evaluated (cf. Herriman, 2000:204), as in the following example:

- (3.11) It would be easy to attribute the lack of recognition of Vernadsky's contributions to the present political divisions. (JL1)  
Es war ein Leichtes, die fehlende Anerkennung für Wernadskis Beiträge der politischen Blockbildung anzulasten. (JL1TD)  
Det ville være lett å skylde mangelen på anerkjennelse av Vernadskys bidrag på vår tids politiske splittelse. (JL1TN)

Such division of a clause into two parts enables the speaker to distance himself from the phenomenon stated; and at the same time enables an easier further modification of the presented phenomenon.

Several basic types of extraposed clauses were found in the corpus material, which were equally represented in all the three investigated languages. The basic syntactic structure remains similar in every case; it is only the syntactic link between the anticipatory matrix clause (AntiMC) starting with a dummy subject, and the sub-clause (introduced with full subject) that differs. The syntactic link between the two clauses is realized most frequently either by an infinitive marker (see example 3.11), which occurred in 91 cases, i.e. 47.2% of all extraposed clauses in the English original texts, or by a conjunction (as in example 3.12), which amounts to 80 instances in the English original, i.e. 41.4%.

- (3.12) It is doubtful that young Vladimir Vernadsky should have remembered this aphorism half a century later. (JL1)  
 Es erscheint sehr zweifelhaft, daß der junge Wladimir Wernadski sich noch ein halbes Jahrhundert später an diesen Aphorismus erinnert haben soll. (JL1TD)  
 Det er tvilsomt at den unge Vladimir Vernadsky skulle ha husket denne aforismen gjennom et halvt århundre. (JL1TN)

Exceptionally other clausal links are employed in extraposed clauses, such as adverbials of time (9 instances, 4.6%), causal and conditional conjunctions (7 instances, 3.6%), gerunds (6 instances 3.1%; see Example 3.13). All the frequencies are taken from the English originals; however, these structural possibilities are almost identical in all three of the investigated languages, with one exception that is demonstrated in the following example.

- (3.13) It had been hard preserving their belief in themselves when the spirit of the times, the greedy and selfish sixties, had been so ready to condemn them, to isolate, to diminish their best selves. (DL1)  
 Nun war schon soviel Zeit vergangen, und es war nicht immer leicht gewesen, Geduld und den Glauben an sich selbst zu bewahren, solange der Zeitgeist der raffgierigen und selbstsüchtigen Sechziger auf der Lauer gelegen hatte, sie zu verdammen, zu isolieren, das Gute in ihnen herabzuwürdigen. (DL1TD)  
 Det hadde vært vanskelig å bevare troen på seg selv når tidsånden, de grådige og egoistiske sekstiårene, hadde vært så rask til å fordømme dem, isolere dem, redusere det beste i dem. (DL1TN)

As example 3.13 indicates, English originals sometimes contain gerund structures, which are not possible in the other two target languages. The only solution is then to insert an infinitive verb form instead. The infinitive constructions were employed similarly in both translation languages; however, German additionally shifts the matrix clause to the sentence medial position.

The level of congruent translations of extraposed clauses is quite high, amounting to 76.7% in the Norwegian translations and 59% in the German translations. Table 3.6 summarizes the general tendencies.

Table 3.6: The level of subject consistency in the case of extrapositions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>148</b>	67.5	<b>114</b>	92.6
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	71	32.4	9	7.3
Total number of extrapositions with dummy S in translations	219	99.9	123	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	27	22.2	76	39.4
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	2	1.0	3	1.5
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>148</b>	76.7	<b>114</b>	59.0
Total number of extrapositions in the English original	193	99.9	193	99.9

As is evident from the results, neither Norwegian (67.5%) nor German (92.6%) translators seem to have problems with preserving the dummy subjects from the extraposition examples in the English original texts. Norwegian translators (32.4%), however, seem to insert more dummy subjects than the German (7.3%) ones. German translations (39.4%) contain more inserted full Ss than their Norwegian (22.2%) counterparts.

Let us now concentrate on the translation possibilities the two target languages have. The matrix clause with dummy subject anticipates the main information; and that is also the reason why some grammarians describe such clause types as ‘anticipatory’ (cf. Quirk et al., 1985). Extraposition enables (i) the main information to be further modified; and (ii) allows the speaker to distance himself from the fact that is being uttered. Even though the dummy subject of the English original extraposition is replaced by a full S NP in the translation, the main linguistic function of the sentence should be preserved.

- (3.14) It went without saying that David had gone to private schools. (DL1)  
 David war natürlich auf einer Privatschule erzogen worden. (DL1TD)  
 David hadde selvsagt gått på privatskoler. (DL1TN)

In example 3.14, both translators opt for the insertion of personalized full Ss. Although, the extraposed matrix clause is lost, its evaluative function is preserved by the employment of evidential adverbs, such as *natürlich* and *selvsagt* in the translations. Such a solution thus clearly helps to shift the reader’s perspective and modulates the speaker’s reality. Let us now have a look at what other types of subjects are inserted in the translations and at their frequencies.

Table 3.7: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English extraposition



Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	20	74.0	47	61.8
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	4	14.8	13	17.1
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	3	11.1	13	17.1
Other restructured/merged clauses	0	0	3	3.9
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>27</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>99.9</b>

According to the frequencies listed in Table 3.7, it is evident that personalized Ss are by far the most frequent type of full subjects inserted in the translation of the English extraposed clauses in both Norwegian (74%) and German (61.8%; see example 3.14 for illustration).

The second most frequent type of full subjects inserted in the translation is patient-proto subject. The Norwegian translation of the following example demonstrates the basic pattern:

- (3.15) It's becoming clear to us that manhood doesn't happen by itself; it doesn't happen just because we eat Wheaties. (ROB1)  
 Allmählich wird uns klar, daß Männlichkeit nicht von allein kommt; sie kommt nicht bloß vom vielen Haferflockenessen. (ROB1TD)  
 Mannedom kommer ikke av seg sjøl. (ROB1TN)

We can see that the extraposed matrix clause of the English original was omitted in the Norwegian translation, and the patient-proto subject *mannedom* was promoted to the sentence initial position. The evaluative function of the matrix clause is thus lost in the translation. The German translator chooses to preserve the German presentative construction; however, the dummy subject in the translation remains implicit.

Generic subjects were also often represented in the material, and slightly more frequently used in German (17.1%) than in Norwegian (11.1%).

- (3.16) It's not everyone's good fortune to have things *occur* in their lives, just like that, out of the blue. (FW1)  
 Nicht jeder hat das Glück, daß in seinem Leben etwas *geschieht*, einfach so, urplötzlich. (FW1TD)  
 Ikke alle er så heldige at ting *skjer* i livet deres, akkurat slik, som lyn fra klar himmel. (FW1TN)

Generic subjects are often formed with generic pronouns, such as *man*, *en*, *einer*, *alle* and *etwas*. In the present example, the dummy subject of the English original was replaced by the generic pronoun in the translation, which was then promoted to the sentence initial position.

### 3.2.3 Clefts

The frequency of clefted clauses is highest in the Norwegian translation. Norwegian clefts in the translations are 1.5 times more frequent than clefts found in the English original texts, and twice as frequent as in German translations (see Table 3.3 above for comparison of exact figures). These results roughly correspond with the findings of both previous corpus studies on clefting where the use of clefts was considerably lower in English than in the other compared Scandinavian languages (Gundel, 2002; Johansson, 2001).

In this material, clefts conform to the following pattern: DS + V + Def. NP + (conjunction, or other clausal linkage) + sub-clause. The matrix DS clause in clefts always contains a definite NP, i.e. clefts present already known or contextually bound elements, and add special emphasis or focal stress to it (cf. Gundel, 2002:115ff.).

- (3.17) It was just depression and unhappiness made her blow up. (FW1)  
Es lag nur an den Depressionen und dem Elend, daß sie aus allen Nähten platzte. (FW1TD)  
Det var bare depresjon og tristhet som fikk henne til å blåse opp. (FW1TN)

Clefts are sometimes believed to carry contrastive topics (cf. Lambrecht, 1994). The contrast here is added by the syntactic structure itself, pointing the reader's attention to the fact that it was the *depression* and not anything else that caused the problem. Although the psychological conditions might be contextually bound or known from the previous context, this new aspect of it, i.e. causing somebody to *blow up*, is brought into focus by the clefted clause.

There is, however, another type of cleft, which does not use dummy subjects in its structure, but which was quite common in the translated material. It is the type of cleft that is commonly referred to as a *wh-cleft* (cf. Johansson, 1994:129), or *pseudo-cleft* (cf. Gundel, 2002:115); and is represented in the German translation of the following example:

- (3.18) It was a gastronomic aria which he performed at each table, kissing the tips of his fingers so often that he must have blistered his lips. (PM1)  
Was er an jedem einzelnen Tisch vortrug, war eine gastronomische Arie, bei der er ständig seine Fingerspitzen küßte und wir uns fragten, ob er nicht allmählich Blasen an den Lippen bekäme. (PM1TD)  
Han gikk fra bord til bord med sin gastronomiske arie, og fremførte den med så mange kyss på finger-spissene at han må ha fått blemmer på leppene. (PM1TN)

Although proper *wh-clefts* are equally possible in all the three languages, they seem to be more frequently applied in English and German. Norwegian seems to prefer

clefts with dummy subjects, and often also inserts a proper cleft in the translation where the English original contains a pseudo-cleft structure, as in the following example:

- (3.19) What had been funny, or farcical, in relation to the movie, was tragic in relation to real life. (OS1)  
 Was vor dem Femschgerät noch komisch oder lächerlich gewesen war, bekam nun, da es um das wirkliche Leben ging, etwas Tragisches. (OS1TD)  
 Det som hadde vært morsomt eller farsepreget i forbindelse med filmen, var tragisk i forbindelse med virkelighetens verden. (OS1TN)

All in all there were 22 wh-clefts found in the English originals, which were translated as a proper clefts with dummy subjects in Norwegian, i.e. 18.8% of all cases. Only 10 such transformations were registered in German translated clefts, amounting to 8.5%. As Example 3.18 above indicates, clefted clauses are often restructured in the translations and full subjects are inserted instead. The general patterns found in the translation material are summarized in Table 3.8 below.

Table 3.8: The level of subject consistency in the case of clefts as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>91</b>	54.8	<b>52</b>	69.7
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	75	45.1	23	30.2
Total number of clefts with dummy S in translations	166	99.9	76	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	22	18.8	64	54.7
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	4	3.4	1	0.8
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>91</b>	77.7	<b>52</b>	44.4
Total number of clefts in the English original	117	99.9	117	99.9

The Norwegian preference for structures with dummy subjects is obvious from these counts. Dummy subjects were inserted more often in Norwegian translations (45.1%) than in German (30.2%). German often opts for insertion of full subjects (54.7%) in the translated material, whereas Norwegian seems to prefer congruent translations (77.7%).

Full Ss are often inserted in the translation when the contrastive function of the clefted element is either very weak or remains implicit in the context, as in example 3.20 where the cleft is simply used in order to emphasize the informative function of the whole clause.

- (3.20) It is the sequence or ordering of the nucleotides along either of the constituent strands that is the language of life. (CSA1)  
 Die DNS ist eine Doppelspirale mit zwei schraubenförmig umeinander gewundenen, einer Wendeltreppe gleichenden Strängen, verbunden durch Stufen, den Nukleotiden, deren Abfolge oder Anordnung die Sprache des Lebens darstellt. (CSA1TD)

Sekvensen eller rekkefølgen av nukleoider langs hver av de to trådene utgjør livets språk. (CSA1TN)

Both Norwegian and German translators have opted for insertion of full Ss instead. The Norwegian example employed a patient-proto subject: *sekvensen*; and the German translator opted for restructuring of the syntactic pattern of the English original, merged two sentences into a complex clause, and used the patient-proto subject *Nukleotiden*. Patient-proto subjects appear roughly in 20% of sentences with inserted full Ss in both Norwegian and German translations (see Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English clefts

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	18	81.8	44	68.7
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	4	18.1	15	23.4
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	0	5.4	3	4.7
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	0	2.7	2	3.1
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>22</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>99.9</b>

As the data indicate, the most frequent type of inserted full Ss are the personalized subjects with the highest agentive roles. Other types of inserted full Ss in the translated texts were very marginal, and both generic subjects and locative subjects were only present in the German translations. Example 3.21 illustrates the most frequent type of insertion of personalized subject, which typically occurred in relative types of clefts, i.e. those using relative pronouns, such as *who* in the following example:

- (3.21) It was Inspector Holyland himself who escorted Princess Margaret back to her house. (ST1)  
 Inspector Holyland begleitete Prinzessin Margaret höchstpersönlich zu ihrem Haus zurück. (ST1TD)  
 Betjent Holyland eskorterte egenhendig prinsesse Margaret tilbake til leiligheten hennes. (ST1TN)

Both the Norwegian and German translators in example 3.21 opt for insertion of personalized subjects, and render the clefted clause with the use of specifying adverbials *egenhendig* and *höchstpersönlich* instead.

Apart from relative types of clefts (example 3.21), the other most frequent types of clefted clauses were temporal and spatial clefts. The former often employ spatial markers, such as *where* and *there*; and add the focal stress to spatial elements within the sentence (see example 3.22).

- (3.22) It's from the building that we watch our first Santa Claus Parade. (MA1)  
 Vom Gebäude aus sehen wir unseren ersten Weihnachtsumzug. (MA1TD)  
 Fra bygningen ser vi vår første juleparade. (MA1TN)

Temporal types of clefted clauses use temporal markers, such as *when* and *then* in order to specify the time or period of the focal expression (see example 3.23).

- (3.23) It was not until he was in his apartment that Andrew remembered he had failed to report back to the Felding-Roth saleswoman, whom he had left in the doctors' lounge. (AH1)  
Erst als Andrew zu Hause war, fiel ihm ein, daß er ganz vergessen hatte, der Vertreterin von Felding-Roth, die im Aufenthaltsraum der Ärzte auf ihn wartete, eine Nachricht zu geben. (AH1TD)  
Først da han kom hjem, husket han at han hadde glemt å si fra til Celia de Grey, som ventet i legerommet. (AH1TN)

In both spatial and temporal types of clefts German and Norwegian translators often opt for the insertion of full subjects. It seems from the material investigated that English clefts are more syntactically varied as compared to both Norwegian and German. They often appear in complex clauses, which it is often not possible to keep in the translation. German (69.7%) keeps proportionally more dummy subjects from the English originals as compared to Norwegian (54.8%), which inserts more clefted clauses with dummy subjects instead (45.1%).

### 3.2.4 Prop dummy subjects

Prop dummy subjects commonly denote atmospheric processes, weather, seasons, time, distance and quantity. They are sometimes referred to as the only dummy subjects proper, i.e. subject mock-ups with no identifiable referents, neither in the outside world nor in the discourse context (cf. Leira, 1992 and Anward 1981). Syntactically they most frequently appear in combination with copula verbs. The following example illustrates the basic pattern:

- (3.24) It was a typical California *unseason*, but it felt like fall and I was responding with inordinate good cheer. (SG1)  
Es war eine typische kalifornische *Nichtjahreszeit*, aber sie kam mir vor wie Herbst, und ich reagierte mit übermäßig guter Laune. (SG1TD)  
Det var en typisk kalifornisk ikke-årstid, men det *følt*es som om det var høst, og jeg reagerte med et ulogisk godt humør. (SG1TN)

One would expect the translation patterns to be rather straight forward in this case, and that dummy Ss will be preferred, especially if we consider that other competing referents to occupy the subject positions are often missing and irretrievable from the context due to the very nature of prop DSs. There are, however, some structural exceptions. Firstly, German often omits the dummy subject and leaves it implicit in the structure of the prop dummy subject construction:

- (3.25) It was cold now but that did n't matter as much. (RDO1)

Jetzt war mir kalt, aber das war nicht so schlimm. (RDO1TD)  
 Det var kaldt nå, men det gjorde ikke så mye. (RDO1TN)

Such solutions are structurally not possible in English and Norwegian. Another interesting category contains instances of prop DSs which are combined with copula verbs in the English originals, preserved in the translations, but used with semantically richer verbs, as in the following example:

- (3.26) It was dusk when the furniture van drew up outside Number Nine Hellebore Close. (ST1)  
 Es dämmerte bereits, als der Möbelwagen vor Hellebore Close Nummer neun vorfuhr.  
 (ST1TD)  
 Det skumret da flyttebilen svingte opp utenfor Hellebore Close nr. 9. (ST1TN)

The German and Norwegian translation of the English prop DS in example 3.26 is quite peculiar, as it is structurally closer to the category of agentless processes (using semantically full verbs; see Section 3.2.9) than to the prop dummy subjects, which typically occur in combination with copula verbs. For the purposes of the present analysis, however, they are regarded as regular prop dummy subjects.

As far as the frequency of prop dummy subjects is concerned, they are the fourth most frequent DSC type found in the corpus material. They represent proportionally 8.4% of all dummy subjects in German, 8.7% in English, and 7.2% in Norwegian (see Table 3.3 in Section 3.1.2). The relative frequency of the translation patterns is presented in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10: The level of subject consistency in the case of prop dummy subjects as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>79</b>	88.7	<b>51</b>	98.0
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	10	11.2	1	1.9
Total number of prop dummy S in translations	89	99.9	52	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	11	29.1	38	41.7
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	1	2.8	2	2.1
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>79</b>	68.0	<b>51</b>	56.1
Total number of prop dummy S in the English original	91	99.9	91	99.9

Although there are some structural differences (see examples 3.25 and 3.26), the level of subject consistency is very high in the case of prop DSs. As Table 3.10 indicates, congruent translations prevail in great majority of cases; and amount to 88.7% for Norwegian, and 98% for German. The subject consistency, however, seems to be somewhat higher between English and Norwegian, as less full Ss (29.1%) are inserted in the translation as compared to German (41.7%).

Most German translators insert personalized subjects in the translations. Personalized Ss amount to 34.3% of all instances of full S insertions in this category. In contrast, Norwegian translators never inserted such Personalized Ss. The level of translation congruency seems to be higher between English and Norwegian.

- (3.27) It was 4 am before Spiggy checked out at the barrier, a hundred pounds better off and with a story to tell in the pub the next day. (ST1)  
 Um vier Uhr morgens schließlich fuhr Spiggy durch die Absperrung, um hundert Pfund reicher und voller Geschichten, die er am nächsten Tag im Pub zum besten geben konnte. (ST1TD)  
 Klokken ble fire om morgenen før Spiggy passerte ut gjennom sperringen, hundre pund rikere og med litt av en historie å fortelle på puben dagen etter. (ST1TN)

Example 3.27 shows such insertion of a personalized full S in the German translation. The Norwegian translation inserts another type of full S, i.e. temporal S. Temporal subjects are by far the most frequent types of full S inserted in the Norwegian translations (81.8%), as indicated in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English prop dummy subject constructions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Temporal S (dummy S => full TS)	9	81.8	13	34.3
Environmental S (dummy S => full ES)	2	18.1	5	13.1
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	0	0	17	44.7
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	0	0	3	7.8
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>11</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>99.9</b>

Let us first comment on the relative frequency of the temporal Ss in the Norwegian material. Although temporal Ss are equally possible in German (see example 3.28) their frequency is 2.3 times lower than is the case in the Norwegian translations.

- (3.28) It had been one scorcher of a week, and more coming, according to George Meara, who had heard it from Aunt Evvie Chalmers. (SK1)  
 Die Woche war entsetzlich heiß gewesen, und es würde heiß bleiben, wenn man George Meara glauben durfte, der es von Tante Evvie Chalmers erfahren hatte. (SK1TD)  
 Det hadde vært en satans varm uke. Og verre skulle det bli, ifølge George Meara, som hadde det fra Evvie Chalmers. (SK1TN)

The temporal subjects in the Norwegian translations in the great majority of cases (89.9%) contain the NP *klokke*, which is the norm in Norwegian for expressing the exact time of the day, as in the following example:

- (3.29) It was now 11.25 pm. (ST1)  
 Mittlerweile war es 23.25 Uhr. (ST1TD)  
 Klokken var blitt 23.25. (ST1TN)

The data sample was too small to balance the regular occurrence of the phrase *klokken er* in the Norwegian translations; hence, thanks to this phrase, temporal Ss rank very high among the other types of inserted full Ss in Norwegian translations.

With respect to the nature of prop dummy subjects, it is not surprising that another type of S to do with natural conditions was introduced in the translation, namely the environmental S. Environmental Ss typically denote meteorological phenomena, such as *wind, air, rain, thunder*, or the use of the NP *weather* in the exclamation in the following example:

- (3.30) "It 's miserable out". (AH1)  
"Ein schreckliches Wetter". (AH1TD)  
"Fy for et vær". (AH1TN)

### 3.2.5 Declaratory expressions

Declaratory expressions are the fifth most frequent DSC type in the English originals. With their 71 occurrences, they represent about 6.8% of all DSC types found in the corpora (see Table 3.3 above). The term declaratory expression is used in this thesis in order to pinpoint DS constructions that have not been described as a separate grammatical category before. However, they clearly form a distinct grammatical pattern.

Declaratory expressions syntactically conform to the following structure: DS + copula V + Indef. NP (+ other optional elements). The main purpose of declaratory expressions is to assign a certain quality or evaluation to the indefinite NP referent within the clause.

- (3.31) It was a completely, irreversibly and unalterably alien society. (FF1)  
Es war eine vollständig, unwiderruflich und unabänderlich fremde Gesellschaft. (FF1TD)  
Det var et fullstendig, uomskiftelig og uforanderlig, fremmed samfunn. (FF1TN)

In such expressions, it is the quality assigned that is the most focal or rhematic element of the clause. In other words, the speaker 'declares' something to be something else or to have a certain quality. Declaratory clauses are thus descriptive in nature, which automatically adds a certain referential quality to *it, det* and *es* used as sentence subjects. As the qualities and evaluations presented in declarative clauses are brand new information, declaratory dummy constructions share some of their linguistic features with presentative constructions, i.e. they also present new phenomena on the scene. The phenomena presented in declaratory expressions are evaluative adjectives. Although *det,*



*it* and *es* as declaratory subjects have a semi-referential quality, they are classified as dummy subjects in this study due to their presentative function.

- (3.32) It was an immemorial day of festivals. (BO1)  
 Es war ein uralter Tag des Feierns. (BO1TD)  
 Det var en urgammel festdag. (BO1TN)

As both examples 3.31 and 3.32 demonstrate, the dummy or semi-dummy subjects used in this type of sentence really are borderline cases. We can get a clearer picture, however, if we consider other translation possibilities as well. Table 3.12 below presents the major translation patterns found in cases of full subject insertions in the translated material.

Table 3.12: The level of subject consistency in the case of declaratory expressions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>70</b>	94.5	<b>53</b>	92.9
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	4	5.4	4	7.0
Total number of declaratory expressions with dummy S in translations	74	99.9	57	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	1	1.4	16	22.5
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	0	0	2	2.8
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>70</b>	98.5	<b>53</b>	74.6
Total number of declaratory expressions in the English original	71	99.9	71	99.9

The level of subject consistency in this type of DSCs is markedly high in both translation languages. Norwegian contains as much as 94.5% of congruent dummy subjects, closely followed by German with its 92.2%.

- (3.33) It's a sort of primitive law of survival — find someone worse off than yourself and beside them you will blossom. (JB1)  
 Es ist so eine Art primitive Überlebensregel — such dir jemand, die noch schlechter dran sind als du, und neben denen blühst du auf. (JB1TD)  
 Det er en slags primitiv overlevelselseslov — finn noen som er verre ute enn deg selv, og ved siden av dem vil du blomstre. (JB1TN)

The fact that all three languages are in agreement as far as the usage of declaratory dummy subjects is concerned is also shown by the number of inserted full Ss, which is very low in both German (22.5%) and Norwegian (1.4%). Although it is evident that both Norwegian and German translators usually render the English original in a congruent way (in as much as 98.5% and 74.6% of all the cases respectively), there is a reason to question the degree to which the category of declaratory expressions adheres to the class of dummy subjects.

There were only two basic types of full S inserted in the translation material. Both S and patient-proto S were almost exclusively present in German translations (see Table 3.13). The Norwegian translation only contained 1 insertion of a full S NP.

Table 3.13: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English declaratory expressions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	1	100	7	43.7
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	0	0	6	37.5
Other restructured/merged clauses	0	0	3	18.7
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>1</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>99.9</b>

As is evident from the translation of the following example 3.34, there is certain referential quality to declaratory expressions. In order to fully resolve the dispute, we need to look at the immediate context of the declaratory construction.

- (3.34) It was a bright, young, cheerful stewardess, observing them holding hands. (AH1)  
 Die Stimme gehörte einer jungen Flugbegleiterin, die beobachtete, wie sie sich bei den Händen hielten. (AH1TD)  
 Det var en ung, munter og positiv flyvertinne som hadde sett dem holde hverandre i hånden. (AH1TN)

The German translator of example 3.34 inserts a patient-proto S *Stimme* in the translation of the English original declaratory clause. It is evident from this example that the presence of somebody's voice must have been activated in the discourse context, so that the translator could insert the full S NP *Stimme* into the translated clause. The case of declaratory expressions undoubtedly involves the dispute whether or not it contains dummy subjects. I would claim, however, that it is a distinct grammatical category with regular patterns and recurrent usage in the discourse.

### 3.2.6 Phrasal expressions

The following section concentrates on some recurrent phraseological patterns that were found in the corpora. Most of these patterns lie on the borderline between the lexicon and syntax. What they have in common is that they make use of the dummy subject *it* in English. In order to be regarded as a phrasal expression a construction must be (i) quite fixed in its form, (ii) occur recurrently in the corpora, and (iii) have a clear semantic function. As the translation analysis revealed, phrasal expressions in English often correspond to similar phrasal expressions in the other two translation languages (see Table 3.15 below for detailed comparison).

English, Norwegian and German thus often choose to apply analogous constructions with dummy subjects in similar contexts. The overall frequencies of phrasal constructions with dummy subjects are given in the following table.

Table 3.14: The level of subject consistency in the case of phrasal expressions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>50</b>	51.0	<b>32</b>	100
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	48	48.9	0	0
Total number of phrasal expressions with dummy S in translations	98	99.9	32	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	14	20.8	29	43.2
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	3	4.5	6	8.9
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>50</b>	74.6	<b>32</b>	47.8
Total number of phrasal expressions in the English original	67	99.9	67	99.9

English phraseology seems to be somewhat more on line with Norwegian, as congruent translations appear in 74.6% of cases, as compared to 47.8% in German. Norwegian (48.9%) also inserts more dummy subjects as compared to German, which seems to prefer phrasal expressions with full Ss.

The lexical patterns employed in translations are varied, however, as the corpus data reveal; they are to a great extent systematic. Sometimes it is difficult to establish what exactly *it* achieves and whether *it* is semantically and referentially empty or not. The translation equivalents often help to resolve the ambiguous cases. Most of the phrasal structures of the English originals are rendered with similar phrasal structures in Norwegian and German, as in the following example.

- (3.35) It concerns a new drug we intend to market soon after Lotromycin. (AH1)  
 Es geht dabei um ein neues Präparat, das wir möglichst bald nach dem Lotromycin auf den Markt bringen wollen. (AH1TD)  
 Det gjelder et nytt legemiddel vi har tenkt å markedsføre like etter Lotromycin. (AH1TN)

The phraseological patterns found in the material were quite varied; thus only the most frequent ones can be listed here. The following table gives an overview of the most numerous and recurrent lexical patterns found in the corpus material.

Table 3.15: The most frequent phrasal patterns found in the English originals with their proportional frequencies

ran	Phrasal pattern in the English original	N <sub>o</sub> of occurrences	Frequency in %
1.	it seems	14	20.8
2.	it takes	12	17.9
3.	it is (not) just/only/merely/simplely that	8	11.9
4.	it makes (no) sense/difference	4	5.9
5.	it has to do with	4	5.9

6.	it sounds	3	4.5
7.	it is/isn't that/about	3	4.5
8.	it is a good/bad/funny thing to	3	4.5
9.	it goes without	2	2.9
10.	it is/isn't much of a	2	2.9
11.	it is because of	2	2.9
12.	Other non-recurrent constructions with less than 2 instances in the corpus	10	14.9
Total number of phrasal expressions in the English original		67	99.9

The congruent translation is illustrated by the following example of the English phrasal expression *it is about*, where both the Norwegian and German translators insert similar phrasal expressions that are most natural in their target language:

- (3.36) It is about the effort needed to bring Mars to a state fit for life and to maintain it in that state until life has taken charge. (JL1)  
 Es dreht sich dabei um den Aufwand, der nötig wäre, den Mars in einen lebensfähigen Zustand zu versetzen und diesen solange aufrechtzuerhalten, bis das Leben von ihm Besitz ergriffen hätte. (JL1TD)  
 Det dreier seg om den innsats som kreves for å bringe Mars i en tilstand som er egnet for liv, og opprettholde tilstanden inntil livet har overtatt styringen. (JL1TN)

To go into a detailed analysis of all recurrent phrasal expressions is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present thesis. I will thus only concentrate on the phraseological pattern that ranks highest in frequency in English originals, i.e. *it seems*.

- (3.37) It seemed as if the whole world was there. (BO1)  
 Die ganze Welt schien hier versammelt zu sein. (BO1TD)  
 Det virket som om hele verden var der. (BO1TN)

Example 3.37 shows both (i) a congruent translation in the Norwegian sentence, where the translator used a similar phrasal expression with a dummy subject *det virker*; and (ii) an insertion of a locative full S *Welt* in the German translation. As is evident, the translation patterns of phrasal expressions are very varied; and dummy subjects from English originals are often replaced by inserted full Ss. Table 3.16 gives an overview of the frequencies of individual types of inserted full Ss.

Table 3.16: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English phrasal expressions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	8	57.1	13	44.9
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	5	35.7	8	27.5
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	1	7.1	7	24.1
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	0	0	1	3.4
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>14</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>99.9</b>

The most frequent types of inserted full Ss are personalized Ss and patient-proto Ss in both translation languages. German also to a great extent prefers generic full Ss.

The Norwegian sentence of the following example illustrates the insertion of a personalized full S into the translation.

- (3.38) It seems to me you haven't thought it out... no, I'll go and make the coffee, you two go and sit down. (DL1)  
Mir scheint, ihr habt euch das noch nicht reiflich überlegt ... Nein, den Kaffee mache ich.  
Ihr beide setzt euch nach drüben. (DL1TD)  
Jeg tror ikke dere har tenkt nok over dette... nei, nå går jeg og lager kaffe, så kan dere to sette dere. (DL1TN)

The German translator used a similar phrasal expression to render the English original phrase; however the dummy S remains implicit in the inserted phrase *mir schient*. What is also interesting is the use of the verb *tro* in the Norwegian translation. It seems that the semantics of the verb conforms to the overall meaning of the English original phrase *seems* that expresses a certain degree of evidentiality. This is even more obvious in the following example 3.39, which uses the insertion of patient-proto Ss in its translations.

- (3.39) It seemed that bingo afternoons left her so exhausted both physically and emotionally that she never had enough energy left to cook an evening meal. (RD1)  
Die Bingonachmittage schienen sie körperlich und seelisch so zu erschöpfen, daß sie keine Kraft mehr hatte, ein Abendessen zu kochen. (RD1TD)  
Bingospillingen var tydeligvis så slitsom at hun ikke hadde krefter igjen til å lage en skikkelig middag. (RD1TN)

The attitudinal meaning of the English original phrase *it seems* is reflected by the use of a congruent verbal expression *schienen* in the German translation, and by the use of the evidentiality adverbial *tydeligvis* in the Norwegian translation. As examples 3.38 and 3.39 show, the insertion of full Ss in the translation is often accompanied by other evidentiality/probability markers that are necessary for rendering the semantic content of the English original phrase. In Halliday's (2004:618ff.) approach, probability is a type of modality. This is confirmed by the translation pairs found in the corpus material, as illustrated in the following example:

- (3.40) It seems that the Communist authorities — ever ready to assume a veneer of legality — had allowed Utz to keep the collection providing every piece was photographed and numbered. (BC1)  
Offenbar hatten die kommunistischen Behörden — immer darauf aus, sich den Anschein von Legalität zu geben — Utz erlaubt, die Sammlung zu behalten, unter der Voraussetzung, daß jedes einzelne Stück photographiert und mit einer Nummer versehen würde. (BC1TD)  
De kommunistiske myndigheter skulle — i iveren etter å opptre med et skinn av lovlighet — ha gitt Utz tillatelse til å beholde samlingen på den betingelse at hver gjenstand ble fotografert og nummerert. (BC1TN)

Apart from using evidentiality markers, such as adverbs *tydeligvis* (example 3.39) and *offenbar* (example 3.40), modal verbs are also applied in translation of the English

original phrase, such as the verb *skulle* in the Norwegian translation (example 3.40). A similar tendency was reported in the case of translations of the Norwegian phrasal expressions into English and German (cf. Johansson, 2005). The reason why different structures and different evidentiality markers are applied in the translated material is that the constructions can easily be further modified in the target languages.

### 3.2.7 Vague reference

Both Bolinger (1977) and Kaltenböck (2003) pinpoint the fact that the semantic content of *it* is extremely general and undetermined in nature. *It* can refer to very abstract notions, such as the ambience or general surroundings, as well as different situations outside of the direct discourse context (see Section 1.2.2.2). Vague referential expressions are listed as specific types of dummy subjects in the major Norwegian reference grammar, i.e. Faarlund et al. (1997: 679; cf. Section 1.2.2.1.1 above).

Although many examples in this category are borderline cases between subjects with very weak or undetermined referential content and referentially empty grammatical subjects, they will be regarded as full members of the DS category. In this study, vague referential expressions are instances of dummy subjects that have not yet lost their referential properties completely. Expressions where *it*, *det* and *es* in subject positions refer to the situation in general, but no specific referent can be identified in the discourse context, are typical members of this category, as in the following example:

- (3.41) It's going to be all right. (PDJ3)  
Es wird schon wieder. (PDJ3TD)  
Det løser seg, skal du se. (PDJ3TN)

The subject consistency is very high in the category of vague referential subjects. There seems to be no need to insert vague DS in the translations, and most of the instances of vague DS in the translated texts come from the English original (see Table 3.17 for comparison). These numbers seem to confirm the fact that the English *it* covers the greatest range of semantic content as compared to the other languages. Both Norwegian and German often insert full Ss in order to either specify or avoid the undetermined reference of *it* used as the English vague dummy subject.

Table 3.17: The level of subject consistency in the case of vague referential constructions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>46</b>	100	<b>36</b>	100
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	0	0	0	0
Total number of vague referential dummy S in translations	46	100	36	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	7	12.0	17	29.3
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	5	8.6	5	8.6
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>46</b>	79.3	<b>36</b>	62.0
Total number of vague referential DSC in the English original	58	99.9	58	99.9

As is evident from the results, the dummy subjects were either preserved in the translation to both Norwegian (79.3%) and German (62%) or omitted in the translation (8.6% in both languages), as in the following example:

- (3.42) It happens. (ABR1)  
 So was passiert. (ABR1TD)  
 Slikt skjer. (ABR1TN)

In roughly 10 – 12.1% of the cases the dummy subjects were moved away from their sentence initial positions in the translations. Such solutions deal better with the undetermined reference of *it* in the English original, and follow the syntactic distribution of sentence elements better according to the gradual rise of CD, as in the following example.

- (3.43) It's the way of the world. (RD1)  
 So geht 's eben zu auf der Welt. (RD1TD)  
 Sånn er det bare. (RD1TN)

The insertion of full S in the translation was quite marginal in this type of DSC. German inserted proportionally more full Ss (29.3%) as compared to Norwegian (12%). Table 3.18 presents an overview of the individual subject choices in the translated material.

Table 3.18: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English vague referential expressions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	2	28.5	6	35.3
Environmental S (dummy S => full ES)	0	0	2	11.7
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	5	71.4	9	52.9
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>7</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>99.9</b>

The most frequent type of inserted full S in both Norwegian (71.4%) and German (52.9%) translation is the generic S, as in the following example.

- (3.44) It had all amounted to nothing, in the end. (AT1)  
 Alles war umsonst gewesen, letzten Endes. (AT1TD)

Og til syvende og sist hadde alt vært til ingen nytte. (AT1TN)

Both the German and Norwegian translators promoted the English generic pronoun *all* to a subject position in the translations, and left out the dummy pronouns. Another frequent type of inserted full Ss is the personalized S that is illustrated by the Norwegian translation of the following example.

- (3.45) It was a puzzle, until we realised how many of the local people had their birthdays in September or October, and then a possible but unverifiable answer suggested itself: they were busy indoors making babies. (PM1)  
Es war uns ein Rätsel, bis wir erkannten, wie viele Menschen hier im September und Oktober Geburtstag hatten, und damit ergab sich eine mögliche, wenngleich nicht überprüfbare Antwort: Sie waren zu Hause, um Kinder zu zeugen. (PM1TD)  
Vi var helt forvirret inntil vi ble klar over hvor mange av våre lokale venner hadde fødselsdag i september eller oktober. Dermed fant vi et mulig svar som vi vanskelig kunne verifisere: de holdt seg innendørs og var opptatt med å lage barn. (PM1TN)

English vague referential dummy Ss can not always be easily converted into the target language's code. Translators often have to apply other resources, such as insertion of a full NP from the outside context that complies with the semantic situation of the translated phrase. Both Norwegian *det* and German *es* stay far behind the English *it* as far as the semantic and referential indeterminacy is concerned. Such solution with a full environmental S that was inserted into the German translation is given in example 3.46.

- (3.46) It got so tense that when the onlookers said anything they were pounced upon. (BO1)  
Die Stimmung war so gespannt, daß die Zuschauer übereinander herfielen, wenn einer von ihnen etwas sagte. (BO1TD)  
Det ble så ille at tilskuerne ble skjelt ut hver gang de sa noe. (BO1TN)

### 3.2.8 Specifying constructions

The term 'specifying construction' was borrowed from Ebeling's (2000:100ff) study on presentative constructions in Norwegian and English. Specifying constructions might have been left unnoticed by the main grammatical schemes of the major reference grammars, as they form a sub-class of another large DSC category, namely clefts.

Structurally, specifying constructions, like clefts, are split into (i) a matrix clause, and (ii) an identifying sub-clause. On the level of syntax, they are thus identical. On the level of morphology, however, they employ both *it* and *there* as dummy subjects. The function of the clefted clauses is to bring focal stress or emphasis to already existing or known elements in the discourse context (see Section 3.2.3 above).

Specifying constructions have the function of bringing new information. They differ from clefts in the fact that their postverbal NPs are always indefinite, and that their



post-modifying subclauses always contain focal rhematic elements. The fact that specifying constructions present contextually unbound rhematic information seems to influence the fact that English uses the dummy pronoun *there* (instead of *it*) in the great majority of cases, which is typical of presenting new information, as is the case of presentatives (Section 3.2.1) and commencing expressions (Section 3.2.13). The following example illustrates the basic pattern:

- (3.47) There is no one I would ever tell this to, except Cordelia. (MA1)  
 Es gibt niemanden, dem ich je davon erzählen würde, außer Cordelia. (MA1TD)  
 Det er ingen jeg ville finne på å si dette til, bortsett fra Cordelia. (MA1TN)

As example 3.47 shows, specifying constructions and clefts are syntactically similar; the only difference seems to be in their function and preference for the type of dummy subject. Clefts only occur with *it* as their dummy subject, whereas specifying constructions predominantly occur with *there* (in 89.7% of all cases; see Table 3.4 in Section 3.1.3). However, as Vinje (1979:132) and Ebeling (2000:100) point out, there is not always a clear cut boundary between specifying constructions and clefts. In some cases, the structure of specifying constructions can also occur with *it* in the subject position. What distinguishes them from clefts then is the presentative function, i.e. the fact that they bring new focal information.

- (3.48) It's something we have to be grateful to him for. (NG1)  
 Etwas, wofür wir ihm dankbar sein müssen. (NG1TD)  
 Noe vi skal være ham takknemlig for. (NG1TN)

The use of *it* in the subject position, however, was very marginal in the material and only occurred in 4 constructions, i.e. 10.2% of all cases. As example 3.48 shows, the dummy subject *it* of the English original was omitted in both translations.

The level of subject consistency is considerably higher between English and Norwegian (where congruent translations appear in 64.1% of cases) than between English and German (15.4% of cases). German, on the other hand, inserts roughly two times more full subjects in the translation (76.9%) than Norwegian (35.8%). The basic translation patterns are summarized in Table 3.19 below.

Table 3.19: The level of subject consistency in the case of specifying constructions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	25	54.3	6	75
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	21	45.6	2	25
Total number of specifying constructions with dummy S in translations	46	99.9	8	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	14	35.8	30	76.9
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	0	0	3	7.6
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	25	64.1	6	15.4
Total number of specifying constructions in the English original	39	99.9	39	99.9

It is often German that changes the specifying DSC of the English original, and inserts another type of subject, as in the following example.

- (3.49) There was no one else with us. (RDO1)  
 Sonst war niemand dabei. (RDO1TD)  
 Det var ikke fler enn oss. (RDO1TN)

In the great majority of cases, the indefinite pronoun of the original matrix clause, such as *no one* in Example 3.49 and *someone* in example 3.50, becomes the sentence subject in the translations. The basic pattern of such full S insertion (and specification) is represented in both German translations, which promote the pronouns *niemand* and *jemand* into subject positions. Such insertions of indefinite specifying pronouns into subject positions are called **specifying subjects** in this material.

- (3.50) There is always someone who screams. (RR1)  
 Als der Mann zu sprechen begann, schrie jemand auf. (RR1TD)  
 Det er alltid noen som skriker. (RR1TN)

Other types of full Ss that were inserted into the translated material are presented in Table 3.20 together with their proportional frequencies.

Table 3.20: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English specifying constructions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	8	57.1	9	30
Specified S (dummy S => full SS)	6	42.8	18	60
Other restructured/merged clauses	0	0	3	10
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	14	99.9	30	100

As Table 3.20 indicates, specifying constructions have very regular translation patterns. It is either the specifying full Ss that are inserted in the translations, or personalized subjects, as in the Norwegian translation of the following example.

- (3.51) There was not one amongst us who looked forward to being born. (BO1)  
 Nicht einer von uns freute sich darauf, geboren zu werden. (BO1TD)  
 Vi gledet oss aldri til å bli født. (BO1TN)

### 3.2.9 Agentless processes

Agentless processes are dummy subject constructions where the agentive role of the subject is either suppressed or unknown and which express processes with no clear origin (cf. Ebeling, 2000:91). Anward (1981:8) and Lødrup (1993:109) agree on the conclusion that agentless processes typically denote ‘sensations’ and ‘feelings’ and describe phenomena that can be perceived through human senses, i.e. heard, smelled, sensed, watched, etc. Structurally, agentless processes conform to the following pattern: DS + V [of sensation/perception] (+ other optional elements). + Locative, as in the following example.

- (3.52) "It smells like a mothball convention back there." (SK1)  
"Da riecht es wie in einer Mottenkugelfabrik." (SK1TD)  
"Det lukter som en møllkulekongress der inne." (SK1TN)

As is evident from example 3.52, an agentive NP indicating the process’s participant is missing from the basic syntactic structure of an agentless clause. Agentless processes are well established grammatical categories with separate references in major reference grammars in both Norwegian (Faarlund et al., 1997) and German (Helbig & Buscha, 1980). English, however, neglects this type of construction and no reference is made to its existence, neither in Biber et al. (1999) nor in Quirk et al. (1985). The reason for this might be the fact that it is difficult to structurally define this phrase, as both *it* and *there* occur as dummy subjects in this type of construction (see examples 3.52 and 3.53).

- (3.53) There was a smell of cold rainy earth and sex. (DL1)  
Es roch nach kalter, regenfeuchter Erde und Sex. (DL1TD)  
Det luktet av kald, våt jord og sex. (DL1TN)

One can with good reason regard the English original sentence in example 3.53 as a perfect presentative construction. It is obvious, however, that both the German and Norwegian translators apply a pure agentless DS construction to render this phrase. On the basis of translation equivalence such examples are thus regarded as agentless processes, and are treated as a separate DSC category in this study.

The proportion between *there* and *it* as dummy subjects in this type of DSC is clearly in favor of the former. From the total number of 34 agentless constructions found in the English originals, 61.7% (21 instances) were formed with dummy *there* and the presentative-type of construction. *It* as a dummy subject was only used in 38.2% of all cases (i.e. 13 instances, see Table 3.4 above for comparison). The basic translation patterns are indicated in the following table.

Table 3.21: The level of subject consistency in the case of agentless processes as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy S (dummy S => dummy S)	31	60.7	9	90
Total number of inserted dummy S (full S => dummy S)	20	39.2	1	10
Total number of agentless processes with dummy S in translations	51	99.9	10	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	3	8.8	24	70.5
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	0	0	1	2.9
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	31	91.1	9	26.5
Total number of agentless processes in the English original	34	99.9	34	99.9

The level of subject consistency is highest between English and Norwegian (91.1%). Norwegian seems to render all agentless processes from the English originals, and inserts more dummy subjects (39.2%). German inserts proportionally more full Ss in the translation (70.5%) and keeps only 26.5% of the agentless DSCs found in the English original. The translation pattern of example 3.54 shows the basic strategy in translation of agentless process from English into the other two languages.

- (3.54) There was a sound of scratching at the front door. (MM1)  
 Es kratzte an der Tür. (MM1TD)  
 Det skrapte på ytterdøren. (MM1TN)

The indefinite NP *sound of scratching* (that is the key for qualifying the English original construction as agentless and not presentative) is transformed into another structure in the translation. Both translators keep the dummy subject of the English original, but shift the copula *V be* into the semantically full verbs *kratzen* and *skrape*, which conform to the semantics of the presented indefinite NP. Such translation patterns were very regular in translation from both directions (cf. Chocholousova, 2007).

Let us now have a closer look at what type of full Ss were inserted in the translations, as presented in the following table.

Table 3.22: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English agentless processes

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	1	30.3	8	33.3
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	1	30.3	3	12.5
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	0	0	2	8.3
Environmental S (dummy S => full ES)	1	30.3	5	20.9
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	0	0	4	16.6
Other restructured/merged clauses	0	0	2	8.3
<b>Full S inserted in total (dummy S =&gt; full S)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>99.9</b>

It is evident from the results that dummy subjects are inserted much more frequently in German translations than in Norwegian. Apart from personalized subjects, only two other full S types were present in both Norwegian and German translations. The Norwegian translation of example 3.55 shows the insertion of a full personalized S, whereas German translation opts for insertion of a patient-proto S.

- (3.55) There 's an engine sound, then the sizzle of tires on the wet road. (MA1)  
 Motorengeräusch ist zu hören, dann das Zischen der Reifen auf der nassen Straße. (MA1TD)  
 Vi hører motordur, og så suset av dekk mot den våte veien. (MA1TN)

With respect to the nature of agentless processes, it is also inevitable to have a brief look at what types of constructions with full Ss in the English original texts were translated with agentless DSCs in the translations. Although Norwegian and German are typologically closer to each other with respect to the structural possibilities of forming the agentless construction, German (10%) uses much less insertions of agentless dummy Ss than Norwegian (39.2). The following example illustrates the insertion of an agentless dummy S in the Norwegian translation, and exemplifies that the insertion of DS was caused by the presence of the environmental full S *steam* in the English original.

- (3.56) Steam began to rise in the hold. (GK1)  
 Dampf stieg im Frachtraum auf. (GK1TD)  
 Det begynte å stige opp damp i rommet. (GK1TN)

It is unfortunately not possible to go into a detailed analysis of all the inserted types of subjects in the translation. However, the following example 3.57 shows that locative full Ss in the English originals also often cause an insertion of an agentless dummy S in the Norwegian translation.

- (3.57) The cellar smells strongly of mouse droppings, a smell which wafts upward through the whole building, getting fainter as you go up, mingling with the smell of the green Dustbane used to clean the floors, and with the other smells, the floor polish and furniture wax and formaldehyde and snakes. (MA1)  
 Der Keller riecht stark nach Mäusekot, ein Geruch, der durch das ganze Gebäude nach oben zieht, immer schwächer wird, je höher man kommt, sich mit dem Geruch von dem grünen Putzmittel vermischt, mit dem die Fußböden gereinigt werden, und mit den anderen

Gerüchen, von Bohnerwachs und Möbelpolitur und Formaldehyd und dem der Schlangen. (MA1TD)

Det lukter stramt av muselort i kjelleren, en lukt som også brer seg oppover i etasjene, men som avtar etter hvert som man kommer høyere opp, og den blander seg med lukten av grønnsåpe som blir brukt på gulvene, og alle de andre luktene, bonevoks, møbelpolitur, formalin og slanger. (MA1TN)

It is known that Norwegian more strongly than German avoids subjects with peripheral thematic roles (Lødrup, 1993). As example 3.57 illustrates, it rather inserts a dummy subject. German seems to function well with locative Ss, and is able to preserve the structure of the English original in the translation (see Section 4.2.1 for further discussion of these translation patterns).

### 3.2.10 Advance expressions

The term ‘advance expression’ comes from Ebeling’s (2000:111) study on presentative constructions, although the term is defined more narrowly in the present study. Advance expressions are structurally related to extraposition. Like extraposition, advance expressions are structurally divided in two parts: (i) a matrix clause that expresses the attitudinal meaning, and (ii) a sub-clause – that mentions the phenomenon that is being presented. The only difference between advance expressions and extraposed clauses is their purpose. Halliday (2004:355ff.) remarks that the main function of extraposition is to present an objective orientation. In my study, however, the orientation of advance expressions is strictly subjective. They have a metaphorical function and usually present some kind of comparison or a simile that is often made explicit in the structure by the use of phrasal expressions, such as *as if*, *as though* and *like* in the matrix clause. The perspective from which advance expressions describe the presented phenomenon is thus purely subjective.

- (3.58) It was as if he sent his doppelgänger to make love to her. (AB1)  
Es war, als schicke er seinen Doppelgänger, um sie zu lieben. (AB1TD)  
Det var som om han sendte sin dobbeltgjenger for å elske med henne. (AB1TN)

The translation patterns of advance expressions were to a large extent congruent. Most of the cases were rendered by similar DS constructions in the translated material, as indicated in Table 20. The subject consistency is slightly higher between Norwegian and English, where congruent translations appeared in 85% as compared to German 81%.

Table 3.23: The level of subject consistency in the case of advance expressions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	23	48.9	14	100
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	24	51.0	0	0
Total number of advance expressions with dummy S in translations	47	99.9	14	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	5	17.2	12	41.4
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	1	3.4	3	10.3
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	23	79.3	14	48.2
Total number of advance expressions in the English original	29	99.9	29	99.9

Congruent translations appear more often in translation from English into Norwegian (79.3%) than in translations from English into German (48.2%). Norwegian traditionally inserts more dummy Ss in the translations (51%), whereas German inserts more full Ss in the translation (41.4%).

- (3.59) It was as if she was born to go round with subtitles: *Help me, save me.* (FW1)  
 Es war, als wäre sie dazu geboren, mit Untertiteln durchs Leben zu gehen: *Hilf mir, rette mich, ich armes kleines Mädchen.* (FW1TD)  
 Som om hun var født til å drasse rundt med underforståtte oppfordringer: *Hjelp meg, redd meg.* (FW1TN)

As example 3.59 indicates, the phrasal structure of advance expressions is quite fixed, even though there might be some minor restructuring in the translation. The dummy subject may sometimes remain implicit in the structure, as in the Norwegian translation of this example. Let us, however, concentrate on non-congruent translations and cases where full Ss were inserted into the translated material. Table 3.24 gives an overview of the types and frequencies of the inserted full Ss.

Table 3.24: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English advance expressions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	2	40	5	41.6
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	1	20	1	8.3
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	1	20	5	41.6
Other restructured/merged clauses	1	20	1	8.3
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	5	100	12	99.8

It is evident from the frequencies that personalized full Ss are inserted most frequently in translation into both target languages. The translations often combined inserted full Ss with evidential and other adverbials denoting the subjective relativity of the advance expression, such as the adverbial *omtrent* in the Norwegian translation of the following example.

- (3.60) It's like a faithful husband occasionally taking therapeutic relief at the local cat-house. (PDJ3)  
 Es ist wie bei einem treuen Ehemann, der gelegentlich therapeutische Erleichterung im nächstgelegenen Puff sucht. (PDJ3TD)

Omtrent som når en trofast ektemann en gang imellom slipper seg løs på stedets horehus.  
(PDJ3TN)

Other very frequent types of inserted full Ss were generic Ss, which were substantially more frequent in German than in Norwegian translations. As the main linguistic function of advance expressions is to mediate the subjective reality, generic Ss are well suited translation equivalents, as in the German translation of the following example:

- (3.61) It's as if you're absent from your own story. (ABR1)  
Man hat das Gefühl, du selbst kommst darin überhaupt nicht vor. (ABR1TD)  
Det er som om du ikke er med i din egen historie. (ABR1TN)

The German translation of example 3.61 illustrates the use of generic S *man* in combination with VP *hat das Gefühl*, which is a very interesting combination. The subjectivity of the advance phrase in the English original is first generalized by the insertion of a generic S, but immediately relativized by the VP containing the N *Gefühl* which semantically indicates the subjectivity of the statement.

### 3.2.11 Impersonal passives

The main purpose and function of impersonal constructions is to suppress the agent. The typology of impersonal constructions is twofold. They are often divided into impersonal actives (see Section 3.2.12 below) and impersonal passives. Passive impersonal constructions are more frequent in use; thus they will be analyzed first. In the case of transitive verbs, all the three languages seem to be in agreement as far as the structure, form and usage of impersonal passives are concerned.

- (3.62) It was told about Rembrandt that his students painted coins on the floor to watch him scoot and stoop to fetch them, but this seems the sort of anecdotal prank art students everywhere would practice or say they did. (JH1)  
Es wird erzählt, daß Rembrandts Schüler gelegentlich Münzen auf den Fußboden malten, um zu sehen, wie er sich danach bückte. Aber das sind anekdotische Streiche, wie sie Kunststudenten ihren Lehrern wohl überall spielen — oder gespielt haben wollen. (JH1TD)  
Det ble sagt om Rembrandt at elevene hans malte mynter på gulvet for å se ham styrte frem og bøye seg etter dem, men det er nok av den typen anekdotiske fantestrekker som kunststudenter overalt driver med eller hevder at de gjør. (JH1TN)

Åfarli (1992:84ff.) describes the frequent use of impersonal passive constructions with *det* as a dummy subject in Norwegian, and points out that the Norwegian structural possibilities of forming passive constructions are doubled by the fact that Norwegian can structurally form the passive voice in two ways. The first form of the Norwegian passive is called 'bli-passive', and is shown in example 3.62. The other structural possibility of



forming the passive voice in Norwegian is by employing the so-called ‘s-passive’, as in the following example:

- (3.63) They say that as you get older, you remember your earliest years better. (JB1)  
 Es heißt, je älter man wird, desto besser erinnert man sich an seine ersten Jahre. (JB1TD)  
 Det sies at man husker sine første år bedre når man blir eldre. (JB1TN)

Neither English nor German have such structural possibilities of forming passives, and as will be demonstrated in Table 3.25, both English and German stay far behind in frequency as far as the formation of impersonal passive constructions is concerned.

Table 3.25: The level of subject consistency in the case of impersonal passives as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>16</b>	61.5	<b>9</b>	81.8
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	10	38.4	1	18.1
Total number of impersonal passives with dummy S in translations	26	99.9	10	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	4	20	10	50
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	0	0	1	5
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>16</b>	80	<b>9</b>	45
Total number of impersonal passives in the English original	20	100	20	100

It is evident that more DSs are both kept (80%) as well as inserted (38.4%) in the Norwegian translations of English original texts. Impersonal passives are also most frequent in Norwegian (2.1%) as compared to both English (1.9%) and German (1.6%; see Table 3.3 in Section 3.1.2). German translations (40%) preserve roughly half of the DSs found in English original texts, and insert full S NPs in 50% of cases.

When contemplating the relative frequencies of impersonal passive constructions, it is important to bear in mind that there are some important systemic differences between the compared languages. Firstly, as shown above, Norwegian has more possibilities of forming the passive voice (*s-* and *bli-* passives) than both English and German. Secondly, structural possibilities of forming impersonal passive constructions differ with respect to the transitivity of the verb. The main structural difference between English and the other two languages is that both Norwegian and German allow impersonal passive constructions to with intransitive verbs whereas English does not.

- (3.64) There's talk of nothing else in the village. (MW1)  
 Im Dorf wird von nichts andrem geredet. (MW1TD)  
 Det prates ikke om noe annet i landsbyen. (MW1TN)

As example 3.64 illustrates, impersonal passive constructions with intransitive verbs are structurally impossible in English (see also Section 1.2.2.1.2 above). English

often has no other choice but to use some other construction type in order to suppress the agent. In example 3.64 both the Norwegian and German translators use passive impersonal constructions with the intransitive verbs *prate* and *reden*, whereas English cannot form impersonal passives with such verbs and thus employs a presentative construction with dummy *there* in the subject position, copula *V be* and the presentative indefinite NP *talk*, which serves the same structural function, i.e. it leaves the agent (or the sayer in this case) implicit.

Let us now have a brief look at what types of full Ss were inserted in the translation of the English impersonal passive construction. So far it is evident that full S insertions are much more frequent in German than in Norwegian. Table 3.26 gives the basic frequency counts.

Table 3.26: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English impersonal passives

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	1	25	4	40
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	2	50	3	30
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	0	0	2	20
Other restructured/merged clauses	1	25	1	10
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>

It is evident from the results that Norwegian seldom inserts full Ss in its translations. The only full S types inserted in passive impersonal constructions were personalized and patient-proto Ss. The example 3.65 shows the insertion of a personalized S in the German translation, and the insertion of a patient-proto S in the Norwegian translation. The referential status of *it* as a DS in the English original is very uncertain, as *it* clearly has a very vague anaphoric function. No direct referent has been identified in the preceding linguistic context though, and as such it is counted as a border-line case or semi-dummy subject. As the following example illustrates, such vague semi-referential subjects tend to be specified in their translations:

- (3.65) It is well stated by a Russian, M. M. Yermolaev, in *An Introduction to Physical Geography*: "The biosphere is understood as being that part of the geographical envelope of the Earth, within the boundaries of which the physico-geographical conditions ensure the normal work of the enzymes." (JL1)  
 Der russische Wissenschaftler M. M. Jermolaew hat das in *An Introduction to Physical Geography* sehr gut ausgedrückt: "Unter der Biosphäre versteht man den Teil der geographischen Erdhülle, innerhalb dessen die physikalisch-geographischen Voraussetzungen für die normale Funktion der Enzyme bestehen." (JL1TD)  
 Dette synspunkt er godt formulert av russeren M. M. Yermolaev i boken *Innføring i fysisk geografi*: "Biosfæren blir oppfattet som den del av det geografiske område som omslutter Jorden, som innenfor sine grenser har slike fysisk-geografiske forhold at det kan sikre normal funksjon hos enzymene." (JL1TN)

Another very frequent type of full S inserted in German translations is the generic *S man*, which makes it possible to keep the agentive role of a sentence subject suppressed (or anonymous), even if it has some semantic content. Whereas the English original contains the DS *it*, the Norwegian translator of example 3.66 opted for the insertion of the phrasal expression *ryktet will ha det til* with a patient-proto S.

- (3.66) It was rumoured that she herself was an indifferent cook, one more indication of the firm British conviction, not uncommon in more elevated if less useful spheres of human activity, that there is nothing so fatal to success as knowing your subject. (PDJ3)  
 Man kolportierte, daß sie selbst eine lustlose Hobbyköchin sei, ein weiterer Hinweis auf die feste Überzeugung der Briten, die in den höheren, wenn auch minder nützlichen Bereichen menschlicher Beschäftigung weit verbreitet war, daß nämlich nichts den Erfolg so sehr schmälert wie die Beherrschung eines Metiers. (PDJ3TD)  
 Ryktet ville ha det til at hun selv ikke var interessert i matlaging, i så fall nok et eksempel på en tro som gjorde seg gjeldende blant briter på mer elevene, men mindre nyttige felter av menneskelig aktivitet, at ikke noe er så skadelig for ens fremgang som å kjenne sitt emne. (PDJ3TN)

### 3.2.12 Impersonal actives

Impersonal active dummy subject constructions are structurally similar to the impersonal passives in Section 3.2.11 above. Like impersonal passives, their main function is to suppress the agentive role of a subject. The only difference between impersonal active and impersonal passive constructions is thus the voice of the verb applied. Impersonal actives typically denote sensually perceivable processes, i.e. processes that can be heard or sensed, and their agentive participants are suppressed by the use of a dummy subject with no possibility of being assigned an agentive role.

Impersonal constructions are structurally possible in both German and Norwegian; however, they are not structurally definable as a separate grammatical category in English (see Sections 1.2.2.1.1 - 1.2.2.1.3 above). Where the Norwegian (and German) translation contains an impersonal active DSC, English often has to rely on the use of a presentative construction, as in the following example.

- (3.67) There are rumblings in Congress now. (AH1)  
 Im Kongreß wird schon Kritik laut. (AH1TD)  
 Det mumles alt i Kongressen. (AH1TN)

Due to the fact that English has no such category as impersonal passives in its grammatical system, only examples that were translated as impersonal actives with dummy subjects in Norwegian and/or German were included in this category. English original texts thought also contain dummy subjects, although they often appear in

different types of constructions (see example 3.68 below). Both dummy *it* and *there* are present in English original structures that involve the translation with impersonal passive DSCs. The proportion between *it* and *there* is very uneven, as only 11.1% (i.e. 2 instances) of all impersonal actives contained *it* as their DS. Impersonal active constructions in Norwegian and German translations mostly came from presentative constructions in the English originals (see example 3.67 above) that contain *there* as their dummy S. The overall frequencies of the translation patterns found in the material are indicated in the following table.

Table 3.27: The level of subject consistency in the case of impersonal actives as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	17	70.8	4	80
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	7	29.1	1	20
Total number of impersonal actives with dummy S in translations	24	99.9	5	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	1	5.5	11	61.1
Total number of dummy S deletion in translation (dummy S => 0)	0	0	3	16.6
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	17	94.4	4	22.2
Total number of impersonal actives in the English original	18	99.9	18	99.9

It is evident from the results that the English original DSs in this category rely on the translation patterns. Most impersonal active constructions come from the Norwegian translations (94.4%). German translations contained 61.1% of full Ss that were inserted in the translations, as in the following example.

- (3.68) There was a "coo" from across the room; Philby rose and went over to the large cage in the corner and gazed through the bars at a pigeon with one leg in splints. (FF1)  
 Plötzlich ertönte ein Gurren; Philby stand auf, ging zu dem großen Käfig in der Ecke und blickte durch die Stäbe auf eine Taube, die ein geschientes Bein hatte. (FF1TD)  
 Det lød kurring i rommet. Philby reiste seg. Han gikk bort til det store buret i kroken og kikket inn mellom tremmene på en due med det ene benet spjelket. (FF1TN)

Example 3.68 illustrates the insertion of patient-proto S *Gurren* in the German translation. Norwegian translation represents the impersonal passive construction with a DS, and the English original contains a presentative DS structure that has on the basis of translation equivalence been classified as an impersonal construction. The Norwegian translators often had to use impersonal constructions in cases where the English original sentence contained indefinite full NP subjects with high pragmatic prominence, such as the rhematic subject *queue* in the following example:

- (3.69) A queue had formed in the area newly designated for waiting in with chrome uprights and turquoise-blue ropes. (RR1)

In dem Bereich, der seit kurzem mit verchromten Pfosten und türkisblauen Schnüren für wartende Kunden abgetrennt worden war, hatte sich eine Schlange gebildet. (RR1TD)  
Det hadde dannet seg kø i det nye feltet som var avsatt for ventende kunder; området var markert med forkrommede stolper og turkisblå tau. (RR1TN)

It is evident from the translation equivalents of example 3.69 that focal or rhematic subjects are strongly avoided in both Norwegian and German (cf. Ebeling, 2000). Whereas German syntax enables free reordering of its sentence elements according to the gradual rise of CD, so that the most focal element *Schlange* can stand sentence finally and still function as sentence subject, Norwegian has to employ an impersonal construction with the DS *det* in order to shift the rhematic information away from the sentence initial position.

Another common type of insertion of the Norwegian impersonal active DS in the translation was found in where the English original contained a full NP subject with a low or peripheral thematic role, as in the following example:

- (3.70) The windows were covered by blankets, leaving not a chink of light. (DL2)  
Vor den Fenstern hingen Decken, die kein Tageslicht hereinließen. (DL2TD)  
Det hang ulltepper foran vinduene, ikke en lysstripe fant veien inn i rommet. (DL2TN)

The full S NP *windows* in the English original sentence of example 3.70 is an example of a locative subject with a low or peripheral thematic role. Such subjects are often not acceptable either in Norwegian or in German (cf. Lødrup, 1993). The German translator shifts the locative full S of the English original and inserts a patient-proto S *Decken*, which then is placed in sentence medial position as is the case in the English original. Norwegian, however, is not as free as German in ordering its sentence elements and again inserts an impersonal construction with dummy subject *det*. We can thus see that the use of impersonal passive constructions is in most cases motivated by systemic differences and preferences in the individual languages.

In sentences where both the English original and the German translation contained full Ss, only the Norwegian translations with impersonal dummy subjects were counted as impersonal passive constructions. In order to learn more about what types of full Ss were present in the English originals, and what types of DS constructions were used in their translations, see Section 4.2.1 below. The most common types of inserted full Ss in the translations were patient-proto Ss. Table 3.28 below summarizes the main types of inserted full Ss in the category of impersonal actives.

Table 3.28: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English impersonal active constructions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	0	0	4	36.3
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	1	100	5	45.4
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	0	0	2	18.2
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>1</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>

### 3.2.13 Commencing expressions

The term ‘commencing expression’ was used for the purposes of the present study, and it covers a distinct category of DSC types with a clear textual function in ordering the discourse progression. Commencing expressions are undoubtedly related to presentative constructions. They do not differ in form or syntactic structure, but rather in their function. As is well known, presentative constructions bring new entities into focus, and present new rhematic information (see Section 3.2.1 above). So far, the function of commencing expressions is similar. What is different, though, is that commencing expressions usually present strong focal elements, or discourse topics (cf. Štícha, 2005), i.e. elements that will later be further specified, described and commented on, and that will become a discourse-central point around which the plot will evolve (see examples 3.71 and 3.72).

- (3.71) It all started one morning in the spring of 1961 when the postman brought a letter that was for me almost as full of promise and excitement as a first love letter. (JL1)  
 Alles begann an einem Frühlingsmorgen des Jahres 1961, als mir der Postbote einen Brief brachte, der für mich annähernd so verheißungsvoll und erregend war wie mein erster Liebesbrief. (JL1TD)  
 Det hele startet en vårmorgen i 1961 da postbudet kom med et brev, som for meg var nesten like løfterikt og spennende som mitt første kjærlighetsbrev. (JL1TN)

Commencing expressions thus differ from presentatives in the textual function they have in structuring the discourse, and in the fact that they equally (50:50%) employ *it* and *there* as their dummy subjects (see Figure 3.2 in Section 3.1.3 for exact figures), as illustrated by the following examples.

- (3.72) There was once a time before life, when the Earth was barren and utterly desolate. (CSA1)  
 Einst gab es eine Zeit ohne Leben, in der die Erde öd und leer war. (CSA1TD)  
 En gang i tiden før livet oppstod, var Jorden tom og ytterst øde. (CSA1TN)

The basic translation patterns and their overall frequencies are summarized in Table 3.29. It is evident from the counts that all the three languages seem to structurally agree on the use of commencing expressions, and that these structures also have a high number of congruent translations.

Table 3.29: The level of subject consistency in the case of commencing expressions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>10</b>	62.5	<b>9</b>	78.9
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	6	37.4	0	21.0
Total number of commencing expressions with dummy S in translations	16	99.9	9	99.9
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	4	28.5	5	35.7
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	<b>10</b>	71.4	<b>9</b>	64.2
Total number of commencing expressions in the English original	14	99.9	14	99.9

The consistency of sentence subjects in the category of commencing expression is very high in both translation languages (71.4% in Norwegian, and 64.2% in German). Most of the translation patterns found in the corpora were thus congruent translations, as in example 3.73.

- (3.73) It began modestly, as a field study to flesh out some chapters in his doctoral thesis. (WB1)  
 Es fing bescheiden als Feldstudie zur Untermauerung einiger Kapitel seiner Doktorarbeit an. (WB1TD)  
 Det begynte meget beskjedent som ledd i en feltstudie til doktoravhandlingen hans. (WB1TN)

There were, however, instances of insertions of full Ss in the translations, such as the insertion of a generic full S *alles* in the German translation of example 3.71 and the locative S *jorden* that was inserted in the Norwegian translation of example 3.72 above. Table 3.30 presents the types and frequencies of the individual inserted full Ss.

Table 3.30: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English commencing expressions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	2	50	3	60
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	1	25	0	0
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	1	25	1	20
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	0	0	1	20
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>100</b>

As the data indicate, personalized full Ss rank highest in frequency also in this category of DSCs. Example 3.74 illustrates the use of semi-dummy *it* in the subject position of the English original clause. The referential content of *it* in this position is quite remarkable in this case; although it has no referent in the preceding linguistic context, *it* refers to the situational context in a very general nature. This vague reference is then specified by the use of fully referential subject *er* in the German translation of the following example:

- (3.74) It is the beginning of at least eleven long years of schooling that all of you are going to have to go through. (RD1)

Er ist der Anfang von mindestens elf langen Jahren des Lernens, die ihr hinter euch bringen müßt. (RD1TD)

Det er begynnelsen på minst elleve år på skolen. (RD1TN)

The NP *elf langen Jahren des Lernens* in the German translation is an example of a strong rhematic element that is crucial for the evolvement of the discourse. As such it is a proper discourse topic, and thus rightly stands sentence medially in the translation (cf. Štícha, 2005).

### 3.2.14 Environmental expressions

Environmental expressions are the least frequent category of the DSC types found in the corpus material. The term ‘environmental expressions’ was used in the present thesis in order to account for the subtleties of language use, and to cover a distinct group of grammatical constructions with dummy Ss. In their function environmental expressions are related to presentative constructions. Like presentative constructions, they present new information; their new information, however, is grammatically coded in form of an adjective (ADJ). Environmental expressions thus do not contain a NP in their structure (as in the case of presentative constructions). They introduce new qualities that are brought into focus, and typically coded in an adjective expression, which is descriptive in nature (see also declaratory expressions in Section 3.2.5). The structure of environmental expressions thus is as follows: DS + copulaV + ADJ + (Loc + other optional elements), as in the following example.

- (3.75) "It is beautiful there". (JSM1)  
"Es ist schön dort". (JSM1TD)  
"Ja, det er jo vakkert der". (JSM1TN)

Unlike presentative constructions, environmental expressions are regularly rendered by the dummy pronoun *it* in English. The locative element is optional in environmental expressions and is sometimes missing.

- (3.76) It was totally silent. (RR1)  
Es war völlig still. (RR1TD)  
Det var helt stille. (RR1TN)

Other than copula Vs were also present in the material, however; these were limited to Vs of existence, appearance and perception, as in the following example.

- (3.77) It looked warm and still in there, it looked civilised, a well-appointed gentle place, the home of rich people fond of luxury. (RR1)  
Es sah warm und friedlich aus da drinnen, es wirkte kultiviert, ein wohl ausgestatteter, vornehmer Wohnsitz, das Zuhause reicher, luxusliebender Menschen. (RR1TD)



Det virket lunt og stille der, kultivert, et vel innredet, hyggelig rom bebodd av rikfolk som var glade i luksus. (RR1TN)

The following table indicates the basic frequencies and translation patterns found in the material.

Table 3.31: The level of subject consistency in the case of environmental expressions as found in the translated material

Translation patterns in direction from English originals:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Total number of congruent dummy subjects (dummy S => dummy S)	9	83.3	8	100
Total number of dummy S inserted in translation (full S => dummy S)	3	16.6	0	0
Total number of environmental express. with dummy S in translations	12	99.9	8	100
Total number of full S insertion in translation (dummy S => full S)	2	18.1	3	27.2
Total number of congruent translations (dummy S => dummy S)	9	81.8	8	72.7
Total number of environmental express. in the English original	11	99.9	11	99.9

As the data indicate, the level of subject consistency is very high in both translation languages, with Norwegian being responsible for all insertions of dummy subjects (16.6%). German inserts proportionally more full Ss in the translation (27.2%). Very few full Ss were inserted in the translations; however, the following two examples demonstrate the basic patterns.

- (3.78) "It does look lovely in here," said Bev, looking round. (ST1)  
 "Schön sieht 's hier aus", sagte Bev und sah sich um. (ST1TD)  
 "Jeg syns det er blitt fint her, jeg," sa Bev og så seg rundt i stuen. (ST1TN)

The German translator of example 3.78 keeps the dummy S of the original construction; however, it is shifted to the sentence medial position and the most typical element *Schön* is fronted in order to add further emphasis. Although the dummy subject is also present in the Norwegian translation, it only has a grammatical function. In order to highlight the evaluative content of the translated phrase, the verb of stance *synes* was added in the translation together with the insertion of a personalized full S *jeg*.

- (3.79) It was rocky and uneven down at the seafront, not like the beach. (RDO1)  
 Der Boden war steinig und uneben, nicht wie am Strand. (RDO1TD)  
 Det var steinete og ujevnt nede ved strandpromenaden, ikke som på stranda. (RDO1TN)

As example 3.79 indicates, full Ss with peripheral thematic roles were also present in the material. The German translator has in this case decided to insert a locative full S *Boden* in the translation of the English original environmental DSC phrase. The Norwegian translation, however, is congruent. The different types of full Ss inserted in the translations are listed in the following table together with their relative frequencies of occurrence.

Table 3.32: The types of full subjects inserted into the translation of English environmental expressions

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	0	0	1	33.3
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	0	0	1	33.3
Environmental S (dummy S => full ES)	1	50	0	0
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	1	50	1	33.3
Full S inserted in total (dummy S => full S)	<b>2</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>99.9</b>

## 4. Discussion of the findings

So far we have dealt with subject selections related to the individual construction types under investigation. Dummy subjects are proportionally the most frequent subject option in all the three languages; with 83.7% in Norwegian, 78.9% in English, and 50.2% in German. It is evident from the analysis that congruent translations are preferred in a great majority of cases; and if no structural constraints apply, sentence subjects tend to be preserved in the translation. The level of subject consistency is to some extent higher between English and Norwegian (51.5%) than between English and German (35.8%); see also Tables 3.1 and 3.2 in Section 3.1.1.

### 4.1 Typology of subject changes

Subject changes may be motivated by either structural or contextual factors, and the newly inserted sentence subjects can take on a whole variety of thematic roles. Before categorizing all the full subject types found in the translation material, it is necessary to systematize the types of subject changes that have been analyzed so far. The basic typology of subject change is twofold (cf. Johansson, 2004:36ff.):

- (i) **PROMOTION** – incorporating instances where the sentence subject in the translation is promoted from a non-subject position in the original, as in the Norwegian translation in the following example:
  - (4.1) There's a coroner-sheriff, an elected office in this county, but the actual forensic work is contracted out among various pathologists in the tri-county area. (SG1)  
Es gibt einen Scheriff, der gleichzeitig Leichenbeschauer ist, in diesem Staat eine gewählte Position, aber die eigentliche forensische Arbeit wird auf verschiedene Pathologen in diesem Gebiet verteilt. (SG1TD)  
Fylket har en likskue-sheriff, som er folkevalgt, men det konkrete rettsmedisinske arbeidet fordeles etter kontrakt med ulike patologer i de tre countiene. (SG1TN)
- (ii) **INSERTION** – which is divided according to the type of subject inserted:
  - a) **Anaphoric subject insertion**, i.e. the inserted subject in the translation is a contextually bound referent that is retrievable from the previous context, such as the Norwegian translation in the following example:
    - (4.2) There was a need to touch and smell and see that it was all in place. (GN1)  
Da war ein Bedürfnis zu fühlen und zu riechen und zu sehen, daß alles auf seinem Platz war. (GN1TD)

Hun hadde behov for å ta på og lukte og se at alt var på plass. (GN1TN)

- b) **Deictic subject insertion**, i.e. the inserted subject in the translation is a referent that is not identifiable in the previous context, but is retrieved from the semantic context of the outside world, as in the English translation of the following example:

- (4.3) There was some shock, of course, but mostly there was rejoicing in that small town, rejoicing because the monster which had haunted so many dreams was dead, dead at last. (SK1)  
Es gab natürlich einiges Entsetzen, aber hauptsächlich herrschte Freude in der kleinen Stadt, Freude darüber, daß das Ungeheuer, das so viele Alpträume verursacht hatte, tot, endlich tot war. (SK1TD)  
Hendelsen forårsaket naturligvis både sjokk og forferdelse blant folk, men det var allikevel glede og lettelse som spredte seg i den lille byen, glede over at monsteret som hadde hjemsøkt så mange drømmer, endelig var død. (SK1TN)

In order to be able to compare the individual subject choices, it is necessary, however, to compare the frequency of full subject types inserted into the translated texts.

## 4.2 Subject options in the three languages

This section is devoted to different subject selections and subject choices found in the translation analysis. The main focus thus lies on the competing subjects and other alternatives inserted in the translations. First, we will discuss the types of inserted full Ss in the translation of English dummy subjects. Second, we will concentrate on what types of full Ss in the English originals have caused the insertion of dummy subjects in the translation. Last but not least, the different types of subjects and their frequencies will be compared across the languages.

### 4.2.1 Full subjects inserted in the translations

From the quantitative analysis in Section 3.1 it is evident that dummy subjects are proportionally 1.5 times more frequent in Norwegian (83.7%) than in German (50.2%). The situation with full subjects inserted in the translations, though, is quite the opposite. Full subjects in German (47.1%) are inserted 3 times as frequently as in their Norwegian (14.8%) counterparts (cf. Table 3.1 in Section 3.1.1). A direct comparison and typology of full subjects inserted in the translations along with their frequencies can tell us something more about the structural possibilities and subject preferences in the languages

investigated. Table 4.1 gives an overview of the types of full subjects inserted in the translation material and their frequencies.

Table 4.1: The complete list of full subjects inserted in the translation of the English dummy subjects

Translation pattern from the English original:	Norwegian Translation		German Translation	
	instances	%	instances	%
Personalized S (dummy S => full PS)	119	52.8	237	43.4
Specifying S (dummy S => full SS)	6	2.6	18	3.4
Generic S (dummy S => full GS)	18	8.1	65	11.9
Patient-proto S (dummy S => full PpS)	63	28.1	176	32.2
Environmental S (dummy S => full ES)	7	3.1	23	4.2
Locative S (dummy S => full LS)	2	0.9	14	2.5
Temporal S (dummy S => full TS)	10	4.3	13	2.3
Total number of investigated sentences with full S	<b>225</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>99.9</b>

With respect to the hierarchy of theta roles (Saeed, 1997; see Figure 2.3 in Section 2.3.2), the individual types of full Ss can be grouped into 3 categories depending on their thematic role and their position in the hierarchy. Personalized Ss perform strong agentive-like roles and thus rank highest in the hierarchy; they will be referred to as **strong** theta-role (ThR) subjects. As is evident from the frequencies in Table 4.1, Personalized Ss are strongly preferred in both Norwegian (52.8%) and German (43.4%) translations. Both Specifying Ss and Generic Ss also denote agentive-like entities in the discourse, although without uniquely identifying the agentive participant that is the volitional element or the doer of the action. As such, specifying and generic Ss also belong to the category of strong ThR subjects. When looking at their frequencies in the corpus material, it is evident that German uses proportionally more specifying Ss (3.4%) and Generic Ss (11.9%) than Norwegian does (2.6% and 8.1% respectively).

Patient-proto Ss usually denote referents that are affected by the result of the processes; as such they perform weaker theta roles and rank lower in the hierarchy of theta roles. They form a separate category of inserted full Ss, which is here referred to as **weak** ThR subjects. They are lower in frequency as compared to strong ThR subjects, and appear slightly less frequently in Norwegian (28.1%) than in German (32.2%).

The last category of inserted full Ss refers to subjects with the lowest thematic roles, which have a peripheral function in the hierarchy of theta roles. Their purpose usually is to denote the settings in which the processes take place. Such examples of inserted full Ss are called **peripheral** ThR subjects. All locative, environmental and temporal Ss belong to this category. As the frequencies indicate, both environmental Ss

(4.2%) and locative Ss (2.5%) are much more frequent in German than in Norwegian (3.1% and 0.9% respectively).

The situation is different in the category of temporal Ss where Norwegian (4.3%) surpasses German (2.3%). With respect to the findings described in the qualitative analysis (in Section 3.2), it should be noted that the high frequency of the Norwegian temporal Ss is caused by the idiomatic temporal expression *klokka er* which is often inserted in the category of prop DSs (see Section 3.2.4, and examples 3.27 and 3.29).

What is worth mentioning here is the existence of locative Ss in the Norwegian translations. Helge Lødrup (1999:217) claims that:

[...] Norwegian cannot take Locative Subject in presentational focus construction.

Nevertheless, there were 2 instances of locative Ss found in the corpora. Although they rank very low in frequency (0.9%), such instances do appear in the discourse (see example 3.81). Lødrup takes a stance from a purely formalistic position, and accentuates the effects of the ‘Thematic subject constraints’ and ‘Subject principle’ on the subject choices in Norwegian (cf. Lødrup 1999:217ff.) Nevertheless, as the corpus data reveal, there is some evidence of locative subjects in the use of real language as retrieved from the corpora.

We can conclude from the overall frequencies that the preliminary expectations have been confirmed and that the insertion of a strong agentive-like subject is the most frequent option in the translation into both target languages. Weak and peripheral ThR subjects are more frequent in German than in Norwegian (with the exception of temporal Ss). For a direct and proportional comparison see, Figure 4.1 in Section 4.2.3 below.

## 4.2.2 Full subjects found in the English originals

The main focus of the presentation so far has been on the types of full Ss inserted in the translation of the DSCs found in the English original texts. There were, however, 243 instances of full Ss in the English originals that were translated as dummy Ss, which means that full Ss make up 18.3% of all subject options found in English original texts (see Table 3.1 in Section 3.1.1). In order to understand the main tendencies, we need to consider what types of full Ss in the English originals are replaced by dummy Ss in the translations. The following table gives an overview of the types of full Ss found in the English originals.

Table 4.2: The types and frequency of English full subjects translated as dummy subjects in Norwegian and German

<b>Types of full subjects in the English originals that were translated as dummy subjects in Norwegian and German:</b>	<b>instances</b>	<b>%</b>
Personalized S (full PS => dummy S)	121	49.7
Generic S (full GS => dummy S)	8	3.2
Specified S (full SS => dummy S)	13	5.3
Patient-proto S (full PpS => dummy S)	73	30
Environmental S (full ES => dummy S)	9	3.8
Temporal S (full TS => dummy S)	3	1.3
Locative S (full LS => dummy S)	16	6.7
<b>Total number of Full S in the English original (full S =&gt; dummy S)</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>99.9</b>

It is evident that subjects with strong theta roles rank highest in frequency also in the English originals. Personalized subjects make up to 49.7% of all full Ss found in the English material. Both generic Ss (3.2%) and specified Ss (5.3%) are used much less frequently.

Patient-proto Ss belong to the category of subjects with weak thematic roles and make up to 30% of all full Ss found in the English originals, which is quite a considerable number. Environmental, temporal and locative Ss with peripheral theta roles rank low in frequency, although the use of locative Ss is much higher in English (6.7%) as compared to both Norwegian and German (see Figure 4.1 in Section 4.2.1).

Locative Ss found in English original texts were also often transformed in the translations. One of the most regular translation pattern found in the material was the transformation of the English locative subject into a dummy subject construction in the Norwegian and/or German translations:

- (4.4) The room went quiet. (ST1)  
 Im Raum wurde es still. (ST1TD)  
 Det ble taust i rommet. (ST1TN)

Another quite regular pattern was the insertion of a dummy subject in the translation of English sentences with (i) indefinite NPs containing new (rhematic) information; and (ii) elements with low thematic roles in subject positions. These two patterns were found regardless of the DSC type inserted in the translations. It can thus be assumed that many of the English full Ss cannot be preserved in the translation. Example 4.5 illustrates the basic pattern.

- (4.5) Blood had stained the table. (BO1)  
 Auf dem Tisch waren Blutflecken. (BO1TD)  
 Det var blodflekker på bordet. (BO1TN)

The English full S *blood* is an instance of a rhematic contextually unbound subject with a weak thematic role. The German translation restructures the sentence elements in a way that follows the pragmatic progression of CD, and places the most focal (rheme proper) element *Blutflecken* at the end of the sentence; however, it is preserved as a sentence subject despite its low theta function and a weak position in the hierarchy of theta roles. The Norwegian translation, on the other hand, is not able to preserve the thematically weak rhematic expression *blodflecker* as sentence subject. Norwegian has no other syntactic possibilities for shifting such thematically weak, rhematic elements away from sentence initial positions but the insertion of a dummy S, as in the presentative construction in example 4.5 above.

Another recurrent translation pattern was found in translations of English sentences with undetermined referential subjects, such as in the following examples 4.6 and 4.7.

- (4.6) More individuals are born than can possibly survive.... (CSA1)  
 Es kommen mehr Individuen zur Welt als möglicherweise am Leben bleiben können ... (CSA1TD)  
 Det fødes flere individer enn antallet som har muligheter for å overleve. (CSA1TN)

The English original of the passive construction in example 4.6 again contains an indefinite NP in the subject position. Both the German and Norwegian translators opt for inserting a dummy S instead in order to shift the indefinite NP away from its sentence initial position of the English original. The English passive voice in the construction is preserved in both translations; however, with the insertion of the dummy S an impersonal passive construction is created, which is very seldom used in English (see Section 3.2.11). A similar situation is found in the next example:

- (4.7) Something flickered in her face and I thought at first she wouldn't answer me. (SG1)  
 Etwas zuckte über ihr Gesicht, und zuerst dachte ich, sie würde mir nicht antworten. (SG1TD)  
 Det gnistret til i ansiktet hennes, og jeg trodde ikke hun ville svare. (SG1TN)

The translation pattern of example 4.7 shows the insertion of a DS in Norwegian where the subjects in the English original and the German translation are both the undetermined unspecified pronouns *something* and *etwas*. The main semantic content is thus transferred via the verbs, i.e. *flicker* and *zucken*. Norwegian in this case opts for an agentless DSC type, which enables the agent to remain implicit (i.e. unspecified) and typically denotes agentless processes. The DSC type agentless processes is much less frequent in English and limited in its use (see Section 3.2.9)



All in all it can be concluded that dummy subjects are inserted in the translation material only in cases where a better alternative appears (such as a possibility of a DS construction that is not structurally possible in the English original), or if English full Ss contain indefinite rhematic information and carry weak or peripheral thematic roles.

### 4.2.3 Comparison of subject choices in the three languages

This section focuses on the comparison of all subject options found in the corpus material. From the quantitative data analysis so far it is evident that DSs are proportionally most frequent in Norwegian (83.7%), followed by English (78.9%) and least frequent in German (50.2%). Dummy subjects are preserved in 51.5% of cases in the Norwegian translation and in 35.8% of cases in the German translation. Norwegian (32.1%) more often than German (14.3%) inserts dummy subjects in the translation.

The situation with full Ss seems to be the opposite. Full Ss are proportionally most frequent in German (47.1%), followed by English (18.3%) and least frequent in Norwegian (14.8%). The basic patterns are indicated in Figure 4.1.

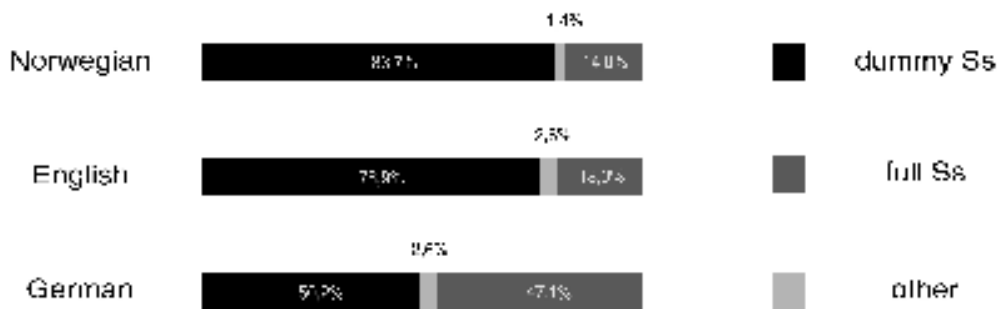


Figure 4.1: Types of subjects found in English originals and their Norwegian and German translations

If we look closely at what types of full Ss are found in the three investigated languages, it becomes evident that all the three languages prefer subjects with strong agentive roles. Strong ThR subjects were most frequent in Norwegian (63.5%) closely followed by German (58.7%) and English (58.2%). The situation with peripheral ThR subjects is quite the opposite. Weak ThR subjects were least frequent in Norwegian (8.3%) than in English (9%) and most frequent in German (11.8%). The proportional frequency of weak ThR subjects, or patient-proto subjects, was very similar in all the three investigated languages and oscillates around 30%. All frequencies are indicated in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: The frequency of full subjects and their thematic roles in the corpus material

Full Ss and their theta roles	English original		Norwegian translation		German translation	
	inst.	%	inst.	%	inst.	%
Strong: (PS, GS, ES)	142	58.2	143	63.5	320	58.7
Weak: (PpS)	73	30	63	28.1	176	32.2
Peripheral: (ES, TS, LS)	28	11.7	19	8.4	50	9
<b>Total:</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>99.9</b>	<b>546</b>	<b>99.9</b>

As far as the individual types of full Ss are concerned, there are minor differences between the investigated languages. The main tendencies remain similar. All the three languages seem to prefer strong agentive-like subjects, whereas subjects with low and peripheral roles are dispreferred. Personalized subjects are used in 40-50% of all cases in all the three languages. The second most frequent type of full Ss in the corpora are patient-proto subjects, which are used roughly in 30% of cases in all the investigated languages. The use of other types of full Ss is marginal in the corpus.

There are, however, some aspects in which the three languages differ. Firstly, it is the markedly higher preference in German for the insertion of generic subjects (11.9%) as compared to the other two languages. In contrast, English seems to favor Specifying subjects (5.3%) to Generic subjects (3.2%), which is the opposite tendency from the other two target languages.

The most interesting category is the use of locative subjects. English (6.7%) shows the highest preference for locative subjects. Norwegian locative subjects in presentational focus constructions should not be structurally allowed in presentational focus constructions (cf. Lødrup, 1999:217); nevertheless, locative subjects were found in the translations and occurred in 0.9% of instances. German locative subjects (2.5%) were used slightly less frequently than their English counterparts.

Temporal subjects rank markedly high in Norwegian (4.3%) as compared to the other two languages (1.3% in English and 2.3% in German). This is due to the fixed idiomatic expression *klokken er* which is highly recurrent in the material, and is used in the translation of prop dummy subjects (see Section 3.2.4 for comparison). Figure 4.2 shows the basic tendencies.

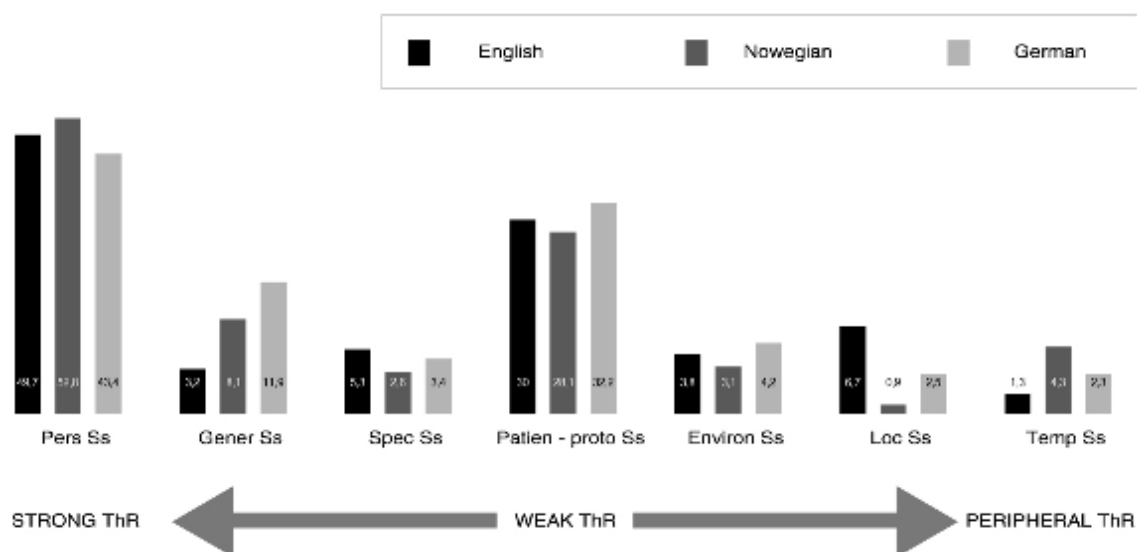


Figure 4.2: The proportional frequency of all types of full subjects found in the corpus material

### 4.3 Function and consistency of dummy subjects

As is evident from the findings, dummy subjects have a tendency to be preserved in the translation. All the three investigated languages more or less agree on the basic function and use of dummy subjects, although their frequency differs with respect to the other structural possibilities of the individual languages. From the overall findings we can conclude that dummy subjects are kept in translations unless structural constraints appear. Such structural constraints can appear on several levels. The following example illustrates the basic principle.

(4.8a) A drastic simplification was needed. (JL1)

The subject NP *a drastic simplification* of the English original sentence is an indefinite NP with strong pragmatic prominence. It carries new focal information and functions as a rheme of the sentence. Additionally, it ranks low in the hierarchy of theta roles and carries a weak theta role of a theme (i.e. an entity that is affected, experienced or perceived). As is well known, English has the strongest tolerance for weak and peripheral roles to be assigned to its subjects and its syntax is less sensitive to the FSP principles and the gradual rise of CD. Hawkins (1986:215) claims that

The absence of overt morphological case in English automatically reduces the expressive power of the morphology itself, freezes many word order options of

earlier English, creates more semantically diverse subjects and objects, and permits more raisings, extractions and deletions.

Such pragmatically strong and thematically weak subjects are avoided in both target languages. Neither Norwegian nor German translators opt for keeping such elements in subject positions and often insert either full or dummy Ss in order to fulfill the structural requirements of the sentence subjects (cf. also Lødrup, 1993). Let us now compare what the translation data reveal of the systemic preferences of the other two languages.

(4.8b) Wir mußten eine drastische Vereinfachung finden. (JL1TD)

German syntax, in contrast, can shift sentence elements more freely due to its case system and orders its elements according to their pragmatic prominence and the end-weight principle. Elements with weak or peripheral thematic roles are avoided as sentence subjects (cf. Rohdenburg, 1974; Leys 1979). As the German translation in 4.8b indicates, a full agentive S *wir* was inserted in the translation in order to avoid the placement of a rhematic subject with a low thematic role in the sentence initial subject position. German shows the greatest preference for semantically full Ss with weak pragmatic prominence and strong thematic roles. It also inserts full Ss most often in its translations (in 47.1% of all cases).

The Norwegian translator of the same sentence inserts a dummy subject into the sentence initial position and transforms the English original clause into an impersonal active DS construction. Norwegian is well known for its preference for dummy subjects (cf. Ebeling, 2000; Gundel, 2002), as it is one of the main structural resources in Norwegian (i) for avoiding subjects with low thematic roles, and (ii) for shifting subjects with high pragmatic prominence away from the sentence initial position, as in example 4.8c.

(4.8c) Det var behov for en drastisk forenkling av problemet (JL1TN).

Considering Baker's (1993) translation universals, i.e. explicitation, simplification and normalization, we can observe two basic tendencies in the translated material. Whereas German shows a greater tendency towards explicitation of its subjects (i.e. the insertion of anaphoric expressions or semantically full Ss in the translated texts, as in example 4.8b); Norwegian prefers simplification and normalization of its subjects in the translation and most often inserts dummy Ss, as in example 4.8c. The high frequency of dummy subject constructions and dummy subjects in the Norwegian material (both in the translations as well as in original texts; as shown in Section 4.5) can thus be explained by

the fact that constructions with dummy subjects often represent the easiest syntactic solutions and seem to be the usage norm in Norwegian.

With respect to the three-level analysis of dummy subjects, a three-level justification of the linguistic status and function of dummy subjects will follow (cf. Aareskjold, 1972, see also Chocholousova, 2007):

- (i) On the level of **Syntax**: The dummy pronoun inserted into the subject position satisfies the systemic need for a sentence subject. In this respect, a dummy subject is thus a mere slot filler, which does not influence the semantic meaning of a sentence, but still ensures the grammaticality of the expression.
- (ii) On the level of **Pragmatics**: Dummy subject constructions produce an end-weight effect. The dummy pronoun inserted into the subject position shifts the real or notional subject carrying new information towards the end of a sentence. At the same time, it ensures that the topological arrangement of the sentence word order follows the gradual rise of the communicative dynamism, or the FSP principle. In addition, dummy subjects play a crucial role in securing textual cohesion and the logical progression of the discourse.
- (iii) On the level of **Semantics**: Dummy subjects enable speakers to shift the perspective, and serve as a means of modeling the speaker's perception of reality. Dummy subject constructions thus contribute to the objectification and neutralization of the utterance. They enable speakers to withdraw the pragmatic and semantic responsibility of the agent-like logical subjects, and leave these implicit.

#### 4.4 Consistency of dummy subject constructions

So far we have focused on the level of consistency between the individual sentence subjects. This section is devoted to the agreement of the individual DSC patterns found in the corpora and to the consistency of dummy subject constructions within the three investigated languages. As the data analysis reveals, dummy subject constructions are not only related in their form, but also in their function, and often freely coexist in different contexts, as in the following example 4.9 where the presentative construction of

the English original is freely placed next to the impersonal passive construction in the German translation.

- (4.9) There was much feasting, playing, and sorrowing. (BO1)  
Es wurde viel gefeiert, gespielt und geklagt. (BO1TD)  
Vi festet, lekte og sørget mye. (BO1TN)

Individual DSC types are thus not exclusively limited to specific discourse situations or linguistic conditions. They are interrelated and coexist in different discourse contexts with similar linguistic functions, as proven by the translation patterns where one construction pattern is freely transformed into another, as in example 4.10.

- (4.10) What was needed was a Gaian model. (JL1)  
Man verlangte ein Modell von Gaia. (JL1TD)  
Det var behov for en modell for Gaia. (JL1TN)

The clefted clause of the English original is transformed into an impersonal active construction in the Norwegian translation. Individual DSC types freely interrelate in order to fulfill their main communicative function. As proven by the corpus findings, a single categorization based on the grammatical classification of the topological arrangements of the individual DSC patterns does not provide a sufficient theoretical framework for the investigation of DS constructions. There has to be an approach that equally involves the form and function in the investigation of DSC patterns.

As Leira (1970:58) concludes:

Such as the constructions are, I would claim they form one and the same construction type. What is like is like, and one should not construe differences where there are none.<sup>8</sup>

#### 4.5 Comparison of the findings

The frequencies reported above come from one translation material, i.e. from an English-Norwegian-German perspective. When comparing original and translated texts, one should always consider what type of influence the source language has upon the translation data. In an ideal case all translation data should be checked against a control corpus of original texts in order to eliminate cases with marked interference between the source and the target language (James, 1980:23). Such comparison is possible on the

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<sup>8</sup> Orig.: "Slik som setningene står, vil jeg si at det dreier seg om *en og samme* konstruksjon(stype). Det som er likt, *er likt*, og en bør ikke tolke ulikheter *inn* dit hvor der ikke er noen."

basis of the preliminary study of dummy subjects in the Norwegian original texts (Chocholousova, 2007). This section thus briefly compares the present findings to the results from the opposite translation direction, i.e. from an Norwegian-English-German perspective.

The translation data cannot be expected to match completely. I will thus only comment on the basic tendencies found in the comparison of both English-Norwegian-German and Norwegian-English-German texts. There are some systematic relationships that seem to match. Norwegian dummy subjects are by far most frequent in use both in the Norwegian originals, as well as in the Norwegian translations. Table 4.4 presents the frequencies in exact figures.

Table 4.4: The ratio of dummy subjects found in translation from English and Norwegian originals

<b>English-Norwegian-German perspective</b>	<b>English original</b>	<b>Norwegian Translation</b>	<b>German Translation</b>
Total number of investigated sentences	1,323	1,520	1,160
Total number of instances of dummy S	1,045	1,273	583
<b>The occurrences of dummy S per 10,000 words</b>	<b>24.16</b>	<b>28.74</b>	<b>15.92</b>
Total number of instances of dummy S in %	78.9%	83.7%	50.2%
<b>Norwegian - English -German perspective</b>	<b>English Translation</b>	<b>Norwegian original</b>	<b>German Translation</b>
Total number of investigated sentences	927	954	849
Total number of instances of dummy S	537	837	472
<b>The occurrences of dummy S per 10,000 words</b>	<b>17.54</b>	<b>28.93</b>	<b>16.28</b>
Total number of instances of dummy S in %	57.9%	87.7%	55.5%

In translations from the Norwegian originals (87.7%), both German (55.5%) and English (57.9%) translations contain much less dummy subjects. As the qualitative analysis revealed, most of the DSC types found in the Norwegian originals cannot be preserved in translation. Especially English, but to some extent also German, cannot keep some of the DSs from the Norwegian originals due to the structural differences between the investigated languages. This especially concerns impersonal active, impersonal passive constructions and agentless processes.

In the opposite direction, i.e. in the translation from the English originals, most of the DSs found in English original texts (78.9%) are preserved especially in the translation into Norwegian (83.7%) where even more DSs are inserted (32.1%). The Norwegian category of dummy subjects thus seems to be more flexible in use as compared to English. German generally uses much less DSCs in both translation directions (50.2% and 55.5%); it seems to generally prefer other solutions. The greatest number of DSs is replaced by full Ss in German, which also often shifts the syntactic ordering of the original clause in order to better follow the gradual progression of CD, and most often

restructures the sentence constituents and merges several constructions in complex clauses.

Dummy subjects in the English originals (with their 24.16 occurrences per 10,000) are more frequent than dummy subjects in the English translations (with 17.54 occurrences per 10,000). English is not able to preserve all DSC types coming from the Norwegian original texts, and thus inserts proportionally more full Ss in the translation as compared to their frequency in the original texts. The frequency of Norwegian DSs is similar in both original texts (with 28.93 occurrences per 10,000) and translations coming from the English originals (with 28.74 occurrences per 10,000). The proportional usage of German dummy Ss is slightly higher in translations from English (with 16.28 occurrences per 10,000) than in translations from Norwegian (with 15.95 occurrences per 10,000). In both translation directions, German inserts slightly more full Ss in the translation from English (47.1%) than in translation from Norwegian (38.7%).

Where dummy Ss cannot be kept in the translations, full Ss are inserted in both translation directions. As Norwegian DS constructions can cover most of the DSC types coming from the English originals (88.7%), least full Ss are inserted in Norwegian translations (11.2%). Norwegian DSs are thus not only more frequent in use, but also much more versatile in their application. From the qualitative analysis of the data in both translation directions, it is evident that English allows more peripheral roles to be assigned to its subjects (see Section 4.2.2). German mostly prefers subjects with central thematic roles, and Norwegian most frequently opts for dummy subjects. Although the English translations are not able to keep all the Norwegian DSs (35.7% of DSCs in the Norwegian originals are replaced by full Ss in English translations), the individual subject choices mostly follow similar patterns in all three of the investigated languages. The differences in question are a matter of proportions rather than systemic diversity.



## 5. Summary and Conclusion

The analysis starts with a brief introduction to the topic of dummy subjects and dummy subject constructions. The main linguistic accounts on the topic are introduced in Chapter 1 together with a justification of the present study. Chapter 2 presents the methodological foundation as well as the theoretical background for the present study, introduces the corpus material, and defines limits as well as aims of the present investigation. The real data samples are analyzed in Chapter 3 which focuses on the overall frequencies of dummy subjects, and analyzes the individual types of DSCs together with their translation equivalents. The individual subject choices are discussed in Chapter 4, where all the major translation patterns are discussed and analyzed in terms of their correspondence and consistency. All the substantial findings are summarized in Chapter 5.

The preliminary expectations have been confirmed by the data analyzed in this study. Norwegian dummy subjects were much more frequent in use than both their English and German counterparts (cf. also Ebeling, 2000; Gundel, 2002). Dummy subjects occurred 1.2 times more frequently in Norwegian translations as compared to the English originals and 1.8 times more frequently as compared to German translations. English original texts contain 24.16 DSs per 10,000 words, whereas they occur 28.74 times per 10,000 words in the Norwegian translations and 15.92 times per 10,000 words in the German translations.

The level of subject consistency is slightly higher between English and Norwegian where congruent translations occur in 51.5% of all cases. German only keeps 35.8% of dummy subjects in the translations. Subject consistency is thus somewhat lower between English and German than between English and Norwegian. Norwegian also inserts more dummy subjects in its translations (32.1%) than German (14.3%) does. Norwegian dummy subjects thus are not only more frequent in their use but also more flexible in their application.

If no structural or functional constraints appear, dummy subjects tend to be preserved in the translation. The results of the present analysis show that subject consistency is determined by several factors. On the level of syntax it is the grammatical possibilities in a given language; on the level of pragmatics it is the information structure; and last but not least, it is the distribution of thematic roles within a sentence on the level

of semantics. The motivating factors for subject selections thus differ in degree depending on the individual language systems.

Thematically low indefinite subjects found in the English original texts were often replaced in the translations. Both Norwegian and German translators often shift sentence subjects in their translations where the English original construction contains indefinite rhematic NPs with weak or peripheral thematic roles in the subject position. German generally prefers the insertion of thematically strong full Ss in the translation material, whereas Norwegian most frequently opts for the insertion of dummy Ss.

English syntax is least sensitive to the hierarchy of theta roles, as well as to the FSP principles. German syntax, in contrast, shifts its sentence elements more freely and closely follows the gradual rise of CD within the translated clause. Norwegian stands half way in between English and German, and often inserts dummy subjects in order to shift rhematic or focal expressions away from sentence initial position, as well as to avoid the use of subjects with weak or peripheral thematic roles (cf. Lødrup, 1993). We can thus conclude that the reason for such a high frequency of dummy subjects in Norwegian is the fact that they are used for structural purposes in order to shift rhematic subjects with weak thematic roles away from the sentence-initial position.

Two basic types of subject changes were identified: (i) insertion of a deictic or anaphoric subject, and (ii) promotion of a non-subject element of a clause into the subject position (cf. Johansson, 2004). Where full Ss were inserted, subjects with strong thematic roles were usually preferred. In most cases the subjects tend to be preserved in the translations and the level of subject consistency on average is 43.6% in both translated languages (cf. Hasselgård, 2004 & Johansson, 2005). The difference between the investigated languages and their subject choices, as revealed by the contrastive analysis, is thus matter of instantiation rather than the system.

All in all, 14 dummy subject construction types were analyzed in the material containing both *it* and *there* as their dummy subjects. Most of the DSC types identified in the present study do not form a separate linguistic category in the major reference grammars (cf. Biber et al., 1999; Quirk et al. 1985; Faarlund et al. 1997 and Helbig & Buscha, 1980). As proven by the corpus findings, a single categorization based on the grammatical classification of the topological arrangements of the individual DSC patterns does not provide a sufficient theoretical framework for the investigation of DS constructions. The data analysis reveals that the individual dummy subject constructions are not only interrelated in their function but also in their form. It seems that Fretheim's

(1977:141ff. and 167f.) prediction of ‘syntactic conversion’ of dummy subject constructions and their ‘analogical shift’ into new DS categories was confirmed by the results of the present study.

So far, three basic functions of dummy subjects have been identified. First, it is their function as syntactic slot-fillers on the level of grammar. Second, it is their topological function in shifting rhematic expressions away from sentence initial position on the level of information structure. Third, it is the semantic function of dummy subjects in avoiding thematically weak and peripheral elements to be used as sentence subjects. Last but not least, dummy subjects play an important role in securing the textual cohesion. The detailed analysis of the cohesive function of dummy subject constructions in the discourse context would be the next logical step to make in the investigation of the linguistic status of dummy subjects.

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## Appendix 1: List of primary sources

Title	Author/Translator	Publisher	Place, Year	Code
Latecomers	Anita Brookner	Jonathan Cape	London 1988	ab1
Nachzügler	Edith Walter	Peter Zsolnay Verlag	Wien 1991	ab1td
Etternølere	Mette-Cathrine Jahr	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1990	ab1tn
The Wall of the Plauge	André Brink	Flamingo/Fontana Paperbacks	London 1985	abr1
Die Pestmauer	Werner Peterich	Kiepenheuer & Witsch	Köln 1984	abr1td
Pestens mur	Per Malde	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1984	abr1tn
Strong Medicine	Arthur Hailey	Michael Joseph Ltd	London 1984	ah1
Bittere Medizin	Charlotte Franke	Ullstein	Frankfurt am Main 1993	ah1td
Sterk medisin	Axel S. Seeberg	Dreyers Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	ah1tn
The Accidental Tourist	Anne Tyler	Alfred A. Knopf	New York 1985	at1
Die Reisen des Mr. Leary	N/A	Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag	Frankfurt am Main 1991	at1td
Tilfeldig turist	Bodil Roald	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1986	at1tn
Utz	Bruce Chatwin	Jonathan Cape	London 1988	bc1
Utz	N/A	Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag	Frankfurt am Main 1996	bc1td
Utz	Aud Greiff	Aschehoug	Oslo 1989	bc1tn
The Famished Road	Ben Okri	Jonathan Cape	London 1991	bo1
Die hungrige Strasse	Uli Wittmann	Kiepenheuer & Witsch	Köln 1994	bo1td
Den sultne veien	Mona Lange	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1993	bo1tn
Cosmos	Carl Sagan	Wings Books	Avenel, NJ 1995	csa1
Unser Kosmos	Siglinde Summerer and Gerda Kurz	Droemersche Verlagsanstalt Th. Knaur Nachf.	München 1982	csa1td
Kosmos	Finn B. Larsen	Universitetsforlaget AS	Oslo 1981	csa1tn
The Fifth Child	Doris Lessing	Jonathan Cape	London 1988	dl1
Das fünfte Kind	N/A	Hoffmann und Campe Verlag	Hamburg 1988	dl1td
Det femte barnet	Bodil Roald	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	dl1tn
The Good Terrorist	Doris Lessing	Jonathan Cape	London 1985	dl2
Die Terroristin	Manfred Ohl and Hans Sartorius	Fischer Verlag	Frankfurt a.M. 1986	dl2td
Den gode terroristen	Kia Halling	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1985	dl2tn
The Fourth Protocol	Frederick Forsyth	Hutchinson	London 1984	ff1
Das vierte Protokoll	Rolf & Hedda Soellner	R.Piper GmbH & Co. KG	München 1984	ff1td
Den fjerde protokoll	Gerd Hoff	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1984	ff1tn
The Heart of the Country	Fay Weldon	Hutchinson	London 1987	fw1
Kein Wunder, daß Harry sündigte	Sabine Hedinger	Frauenbuchverlag	Kösel 1989	fw1td
Landets hjerte	Wivi Aase	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag A/S	Oslo 1988	fw1tn
Ship of gold in the deep blue sea	Gary Kinder	The Atlantic Monthly Press	New York 1998	gk1
Das Goldschiff	Elke Hosfeld, Thomas Pfeiffer and Helmut	Piper Verlag	München 1999	gk1td

	Dierlamm			
Gullskipet	Per Malde	Aschehoug	Oslo 1999	<a href="#">gk1tn</a>
The Women of Brewster Place	Gloria Naylor	Hodder & Stoughton	London 1980	<a href="#">gn1</a>
Die Frauen von Brewster Place	Sibylle Koch-Grünberg	Droemersche Verlagsanstalt Th. Knaur Nachf	München 1996	<a href="#">gn1td</a>
Kvinnene på Brewster Place	Mona Lange	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1982	<a href="#">gn1tn</a>
Talking It Over	Julian Barnes	Jonathan Cape	London 1991	<a href="#">jb1</a>
Darüber reden	Gertraude Krueger	Haffmans	Zürich 1992	<a href="#">jb1td</a>
En trekanthistorie	Knut Ofstad	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1993	<a href="#">jb1tn</a>
Picture This	Joseph Heller	G. P. Putnam's Sons	New York 1988	<a href="#">jh1</a>
Rembrandt var 47 und sah dem Ruin ins Gesicht	Lutz-W. Wolff	C. Bertelsmann Verlag	München 1989	<a href="#">jh1td</a>
Se det	Kari and Kjell Risvik	J. W. Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	<a href="#">jh1tn</a>
The Ages of Gaia - A Biography of Our Living Earth	James Lovelock	Oxford University Press	Oxford 1988	<a href="#">jl1</a>
Das Gaia-Prinzip	Peter Gillhofer and Barbara Müller	Artemis & Winkler Verlag	Zürich 1991	<a href="#">jl1td</a>
GAIA Vår levende jord	Svein Borgen	Dreyers Forlag AS	Oslo 1990	<a href="#">jl1tn</a>
A Thousand Acres	Jane Smiley	Flamingo HarperCollins	London 1991	<a href="#">jsm1</a>
Tausend Morgen	Hannah Harders	S. Fischer Verlag	Frankfurt/Main 1992	<a href="#">jsm1td</a>
Fire tusen mål	Anne Elligers	J.W.Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1992	<a href="#">jsm1tn</a>
Cat's Eye	Margaret Atwood	McClelland and Stewart	Toronto 1988	<a href="#">ma1</a>
Katzenauge	Charlotte Franke	S. Fischer Verlag GmbH	Frankfurt am Main 1991	<a href="#">ma1td</a>
Katteøyet	Inger Gjelsvik	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1989	<a href="#">ma1tn</a>
Goodnight Mister Tom	Michelle Magorian	Puffin Books	London 1981	<a href="#">mm1</a>
Der Junge aus London	N/A	Boje-Verlag	Stuttgart 1982	<a href="#">mm1td</a>
Godnatt Mister Tom	Ole Skau Jakobsen	Den norske Bokklubben AS	Oslo 1990	<a href="#">mm1tn</a>
The Scold's Bridle	Minette Walters	Pan Books/Macmillan General Books	London 1994	<a href="#">mw1</a>
Die Schandmasche	N/A	Goldmann Verlag	München 1996	<a href="#">mw1td</a>
Kjerringbissel	Jorunn Carlsen	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag A/S	Oslo 1995	<a href="#">mw1tn</a>
My Son's Story	Nadine Gordimer	Penguin Books	London 1991	<a href="#">ng1</a>
Die Geschichte meines Sohnes	Stefanie Schaffer-de Vries	Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag	Frankfurt am Main 1995	<a href="#">ng1td</a>
Min sønns historie	Karin Bang	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1991	<a href="#">ng1tn</a>
The Man who Mistook his Wife for a Hat	Oliver Sacks	Pan Books Picador	London 1985	<a href="#">os1</a>
Der Mann, der seine Frau mit einem Hut verwechselte	Dirk van Gunsteren	Rowohlt	Reinbek bei Hamburg 1987	<a href="#">os1td</a>
Mannen som forvekslet kona med en hatt	Rolf Behn Gulliksen	J. W. Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1987	<a href="#">os1tn</a>
Devices and Desires	P.D. James	Faber & Faber Ltd	London 1989	<a href="#">pdj3</a>
Vorsatz und Begierde	Georg Auerbach and Gisela Stege	Droemer Knaur	München 1990	<a href="#">pdj3td</a>

Intriger og begjær	Aud Greiff	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1990	<a href="#">pdj3tn</a>
A Year in Provence	Peter Mayle	Hamish Hamilton	London 1989	<a href="#">pml</a>
Mein Jahr in der Provence	Gerhard Beckmann	Droemer Knaur	München 1992	<a href="#">pmltd</a>
Et år i Provence	Ragnar Wold	Kolibri Forlag	Oslo 1992	<a href="#">pmltn</a>
Matilda	Roald Dahl	Puffin Books	London 1988	<a href="#">rdl</a>
Matilda	Sybil Gräfin Schönfeldt	Wunderlich (Rowohlt)	Reinbeck bei Hamburg 1989	<a href="#">rdltd</a>
Matilda	Tor Edvin Dahl	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1989	<a href="#">rdltn</a>
Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha	Roddy Doyle	Secker & Warburg	London 1993	<a href="#">rdol</a>
Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha	N/A	Fischer	Frankfurt am Main 1994	<a href="#">rdoltd</a>
Paddy Clarke Ha ha ha	Bjørn Alex Herrman	J. W. Cappelens Forlag AS	Oslo 1994	<a href="#">rdoltn</a>
Iron John. A Book About Men	Robert Bly	Addison-Wesley Publishing Company	Reading, Mass. 1990	<a href="#">robl</a>
Eisenhans	Ulrike Wasel and Klaus Timmermann	Kindler Verlag	München 1991	<a href="#">robltd</a>
Mannen	Espen Haavardsholm	Gyldendal Norsk Forlag	Oslo 1992	<a href="#">robltn</a>
Kissing the Gunner's Daughter	Ruth Rendell	Hutchinson	London 1992	<a href="#">rrl</a>
Eine entwaffnende Frau	Christian Spiel	Blanvalet Verlag	München 1993	<a href="#">rrltd</a>
Brent barn - Et nytt Wexford-mysterium	Birgit Tønnesen	Aschehoug H & Co (W Nygaard) AS	Oslo 1993	<a href="#">rrltn</a>
"D" is for Deadbeat	Sue Grafton	Pan Books Ltd	London 1990	<a href="#">sgl</a>
D wie Drohung	Dagmar Hartmann	Ullstein	Frankfurt am Main, Berlin 1989	<a href="#">sgltd</a>
"D" for druknet	Isak Rogde	Tiden Norsk Forlag AS	Oslo 1993	<a href="#">sgltn</a>
Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes	Stephen Jay Gould	W. W. Norton & Company	New York 1983	<a href="#">sjgl</a>
Wie das Zebra zu seinen Streifen kommt	Stephen Cappellari	Suhrkamp	Frankfurt am Main 1991	<a href="#">sjgltd</a>
Hønsetenner og hestetær	Knut Johansen	J. W. Cappelens Forlag AS	Otta 1995	<a href="#">sjgltn</a>
Cujo	Stephen King	Penguin Books USA Inc.	New York 1981	<a href="#">skl</a>
Cujo	Harro Christensen	Bastei Lübbe	Bergisch Gladbach 1983	<a href="#">skltd</a>
Faresonen	Jan Nergaard	Hjemmets Bokforlag AS	Oslo 1983	<a href="#">skltn</a>
The Queen and I	Sue Townsend	Methuen	London 1992	<a href="#">stl</a>
Die Queen und ich	Barbara Reitz, Ursula Wulfekamp	Goldmann Verlag	München 1993	<a href="#">stltd</a>
Dronninga og jeg	Dag Heyerdahl Larsen	Cappelen J W Forlag AS	Oslo 1993	<a href="#">stltn</a>
Brazzaville Beach	William Boyd	Sinclair-Stevenson	London 1990	<a href="#">wbl</a>
Brazzaville Beach	Gertraude Krueger	Rowohlt	Reinbek bei Hamburg 1993	<a href="#">wbltd</a>
Brazzaville Beach	Stig Aspaas	Hjemmets Bokforlag A/S	N/A 1992	<a href="#">wbltn</a>