To the very end

A contrastive study of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish translations

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Anna Elgemark

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Abstract

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Author: Anna Elgemark
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The present study is an explorative, corpus-based contrastive study of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish original texts, as well as translations between the two languages. The aim is twofold, to describe the N-Rheme in English and Swedish Fiction and Popular Science texts, and to examine translation correspondences, and lack of correspondences, between English and Swedish N-Rhemes.

The first part of the investigation shows that N-Rhemes are very similar in the two languages and the two text types. The main differences are to a great extent related to word order differences between the two languages, e.g. the V2-constraint in Swedish and Subject prominence in English. However, word order is not the only explanation. Frequently, there is interplay between word order and information structure, as Swedish is more backwards-oriented and seems to follow the principle of end-weight more strictly than English.

The analysis of the translation (non)-correspondences: *Full Match, Reformulation, Movement* and *Restructuring* shows that more translation changes occur in the translations into English. Reformulations are most frequent and typically result in unit shifts, function shifts and explicitness changes. Furthermore, the results show that English and Swedish clearly have different clause structure preferences. English favours hypotactic structures where Swedish has paratactic structures, which is reflected in the translations. In the translations into Swedish, clauses are frequently split, resulting in T-units that are informationally less dense, whereas in the translations into English, clauses are merged, resulting in informationally denser clauses. When information density is increased or decreased, this frequently results in explicitness changes. Finally, many of the translation changes could be seen as related to the character of the N-Rheme. N-Rhemes are often long and complex, and present newsworthy information. The longer the N-Rheme, the more information that potentially could be changed in the translation process. The great number of Reformulations and Restructurings reflects how translation changes occur with a purpose to ascertain that the goals of the texts are preserved, and even made clearer in the translation.

KEY WORDS: N-Rheme, English, Swedish, contrastive, corpus-based, translation, parallel corpus, Systemic Functional Linguistics, information structure, information density, Rheme, Theme, transitivity, translation strategies, explicitation, fiction, popular science

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Mölndal, 2016

Anna Elgemark

Abbreviations and symbols

AdjP	adjective phrase
AdvP	adverb phrase
AS	Adverbial, Subject
ASAVA	Adverbial, Subject, Adverbial, Verb, Adverbial
ASV	Adverbial, Subject, Verb
AVAS	Adverbial, Verb, Adverbial, Subject
AVS	Adverbial, Verb, Subject
EO	English original text
ESPC	English-Swedish Parallel Corpus
ET	English translation
FM	Full Match
NP	noun phrase
n.s	not significant
Pop. Sc.	Popular Science text
PP	prepositional phrase
RP	Rhematic progression
SA	Subject, Adverbial
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SL	Source Language
SO	Swedish original text
S.s.	Statistical significance
ST	Swedish translation
SVO	Subject, Verb, Object
TL	Target Language
TP	Thematic progression
V2	verb second
VP	verb phrase

All examples from the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus are presented with an identification code based on the text and the number of the T-unit in that specific text, e.g. MA1:24. If the example is a translation, a *t* is added, as in MA1:24t.

N-Rhemes are marked in bold type in all examples from chapter 3 onwards. In the non-equivalent examples, the Swedish examples are usually followed by a literal translation. In some cases, this only applies to a part of the example, the part that is the focus of the discussion.

Initial capital letters are used for the functions N-Rheme, Rheme, Theme, New, Given, as well as for all syntactic functions, e.g. Subject, Verb, and the roles in transitivity, e.g. Actor, Circumstance, and Place.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background

This is a corpus-based contrastive study of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish Fiction and Popular Science texts. More specifically, it is a study of the characteristics of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish texts, and of translation correspondences of N-Rhemes in translations between the two languages. The term N-Rheme was first introduced by Fries (1992a; 1992b), and refers to the last constituent that has a function in the clause. The N in N-Rheme is short for New as this constituent often contains newsworthy information, information that is the focus of the message (1992b:339). This does not necessarily mean that the information is new to the reader; it is only presented as being newsworthy (Fries 1992a:464), which is an important distinction. Thus, in the following example, *yesterday* is the N-Rheme:

(1) John left early **yesterday.**[1] (Fries 1992b:336)

Previous studies of N-Rhemes largely originate within the framework of Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and what is referred to as the textual metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). The textual metafunction focuses on the text as message, i.e. the way in which every clause has an organization that contributes to the flow of discourse (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:88). Halliday & Matthiessen refer to this organization as thematic structure, borrowing the terms Theme and Rheme from the Prague School linguists (see e.g. Firbas 1966; 1992a; 1992b). The Theme is 'the point of departure', which is combined with the Rheme, 'the remainder of the clause', to constitute a message (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:89). The Theme has been chosen as the starting point by the speaker to enable the processing of the rest of the message. Consequently, the Theme always precedes the Rheme (2014:89). In (1) above, *They* is Theme and the rest of the clause is Rheme.

The Theme in English has been extensively researched, whereas the Rheme has not received similar attention. A most likely reason for this is that the definitions of Rheme usually are very inclusive and therefore difficult to apply in textual analysis. To solve this problem, Fries (1992a; 1992b) suggested it would be useful to have a term equivalent to the Theme but referring to the last constituent of the clause. Thus,

[1] All N-Rhemes are highlighted in bold type.

he coined the term N-Rheme. See the bold marked constituent in (1) above. The limitation of the Rheme to the N-Rheme does not only make textual analysis more manageable. It can also be motivated from the point of view that clause-final position is the unmarked position of New information and therefore likely to have certain specific discourse features (see e.g. Fries 1992ab, 1994, 1995b, 2004; Martin 1992; McCabe 1999; Cummings 2005 and Herriman 2011). As there is little research on N-Rhemes in actual language, the present study sets out to explore the characteristics of N-Rhemes contrastively in English and Swedish original texts by comparing the grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity[2] of N-Rhemes in the two languages.

Swedish and English are two largely similar languages, but there are some word order differences between the two languages that might affect what is placed as N-Rheme. One example is the V2 constraint in Swedish where only one clause element can precede the finite verb (Holmes & Hinchcliffe 1994). This is in contrast to English, which allows several clause elements before the finite verb, of which one is always the Subject (Quirk et al. 1985:724).[3] In addition, the two languages have different preferences regarding the placement of Adverbials (see e.g. Lindquist 1989; Altenberg 1998; Erman 2000; Svensson 2000ab). All these differences are illustrated in (2):

2a) and in discussion, in daily responses, *a way they wanted to live* timidly <u>evolved</u> **between them**. (NG1:118)	2b) och ur samtalen, ur deras vardagliga reaktioner, <u>utkristalliserades</u> blygt **emellan dem** *en uppfattning om hur de ville leva sitt liv.* (NG1:118t) *'And in discussion, in daily responses, evolved timidly between them a way they wanted to live.'*

In (2), both the English original text and the Swedish translation start with an Adverbial. In the Swedish translation (2b), the Adverbial is followed by the finite verb *utkristalliserades* due to the V2 constraint, whereas the Subject *a way the wanted to live* is placed immediately to the right of the Adverbial in (2a). So, while the finite verb comes in second position in (2b), there is a Subject, as well as another Adverbial, *timidly*, before the finite verb *evolved* in (2a). In contrast, the Subject is placed clause-finally, as N-Rheme, in (2b), preceded by two Adverbials, *blygt/timidly* and *emellan dem/between them*, of which the last is the N-Rheme in (2a). Consequently, there is a different order of the constituents in the two examples, ASAVA in (2a) and AVAAS in (2b)[4], and also different N-Rhemes. If what is placed as N-Rheme to some extent

[2] As used in SFL.

[3] This applies to declarative clauses.

[4] See list of Abbreviations

differ between the two languages, as is the case in (2) above, there might also be differences in the overall textual organization between the two languages.

Furthermore, previous contrastive research on English and Swedish information structure (see e.g. Erman 2000; Bäckström 2004; Herriman 2013) have highlighted that there might be differences in the way the two languages follow the 'information principle', i.e. given information tend to be presented before new information (Quirk et al. 1985:1357), and the 'principle of end-weight', i.e. heavy constructions tend to be placed at the end of the clause (Quirk et al. 1985:1357f). These studies have found indications that Swedish follow the information principle and principle of end-weight more strictly than English. This results in a more frequent use of fronted light elements such as *det* (*it*) in Swedish to postpone heavy information to the Rheme (3), as well as a more widespread use of fronted Adverbials (4), Objects (5) and Complements (6):

(3a) *Det* var en av de där dagarna då ljuset flämtade till lite vid horisonten bara, och sedan försvann. (AP1:1)	**(3b)** *It* was one of those days when the light flickered only slightly on the horizon, then vanished. (AP1:1t)
(4a) *Innanför öronmusslorna* sitter balans-organen (PCJ1:119)	**(4b)** *Deep inside the ears* lie the organs of equilibrium (PCJ1:119t)
(5a) *Solhjälmen* behöll han hela tiden på. (LH1:52) *'His topee kept he all the time on.'*	**(5b)** He did not remove *his topee*. (LH1:52t)
(6a) *Sådan* är han ju (AP1:167) [5] *'Like that is he, right'*	**(6b)** He is *like that* (AP1:167t)

Erman (2000:118) suggests that this usage is caused by a greater need to make explicit links to the preceding discourse, indicating that Swedish is more backwards oriented compared to English. If so, this might affect the textual organisation in the two languages, and consequently, what is placed as N-Rheme.

In this study, I attempt to integrate contrastive linguistics and translation theory in the analysis of N-Rhemes. There has been some criticism that the two perspectives rarely are integrated, see e.g. Korzen & Gylling (2012:23). Translation studies have their primary focus on the relation between texts, whereas contrastive linguistics focus on language systems and the systematic differences between languages. However, Teich (2001:218) has advocated an integration of the two

[5] In (6a), *han* is the last constituent that plays a function in transitivity in the clause. However, this constituent is followed by an interpersonal element, *ju*, which is also part of the N-Rheme. This will be further discussed in section 3.4.

perspectives, highlighting that 'texts are instantiations of language systems, their grammars and their semantics, according to particular contextual requirements. So, the two perspectives are actually complementary'. Thus, the present study aims to increase our knowledge about contrastive differences between English and Swedish texts as regards textual structure, by analysing original texts in the two languages as well as translations between the two languages. Possibly, the analysis of translation correspondences and non-correspondences of N-Rhemes can reveal contrastive differences that are not found in the analysis of original language. Furthermore, the analysis of the translations could give insights into the effects of the translation process on the textual structure of English and Swedish translated texts.

In the translation process, there are a number of factors that affect the final translation product. The most obvious factor is the typological differences between the languages involved, as exemplified in (2) above, but other factors such as text type constraints (see e.g. Newmark 1988) and translation norms (see e.g. Toury 1995; Schäffner 1999) are also important. These constraints could in turn have an effect on the textual organisation of translated text. This has been the focus of previous studies of Theme and sentence openings in translations between English and Swedish (Erman 2000) and English and Norwegian (Hasselgård 1996, 1997, 1998, 2004abc, 2005). In these studies, the results indicate that about half of the Themes have been changed in the translation process. The proportions were somewhat higher in the translations from Swedish and Norwegian into English than vice versa (Erman 2000; Hasselgård 2004a:207). In view of this, a similar investigation of N-Rhemes in translations between English and Swedish could increase our knowledge about the textual structure of the two languages, as well as contrastive differences and translation-related phenomena. This leads to the specific aim and research questions that will be presented in section 1.2.

1.2 Aims

The present study is an explorative corpus-based contrastive study of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish Fiction and Popular Science texts. The aim is to describe the N-Rheme in English and Swedish Fiction and Popular Science texts, as well as to examine translation correspondences, and lack of correspondences, between English and Swedish N-Rhemes. In accordance with this aim, the following research questions will be addressed:

- ✓ What are the typical formal, syntactic and semantic properties of N-Rhemes in original English and Swedish texts? Do they differ in Fiction and Popular Science texts?

- ✓ How have N-Rhemes been translated? To what extent is there correspondence between N-Rhemes in English and Swedish? What changes have been made? What translation strategies have been involved?

The analysis is both quantitative and qualitative. The first questions are addressed by exploring N-Rhemes contrastively in English and Swedish original texts, Fiction as well as Popular Science texts. This exploration will form a foundation upon which the translation correspondences, or lack of correspondences, of N-Rhemes will be interpreted. The classification into translation correspondences is inspired by Hasselgård (1996, 1997). The translation changes are also further analysed according to Chesterman's (1997) textual strategies (syntactic, semantic and pragmatic).

In addition, one might be tempted to ask the question why; why has an equivalent structure been chosen in the translation, or why has there been a translation change? However, in the cases where we cannot account for a clear typological difference as the cause of a translation change, it is only possible to speculate. As Steiner (2004:6) argues, it is often necessary to go behind the final translation to reveal the causes of translations. This is not possible within the scope of this research project as I do not have access to the translators' reasoning. Therefore, the present analysis takes its starting point in the actual translation product, in the text and 'the traces which the process leaves in the text' (Steiner 2004:6).

1.3 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background, taking its starting point in the three metafunctions of language as discussed in SFL. Then, the topic is narrowed down to different definitions of Rheme as well as previous research on Rhemes in English and Swedish. Relevant contrastive research on English and Swedish will also be presented. Finally, the chapter ends with a presentation of translation strategies. In chapter 3, the corpus investigation and all the methodological considerations regarding the actual analysis are discussed. Next, chapter 4 presents a formal, syntactic and semantic profile of N-Rhemes in original English and Swedish texts. Following this, chapter 5 is a quantitative presentation of the translation correspondences, which are then further analysed in chapter 6-9. Chapter 6 presents N-Rhemes translated as Full Match, i.e. when there is formal, syntactic and semantic correspondence between English and Swedish N-Rhemes in the translations. Attention will also be given to the most significant differences. Furthermore, in chapter 7-9, three different types of translation changes: Reformulation, Movement and Restructuring are analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Finally, the main results are summarized and concluded in chapter 10.

2 Theoretical background

The aim of this chapter is to present the theoretical background to the study, as well as an overview of previous research on N-Rhemes and contrastive studies of English and Swedish of particular relevance for this study. The chapter begins with a presentation of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the three metafunctions of language. Section 2.2 discusses different approaches to information structure in the clause. Next, section 2.3 presents different definitions of Rheme and delimits the object of study to the N-Rheme. This is followed by previous research on N-Rhemes in English and Swedish, and contrastive research on the two languages relevant for the present study. Finally, the chapter ends with a presentation of translation strategies and typical features of translation in 2.6.

2.1 Systemic functional linguistics

The present study is situated within the theoretical framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). In SFL, the clause is seen as a unit where three different types of meanings are combined to create a message (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:88). These three meanings are also referred to as the three metafunctions of language: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual.[6] These are three distinct structures, each expressing one kind of semantic organization, equally contributing to the meaning of the message as a whole (Thompson 2004:30). The three metafunctions interact with each other, affecting the choices we make and the language being used. The ideational metafunction refers to how language construes human experience; it is divided into the experiential and the logical function. The experiential refers to how every message is about something: a process, the participant/s involved in the process and the circumstances. This is also described as the system of TRANSITIVITY (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:212-3). Furthermore, language is also used to interact with other people; it is interpersonal. Finally, successful communication also depends on how we 'build up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:31). This is the enabling or facilitating function of language, what is referred to as the textual metafunction. The three metafunctions are simultaneously at play within the clause. In the typical, unmarked English declarative clause, 'Theme, Subject and Actor are conflated into a single element' (Halliday & Mathhiessen 2014:82), as is illustrated in (1):

[6] For a comprehensive overview of SFL and the three metafunctions of language see Halliday and Matthiessen (2014).

(1) *I* caught the first ball.

The present study is primarily concerned with the textual metafunction and the meanings that give the clause its character as a message (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:65). In other words, this means that every clause is organized in a way that contributes to the flow of discourse. In English and Swedish, as well as in many other languages, this flow of discourse is created by giving special status to one part of the clause. This part is the Theme, which is combined with the remainder, the Rheme, so that the two parts together constitute a message (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:88). This is illustrated in (1) and (2) where *I* and *Jag* function as Theme and the rest of the clauses as Rheme:

(2) *I* wasn't expecting to see her (MA1:117)

(3) *Jag* har beslutat att ta er med (LH1:93)
'I have decided to take you along'

In the organization of text as message, the ordering of the Theme and the Rheme, is, to some extent, a matter of choice. The choice is motivated by the intended function. Thus, placing an expression at the end of a sentence, as N-Rheme (the last experiential element in the clause, see section 2.3), expresses a slightly different meaning from placing it at the beginning, as Theme. The order of information can be changed for certain purposes, e.g. to express contrast or emphasis. Consider example (4):

(4a) *On Omaha Beach*, the Americans had to fight their way off the beach yard by yard, **clearing bunkers one by one**. (MH1:115)

(4b) *On Omaha beach*, clearing bunkers one by one, the Americans had to fi fight their way off their beach **yard by yard**.

(4c) *The Americans* had to fight their way off the beach yard by yard on Omaha Beach, **clearing bunkers one by one**.

(4d) *Clearing bunkers one by one*, the Americans had to fight their way off the beach yard by yard **on Omaha beach**.

Sentences (4a-d) illustrate how alternative orderings of the same words result in different parts of the message being highlighted. Starting with the locative perspective *On Omaha beach*, as in (3ab), creates different expectations on where the message is going compared to starting with the Subject *The Americans* (4b) or the activity *Clearing bunkers one by one* (4d). Similarly, ending with *clearing bunkers one by one* (4ac) places more focus on the action of the event rather than the location, as is the case when *on Omaha beach* is placed in clause-final position (4d). Another means of signalling information status is to use special structures such as clefts (5),

extraposition (6) and passivisation (7) to make a constituent informationally more or less salient:[7]

(5) But it was a tribute to the American's tenacity that wherever they landed, they began to fight. (MH1:96)

(6) Plenty of evidence exists that it is both feasible and generally profitable. (CS1:20)

(7) In 1879 he was arrested by the Third Section (CAOG1:119)

In a larger perspective, the ordering of information in the clause and between clauses contributes to the flow of discourse in texts. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:132) claim that the 'thematic organization of the clauses is the most significant factor in the development of the text'. It could give 'insight into its texture and understand how the writer made clear to us the nature of his underlying concerns' (2014:133).

Most of the presentation of the textual metafunction in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) has the Theme in focus. As an example, Theme is categorised as being unmarked, when it is mapped onto the Subject (illustrated in (4c) above), or marked in all other cases, typically functioning as an Adjunct (illustrated in (4a) and (4d) above) (2014:97-8). In addition, the Theme can also be simple or multiple. The simple Theme consists of topical Theme only, as in (4a) – (4d) above, where the topical Theme is defined as the first experiential element in the clause, i.e. either a Participant, Process or Circumstance (2014:105). A multiple Theme, on the other hand, includes the topical Theme plus any interpersonal or textual elements preceding the topical Theme (2014:107). A multiple interpersonal Theme is illustrated in (8) and a multiple textual Theme in (5) above:

(8) *No wonder Victor* never fell in love (JC1:1)

In contrast, the present study places the Rheme, or more specifically the N-Rheme, in focus, and different views on how to identify and define the Rheme will be presented and elaborated in section 2.2 and 2.3. Section 2.2 focuses on the system of INFORMATION (c.f. Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:114)), or what in more general linguistic terms is referred to as information structure, and its relation to the Theme and Rheme. In SFL, the system of INFORMATION contributes to the flow of discourse in parallel to the system of THEME in the textual metafunction (Halliday & Mathhiessen 2014:114-5). Therefore, its relation to the concepts of Theme and Rheme is highly central.

[7] See Johansson (2001) and Herriman (2008; 2012) for contrastive studies of clefts and extraposition in English and Swedish, and similarly Fredriksson (2016) for a contrastive study of the passive in English and Swedish.

2.2 Defining the Rheme

The idea of seeing the message as consisting of two parts could be traced back to Weil in 1844:

> There is then a point of departure, an initial notion which is equally present to him who speaks and to him who hears, which forms, as it were, the ground upon which the two intelligences meet; and another part of discourse which forms the statement (l'énonciation), properly so called. This division is found in almost all we say (Weil 1887:29).

Similarly, Vallduvi & Engdahl (1996:461) divides the sentence into 'a part that anchors the sentence to the previous discourse or the hearer's "mental world" and an informative part that makes some contribution to the discourse or the hearer's "mental world'. There are, however, different approaches to how these parts, can be distinguished. The three most typical are information value, primarily associated with the concepts given and new; aboutness, expressed by the concepts topic and comment, and finally, syntactic, referring to the position in the clause (see e.g. Fries 1983; Gomez-Gonzalez 2001). These approaches are also frequently seen as conflated with or separated from the concepts of Theme and Rheme, which will be further discussed in sections 2.2.2 - 2.2.4. First, some different ways in which information can be identified and classified will be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.1.

2.2.1 Information value

From the point of view of information value, the two parts of the message are generally seen as either being familiar to the receiver of the message (Given) or as something that is new to the discourse (New). Generally, the flow of information follows the information principle, in Gundel's (1988) words the *Given Before New principle*. This has also been referred to as end-focus[8] (see e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:1357). Final, or late, position in the clause is mostly seen as the preferred place for 'heavy' constituents, mostly due to processing considerations (Butler 2003:179):

> Since the new information often needs to be stated more fully than the given (that is, with a longer, 'heavier' structure), it is not unexpected that an organization principle which may be called end-weight comes into operation along with the principle of end-focus (Quirk et al. 1985:1361f).

The organization of information in discourse according to the information and weight principles are often seen as universals of word order and information

[8] In the English clause, the prosodic focus is typically on the last lexical word/constituent. This is the basis for Quirk's term end focus.

structure. These principles are psychologically and psycholinguistically motivated and usually explained in terms of our ability of cognitive interpretation and information processing (Callies 2009:63).

The idea of how Given and New information is identified differs. According to Chafe (1970), it is the speaker's assessment of whether the information is or is not in the addressee's consciousness that is central. Given information is knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance, whereas New information is what the speaker assumes s/he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what s/he says. Similarly, Clarke & Haviland (1977) state that Given information is what the speaker believes the listener already knows and accepts as true, and New information is what the speaker believes the listener does not know yet. From both these perspectives, items that are introduced into the discourse for the first time, but still to some extent known, are considered as new as completely unknown ones. The model does not take into account whether the information really is new or given for the addressee, which could be seen as problematic for the analyst.

Prince's model (1980) makes this distinction as it is expanded into three categories: New, Evoked and Inferable, based on assumed familiarity in the addressee's background knowledge. According to Prince (1980:233-37), a new referent is either brand-new or unused, based on whether it can be assumed to be familiar to the receiver or not. If it is unused, you know that the speaker knows about it, but it is not talked about at the time. Typically, a personal name is an unused item, known but not yet used, whereas an indefinite noun phrase is brand-new as it is seen as unknown for the hearer. Brand-new information can also be categorised into being either anchored i.e. linked to some other discourse entity or unanchored i.e. not linked to the preceding discourse (Prince 1980:235). Evoked is used for constituents that are typically seen as given information; they are either textually Evoked or situationally Evoked. Finally, Inferable refers to constituents that the hearer can infer by logical reasoning. Furthermore, Prince (1992:301-3) developed the model by using a distinction between what is evoked or new in the discourse, Discourse-old and Discourse-new, and what is evoked or new in the hearer's mind, Hearer-old and Hearer-new.

In Systemic Functional Linguistics, information structure, and the concepts Given and New, function to divide the text into manageable units of discourse on the basis of tonicity (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:116). The constituent that receives 'tonic prominence' (2014:116) highlights new information, and the remaining unstressed parts, which usually precede the new information, are seen as given. This means that the concepts given and new are non-referential and instead selected by the speaker. The speaker presents information as recoverable (Given) or not recoverable (New) to the listener. Information could be seen as recoverable on the basis that it has been mentioned before, but it could also refer to something recoverable from the situation, e.g. personal pronouns like I and you, or something that is 'in the air' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:118). Thus, the idea of Given as recoverable is similar to Prince's idea of Evoked or Inferrable information

(1980:235). Furthermore, information that has not been mentioned before is seen as non-recoverable. The same applies for unexpected information, whether previously mentioned or not (Halliday & Matthiessen: 2014:118). So, the central meaning is it is, or is not, news. As there is no means to highlight tonic prominence in written text, besides using special constructions such as clefts, dislocation, passives etc., Given and New are assumed to be related to the position in the clause: 'the unmarked position for the New is at the end of the information unit (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:118).

The above mentioned perspectives all focus on information as either Given and New, but differ in their identification of these concepts. In contrast, Lambrecht (1994) questions the notions given/new and old information altogether. He claims that the difference between old and new information is not the same thing as the difference between old and new referents. Old information is defined as the knowledge a speaker assumes to be in the hearer's mind at the time of utterance, whereas new information is the information added to that knowledge by the utterance itself. The new information is what we add, what changes the hearer's representation of the world. Instead of using the terms old/given and new, Lambrecht (1994:50-52) refers to Pragmatic Presupposition (old information) and Pragmatic Assertion (new information). Both categories refer to propositions and not to the elements making up the proposition. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between information and meaning. Meaning is expressed either in individual words or by the relations established between words, whereas information can only be expressed relationally by propositions. So, information has to do with the communicative act whereby a speaker increases a hearer's knowledge by adding a new proposition to it, and the Pragmatic Assertion is the added proposition itself. In a similar way, Givón (1984:251) contrasts what is perceived as presupposed information, backgrounding information, to the actual assertion of the utterance, the foregrounded information.

Historically, the concepts of Theme and Rheme and where to draw the line between them have been related to the concepts of Given and New, as well as to the concepts Topic and Comment (see section 2.2.3). Fries (1983:117) refers to this as a choice between a combining approach (where two different aspects of textual meanings are seen to correlate) or a separating approach. In the combining approach, Theme is generally associated with Given and Rheme with New. In addition, there is also a combining approach where Theme is associated with Topic and Rheme with Comment. This is the semantic approach, focusing on the aboutness or topicality of the Theme (Gomez-Gonzales 1997:76). Finally, in the separating approach, special status is given to the initial part of the message, the Theme, in contrast to the final or the remainder, the Rheme, simply based on position in the clause. Thus, Theme and Rheme are seen as distinct categories which, although they interact with information value or aboutness, should be treated separately. These approaches to how Theme and Rheme are defined will be further discussed in the following sections.

2.2.2 The combining approach

The discussion of Theme and Rheme as important concepts within linguistics goes back to Mathesius (1928) and the Prague School linguists. From the Prague school linguists onwards it was common to see a one-to-one correspondence between Given and New information, on the one hand, and Theme and Rheme (or Focus) on the other. Following this approach, the Rheme contains new information and refers to what the speaker states about the Theme, which is seen as Given and the point of departure of the message, usually the Subject of the clause (Firbas' 1964 discussion of Mathesius 1939/1947:171). So, in (9) *He* is Theme, Given, point of departure and Subject, whereas the rest of the clause is Rheme, New information:

(9) *He* wanted to please Mary. (Firbas 1966:240)

This idea was further developed by Firbas (1966:240) within the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective and the concept of Communicative Dynamism (CD). CD refers to the variation in communicative value between different parts of an utterance where the Rheme conveys the highest degree of Communicative Dynamism. In the Rheme, it is the Rheme proper, i.e. 'the element conveying the piece of information towards which the communication is perspectived', which contributes most to the development of CD (Firbas 1992a:73). Following this approach, Rheme is viewed as that which is unknown and not deduced from the cotext or context, whereas Theme is known and context-dependent. Consequently, Theme and Rheme are not necessarily linked to sentence position. Usually linear modification gradually raises the degrees of CD from the beginning of a clause towards the end, but it could be affected by the interplay of other factors such as intonation, context dependency/independency and the semantic content (Firbas 1992b:172). Thus, the definition of *Mary* as rhematic in (8) above relies on the fact that *Mary* has not been mentioned in the preceding discourse. According to Firbas (1975:318), context is the most powerful factor working counter to linearity. A context-dependent element, such as *He* in (9), automatically becomes 'dedynamized' and carries the relatively lowest degree of CD.

According to Firbas (1975), the identification of Rheme is possible by using the question-test method, i.e. stating hypothetical Wh-questions to the clause that you are analysing. The item that answers the Wh-question is the item with the highest communicative dynamism, the most rhematic element. Consequently, the Rheme could be found anywhere in the clause. When the Rheme follows the Theme it is referred to as the 'objective sequence', and when the Rheme precedes the Theme there is 'subjective sequence' (Daneŝ 1970).

Some previous research on Rhemes in Swedish has taken a combining approach. In his study of Rheme progression in Swedish texts, Melin (1992:169) uses a combining approach associating Rheme with focus and New. Contrary to most research, he claims that Rhemes are almost equally important to Themes in the progression of texts. Similarly, Koskela (1996:141) emphasises information structure

together with the syntactic structure as well as the principle of linearity in the definition of Rheme in Swedish.

In sum, according to the combining approach Rheme is associated with New information and conveys the highest degree of communicative dynamism in the clause.

2.2.3 The semantic approach

In the semantic approach,[9] Theme (often termed Topic) expresses a relation of aboutness; it indicates 'what the message is about' (Gomez-Gonzalez 1997:77). In contrast, Rheme provides additional information on the Topic; it expresses the Comment (Gundel & Fretheim 2005:3). Topic and Comment are primarily defined in terms of position and prosody. In Halliday's older work on Theme and Rheme (e.g.1994:56), Theme was defined as 'what the message is about', whereas in the later editions, (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004 and 2014), this correlation between Theme and aboutness has been removed. Instead, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:65) claim that the terms Topic and Comment are generally used as cover terms for concepts that are functionally distinct, i.e. Theme and Given and Rheme and New. Consequently, aboutness could equally well be a quality of the Rheme. However, Halliday still associates Theme with topicality as every Theme contains a topical Theme, i.e. the first constituent in the clause that is either participant, circumstance or process (2014:105). It is the topical Theme that marks the boundary between Theme and Rheme. Drawing on this, *He* in example (9) above would be topical Theme, what the message is about, and *wanted to please Mary* would be the Comment, additional information expressed about the Topic.

There has been much criticism on the correlation between the point of departure and aboutness. Huddleston (1988:158) gives the following examples where the correlation of Theme with aboutness makes no sense:

(10) *Nothing* will satisfy you.

(11) *You* could buy a bar of chocolate like this for 6d before the war.

(12) *There*'s a fallacy in your argument.

In his view, it is obvious that these sentences are not about *Nothing, You and There*. Instead, the Topics of these sentences, the aboutness, are rather found in the Rhemes.

To sum up, in the semantic approach, the Rheme is the element of the clause that provides additional information on the Topic; it is the Comment of the clause.

[9] The semantic approach is presented separately although it could be seen as a special type of the combining approach as it combines two aspects of textual meaning.

2.2.4 The separating approach

In the separating approach, thematic structure and information structure are seen as two different aspects of language (Fries 1983:117-8).[10] They are independent of each other while at the same time interacting in creating the text. Fries argues that 'word order signals the point of departure independently and [...] distinctions such as Given information vs. New information contribute to other meaning distinctions' (1983:118). An important difference is that the Given-New structure of a clause is oriented towards the addressee 'The Given is what you, the listener, already know about or have accessible to you' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:120), whereas Theme-Rheme is oriented towards the speaker: 'The Theme is what I, the speaker, choose to take as my point of departure' (2014:120).

Following Halliday & Matthiesen's (2014:89) definition, the Rheme is identified as the 'remainder of the message, the part in which the Theme is developed'. It is everything in the clause that follows the first element with a function in the transitivity of the clause. Thus, Theme-Rheme structure is expressed by the order in the clause. Whatever is chosen as the Theme is put first; it is the starting point for the addressee. Then, the message unfolds from thematic prominence to thematic non-prominence, the Rheme (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:89). Halliday & Mathhiessen do not define Rheme more specifically in terms of having the ability to be simple/multiple, or marked/unmarked (see 2.1 for definitions).

According to Butler (2003:123), the reason why Given/New and Theme/Rheme should be viewed as two separate systems could be seen in a situation where the speaker may choose information which is presented as New to the hearer as Theme and then places Given information in the Rheme, as is illustrated in example (13):

(13)	Arthur	did this
	New	Given
	Theme	Rheme

Similarly, intonation could be used to highlight information in a way that separates Rheme from New and Theme from Given. Thus, what is Given and New in (14) depends on where we place the tonic prominence, as is illustrated in (14a) – (14b):

(14a) He wanted to please <u>Mary</u>**,** Who did he want to please?

(14b) He wanted <u>to please Mary</u>. What did he want?

(14c) He <u>wanted to please</u> Mary. What did he want to do with Mary?

[10] The terms separating and combining originate from Fries (1983). The separating approach has also been proposed by Halliday in his later works. See e.g. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004, 2014).

(14d) He wanted to please Mary. Who wanted to please Mary?

In all four examples, Mary is part of the Rheme, but it is only in (13a) and (13b) that Mary receives the tonic prominence and is seen as New. Similarly, *He* is Theme in all examples, but not always Given, as *He* is presented as New in (13d). According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:121), this variation illustrates how the 'interplay of thematic and information structure carries the rhetorical gist of the clause'.

However, the concepts Theme/Given and Rheme/New are not completely separated. There is a typical, but not necessary, correlation between them. In the unmarked case, Theme is Given and Rheme is New, and they construct the clause as a movement from the speaker's point of departure to the information presented as newsworthy for the hearer (Thompson 2004). This is illustrated in many of the examples above, see e.g. (1) and (2).

Similarly, Downing (1991) advocates the dissociation of Theme from Topic. She claims that Topic will identify what the text is about while Theme represents the point of departure of the message, and these two parts do not necessarily correlate. All topics are ideational[11] but the first ideational element is not necessarily the Topic (Downing 1991:127). Unless the point of departure is a participant or a process, it is almost certainly not what the message is about (Downing 1991:141). Consider example (15):

(15) Towards the end of his life, Freud concluded that he was not a great man.

Here *Towards the end of his life* is ideational, Theme and point of departure. However, it is not the topic. Instead, the first ideational Participant *Freud* is seen as the Topic (Downing 1991:141).

Furthermore, Fries and Hasan (1995) have criticised the definition of Theme as 'the point of departure', claiming that it is an abstract semantic characterisation which needs some clarification (Fries & Hasan 1995:xxvii). They argue that it is difficult to see how the various functions of Themes in textual organisation all could be related to the Theme as being the point of departure of the message (Fries & Hasan 1995:xxix). Theme and Rheme do not necessarily have special functions outside the textual organization, which is why Theme and Rheme mainly should be used within this context (Fries and Hasan 1995:xix). A similar view is presented by Matthiessen & Martin (1991:49), who state that Theme and Rheme have to be understood through their contribution to the development of discourse. Crompton (2004) specifically claims it necessary to consider the importance of Rheme in the development of discourse as Rhematic Progression (RP) seems to be as relevant as Thematic Progression (TP). There is not only an important interaction between cohesion and Theme but also between cohesion and Rheme (2004:242).

[11] All topics contain an ideational, or more specifically, an experiential element, i.e. a Participant, Process or Circumstance in the system of TRANSITIVITY (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:30).

A central aspect amongst the separators is that they link Theme and Rheme with the linear quality of language; the words must be ordered into sentences and these into texts according to some organizing principle (Gomez-Gonzalez 1997:76). Consequently, a difference in meaning is created by rearranging the order of the elements in the clause. However, much research (e.g. Martin 1993, Matthiessen 1995, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) has shown that Theme and Rheme can be realised in different ways in different languages. In English, as well as Swedish, position in the clause is central in the definition of Theme and Rheme, whereas in Japanese, the position of the particle *wa* signals that everything following the particle is rhematic and everything immediately preceding it is thematic (2004:64). This means that in some contexts, Rheme would be defined in terms of its function rather than position only.

To sum up, in the separating approach, Rheme is defined solely on its position in the clause. Thus, the definition of Rheme is separated from New and Topic, although there is often a correlation between them. The concepts Theme and Rheme are primarily important in the textual organisation of texts.

2.3 Identifying the Rheme

Different demarcation criteria have been used to either narrow or extend the Rheme and Theme e.g. in order to capture more of a semantic function such as topicality. In most cases, this results in a narrowed Rheme and an extended Theme. One example is to use the Subject as the basis of distinction between Rheme and Theme, defining everything that follows the Subject as the Rheme (see e.g. Enkvist 1973 and Downing 1991). A problem with this viewpoint is that in some cases the clause could be seen as consisting of Theme only, with no Rheme at all, as in the following example where the Subject *Plato* is placed at the very end of the clause:

(16) Chief among these young men was *Plato.* (Downing 1991:127)

In comparison, Taglicht (1984) presents an analysis which also puts the Subject of the clause in focus. In all three varieties illustrated in (16), Taglicht claims that *John* is the unmarked Theme:

(17) *John* saw the play yesterday.
Yesterday *John* saw the play.
The play *John* saw yesterday.

Taglicht's argument is that the syntactic dependencies between *John* and *saw* are exactly the same in all three of the clauses. Therefore, there is no reason to make a shift in the Theme. *Yesterday* in the second clause and *The play* in the third, are also regarded as Themes, marked Themes. Thus, the clauses include several Themes and

consequently less room is devoted to the Rheme (similar to Enkvist 1973 and Downing 1991).

Another perspective with the Subject in focus is Hartnett's (1995) discussion of the Pit. The Pit begins with any item that follows the Subject and is not closely tied to it. In a declarative clause, this would typically be the verb, as in (16) above. Hartnett claims that the Pit is the part of the clause that has the lowest information value. It represents the beginning of the progression leading to the N-Rheme.

Yet another approach highlights the verb as the starting point of the Rheme. Berry (1996) argues that the borderline between the Rheme and the Theme seems to be near the main verb, which means that the Rheme contains most of the experiential meaning, whereas most of the interpersonal and textual meanings are concentrated in the Theme. Consequently, in the following example, the Rheme would start with *is* and the Theme would include two experiential elements:

(18) On Saturday, there is a market.

When the verb is seen as the starting point for the Rheme, the textual or interpersonal elements following the experiential Theme/s are seen as part of the Theme. This is consistent with Gomez-Gonzáles (2001) who limits the Rheme by including textual and interpersonal elements following immediately after the first experiential element in the Theme, such as *however* in (19):

(19) And these matters, *however*, will be looked into

She states that post-topical interpersonal and/or textual elements can be regarded as metafunctional boundaries that separate Rheme from Theme in a clausal predication (2001:330).

In comparison, Foz (2002:174) defines Rheme as starting with the verb. She argues that Halliday's definition of Rheme and Theme (see section 2.2.3) is difficult to apply in textual analysis as the interactional and interpersonal aspects which have been located in an initial position by the writer remain hidden (2002:176). Consider examples (20) and (21):

(20) Last year we completed the purchase of the Holiday Inn trademarks and business outside North America.

(21) In November 1987, the acquisition of Kiddle Inc. was completed at a cost of approximately $1 billion. (Foz 2002:175)

In (20) the actor *we* is closely involved with the action of 'completing the purchase', whereas in (21), we are informed only about the event itself; there is no mentioning of who carried it out (2002:175). By narrowing the Rheme and extending the Theme up until the verb, this difference would be acknowledged. Similarly, Mauranen (1999) defines the Rheme as the verb and everything that follows with

the functional role of core/new, whereas Theme is preverbal consisting of both orienting and topical Theme (1999:62).

In comparison, in a study of Swedish Rhemes and Themes, Koskela (1996:49) argues that the finite verb marks the border between the Rheme and the Theme, and is always part of the Rheme. This is illustrated in (22):

(22) Sedan *är* det mörkt. (AP1:11)
Then is it dark.'

The verb is also central in Ravelli's (1995) overlap hypothesis. Ravelli claims that the Rheme and the Theme are seen as having isolated boundaries, but these overlap somewhere in the area of the main verb. The departure point of the clause is not fully elaborated until the Process is reached, but once the Process is reached the clause is 'under way' (1995:226). This means that in example (23), the Rheme starts with the process *gathered*:

(23) ...and there this morning protesters gathered again after dawn (Ravelli 1995:223)

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) would claim that the Rheme starts with *this morning*. In contrast, Ravelli argues that *this morning* and *protesters* are just as much a departure point of the message as *there,* and consequently, the Rheme starts with the process *gathered*.

Matthiessen's continuum hypothesis (1992) shows similarities with Ravelli's overlap hypothesis in that Rheme and Theme shade into each other with no clear boundary. Matthiessen (1992:51) separates what he calls the textual wave from the information wave in the clause. The basic principle is that the boundary is drawn after the first experiential element in the clause, i.e. the thematic peak in the textual wave. The textual wave represents the view that any movement is inherently dynamic reflecting a transition from one state to another. This is what occurs with the borderline between Rheme and Theme (1992:60). The thematic wave in English is like the rhythmic wave with a peak declining into a trough. The experiential nucleus, the Process, will often fall within a textual trough as it is textually non-central to the clause. The information wave, on the other hand, typically starts with a trough and builds up to a peak (1992:75f). Textual meaning in itself is also dynamic as what was New becomes Given and what was Rhematic often becomes Thematic. This is what is usually referred to as Thematic Progression, as used by Daneš (1974) and Fries (1983:121f).

In his work related to Rhemes, Fries has focuses on what he defines as the N-Rheme (1994:234). N-Rheme is a term which Fries came up with as he found Rheme, as used by Halliday, too inclusive. In the same way as Theme refers to the initial constituent of a clause or clause complex, he thought it useful to have a term which refers to the last constituent, the N-Rheme. Following this definition, the N-Rheme in (24) is *your help*:

(24) We urgently need **your help**. (Fries 2002:147).

The N in N-Rheme is short for New as this constituent often contains newsworthy information, information which is the focus of the message. It is also the part of the clause that the writer wants the reader to remember (1994:234). This does not necessarily mean that the information is new to the reader but it is presented as being newsworthy (Fries 1992a:464). Consequently, the N-Rheme is not defined in terms of being newsworthy, but rather on its clause-final position. Similarly, Matthiessen places the end of the clause in focus in his systems for culmination, defined as 'the resource for assigning informational prominence in writing in terms of newsworthiness to constituents in the clause' (1995:600). In comparison to Fries, Matthiessen highlights the importance of contrasting Theme by establishing a corresponding point of information at the end of the clause, the Culmination. Culmination is realised by the ordering of elements at the end of the clause. However, Matthiessen has the information value in focus, whereas Fries emphasises the importance to treat Rheme and New as separate categories (1994:230). In his later work, Fries states that the N-Rheme should most importantly be seen as a working tool used to address how we know that certain information is presented as New in writing. It is a useful working tool because of the unmarked association of New with clause-final position (2008:18). The end of the clause is also typically the focus position, and 'the focus is in some obvious sense the most relevant part of the message' (Quirk et al. 1985:1362).

To conclude, the different views on how to identify and define the Rheme could be summarised as follows:

a) New information, what the speaker states about the Theme (Mathesius 1939)
b) the element with the highest degree of Communicative Dynamism - New (Firbas 1966)
c) everything following the Subject (Enkvist 1973, Martin and Rose 2007)
d) everything following the Subject. It begins with the Pit and ends with the N-Rheme (Hartnett 1995)
e) the verb and everything that follows (Downing 1991; Berry 1996; Foz 2002; Mauranen 1999)
f) the continuum hypotheses with no clear boundary between Rheme and Theme, where Culmination is realised by the end of the Rheme (Matthiessen 1992)
g) a version of the continuum hypotheses where Rheme and Theme overlap somewhere in the area of the main verb. The Rheme unfolds dynamically as the clause progresses (Ravelli 1995)
h) the remainder - everything following the first experiential element (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004)

i) everything following the first experiential element with the last experiential constituent of the Rheme as N-Rheme (Fries 1992ab; 1994)

So, in the actual analysis of language, the Rheme (and Theme) according to the above perspectives, are illustrated in Figure 2.1:

<table>
<tr><td>on Fridays</td><td>however</td><td>he</td><td>always</td><td>danced</td></tr>
<tr><td>Theme</td><td colspan="4">Fries (2004); Halliday and Matthiessen (2014)
[continuum hypothesis – no clear boundary] Matthiessen (1992)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="3">Gomez-Gonzalez (2001)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3"></td><td colspan="2">[New information] Mathesius (1939); Firbas (1964)
[everything following the Subject] Hartnett (1995); Enkvist (1973); Martin and Rose (2007)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4"></td><td>[the verb and everything that follows] Berry (1996); Mauranen (1999); Foz (2002); Ravelli (1995)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4"></td><td>[N-Rheme] Fries (1994)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 2.1 Definitions of the Rheme

In the present study, I have chosen to adopt a separating approach and therefore base my categorisation on position in the clause. I have also decided to limit the scope of the Rheme to the N-Rheme. As Fries's previous studies have indicated (for a further presentation see section 2.4.1), there are specific discourse features found at the very end of the clause. It can be assumed that the N-Rheme has similar discourse features in Swedish and English, which justifies an analysis of this particular feature in the two languages and translations between them. Furthermore, narrowing the unit of analysis from the whole Rheme to the N-Rheme makes the analysis more manageable, both from a contrastive and a translation perspective. Consequently, I have decided to focus on the N-Rheme. I define the N-Rheme as the last experiential clause element in the T-unit. This means that in the sentence presented in figure 2.1, the very last constituent, the Process *danced,* is seen as N-Rheme. In the next section, I will present earlier research on N-Rhemes in English and Swedish, as well as contrastive studies of the two languages relevant in the analysis of the textual structure in the two languages.

2.4 English and Swedish in contrast

2.4.1 Previous research on N-Rhemes

Previous research on N-Rhemes has been carried out within the field of Systemic Functional Lingusitics. The N-Rhemes have been researched for a range of different purposes. As a starting point, Fries (1992ab, 1994, 2002) argues for the relevance of the N-Rheme by highlighting its correlation to New or Newsworthy information in the clause. Somewhat related, Fries (1994, 1995b, 2002) and Herriman (2011) show how the contents of the N-Rheme correlates with the main contents of different text types. Furthermore, the formal characteristics of N-Rhemes in different text-types has been highlighted by Fries (1995 and 2002) and Herriman (2011), as well as the Transitivity of N-Rhemes (see also McCabe 1999). Finally, the role of N-Rhemes in the organisation of text, in what is frequently referred to as Rhematic (or Thematic) patterning, has been analysed by Webster (1995) and Cummings (2005). Related research about Rhematic pattering has also been carried out on Swedish by Melin (1992) and Koskela (1996).[12] Some of this research will now be presented in more detail.

As stated in section 2.2.4 above, Fries (1992a) introduced the term N-Rheme as he found it useful to have a term referring to the last constituent of the clause similarly to the way Theme refers to the initial constituent. Typically, the N-Rheme contains newsworthy information, information which is the focus of the message (1994:234). Thus, in the following example, *with whisky* is the N-Rheme:

(25) You shouldn't have mixed it **with whisky**, (DLO1:39)

However, the information in the N-Rheme is not necessarily new to the reader, but it is presented as being newsworthy (Fries 1992a:464). The difference can be illustrated in (26) where the N-Rheme in the first clause *for a long time* is both presented as, and contains new information, whereas the N-Rheme in the second clause *to see her* is not new, but only presented as newsworthy:

(26) I haven't seen her **for a long time**.
I wasn't expecting **to see her**. (MA1:116-7)

Evidence for the claim that new or newsworthy information is found at the end of the clause has been taken from spoken language in which units of information are signalled by different tone groups. Through intonation and rhythm, it is possible

[12] There is very little research on N-Rhemes in other languages than English. Searches in the databases LLBA and MLA as well as on www.scholar.google.se (2016-11-20) gives one study of N-Rhemes in Japanese (unknown author) (2002), another on N-Rhemes in Portugese by Olioni (2010) and Elgemark's (2006) pilot study on N-Rhemes in English and Swedish translations.

to emphasise what is important and/or newsworthy (Fries 2002:121). This is, however, not possible in written language. As there is no intonation in written language, one of the major means of signalling new information is lost. There are certain tools that could be used, such as underlining and capitalization, but these are rarely seen as an option in more formal writing. Therefore, Fries (1994:233) claims, there are mainly two ways in which writers can indicate newsworthy information: either by sequencing the information so that the reader gets the relevant background information as s/he keeps on reading, or by using word order so that the new information is placed where the tonic accent would be in spoken language, i.e. towards the end of the clause. This means that writers can use the natural rhythms of the spoken language together with punctuation as a means to guide the readers in the interpretation of a text (cf. Moore (2016) for a discussion of the role of punctuation to realise information structure).

Furthermore, Fries' studies of N-Rhemes in advertising and letters (1992ab, 1994, 2002) have confirmed that N-Rhemes tend to contain newsworthy information. An analysis of a fund-raising letter showed that out of 36 clauses only one did not contain newsworthy information in the N-Rheme. In contrast, the Themes in the letter never contained newsworthy information, which shows that Theme and Rheme are used for different purposes (1994:244).

Fries (1992b, 1994, 1995b, 2002) has also shown that N-Rhemes are likely to contain information directly relevant to the goals of the text or text segment. Fries analysis of a text with a problem-solution pattern shows that the section that describes the problem typically contains N-Rhemes dealing with what is wrong, whereas the section that describes the solution would contain N-Rhemes connected to what was done to solve the problem (1994:234). Similarly, Fries' (1992b) analysis of advertisements shows that evaluative terms and descriptions of functions primarily occur in the N-Rheme, whereas the company or product name occur both in the Theme and the N-Rheme. This is illustrated in (27) and (28):

(27) *The VG30ET* uses the latest computer technology **to achieve its extraordinary performance and precision**.

(28) *They*'re beautiful **because there are seven new bold designs, some featuring two colors**

Similarly, Herriman (2011:7-9) found that about three quarters of the analysed N-Rhemes in texts written by university students were associated with the problem-solution pattern, which was the character of the text. The remaining N-Rhemes were chiefly concerned with locations in time or space.

Furthermore, the formal characteristics of N-Rhemes have been examined by Fries (2002). He found that N-Rhemes are much longer, more complex and varied, and include adverbial groups, nominal groups, verbal groups and prepositional phrases in comparison to Themes, which are mainly realized by nominal groups. The difference can be illustrated with this extract from Fries (2002:147):

(29) *We* had **no idea we'd get such an overwhelming response**.
Media and Public reaction has been **nothing short of incredible**!
At first, the deluge of calls came **mostly from reporters eager to tell the public about Urban Stress Test results and from outraged public officials who were furious that we had 'blown the whistle' on conditions in their cities**.
Now, we are hearing **from concerned citizens in all parts of the country who want to know what they can do to hold local officials accountable for tackling population-related problems that threaten public health and well-being**.
ZPG's 1985 Urban Stress Test is **the nations' first survey of how population-linked pressures affect U.S. citizens**.

In comparison, Herriman (2011:5) found that N-Rhemes were predominantly realised as PPs (30%), NPs (30%) and clauses (20%). Fries (2002) also highlights that appraisal items dominate in the N-Rheme, whereas appraisal items in the Themes are very few. Even where Themes and N-Rhemes contain similar information, that information is used in different ways. As an example, temporal adverbials appear both in N-Rheme and Theme, but they have quite different effects in the two positions. In the Theme, they orient the reader, as is illustrated in (30) where *In 1826* situates the event at a point in time. In the N-Rheme they are more an integral part of the message, as is illustrated in (31):

(30) *In 1826*, in order to forestall further risings, Tsar Nicholas I (1825-55) established the Third Section of his Imperial Chancellery as his political police. (CAOG1:24)

(31) D-Day was scheduled **for 1 May.** (MH1:46)

In addition, the transitivity of N-Rhemes has been investigated in Fries (1995) and McCabe (1999).[13] These analyses highlight that the experiential content of the Rheme is sensitive to different genres. In Fries' (1995) analysis of obituaries in newspapers and narratives, he found that Spatial Locations tend to occur in the N-Rhemes in both text types. In contrast, a text by Hemingway, which vaguely resembles a guidebook, had greater use of Spatial Location as Theme (1995:349). In comparison, McCabe (1999:156) examined the experiential contents in Theme and Rheme in English text books. She found that participants such as Goal, Attribute and Phenomenon were more likely to appear in the Rheme, while participants such as Actor, Carrier, Senser and Existent were more likely to appear in the Theme. She also found a tendency for circumstances to follow participants i.e. to normally occur towards the end of the clause (McCabe 1999:158). The most common circumstantials in the text book Rhemes were Location (16%), Manner (15%), Cause

[13] As used within the SFL framework (see section 2.1 and Halliday and Matthiessen (2014), chapter 5). The system of Transitivity will also be further presented in section 3.5.3.

(6%) and Extent (4%). Adjuncts of location were frequent in both Theme and Rheme, whereas Manner was more frequent in the Rheme (1999:159-60).

Finally, the role of N-Rhemes in Rheme progression has been analysed by Cummings (2005) and Herriman (2011).[14] Cummings (2005:132) states that N-Rhemes are particularly important in the realization of the informational goals of a text, similar to the importance of Themes in the method of development. His analysis shows that the degree to which reference chains are thematic or rhematic varies according to text type (2005:148-50).[15] What is most important is that reference chains are found both in Themes and N-Rhemes, as is illustrated in (32):

(32) *Then they* may come **from the same species**,
Or they may come **from a single species**
That is **highly variable**
[…]
And so [they] would generally qualify **as the same species** (2005:146)

The importance of Rheme progression in Swedish has also been highlighted by Melin (1992) and Koskela (1996). Melin (1992) claims that Rhemes are almost equally important to Themes in the progression of texts. It is often claimed that there is no link to the previous discourse in Rhemes as they contain new information. However, Melin argues that it is impossible to write a text which contains new information in every single sentence. It is true for about 70% of the analysed sentences in his study. This is also highlighted by Koskela (1996:136-7), who found that Rhemes are not always completely New as there are several reference links between the Rhemes. Often they contain something new, however.

Furthermore, Melin (1992:165-6) claims that the use of Rheme progression is a good indicator of a text's style or genre. Fact-based texts such as news and culture reports typically have new information in the Rhemes, and consequently make no explicit links back to the preceding discourse in the Rheme. In contrast, more rhetorical texts repeat the Rheme from the preceding clause or brings up a Rheme previously used in the discourse to a greater extent (1992:178).

In section 2.4.3 I will present earlier research on Rhemes in Swedish as well as relevant contrastive studies of English and Swedish, and to some extent Norwegian. However, before I do that I will first describe the chief differences in word order between English and Swedish in section 2.4.2.

[14] Herriman (2011) found that Swedish university students writing in English had a higher proportion of N-Rhemes that formed progressions (19.9%) compared to the English university students (9.8%). The majority of these N-Rhemes progressed from the Rheme of the preceding T-unit.

[15] Some interesting research on Rhematic progression in texts has also been made by e.g. Cloran (1995), Mauranen (1996) and Crompton (2004).

2.4.2 English and Swedish Word Order

Before moving on to the actual analysis of N-Rhemes, it is crucial to consider differences in word order between the two languages as it might affect what is placed as N-Rheme. Syntactically, English and Swedish are two rather similar languages. They are both SVO languages, and the grammatical SVO principle is combined with the information principle in organizing clauses (Biber et al. 1999:896), as is illustrated in (33):

(33a) Princess Margret lit a cigarette. (ST1:208)	(33b) Prinsessan Margret tände en cigarette. (ST1:208t)

English is often described as a 'fixed word-order language' (Quirk et al. 1985:51). This primarily refers to the relatively fixed positions of SVO in declarative clauses. In contrast, Adverbials are freer in terms of position and primarily occur initially and finally. Quirk et al. (1985:51) state that V is the least mobile element, followed by S, and then O and C. However, there is a main difference between the two languages in that Swedish is a verb-second (V2) language which only allows one constituent before the finite verb, whereas English allows several (Erman 2000:119). If another element than the Subject is Theme there has to be inversion of Subject and Finite, as is illustrated in the Swedish translation of example (34). This restriction in word order prohibits clustering of clausal elements in initial position in Swedish:

(34a) *Gradually* their children had joined them. *At 7.30 am* the servants brought them breakfast. (ST1:140-1)	(34b) *Efter hand* hade deras barn kommit och gjort dem sällskap. *Halvåtta* hade tjänstefolket burit in frukosten. (ST1:140-1t)

Furthermore, the position of the Subject in English is more fixed as it tends to precede the Verb. This results in mostly only adverbials being placed before the Subject, and fronting of other elements is highly marked. In contrast, fronting is more frequent in Swedish and practically any type of element can start the sentence (Teleman et al. 1999). Example (35) illustrates a sentence with a fronted Object in Swedish. An English translation keeping the fronted Object would be fairly marked, and a word order change of finite and Subject would also be required. Thus, the actual translation shown in (35b) corresponds to the unmarked SVO word order in English:

(35a) Ena ögat har de låtit mig behålla. (PCJ1:112) '*One of my eyes have they let me keep.*'	(35b) They have left me one of my eyes. (PCJ1:112t)

Similarly, (36) and (37) shows examples of preposed Object pronouns, which are quite common in Swedish. In English they are more marked, and would typically be used to mark contrast (cf. Engdahl & Lindahl 2014:2), which is not the case in these examples:

(36a) Innan farmor lade sig ner och dog var hon en satans kärring. Det sade Siiri ofta. (AP1:129-30) '*Before Gran lay down and died was she a real bitch. That said Siiri often.*'	(36b) Before Gran lay down and died, she was a real old bitch. Siiri often said that. (AP1:129-30t)
(37a) En dag finns en ny produkt på marknaden. Den har vi sett. (BB1:135-6) '*[…] It have we seen.'*	(37b) One day there is a new product on the market. We have not seen it before. (BB1:135-6t)

Thus, in comparison to English, Swedish could be seen as less restricted to the SVO word order, as there has to be inversion of the Subject and the finite in sentences with an initial element preceding the Subject and the Finite, and as fronting of Objects is less marked.

Next, the languages differ somewhat in the placement of Adverbials in the clause. Particularly, this concerns a lower tolerance for heavy adverbials in-between the Subject and the Verb in English (Estling Vannestål 2015). This is illustrated in (38):

(38a) Eftersom solen skiner öppnar sig *mitt i skogen* en idyll. (SC1:136) '*Since the sun is shining unfolds itself in the midst of the forest an idyll.*'	(38b) Since the sun was shining, a pastoral idyll unfolded itself *in the midst of the forest.* (SC1:136t)

The differences in word order highlighted in (34) – (38) are likely to affect what is placed as N-Rheme in the two languages, and consequently also the sentence structure and the N-Rheme in translations between the two languages. As Erman

(2000:118) claims, the grammatical constraints 'have more far-reaching consequences for word order and thematic structure in a contrastive perspective, than most grammars and handbooks will acknowledge'.

Furthermore, both English and Swedish could be seen as having a grammatical word order rather than a pragmatic word order. However, it could be assumed that these are not absolute categories, but rather a continuum. Callies (2009:60) argues that English is at the grammatical end of the typological continuum based on characteristics such as Subject prominence, the use of articles, the occurrence of dummy/empty Subjects (it/there) and constructions which serve to keep the grammatical structure with other information purposes, e.g. clefting, passivization, topicalization dislocation. Another characteristic is the interaction of the principle of end-weight and information status (2009:61). The same characteristics apply for Swedish. However, both Erman (2000) and Herriman (2013) have shown that Swedish tends to follow the information principle and principle of end-weight more strictly than English. This will be further discussed in the next section focusing on previous contrastive research relevant for the present study.

2.4.3 Textual structure in contrast

Much research has been done on Theme/Sentence openings with a contrastive perspective. Few of these pay attention to Rheme, but are still relevant as translation changes of the Theme might affect the Rheme. First, Erman (2000) has studied the translation of 4,800 sentence openings in fiction and juvenile literature in translations between English and Swedish. The sentence openings were analysed as Full Match (same clause elements as the original in the same order), Moved (same clause elements but in a different order), Replaced (one type of constituent replaced by another, or added or omitted element/s) or Restructured (same meaning but different clause patterning), following Hasselgård (1997, 1998) (see section 3.6 for a further presentation of Hasselgård's translation categories). Erman's results show that there are considerable differences in the ordering of clausal elements which are mainly caused by the V2 constraint in Swedish and the tendency to have SV word order in English.[16] This suggests that English and Swedish are guided by two principles working in opposite direction. Swedish is more backward oriented, ensuring topical coherence, whereas English is more forward oriented, reserving the end for the information with the highest information value, 'start light go heavy' (117f). The tendency for Swedish to postpone new information to the Rheme and place given or informationally light elements in the Theme has also been highlighted by Bohnacker & Rosén (2008). They illustrate how Swedish uses 'a range of constructions with an element of low informational value in the prefield' (2008:519),

[16] This has also been noted by Altenberg (1998), who found that non-initial subjects in Swedish are found to be fronted in English translations.

e.g. expletive *det/it*, fronted object *det/it* and the unstressed connective *så/so* (2008:520-22), to postpone new elements to the Rheme, see (34) above.

In comparison, Bäckström (2004) also highlights how information structure in translations between English and Swedish are affected by the dominance of the Subject Theme in English. In English, it does not matter if the Subject Theme is New and/or heavy, whereas in Swedish new information is generally avoided in the Theme. Bäckström (2004:98-9) also shows that dependent clauses frequently are moved from Theme position in English to the Rheme in the Swedish translation. This is illustrated in (39):

(39a) *If national courts are in doubt about how to apply EU rules* they must ask the Court of Justice.	(39b) De nationella domstolarna måste vända sig till domstolen *om de är tveksamma om hur gemenskapslagstiftningen skall tillämpas.* '*the national courts must turn to the Court of Justice if they are in doubt about how EU rules should be applied*'

His conclusion is that the translators have to distance themselves even more from the source texts to be able to reach a Swedish information structure.

Moreover, a large part of Erman's study (2000) is devoted to the movement of Adverbials. She illustrates how adverbials occurring in the middle of the sentence tend to move to initial or final position in English (2000:124), as in (40):

(40a) Det skulle svenska myndigheter *självklart* inte gå med på. *'That would Swedish authorities obviously not go along with.'*	(40b) *Obviously*, Swedish authorities wouldn't have gone along with that.

Furthermore, Adverbials that frequently occur in final position in Swedish, such as time and place Adverbials, are often fronted in the English translations. By contrast, manner and degree Adverbials, which belong more closely to the verb, are placed finally in English (2000:124). Generally, there is a tendency for Adverbials to move to the end of the clause, the N-Rheme. In the translations into English: 31% move to the N-Rheme and 16% from the N-Rheme, whereas in the translations into Swedish there is an opposite trend: 41% move from and 18% to the N-Rheme

(2000:26-7).[17] According to Erman (2000:125), these movements have great effects on the information structure of the text.

Similarly, Altenberg (1998) has found that rhematic Swedish adverbials are frequently moved to the Theme in English translations, as is illustrated in (41):

(41a) Den skulle fortsätta pumpa luft i mina lungor *år ut och år in*. (PCJ1:194) '*It would continue to pump air into my lungs year out and year in*.'	(41b) *Year out and year in* it would continue to pump air **into my lungs**. (PCJ1:194t)

This has the effect that the English translations give greater thematic attention to the adverbial:

> Adverbials are nearly always preferred to subjects […] no matter what information value the subject has, either because they signal important shifts in the continuity of discourse or because they have various local prefacing functions (Altenberg 1998:129).

However, Altenberg (1998) also found a similar movement of Adverbials from the Rheme in English to the Theme in the Swedish translations. He claims that the majority of the changes are due to structural differences between the languages. [18]

Extensive research on Theme and sentence openings in translations between English and Norwegian has been done by Hasselgård (1996, 1997, 1998, 2004abc, 2005) and Johansson (2007). Hasselgård (2004, 2005) show similarities with the above mentioned contrastive studies of English-Swedish (e.g. Altenberg 1998, Erman 2000, Bäckström 2004). In Norwegian it is most important to have an informationally light Theme, emphasizing the order of Given before New, whereas in English, it is more important to start a clause with a Subject than keeping to the information principle. This frequently results in the postponement of the Subject to the Rheme in the Norwegian translations (2005:36). Furthermore, Adjuncts in medial position in Norwegian tend to be moved either to initial or clause-final position in the translations into English. There are also slightly more changes made in the translations from Norwegian into English than vice versa (2004b:207).

[17] Erman (2000) does not use the concept N-Rheme. Her analysis on Adverbial movement are based on Quirk et al.'s (1985:490) categories of Adverbial Placement. I have treated E= end as equivalent to the N-Rheme.

[18] However, Olohan (2004) has argued that fronting of adverbials might be a translation-specific feature that may arise out of a need by translators to make explicit certain breaks in discourse continuity, or a need to foreground speaker/writer attitude to the proposition in a way that was not considered necessary by the source-text author (Olohan 2004:27).

Altenberg (1998), Hasselgård (2004c, 2000) and Johansson (2007) pay special attention to Multiple Themes/onsets.[19] In translations into Swedish (and Norwegian), multiple Themes/onsets are problematic due to the V2-constraint. Consequently, a word order change is required in translations of clauses with multiple Themes/onsets. Often the problem is solved by moving an element from the onset to a position later in the clause, but other strategies such as clause building, e.g. turning a dependent clause into a main clause, or deletion are also used (2007:225-6). Johansson distinguishes two patterns: The Adverbial followed by Subject (AS) pattern, see (42), and the Subject followed by Adverbial (SA) pattern, see (43) (2007:227-8):

(42) *Some days I* look like a worn-out thirty-five (MA1:94)

(43) *I actually* spend time thinking about this. (MA1:99)

In translations of English clauses with an AS onset, the circumstantial Adverbial usually stays in clause-initial position, whereas the Subject is postponed and placed after the Verb in the Rheme in the Norwegian translation.[20] In examples with an SA onset, the Adverbial is typically moved to a position after the Verb, and the Subject remains in initial position.[21] However, if final position is already occupied by another Adverbial, initial position may be preferred and the Subject is moved to a position after the Verb (2007:230). These results are consistent with Altenberg (1998).

Although translation changes occur, Hasselgård (2000:36) states that there is a 'remarkably high degree of correspondence in an area where the languages are known to differ in syntactic structure'. She claims that this could possibly be a result of the tendency of the translation process to be linear, but also that translators take great care to preserve the textual structure of the originals. Consequently, this indicates that translations are influenced by the word order of the source texts:

> the word order of the translation is kept very close to the syntax of the source language whenever this is permissible in the target language. The syntax of the source language thus leaves its mark on the syntax in the target language by the fact that certain constructions are used either more or less frequently than they would have been if the text had not been a translation (Hasselgård 1997:18).

This leads us to the final section of the theoretical chapter where different types of translation strategies will be presented.

[19] In Johansson (2007), multiple onset refers to English sentences where two or more elements precede the finite verb.

[20] In Swedish: 'En del dagar ser jag ut som en uttröttad trettiofemåring.'

[21] In Swedish: 'Jag ägnar faktiskt tid åt att tänka på det.'

2.5 The translation process

When studying how and why translations differ from their source text, there are, as argued by Steiner (2001:5), at least three possible explanations for the characteristics of translated text: typological factors, register and properties of the translation process. This section will focus on the translation process, particularly on translation strategies in section 2.6.1 and typical features of translated language in section 2.6.2.

2.5.1 Translation strategies

Previous research has shown that there are many factors affecting the final translation product. To reveal the causes of a translation one often has to go behind the final translation product, but often, it is only the source text and the traces that the process leaves in the final translation text that are available for analysis (Steiner 2004:6). That is still enough to reveal some of the strategies behind the translations. Further behind these strategies, there are deeper causes having an effect on the choices being made by the translator. Besides the previously mentioned typological differences (see sections 2.4 and 2.5), the cognition of the translator has to be acknowledged. Toury (1995:206) highlights that this constraint to a large extent is influenced and modified by socio-cultural factors, which means that translators performing under different conditions often adopt different strategies.

An important concept used by Toury (1995) is the norm. Norms are defined as general values or ideas shared by a community about what is right and wrong and which operate at every stage of the translation process. In Toury's theory of translation, the most general norm is the initial norm. It refers to whether you follow the norms of the source language and culture (adequate translation) or adhere to the norms of the target language and culture (acceptable translation) (Toury 1995:208). This could be related to the law of interference, which refers to the fact that certain phenomena in the source text tend to be transferred to the target text in the translation process (1995:275). In contrast, the law of standardization means that textual relations in the original are often modified, or even ignored, in favour of the options offered by the target culture (1995:268). Similarly, Venuti (1995) has distinguished between domesticating and foreignizing translation strategies. His focus is primarily on the cultural dimension of translation, where domesticating means removing all aspects of otherness in the translation product, in contrast to foreignizing. Usually, the actual translation decisions involve a combination of, or compromise between, the two types of strategies illustrated above. This has been described by Teich (2003:145) as *Source Language (SL) shining through* and *Target Language (TL) normalisation* operating simultaneously in the process of translation. In the present study, Teich's terms will primarily be used to describe these two strategies.

Translation strategies are 'ways in which translators seek to conform to norms' (Chesterman 1997:88). Contrary to norms which are difficult to observe and study (Tory 1995:213), strategies are directly observable in the comparison of the translation and its source text (Chesterman 1997:89). In the process of translation, the most common problem is a problem of choice, to decide which the best means in a certain situation are. Chesterman calls the strategies to solve such problems textual strategies and further divides them into syntactic, semantic and pragmatic strategies. The syntactic strategies tend to manipulate form, whereas the semantic strategies manipulate meaning and the pragmatic strategies the message itself (Chesterman 1997:107). Furthermore, Chesterman emphasises that some of these strategies are language specific while others are more general textual tricks. The strategies are not mutually exclusive, but overlap to some extent (1997:93). In the present study, Chesterman's translation strategies have been used to analyse and explain changes in translations between English and Swedish. The strategies most relevant for the present study will now be presented in more detail.

First, the syntactic strategies include e.g. *transposition, unit shift, clause structure change* and *sentence structure change*.[22] *Transposition* refers to situations where the same semantic expression is described with a different word-class, e.g. changing a noun into a verb or an adjective into an adverbial.[23] *Unit shift* involves a change from word to phrase or clause, or vice versa.[24] *Clause structure change* concerns the structure of the constituents within the clause as a whole, resulting in a change of function in the translation compared to the source text, e.g. a change from Subject to Object, active to passive voice or vice versa. Finally, *sentence structure change* refers to changes between main-clause and sub-clause status, changes of sub-clause types etc. (Chesterman 1997:95-97). These strategies are illustrated in (44) – (47):

(44a) The armed forces in many countries build roads and bridges, (CS1:71)	(44b) I många länder hjälper de väpnade styrkorna till vid katastrofer och med byggande av vägar och broar, (CS1:71t) '*[…] with the building of roads and bridges,*'
(45a) sometimes his long-fingered caress on his wife's neck, across the table, or the touch of her hand placed momentarily over his, led to love-making. (NG1:158)	(45b) Ibland ledde hans långfingrade smekning över hustruns hals, tvärsöver bordet, eller beröringen av hennes hand som ett ögonblick lades över hans, till att de älskade. (NG1:158t) '*[…] that they made love.*'

[22] For a complete picture see Chesterman (1997), chapter 4.
[23] Transposition is a term borrowed from Vinay and Darbelnet (Chesterman 1997:95).
[24] Unit shift is a term borrowed from Catford (Chesterman 1997:95).

(46a) I hold her hand (MA1:163)	(46b) Jag håller henne i handen. (MA1:163t) '*I hold her by the hand*'
(47a) This means that he is unlikely to give compliments as, in his eyes, it would be an exaggeration of the truth. (BA1:106)	(47b) Det gör att han sannolikt inte ger några komplimanger. I hans ögon skulle det vara att överdriva. (BA1:106t) '*[…] In his eyes would it be to exaggerate.*'

Furthermore, the semantic textual strategies are mainly used to overcome lexical differences between the languages. Typical semantic strategies are *Synonymy, Antonomy* and *Hyponomy*. Another strategy is *Converses,* which is similar to antonomy. It refers to changes where one kind of structure is replaced by an expression which expresses the same state of affairs but from an opposing viewpoint, e.g. *behålla på/keep on* and *remove*, as is illustrated in (48). Finally, *Paraphrase* refers to a translation which is loose, free or undertranslated (Chesterman 1997:102-4), as is illustrated in (49):

(48a) Solhjälmen behöll han hela tiden på. (LH1:52) '*The topee kept he all the time on.*'	(48b) He did not remove his topee. (LH1:52t)
(49a) Maybe they will help the Swedes to be better equipped to understand and deal with the 'culture shock' experienced by many foreigners. (BA1:143)	(49b) Kanske kan de hjälpa utlänningar att undvika några av fallgroparna. (BA:143) '*Maybe can they help foreigners to avoid some of the pitfalls.*'

Lastly, the pragmatic strategies are concerned with the selection of information in the target text. Often this is governed by the translator's knowledge of the future readers of the translation. Pragmatic strategies tend to involve bigger changes and typically also include syntactic and/or semantic changes (Chesterman 1997:107). The Pragmatic strategies particularly relevant for this study are *Explicitness change,* where the target text either becomes more explicit or more implicit, and related to this, *Information change*, which involves the addition or omission of information. In the analysis, I consider these changes rather similar and refer to both as explicitness change. Another typical pragmatic strategy is *Cultural filtering*, i.e. domesticating or foreignizing the text (Chesterman 1997:108-110). The different types of pragmatic strategies are illustrated in (50) – (52):

(50a) Rook recognised himself in her. (JC1:106)	(50b) Rook kände igen sig själv i Anna. (JC1:106t) '*Rook recognised himself in Anna*.'
(51a) We think we are friends (MA1:40)	(51b) Vi tror att vi är bästa vänner (MA1:40t) '*We think that we are best friends*'
(52a) Hans ögon var gula som tenortabletter som man sugit ganska länge på (AP1:106) '*His eyes were as yellow as tenor sweets*[25] *[…]*'	(52b) his eyes as yellow as those yellow sweets you suck on (AP1:106t)

Chesterman's strategies overlap to some extent with Vinay & Darbelnet's seven translation methods, applied on three levels, i.e. lexis, syntactic structure and message (1995:30-40). First, *Borrowing* refers to the borrowing of a SL word or expression to introduce an element of local colour, while *Calque* borrows an expression but then literally translates each of its elements. A *Literal translation* is by definition literal. Furthermore, *Transposition* involves a change of word class without changing the meaning of the message, whereas *Modulation* refers to a change of perspective when a more literal translation is considered unidiomatic or awkward. In *Equivalence*, an expression in the source language has been replaced with a pragmatically corresponding expression in the target language. Finally, *Adaptation* is used when there is no equivalent expression (cultural situation) in the target language, and the situation is adapted to the target language context. Vinay & Darbelnet (1995:137) emphasise that several of these methods can be used within the same sentence, and that in some translations they are in a complex relationship which makes it difficult to distinguish the different methods.

In addition, Vinay & Darbelnet discuss these translation methods in terms of being either obligatory, 'a complex of servitudes to which we have to submit' (1995:15), or more or less optional. Consequently, the translators have to submit to the constraints that the Target Language (TL) forces upon the translation, as well as the options, enabling potentially different choices of translations (1995:16).

Within the scope of Systemic Functional Linguistics, a model attempting to explain the translation process and the strategies used has been proposed by Kim and Matthiessen (2015). As a starting point, they state that translations involve the process of recreating the ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings implicit in the text (see 2.1 for a presentation of the three metafunctions of language). The textual metafunction 'provides speakers and writers with strategies for guiding their listeners and readers, helping them process and interpret a text as it unfolds' (2015:337). They highlight that 'part of the difficulty translators face is that different

[25] Tenor is a brand of sweets.

languages may have evolved somewhat or even fairly different sets of system for each metafunction' (2015:336). Thus, the Theme-Rheme choices made in a text are based on a number of textual and contextual considerations (2015:340). Furthermore, Matthiessen (2014:279) discusses how we can identify 'various degrees of translation shifts' in the translated text. These shifts could apply to just one, or all of the metafunctions. They can operate within a metafunction or across metafunctions (2014:282). As an example, to change places of Theme and Rheme in the T-unit would be a shift within the textual metafunction, whereas to upgrade part of a Tunit into a separate T-unit, e.g. with the explicitation of a cohesive conjunction, would be a shift from the textual to the logical metafunction. Similarly, a shift within the experiential metafunction could be to translate one type of Participant into another type.

2.5.2 Typical features of translated language

A comparison of original and translated texts in the same language reveals some systematic differences. These are referred to as translation universals by Baker (1992, 1996).[26] The universals include *simplification*: the fact that translations are simpler than the originals, *explicitation:* the tendency to spell things out explicitly in the translated text, *normalisation or conservatism*: the tendency to conform to typical patterns of the target language, replacing untypical features by typical features of the target language and finally, *levelling out*: that original texts are more varied than translated texts, which centre round the most frequently used options (Baker 1996:176f).

Furthermore, Teich (2003) highlights two ways in which translations are different from source texts in the same language. First, they bear resemblances of the original text, SL shining through, and second, they try to be more typical of the target language than original texts in the same language. These two quite contradictory processes work at the same time affecting different parts of the language (2003:219). Similarly, Gellerstam (1985:88) defines the 'systematic influence on target language (TL) from source language (SL), or at least generalizations of some kind based on such influence' as Translationese. The extent to which the above mentioned processes could actually be seen as universals has been questioned by some scholars (see e.g. Tirkkonen-Condit 2002; House 2008). Therefore, some of the different views on explicitation and normalisation will now be discussed.

Explicitation as a term in translation theory was first introduced by Vinay & Darbelnet (1958/1995). They referred to explicitation as 'making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or situation' (1995:342). In comparison, Implicitation is defined as 'making what is explicit in the source language implicit in the target language, relying on the context or the situation for conveying the meaning'

[26] For a discussion of translation universals, see e.g. Blum-Kulka (1986), House (2008), Laviosa (2002), Malmkjaer (2005), Mauranen & Kujamäki (2004) and Toury (1995).

(1995:344). The two terms are frequently discussed, and sometimes used interchangeably with the terms addition and omission, as highlighted by Baker & Saldanha (2009:104). In 1986, Blum-Kulka introduced the explicitation hypothesis in a study which is considered as the first systematic study of explicitation. According to the explicitation hypothesis, it is the translation process itself rather than the differences between the languages that causes explicitation. Consequently, explicitation is viewed as inherent in the translation process (1986:19)

Klaudy (2009:106) defines different types of explicitation; obligatory, optional, pragmatic and translation-inherent explicitation. Obligatory explicitation is the result of syntactic and semantic differences between the languages involved in the translation. Without this explicitation, the target language sentences would be ungrammatical. One example is the addition of definite articles in a translation from Russian to English. In contrast, optional explicitation is generated by different text-building strategies and stylistic preferences between the languages, e.g. the addition of connective elements to increase cohesion. Furthermore, pragmatic explicitation refers to the explicitation of implicit cultural information, information that is not shared by the source and target language cultures, such as names of villages, lakes, food etc. Finally, translation-inherent explicitation refers to the nature of the translation process itself. It is caused by 'the necessity to formulate ideas in the target language that were originally conceived in the source language' (2009:107).

In an overview of explicitation, Englund Dimitrova (2005) questions the categorisation of different types of explicitation. She claims that obligatory and optional explicitation could be seen as superordinate terms, whereas pragmatic explicitation would be a subcategory of optional. In contrast, translation-inherent explicitation could be seen as obligatory from the perspective of the process rather than from a linguistic point of view. She also emphasises that there are many other kinds of explicitation which do not fit into the above mentioned categories (2005:38).

Furthermore, Neumann and Hansen-Schirra (2005) and Hansen-Schirra, Neumann & Steiner (2007) define explicitation as a more explicit realization of ideational, interpersonal or textual meanings in the translation compared to its source text. In addition, the information that has been added must have been implicitly present in the source text. Consequently, the addition of extra-linguistic knowledge which is available from the context is not an example of explicitation.

In addition, House (2008:11) emphasises the fact that translations always are language-specific. Thus, it is problematic to claim that explicitation taking place in translations between e.g. English and Swedish is an indication of a universal phenomenon. Rather, it seems to be a feature of this specific translation pair. House also illustrates how explicitation could be part of one of the translation directions, e.g. in children's books translated from English into German but not in the other translation direction. It can also be text-type specific; explicitation has been found in German translations of popular science texts, but not in the same degree in economic texts (2008:12). Similarly, Becher (2011) questions the universality of explicitation in his study of explicitation and implicitation in translations between

English and German. He emphasises that it is important to try to 'trace as many occurrences of explicitation as possible back to lexicogrammatical and pragmatic differences between the source and target language' (2011:14). Many of the examples which at first sight might seem to be unwarranted explicitations or implicitations are actually 'side-effects that have been produced by our efforts to achieve a stylistically optimal translation solution' (2011:17).

To conclude, it is difficult to determine if translations are affected by a phenomenon such as translation universals. However, what is clear is that the study of translations can reveal interesting aspects about both source and target language. As Mauranen (2005:73) states, translational corpora are 'one of the best kinds of naturally-occurring data we can get for contrasting languages'. In the next chapter, the different parts of the corpus investigation will be presented.

3 The corpus investigation

The aim of this chapter is to describe the material and methods used in the analysis of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish original texts and translations. First, section 3.1 gives an overview of multilingual and parallel corpora, and section 3.2 describes the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC). Next, section 3.3 discusses the selection of material. In section 3.4, the identification of the N-Rheme is in focus; the unit of analysis is defined in section 3.4.1, and problematic cases such as reporting clauses and minor and elliptical clauses are discussed in 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 respectively. Section 3.5 presents the formal, syntactic and semantic classification of the N-Rhemes. Finally, the classification of translation correspondences is presented in section 3.6 and the method of analysis in 3.7.

3.1 Multilingual and parallel corpora

A multilingual corpus is generally seen as 'a collection of texts in two or more languages put together in a principled way for the purpose of comparative linguistic studies' (Johansson 2007:9). The texts are parallel either in respect of being in a translation relationship (translation corpora) or with respect to genre, time of publication, degree of formality, etc. (comparable corpora) (2007:9). The use of parallel corpora enables contrastive analyses of Source Language (SL) and Target Language (TL), as well as comparisons between original language and translated language and studies of general features of translated texts (see e.g. Johansson and Hofland 2000; Olohan 2004:37).[27]

Multilingual corpora have both their strengths and weaknesses. Aijmer and Altenberg (1996:129) emphasise how multilingual corpora, with their great potential for comparisons, are a great source to increase our knowledge and understanding of language-specific, typological and cultural differences, as well as of universal features. They are also useful in practical work in e.g. lexicography, language teaching and translation. Similarly, Johansson (2007:5) highlights the importance of the double function that a parallel corpus has. While the translation corpus is a great source to investigate similarities and differences between languages, the comparable corpus can be used to control for translation effects, e.g. overuse and underuse of certain phenomena. As Johansson states, it is 'a corpus for contrastive analysis and

[27] In addition, there are corpora of only translated language. One example is the Translational English Corpus (TEC) compiled by Mona Baker et al. of English translated from several different languages. Such corpora provide ways of revealing patterns which are either restricted to translated texts or to a larger extent occur in translated text compared to other text types. A translation corpus is, however, a monolingual corpus containing the translations without their originals.

translation studies, packed in one' (2007:12). One weakness that Johansson (1998, 2007) highlights is the extent to which translated text could be seen as representative of ordinary language use. However, by also using comparable corpora, the validity and reliability of the comparisons increase (Johansson 2007:5).[28]

3.2 The English-Swedish Parallel Corpus

In the present study, the analysed texts have been taken from the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC). The ESPC was compiled in close cooperation between the University of Göteborg and the University of Lund in the 1990's.[29] It consists of comparable original texts in English and Swedish as well as their translations into the other language. Thus, it has the advantage of being both a comparable and a translation corpus. It can also be used to compare original and translated texts in the same language as well as translated texts in the two languages. The structure is shown in figure 3.1:

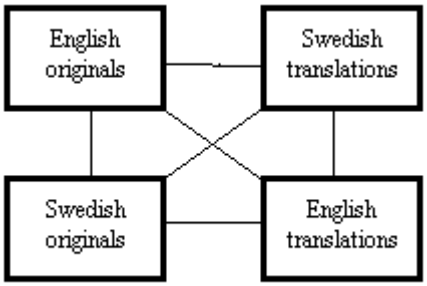

Figure 3.1 Structure of the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus (Altenberg et al. 2001)

In this study, the ESPC has primarily been used for two types of comparisons: first as a comparable corpus, comparing N-Rhemes in English and Swedish originals, and next as a translation corpus, comparing N-Rhemes in English originals with the Swedish translations and Swedish originals with the English translations.

The ESPC consists of 64 English text samples with translations into Swedish and 72 Swedish text samples with translations into English. The text samples are divided into two main categories, fiction (further divided into children's fiction, crime and mystery, and general fiction) and non-fiction (memoirs and biography, geography, humanities, natural sciences, social sciences, applied sciences, legal

[28] For a further discussion of the advantages of parallel corpora, see e.g. Baker (1995), Gellerstam (1996), Teich (2003) and Johansson (2007).

[29] A sister corpus in Norway, the ENPC, was also compiled at the same time. Johansson (2007) presents a wide range of studies based on the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus.

documents and prepared speech). Most of the samples are extracts from larger works, consisting of 10 000 – 15 000 words, about 30-40 pages taken from the beginning of the text, ending at a natural point. There are also some shorter texts in the non-fiction part, mostly legal documents and prepared speeches. There are more samples representing non-fiction than fiction, particularly among the Swedish original texts, but the size and proportion of the two text categories are roughly the same in the two languages. The total size of the corpus is 2.8 million words.[30]

Table 3.1 Composition and size of the ESPC

	Original texts		**Translated texts**	
	English[31]	**Swedish**	**English**	**Swedish**
Fiction texts	25	25	25	25
Non-Fiction texts	39	47	47	39
Number of texts	64	72	72	64
Total number of words	705,393	661,463	746,875	690,780

3.3 The selection of material

Sinclair, (1965:76-77) highlights the importance of the selection process on the analysis, claiming that '[a]ny stretch of language has meaning only as a sample of an enormously large body of text; it represents the results of a complicated selection process, and each selection has meaning by virtue of all the other selections which might have been made, but have been rejected'. For my analysis, it has been key that the N-Rhemes have been taken from comparable texts in English and Swedish. Consequently, I have chosen texts from the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus as their inclusion has been part of a thorough selection process. It also makes my study more easily replicable. Unfortunately, the ESPC is not tagged or parsed according to relevant criteria, e.g. Theme/Rheme and transitivity, which makes retrieval of data by automatic corpus searches impossible. Instead, the analyses had to be done manually. The structure of the ESPC has influenced my selection of texts and consequently the selection of N-Rhemes from the corpus. In this section, I will explain in detail how this selection has been made.

Ideally, an analysis would include all N-Rhemes in the ESPC. However, this is impossible as most of the analysis relies on manual work. From a statistical viewpoint, a random sampling is important since almost all methods for statistic

[30] For a further description of the ESPC see Altenberg and Aijmer (2000).

[31] In the present study, the English and Swedish original texts will be referred to as (EO) and (SO) and the English and Swedish translations as (ET) and (ST).

inference have to be made on random samples. The more the material deviates from an ideally random sample, the less reliable are the results. In this study, a completely random sample of N-Rhemes is impossible, but there are other possibilities, i.e. randomly selected sentences, parts of texts or whole texts, which have their specific advantages and disadvantages.

First, a random sample of e.g. every 100th clause would get a systematic and representative selection of clauses from all the texts in the corpus. It would be a selection with known and positive probabilities where all clauses have a potential chance to be included in the sample. However, this has not really been an option since my research is concerned with textual meaning. The N-Rhemes need to be analysed in relation to their context as the structure of the text might change during the translation process. If randomly selected sentences are studied, changes in structure could be difficult to understand and fully analyse if they are taken out of context.

The opposite of using randomly selected sentences would be to study complete texts. This would give access to the whole context, but it would limit the number of texts included in the analysis. Consequently, it could mean problems in representativity as the results would depend very much on the authors and translators representing the chosen texts. It is not evident that a large corpus represents a language, or a variety of a language, better than a smaller, depending on how it has been compiled, but as Kennedy (1998:68) argues, the greater the number of individual samples, the greater the reliability of the analysis of the linguistic variables.[32]

My option has been a third alternative, to choose extracts from texts, although it also has its problems. First, the length of the extracts and where to pick them had be considered, as previous research (e.g. Fries 1994) has shown that texts have different discourse characteristics in different sections. Thus, it is possible that the use of parts of texts could distort the overall picture of the language represented in the corpora. As long as the extracts are taken from the same parts of the texts such effects are possible to discuss and relate to. Preferably, the extracts should also have natural beginnings and endings. This is not easy to guarantee as there are big differences in structure between texts. In view of this, my choice has been to base the selection on number of words. Biber (1990:261) has claimed that text samples of 2000-5000 words are big enough to represent their text categories. Consequently, extracts of about 3000 words were selected. The extracts were all taken from the beginning of the texts, ending at a natural point. Therefore, the number of words vary somewhat between the texts.

Next, the compilation of the corpus had to be considered. The ESPC is divided into two main categories: fiction and non-fiction, which in turn are divided into different text types.[33] There are not many texts within each text type, and the text

[32] In a replication of three studies based on the ENPC, using a larger corpus, Oksefjell Ebeling (2016) found that other factors, such as the date of publication or individual style of the writer and/or translator seem to have a greater impact on the results than the actual corpus size.

[33] See Altenberg et al. (2001) for a description of the compilation of the corpus.

types that make up non-fiction are very different in character. As an example, the differences between a legal document, which is very formal, and a biography which, in most cases, is more similar to fiction are significant. Furthermore, the category social sciences contains both company reports, which are formal, quite rigid in their form and aimed at a specific audience, and popular science texts which could be seen as more informal, or at least with more room for a personal style, and aimed at the general public. Consequently, a completely random selection of texts had to be avoided. It would make it difficult to claim which similarities and differences are caused by text type and which by language differences. Thus, a more stratified selection had to be made to make sure texts from roughly the same categories were picked.

First, texts from the category general fiction were chosen as they are expected to be quite similar in character. Differences found within this category are more due to the author and the category in itself being broad and varied. Then, a new category consisting of humanities and social sciences (minus company reports), was created, referred to as Popular Science (similar to Nordrum (2007)). Natural sciences and applied sciences were excluded as the corpus contains no Swedish natural science texts and only one applied science text in English. Texts within natural sciences and applied sciences could also be seen as stricter in their form than texts in humanities and social sciences, which despite their academic genre still have room for personal freedom.

Within these categories five texts in each language were selected: altogether ten original texts with translations into Swedish and ten Swedish original texts with translations into English. The texts within each stratum were selected randomly. The number of texts and the total number of words in each language sample and each text type is presented in table 3.2:

Table 3.2 Number of texts and number of words of the sub corpora used in the study

	English (EO)		**Swedish (SO)**		**Total**	
	Texts	**Words**	**Texts**	**Words**	**Texts**	**Words**
Fiction	5	13,556	5	14,011	10	27,567
Pop. Sciences	5	13,723	5	14,160	10	27,883
Total	10	27,279	10	28,171	20	55,450

More specifically, the following texts and their translations constitute the material of the present study. The codes in parenthesis are the same as in the corpora, and will be used as identification in the presentation of the examples:

English original texts:

Fiction

1. Atwood, Margaret: *Cat's Eye.* (MA1)
2. Crace, Jim: *Arcadia.* (JC1)
3. Gordimer, Nadine: *My Son's History.* (NG1)
4. Lodge, David: *Nice Work.* (DL01)
5. Townsend, Sue: *The Queen and I.* (ST1)

Popular Science

1. Andrew, Christopher, & Oleg Gordievsky: *KGB. The Inside Story.* (CAOG1)
2. Armstrong, Karen: *A History of God.* (KAR1)
3. Hastings, Max, & George Stevens: *Victory in Europe.* (MH1)
4. Philips-Martinsson, Jean: *Swedes as Others See Them.* (JPM1)
5. Sanger, Clyde: *Safe and Sound: Disarmament and Development in the Eighties.* (CS1)

Swedish original texts:

Fiction

1. Claesson, Stig: *Vem älskar Yngve Freij.* (SC1)
2. Ekman, Kerstin: *Händelser vid vatten.* (KE1)
3. Hagerfors, Lennart: *Valarna i Tanganyikasjön.* (LH1)
4. Jersild, P.C.: *En levande själ.* (PCJ1)
5. Pleijel, Agneta: *Hundstjärnan.* (AP1)

Popular Science

1. Bjerke, Björn. *Några tankar inför företaget.* (BB1)
2. Cedergren, J. & B. Odén: *I krisens spår. Förändrat bistånd till de fattigaste länderna.* (CO1)
3. Gustafsson, Harald: *Politisk interaktion i det gamla samhället.* (HG1)
4. Lindqvist, Herman: *En vandring genom den svenska historien.* (HL1)
5. Rinman, Thorsten. *Rederiet Johnson Line under 100 år.* (TR1)

3.4 Identifying the N-Rheme

This section will present some of the difficulties in identifying the N-Rheme. First, the unit of analysis will be discussed in 3.4.1. This will be followed by a discussion of minor and elliptical clauses in section 3.4.2. Finally, N-Rhemes in reported speech will be discussed in section 3.4.3.

3.4.1 Unit of analysis

Following Fries (1994) I have used the T-Unit as my unit of analysis. The T-unit is a clause complex with a main clause and all clauses dependent on it (1994:229). Often, but not always, the T-unit is equivalent to a sentence (1):

(1) Although stereotypes can be questionable, used intelligently they can give you **a lot of help.** (BA:125)

In each T-unit, the last constituent is identified as the N-Rheme. So, in (1) *a lot of help* is the N-Rheme, and in (2) *for 1 May*:

(2) D-Day was scheduled **for 1 May** (MH1:46)

In contrast, coordinated main clauses[34] are separate T-units and will be analysed separately with the last constituent in each clause as N-Rheme, as exemplified in (3). In these examples, the T-units are not equivalent to sentences:

(3) [They are **a most important group**], and [we shall discuss their role more fully **later.**] (CS1:66-7)

In a simple main clause, it is usually quite straightforward to identify the N-Rheme, whereas in more complex clauses it can be problematic. In SFL-based textual analyses, sentence-initial dependent clauses are usually defined as Themes (see e.g. Fries & Frances 1992; Eggins 2004:223; Halliday 2014.129-33 and Thompson 2004:159). Consequently, sentence-final dependent clauses are defined as N-Rhemes in the present study, as illustrated in (4). Thus, a dependent clause is seen as one constituent in the T-unit, and its internal Theme/Rheme structure has not been further analysed:[35]

(4) Her picture had hung in his classroom **when he was struggling to learn his nine times tables**. (ST1:50)

Fries and Frances (1992:47) claim that this type of analysis is best suited for a textual analysis of progression, as the avoidance of analysing smaller units such as subordinate clauses and rank-shifted clauses makes it easier to follow the method of development and thematic progression of a text. In addition, McCabe (1999:76) argues that the similarity of dependent clauses to circumstantial Adjuncts, both formally and functionally, is a valid reason why this is the best way of analysing textual structure.

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[34] Following Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:438-42), I will refer to clause complexes consisting of coordinated main clauses as Parataxis and complexes consisting of a main clause plus dependent clause/s as Hypotaxis.

[35] Similarly, embedded clauses have not been analysed in terms of Theme/Rheme structure.

Sometimes a difference in clause structure between the original text and the translation results in different number of T-units in the original and the translation. In the following example (5a), the original text consists of one main clause with a Preposition Phrase as N-Rheme. The translation, however, has been turned into two coordinated main clauses, with two separate N-Rhemes (5bc):

(5a) The battle for North-West Europe had been launched **with a brilliant beginning**. (MH1:121)	(5b) [Striden om Nordvästeuropa **hade börjat**] '*[The battle for North-West Europe* ***had begun****]*' (5c) och [inledningen var **lysande**.] (MH1:121t) '*and [the beginning was* ***brilliant****]*'

An analysis at the level of the T-unit could sometimes result in very heavy N-Rhemes. In the following example, a postmodified noun phrase (NP) which contains many embedded clauses is the N-Rheme of the T-unit (6). This is a clear example showing the principle of end-weight where many words are needed to express new information:

(6) It made a change **from simply standing by as the old man inked his mark on cheques and papers or pointed his mark on cheques and papers or pointed his icy nose at the latest trading journals or – more warmly – at Alkadier's Illustrated Guide to Greenhouse Coleoptera which was his bed and desk and lavatory companion**. (JC1:58)

In (6) it could be questioned where the N-Rheme starts. At first sight, it could be possible to regard *as the old man inked his mark on cheques and papers or pointed his mark on cheques and papers or pointed his icy nose at the latest trading journals or – more warmly – at Alkadier's Illustrated Guide to Greenhouse Coleoptera which was his bed and desk and lavatory companion* as the N-Rheme. However, this division of the N-Rheme makes fronting or clefting impossible.[36] Therefore, the N-Rheme also includes the Prepositional Phrase (PP) *from simply standing by***.**

One could question the relevance of considering such a heavy constituent N-Rheme. From a textual perspective, it is highly unlikely to be used as Theme in the next clause for example.[37] Still, the writer has chosen to present the message as one constituent, giving it special emphasis. Besides being loaded with new information it also uses repetition to signal emphasis. So, for stylistic reasons it is relevant to consider it as the N-Rheme of the T-unit.

[36] Fronting and clefting could be used to identify the N-Rheme.

[37] See section 2.4.1 for a discussion of Theme/Rheme progression.

3.4.2 Minor clauses and elliptical clauses

In the process of analysis, minor clauses have been categorised as individual T-units, and are included in the number of T-units for each text. However, they have not been analysed further, neither in terms of Rheme structure nor for translation correspondence. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:97) minor clauses have no mood or transitivity structure, and similarly, no thematic structure (7).

(7) Monday January 13th, 1986. (DLO1:1)

Furthermore, Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:127) claim that phrases such as *Yes, No, All right, Of course* are indistinguishable from minor clauses and therefore have no thematic structure as they presuppose the whole of the preceding clause. Consequently, phrases like these have not been analysed for Rheme structure or for translation correspondences. In contrast, elliptical clauses which only presuppose a part of the preceding clause, typically the Subject and/or the Verb (8), have been analysed for Rheme structure and for translation correspondence, following Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:128). Thus, (8) consists of two T-units with two different N-Rhemes:

(8) [The guests would push off **their slippers**] and [rub their bare toes **in the dust**.] (JC1:23-4)

Distinguishing between a minor clause and an elliptical clause is not always straightforward. Thompson (2004:149) defines elliptical clauses as clauses without either Theme or Rheme where part of the message may be carried over from an earlier message or may be understood from the general context. However, in examples where the context is needed to identify the elliptical elements, no further analysis has been made. This typically involves individual words or phrases. Following this, *Even better: an iron lung* in (9) has been treated as a minor clause, and consequently not been analysed for Rheme structure or translation correspondence:

(9) No brain activity, the doctors **say**.
Am I **crying**?
And who would have summoned **me**?
Even better: an iron lung. (MA1:169-72)

In contrast to (8) above, no elliptical information is carried over from the preceding clause. The elliptical information is completely context-dependent. It is important to emphasise that Rheme and Theme are constituents of the 'clause as message' (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:88). There is a reason why the author has presented these words individually, without their context. Therefore, these types of phrases have been categorised as minor clauses.

However, sometimes, what has been categorised as a minor clause in the original text is translated into a main clause. In (10b) there is a clear explicitation specifying the full clause of what has been ellipted in the original text:

(10a) A breeze (JC1:22)	(10b) Det skulle blåsa **en lätt vind.** (JC1:22t) '*It would blow* ***a light wind***

Similarly, a full clause in the original text could be translated into a minor clause:

(11a) THESE DOORS ARE **AUTOMATIC** (JC1:21)	(11b) Automatiska dörrar (JC1:21t) '*Automatic doors*'

In examples like these, the full main clause, either the original (10a) or the translation (11b), has been analysed for N-Rheme, while the minor clauses (10a and 11b) have not been analysed further in terms of Rheme structure.[38]

3.4.3 Reported speech

Another difficulty in the analysis concerns how to identify N-Rhemes in reported and reporting clauses. In direct speech, the analysis is generally quite straightforward. Thompson (2004:161) argues that the reporting clause as well as the quote are important in the development of the text and therefore both analysed for Theme (161). Furthermore, Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:512) state that the dependency of the two parts is one of parataxis, meaning 'the two parts have equal status'.[39] Following this, I have chosen to treat both the reporting clause and the quote as individual T-units, each with a separate N-Rheme (12):

(12) ['That's **what I'm going to be like**,'] [says **Cordelia**] (MA1:75-6)

In (13), the reporting clause has been inserted between two quotes, one addressing the recipient and one containing the message:

[38] When the translation involves a change in clause structure, and either the original text or the translation contains an N-Rheme, the translation has been categorised as Restructuring. For a further definition of Restructuring see section 3.6 and chapter 9.

[39] According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:512), direct quoted speech is the' simplest form of projection', where the projecting clause is a Verbal Process clause (reporting) and the projected clause refers to that which is said (reported). See 3.5.3 for a further presentation of the Transitivity system in Systemic Functional Linguistics.

(13) ["My dear friend,"] [Churchill wrote to Roosevelt **in October 1943**,] ["this is **much the greatest thing we have ever attempted**."] (MH1:40-2)

Here the first quote, addressing the recipient, has been categorised as a minor clause and has therefore not been analysed for Rheme structure. Following the categorisation above, the reporting clause and the final reported quote have been categorised as two separate T-units with two different N-Rhemes.

There is more disagreement on how to treat reported clauses in indirect speech. Should the reported clause together with its reporting clause be seen as one T-unit or should they be analysed separately? Thompson (2004:162) chooses to treat them separately as he claims they have different functions in the development of texts, similar to direct speech (see (12) above).[40] In contrast, Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:519) sees indirect speech as a 'hypotactic representation of a verbal event', meaning that there is a dependency between the two parts. They claim that the difference between direct quoted speech and indirect speech is that the first intends 'to represent the wording' of a saying, whereas the indirect speech rather represents 'the sense, or gist' (2014:520). In the present study, I have chosen to treat them separately; I view the two clauses as forming one T-unit (also similar to McCabe 1999), with one N-Rheme (14):

(14) Montgomery, in one of the major misjudgements of his career, urged **that the landing should go ahead on 5 June** (MH1)

There is a reason for treating the two parts as one T-unit as the reported clause is more closely connected to the reporting clause in indirect speech. There is nothing available in the text which singles out the reporting clause as a separate message on a different level. It could be argued that the speaker takes more responsibility for an indirect quote since it is more integrated in the message. The reported speech is typically also a dependent clause. This is in contrast to direct quoted speech where there is a clearer boundary between the quote and the reporting clause. In direct speech, the two parts are typically also main clauses.

Once the N-Rhemes had been identified, the next step in the process of analysis was to classify the N-Rhemes according to their formal, syntactic and semantic features. The basis for this classification will be presented in the following section. Section 3.5.1 presents the formal classification, 3.5.2 the syntactic and 3.5.3 the semantic - the system of transitivity as used in SFL.

[40] See Thompson (2004) p.162, 173-4 for a discussion of the two alternative analyses.

3.5 The formal, syntactic and semantic classification of N-Rhemes

This section presents the basis for the formal syntactic and semantic classification of the N-Rhemes, as well as potential problems in classifying the N-Rhemes. First, the grammatical form is discussed in 3.5.1, followed by the syntactic function in 3.5.2, and finally the system of transitivity in 3.5.3.

3.5.1 Grammatical form

The N-Rhemes have been categorised as phrases or clauses. The categorisation into phrases follows Quirk et al. (1995). Consequently, the N-Rhemes have been classified as Noun Phrases (NPs), Verb Phrases (VPs), Preposition Phrases (PPs), Adjective Phrases (AdjPs) or Adverb Phrases (AdvPs). The categorisation into clauses divides the N-Rhemes into Finite or Non-finite dependent clauses.

In some cases, the formal classification of the N-Rheme has not been straightforward. This primarily concerns the classification of the VP. In some examples there is what I refer to as a split N-Rheme (similar to split Theme, cf. Hasselgård 2000). In (15) and (16) the VPs consist of both an auxiliary and a main verb. The auxiliary is separated from the main verb by the Adverbial *only just* in (15a) and by the Subject *vi/we* in (16a) because of the V2 constraint in Swedish. This results in split VPs as N-Rheme in both examples:

(15) But creation **had** only just **begun** (KAR1:145)

(16) En dag **hade** vi **kommit** (AP1:73)
*'one day **had** we **come***[41]

Furthermore, (17a) and (18a) illustrate negation in the clause. In English (17), the negation is placed before the main verb, while in Swedish (18a) the negation is placed finally after the main verb. As the Swedish example (18a) contains a fronted Object *Det/'it'*, the verb takes the second place in the clause because of the V2-constraint, and the Subject *jag/I* is placed in-between the main verb and the negation. In both examples the negation + the verb have been treated as N-Rheme, a split N-Rheme in (18):

(17) How long he has to wait he **doesn't know**. (DLO1:5)

[41] Throughout the study, in some examples where the translation is not in focus, I have used glosses instead of the actual translations to facilitate language comparisons and avoid discussions of potential translation changes.

(18) Det **vet** jag **inte** (AP1:93)
*'that **know** I **not**'*

Similarly, the verb and the particle in phrasal verbs are seen as a single unit and therefore classified as N-Rheme (19a). This means that in Swedish examples like (20a) where the verb *steg/got* is separated from the particle *av/off* by the Subject *gubben/the old man*, the result is a split N-Rheme:

(19) She **gets up**. (MA1:153)

(20) Efter en timma **steg** gubben **av** (KE1:281)
'After an hour ***got*** *the old man* ***off***'

3.5.2 Syntactic function

The syntactic analysis of the N-Rheme takes its starting point in Quirk et al. (1985:723-32) and their categorisation of the major clause elements. The N-Rhemes have been analysed as being Subjects, Verbs, Direct Objects, Indirect Objects, Subject Complements, Object Complements or Adverbials. There are also quite a few N-Rhemes which do not have a major syntactic function in the clause. Mainly these consist of loosely connected items, classified here as Tails. These will be further discussed in this section.

In some cases, the classification of the N-Rhemes needs further explanation. First, this involves the definition of the Indirect Object. According to Quirk et al. (1985:726), the Indirect Object precedes the Direct Object if they occur in the same clause, as is illustrated in (21) and (22):

(21) One of the Republicans handed *Jack* **a Safeways plastic bag**. (ST1:217)

(22) Nu räcker den kvinnliga docenten *honom* **ett papper** (PCJ1:183).
'Now hands the female associate professor him ***a piece of paper***'

However, when a prepositional phrase is placed after the Direct Object, as in (23) and (24), Quirk et al. do not treat these PPs as Indirect Objects:

(23) He read out *howlers* **to her** (NG1:155)

(24) och jag drog fram *en stol* **åt honom.** (LH1:58)
'and I pulled up a chair ***for him'***

Instead, they present two alternative analyses; either they are Adverbials or Prepositional Objects (1208).[42] However, they state that they are grammatically equivalent to Indirect Objects. Therefore, I have chosen to classify N-Rhemes like (23) and (24) as Indirect Objects.

Finally, in the analysis of the material, special attention has been given to the clause-final constituent which in the present study is referred to as Tail.[43] Tail is a term used by Carter and McCarthy (2006) and Dik (1997ab) for a clause element, typically a noun phrase, placed outside and after the clause, marked off by intonation or punctuation (Carter & McCarthy 2006:97). Tails provide additional information to clarify or modify the unit which it belongs to, either the whole clause, or part of it. The Tail is not part of the clause proper, but loosely associated with it in terms of pragmatic functionality (Dik 1997a:310). When left out of the clause, the remaining clause structure is still complete and grammatical. Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1350-1362) use the term Appendage for the same type of clause-final loosely attached constituent.[44] Tail is illustrated in (25) and (26):[45]

(25) but it had been one of the things that attracted Marjorie when they bought the house two years ago – **the bathroom with its kidney-shaped hand basin and gold plated taps and sunken bath and streamlined loo and bidet.** (DLO1:77)

(26) *Vi* tog tåget, ***pappa och Siiri och jag***. (AP1:222)
'We took the train, ***dad and Siiri and me****.'*

The Tails in (25) and (26) are frequently referred to as 'Right Dislocation' (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1386-9).[46] A Right Dislocation is usually an NP, located to the right of the nucleus of the clause, with an anaphorically linked co-referential pronoun, or comparable, in the core of the clause. So, in (25) and (26), the pronouns *it/det* and *Vi/We* have more specific NP referents as N-Rheme**.** This construction is typically used for clarification of reference or for topicality, as is illustrated in (26).[47] Its use could also be related to the principle of end-weight (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1386-9), as in (25).

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[42] Similarly, Teleman et al. (1999) analyse these constituents as a type of Adverbial, 'bundet adverbial'.

[43] As the following discussion will show, this constituent is frequently considered to be placed outside the clause. However, in the present study, the Tail is seen as a constituent within the T-unit, and consequently it has been categorised as N-Rheme.

[44] Teleman et al. (1999 (4):438-58) uses the term 'Annex' for dislocated constituents, sentence adverbials, appositions placed in clause-final or clause-initial positions.

[45] In examples (25) – (34) the referent of the Tail has been underlined.

[46] Another type of extra-clausal constituent in clause-final position is Tags. Quirk et al. (1985:1417) term this clause element Amplificatory Tag, whereas Biber et al. (1999:139) call it Noun Phrase Tag. Quirk et al. distinguish Amplificatory Tags from Tag exclamations, which are usually evaluative: '*He ran away from school,* ***the idiot*** (1985:1417). Tails and Tags are positioned in what Teleman et al. (1999 (4):6) terms the Post-field of the clause.

[47] Geluykens (1987b:403) states that Tails are especially used in unplanned spoken conversation. Often they represent a conversational repair strategy used by the speaker when s/he fears that the reference may not be clear and therefore adds more information in the Tail.

Matthiessen (1995:563) uses the term Substitute Theme for this clause element. He states that an important function of this grammatical structure is to provide the clause with a thematic culmination or afterthought, i.e. a textual reprise of the thematic referent. Thus, it enables a presentation of a Participant both as Theme/Subject and as a point of information at the end of a clause, as N-Rheme.

However, a Tail is not necessarily a full NP referring back to a pronoun. In (27) and (28), the Theme is a pronoun *This/detta,* but its Tail is a Non-finite *ing*-clause in (27) and a temporal clause in (28), probably placed in final position due to their weight:

(27) This has become a regular occurrence lately: **lying awake in the dark, waiting for the alarm to bleep, worrying**. (DLO1:12)

(28) Detta är den bästa stunden på dygnet, **när hon böjer sig in över mig och gjuter ny kraft i mig**.(PCJ1:25)

'This is the best time of the day, ***when she bends in over me and pours new strength into me****.'*

Carter and McCarthy (2006:318) refer to Tail as an apposition-related structure. However, some Tails are postponed elements, which are not in an appositional relationship to its referent, but rather a modification of it. In these cases, the two items are not interchangeable/co-referential. Typically, they are AdjPs, as in (29) and (30):

(29) *Jag* låg på golvet bredvid Siiri och gnydde, ***frisk och pigg***. (AP1:211)

'I was lying on the floor next to Siiri and moaning, ***fresh and alert****.'*

(30) *hon* tog ett språng ur kimonon och ut genom dörren, ***helt naken*** (AP1:258)

'she took a leap out of her kimono and out through the door, ***completely naked.****'*

(31) is slightly different as the Theme is repeated with an added modification. It borders between being appositional and modifying:

(31) *Their slips* show at the bottoms of their skirts, ***slips of unusual, suggestive colours.*** (MA1:57)

In (25) - (31) all Tails refer back to the Theme, but The Tail could also refer to a constituent in the Rheme. Similarly, to (25) – (28), these are frequently appositional Tails, providing additional information about, or clarifying, elements in the Rheme. [48] In (32) the Tail exemplifies the vaguer, indefinite NP *things* earlier in the clause:

[48] Typically, the Tail refers back to a nominal constituent

(32) I'm supposed to have accumulated *things* by now: **possessions, responsibilities, achievements, experience and wisdom**. (MA1:235)

Similarly to (29) and (30), the Tail referring back to a constituent in the Rheme can also be modifying, as in (33):

(33) There would be *champagne* too - **the boss's own**. (JC1:12)

In all the examples above, the Tail and its referent are separated by position. However, the Tail and its referent could also stand next to each other, as in (34). Frequently they are separated by a dash or a colon:

(34) Now he is the proud owner of four toilets - **damson, avocado, sunflower and white, all centrally heated**. (DLO1:104)

When the Tail and its referent are placed next to each other, it is important to distinguish them from elements next to each other which are treated as one constituent, i.e. examples where there is a full, restrictive appositional relation, as in (35) (see Quirk et al. 1985:1302-6):

(35) Count Aleksei Orlov, who succeeded Benckendorff after his death in 1844, was **the brother of the leading Decembrist, General Mikhail** (CAOG1:44)

Based on Quirk et al.'s definition, two parts in full apposition, where either part is omissible and co-referential, are seen as one syntactic unit. Similarly, restrictive apposition involves two parts which are part of the same information unit. Thus, they are also seen as one syntactic unit. Consequently, this means that the whole unit in examples like (35) has been categorised as N-Rheme. In contrast, a constituent with Tail function is seen as a separate information unit, contributing relatively independent information, compared to its referent. The referent is usually clarified or exemplified in its Tail. In addition, the removal of one item, either the Tail or the referent, would involve a radical semantic change of the clause (Quirk et al. 1985:1315-16).

In a similar way, relative clauses that are in full restrictive apposition to its referent are seen as one constituent.[49] This means that the NP *a God* and the following restrictive relative clause in (36) together constitute the N-Rheme:

(36) In the beginning human beings created **a God *who was the First Cause of all things and Ruler of heaven and earth***. (KAR1:1)

[49] Clauses that are embedded in the Noun Phrase, such as restrictive/defining relative clauses could be analysed for Rheme and Theme, but as they are not constituents of their own in the clause, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014:127) argue that their contribution to the discourse is very little.

In contrast, Non-restrictive relative clauses that refer back to the whole preceding clause are similar to Tails, and therefore analysed as N-Rhemes (37):

(37) De sysslar alltid länge med hunden, **vilket gör mig svartsjuk** (PCJ1:87)
'They spend always a long time with the dog, ***which makes me jealous****.'*

All examples are not clear-cut, however. In (38) it is difficult to determine whether the final part should be seen as a Tail or as belonging to its referent in full apposition:

(38) Maybe it was *as simple as that*: ***eye problems*** (MA1:86)

In (38) the Tail refers back to a constituent containing the semantically vague pronoun *that*. By removing the Tail *eye problems*, the sentence would still be grammatical but with less semantic content. The two parts contribute independent information and could not be seen as one constituent. In addition, the colon indicates a stronger separation from its referent than a comma.

To conclude, it is relevant to treat the Tail as a separate syntactic constituent, consequently the N-Rheme of the clause.[50] Mostly, it is set off by punctuation marks such as a colon or a dash which signals a break with the preceding constituent. It is frequently associated with newsworthy information or focus, clarifying or emphasising something previously mentioned in the clause. These characteristics are similar to what is partly seen as characteristic of the N-Rheme.

At the end of the clause, there are other types of constructions which might seem similar to Tail, e.g. vocatives or tags. However, the vocatives and tags are clearly interpersonal, and therefore not analysed as N-Rhemes as the N-Rheme is identified as the last constituent that is either a Participant, Circumstance or Process. Elements following the N-Rheme, interpersonal or textual (see section 2.1), could be seen as part of a multiple N-Rheme, similar to multiple Theme (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:107). This analysis would mean that (39) and (40) have topical Themes *the one to see* and *Hanna*, which are followed by the interpersonal vocative *Will* (39) and the tag *don't you* (40):

(39) That's **the one to see**, ***Will*** (NG1:43)

(40) You remember **Hannah, *don't you*** (NG1:21)

Textual elements are rare in clause-final position as they typically signal a move in the discourse or a link between clauses Textual elements include continuatives (e.g. *yes, no, well*), conjunctions (e.g. *and, or, when, unless*) and conjunctive Adjuncts (e.g.

[50] Tails are included in the syntactic analysis, whereas they are categorised as not analysed in the Transitivity analysis.

anyway, to sum up, also) (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:107-8). An example is illustrated in (41):

(41) If you can bend space you can bend **time *also*** (MA1:2)

In the present study, multiple N-Rhemes have been categorised as others in the syntactic analysis. The topical N-Rhemes preceding the textual or interpersonal elements have not been analysed further. As they are very few, the effect on the overall results is very little.

3.5.3 Transitivity

The N-Rhemes have been analysed in terms of Transitivity. Transitivity refers to 'a system for describing the whole clause' (Thompson 2004:88-9). More specifically, it concerns 'the content meanings' of 'who did what to whom' and under what circumstances this action took place (Thompson 2004:86). In a similar way, Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:220) describe the transitivity, or the experiential meaning of the clause, as consisting of 'a process unfolding through time', 'the participants involved in the process' and 'the circumstances associated with the process'.[51] In this analysis, the Process is the centre of the clause. It is typically realized by a verb or a verbal group. Certain types of Participants, typically realized by nominal groups are related to each Process. The Circumstances, typically realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases, are more peripheral and not directly involved in the process (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014:213). The types of Processes, their related Participants and the Circumstances are presented in Table 3.3:

[51] The ideational metafunction refers to two types of meaning: logical and experiential meaning. Whereas the logical meaning deals with the combination of clauses into complexes (see Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) chapter 7), the experiential meaning is concerned with how we use language to talk about the world (see Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) chapter 6). The grammatical system used to describe the experiential meaning of the clause is referred to as Transitivity (2014:213).

Table 3.3 Processes, Participants and Circumstances (adapted from Thompson (2004:108) and Halliday & Matthiessen (2004:262-3)).

Process Type	Core meaning	Participants	Circumstances
Material	'doing', 'happening'	Actor, Goal, Scope, Beneficiary	Extent, Location, Manner, Cause, Contingency, Accompaniment, Role, Matter, Angle
Mental	'sensing'	Senser, Phenomenon	
Relational	'being and having'	Carrier, Attribute, Token, Value	
Behavioural	'behaving'	Behaver, Behaviour	
Verbal	'saying'	Sayer Receiver, Verbiage, Target	
Existential	'existing'	Existent	

Examples (42-52) illustrate the different types of Processes and their related Participants (Processes underlined, Participants in italics, the N-Rheme in bold type):

Material Processes

(42) *Some cats and chickens* would take care of ***crumbs and perch skins***. (JC1:27)
[Part: Actor] [Material] [Part: Goal]

(43) so *she* took **a secretarial course** (NG1:147) [Part: Actor] [Material] [Part: Scope]

(44) *More countries* are now manufacturing *weapons* ***for themselves*** (CS1:83) [Part: Actor] [Material] [Part: Goal] [Part: Beneficiary]

Mental Process

(45) *Cordelia* would know ***the right kind***. (MA1:133)
[Part: Senser] [Mental] [Part: Phenomenon]

Relational Processes

(46) *Prince Philip* was **in a state of shock** (ST1:131) [Part: Carrier] [Relational] [Part: Attribute]

(47) *It* was ***the Queen's nightmare*** (ST1:44) [Part: Token] [Relational] [Part: Value]

Behavioural Process

(48) *Jack* **laughed** (ST1:75) [Part: Behaver] [Behavioural]

Verbal Processes

(49) *The Queen* whispered **the prayer that Crawfie, her governess, had taught her, over sixty years ago** (ST1:41) [Part: Sayer] [Verbal] [Part: Verbiage]

(50) *He* read out *howlers* ***to her.*** (NG1:155)
[Part: Sayer] [Verbal] [Part: Verbiage] [Part: Receiver]

(51) "Damson", the estate agent's brochure had called **the shade** (DLO1:76)[52]
[Part: Sayer] [Verbal] [Part: Target]

Existential Process

(52) In the beginning, therefore*, there* was ***One God***. (KAR1:122) [Existential] [Part: Existent]

In the presentation of the results, Goal, Scope and Target have been presented together as Goal as they have similar roles.

In Halliday & Matthiessen's categorization of Circumstances, Circumstance Extent includes the subtypes distance, duration and frequency and Circumstance Location the subcategories Place and Time (2004:263). In my analysis, I have instead used Circumstance Time and Circumstance Place as main categories. Within each of these categories, I have included both Extent and Location. This distinction is more similar to the way Adjuncts are categorized in traditional grammars. In previous contrastive research of English/Swedish (see e.g. Lindquist 1989; Altenberg 1998; Erman 2000),[53] these are usually referred to as time or place Adverbials; thus I have decided to use that division to enable comparisons. I have also merged the two Circumstances Cause and Contingency into one category, Contingency, because of their similarity. To sum up, examples (53) – (60) contain the different types of Circumstance N-Rhemes:

(53) There was a certain kind of oppression of the Jews **in Russia**, (CAOG1:95)
[Place]

(54) Gary doesn't have school **today**. (DLO1:204) [Time]

(55) and the gods cried **aloud:** (KAR1:164) [Manner]

[52] *Damson* could be seen as a Participant Attribute in a rank-shifted Relational clause: *the shade is Damson*
[53] Cf. Hasselgård's (2010:31-2) discussion of the overlapping between the categories.

(56) I lost the firm five thousand pounds this morning **thanks to you.** (DLO1:48) [Contingency]

(57) You shouldn't have mixed it **with whisky**, (DLO1:39) [Accompaniment]

(58) The schoolteacher's own father acquiring one of the traditional trades of the maternal, Cape Town side of the family, had set up in a garage **as an upholsterer**. (NG1:62) [Role]

(59) Often governments seem puzzled **about the direction to take to seek it.** (CS1:7) [Matter]

(60) The grotesqueries of the body were always of interest **to her**. (MA1:146) [Angle]

Finally, Projections have been dealt with as a separate category in the transitivity analysis. According to Halliday & Matthiessen (2014:509) there are two main types of projection: projection of speech (Verbal Processes) and projection of thought (Mental Processes). Projection occurs in indirect as well as direct (quoted) speech, as illustrated in (12) – (14) above (see section 3.4.3). Similarly, there is direct (61) and indirect (62) projection of thought (Mental Processes):

(61) 'I could send **a chauffeur or a clerk, it's true**,' thought **Rook** (JC1:69-70) [54]

(62) They knew perfectly well **that their own ancestor had built the ziggurat**, (KAR1:170)

Following the categorisation in 3.4.3 above, the indirect projections are seen to be in a hypotactic relationship, and the projected saying or thought is categorised as a Projection N-Rheme, as in (14) and (62). However, the direct projections are seen as consisting of two paratactically related T-units, each individually analysed for N-Rheme (61).

3.6 A classification of translation correspondences

In this study, an adapted version of a model previously used by Hasselgård (1998:146) for the analysis of Themes has been used to describe the correspondences of N-Rhemes between source and target texts.[55] Her analysis focuses on the

[54] This is a multiple N-Rheme (see 3.5.2) consisting of the N-Rheme *a chauffeur or a clerk* + an interpersonal element *it's true*.

[55] The four categories of translation correspondences were originally described by Dyvik (1990). Hasselgård (1997; 1998) has used a modified version in her analyses of the translation of Themes between English and Norwegian. The translation categories have also been used by Erman (2000) in her analysis of sentence openings in translations between English and Swedish, and in Thunes' (2011, 2012) contrastive study of English-Norwegian, focusing on the complexity of translation. See section 2.6.

translation correspondences of the first three constituents in the clause (1998:146). The translation correspondences are *Full match, Replacement, Movement* and *Restructuring*. In my analysis, these categories have been adapted to fit my purpose to analyse the translation of N-Rhemes rather than Themes or full clauses. This will be illustrated in the following characterization of the four translation categories.

In the present study, *Full match* means that the N-Rheme in the translation corresponds to the original N-Rheme. In other words, a *Full Match* is a congruent translation (63): The translated N-Rheme might, however, include small phrase-structure changes while maintaining the same ideational content, as is illustrated in (64). This definition of *Full Match* follows Hasselgård (1998:146).[56]

(63a) His son and heir, the Tsarevich Aleksei, who fled abroad, was lured back **to Russia** (CAOG1:17)	(63b) Hans son och arvinge, tsarevitj Aleksej, som flydde utomlands, lockades tillbaka **till Ryssland** (CAOG1:17t)
(64a) So I decided **to give it a try**. (BA1:37)	(64b) Därför beslutade jag mig för **att göra ett försök.** (BA1:37t) *'to give a try'*

Reformulation refers to a translation change inside the N-Rheme where the N-Rheme has been reformulated while keeping most of its ideational/informational content, as in the following example:

(65a) But she'll probably be entitled to **Meals on Wheels**. (ST1:83)	(65b) Men hon kommer förmodligen att bli berättigad **att få maten hemkörd.**(ST1:83t) '*But she will probably be entitled* ***to get the food home delivered.***'

In (65), the NP *Meals on Wheels* has been reformulated into the Non-finite Clause *att få maten hemkörd* / '*to get the food home delivered*', which is what the purpose of *Meals on Wheels* is. As there is no equivalent organization to *Meals on Wheels* in Sweden, the term has to be expressed in a different way. Informationally, the content is similar, but the structure of the N-Rheme is different. Consequently, a lexical phrase realized

[56] In comparison to Thunes (2011), a Full match would be similar to a Type 1 correspondence, 'word-by-word-translations' where there is syntactic and pragmatic equivalence between the constituents in the source and target text (2011:136-7). However, in Thunes (2011), the translation correspondence refers to the whole clause, whereas in my analysis it only refers to the N-Rheme.

as an NP has been replaced by a Non-finite clause, resulting in a more explicit N-Rheme.

To some extent, Reformulation is similar to Hasselgård's (1998) *Replacement* and Thunes' (2011) type 3 correspondences. According to Hasselgård (1998:146) *Replacement* involves one of three possible word order changes: 'i) an element has been added; ii) an element has been omitted; iii) one type of constituent has been replaced by another'. In Thunes (2011:156-7), type 3 correspondences are described as 'structurally different, but semantically equivalent'. Thunes illustrates this type of correspondence with the Norwegian intransitive verb *himlet* / '*roll your eyes*' which in English is translated into *rolled her eyes*, consisting of a transitive verb + a noun phrase functioning as Direct Object. According to Thunes (2011:163), this represents the second most complex translation correspondence.

Movement involves the movement of the original N-Rheme to another position in the T-unit in the translated text. This change results in the translated text having a different N-Rheme from the source text (66). Thus, the translation change has a wider scope, affecting the structure of the T-unit:

(66a) All security ended **there**. (JC1:126)	(66b) Där upphörde **all säkerhet** (JC1:126t)

In (66), the source text N-Rheme *there* has been moved to the Theme in the translation (67b), and the Subject Theme of the source text *All security/'all säkerhet'* has become N-Rheme. Consequently, the N-Rhemes in the English original and the Swedish translation are completely different, but the constituents which build the T-unit are to a great extent similar. So, in cases of *Movement*, there is primarily a reordering of the constituents within the T-unit. If the T-unit is heavily restructured or reformulated and there is no clear *Movement* of the N-Rheme, the translation change is instead categorized as *Restructuring*.

Movement is similar to Hasselgård's (1998) category *Movement* and Thunes' (2011*) type 2 correspondences*. In Hasselgård (1998:146), *Movement* 'means that the translation contains the same clause elements as the original, but in a different order'. Similarly, Thunes (2011:153) states that '[a]ll lexical words in the source string must have a target correspondent of the same category and with the same function'. Consequently, there is correspondence between the constituents in the clause, but there might be differences in the order of the constituents. In Thunes' analysis, type 2 correspondences are seen as the second least complex translation type.

Finally, *Restructuring* is a translation change where there is no correspondence between the original and the translated N-Rheme. In these examples, something more than a *Reformulation* or *Movement* of the original N-Rheme occurs in the translation. Often this involves syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences between the original T-unit and the translation, which affect what is placed as N-Rheme in the translation. This is exemplified in (67), where the English original (67a) has the N-Rheme *erratic* and the translation (67b) has the N-Rheme *i sina*

ansträngningar att nå dit/'in their efforts to reach there', which is not part of the English original text:

(67a) And their pace is **erratic**. (CS1)	(67b) Och de väljer fel hastighet **i sina ansträngningar att nå dit**. (CS1t) *'And they choose the wrong pace* ***in their efforts to reach there.****'*

In (67a), the T-unit is relational with *their pace* as Subject/Carrier and *erratic* as the Subject Complement/Attribute N-Rheme. However, in the translation (67b), the T-unit is material with a semantically different constituent *de / 'they'* as Subject/Actor and an added constituent functioning as an Adverbial/Circumstance N-Rheme.

In comparison, Hasselgård (1998:147) defines Restructuring as a translation which is 'relatively free as regards syntax, but still close enough to the original for the meaning components to be recognized'. Similarly to *Restructuring*, the *type 4 correspondences* in Thunes (2011:165) contain structural as well as semantic differences between the source and the target text. Thunes (2011:170) state that the *type 4 correspondences* are the most complex class of translational correspondences as they 'typically exhibit structural divergences between original and translation, although in certain cases these may be of a minimal kind'. As an illustration, she uses the Norwegian *å gå i melkebutikken eller til bakeren/'to go to the milk shop or to the baker*', which has been translated into *to go and buy milk and bread*. In the present study, this translation change would be categorised as a Reformulation as it is a change which occurs inside the N-Rheme and does not affect the constituents outside the N-Rheme. The N-Rheme is a to-infinitive clause in both source and target text, but part of the dependent clause has been reformulated in the translation.

In addition, Restructuring frequently involves what in the present study is referred to as a T-unit split or a T-unit merge. This means, that the translation results in a changed number of T-units, and consequently a changed number of N-Rhemes. Either, the original text has one T-unit and one N-Rheme, which in the translation is split into two or more T-units and N-Rhemes, or two or more T-units and N-Rhemes are merged into fewer T-units and N-Rhemes. A more detailed presentation of Restructuring follows in chapter 9, which contains a more elaborate analysis of how the N-Rhemes have been restructured in the translations.

In my model of analysis, the translation correspondences of the N-Rheme are given focus. The four translation correspondences could, similarly to Thunes (2011) and Hasselgård (1998), be seen as ranking on a scale from full correspondence between original and translated N-Rheme to no correspondence between original and translated N-Rheme. In the two categories *Full match* and *Reformulation* there is a high degree of informational correspondence between the N-Rheme in the source text and the N-Rheme in the target text, although the Reformulated N-Rhemes

could involve both syntactic, semantic and pragmatic translation changes. In Reformulations, the translation changes only affect the N-Rheme. In contrast, the categories *Movement* and *Restructuring* involve more significant changes in terms of Rheme structure as such translations result in informationally different N-Rhemes. This means that the translation change goes outside the N-Rheme. This is illustrated in figure 5.1:

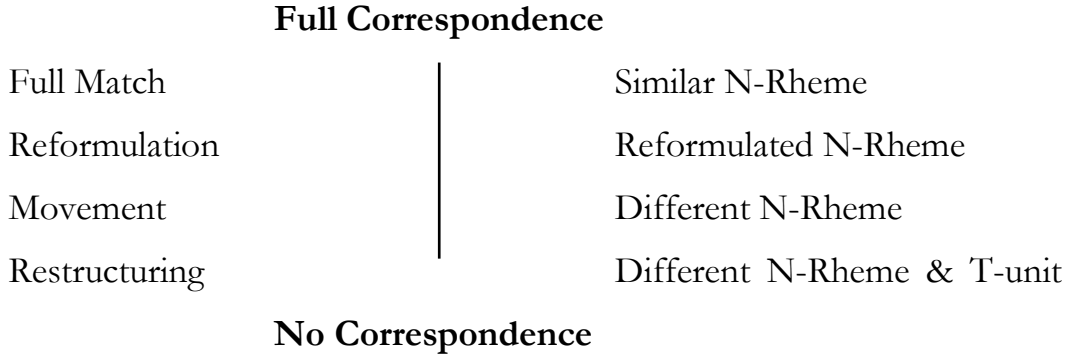

Figure 3.2 Translation correspondences

Within one T-unit, two or more of these translation changes could occur simultaneously. For example, the translation of an N-Rheme could involve both *Reformulation* and *Movement* if the N-Rheme has been reformulated as well as moved to another position within the T-unit. In such cases, I have classified the change as a *Movement* based on the greater extent to which the translation affects the N-Rheme, and consequently the information structure of the T-unit. Thus, the translation change is categorised as the type where there is least correspondence between the N-Rhemes, and possibly also the T-units.

3.7 Method of analysis

Based on the categorisation set out in this chapter, the analysis of the N-Rhemes was carried out as follows: First, I had access to the aligned text files on disks. So, for each selected text, I delimited an extract from the beginning of the text, ending at a natural point, and divided the extract into T-units. The original T-units and their aligned translations were all imported into a database in *FileMaker Pro*. Each example was given a label based on its source and the T-Unit in the text sample, e.g. (JC1:1). All examples were coded in terms of text type, type of clause, i.e. declarative, question, imperative, minor or elliptical clause (4.4.2), as well as reporting/reported (3.4.3). Next, all N-Rhemes were categorized according to their grammatical form (3.5.1), syntactic function (3.5.2) and transitivity (3.5.3). The translation correspondence was also added (3.6), as well as information whether the form,

function and transitivity was kept or changed in the translation. In addition, the Themes were also categorized in the same way, if I would like to make a similar analysis of the Themes in the future, or make comparisons to the translation of Themes. Altogether, this resulted in an analysis of 4412 T-units, as illustrated in table 3.4:

Table 3.4 Number of analysed T-units

	English (EO)	**Swedish (SO)**	**Total**
Fiction	1166	1536	2702
Popular Science	781	929	1710
Total	1947	2465	4412

Next, the quantitative analysis of the N-Rhemes and the translation correspondences was made with the help of SIGIL Corpus Frequency Test Wizard (http://sigil.collocations.de/wizard.html). The two sample test was used to calculate the chi-square value and the *p*-value of the significance. The test calculates the probability that there is not a difference between the two samples. The lower the p-value, the lower the risk that the difference between the samples is not statistically significant. The results that showed a statistical significance of $p<0.001$ were given primary focus in the qualitative analysis. This leads us into the actual analysis of the material, which will be presented in the following chapters, starting with a formal, syntactic and semantic profile of N-Rhemes in original English and Swedish texts in chapter 4.

4. N-Rhemes in English and Swedish

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the formal, syntactic and semantic characteristics of N-Rhemes in the two language samples, and to highlight some of the main differences between the languages and the text types. This primarily quantitative analysis of N-Rhemes in original texts provides a valuable background to the analysis of translation correspondences and lack of correspondences in chapters 6-9. The chapter is organised as follows: in section 4.1, the frequencies of the grammatical form, function and transitivity of the N-Rhemes are compared, first in the English and Swedish original texts, then in the two text types. Next, section 4.2 and 4.3 present the characteristics of English and Swedish N-Rhemes illustrated with examples.

4.1 A formal, syntactic and semantic profile of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish

In this section, the grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity of the N-Rhemes in the original texts and the two text types will be presented**.** First, the two language samples will be compared and summarised in section 4.1.1 and 4.1.2. This is followed by a text type comparison in section 4.1.3, and an analysis of the major differences in 4.1.4.

4.1.1 Comparison of the two language samples

First, the grammatical form of the N-Rhemes is compared in table 4.1. The results are presented in descending order of frequency for the English original texts:[57,58]

[57] All tables follow this pattern, unless others stated.
[58] Bold type indicates the most frequent category in each text sample in all tables.

Table 4.1 The grammatical form of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish

	English (EO)		Swedish (SO)		Statistical
	n	%	n	%	significance
Noun Phrase	**600**	**30.8**	**745**	**30.2**	n.s
Prepositional Phrase	521	26.8	705	28.6	n.s
Finite Clause	224	11.5	276	11.2	n.s
Non-Finite Clause	157	8.1	110	4.5	***
Verb Phrase	140	7.2	174	7.1	n.s
Adjective Phrase	126	6.5	139	5.6	n.s
Adverb Phrase	93	4.8	213	8.6	***
Not analysed[59]	84	4.3	103	4.2	n.s
Total	1947	100	2465	100	

*** = $p<0.001$

There is high correspondence between the two languages regarding the grammatical form of the N-Rheme. As table 4.1 shows, the N-Rheme is typically an NP (30.8% and 30.2%) or a PP (26.8% and 28.6%) in both languages, see examples (1) – (4). The results are consistent with Herriman's (2011:5) analysis of N-Rhemes in English problem-solution texts. In her material, PPs (ca. 30%), NPs (ca. 30%) and clauses (ca. 20%) were the most common grammatical forms of the N-Rhemes.

(1) Vanity is becoming **a nuisance** (MA1:100)

(2) De upptäckte **Island och Grönland** (HL1:37)
'*They discovered* ***Iceland and Greenland***'

(3) They could spit their olive pips **at waitresses**. (JC1:37)

(4) Jag satte fötterna **i gatan.** (AP1:26)
'*I put my feet* ***on the street***'

The most notable differences between the language samples concern the higher proportion of Non-Finite Clause N-Rhemes in the English texts, 8.1% vs. 4.5% ($p<0.001$), and the higher proportion of Adverb Phrase N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts, 8.6% vs. 4.8% ($p<0.001$). These differences are possibly related to a more frequent use of Non-Finite Clauses in general in English (see e.g. Ruin 2012) and the difference in word order between the two languages regarding the position of

[59] The category *Not analysed* consists of Minor Clauses and sentence fragments (see section 3.4.2)

short adverbials (see e.g. Lindquist 1989 and Estling Vannestål 2015). This will be further discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3.

Furthermore, the syntactic functions of the N-Rhemes are largely similar in the English and Swedish text samples. In particular, this applies to the most frequent syntactic functions, Adverbials (36.0% and 37.3%) and Direct Objects (24.4% and 23.3%), as is illustrated in table 4.2 and examples (5) – (10):

Table 4.2 The syntactic function of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish

	English (EO)		**Swedish (SO)**		**Statistical**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**significance**
Adverbial	701	**36.0**	919	**37.3**	n.s
Direct Object	474	24.4	575	23.3	n.s
Subject Complement	278	14.3	338	13.7	n.s
Verb	141	7.2	173[60]	7.0	n.s
Tail	117	6.0	93	3.8	***
Subject	87	4.5	203	8.2	***
Object Complement	28	1.4	15	0.6	**
Indirect Object	14	0.7	23	0.9	n.s
Others[61]	23	1.2	23	0.9	n.s
Not Analysed[62]	84	4.3	102	4.1	n.s
Total	1947	100	2465	99.8	

(5) They yearn towards God **in prayer**. (KAR1:12) [Adverbial]

(6) Miljöförstöringen begränsar tillväxten **på både kort och lång sikt**. (CO1:20) [Adverbial]
*'Environmental pollution limits growth **on both short and long terms**'*

(7) Both party leaders publicly supported **the monarchy**. (ST1:26) [Direct Object]

(8) Sedan fattar hon **en lång tång** [PCJ1:14) [Direct Object]
*Then seizes she **a long pair of tongs'***

[60] The number of Verb Phrases in the Swedish texts is not equivalent to the number of Verbs as one of the VPs functions syntactically as Tail.
[61] The category includes textual and interpersonal N-Rhemes, e.g. vocatives and tags.
[62] Not Analysed consists of Minor Clauses and sentence fragments.

(9) To the Limey, the Yank was **overpaid, oversexed and over here!** (BA1:72) [Subject Complement]

(10) verkstadsprodukter blev **mycket efterfrågade** (TR1:6) [Subject Complement]
'*mechanical engineering products were* ***much in demand***'

In comparison, Herriman's (2011) analysis of English problem-solution texts showed a slightly higher proportion of Adverbial N-Rhemes, i.e. about 40% (c.f. 36% in my text sample). In her analysis, the second and third most frequent functions were Direct Objects and Subject Complements, both occurring as N-Rheme in about 20% of the clauses. In my English text sample, the N-Rhemes are to a greater extent Direct Objects in comparison to Subject Complements, 24.4% vs. 14.3%. This difference might be related to the compilation of the two corpora. Her corpus only included problem-solution texts, whereas the present study includes both Fiction and Popular Science texts. There is a higher percentage of Subject Complement N-Rhemes, 18.2% vs. 11.7%, in the English Popular Science texts compared to their Fiction counterparts in the present study (see table 4.7 in section 4.1.3).

The most significant differences between the two language samples concern the higher frequency of Tail N-Rhemes in the English texts 6.0 % vs. 3.8% ($p<0.001$), and the higher frequency of Subject N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts, 8.2% vs. 4.5% ($p<0.001$). In the English texts, Tail N-Rhemes are frequently realized as Non-Finite clauses, which will be further discussed in 4.2. The higher frequency of Subject N-Rhemes in Swedish is related to different preferences regarding the position of the Subject in the two languages; see section 2.4.2 and 4.3 for a further discussion of this.

In terms of Transitivity, Participant and Circumstance N-Rhemes are highly frequent in both language samples, though Participant N-Rhemes are somewhat more frequent in the Swedish texts, 43.7% vs. 39.9% ($p<0.05$) (see Appendix, table 4.3). Of the different types of Participants, Attribute (31.2% and 27.0%) and Goal (29.1% and 27.0%) N-Rhemes are the most frequent types in both language samples, as illustrated in (11) – (14):

(11) International cultures are **a culture unto themselves** (BA:147)

(12) Sedan är det **mörkt** (AP1:11)
'*Then is it* ***dark***'

(13) I hold **her hand** (MA1:163)

(14) Men hon släppte **cykelstyret** (AP1:47)
'*but she let go* ***the handlebars***'

The most significant difference between the language samples concerns the higher proportion of Actor N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts, 7.3% vs. 2.6% ($p<0.001$) (see Appendix, table 4.7). There is also a higher proportion of Carrier N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts, 5.0% vs. 2.6% ($p<0.05$). These differences mirror the higher proportion of clause-final Subject N-Rhemes (see table 4.2 above) as Carriers and Actors usually function syntactically as Subjects. This will be further discussed in section 4.3.

Circumstance N-Rhemes are highly frequent in the two language samples (35.4% vs. 36.4%) (see Appendix, table 4.3). However, there are some significant differences between the language samples regarding the frequencies of different types of Circumstances, as shown in table 4.3:

Table 4.3 Circumstance N-Rhemes in English and Swedish[63]

	English (EO)		**Swedish (SO)**		**Statistical**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**significance**
Place	199	**28.9**	360	**40.1**	***
Manner	172	25.0	180	20.0	*
Contingency	134	19.5	110	12.3	***
Time	117	17.0	181	20.2	n.s
Accompaniment	30	4.4	39	4.3	n.s
Matter	19	2.8	12	1.3	n.s
Angle	12	1.7	11	1.2	n.s
Role	6	0.9	5	0.6	n.s
Total	689	100	898	100	

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

Place is the most frequent type of Circumstance N-Rheme in both language samples, exemplified in (15) and (16), but it is much more frequent in the Swedish texts, 40.1% vs. 28.9% ($p<0.001$). In the Swedish texts, Place N-Rhemes are twice as frequent as Time, 20.2%, and Manner N-Rhemes, 20.0%, whereas the distribution of these types of Circumstances is more similar in the English text sample.

(15) Victor Wilcox lies awake **in the dark bedroom** (DLO1:2)

(16) Till slut stannade han **framför flaskorna**. (LH1:111)
'*Finally stopped he* ***in front of the bottles.***'

[63]The percentages have been calculated for Circumstances and not for the total material, i.e. 28.9% of the Circumstances in the English texts are Place, 25.0% Manner etc.

These results deviate somewhat from Lindqvist's (1989) figures for Adverbials in clause-final position in English. In fact, his results are more similar to the Swedish results in the present study, particularly the figures for Place Adverbials, 41.7% in his material (only fiction), which can be compared to 30.4% in the English Fiction sample.[64] Furthermore, Hasselgård's study of Adjunct Adverbials in English (2010:115) showed that the most common types of Adjuncts in end position were space and time.

Moreover, there is a significantly higher percentage of Contingency N-Rhemes in the English texts, 19.5% vs. 12.3% ($p<0.001$). Consequently, the Swedish texts tend to favour Place N-Rhemes, while there is more variation in the English texts. This will be further discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3.

Compared to Participant and Circumstance N-Rhemes, Process N-Rhemes are infrequent in both language samples. Consequently, there are not many examples of each type, as illustrated in table 4.4:

Table 4.4 Process N-Rhemes in English and Swedish[65]

	English (EO)		**Swedish (SO)**		**Statistical**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Significance**
Material	59	**41.3**	103	**59.5**	**
Verbal	46	32.2	18	10.4	***
Mental	18	12.6	12	6.9	n.s
Behavioural	13	9.1	24	13.9	n.s
Relational	7	4.9	15	8.7	n.s
Existential	-	-	1	0.6	n.s
Total	143	100	173	100	

** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

Of the Process types, Material N-Rhemes are most frequent in both text samples, exemplified in (17) and (18), but comparatively more frequent in the Swedish texts, 59.5% vs. 41.3% ($p<0.01$).[66]

(17) The assassin **escaped** (CAOG1:66)

[64] See Appendix, table 4.5 for the absolute frequencies.

[65] The percentages have been calculated for Processes and not for the total material, i.e. 41.3% of the Process N-Rhemes in the English texts are Material, 32.4% Verbal etc.

[66] If percentages are calculated on the total number of N-Rhemes instead, there is no significant difference between the language samples: 3.0% Material Process N-Rhemes in the English texts and 4.6% in the Swedish texts.

(18) Brevlådan **måste flyttas** (SC1:48)

*'The postbox **has to be moved**'*

Verbal Process N-Rhemes, on the other hand, are more frequent in the English texts, 32.4% vs. 10.4% ($p<0.001$). This difference is partly related to the word order in Reporting Clauses in English (see e.g. Estling Vannestål 2015). This will be further discussed in section 4.1.4 and 4.2.

4.1.2 Sum up

What can be seen as the unmarked N-Rheme[67] is very similar in the English and Swedish text samples. This is summarised in table 4.5 below. The N-Rheme is typically an NP or PP which functions syntactically as an Adverbial or Direct Object. In terms of transitivity, Participants and Circumstances are almost equally frequent as N-Rhemes. When the N-Rheme is a Participant, it is typically an Attribute or a Goal, and when it is a Circumstance, a Place in Swedish, and a Place or Manner in English. In contrast, Process N-Rhemes are rather marked in both language samples:

Table 4.5 Unmarked N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English (EO)	**Swedish (SO)**
Grammatical Form	NP, PP	NP, PP
Syntactic Function	Adverbial, Direct Object	Adverbial, Direct Object
Participant	Attribute, Goal	Attribute, Goal
Circumstance	Place, Manner	Place

As an illustration, (19) – (22) present unmarked N-Rhemes in the English texts and (23) – (25) unmarked N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts:

(19) Only I'm going to have **a pet iguana**, (MA1:88) [NP, dO, Attr]

(20) He bought **books that kept him from Shakespeare**. (NG1:133) [NP, dO, Goal]

(21) but she saw the discarded placards **from the window of her limousine**. (ST1:160) [PP, Adverbial, Place]

[67] See section 2.1 for definitions of the terms marked and unmarked N-Rheme.

(22) Worries streak towards him **like enemy spaceships in one of Gary's video games**. (DLO1:13) [PP, Adverbial, Manner]

(23) Platsen hade **inget namn**. (KE1:232) [NP, dO, Attr]
'*The place had **no name***'

(24) I den högra handen höll han **ett kort spö**. (LH1:51) [NP, dO, Goal]
'*In the right hand held he **a short whip***'

(25) sådana är ofta vinterdagarna **i vår stad**. (AP1;3) [PP, Adverbial, Place]
'*like that are often winter days **in our town.***'

As the above presented results show, there are some significant differences between the language samples. The features (grammatical form, syntactic function, transitivity) which are significantly more frequent in one of the language samples are summarised in table 4.6. Only differences at the highest level of significance, $p<0.001$ are included in the table:

Table 4.6 The most significant differences between the English and Swedish texts (%)[68]

Feature		**English (EO)**	**Swedish (SO)**	**Table**
Grammatical Form	Non-finite Clause	8.1	4.5	4.1
	Adverb Phrase	4.8	8.6	
Syntactic function	Subject	4.5	8.2	4.2
	Tail	6.0	3.8	
Transitivity	Projection	6.0	3.9	Appendix
	Participant Actor	2.6	7.3	Appendix
	Circ. Place	28.9	40.1	4.3
	Circ. Contingency	19.5	12.3	
	Verbal Process	32.2	10.4	4.4

In conclusion, Non-finite Clauses, Tails, Projections, Circumstances of Contingency and Verbal Processes are more frequently N-Rhemes in the English texts, whereas Adverb Phrases, Subjects, Participant Actors and Circumstances of Place are more frequent in the Swedish texts. These differences will be further discussed in section 4.2 and 4.3. Before this, in the next section, the grammatical

[68] The percentages included from table 4.1-4.3 are based on the total number of T-units, whereas the percentages included from table 4.4 - 4.6 are based on the total number of Participants (4.4), Circumstances (4.5) and Processes (4.6).

form, syntactic and semantic function of the N-Rhemes in the two text types will be compared.

4.1.3 Comparison of the two text types

The main focus of the present study is on language comparison. However, the corpus consists of two different text types, Fiction and Popular Science, and therefore, a comparison of the grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity of the N-Rhemes in the two text types could gain further insights into text type characteristics within the two languages. It can also provide a background to the interpretation of the translation correspondences or lack of correspondences in chapter 6-9. The form, function and transitivity of the two text types will be compared within each language sample in section 4.1.3. Furthermore, the text type differences that apply to both language samples will be discussed in section 4.1.4.

First, the grammatical form of the N-Rhemes in each text type and each language sample is presented in table 4.7. The results are presented in descending order for the English Fiction texts. Only relative frequencies are included in the table: [69]

Table 4.7 The grammatical form of N-Rhemes in both language samples and both text types (%)[70]

	English (EO)		S.s	Swedish (SO)		S.s
	Fiction	Pop. Sc		Fiction	Pop. Sc.	
Noun Phrase	**28.5**	**34.3**	**	**27.7**	**34.3**	***
Preposition Phrase	24.1	30.7	**	26.4	32.3	**
Finite Clause	10.4	13.2	n.s	11.3	11.0	n.s
Verb Phrase	10.4	2.7	***	8.3	5.1	**
Non-Finite Clause	7.8	8.5	n.s	3.6	5.8	*
Adverb Phrase	6.6	2.0	***	10.2	6.0	***
Adjective Phrase	5.6	7.8	n.s	7.3	2.9	***
Not analysed[71]	6.7	0.8	***	5.1	2.5	**

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

Table 4.7 shows that NPs and PPs are the most frequent types of N-Rhemes in both text types and both language samples, but they are significantly more frequent

[69] See Appendix table 4.1 – 4.6 for the absolute frequencies regarding the different types of N-Rhemes in the two text types and two languages.
[70] The percentages are based on the total number of T-units in each text type in each language sample.
[71] Not analysed consists of Minor Clauses and sentence fragments. These are significantly more frequent in the Fiction texts compared to the Popular Science texts in both language samples.

in the Popular Science texts in both language samples. In contrast, VP and AdvP N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Fiction texts in both language samples. These differences will be further discussed in section 4.1.4 below.

A comparison of the syntactic functions of N-Rhemes shows that Adverbial N-Rhemes are most frequent in both text types and both language samples, as displayed in table 4.8:

Table 4.8 The syntactic function of N-Rhemes in both language samples and both text types (%)

	English (EO)		Statistical	Swedish (SO)		Statistical
	Fiction	Pop. Sc.	Significance	Fiction	Pop. Sc.	Significance
Adverbial	**35.4**	**36.9**	n.s	**37.8**	**36.5**	n.s
Direct Object	21.7	28.3	**	21.7	26.0	*
Subject C.	11.7	18.2	***	13.7	13.7	n.s
Verbs	10.3	2.7	***	8.2	5.1	**
Tail	6.3	5.6	n.s	3.7	3.9	n.s
Subject	4.3	4.7	n.s	6.8	10.6	**
Object C.	1.2	1.8	n.s	0.5	0.8	n.s
Indirect Object	0.7	0.8	n.s	1.0	0.8	n.s
Others[72]	1.8	0.3	n.s	1.3	0.3	n.s
Not analysed[73]	6.7	0.8	***	5.1	2.5	**

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

As the results in 4.7 showed, the Fiction texts have a higher percentage of VP, and consequently, Verb N-Rhemes in both language samples. In contrast, the Popular Science texts have a significantly higher proportion of Direct Object N-Rhemes in both language samples. In addition, the English Popular Science texts have a higher percentage of Subject Complement N-Rhemes compared to the English Fiction texts (18.2% vs. 11.7%), a text type difference that only applies to the English texts. However, the Swedish Popular Science texts have a significantly higher proportion of Subject N-Rhemes compared to the Fiction counterparts. Possibly, this indicates a text type difference which is realized differently because of word order differences or preferences between the languages. This will be further discussed in section 4.1.4

The comparison of the Transitivity of N-Rhemes displays a higher proportion of Participant N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts in both languages, 47.5% vs.

[72] The category includes textual and interpersonal N-Rhemes, e.g. vocative and tags.
[73] Not Analysed consists of Minor Clauses.

34.7% in the English text sample and 49.7% vs. 40.0% in the Swedish text sample ($p<0.001$). The proportions of Participants are also comparatively higher in the Swedish texts for both text types.[74] In contrast, Process N-Rhemes are more common in the Fiction texts in both language samples.

Table 4.9 The Transitivity of N-Rhemes in both language samples and text types (%)

	English (EO)		**Statistical**	**Swedish (SO)**		**Statistical**
	Fiction	**Pop. Sc.**	**significance**	**Fiction**	**Pop. Sc.**	**significance**
Circumstance	**35.3**	35.6	n.s	37.5	34.7	n.s
Participant	34.7	**47.5**	***	**40.0**	**49.7**	***
Process	10.4	2.8	***	8.2	5.1	**
Projection	4.9	7.6	*	4.0	3.8	n.s
Unclassified[75]	14.7	6.5	***	10.3	6.7	***

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

This difference between the text types is to some extent related to the use of reported speech in Fiction, as will be further discussed in section 4.1.4. The more frequent usage of Participants in the Popular Science texts points to a difference in style between the text types. This is also indicated in the distribution of the different types of Participants in the two text types, as is illustrated in table 4.10:

[74] In the Fiction texts, Participant N-Rhemes are more common in the Swedish language sample compared to the English language sample, 40.0% vs. 34.7% ($p < 0.001$). The distribution is more similar in the Popular Science texts.

[75] Unclassified includes Textual and Interpersonal N-Rhemes, as well as Tails and Minor clauses. The higher proportions in the Fiction texts are related to higher frequencies of Tails and Minor clauses in Fiction, particularly in the English texts.

Table 4.10 Participant N-Rhemes in both language samples and text types %[76]

	English (EO)		Statistical	Swedish (SO)		Statistical
	Fiction	Pop.Sc.	Significance	Fiction	Pop. Sc.	Significance
Attribute	**31.6**	**30.7**	n.s	**31.7**	20.8	***
Goal[77]	28.4	29.9	n.s	23.7	**31.4**	**
Value	14.1	20.2	*	8.1	20.4	***
Phenomenon	9.9	3.2	***	11.9	3.2	***
Existent	4.2	3.0	n.s	2.8	1.5	n.s
Sayer	3.2	0.8	*	2.4	0.2	**
Token	2.2	1.3	n.s	2.8	3.7	n.s
Carrier	1.7	3.5	n.s	3.9	6.5	n.s
Verbiage	1.2	0.8	n.s	2.8	1.5	n.s
Actor	1.0	4.3	**	5.9	9.3	*
Others[78]	2.5	2.2	n.s	4.1	1.5	*

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

As table 4.10 shows, the Popular Science texts in both language samples have a higher percentage of Value and Actor N-Rhemes. In addition, there are higher proportions of Phenomenon and Sayer N-Rhemes in the Fiction texts in both language samples. This will be further discussed in section 4.1.4.

Finally, there are no text type differences that apply to both language samples for the different types of Circumstance N-Rhemes. However, in the Swedish language sample, there are significantly more Place N-Rhemes in the Fiction texts, 46.4% vs. 28.6% ($p<0.001$), and significantly more Manner N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts, 25.8% vs. 16.8% ($p<0.01$).[79] This will be further discussed in section 4.3.[80]

To sum up, the unmarked N-Rhemes in the two text types are similar to the unmarked N-Rhemes in the two languages, with one exception. Manner N-Rhemes are highly frequent in the Swedish Popular Science texts, 25.8%, but not in the Swedish Fiction texts. The types of N-Rhemes which are more common in one of the text types in both languages are presented in table 4.11. Only differences that

[76] The percentages have been calculated for Participants and not for the total material, i.e. 31.6% of the Participants in English Fiction are Atributes, 28.4% Goals etc.

[77] Goal, Target and Range have similar roles and are presented together

[78] This category includes Participants occurring as N-Rheme less than 15 times in both languages and both text types: Senser, Receiver, Beneficiary and Behaver.

[79] See Appendix, table 4.5 for the absolute frequencies.

[80] Process N-Rhemes have not been discussed as they are very unusual in the Popular Science texts. There are only 15 instances in the English texts and 38 in the Swedish texts (see Appendix table 4.6).

occur at the highest level of significance in one of the language samples are included in the table.[81]

Table 4.11 Differently distributed N-Rhemes in both language samples and text types (%)

N-Rheme		**English original**		**Swedish original**		**Table**
		Fiction	**Pop. Sc.**	**Fiction**	**Pop. Sc.**	
Grammatical Form	Noun Phrase	*28.5*	*34.3*	**27.7**	**34.3**	4.7
	Adverb Phrase	**6.6**	**2.0**	**10.2**	**6.0**	
	Verb Phrase	**10.4**	**2.7**	*8.3*	*5.1*	
Syntactic function	Verb	**10.3**	**2.7**	*8.2*	*5.1*	4.8
Transitivity	Participant	**34.7**	**47.5**	**40.0**	**49.7**	4.9-4.10 + Appendix
	Process	**10.4**	**2.8**	*8.2*	*5.1*	
	Value	14.1	20.2	**8.1**	**20.4**	
	Phenomenon	**9.9**	**3.2**	**11.9**	**3.2**	
	Material	36.4	68.2	**51.6**	**80.9**	

$p<0.05$, *$p<0.01$*, **$p<0.001$**

These text type differences will be further discussed and exemplified in the following sections.

4.1.4 Text type differences

This section will briefly discuss the most significant text type differences, illustrated with typical examples from the text type where it is most frequent. The focus will be on text type differences that apply to both language samples. First, the types of N-Rhemes that are more frequent in the Fiction texts will be discussed, followed by the N-Rhemes that are more frequent in the Popular Science texts.[82]

[81] When there is a difference between the text types in the other language sample, but at a lower level of significance ($p<0.01$), this has been marked in italics. The figures without marking has a difference of $p<0.05$.

[82] As mentioned in section 4.1.3, there are a number of text type differences which only apply to one of the language samples. These will not be analysed as the text type comparison is not the main focus of the present study. When these differences result in a difference between the language samples, they have been discussed as such (see section 4.1.1 and 4.1.3), as is the case with the higher frequency of Subject N-Rhemes

In the analysed material, a few types of N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Fiction texts in both language samples. The first example is AdvP N-Rhemes (see table 4.7 above).

(26) she nodded **enthusiastically** (NG1:42)

(27) I'm having that trouble myself **now** (MA1:87)

(28) Då cyklade jag **därifrån** (AP1:330)
'*then cycled I* ***away***'

The AdvP N-Rhemes in Fiction typically occur in fairly short, simple sentences presenting a fact with a light AdvP at the end. Possibly, these light adverbials have a special discourse function which only applies to fiction. There is a slight difference between the types of AdvPs occurring as N-Rheme in the two languages. In English, the AdvPs typically function as Manner, adding information about people's actions, as in (26). But, AdvPs expressing time (27) and place also occur.[83] In contrast the AdvPs in the Swedish Fiction texts, are predominantly Place, as in (28).[84]

The next, and most typical example is the more frequent use of VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes in Fiction (see tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9). In the English texts, the higher frequency in Fiction is partly related to the use of reported speech in Fiction (29), as 44 of the VPs in the English Fiction texts occur in reporting clauses. [85] However, the significant differences between the text types remain even if the reporting clauses are excluded from the material. Thus, the difference is most likely also related to a difference in style with shorter sentences in the Fiction texts, in English (30) as well as Swedish (31):[86]

(29) No brain activity, the doctors **say** (MA1:169)

(30) The snoring **stops** (DLO1:56)

(31) Till slut **skulle** mitt hjärta **stanna**. (PCJ1:197)
'*Finally would my heart* ***stop***.'

Similarly, the higher frequency of Phenomenon N-Rhemes in the Fiction texts is also partly related to the reporting of indirect speech. Compared to the Popular

in Swedish (particularly in the Popular Science texts) and the higher frequency of Verbal Process N-Rhemes in English (particularly in the Fiction texts).

[83] Out of 77 AdvPs in English Fiction, 28 express Manner, 17 Time and 17 Place.

[84] Out of 157 AdvPs in Swedish Fiction, 51 express Place, 41 Time and 29 Manner.

[85] In the Swedish Fiction texts, 6 of the VP N-Rhemes occur in reporting clauses.

[86] This will be further discussed in section 9.1.1. The number of words/T-unit is much lower in the Fiction texts compared to the Popular Science texts in both language samples (9.6 vs. 17.6 in the English texts and 9.1 vs. 15.2 in the Swedish texts)

Science texts, the Fiction texts might report about human beings who think, feel and sense things to a larger extent, which would result in a higher frequency of mental clauses in the Fiction texts:

(32) I've never seen **an iron lung**, (MA1:173)

(33) Anna liked **the teasing mystery of Rook**. (JC1:87)

(34) Hon visste **det** (KE1:235
*'She knew **that**'*

(35) Jag känner **ingenting** (PCJ1:308)
*'I feel **nothing**'*

The results also show that some types of N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Popular Science texts in both language samples. These are Noun Phrase, Preposition Phrase and Participant N-Rhemes, in particular Value and Actor. As Noun Phrase N-Rhemes typically function as Participants in the system of transitivity, these are related. The higher frequency of NP N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts is most likely related to the greater level of abstraction and information density in the text type. These characteristics apply to the text type in general, but are also specifically reflected in the N-Rheme. One way in which information density is achieved is by the use of grammatical metaphor (Halliday 2004), or more specifically, the main way in which grammatical metaphors arise, i.e. as nominalisations (see e.g. Thompson 2004:225; Nordrum 2007). In scientific discourse, Noun Phrases, rather than verbs or adjectives, are frequently used to express experiences, processes and qualities (Halliday 2004:637; Olohan 2016:168). This results in a lexically denser text where processes and events might be perceived as more authoritative (Olohan 2016:168). When a process is presented as a thing, it is objectified and no longer open for negotiation (Thompson 2004:228, 230). This is illustrated in (36) and (37):

(36) Like the Oprichnina, the Preobrazhensky Prikaz foreshadowed, on a smaller scale, **the climate of fear and denunciation engendered by Stalin's Terror.** (CAOG:13)

(37) Samtidigt öppnar denna situation tillsammans med utvecklingen i Sydafrika **en möjlighet för ökat afrikanskt samarbete och en utveckling mindre styrd utifrån**.(CO1:23)
*'At the same time opens this situation, together with the development in South Africa **an opportunity for increased African cooperation and a development less governed externally**.'*

Furthermore, the higher proportion of Prepositional Phrase N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts could be related to the specific goals of the text. Several of the texts are about historical events, anchoring them in time and place, as in (38). In addition, the extracts are also taken from the beginning of texts. Therefore, some of the PP N-Rhemes are giving references to other sections (40) and other studies (41),

which is part of academic discourse. Finally, some of the PP N-Rhemes are also agents in passive clauses, which have been showed to be more frequent in Popular Science texts (39) (see e.g. Fredriksson 2016):

(38) Churchill wrote to Roosevelt **in October 1943** (MH1:140)

(39) Not long afterwards the region was invaded **by the Semitic Akkadians, who had adopted the language and culture of Sumer**. (KAR1:94)

(40) Några viktiga stadier i denna process identifieras **i figur 1** (HG1:48)
'*Some important steps in this process are identified* ***in Figure 1****.*'

(41) Just en sådan jämförelse har nu gjorts **inom ett samnordiskt forskningsprojekt.** (HG1:17)
'*Precisely such a comparison has now been made* ***in a joint Nordic research project****.*'

Finally, Participant Actor N-Rhemes turn out to be more frequent in the Popular Science texts in both languages. In particular, this applies to Actors in the form of extraposed Subjects, which have been moved to the N-Rheme because of their weight or for stylistic reasons, as is illustrated in (42) and (43):

(42) It is impossible **to prove this one way or the other**. (KAR1:25)

(43) Det är för övrigt en spännande del av vårt yrke och ett tecken på en kreativ företagsekonom **att de 'rätta' aspekterna förs fram i medvetandets ljus**. (BB1:73)
'*It is by the way an exciting part of our profession and a sign of a creative business manager* ***that the 'right' aspects are brought forward in the light of consciousness.****'*

However, in the Swedish Popular Science texts, ordinary Subjects are also frequent. A typical example is illustrated in (44). Similar to (37) above, the Swedish example has a passive structure, but in (44) the N-Rheme is a Subject. The English translation (44b) illustrates how the same informational content is presented as N-Rheme, whereas the syntactic structure has been altered to SVO:

(44a)Genom att använda 'centralmakt' betonas **just förekomsten av ett beslutscentrum inom en territoriellt definierad stat, som försöker upprätthålla kontroll – utöva makt – inom territoriet**. (HG1:83) '*By using 'central power' is emphasized just* ***the existence of*** *[…]*'	(44b) The use of the term 'central power' emphasizes **the existence of a decision-making centre within a territorially defined state which tries to maintain control – exert power – within the territory**. (HG1:83t)

4.2 English N-Rhemes

This section will briefly discuss the characteristics of English N-Rhemes, illustrated with typical examples, and contrasted with Swedish.

In the analysed material, there is a higher proportion of Non-Finite clause N-Rhemes in the English texts (see table 4.1). This difference between the language samples is most significant in the Fiction texts, 7.8% vs. 3.6% ($p<0.001$), cf. the Popular Science texts 8.5% vs. 5.6% ($p<0.05$). As has been highlighted by Ruin (2001:243), '[i]t is a well-known fact that English uses non-finite constructions to a much larger extent and for other purposes than Swedish'. The results in the present study show that this applies to N-Rhemes in particular. While both languages have Non-Finite clause N-Rhemes, one type of Non-Finite clause, the *ing*-clause, has no clear equivalent in Swedish.[87] The English *ing*-clause is used for different functions in comparison to finite alternatives. Quirk et al. (1985) and Johansson and Lysvåg (1987) claim these to be syntactic compression, indeterminacy, cohesion, simultaneity and reduction of communicative weight. In Swedish, these functions must be fulfilled by other grammatical categories.

In the present study, the Non-Finite *ing*-clause N-Rhemes can have different syntactic functions and semantic meanings. For example, the *ing*-clause can function as a Direct Object, as exemplified in (45), which represents a Phenomenon. It can also be a Subject Complement, with the semantic role of Value, as in (46):

(45) He liked **being in charge** (ST1:240)

(46) In Swedish eyes, being honest means **telling the truth and keeping your word**. (BA1:105)

However, in the majority of the analysed examples, the clause-final *ing*-clauses function as Tails,[88] which are more frequent in the English texts, particularly in Fiction (see table 4.2 and 4.8). As Tails, the *ing*-clauses add information about a participant in the narrative (Biber et al. 1999:829),[89] or give more specific details or additional information about the action in the main clause (Biber et al. 1999:832). In the analysed material, the *ing*-clause N-Rheme functioning as Tail typically refers back to an element in the Rheme, as in (47) and (48). In (47) the Tail *moving, speaking* is a specification of the process *come* in the Rheme:

(47) I *come* into the room, **moving, speaking**. (MA1:189)

[87] Nearly a third of the Non-finite clause N-Rhemes in English are *ing*-clauses (45/157)

[88] For a more detailed discussion of the characteristics of Tails see section 3.5.2.

[89] For a discussion of the semantic ambiguity of clause-final *ing*-clauses, see e.g. Lindqvist 1989:47, Johansson & Lysvåg (1997:278-9) and Biber et al. (1999:199).

In (48), the *ing*-clause Tail could be seen as a postponed apposition to the Subject, *the alarm*, as well as a specification of the process *wakes*, specifying how the waking occurs. In either interpretation, the Tail refers back to a constituent in the Rheme:

(48) Five minutes later, the alarm wakes him again, **cheeping insistently like a mechanical bird** (DLO1:67)

Both (47) and (48) illustrate how the *ing*-clause Tail is used for syntactic compression, as well as to express simultaneity of the action in the main clause and the Tail. The analysed material also contains *ing*-clause Tails referring back to the Subject Theme. In these examples, the referent and the function of the Tail is usually clearer. In (49), the Tail is a typical Substitute Theme, postponed to the N-Rheme for reasons of end-weight:

(49) *This* has become a regular occurrence lately: **lying awake in the dark, waiting for the alarm to bleep, worrying**. (DLO1:12)

In contrast, the majority of the Tails in the Swedish text sample are NPs, as in (50), which has a Substitute Theme *Hugo och jag* and a co-referential Pronoun Theme *Vi*. Clausal Tails referring back to the Process in the Rheme, similar to (46) above, are extremely rare in the Swedish text sample, but one is illustrated in (51):

(50) Vi gick upp på vinden, **Hugo och jag**. (AP1:274)
'*We went up to the attic,* ***Hugo and I***.'

(51) I hamnarna roar jag mig mest av slentrian, **super och horar som alla andra.**[90] (LH1:122)
'In the harbours I amuse myself mostly by habit, ***drinking and sleeping around like everyone else.***'

Possibly, the comparatively higher percentage of NP Tails in Swedish implies that Swedish Tails are more oriented towards the Subject/Theme, whereas the English Tails are more oriented towards the Rheme.

Moreover, Verbal Process N-Rhemes are more frequent in the English sample, particularly in the Fiction texts.[91] This difference is primarily related to the different order of the constituents in reporting clauses in direct speech in English and Swedish. In English, both Subject-Verb (52) and Verb-Subject (53) word order are possible in reporting clauses, unless the Subject is a pronoun (54) where the Subject-Verb word order must be used:

[90] Possibly, what I have categorised as Tail in (7) could be interpreted as a finite clause with an ellipted Subject. I have decided to categorise it as Tail as it is separated by a comma, and commas are not used to link main clauses without a coordinating conjunction.

[91] The difference is only statistically significant in the Fiction texts, 37.2% vs. 13.5% ($p<0.001$).

(52) You shouldn't have mixed it with whisky, Marjorie **said** (DLO1:39-40)

(53) "That's what I'm going to be like."says **Cordelia** (MA1:75-6)

(54) So? She **says** (MA1:19-20)

In Swedish, only Verb-Subject word order is possible (55) (Estling Vannestål 2015):

(55) Jag vet inte vem han är, sa **hon** (KE1:139-40)
*'I know not who he is, said **she**'*

The fact that English also can have Subject N-Rhemes in reporting clauses (as in (53)) explains why the language difference regarding clause-final Subjects (which are more frequent in the Swedish text sample, see table 4.2 and 4.8) is smaller in the Fiction texts. Previous research (see e.g. Gellerstam (1985, 1996)) have also shown that reporting clauses are more frequent in English texts compared to Swedish texts. This also applies to the present study where there are 84 reporting clauses in the English texts, compared to only 31 in the Swedish texts. In his studies of translationese, Gellerstam found that reported speech was much more frequent in Swedish translations compared to Swedish original texts.

Furthermore, Contingency N-Rhemes are more frequent in the English texts in both text types. According to Hasselgård (2010:140), information structure is mostly responsible for the clause final position of causal clauses as they typically convey new information and often contribute to bring the discourse forward. This is illustrated in (56), taken from Popular Science, and (36) from Fiction, where the Circumstance N-Rhemes are long, complex and heavy and contain new information:

(56) The Okhrana official, Komissarov, received an official reward of ten thousand roubles **for inciting anti-Jewish riots with pamphlets printed on Police Department presses.** (CAOG1:91)

(57) He read them over and over **in order to grasp and adapt the theory that recognized social education of the community, the parents and relatives and neighbours of the pupils, as part of a school's function**. (NG1:134)

In contrast, Swedish is more tolerant towards heavy adverbials in medial position.[92] The question is if this applies to Circumstances of Contingency, or if the chosen English texts just are more Contingency-oriented. An aspect that would indicate a more causal orientation in the English texts is the fact that Contingency Themes are also more frequent in the English texts, 22.3% vs. 13.6% in the Swedish texts ($p<0.01$). Possibly, the higher proportion of Contingency N-Rhemes in English

[92] Cf. Hasselgård (1996:114) discussing the difference between English and Norwegian regarding adverbial placement.

indicates that the goals of the English texts tend to be more oriented towards reasons and causes, whereas the Swedish texts might be more place-oriented, as will be discussed in section 4.4.

Projection N-Rhemes are also more frequent in the English texts. The text type comparison (see table 4.10) showed that this language difference only applies to the Popular Science texts, 7.6% vs. 3.8% ($p<0.001$), as the distribution of Projection N-Rhemes in the Fiction texts is similar in the two language samples, 4.9% vs. 4.0%. The Projections are typically realized as *that*-clauses (58):

(58) Some people say **that he has "gone away".** (KAR1:18)

Finally, the text type division reveals a higher proportion of AdjP N-Rhemes in the English original texts, but only in the Popular Science texts, (7.7% vs. 2.9%) ($p <0.001$). This difference is not visible in the total material for each language sample. [93] Partly, the higher frequency of Adjective N-Rhemes in English is mirrored in the higher frequency of Attribute N-Rhemes in English compared to Swedish in the Popular Science texts.[94] (59) is a typical illustration of an AdjP N-Rheme functioning as an Attribute in English:

(59) But given the extraordinary power and skill of the German army, the Allied command of the skies was **critical** (MH1:70)

In comparison, Attribute N-Rhemes (60) are predominantly realized as NPs in the Swedish Popular Science texts:

(60) Afrika är inte längre **en spelplan för supermaktsmotsättningar**. (CO1:27)
'*Africa is no longer* ***an arena for superpower conflicts***.'

Thus, the Swedish Participant N-Rhemes in relational processes tend to be NPs rather than AdjPs.

[93] In contrast, AdjP N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Swedish language sample: 7.3% in the Fiction texts (English 5.6%). This difference is not statistically significant, however.
[94] The Swedish Popular Science texts have a significantly lower frequency of Attribute N-Rhemes, both compared to their English counterparts, 20.8% vs. 30.7% ($p<0.01$), and to the Swedish Fiction texts, 20.8% vs. 31.7% ($p<0.001$).

4.3 Swedish N-Rhemes

In the analysed material, Adverb Phrase N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Swedish texts in both text types.[95] This difference is partly a result of differences in Adverbial placement between the two languages. In English, the unmarked position for indefinite frequency adjuncts, e.g. *always, sometimes, never*, and short adverbs of temporal relationship, e.g. *still, already, yet* is before the main verb, in what Hasselgård (2010:56, 106) defines as 'the not-position'. In contrast, these adverbials follow the finite verb in Swedish clauses without an auxiliary (Holmes & Hinchcliffe 1994:164; Svartvik & Sager 1996:401). This is illustrated in (61-63). In the corresponding English sentences, the indefinite or temporal adverbials would be placed before the finite verb:

(61) Man finns **knappt** (AP1:63)
*'You exist **hardly**'*

(62) Hugo gråter **sällan**. (AP1:268)
*'Hugo cries **seldom**.'*

(63) Saddie som låg på fårskinnet nedanför hennes säng sov **fortfarande**. (KE1:12)
*'Saddie who was lying on the sheepskin below the bed was asleep **still**.'*

In addition, there is a higher frequency of Subject N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts in both text types. The primary explanation is the V2-constraint in Swedish, which postpones the Subject to a post-verbal position in sentences containing an initial adverbial or multiple Theme. Consequently, Swedish has a higher tolerance towards clause-final Subjects, while English prefers to place Subjects early in the clause. In the Swedish Fiction texts, Subject N-Rhemes typically occur in short and simple sentences consisting of Adverbial, Verb and Subject (AVS), as in (64). The Subject N-Rheme often functions semantically as a Participant Actor[96,97]:

(64) så anlände **vi** (AP1:85)
*'then arrived **we**'*

[95] The higher statistical significance of the language difference in Popular Science is related to a particularly high use of AdvP N-Rhemes in one of the texts (HL1). This text has twice as many AdvP N-Rhemes as the other Swedish Popular Science texts.
[96] Actor N-Rhemes are significantly more frequent in Swedish in both text types. See table 4.16 below.
[97] Participant N-Rhemes are also significantly more frequent in the Swedish Fiction texts (see table 4.16 below). This is primarily related to the higher frequency of Actor N-Rhemes in the Swedish Fiction texts.

In the Popular Science texts, the Subject Actor N-Rhemes also occur in AVS sentences, but are comparatively heavier and more complex, as illustrated in (65):

(65) I länderna i södra Afrika tillkom **effekterna av Sydafrikas attacker och destabilisering**. (CO1:120)

'In the countries in Southern Africa were added ***the effects of South Africa's attacks and destabilization****.'*

In the Swedish Popular Science texts, it seems to be more common to use an initial Adverbial/Circumstance to create a backward link to the preceding context, which results in more Subject N-Rhemes due to the V2-constraint, see (65) and (44) above. In comparison, the same strategy in the English Popular Science texts results in the unmarked word order with a Subject followed by a Direct Objects or a Subject Complement as N-Rhemes. Thus the V2 word order together with what Erman (2000) has identified as a more backwards-oriented information structure seem to result in more Swedish Subject N-Rhemes, Possibly, the principle of end-weight is also involved as these Subjects are frequently quite heavy.

Subject N-Rhemes also typically occur in circumstantial relational clauses with a locative Theme. This usage is similar in both text-types, as is illustrated in (66) Fiction and (67) Popular Science:

(66) Innanför öronmusslorna sitter **balansorganen** (PCJ1:119)

'Inside the ears lie ***the organs of equilibrium****'*

(67) Närmast under dem finns **den nya klassen av borgare i städerna**. (HL1:190)

'Closest below them is ***the new class of urban burghers****'*

This way in which new information is presented from a spatial perspective, postponing the Subject to the N-Rheme, has also been attested in German by Caroll et al. (2004). It seems to be comparatively more frequent in both Swedish and German compared to English.

Finally, Place N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Swedish texts. In the Swedish Fiction texts, as many as 46.5% of the Circumstance N-Rhemes are Place (see table 4.13).[98] Place N-Rhemes are also quite frequent in the English Fiction texts, but their distribution is more similar to Manner, Contingency and Time N-Rhemes (see table 4.13). In comparison, Hasselgård (2010) shows that the most frequent types of Adverbials in English Fiction are Space, Time/Manner and Contingency. In her study, Space Adverbials occur twice as frequent as time, while manner and time Adverbials djuncts occur similarly frequently (2010:270). Similarly, Biber et al. (1999:783) claim that 'in fiction, place, process, and time are all frequent, following

[98] Place N-Rhemes are significantly more frequent in the Swedish Fiction texts compared to the Swedish Popular Science texts ($p < 0.001$) as well as their English equivalents ($p < 0.001$).

that order'. Knowing that Adverbials are typically placed clause-initially or clause-finally, a high frequency of Place N-Rhemes in English would be expected. Still, Place N-Rhemes are even more frequent in Swedish. Some possible explanations for this will be discussed, but as Hasselgård (2010:305) has highlighted, differences in the area of Adverbial usage across languages are often subtle and consist of preferential rather than systematic differences between languages.

One possible explanation which could affect the difference in frequency between the language samples concerns multiple clause-final adverbials. In English, place adjuncts generally precede time adjuncts. The usual order is Manner < Place < Time (see eg. Hasselgård 1996:256; Biber et al. 1999:811). In Swedish, this word order is also possible, but quite often the reversed order of Time < Place occurs. This is illustrated in (68) where the temporal *flera minuter/several minutes* precedes the locative *hos mig/with me*. According to Teleman et al. (1999:17), the order of the Adverbials often indicates the information status of the different Adverbials:

(68) I have been summoned, *too late,* **to her hospital bedside** (PCJ1:177)

It might also be the case that clauses with a divided focus, i.e. a clause-initial as well as a clause-final adverbial, are more frequent in Swedish compared to English. This is exemplified in (69) where the temporal adverbial *medan varorna lastades in/'while the goods were being unloaded'* is presented as Theme and the locative *där/there* as N-Rheme. In English, it seems to be more usual to place both adverbials at the end of the clause, as is illustrated in the translation (69b). Consequently, it is likely that the frequency of Place N-Rhemes is lower in English as Place generally precedes Time:

(69a) Men *medan varorna lastades* in fanns handlaren **där**. (KE1:360) *'But while the goods were being loaded were the storekeeper* ***there****.'*	(69b) but the storekeeper was *there* **while the goods were being unloaded** (KE1:360t)

Another possible reason for the higher proportion of Place N-Rhemes in Swedish is that English often uses an equivalent NP structure to express a locative function. In (70a), the Swedish sentence has a Place N-Rheme, answering the question *where* the lightning may strike (*in the electrical system*), while the English translation equivalent (70b) is an NP, the Goal of the action, answering *what* the lightning may strike:

(70a) Eller blixten kan slå ner **i det elektriska systemet** (PCJ1:167) *'Or lightning may strike **in the electrical system**'*	(70b) or lightning strike **the electrical system** (PCJ1:167t)

The question is whether these language differences can explain the significantly higher percentage of Place N-Rhemes in Fiction in Swedish. In the Popular Science texts, the frequency in the two languages is rather similar. Consequently, at least part of the explanation needs to be found in the text type. One aspect, highlighted by Hasselgård (2010:194), is that the contents of Fiction texts are quite action-oriented; spatial circumstances must frequently be specified as participants move around and the setting changes (2010:194). She also argues that fiction writers tend to avoid marked patterns, and consequently the predominant use of clause-final space adjuncts might be an effect of this (1996:231). In addition, the text samples have been taken from the first part of the book (see section 3.3). In the first few pages, it is common to present the setting, locations etc., and the Space adverbials 'perform the dynamic function of expressing the setting (Firbas 1986:48, as quoted by Hasselgård 2010:199). Thus, a high proportion of Place N-Rhemes in these extracts would be expected. One could also speculate if there might be a cultural difference reflected in the higher proportion of Place N-Rhemes in Swedish Fiction. In creating the setting, the environment and nature is highlighted and emphasised to a great extent in the Swedish texts. As Fries claims (1994:234), the content of the N-Rhemes correlates with the goals of the text. Thus, the greater extent of Place N-Rhemes in Swedish Fiction texts might be a reflection of differences in the concerns of the texts and the text types.

4.4 Summary

The analysis of the language samples has showed that the typical N-Rheme is very similar in English and Swedish. Most frequently the N-Rheme is an NP or PP which functions syntactically as an Adverbial or Direct Object. In terms of transitivity, Participants and Circumstances are almost equally frequent as N-Rhemes. When the N-Rheme is a Participant, it is typically an Attribute or a Goal, and when it is a Circumstance, a Place in Swedish, and a Place or Manner in English.

However, there are some differences between the language samples. Non-finite clause N-Rhemes are more frequent in the English texts regardless of text type. In addition, Contingency and Verbal N-Rhemes are more frequent in English, but only in the Fiction texts. Finally, AdjP and Projection N-Rhemes are more frequent in English in the Popular Science texts. In contrast, Adverb Phrase, Subject and Actor N-Rhemes are more frequent in the Swedish texts regardless of text type.

Furthermore, Participant and Place N-Rhemes are more frequent in Swedish, but only in the Fiction texts.

Many of these differences clearly have their root in word order differences between the two languages, e.g. the V2-constraint and the lack of an equivalent to the *ing*-clause in Swedish, the position of the Subject in English and the order of Verb and Subject in reported speech. However, all differences cannot be explained by word order, but have other explanations, e.g. different preferences in what is seen as marked and unmarked in the two languages, information structure or the actual texts. This will be further examined in the following chapters focusing on the translation of N-Rhemes, starting with an overview of the translation correspondences in chapter 5.

5 The translation of N-Rhemes

This chapter will present the overall results of the translation correspondences: *Full Match, Reformulation, Movement* and *Restructuring* (for a description of the four categories of translation correspondences see section 3.6). This provides a general picture of the extent to which N-Rhemes have been changed in the translations between English and Swedish. Section 5.1 will start with an overview of the translation correspondences for the total material and the two translation directions, followed by a presentation of the correspondences in the two text types. The results will only be discussed briefly as the four translation categories will be examined in more detail in the following chapters, 6-9.

5.1 Translation correspondences

Table 5.1 displays the translations of the N-Rhemes for the total material (including both translation directions and both text types) as well as for the two translation directions (EO → ST and SO → ET). The translation changes have been categorised according to their highest rank (see section 3.6). Thus, the total number of translated N-Rhemes equals the number of T-units analysed. The statistical significance has been calculated for the two different language samples:

Table 5.1 Translation of N-Rhemes, the total material

	The total material		**English → Swedish**		**Swedish → English**		**S.S**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	
Full Match	2077	**47.1**	986	**50.6**	1091	**44.3**	***
Reformulation	1057	24.0	436	22.4	621	25.2	*
Restructuring	800	18.1	320	16.4	480	19.5	*
Movement	300	6.8	119	6.1	181	7.3	n.s
Not analysed[99]	178	4.0	86	4.4	92	3.7	n.s
Total	4412	100	1947	100	2465	100	

*= p<0.05, ** = p<0.01, *** = p<0.001

[99] Not analysed include minor clauses and sentence fragments.

Table 5.1 shows that there is a high degree of correspondence in 47.1% of the N-Rhemes in my material. However, N-Rhemes are *Full Match* to a greater extent in the translations into Swedish, 50.6%, compared to the translations into English, 44.3%, ($p<0.001$).

Reformulation is the most frequent translation change, 24.0%, followed by *Restructuring*, 18.1%. Both Reformulation, 25.2% vs. 22.4%, and Restructuring, 19.5% vs. 16.4%, are more frequent in the translations into English ($p<0.5$). *Movement* of the N-Rheme is also slightly more frequent in the translations into English, 7.3% vs. 6.1%, but the difference is not statistically significant. Finally, 4.0% of the T-units are minor clauses and have not been analysed, since they have no Theme-Rheme structure (as discussed in section 3.4.2).

It is noteworthy that N-Rhemes and Themes seem to be Full Match to a similar extent in the two translation directions. In Themes, in comparison, both Erman (2000) and Hasselgård (1998) found slightly higher percentages of Full Match in the translations into Swedish, 54.7% (2000:124) and Norwegian, 56.8% (1998:147), than in the translations into English, 45.8% (2000:124) vs. 51.0% (1998:147). Partly, this tendency could be related to the position of the Subject in Swedish. In Swedish, Subjects occur comparatively more frequently in the Rheme, both because of the V2-constraint, as is illustrated in (1a), and because Swedish is more tolerant towards fronting of other clause elements, e.g. objects (2a) and complements (3a). In the translation process, many of these Subjects are moved to the Theme (2-4). This movement does not necessarily affect the N-Rheme, as is illustrated in (2b), but it could, as is the case in (3b) and (4b). This will be further discussed in chapter 8:

(1a) Men senare fick jag revidera **den**. (AP1:96t) '*But later had I to revise **it**'*	(1b) But I had to revise it **later on**. (AP1: 96t)
(2a) Det vet jag **nu** (AP1:11) '*That know I **now**'*	(2b) I know that **now** (AP1:11t)
(3a) och korrupta är de **också** (CO1:48) '*and corrupt are they **as well**'*	(3b) and they are corrupt **as well** (CO1:48t)

In contrast to my results, Erman's (2000:124) and Hasselgård's (1998:147) analyses showed that Movement was the most typical translation change.[100] This difference is primarily related to the fact that translation changes caused by the V2-

[100] Movement occurred in 30.7% of the Swedish translations into English and 20.2% of the English translations into Swedish (2000:124), and similarly, in 32.8% of the Norwegian translations into English and 26.8% of the English translations into Norwegian (1998:147).

constraint occur in what Erman and Hasselgård have categorised as the Theme, the first three constituents in the clause (see section 3.6). However, translation changes caused by the V2-constraint need not affect the N-Rheme (4) and (5), although they sometimes do, as is illustrated in (6). This will be further discussed in chapter 8:

(4a) sådana är ofta vinterdagarna **i vår stad**. (AP1:3) *'like that are often winter days* ***in our town****.'*	(4b) Winter days are often like that **in our town**. (AP!:3t)
(5a) of course we know **each other** (NG1:26)	(5b) visst känner vi **varandra** (NG1:26t) *'of course know we* ***each other'***
(6a) Indeed, poets, artists and musicians are often impelled by a similar desire **today** (KAR1:58)	Också i våra dagar drivs poeter, konstnärer och musiker **av en liknande önskan**. (KAR1:58t) '*Also in our days are impelled poets, artists and musicians* ***by a similar desire***.'

In my results, Reformulation is the most typical translation change. The higher percentages of Reformulation in the translation of N-Rhemes compared to the translation of Themes (cf. Erman 2000 and Hasselgård 1998)[101] could be related to the different characteristics of Theme and N-Rheme. N-Rhemes often contain newsworthy information, and most frequently N-Rhemes function syntactically as Adverbials. Often they are made more explicit in the translation, as in (7) and (8). In contrast, the Theme is the point of departure, and it is most frequently a Subject. Possibly, N-Rhemes are also comparatively heavier, and to a greater extent also optional. This will be further discussed in chapter 7.

(7a) Och man kunde stupa i bäverhål **när man försökte ta sig fram** (KE1:230) '*and one could fall into beaver holes* ***when one tried to make one's way***'	(7b) And you could fall into beaver holes **trying to make your way** ***through it***. (KE1:230t)
(8) (The aircraft industries in Brazil, India and Israel were specially studied **by one team for the Group of Experts.**) (CS1:125)	(8b) (Flygindustrin I Brasilien, Indien och Israel har särskilt studerats ***inom ramen av*** **ett**

[101] In Erman's study, *Replacement* occurs in 14.7% of the translations into Swedish and 13.0% of the translations into English (2000:124). The results in Hasselgård (1998:147) show about 8% Replacement in both translation directions.

	av de projekt som beställts av expertgruppen.) (CS1:125t) '*(The aircraft industries in Brazil, India and Israel were specially studied within the scope of one of the projects that [was] ordered by the group of experts.)*'

In addition, the translation correspondences have all been compared for each translation direction in the two text types. This is illustrated in table 5.2:

Table 5.2 Translation of N-Rhemes in Fiction and Popular Science, both translation directions.[102]

	Fiction				**S.s.**	**Popular Science**				**S.s.**
	E → S		**S → E**			**E → S**		**S → E**		
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**		**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	
Full Match	588	**50.4**	714	**46.5**	*	398	**51.0**	377	**40.6**	***
Reform.	242	20.8	340	22.1	n.s	194	24.8	281	30.3	*
Restructuring	178	15.2	291	19.0	*	142	18.2	189	20.3	n.s
Movement	79	6.8	123	8.0	n.s	41	5.3	58	6.2	n.s
Not analysed	79	6.8	68	4.4	**	6	0.8	24	2.6	**
Total	116	100	1536	100		781	100	929	100	

*= $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

As can be seen from table 5.4, there is a higher proportion of Full Match in the translations into Swedish regardless of text type, but the difference is more significant in the Popular Science texts, 51.0% vs. 40.6% ($p<0.001$). Reformulation is similarly common in the two translation directions in the Fiction texts, 20.8% vs. 22.1%, whereas a particularly high occurrence of Reformulation is found in the Swedish Popular Science texts translated into English, 30.3%. Reformulation is also more common in the Popular Science texts compared to their Fiction counterparts in both translation directions. Finally, the higher percentage of Restructuring in the English translations is primarily a feature of Fiction, 19.0% vs. 15.3%. In the Popular Science texts, the percentages are more similar in the two translation directions.

Finally, table 5.3 displays the translation of N-Rhemes in the two text types, Fiction and Popular Science. Both translation directions (EO → ST and SO → ET) are presented together for each text-type:

[102] S.s is short for Statistical significance

Table 5.3 Translation of N-Rhemes in Fiction and Popular Science

	Fiction		Popular Science		Statistical
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Significance**
Full Match	1302	**48.2**	775	**45.3**	n.s
Reformulation	582	21.5	475	27.8	***
Restructuring	469	17.4	331	19.3	n.s
Movement	201	7.4	99	5.8	n.s
Not analysed	147	5.4	29	1.7	***
Total	2702	100	1709	100	

*** = $p<0.001$

As table 5.3 shows, N-Rhemes are Full Match to a similar extent in both text types: 48.3% in the Fiction texts and 45.3% in the Popular Science texts. Reformulation and Restructuring are comparatively more frequent in the Popular Science texts: Reformulation, 27.8% vs. 21.5% ($p<0.001$), and Restructuring, 19.4% vs. 17.4%. In contrast, Movement is more frequent in the translation of Fiction texts, 7.4% vs. 5.8%, but the difference is not statistically significant.

In comparison, Erman's and Hasselgård's above mentioned studies were both conducted on Fiction only. Thus, the comparatively higher proportion of Reformulation in my material (cf. Restructuring in Erman (2000) and Hasselgård (1998)) could partly be related to the text type. Possibly, Popular Science texts have heavier and more complex N-Rhemes, which make them more likely to go through Reformulation, c.f. a Reformulation in a Popular Science text (9) and a Reformulation in a Fiction text (10). This will be further discussed in chapter 7:

(9a) Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor, is this weekend closeted with his Treasury team **assessing the danger to his economic strategy from last week's rise in interest rates, and the sharp rise in unemployment**. (DLO1:175)	(9b) Finansminister Nigel Lawson har suttit instängd med sitt kansli under helgen **för att bedöma vad den nya räntehöjningen och den snabbt ökade arbetslösheten kan innebära för hans ekonomiska politik**. (DLO1:175t) '*Chancellor Nigel Lawson has been closeted with his Treasury team during the weekend* ***to assess what the new rise in interest rates and the rapidly increasing unemployment could mean to his economic politics***.'
(10a) There she was, **in the watchful quiet of her readiness**. (NG1:141)	(10b) Där fanns hon, **stilla, vaksam, beredvillig**. (NG1:141t) '*There was she,* ***quiet, watchful, ready***'

5.2 Summary

To sum up, N-Rhemes are more frequently Full Match in the translations into Swedish. Consequently, there is greater correspondence between N-Rhemes in the original English texts and their Swedish translations than in the English translations, where more changes have been made. These translation changes are primarily Reformulation and Restructuring, which both occur more frequently in the translations into English. There is higher translation correspondence in the Swedish translations in both text types, but the difference compared to the English translations, is most significant in the Popular Science texts. A comparison of the text types shows that Reformulation is more common in the Popular Science texts. The difference is particularly significant in the translations into English. In comparison, Restructuring is also more common in the Popular Science texts compared to the Fiction texts, but only in the translations into Swedish. Movement occurs similarly frequently in both translation directions and both text types.

In the next four chapters, each of the four translation categories will be further examined, starting with *Full Match* in chapter 6, *Reformulation* in chapter 7, *Movement* in chapter 8 and Restructuring in chapter 9.

6 Full Match

In the present study, Full Match means that there is translation equivalence, i.e. the N-Rheme in the translation contains the same clause elements as the original, in the same order. The translated N-Rheme might, however, include small phrase-structure changes while maintaining the same ideational content (for a further description of the four translation categories see section 3.6). When an equivalent structure is available in the target language the translation is likely to be unproblematic. Thus, high similarity between two languages is expected to result in high translation correspondence, whereas low degree of similarity would result in low translation correspondence. In view of what we know about N-Rhemes in the two languages and text types (see chapter 4), two hypotheses have been formulated. The first hypothesis is that types of N-Rhemes with similarly high frequencies in the two languages are likely to get a high translation correspondence. The assumption is that types of N-Rhemes that are not only similarly frequent in the two languages, but also highly frequent are unlikely to be changed in the translation. As an example, N-Rhemes that were unmarked in both languages, e.g. NP and PP N-Rhemes (see table 4.5) are expected to get high translation correspondence, i.e. a high percentage of Full Match in the translations.

In contrast, the second hypothesis is related to significant language differences. The hypothesis is that N-Rhemes that are significantly differently distributed are expected to show a difference in translation correspondence. The difference is expected to follow this pattern: High translation correspondence is expected for N-Rhemes that were shown to be comparatively more frequent in one of the languages, in translations into that language. Consequently, low translation correspondence is expected for N-Rhemes that were shown to be comparatively less frequent in one language, in translations into that language (see table 4.6). As an example, Subject N-Rhemes are expected to have high translation correspondence in translations into Swedish, where they are comparatively more frequent, and low translation correspondence in translations into English, where they are comparatively less frequent. The hypothesis is based on the concept of Target Language Normalisation that emphasises normalisation of translations. If the results contradict the hypothesis, this rather indicates Source Language shining through, that the characteristics of the Source Language leave their mark on the translated text (see Teich 2003 for a discussion of the two concepts). The two hypotheses can be summarised as follows, and will be tested in the following sections:

1. Similarly high frequency in both languages →
   similarly high translation correspondence

2. Different frequency in the two languages → a difference in translation correspondence

    a) Higher frequency in one language →
    high translation correspondence in translations into that language

    b) Lower frequency in one language →
    lower translation correspondence in translations into that language

It is also worth considering what is likely to happen to N-Rhemes that are similarly infrequent in both languages in the translation process. If they are similarly rare, does that mean that they are also similar and therefore unproblematic to translate, and thus get similarly high translation correspondences? Or could it be that they get similarly low translation correspondences, meaning that if something is marked as N-Rheme it is more likely to be changed? If so, that would be another indication of Target Language Normalisation (Teich 2003). However, the types of N-Rheme that have a low translation correspondence will not be further analysed in this chapter, but rather in the following chapters focusing on translation changes.

The present chapter will be organized as follows: Section 6.1 will present the formal, syntactic and semantic correspondences between English and Swedish N-Rhemes in translations. In section 6.2, similar correspondences will be compared in the two text types. Finally, in section 6.3, the results will be interpreted in view of the above formulated hypotheses.

6.1 Comparison of translation directions

The results presented in the previous chapter showed that Full Match was significantly more frequent in the translations into Swedish, 50.6%, compared to the translations into English, 44.3%, ($p<0.001$) (see table 5.2). Thus, some types of N-Rhemes are likely to have higher translation correspondences in the translations into Swedish, and one of the aims of this section is to find out which. Furthermore, the results will be viewed in relation to the two hypotheses formulated above.

First, table 6.1 displays the percentage of Full Match for each grammatical form in the two translation directions. The percentages for the translations into Swedish are presented in descending order:[103]

[103] In each table, the figures in bold type highlight the category that has the highest proportion of Full Match in each translation direction.

Table 6.1 Full Match (FM) of grammatical forms

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			S.s
	FM	**total**	**%**	**FM**	**total**	**%**	
Prepositional Phrase	304	521[104]	**58.3**	359	705	**50.9**	*
Noun Phrase	343	600	57.2	325	745	43.6	***
Adverb Phrase	49	93	52.7	101	213	47.4	n.s
Adjective Phrase	65	126	51.6	78	139	56.1	n.s
Finite Clause	107	224	47.8	100	276	36.2	*
Verb Phrase	63	142	44.4	75	174	43.1	n.s
Non-finite Clause	55	157	35.0	53	110	48.2	*
Not analysed	-	84	-	-	92	-	
Total	986	1947	50.6	1091	2465	44.3	***

* = p<0.05, ** = p<0.01, *** = p<0.001

The grammatical forms that show the highest translation correspondence are Prepositional Phrase N-Rhemes, 58.2%, and Noun Phrase N-Rhemes, 57.2%, in the Swedish translations, exemplified in (1) and (2), and Adjective Phrase N-Rhemes, 56.5% and Prepositional Phrase N-Rhemes, 50.7%, in the English translations, exemplified in (3) and (4):

(1a) but she saw the discarded placards **from the window of her limousine**. (ST1:160)	(1b) men hon såg de slängda plakaten **från fönstret i sin limousin**. (ST1:160t)
(2a) Princess Margaret lit **a cigarette** (ST1:208)	(2b) Prinsessan Margret tände **en cigarette.** (ST1:208t)
(3a) Sedan är det **mörkt** (AP1:11)	(3b) Then it's **dark** (AP1:11t)
(4a) De for **i ett främmande land**. (KE1:311)	(4b) They were travelling **in a foreign country**. (KE1:311t)

This means that the highest translation correspondences are found for the unmarked N-Rhemes with one exception. NP N-Rhemes translated into English

[104] The numbers indicate the total number of each grammatical form in the original texts, here Prepositional Phrase (521), and the number of Full Match of each grammatical form in the translations, here Prepositional Phrase (304). Thus, 304 out of 521 Prepositional Phrases have been translated as a Full Match in the Swedish translations.

have quite low translation correspondence, 43.6%, significantly lower than in the translations into Swedish ($p<0.001$). This contradicts the hypothesis that unmarked N-Rhemes are expected to get a high translation correspondence. Furthermore, the lowest translation correspondence is found in the translation of Non-Finite Clause N-Rhemes into Swedish, 35.3%, and Finite Clause N-Rhemes in the translations into English. 36.2%. The two types of clausal N-Rhemes are Full Match to a significantly greater extent ($p<0.05$) in the other translation direction. The low percentage of Full Match for Non-Finite Clause N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish confirms the second hypothesis as Non-Finite Clause N-Rhemes are less frequent in the Swedish language sample. This will be further discussed in section 6.3.

Next, table 6.2 presents the translation correspondences for the syntactic functions in the two translation directions:

Table 6.2 Full Match of syntactic functions

	English → Swedish (ST)			**Swedish → English**			**Statistical**
	FM	**total**	**%**	**FM**	**total**	**%**	**significance**
Subject	58	87	**66.7**	55	203	27.1	***
Indirect Object	8	14	57.1	10	23	43.5	n.s
Adverbial	391	701	55.8	473	919	51.5	n.s
Subject C.	152	278	54.7	161	338	47.6	n.s
Direct Object	251	474	53.0	255	575	44.4	**
Object C.	13	28	46.4	8	15	**53.3**	n.s
Verb	63	141	44.7	74	173	42.8	n.s
Tail	40	117	34.2	44	93	47.3	n.s
Not analysed	-	84	-	-	92	-	
Total	986	1947	50.6	1091	2464	44.3	***

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

Table 6.2 shows that Subject N-Rhemes are Full Match to a great extent in the translations into Swedish, 66.7%, see example (5). In contrast, Subject N-Rhemes have the lowest percentage of Full Match in the translations into English, 27.1% ($p<0.001$):

(5a) On the streetcars there are always **old ladies**, (MA1:41)	(5b) På spårvagnarna finns det alltid **gamla tanter**, (MA1:41t)

A low correspondence of Subjects translated into English is expected as Subject N-Rhemes are rare and comparatively less frequent in English. Subjects N-Rhemes are also frequently realized as NPs,[105] so the low translation correspondences for NP and Subject N-Rhemes in translations into English are most likely related. This will be further discussed in section 6.3:

Moreover, Direct Object N-Rhemes have a lower translation correspondence in the translations into English, 53.0% vs. 44.4% ($p<0.01$). This is unexpected as Direct Object N-Rhemes were shown to be unmarked in both languages (see table 4.2). In particular, it is the Direct Objects realized as Finite Clauses that have a low translation correspondence in the translations into English.[106] This might be related to the fact that Finite Clause N-Rhemes are Reformulated to a great extent in the translations into English, which will be further discussed in section 7.2.

Nearly all syntactic functions are translated as Full Match to a greater extent in the translations into Swedish. The exceptions are Object Complement N-Rhemes, which are very rare, and Tail N-Rhemes, which have the lowest percentage of Full Match in the translations into Swedish, 34.2%. As discussed in section 4.3.1, a large proportion of the English Tail N-Rhemes are Non-finite *ing*-clauses, which have no clear equivalent in Swedish. There is also a lower proportion of Non-Finite Clause N-Rhemes and Tail N-Rhemes in the Swedish texts (see table 4.1 and 4.2), which confirms the hypothesis that comparatively lower frequencies result in a low degree of translation correspondence in translations into that language.

Finally, Full Match of the different types of Transitivity will be compared in the two translation directions, starting with Participant, Process, Circumstance and Projection N-Rhemes in table 6.3:

Table 6.3 Transitivity and Full Match

	English → Swedish			**Swedish → English**			**S. s.**
	FM	**total**	**%**	**FM**	**total**	**%**	
Circumstances	387	689	**56.2**	463	898	**51.6**	n.s
Participants	424	776	54.6	460	1077	42.7	***
Projections	62	116	53.5	39	96	40.6	n.s
Processes	63	143	44.1	74	173	42.8	n.s
Unclassified[107]	50	139	36.0	55	148	37.2	n.s
Total	986	1947	100	1091	2464	100	

*** = $p<0.001$

[105] 73.9% (150/203) of the Subjects in Swedish are NPs

[106] Only 34.6% (45/130) of the Finite Clause N-Rhemes functioning as Direct Objects are Full Match in the translations into English. This can be compared to 56.8% (50/88) in the translations into Swedish.

[107] Includes textual and interpersonal elements, 9/22 in translations into Swedish and 11/25 in translations into English, as well as Tails 41/117 translations into Swedish and 44/93 in translations into English.

Circumstance N-Rhemes show the highest translation correspondence in both translation directions, 56.2% in the translations into Swedish and 51.6% in the translations into English. Similarly high percentages are found for Participant, 54.6%, and Projection N-Rhemes, 53.5% in the translations into Swedish, whereas Participant N-Rhemes are Full Match to a significantly lower extent in the English translations, 42.7% ($p<0.001$). Indications why they have a lower correspondence in the English translations might be found in the correspondences of the different types of Participant N-Rhemes in the two languages. These are presented in table 6.4:

Table 6.4 Full Match of Participant N-Rhemes[108]

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	FM	**total**	**%**	**FM**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Sayer	16	16	**100**	2	16	12.5	***
Verbiage	6	8	75.0	10	24	41.7	n.s
Existent	16	28	57.1	16	24	**66.7**	n.s
Token	8	14	57.1	18	34	52.9	n.s
Attribute	134	242	55.4	153	291	52.6	n.s
Carrier	11	20	55.0	19	54	35.2	n.s
Phenomenon	28	52	53.9	44	88	50.0	n.s
Goal	117	226	51.8	115	291	39.5	**
Value	68	132	51.5	50	144	34.7	**
Actor	8	20	40.0	22	79	27.9	n.s

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

In the translations into Swedish, all Participant N-Rhemes, except Actor N-Rhemes, are Full Match in more than 50% of the translations.[109] The types with the highest correspondences, Sayer (6), Verbiage (7), Token (8) and Existent (9) N-Rhemes, are exemplified in (6) – (9). They are all infrequent in both language samples. High translation correspondence is also found for Existent and Token N-Rhemes in the English translations, as exemplified in (10) and (11).

[108] Participants which appear less than 15 times in each text sample i.e. Behaver, Senser, Receiver, Beneficiary are not included in the table.

[109] Actor N-Rhemes were shown to be more frequent in the Swedish language sample, 7.3% vs. 3.6% ($p<0.001$) (see table 4.6 in section 4.1.2).

(6a) These doors are automatic, <u>announced **the sign** </u>(JC1:122)[110]	(6b) Automatiska dörrar, <u>meddelade **skylten**</u> (JC1:122t)
(7a) There I have said **it** (BA1:58)	(7b) Nu har jag sagt **det** (BA1:58t)
(8a) By far the most persecuted group in the Russian Empire was **the Jews**. (CAOG1:86)	(8b) Den definitivt mest förföljda gruppen i det ryska kejsardömet var **judarna**. (CAOG1:86t)
(9a) On the streetcars there are always **old ladies**, (MA1:41)	(9b) På spårvagnarna finns det alltid **gamla tanter** (MA1:41t)
(10a) Det finns **inga färger** (PCJ1:262)	(10b) There are **no colours** (PCJ1:262t)
(11a) Men det var inte **problemet** (SC1:45)	(11b) But that wasn't **the problem** (SC1:45t)

What is typical for these N-Rhemes is that they occur in fairly short T-units, and are simple phrases expressed without much modification.

The most notable difference concerns Sayer N-Rhemes, which are Full Match in all the Swedish translations, as exemplified in (6), whereas they have the lowest percentage of Full Match in the English translations, 12.5%, ($p<0.001$). Sayer N-Rhemes are similarly frequent in the two languages; thus the large difference in translation correspondence contradicts the second hypothesis formulated above. As was discussed in section 4.2, Verbal Process N-Rhemes are comparatively more frequent than Sayer N-Rhemes in English reporting clauses.[111] Both Sayer and Verbal Process N-Rhemes are possible in English, but the results indicate that Verbal Process N-Rhemes are preferred. Other significant differences between the translation directions concern Goal N-Rhemes, 51.8% vs. 39.5%, ($p<0.01$) and Value N-Rhemes, 51.5% vs. 34.7% ($p<0.01$), which both show higher translation correspondence in the translations into Swedish. Goal N-Rhemes are unmarked in both language samples, and both Goal and Value N-Rhemes occur similarly frequently in the two languages (see Appendix, table 4.7). Thus, the lower correspondence in the English translations contradicts the two hypotheses, and will be further discussed in section 6.3.

Finally, table 6.3 above showed that Circumstance N-Rhemes have high translation correspondence in both translation directions, 56.2% in the Swedish translations and 51.6% in the English translations, as is exemplified with a Place N-Rheme in (12) and an Accompaniment N-Rheme in (13).

[110] When more than one T-unit is included in the example, the discussed T-unit is underlined.
[111] There are 46 Verbal Processes in the English language sample.

(12a) Five-year -old Jack lived in chaos **at home**. (ST1:243)	(12b) Femåringen Jack levde i ett kaos **hemma**. (ST1:243t)
(13a) Ibland har Farquhar gått **med oss.** (LH1:193)	(13b) Occasionally Farquhar came **with us**. (LH1:193t)

In contrast, Process N-Rhemes have fairly low translation correspondence, 44.1% in the Swedish translations and 42.8% in the English translations. The translations of the different types of Process and Circumstance N-Rhemes also show similar patterns in the two translation directions.[112] The main exception is Circumstance Place N-Rheme, which has a higher percentage of Full Match in the translations into Swedish, 65.8% vs. 54.2% ($p<0.01$).

The results highlighted in this section will be further discussed in section 6.3, but before that, the formal, syntactic and semantic correspondences of the N-Rhemes will be compared in both translation directions in the two text types, i.e. Fiction and Popular Science.

6.2 Comparison of Fiction and Popular Science

Overall, translations are Full Match to a similar extent in the two text types (see table 5.3). However, there is a particularly low degree of translation correspondence in the Popular Science texts translated into English, 40.6%. It is comparatively lower than in the Fiction texts translated into English, 46.5% ($p<0.01$), as well as the Popular Science texts translated into Swedish, 51.0% ($p<0.001$) (see table 5.2). The main focus of this section will be to examine if the differences between the translation directions found in the previous section, applies to both text types. Furthermore, it will also highlight if there are any relevant text type differences. Similar to section 6.1 above, Full Match of grammatical forms, syntactic functions and functions in Transitivity will be compared quantitatively.

First, table 6.5 displays the percentage of Full Match for each grammatical form in the two text types and the two translation directions. The percentages for the translations into Swedish in Fiction are presented in descending order:[113]

[112] As there are very few instances of each Process type and some of the types of Circumstances in the analysed material, statistically significant differences are unlikely to occur. See table 6.1 and 6.2 in the Appendix for the percentages of Full Match in both translation directions and both text types.

[113] The figures in bold type highlight the highest percentages of Full Match for each translation direction and each text type.

Table 6.5 Full Match of grammatical forms in two text types (%)

	Fiction		S.s.	Popular Science		S.s.
	E → S	S → E		E → S	S → E	
Adverb Phrase	**63.6**	**64.3**	n.s	31.3	33.9	n.s
Prepositional Phrase	61.2	52.8	*	55.0	48.3	n.s
Noun Phrase	60.5	47.9	***	53.0	37.9	***
Adjective Phrase	51.6	56.1	n.s	**54.1**	48.1	n.s
Finite Clause	47.8	36.2	*	46.6	31.4	*
Verb Phrase	43.8	41.7	n.s	47.6	**48.9**	n.s
Non-Finite Clause	35.0	48.2	*	42.4	44.4	n.s

* = p<0.05, ** = p<0.01, *** = p<0.001

Overall, there is a tendency towards higher translation correspondences in the Fiction texts compared to the Popular Science texts in both translation directions. Particularly high percentages of Full Match are found in the translation of AdvP N-Rhemes in the Fiction texts in both translation directions, as exemplified in (14) and (15). In contrast, AdvP N-Rhemes have the lowest percentages of Full Match in the Popular Science texts in both translation directions. However, the difference is only statistically significant in the translations into English, 64.3% vs. 33.9% (p<0.05):[114]

(14a) Jag hade aldrig sett henne **förut** (AP1:39)	(14b) I had never seen her **before** (AP1:39t)
(15a) Cordelia must be living **somewhere** (MA1:191	(15b) Cordelia måste bo **någonstans** (MA1:191t)

As (14) and (15) illustrate, the Fiction AdvP N-Rhemes are light, occurring in fairly short N-Rhemes. In contrast, some of the AdvP N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts are more complex, and frequently Reformulated.

Furthermore, the significantly higher translation correspondence for Noun Phrase N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish applies to both text types (p<0.001). However, the translation correspondences are higher in the Fiction texts compared to the Popular Science texts in both translation directions.[115] The comparatively higher translation correspondence of NP N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations in both text types will be further discussed in section 6.3

[114] There are about twice as many AdvP N-Rhemes in the Swedish original texts compared to the English original texts (see table 6.1). This explains why the difference is not statistically significant in the translations into Swedish, although the percentages are similar.

[115] The difference is only statistically significant in the translations into English, 37.9% vs. 47.9% (p < 0.01). See table 6.2 in the Appendix.

Next, table 6.6 presenting Full Match of the syntactic functions shows that Subject N-Rhemes have higher translation correspondences in the translations into Swedish regardless of text type. The difference is most significant in the Fiction texts, 76.0% compared to only 29.5% in the translations into English ($p<0.001$):[116]

Table 6.6 Full Match of syntactic functions in two text types (%)

	Fiction		**Statistical**	**Popular Science**		**Statistical**
	E → S	**S →E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**significance**
Subject	**76.0**	29.5	***	54.1	24.5	**
Indirect Object	62.5	50.0	n.s	50.0	28.6	n.s
Adverbial	57.1	**53.6**	n.s	53.8	47.8	n.s
Subject C.	54.4	51.7	n.s	**54.9**	40.9	*
Direct Object	53.4	48.2	n.s	52.5	39.0	**
Object C.	50.0	50.0	n.s	42.9	**57.1**	n.s
Verb	44.2	40.5	n.s	47.6	48.9	n.s
Tail	41.1	52.6	n.s	22.7	38.9	n.s

* = $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

In addition, the significant difference in correspondence for Direct Object N-Rhemes, see table 6.2 above, only applies to the Popular Science texts, 52.5% vs. 39.0% ($p<0.01$). As was highlighted in 6.1, the low correspondence is primarily found in the translation of Finite Clause Direct Objects. Finite Clause Direct Objects are similarly frequent in the two languages,[117] but possibly they are more complex in the Swedish Popular Science texts. A similar pattern with a particularly low correspondence in the Swedish Popular Science texts translated into English is found for Subject Complement N-Rhemes. As will be shown in chapter 7 (see table 7.7), Subject Complement N-Rhemes are frequently Reformulated in the Popular science texts translated into English.

Furthermore, table 6.7 displays the translation correspondences for Participant, Process, Circumstance and Projection N-Rhemes in the two text types and translation directions:

[116] The comparatively higher percentage of Full Match for Subject N-Rhemes in the Fiction texts, 76.0%, compared to the Popular Science texts, 54.1%, in the Swedish translations is not statistically significant.
[117] 18.6% of the English Direct Objects and 22.6% of the Swedish Direct Objects are Finite Clauses.

6.7 Transitivity and Full Match in two text types (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Participant	**58.0**	47.3	**	50.9	36.6	***
Circumstance	57.2	**53.7**	n.s	54.7	47.8	n.s
Projection	43.9	39.3	n.s	**62.7**	42.9	n.s
Process	43.8	40.5	n.s	45.5	**48.9**	n.s

*** = p<0.001

As can be seen from table 6.8, Participant N-Rhemes have higher translation correspondences in the translations into Swedish in both text types: 58.0% vs. 47.3% in the Fiction texts (p<0.01) and 50.9% vs. 36.6% in the Popular Science texts (p<0.001). In addition, the translation correspondences for Participant N-Rhemes are also higher in the Fiction texts compared to the Popular Science texts in both translation directions,[118] but the difference is only statistically significant in the translations into Swedish (p<0.001).

The translation correspondences for the different types of Participant N-Rhemes are higher for most types in the Swedish translations in both text types (see Appendix, table 6.3), but only significant for Sayer N-Rhemes in Fiction, 100% vs. 13.3% (p<0.001). Furthermore, a particularly low percentage of Full Match for Phenomenon N-Rhemes, 14.3%, in the Popular Science texts translated into English can be noted. It is significantly lower than in the Fiction texts, 57.5% (p<0.01). The results of the non-correspondences will show that Phenomenon N-Rhemes are Restructured to a great extent in the Popular Science texts translated into English (see section 9.2). They are also frequently Reformulated (see section 7.2). Possibly, this indicated a high degree of complexity in the Swedish Phenomenon N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts.

Finally, there are no major significant differences in translation correspondence between the translation directions or the text types for the different types of Circumstance and Process N-Rhemes (see Appendix, table 6.1 and 6.2).

6.3 Interpretation of the results

In this chapter, focus has been on translations categorized as Full Match, i.e. congruent translations of N-Rhemes. The types of N-Rhemes that have the highest percentages of Full Match, i.e. the highest translations correspondences, are displayed in table 6.8. The percentages are presented in descending order for the Swedish translations for each text type:

[118] See Appendix, table 6.6.

Table 6.8 N-Rhemes with the highest translation correspondence (+60%)

		Fiction		Popular Science		Table
		E → S	S → E	E → S	S → E	
Grammatical Form	PP	61.2				6.6
	NP	60.5				
Syntactic function	Subject	76.0				6.7
	Indirect Object	62.5				
Transitivity	Projection			62.7		6.8
Participant	Sayer	100		100		Appendix
	Actor	75.0				
	Token	66.7	70.6			
	Existent		64.7		71.4	
Circumstance	Accompaniment	73.9	69.6			Appendix
	Place	65.6		66.2		
Process	Verbal		64.7	100		Appendix
	Behavioural			100		
	Mental			100		

When there is high similarity between the two languages, it is easy to choose an equivalent translation, and the result is expected to be a congruent translation. If the N-Rhemes are not only similar but also highly frequent in the two languages, one could assume that they are likely to cause few problems in the translation process. Thus, I formulated the following hypothesis:

1. Similarly high frequency in both languages →
   similarly high translation correspondence

This hypothesis was only partly confirmed. High percentages of Full Match occur in the translation of PP, Adverbial, Attribute and Place N-Rhemes in both translation directions, as is illustrated with PP Adverbial Place N-Rhemes in (16) and (17), and Attribute N-Rhemes in (18) and (19):

(16a) Others lay wounded **in shallow water** (MH1:109)	(16b) Andra låg sårade **på grunt vatten** (MH1:109t)

(17a) Virvelrörelserna och mörkerströmmarna svepte **över mig** (AP1:55)	(17b) Swirling movements and corrents of darkness swept **over me** (AP1:55t)
(18a) "Money is **the best embrace**", (JC1:151)	(18b) "Pengar är **den bästa kramen**", (JC1:151t)
(19a) Ena handen är **förtvinad**. (LH1:223	(19b) One of his hands is **crippled** (LH1:223t)
(20a) Vic makes **a pot of strong tea**, (DLO1:178)	(20b) Vic brygger **en kanna starkt te**, (DLO1:178t)

High translation correspondence also occurs in the translation of NP, Direct Object and Participant (Goal) N-Rhemes in the translations into English, as is illustrated in (20). However, high correspondence does not occur in the translation of NP, Direct Object and Participant (Goal) N-Rhemes in the translations into English. Although NPs are highly frequent in both language samples, their functions could be different. One example concerns NP Subject N-Rhemes, which are more frequent in the Swedish texts, and these also function as Participants (see section 4.3). As Subject N-Rhemes are rare in English they tend to be moved to a large extent in the translations into English, which be further discussed in section 8.2 and 8.3. This affects the translation correspondences for NP and Participant N-Rhemes in the English translations.

The difference specifically related to Direct Objects and Goal N-Rhemes is more difficult to explain. As will be shown in section 7.2, Direct Object N-Rhemes have the highest percentage of Reformulation of all syntactic functions. However, this applies to both translation directions. Direct Object N-Rhemes in Popular Science texts are also restructured to a great extent in the translations into English. This might be an indication that the Direct Object N-Rhemes are complex and difficult to translate, and perhaps even more so in the Swedish texts. An indication of this might be that Direct Object N-Rhemes realized as clauses have particularly low translation correspondence. Thus the low correspondence might not be related to the function, but rather to the form of the N-Rheme. However, as will be discussed in section 8.3, Direct Object N-Rhemes that have been moved in translations into English are typically replaced by Adverbials. These Adverbials are to a great extent placed in the middle of the Swedish sentence and have to be moved in the English translations.

Furthermore, based on the assumption that a language difference is likely to affect the translation correspondence a second hypothesis was formulated:

2. Different frequency in the two languages → a difference in translation correspondence

More specifically, it is assumed that N-Rhemes that are more frequent in one language sample will get high translations correspondence in translations into that language, and vice versa, N-Rhemes that are less frequent in one language will get low translation correspondence in translations into that language.

This hypothesis is clearly confirmed in the translations of Subject N-Rhemes where there is a significant difference between the two languages, 66.7% vs. 27.%. The low translation correspondence in English indicates Target language normalisation (Teich 2003). This will be further discussed in chapter 8 on Movement. To some extent, the translation of Non-Finite Clause and Tail N-Rhemes also confirms the hypothesis. Low translation correspondences occur in the translations into Swedish, though the percentages are not significantly lower than in the translations into English.[119] Thus, Non-Finite Clause and Tail N-Rhemes are frequently changed in the translations in both translation directions, which will be further discussed in chapter 7 and 9 in particular. Finally, the translation of Place N-Rhemes confirms both hypotheses. As stated above, high translation correspondence for Place N-Rhemes occur in both translation directions, but the correspondence is significantly higher in the translations into Swedish, 65.8% vs. 54.2%, where Place N-Rhemes also are significantly more frequent (see Appendix table 4.5).

The translation of Actor N-Rhemes does not confirm the hypothesis. Actor N-Rhemes are more frequent in Swedish (see Appendix table 4.4), but have low translation correspondences in both translation directions. However, the low translation correspondences seem to have different causes in the two translation directions. In the translations into Swedish they are frequently reformulated, while they are often moved in the translations into English, which will be further discussed in section 7.3 and 8.4. Furthermore, AdvP N-Rhemes are significantly more frequent in Swedish (see table 4.1), but had similarly high percentages of Full Match in both translation directions. The same pattern is shown for Projection N-Rhemes, which are more frequent in English but show no significant difference regarding the translation correspondence. So, although these types of N-Rhemes are differently distributed in the two language samples, this does not affect the translation correspondence in the two languages.

To conclude, the two hypotheses are only partly confirmed. It has to be highlighted that the hypotheses only have the formal and functional correspondences on the T-unit level in focus. Thus, they reveal very little about information structure or what happens beyond the T-unit. To get a wider picture of the translation patterns we need to look into the different types of translation changes. This will start in chapter 7 with an analysis of Reformulation in the two translation directions.

[119] $p<0.05$ for Non-Finite clause N-Rhemes.

7 Reformulation

Reformulation is a translation change where the N-Rheme has been reformulated keeping most of its ideational/informational content. The translation change occurs within the N-Rheme and has no effect on the textual structure (see section 3.6 for a more detailed description). Reformulation is the most frequent translation change in the text sample, occurring in almost a quarter of the translated N-Rhemes in both translation directions.[120] In addition, N-Rhemes categorised as *Movement* or *Restructuring* can also involve Reformulation. Consequently, Reformulation is even more frequent in the translation process than what is shown in the results.

In this chapter the translation changes categorised as Reformulation will be described and analysed. The following questions will be in focus: How are N-Rhemes reformulated? Which N-Rhemes are typically Reformulated? What differences are there between the two translation directions and the two text types? First, the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic strategies involved in Reformulation will be described in section 7.1. Next, in section 7.2. Reformulation of N-Rhemes will be compared quantitatively for each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type, first in the two translation directions (7.2.1) and then in the two text types (7.2.2). Finally, the results will be interpreted and analysed in section 7.3.

7.1 What is Reformulation?

As the results in section 5.1 showed, Reformulation occurs similarly frequently in the two translation directions, but is more frequent in the Popular Science texts. But, what types of changes does Reformulation involve? In this section, I will highlight some typical ways in which N-Rhemes have been changed syntactically, semantically and pragmatically (see section 2.6 for a presentation of Chesterman's (1997) textual strategies). The translation strategies are presented in three separate sections, as three distinct phenomena, although the strategies frequently overlap and are used simultaneously. This is illustrated in (1) where the translation results in a more explicit N-Rheme, which has also been changed in form, syntactic function and transitivity:

[120] 22.4% of the N-Rhemes have been reformulated in the translations into Swedish and 25.2% in the translations into English. See table 5.1.

(1a) The bottom of the bag strained **to contain its burden.** (ST1:219)	(1b) Påsens botten tänjdes ut **då den försökte hålla bördan utan att gå sönder**. (ST1:219t) '*The bottom of the bag strained* ***when it tried to keep its burden without breaking***.'

In (1) the N-Rheme *to contain its burden* cannot easily be translated into an equivalent expression in Swedish. The translation of the verb *to contain* into *hålla/'keep',* which is the closest translation equivalent, is slightly more limited in its meaning. Thus, the translator has used a pragmatic strategy, making the N-Rheme more explicit, adding the phrase *utan att gå sönder/'without braking'*. The N-Rheme has also been reformulated syntactically from a Non-finite clause into a Finite temporal clause. Furthermore, this Reformulation changes the transitivity of the N-Rheme from Contingency into Time. So, in this example, all three strategies interplay in the translation.

7.1.1 Syntactic strategies

Different types of syntactic strategies have been used in the Reformulation of N-Rhemes. From Chesterman's ten syntactic strategies (1997:92-4), I have modified the most relevant categories for this study into two major categories that explain the majority of the Reformulations: *unit shifts* and *function shifts* (see section 2.6.1). Unit shift includes Chesterman's (1997:92-94) strategies Unit Shift and Transposition, and involves the change from phrase to clause or vice versa, as in (2):

(2a) Samtidigt gjorde biståndet det möjligt **att expandera denna statsförvaltning och övrig offentlig sektor i snabb takt**. (CO1:79) '*At the same time made development assistance it possible* ***to expand this public administration and the rest of the public sector at a rapid pace***.'	(2b) At the same time, development assistance made possible **the rapid expansion of this public administration and the rest of the public sector**. (CO1:79t)

It also includes changes from one type of sub-clause to another, i.e. from Finite to Non-finite or vice versa, as exemplified in (3):

(3a) Martinmetoden innebär **att tackjärnets kolhalt minskas genom upphettning tillsammans med järnskrot**. (TR1:32) '*The Martin method means* ***that the carbon content of the pig iron is reduced by heating together with steel scrap***.'	(3b) The open hearth process involves **reducing the carbon content of the pig iron by heating it together with steel scrap**. (TR1:32t)

Function shift, on the other hand, involves a change in syntactic function of the N-Rheme, by Chesterman (1997:96) referred to as Clause structure change. A function shift is illustrated in (4) where the syntactic function of the N-Rheme changes from Direct Object to Adverbial in the translation:[121]

(4a) While the kettle is boiling he scans **the front page** (DLO1:172)	(4b) Medan tevattnet kokar låter han blicken glida **över förstasidan** (DLO1:172t) '*While the kettle is boiling lets he his sight glide* ***over the front page***.'

Some typical examples of unit shifts and function shifts in this material will now be illustrated.

One type of unit shift is to nominalize a Finite clause N-Rheme that follows a preposition in the Swedish original in the translations into English. Whereas a preposition can precede a Finite *that*-clause in Swedish, this is not possible in English. This is illustrated in (5) where the verb phrase *resultera i* in the Swedish original has its corresponding equivalent *result in* in the English translation. In the Swedish original, the phrasal verb is followed by a *that*-clause, which for syntactic reasons has been nominalized in the translation.[122]

(5a) Detta kommer naturligtvis bara att resultera i **att Postverket i sin tur inte bryr sig om mannen som gjort sitt**. (SC1:66) '*This will obviously only result in* ***that the postal authorities in turn do not care about the man who had retired***.'	(5b) Admittedly this would probably result in **the postal authorities in turn ignoring the man who had retired**. (SC1:66t)

[121] There is also a unit shift from NP in the English original text to PP in the Swedish translation.

[122] As mentioned above, the strategies are not mutually exclusive. In this example, the N-Rheme also goes through a lexical Reformulation. The NP *mannen som gjort sitt* is difficult to translate into English ('*the man who has finished it all*'), and has therefore been rephrased into *the man who had retired*, which has more narrow connotations (lexical Reformulation is a sematic strategy, see section 7.1.2 below).

Similarly, the Swedish finite verb *medförde* in (6a) has its closest translation equivalent in the English phrasal verb *resulted in*, which cannot be followed by a *that*-clause. Consequently, the Swedish clause has been reformulated into an English NP:[123]

(6a) Försöken att sälja svenska tändstickor i Storbritannien och bygga upp en omfattande import av brittisk kol medförde ***att Axel Johnson då*** **reste till Storbritannien i stort sett varje vår.** (TR1:72) *'[…]resulted in* ***that Axel Johnson then travelled to Great Britain virtually every spring****.'*	(6b) Efforts to market Swedish matches in the UK and to build up a comprehensive import of British coal resulted in **visits to Britain virtually every spring**. (TR1:72t)

There are also examples of the reversed process in the other translation direction. This is illustrated in (7) where the English N-Rheme is a heavy NP preceded by a preposition. In the translation, the preposition is kept and the following N-Rheme turned into a *that*-clause:

(7a) Popular anti-Semitism, state-encouraged pogroms, disabling laws and multiple forms of discrimination during the reigns of Alexander III (1881-94) and Nicholas II (1894-1917) led to **the exodus of several million Russian Jews, mainly to the United States**. (CAOG1:87)	(7b) Den utbredda antisemitismen, statsunderstödda pogromer, diskvalificerande lagar och mångahanda former av diskriminering under Alexander III (regerade 1881-1894) och Nikolaus II (regerade 1894-1917) ledde till **att flera miljoner ryska judar utvandrade, främst till Förenta staterna.** (CAOG1:87t) '*[…] lead to* ***that several million Russian Jews emigrated, mainly to the United States***.'

In her study of nominalizations in English and their translations into Norwegian and Swedish, Nordrum (2007) found this to be one of two patterns involving lexical nominalizations that frequently results in a translation with a clause. She claims that Swedish *att*-clauses following prepositions have a higher degree of 'nouniness' than English *that*-clauses and are more versatile (2007:139).

[123] This example also illustrates the use of a pragmatic translation strategy (see section 7.1.3 below). There is a simplification of the NP *Axel Johnson*, which has been removed from the N-Rheme. The interplay of several translation strategies seen in example 5 and 6 is highly frequent, but will not be commented on hereafter.

While (5) – (6) above illustrate *that*-clauses reformulated into NPs in the English translations, unit shifts could also involve turning Non-finite clauses into NPs. Examples (8) – (9) are infinitive clause N-Rhemes in the Swedish original, reformulated into NPs in the English translations. These examples are not driven by the syntactic difference between the languages regarding the use of preposition + *that*-clause*,* and are thus slightly different:

(8a) Det gäller **att på kort sikt undvika att statsapparaten helt urgröps på områden där den kommer att vara nödvändig också på lång sikt**. (CO1:170) *'It pertains* ***that in short terms avoid that the state apparatus is completely undermined in areas where it will be necessary even in the long term****.'*	(8b) It is **a matter of avoiding a short-term scenario in which the state apparatus is completely undermined in areas where it will still be needed in the long term**. (CO1:170t)
(9a) Metoden för att studera detta har varit **att undersöka beslutsprocessen**. (HG1:44) *'The method to study this has been* ***to examine the decision-making process****.'*	(9b) The method adopted to answer this question is **an examination of the decision-making process.** (HG1:44t)

A final example of unit shift is the Reformulation of English Non-finite *ing-clause* N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish. As the *ing*-clause lacks a clear equivalent in Swedish, a translation change is required, and this could be a Reformulation into a different sub-clause type as in (10) (cf. Thunes' (2011:264) discussion of the *non-finite-finite pattern* in translations between English and Norwegian):

(10a) We would stand side by side, **looking at a large red mouth stretching itself around a chocolate bar**, (MA1:195)	(10b) Vi skulle stå sida vid sida, **medan vi betraktade en stor röd mun som sträcker sig runt en chokladkaka**, (MA1:195t) *'We would stand side by side,* ***while we were watching a large red mouth that stretches itself around a chocolate bar****,'*

The first example of function shift concerns the Reformulation of Subject N-Rhemes in translations into English:

(11a) Därtill finns **livsmedel, kokkärl, två nedmonterade båtar, rep, snören, tält, sadlar, segelduk, tjära, verktyg, ammunition, bössor, hackor, läkemedel, sängkläder, skänker åt hövdingar och en del extrautrustning åt oss européer såsom extrakläder, hygienartiklar och delikatesser**. (LH1:249) '*In addition are/exists* ***victuals, cooking utensils*** *[…]*'	(11b) In addition to those, we'll carry **victuals, cooking utensils, two disassembled boats, ropes, string, tents, saddles, sailcloth, tar, tools, ammunition, firearms, mattocks, medical supplies, bedclothes, presents for the chieftains, and some special supplies for us white men, such as spare clothes, articles for personal hygiene, and delicacies**. (LH1:249t)

In (11), an extremely heavy Subject N-Rheme in the Swedish original has been reformulated syntactically in order to keep the same information in clause-final position, avoiding the marked clause-final Subject in English. Instead the N-Rheme has been reformulated into a Direct Object. The translator has chosen a syntactic strategy, altering the structure of the clause by introducing an agent *we* and using the transitive verb *carry*. By using this translation strategy, the information from the heavy Subject N-Rheme of the Swedish original can still remain in clause-final position in the English translation.

A slightly different example is illustrated in (12):

(12a) Ytterligare ett viktigt teoretiskt påpekande om förhållandet mellan stat och samhälle tillhandahåller **Theda Skocpol.** (HG1:129) *'Yet another important theoretical observation about the relation between state and society provides* ***Theda Skocpol.****'*	(12b) Yet another important theoretical observation about the relation between state and society has been made **by Theda Skocpol**. (HG1:129t)

Here, an active Subject N-Rheme *Theda Skocpol* has been turned into an Adverbial with agentive function in a passive clause. The syntactic structure of the clause is changed, but the Agent of the clause remains in N-Rhematic position. A translation change is triggered by the V2 word order in Swedish, but the translator has made a function change to keep the information structure of the original.

Another example that involves a change from an active to a passive structure, but here within the N-Rheme, is illustrated in (13). The locative PP *i Stockholm/in Stockholm* placed finally in the Swedish original clausal N-Rheme is reformulated into the NP *Stockholm* and placed initially in the English N-Rheme. A material process *hit* is also added in the English translation. This type of Reformulation reflects the

acceptability of locative Subjects in English where Swedish have Adverbials (see Herriman 2012:78-9):

(13a) I ett brev till sitt London-kontor skrev Axel Johnson, i slutet av år 1878, **att det rådde "full handelskris i Stockholm."** (TR1:74) *'In a letter to his London office wrote Axel Johnson, at the end of year 1878,* ***that there was a "full business crises in Stockholm"****.'*	(13b) In a letter to his London office at 1878 Axel Johnson wrote **that Stockholm was hit by "a full business crisis"** (TR1:74t)

Another type of function shift concerns a change of function of the constituents within the N-Rheme. Typically, this involves a word order change within clauses functioning as N-Rheme, which is often triggered by word order differences between the two languages, e.g. the V2-constraint in Swedish or the position of Adverbials. This is illustrated in (14) and (15):[124]

(14a) They found **that for them both the meaning of life seemed to be contained, if mysteriously, in living useful lives**. (NG1:125)	(14b) De fann **att meningen med livet, för dem båda två, på något mystiskt sätt tycktes bestå i att leva ett nyttigt liv**. (NG1:125t) *'They found* ***that the meaning of life, for them both, in a mysterious way seemed to consist of to live a healthy life.****'*
(15a) Man kan också föreställa sig **att den danska centrala byråkratin mest bara reagerade på olika signaler från olika samhällsgrupper, trots att dessa enligt författningen inte hade något formaliserat inflytande**. (HG1:119) *'One can also envisage* ***that the Danish central bureaucracy mostly just reacted to different signals from different social groups, despite that these according to the constitution not had any formalized influence****.'*	(15b) One can also envisage **that the Danish central bureaucracy mostly just reacted to different signals from different social groups, although these did not have any formalized influence according to the constitution**. (HG1:119t)

[124] According to Hasselgård (1998:46), these translation changes would be classified as Movement as 'the translation contains the same clause elements as the original, but in a different order'. I have classified them as Reformulation is because the word order change only occurs within the N-Rheme. In my categorization, a Movement has to involve the movement of the N-Rheme to another position in the T-unit. I agree that the strategy involved is highly similar to Movement, but as the informational content of the N-Rheme to a great extent is the same, and the translation change does not affect the rest of the clause, I consider it a Reformulation

Example (14) illustrates a change within a Projection N-Rheme because of the V2-constraint. In the Swedish translation, the constituent functioning as Subject within the subordinate clause has been moved to the beginning of the *that*-clause, placing both Adverbials next to each other in the middle of the clause, in-between Subject and Verb. Similarly, in (15), *enligt författningen/according to the constitution*, which is placed between what could be seen as the Subject and the Verb of the embedded *that*-clause within the Projection N-Rheme, has been moved to clause-final position in the English translation, as heavy Adverbials between the Subject and the Verb are avoided in English.[125]

As the examples above illustrate, the syntactic strategies unit shift and function shift have primarily been used to overcome syntactic differences between English and Swedish, e.g. the lack of an equivalent to the Non-finite *ing*-clause, the impossibility to use a preposition + *that*-clause in English and the V2 word order in Swedish. Consequently, these translation changes are in Vinay & Darbelnet's terms Servitudes, i.e. obligatory (1995:15f). In addition, optional syntactic translation strategies are also used, primarily to avoid a marked structure in the translation. One example is the optional nominalization of clausal N-Rhemes in translations into English and the reversed translation of heavy NPs into clauses in the Swedish translations. This translation change is particularly frequent in the Popular Science and an example of Target Language Normalisation (Teich 2003). To a great extent, these syntactic strategies have been used to keep the same information as N-Rheme. This will be further discussed in section 7.3.

7.1.2 Semantic strategies

Semantic strategies are typically used to overcome lexical differences between the languages. In this section, examples of the semantic strategies used in the Reformulation of N-Rhemes will be presented. These are typically the use of near *synonyms* and *paraphrase*s, and *antonyms* + *negation*, as presented by Chesterman (1997:102-4). In the present study, transitivity changes of the N-Rheme have also been considered as a semantic strategy, and will be illustrated in this section. As highlighted in the previous section, the semantic translation strategies usually occur together with a syntactic and/or pragmatic strategy.

A typical Reformulation caused by a semantic strategy is to replace an idiom by a near synonym. This is illustrated in (16) where the Swedish idiom *karl för sin hatt/man for his hat,* has been reformulated into *the man he was* in the English translation. The change is primarily semantic as it is the content of the NP that changes. There is no change in phrase type or syntactic function:

[125] For a further discussion of word order related translation changes, see chapter 8.

(16a) Och nu visade sig Lamek vara **karl för sin hatt** (AP1:212) '*And now showed himself Lamek to be* ***man for his hat***'	(16b) Then Lamek showed himself to be **the man he was** (AP1:212t)

Another example of a semantic strategy is illustrated in (17). Here the translation involves a change of perspective as an expression in the English original has been reformulated into an antonym + negation in the Swedish translation:

(17a) White tablecloths were **easy to locate** (JC1:32)	(17b) Vita dukar var inte **svåra att få tag på** (JC1:32t) '*White tablecloths were not* ***difficult to get hold of***'

Finally, the most typical semantic translation strategy is a change in transitivity. This is illustrated in (18):

(18a) Somebody has to earn a living **in this family.** (DLO1:133)	(18b) Någon måste försörja **den här familjen**. (DLO1:133t) '*Somebody must support* ***this family***.'

In (18), the semantic Reformulation of the expression *to earn a living* into the verb *försörja/support*,[126] which requires a following Object, affects the N-Rheme of the translated text. While the original clause has a locative Circumstance Place N-Rheme, the N-Rheme has been reformulated into a Participant Goal in the translation. This results in a small semantic shift of perspective in the clause. While the original clause merely states that *somebody* who is a member of this family has to earn a living, the translation emphasises that somebody has to support this family.[127] However, this change in emphasis has little effect on the N-Rheme.

Another example is (19) where an AdvP N-Rheme functioning as a Circumstance in the Swedish original has been translated into a NP Goal N-Rheme

[126] Swedish has an equivalent phrase '*att förtjäna sitt levebröd*', which could have been used in the translation, resulting in a similar form, function and transitivity of the translated N-Rheme.

[127] *Change of emphasis* is one type of Chesterman's semantic translation strategies (1997:104).

in the English translation. This is triggered by the change of the intransitive verb *har gått/has gone* into the transitive *has had*:

(19a) I nästa exempel har ett företag gått ***sämre* än väntat**. (BB1:131) *'In the next example has a company succeeded* ***worse than expected****.'*	(19b) In the next example among those in the introduction of this chapter, a "company" has had ***lower profit*** **than expected.** (BB1:131t)

In contrast to the syntactic translation strategies, the semantic translation strategies identified in the present study are primarily optional. The effect on the textual structure of the T-unit is very little; it is often only a slight shift in perspective or style. Some semantic translation strategies are more like servitudes, triggered by lexical differences between the languages, e.g. when an idiom is replaced by a near synonym in the translation. In some examples a semantic translation strategy has been used to domesticate the text (see e.g Venuti 1995), (cf. example (65) in 3.6: *Meals on Wheels → få maten hemkörd/get the food home delivered*. Whether these changes are servitudes or completely optional could be related to the actual policies used by the publishers. However, they can clearly be seen as Target language normalisations where a less marked formulation is preferred over a more marked one.

7.1.3 Pragmatic strategies

Pragmatic Reformulation is highly frequent and occurs in all types of N-Rhemes, in both translation directions and both text types. In this section, some typical examples of Reformulation involving pragmatic strategies will be illustrated. First, what is here referred to as *explicitness change* (Chesterman 1997:108-9), i.e. a more general term for explicitation or implicitation, and similarly addition or omission, will be exemplified. Explicitness change refers to translations where something has been added or removed in the translation. See section 2.6.2 for a further discussion of explicitation in the translation process. Finally, there will also be examples of *cultural filtering* (Chesterman 1997:108).

The most typical pragmatic strategy in the Reformulated N-Rhemes is an explicitness change, either where the translation becomes more explicit (20) and (21), or is simplified (22) and (23):[128]

[128] Italics indicate the constituent involved in the explicitness change.

(20a) In defense of the Swedes, let me repeat **that I was asking for the communication problems encountered**. (BA1:51)	(20b) Låt mig till försvar för svenskarna upprepa **att jag bad om svar på kommunikationsproblem *de utländska affärsmännen* stött på**. (BA1:51t) '*[…]* ***that I asked for answers to communication problems the foreign business men encountered*.'**
(21a) Annars har jag lagt märke till **att folk som jag inte känner börjat hälsa på mig i gränderna**. (LH1:265) *'[…]* ***that people who I don't know have started greeting me in the alleys*.'**	(21b) Otherwise, I've noticed **that people I don't know have started greeting me in *the streets and* alleys**. (LH1:265t)
(22a) Reason decreed **that Britain could do nothing *to threaten* Hitler's command of Europe**. (MH1:23)	(22b) allt förnuft sade **att Storbritannien inte kunde göra något åt Hitlers välde över Europa**. (MH1:23t) '*all reason decreed* ***that Great Britain could not do anything about Hitler's command of Europe*.'**
(23a) Gustafsson har fyrahundra meter att gå ***för att komma* till sin verkstad**. (SC1:115) *'Gustafsson has four hundred meters to walk* ***to come to his workshop*.'**	(23b) Gustafsson had to walk about five hundred yards **to his workshop**. (SC1:115t)

Examples (20) – (23) illustrate how explicitness changes frequently occur in the translation of heavy N-Rhemes, often realized as clauses. In (20a) the N-Rheme ends with the NP *the communication problems encountered*. Here the postmodifying past participle clause contains no explicit agent. In the translation, an agent has been added and the equivalent NP has become more explicit: *kommunikationsproblem de utländska affärsmännen stött på/communication problems the foreign business men encountered*. A similar construction to the original would be impossible with the Swedish equivalent of *encounter/möta/stöta på*. Consequently, a Reformulation is required. In contrast, (21) shows a more unwarranted Reformulation where the original N-Rheme *i gränderna/in the alleys* has become more explicit in the translation, *in the streets and alleys*. (22) involves a similar change, but in the opposite direction. Here *to threaten* has been removed from the N-Rheme, which results in a translation with a slightly different meaning *could not do anything about Hitler's command over Europe*. Similarly, (23) also involves the omission of a Non-finite verb, the Swedish *för att komma/to come*. However, in this example, the translation also involves a syntactic unit shift where

the original Non-finite N-Rheme has been reformulated into a PP, as well as a semantic change, altering the transitivity of the clause.

A translation change could simultaneously involve both types of explicitness changes. This is illustrated in (24), where the translated N-Rheme becomes both simplified as well as more explicit in the translation:

(24a) and pressed on ***up the beaches*****, through the ribbon of houses stretching along the coast behind the British beaches, to their concentration points inland**. (MH1:112)	(24b) och pressade sig vidare **genom de smala husraderna som löpte längs kusten bortom *de engelska landstignings-stränderna* och till samlingsplatserna inåt land**. (MH1:112t) *'and pressed on* ***through the ribbon of houses stretching along the coast beyond the English landing beaches and to their concentration points inland****.'*

In this example, the first PP *up the beaches,* in the two coordinated PPs forming the N-Rheme, has been removed in the translation. At the same time, the translated N-Rheme has become more explicit as *the British beaches* has been reformulated into *de engelska landstigningsstränderna/the English landing beaches.*

Furthermore, an explicitness change of the N-Rheme is sometimes related to the pragmatic strategy of cultural filtering, i.e. domesticating or foreignizing the text. This occurs in examples where a foreign phenomenon needs to be clarified, as in (24) above where *the British beaches* were translated into the more explicit *landing beaches*, to make sure that that is understood by the reader. This is also illustrated in (25):

(25a) Särskilt har man som svensk ofta snappat upp i skolan **något om frihetstidens riksdagsvälde med partierna hattar och mössor.** (HG1:11) '*[…]* ***something about the Age of Liberty and its parliamentary power with the parties hats and caps****.'*	(25b) Swedes in particular appear to have remembered **something from their school *history lessons* about parliamentary power in the Age of Liberty, with the parties *known as* the Hats and the Caps**. (HG1:11t)

In (25) the NP N-Rheme has become more explicit by the addition of *their school history lessons*. Then, the Swedish parties *hattar* and *mössor*, which are common knowledge to the Swede, are presented as *the parties known as the Hats and the Caps*. The form, function and transitivity of the N-Rheme are still similar in the original and the translation, however.

A different type of cultural filtering occurs in the translation of (26a). Here the translation change does not involve a clarification of a cultural phenomenon. Rather it takes something culturally specific, *samtliga 8 miljoner svenskar/all 8 milllion Swedes* and translates it into something more general, *everybody in a population*:

(26a) Om vi t.ex. avser att genomföra en reklamkampanj skulle det vara alldeles för opraktiskt att försöka ta reda på **hur *samtliga 8 miljoner svenskar* individuellt skulle reagera.** (BB1:85) '*[…]* ***how all 8 million Swedes individually would react***'	(26b) If, for instance, we are thinking about implementing an advertising campaign, it would be too impractical to try to find out **how *everybody in a population* would react individually**. (BB1:85t)

The pragmatic strategies used in the translation of N-Rhemes are either a consequence of syntactic and/or lexical differences, defined by Klaudy (2009:106) as obligatory explicitation, or related to the importance of providing clear information to the reader in the translated text, optional explicitation (2009:107). The great extent of optional pragmatic translation strategies used in the present study could be linked to the fact that N-Rhemes contain newsworthy information. Thus, the translator feels the need to make sure that the message that is in focus in the T-unit is clear to the reader. This would explain why Reformulation is particularly frequent in the Popular Science texts, which have more heavy N-Rhemes containing much information. Partly, a pragmatic translation strategy also seems to be a natural effect of the translation process, as the transferring of information from one language to another often requires some sort of clarification. This is what Klaudy terms translation-inherent explicitation, caused by 'the necessity to formulate ideas in the target language that were originally conceived in the source language' (2009:107). This idea has its roots in Blum-Kulka's (1986:19) explicitation hypothesis, going further back to Vinay & Darbelnet (1995:342). It is typical in translations where cultural filtering takes place. Finally, as the examples illustrated above has shown, information has also been removed from the N-Rhemes. According to Baker's (1993) translation universals, Simplification is another typical characteristic of translation. Altogether these pragmatic strategies increase or reduce the end-weight in the translated T-unit.

In this section, the different strategies used in the Reformulation of N-Rhemes in the analysed material have been presented. In the next section, the Reformulation of N-Rhemes will be compared quantitatively for each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type, first in the two translation directions (7.2.1) and then in the two text types (7.2.2).

7.2 Which N-Rhemes have been reformulated?

7.2.1 Comparison of translation directions

N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a similar extent in the two translation directions (see table 5.2 above). Still, there might be differences in the types of N-Rhemes that are typically Reformulated in the two languages, considering e.g. the different types of syntactic translation strategies illustrated in section 7.1. Therefore, this section will compare the Reformulation of N-Rhemes for each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type in the two translation directions.

First, table 7.1 presents the percentage of Reformulations for each grammatical form in the two translation directions. The percentages are presented in descending order for the translations into Swedish in all tables, unless otherwise stated:[129]

Table 7.1 Reformulation of grammatical forms

	English → Swedish			**Swedish → English**			**Statistical**
	Ref.	**total**	**%**	**Ref.**	**total**	**%**	**significance**
Non-finite clause	56	157	**35.7**	36	110	32.7	n.s
Finite clause	75	224	33.5	120	276	**43.5**	*
Adjective Phrase	33	126	26.2	28	139	20.1	n.s
Noun Phrase	151	600	25.2	184	745	24.7	n.s
Preposition Phrase	101	521	19.4	180	705	25.5	*
Adverb Phrase	13	93	14.0	50	213	23.5	n.s
Verb Phrase	7	142	4.9	23	174	13.2	*

*= $p<0.05$

In both translation directions, clausal N-Rhemes have the highest percentages of Reformulation. In the translations into English, 43.5% of the Finite clause N-Rhemes have been reformulated (27), compared to the significantly lower, but still high, 33.5% in the translations into Swedish (28). In comparison, 35.7% of the Non-finite clause N-Rhemes have been reformulated in the Swedish translations (29) and 32.7% in the English translations (30). As discussed in section 7.1.3, explicitness changes typically occur in heavy clausal N-Rhemes:

[129]The figures in bold type highlight the highest percentage of Reformulation in each translation direction.

(27a) Det sade Siiri **när jag frågade var pappa höll hus**. (AP1:198) '*That said Siiri* ***when I asked where dad was***.'	(27b) That's what Siiri said **when I asked where Dad was at the time**. (AP1:198t)
(28a) How we giggled, with repugnance and delight, **when we found the wax her older sisters used on their legs, congealed in a little pot, stuck full of bristles**. (MA1:145)	(28b) Vad vi fnissade, av vämjelse och förtjusning, **när vi hittade vaxet som hennes äldre systrar använde till benen, stelnat i en liten burk, fullt av styva hårstrån som hade fastnat**. (MA:145t) *'[…]* ***when we found the wax that here older sisters used on their legs, congealed in a little pot, full of bristles that had stuck**.'*
(29a) Harris yawned, **displaying his sharp teeth and liver-coloured tongue**. (ST1:3)	(29b) Harris gäspade **så att man såg hans vassa tänder och leverfärgade tunga**. (ST1:3t) *'Harris yawned* ***so that one saw his sharp teeth and liver-coloured tongue.'***
(30a) Men hon hade nog inte tänkt **hälsa på**. (KE:158) *'But she had probably not considered* ***to visit**.'*	(30b) But she probably hadn't been coming **to see Annie**. (KE:158t)

The lowest percentage of Reformulation is found in the translation of Verb Phrase N-Rhemes in both translation directions. There is a higher percentage of Reformulations in the translation of Finite clause, PP and VP N-Rhemes into English ($p<0.05$). As was shown in section 7.1.1, clausal N-Rhemes are frequently nominalised in the English translation. This, and other explanations to the differences will be further discussed in section 7.3.

Furthermore, there is high similarity between the two translation directions regarding the Reformulation of N-Rhemes of different syntactic functions:

Table 7.2 Reformulation of syntactic functions

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Ref.	**total**	**%**	**Ref.**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Direct Object	149	474	**31.4**	194	575	**33.7**	n.s
Tail	35	117	29.9	29	93	31.2	n.s
Object C.	7	28	25.0	4	15	26.7	n.s
Subject C.	67	278	24.1	90	338	26.6	n.s
Adverbial	150	701	21.4	229	919	24.9	n.s
Subject	17	87	19.5	46	203	22.7	n.s
Indirect Object	2	14	14.3	4	23	17.4	n.s
Verb	7	141	5.0	24	173	13.9	*

*= $p<0.05$

In both translation directions, Direct Object (31.4% vs. 33.7%) and Tail (29.9% vs. 31.2%) N-Rhemes show the highest percentages of Reformulation, as is illustrated in examples (31) – (34), and Verb N-Rhemes the lowest percentages (5.0% vs. 13.9%):

(31a) Jag har svårt att acceptera **ett utseende som detta**. (PCJ1:124) *'I have difficulties to accept **a look like this**.'*	(31b) It's hard for me **to accept that I look as I do**. (PCJ1:124t)
(32a) The Third Section's heads lacked **the personal brutality of earlier political police chiefs**. (CAOG1:39)	(32b) Tredje sektionens chefer visade inte **den brutalitet som hade kännetecknat tidigare chefer inom de politiska polismakterna** (CAOG1:39t) '*[…]* ***the brutality that had characterised earlier chiefs within the political police forces*'**
(33a) och han var där, **kropp kött**. (KE1:71) *'and he was there, **body of meat**.'*	(33b) and he was there, **in flesh and blood**. (KE1:71t)
(34a) But fluency in a language is no guarantee of cultural literacy – **an understanding of the differences in such things as attitudes, customs and behaviour**. (BA1:169)	(34b) Men att kunna tala ett språk flytande är inte en garanti för att man har kulturell insikt – **att man förstår skillnaderna i sådant som attityder, seder och beteenden**. (BA:169t)

	*'[…] **that one understands the differences in things like attitudes, customs and behaviour**.'*

Next, the Reformulation of Participant, Circumstance, Process and Projection N-Rhemes are presented in table 7.3:

Table 7.3 Transitivity and Reformulation

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Ref.	**total**	**%**	**Ref.**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Projection	43	116	**37.1**	44	96	**45.8**	n.s
Participant	205	776	26.4	297	1077	27.6	n.s
Circumstance	144	689	20.9	225	898	25.1	n.s
Process	7	143	4.9	24	173	13.9	n.s

Projection N-Rhemes are often reformulated in both translation directions, 37.1% in the translations into Swedish and 45.8% in the translations into English. This is illustrated in (35) and (36):

(35a) It has been estimated by Ruth Leger Sivard among others **that more than 100 million people are paid directly or indirectly by defence ministries**. (CS1:48)	(35b) Ruth Leger Sivard, bland andra, har beräknat **att mer än 100 miljoner människor direkt eller indirekt får sin förvärvsinkomst (eller delar av sin förvärvsinkomst) från försvarsbudgeten**. (CS1:48t) '*[…] **that more than 100 million people directly or indirectly get their income (or parts of their income) from the defence ministry budget***.'
(36a) Låt oss säga **att det är sju mil mellan de båda samhällena** (SC1:25) '*Let us say **that there are seventy kilometers between the two villages***'	(36b) Let us imagine **a distance of forty miles[130] between the two villages** (SC1:25t)

[130] The Swedish original states the distance as seven Swedish miles, which is equivalent to 70 kilometres.

There is a slightly higher percentage of reformulated Process N-Rhemes in the translations into English. However, this difference is only relevant for Process N-Rhemes in general as there are no corresponding differences reflected in the different process types.[131]

Next, table 7.4 displays the Reformulation of Participant N-Rhemes for both translation directions:

Table 7.4 Reformulation of Participant N-Rhemes

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Ref.	**total**	**%**	**Ref.**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Actor	9	20	**45.0**	11	79	13.9	**
Phenomenon	18	52	34.6	31	88	**35.2**	n.s
Carrier	6	20	30.0	18	54	33.3	n.s
Goal[132]	65	226	28.8	85	291	29.2	n.s
Attribute	63	242	26.0	74	291	25.4	n.s
Value	33	132	25.0	49	144	32.6	n.s
Token	3	14	21.4	7	34	20.6	n.s
Existent	4	28	14.3	4	24	16.7	n.s
Sayer	-	16	.	1	16	6.3	n.s
Others[133]	4	26	15.4	17	56	30.4	n.s

** = $p<0.01$

Most notably, nearly half of the Actor N-Rhemes, 45.0%, have been reformulated in the translations into Swedish, as is illustrated in (37). In contrast, Actor N-Rhemes are rarely reformulated in the translations into English, 13.9% ($p<0.01$).

(37a) Marjorie has, however, been woken **by the sound of plumbing**. (DLO1:137)	(37b) Marjorie har dock redan väckts **av bruset i rören**. (DLO1:137t) *'[…]* ***by the sound in the pipes'***

131 The reformulated Process N-Rhemes are very few in the translations into Swedish, altogether only 7 N-Rhemes. In the translations into English, the highest percentage of Reformulation is found in Material Process N-Rhemes 17.2% (17/99) (see Appendix, table 7.1)

132 Goal also includes Range and Target, which have similar functions.

133 The category Others include Participants that occur less than 15 times as N-Rheme in one of the languages, i.e. Behaver, Beneficiary, Receiver, Senser, Verbiage and Target.

Finally, the different types of Circumstance N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a similar extent in the two translation directions, with one exception, Manner N-Rhemes:

Table 7.5 Reformulation of Circumstance N-Rhemes[134]

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Ref.	**total**	**%**	**Ref.**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Contingency	47	134	**35.1**	37	110	**33.6**	n.s
Accompaniment	7	30	23.3	11	39	28.1	n.s
Matter	4	19	21.1	4	12	33.3	n.s
Manner	32	172	18.6	59	180	32.8	**
Time	22	117	18.8	40	181	22.1	n.s
Place	30	199	15.1	73	360	20.3	n.s
Others	2	18	11.1	1	16	6.3	n.s

** = $p<0.01$

As table 7.5 shows, Contingency N-Rhemes show the highest percentages of Reformulation in both translation directions, 35.1% vs. 33.6%., as is illustrated in (38) and (39):

(38a) The bludgeoned medieval scrubbing stones and the gargoyle fountains of the washing square were still there, **though protected from the people by a fence**. (JC1:66)	(38b) De medeltida stenarna mot vilka tvätten hade skrubbats och klappats fans liksom fontänerna med sina vattenkastare fortfarande kvar som minnen av tvättplatsen, **även om den nu för tiden var skyddad av ett staket**. (JC1:66t) '*[…]* ***even if it nowadays was protected by a fence**.'*
(39a) Det stod ingenting om resan i hennes anteckningsböcker **för de fanns inte än**. (KE1:250) '*[…]* ***because they existed not yet***.'	(39b) There was nothing about their journey in her notebooks**, because they hadn't existed then**. (KE1:250t)

[134] Angle (2/-) and Role (-/1) occur less than 15 times in both languages and are therefore not included in the table. The figures within parentheses refer to the number of times these Circumstances are reformulated in each translation direction.

A similarly high percentage is found in the translation of Manner and Matter N-Rhemes into English, whereas the percentages are comparatively lower in the translations into Swedish. Consequently, there is a significant difference between the translation directions for Manner N-Rhemes, 18.6% vs. 32.8% ($p<0.01$). This will be further discussed in section 7.3.

To sum up, Reformulation is a rather frequent translation strategy in the translation of most types of N-Rhemes. Furthermore, Reformulation is highly similar in the two translation directions. The most notable differences concern the higher percentage of reformulated Actor N-Rhemes in the English translations and the higher percentages of reformulated Finite clause, PP, VP and Manner N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations. These differences will be further discussed in section 7.3. First, in the next section, Reformulation in Fiction and Popular Science texts, in both translation directions, will be examined.

7.2.2 Comparison Fiction and Popular Science

As table 5.3 above shows, N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a greater extent in the Popular Science texts, 27.8%, compared to the Fiction texts, 21.5%, ($p<0.001$). The main focus in this section will be to examine if the differences between the translation directions found above (see section 7.2.1) occur in both text types. Furthermore, it will highlight if any specific types of N-Rhemes are more likely to be reformulated in one of the text types regardless of translation direction. Similar to section 7.2.1 above, Reformulation of grammatical forms, syntactic functions and functions in Transitivity will be compared quantitatively

First, the percentages of Reformulation for each grammatical form are displayed in table 7.6 for both translation directions and text types:[135,136]

[135] The figures indicate the percentage of each grammatical form that has been reformulated. Thus, of all the Non-finite Clause N-Rhemes in the English Fiction texts, 44.0% have been reformulated in the translations into Swedish.

[136] The figures in bold type highlight the N-Rheme with the highest percentage of reformulations in each translation direction and text type.

Table 7.6 Reformulation of grammatical forms in the two text types (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**significance**
Non-finite clause	**44.0**	26.8	n.s	24.2	38.9	n.s
Finite clause	33.9	**41.9**	n.s	**33.0**	**46.1**	n.s
Adjectival Phrase	32.3	17.9	*	19.7	29.3	n.s
Prep. Phrase	18.9	23.7	n.s	20.0	28.0	*
Noun Phrase	21.7	21.1	n.s	29.5	29.5	n.s
Adverb Phrase	11.7	17.8	n.s	25.0	39.3	n.s
Verbal Phrase	5.0	14.2	*	4.8	10.6	n.s

*= $p<0.05$

Table 7.6 shows that Reformulations are common in the translation of clausal N-Rhemes in both text types, which is similar to the total material (see table 7.1 above). The higher percentage of reformulated Finite clause N-Rhemes in the English translations applies to both text types, but is not statistically significant. In addition, Reformulation of VP N-Rhemes is more common in the English translations in both text types, but the difference is only significant in the Fiction texts ($p<0.05$).

In addition, table 7.6 shows that Reformulation is more common in the Popular Science texts compared to the Fiction texts for all grammatical forms, except VPs in the translations into English. In comparison, there is more variation in the translations into Swedish. Two types of N-Rhemes that have higher percentages of Reformulation in the Popular Science texts in both translation directions are NP and AdvP N-Rhemes. A comparison of the two text types for the total material (both translation directions in Fiction vs. both translation directions in Popular Science) reveals a significantly higher percentage of reformulated NP N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts, 29.4% vs. 21.3% ($p<0.001$) as well as for AdvP N-Rhemes, 36.1% vs. 15.8% ($p<0.001$).[137] So, for NP and AdvP N-Rhemes there seem to be a clear text type difference which applies to both translation directions. This will be further discussed in section 7.3.

Table 7.2 above showed that Reformulation of syntactic functions was very similar in the two translation directions. This similarity between the translation directions remains if the material is divided into the two text types:

[137] See Appendix, table 7.2 for the absolute frequencies.

Table 7.7 Reformulation of syntactic functions in the two text types (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	EO → ST	**SO → ET**	**Significance**	**EO → ST**	**SO → ET**	**Significance**
Tail	**31.5**	**31.6**	n.s	27.3	30.6	n.s
Direct Object	30.8	31.4	n.s	32.1	**36.9**	n.s
Subject C	23.5	21.3	n.s	24.7	35.4	n.s
Adverbial	22.5	22.9	n.s	19.8	28.3	*
Subject	10.0	14.3	n.s	**32.4**	31.6	n.s
Verb	5.0	15.1	*	4.8	10.6	n.s
Others	11.6	11.3	n.s	27.3	23.5	n.s

*= $p<0.05$

Table 7.7 shows that there is a higher percentage of reformulated Adverbial N-Rhemes in the English translations, but only in the Popular Science texts, 28.3% vs. 19,8% ($p<0.05$). This difference was not seen in the comparison of the total material (see table 7.2).

Furthermore, the text type comparison shows that there is a higher percentage of reformulated Subject N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts in both translation directions. A similar comparison for the total material (English and Swedish translations) shows that Subject N-Rhemes have been reformulated in 32.1% of the Popular Science texts compared to 12.6% in the Fiction texts ($p<0.001$).[138] So, there is a clear text type difference regarding the Reformulation of Subject N-Rhemes. This will be further discussed in section 7.3.

Next, table 7.8 presents the Reformulation of Participant, Circumstance, Process and Projection N-Rhemes in the two text-types, both translation directions:

Table 7.8 Transitivity and Reformulation in the two text types (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	EO → ST	**SO → ET**	**Significance**	**EO → ST**	**SO → ET**	**Significance**
Projection	**42.1**	**45.9**	n.s	**32.2**	**45.7**	n.s
Participant	23.5	23.1	n.s	29.7	33.6	n.s
Circumstance	22.4	22.9	n.s	18.7	28.9	**
Process	5.0	15.1	*	4.5	10.6	n.s

*= $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$

[138] See Appendix, table 7.3 for the absolute frequencies.

Projection N-Rhemes have the highest percentages of Reformulation in both text types and translation directions. In the Popular Science texts, Circumstance N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a greater extent in the English translations, 28.9%, compared to 18.7% ($p<0.01$) in the Swedish translations. This difference is not significant for the total material.[139] However, the Popular Science texts show no significant differences between the translation directions in the different types of Circumstances, though nearly all are more frequently reformulated in the translations into English.[140]

Furthermore, the text type comparison reveals that Participant N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a greater extent in the Popular Science texts. The difference is highly significant in the translations into English, 33.6% vs. 23.1% ($p<0.001$). This indicates a text type difference which is particularly strong in the translations into English. There is high similarity between the translation directions in both text types regarding the Reformulation of different types of Participant N-Rhemes (see table 7.4 in the Appendix). Both text types have a higher percentage of reformulated Actor N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations, as is illustrated in table 7.4 above, but the difference is only significant in the Popular Science texts, 50.0% vs. 18.6% ($p<0.05$).

7.2.3 Summary

Reformulation is the most frequent translation change in both translation directions, occurring somewhat more frequently in the translations into English, 25.2%, compared to the translations into Swedish, 22.4% (see table 5.1). N-Rhemes that have been reformulated to a particularly high extent (more than 40%) are displayed in table 7.9. However, it is important to remember that N-Rhemes categorised as Movement or Restructuring can also involve Reformulation. Thus, for most categories, Reformulation is even more frequent than what is visible from these results:

[139] This difference is similar to the higher percentage of reformulated Adverbial N-Rhemes in the translations into English, 28.3%, compared to the translations into Swedish, 19.8%, in the Popular Science texts (see table 7.7 above). This difference only applies to the Popular Science texts, as the Reformulations occur similarly frequently in both translation directions in the Fiction texts.

[140] Cf. the higher percentages of reformulated Manner N-Rhemes in the translations into English in the total material (see table 7.5). A similar difference occurs in each text type, although the differences are not statistically significant.

Table 7.9 Frequently reformulated N-Rhemes in both translation directions and both text types (+ 40%)

		Fiction		Popular Science		Table
		E → S	**S → E**	**E → S**	**S → E**	
Grammatical Form	Finite clause		41.9		46.1	7.6
	Non-finite clause	44.0				
Transitivity	Projection	42.1	45.9		45.7	7.8
	Verbiage	40.0	41.2		71.4	Appendix
	Phenomenon			50.0	40.0	
	Actor			50.0		
	Carrier				43.3	
	Token			40.0	35.3	
	Contingency	41.3			40.9	Appendix
	Accompaniment			42.9	43.8	

Table 7.9 shows that Reformulation is particularly common in the Popular Science texts translated into English. Still, the frequently reformulated types are to a great extent similar in both translation directions and both text types. Overall, clausal N-Rhemes tend to be Reformulated to a great extent in both translation directions and both text types.

Although Reformulation is somewhat more common in the translations into English, it seems to be similarly used as a translation strategy in the two translation directions. No differences of the highest statistical significance occur. The types of N-Rhemes that have been reformulated to a significantly different extent in the two translation directions are presented in table 7.10:

Table 7.10 Reformulation: Significant differences between the translation directions

Feature		EO → ST	SO → ET	Statistical Significance	Table
Grammatical form	Finite clause	33.5	43.5	*	7.1
	PP	19.4	25.5	*	
	VP	4.9	13.2	*	
Syntactic function	Verb	5.0	13.9	*	7.2
Transitivity	Process	4.9	13.9	*	7.3
	Part. Actor	45.0	13.9	**	Appendix
	Circ. Manner	18.6	32.8	**	Appendix

*= $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$

The only features showing a statistically significant difference of $p<0.01$ in the two translation directions are Participant Actor, which have been reformulated to a greater extent in the translations into Swedish, 45.0% vs. 13.8%, and Circumstance Manner, which have been reformulated to a greater extent in the translations into English, 31.8% vs. 18.6. In addition, Finite clause, PP and VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a somewhat greater extent in the translations into English.

7.3 Interpretation of the results

In view of the results presented in section 7.1 and 7.2, this section sets out to discuss which N-Rhemes are typically Reformulated, how, and why. First, the results in section 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 showed that Reformulation to a great extent occurs similarly frequently in the two translation directions and the two text types. However, the ways in which the N-Rhemes have been reformulated are to some extent different in the two translation directions. Reformulation is most frequent in clausal N-Rhemes.

As illustrated in section 7.1.1, unit shifts are types of syntactic reformulations, typically changing a Swedish Finite clause N-Rheme into an NP in the translations into English (40), and a Non-finite *ing*-clause into a Finite clause in the translations into Swedish (41).

(40a) Jag ser hur hunden börjar bli otålig. (PCJ1:178) *'I see* ***how the dog starts to get impatient****.'*	(40b) I can see **the dog begin to lose patience**. (AP1:344t)
(41a) We would stand side by side, **looking at a large red mouth stretching itself around a chocolate bear**. (MA1:195)	(41b) Vi skulle stå sida vid sida, **medan vi betraktade en stor röd mun som sträcker sig runt en chokladkaka**. (MA1: 195t) *'[…]* ***while we were watching a large red mouth that stretches itself around a chocolate cake****.'*

The Reformulation of a clause in Swedish into a NP in English is particularly frequent in the Popular Science texts (see table 7.10). This is consistent with Biber et al (1999:578), who found that complex NPs are more frequent in academic prose than in fiction in English. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:657) also note that nominalizations are particularly frequent in scientific English. A greater tendency to use nominalizations in English Popular Science texts compared to the Swedish (and Norwegian) translations was also shown in Nordrum's (2007) study of nominalizations in English, Norwegian and Swedish.[141] In her study, about 1/5 of the lexical nominalizations were turned into clauses in the translation (2007:200). There seems to be a similar pattern in the translations in this study. The tendency to use a nominalization in the English translations and to turn an NP into a clause in the Swedish translations suggests target language normalisation in both translation directions. There is an increase in information density in the translations into English and a decrease in information density in the translations into Swedish.

Furthermore, clausal N-Rhemes are typically heavy, and therefore likely to be affected by pragmatic translation strategies such as explicitation changes, as is exemplified in (42) and (43):

[141] However, Hasselgård's (2016) study of verbal and nominal expressions in Norwegian and English translations found that nominalizations of clauses, and vice versa, were used to a similar extent in the two translation directions.

(42a) Cordelia rolls her eyes, **as I knew she would**. (MA:18)	(42b) Cordelia himlar med ögonen, **just som jag visste att hon skulle göra**. (MA1:18t) *'[…] **just like I knew that she would do**.'*
(43b) Neither is the buyer invulnerable in world markets today **when unforeseen circumstances such as the oil crisis shortages of raw materials, under-capacity in production or strikes rear their ugly heads**. (BA1:10)	(43b) Inte heller köparen är osårbar på världsmarknaden idag **när råvarubrist, lågt kapacitetsutnyttjande eller strejker sticker upp sina fula trynen**. (BA1:10t) *'[…] **when shortages of raw materials, under-capacity in production or strikes rear their ugly heads**.'*

The high percentages of Reformulation for Direct Object, Tail, Projection, Phenomenon, Carrier and Contingency N-Rhemes are to a great extent related to the fact that they are realised as clauses. Thus, it is not the function of the N-Rheme that is the explanation to why it has been reformulated, but rather its form. If the reformulated N-Rheme is not clausal, it is typically heavy, as is illustrated in (32) and (34) above.

Overall, the reformulations do not affect the textual structure to a great extent, as the translation change only occurs in the N-Rheme. The goals in the N-Rhemes are the same in the original and the translated T-unit. Rather the Reformulations seem to be a means to keep the original textual structure. Furthermore, the Reformulations are most likely related to the character of the N-Rheme. First, the N-Rheme is by its position at the end of the T-unit frequently a heavy constituent. The heavier the constituent the more possibility for change. Then, the N-Rheme typically marks newsworthy information. If something is newsworthy, it has to be clear. So, the extensive use of clarification strategies in the translation process is quite expected. They are a means to make the goals of the text clearer. Finally, explicitation has also been considered to be an obligatory part of the translation process. See section 2.6.2 for a further discussion of this.

Although Reformulation to a great extent is similar in the two translation directions, there are some significant differences. First, there is a greater proportion of Reformulated Actor N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations. The results in chapter 6 show that Actor N-Rhemes have the lowest translation correspondence of all participants in both translation directions, 40.0% in the translations into Swedish and 27.9% in the translations into English. Thus, in the translations into Swedish, many of these Actor N-Rhemes are reformulated.[142] The reformulated Actor N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations are often heavy or complex, realized both as

[142] The translation correspondence was even lower in the translations into English, but rather because 35.9% of the Participant Actor N-Rhemes have been moved in the translations into English, while no Actor N-Rhemes have been moved in the translations into Swedish. These moved Actor N-Rhemes might also be reformulated. This will be further discussed in section 8.2.

phrases and clauses. Typically, they go through an explicitness change. The translation could either become more explicit as in (44) or simplified as in (45):

(44a) (The aircraft industries in Brazil, India and Israel were specially studied **by one team for the Group of Experts.)** (CS1:125)	(44b) (Flygindustrin i Brasilien, Indien och Israel) har särskilt studerats **inom ramen av ett av de projekt som beställts av expertgruppen.** (CS1:125t) '*[…]* ***in the context of one of the projects that was ordered by the Group of Experts***.'
(45a) The Tigris-Euphrates valley, in what is now Iraq, had been inhabited as early as 4000BCE **by the people known as the Sumerians who had established one of the first great cultures of the Oikumene (the civilised world)**. (KAR1:90)	(45b) Flodslätten längs Eufrat och Tigris i nuvarande Irak befolkades så tidigt som på 4000-talet f.v.t. **av sumererna som grundlade en av de första stora kulturerna i Oikoumene (den civiliserade världen).** (KAR1:90t) '*[…]* ***by the Sumerians who established one of the first great cultures in Oikoumene (the civilised world)***'

Both (44) and (45) are agentive Adverbials (PPs) in passive clauses.

Next, Manner N-Rhemes were Reformulated to a greater extent in the translations into English, 32.8% vs. 18.6 % ($p<0.01$).[143] These Reformulations are frequently made more explicit in the translations, as is illustrated in (46):

(46a) och tar försiktigt men stadigt om mig **som man håller en ömtålig frukt** (PCJ1:306) *'[…]* ***as one holds a delicate fruit'***	(46b) and cautiously but firmly encircles me with them **as one holds a fruit that damages easily** (PCJ1:306t)

Finally, the results show that Reformulation is comparatively more frequent in the Popular Science texts, 27.9%, compared to the Fiction texts, 21.4%, ($p<0.001$) (see table 5.3 above). One type of N-Rheme that is reformulated to a greater extent in the Popular Science texts is AdvP N-Rhemes. The AdvP N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts are comparatively heavier to the AdvP N-Rhemes in Fiction.

[143] Table 6.4 showed that there was a lower translation correspondance for Manner N-Rhemes in the translations into English, 45.0% vs. 57.0%. Some of this lack of correspoindence is due to a higher percentage of Reformulations in the translations into English.

Often they include modification, as is illustrated in (47). This is yet another example of how Reformulation is related to the weight or complexity of the N-Rheme:

(47a) Vandringen genom vår historia till det som skall bli dagens sverige börjar **här, vid kungshögarna i Gamla Uppsala** (HL1:2) *'[…] **here, by the royal burial mounds in Old Uppsala**.'*	(47b) Or excursion through Sweden's history which will bring us ultimately to the Sweden of today, begins **at the royal burial mounds in Old Uppsala**. (HL1:2t)

The most significant text type difference concerns the translation of NP/Subject/Participant N-Rhemes, which have been Reformulated to a greater extent in the Popular Science texts regardless of translation direction. In the Popular Science texts, Participants functioning as Subject N-Rhemes are more frequently realized as clauses. As was shown in section 7.2.1, clausal N-Rhemes have been reformulated to a great extent, as in (48). So, partly this could be the answer to why there is a comparatively higher frequency of reformulated Subject N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts, compared to the Fiction texts:[144]

(48a) I stället för att fokusera på den personliga furstemakten, som gärna blir fallet när man talar om 'absolutism', kan det vara fruktbarare **att med Immanuel Wallerstein tala om 'statism'**. (HG1:177) *'[…] **to with Immanuel Wallerstein talk about "statism**".'*	(48b) Instead of focusing on the personal power of the prince, which tends to be the case when speaking of absolutism, it can be more fruitful **to use Immanuel Wallerstein's term statism.** (HG1:177t)

However, a higher percentage of Reformulation for NP Participant N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts was also found. Similar to the clauses, these Reformulated NP N-Rhemes are typically heavy participants, reformulated by pragmatic strategies such as simplification or clarification, as is illustrated in (49):

[144] 53.7% of the reformulated Subjects in the Popular Science texts (22/41) are clauses compared to 16.0% in the Fiction texts ($p<0.01$)

(49a) I have never met **a people so prone to self-criticism, and yet so nationalistic as the Swedes**: (BA1:26)	(49b) Jag har aldrig mött **ett folk som med sådan förkärlek kritiserar sig själva och samtidigt är så nationalistiska som svenskarna**: (BA1:26t) *'[…] **a people who with such enthusiasm criticise themselves and at the same time are so nationalistic as the Swedes**:'*

A hypothesis could be that the need to use clarification strategies, explicitating the text, is greater when translating Popular Science texts as these texts present facts. Thus, it is more important to get the correct message through in the translation process, compared to in Fiction where the translations could be freer.

Altogether the frequent use of Reformulation in the translation of clausal N-Rhemes, as well as the greater use of Reformulation in the Popular Science texts compared to the Fiction texts, indicate a relation between Reformulation as a translation strategy and high complexity or weight of the N-Rheme. The comparatively low frequency of Reformulations in VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes also supports this.

7.4 Summary

To sum up, Reformulation is used to a similar extent in both translation directions and both text types, with some exceptions. Reformulation is largely related to the complexity of the N-Rheme, and typically occurs in clausal N-Rhemes or other heavy constituents. The effect on the textual structure of the text is very small as the translation changes only affect the N-Rheme.

The syntactic strategies used in the Reformulation of N-Rhemes, unit shift and function shift, have primarily been used to overcome syntactic differences between English and Swedish, e.g. the lack of an equivalent to the Non-finite *ing*-clause and the impossibility to use a preposition + *that*-clause in English. These translation changes are obligatory. Optional syntactic translation strategies are also used, primarily to avoid a marked structure in the translation. One example is the optional nominalization of clausal N-Rhemes in translations into English and the reversed translation of heavy NPs into clauses in the Swedish translations. This is particularly frequent in the Popular Science texts.

The semantic translation strategies used are primarily optional, resulting in a translation with a slightly different perspective or style. These optional semantic translation strategies are typically TL normalisations where a less marked formulation is preferred over a more marked one. Some semantic translation

strategies are more like servitudes, triggered by lexical differences between the languages, e.g. when an idiom is replaced by a near synonym in the translation

In comparison, the pragmatic strategies used are either a consequence of these syntactic and/or lexical differences, seen as obligatory explicitation, or related to the importance of providing clear information to the reader in the translated text, optional explicitation. In the present study, the majority of the pragmatic translation strategies used are clearly optional. Partly, this could also be linked to the fact that N-Rhemes contain newsworthy information. Thus, the translator feels the need to make sure that the important message is explicit to the reader. This would explain why Reformulation is particularly frequent in the Popular Science texts, which have more heavy N-Rhemes containing much information. Partly, a pragmatic translation strategy seems to be a natural effect of the translation process, as the transferring of information from one language to another often requires some sort of clarification.

In the next chapter, another type of translation change, i.e. Movement, will be discussed.

8 Movement

Movement is a translation change which involves a reordering of the clause elements where the N-Rheme has been moved to another position in the T-unit, but is otherwise rendered in the same form as in the original (see section 3.6 for a more detailed description). In section 8.1, the translation strategies involved in Movement will be presented (see section 2.6.1 for a more detailed presentation of Chesterman's (1997) textual strategies). Next, in section 8.2, Movement of N-Rhemes will be compared quantitatively for each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type, first in the two translation directions and then in the two text types. Section 8.3 further explores the Movement of N-Rhemes; Where do the moved constituents end up, and which constituents have been moved into the N-Rheme? Finally, the results are discussed and summarised in sections 8.4 and 8.5.

8.1 What is Movement?

Movement is a translation change which results in a reordering of the constituents within the T-unit. Therefore, it can primarily be seen as a syntactic translation strategy. In addition, Movement also frequently involves a pragmatic strategy, triggered by the need to emphasise a different information unit in the clause. This translation strategy is often applied as a syntactic strategy, but for a pragmatic reason.[145] Thus, the strategies are not mutually exclusive, but frequently used simultaneously. This is illustrated in the following example:

(1a) Utanför tågfönstren sken **majsolen** (AP1:228) *'Outside the train windows shone **the May sun**.'*	(1b) The May sun shone **outside the train windows and into the compartmen**t (AP1:228t)

In (1a) the Swedish original has an Adverbial locative Theme, which is followed by the Verb because of the V2-constraint in Swedish, and then the Subject *majsolen*

[145] Semantic translation strategies are rarely involved in the Movement of N-Rhemes, and are therefore only briefly discussed in this chapter.

functions as N-Rheme. In the translation (1b), the Subject *the May sun* has been fronted, and the locative Adverbial Theme *utanför tågfönstren* has become N-Rheme. Explicitation makes the translated N-Rheme *outside the train window and into the compartment* heavier than the equivalent structure in the original [*outside the train windows*]. Consequently, the postponement of the Adverbial to the N-Rheme could be related to end-weight, a pragmatic strategy. In addition, a syntactic strategy has been used to normalise the word order in English as English favours to have the Subject early in the clause.

In the following sections, the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic translation strategies involved in the Movement of N-Rhemes in translations between English and Swedish will be presented. They will be dealt with separately, as three distinct phenomena, although the strategies frequently overlap, as in (1). Section 8.1.1 starts with the syntactic translation strategies, followed by the semantic translation strategies in 8.1.2, and finally, the pragmatic translation strategies in 8.1.3.

8.1.1 Syntactic strategies

Movement can primarily be seen as a clause structure change (Chesterman 1997:95-7). In this section, some types of clause structure changes in the two translation directions will be illustrated.

The first examples of clause structure change are related to the V2-constraint in Swedish (2) and the preferred word order SV in English (3). These clause structure changes typically occur in T-units with a thematic Adverbial:

(2a) Above the noise he **shouted** (ST1:197)	(2b) Över oväsendet ropade **han** (ST1:197t) *'Above the noise shouted **he**'*
(3a) Så anlände **vi.** (AP1:85) *'Then arrived **we**.'*	(3b) Then we **arrived.** (AP1:85t)

In both (2) and (3) there is inversion of Subject and Verb in T-units with a thematic Adverbial. In these examples, the thematic Adverbials are probably placed in thematic position for functional, discourse related reasons (see Hasselgård 2010:72). Consequently, the Adverbial remains in Theme position and the Subject becomes N-Rheme in the Swedish translation (2b) (cf. Altenberg 1998 and Johansson 2007), and the Verb becomes N-Rheme in the English translation (3b).

However, there are also clause structure changes involving the movement of a thematic Adverbial in the original to the N-Rheme in the translation. Erman (2000:26-7) found this to be typical in translations into English. This is illustrated in (4) and (5), where there is inversion of S and V as well as postponement of the

Adverbial, resulting in an Adverbial N-Rheme and a fronting of the Subject as Theme:[146]

(4a) Kring munnen var **ett skarpt veck**. (LH1:34) '*Around his mouth was **a sharp crease***.'	(4b) There were sharp creases **around his mouth**. (LH1:34t)
(5a) På 1890-talet infördes **vatten-rörspannorna**. (TR1:159)	(5b) Water tube boilers were introduced **in the 1890s** (TR1:159t)

To keep the Adverbial as Theme would result in a Verb N-Rheme in the translation, which is quite marked in English, unless it is a reporting clause.

Another type of clause structure change involving inversion of Subject and Verb occurs in Reporting clauses, as in (6) and (7):[147]

(6a) Det lyste ur honom, särskilt ur ögonen men också ur skinnet och över skuldrorna och i handflatorna och på andra onämnbara ställen, **sade Siiri** (AP1:154-5) *'[…] said **Siiri**'*	(6b) It shone out of him, especially out of his eyes, but also out of his skin and over his shoulders and in the palms of his hands and on other unmentionable places, Siiri **said** (AP1:154-5t)
(7a) No chance, he **replied** (ST1:63-4)	(7b) Aldrig i livet, svarade **han** (ST1:63.4t) *'No chance, replied **he**'*

Yet another clause structure change occurs because of differences between the two languages regarding the placement of Adverbials. This is illustrated in (8):

(8a) Vic wipes the tidemark of foam from his cheeks, and fingers the shaven flesh **appraisingly**. (DLO1:122-3)[148]	(8b) Vic torkar bort avlagringarna av rakkräm från kinderna och fingrar försiktigt **på huden** (DLO1:122-3t) *'[…] and fingers appraisingly **on the skin**'*

[146] Clause-final position is usually seen as the unmarked place for locative Adverbials in English. See e.g. Hasselgård (2010), Quirk et al. (1985).

[147] The translation change in reporting clauses is also a result of the V2-constraint in Swedish. English reporting clauses may also have the order Verb - Subject if the Subject is realized by a full noun phrase, but Subject -Verb is more common. See also section 4.2.

[148] The underlined part of the example indicates the T-unit under analysis when the example contains more than one T-unit.

In the Swedish translation, the Adverbial/Manner *försiktigt/appraisingly* has been moved from the N-Rheme to the Midfield, as is the unmarked word order in Swedish. In addition, *the shaven flesh*, which is the Object of the original T-unit, has been reformulated into an Adverbial/Place N-Rheme, *på huden/on the flesh.*

Similarly, the Swedish original in (9a) contains an Adverbial in the Midfield, *enligt gamla legender/according to legend*. In the translation, this Adverbial has been moved to the Theme in (9b), as it is too long to remain in Midfield position in English: [149]

(9a) Till Västergötland sändes enligt gamla legender **de engelska munkarna Sigfrid och David**. (HL1:97)	(9c) According to legend the English monks Sigfrid and David were sent **to Västergötland.** (HL1:97t)
(9b) […] Från Hamburg kom **Stefan som verkade i Hälsingland**. (HL1:99)	(9d) […] Stefan came from Hamburg **to work in Hälsingland**. (HL1:99t)

The movement of *according to legend* to thematic position enables a fronting of the Subject in (9c), which a Movement of the locative Adverbial Theme, *till Västergötland/to Västergötland*, would not do without sounding very marked. An alternative solution would have been to move both Adverbials to clause-final position in the English translation. A similar translation strategy is used in the following T-unit (9b) in the translation into (9d).

Furthermore, the movement of a fronted Object in Swedish to the N-Rheme in English is another type of clause structure change:

(10a) Mannen som är på väg mot sin brevlåda har ett problem och det tänker han **lösa** (SC1:68-9) *'[…] and that intends he **to solve**'*	(10b) The man on the way to his postbox had a problem and he intended to solve **it** (SC1:68-9t)
(11a) Innan farmor lade sig ner och dog var hon en satans kärring. Det sade Siiri **ofta (**AP1:130) *'[…] That said Siiri **often**'*	(11b) Before Gran lay down and died, she was a real old bitch. Siiri often said **that** (AP1:130t)

In (10) and (11) the Direct Object Theme *det/it/that* has been postponed to the N-Rheme and there is inversion of the Subject and the Verb in the English translations. This Movement occurs for a syntactic reason as the Direct Object

[149] See e.g. Hasselgård (2010:101-102).

usually follows the VP in English (SVO).[150] *Det* functioning syntactically as the Direct Object of verbs in mental and verbal processes or the Subject complement of copula verbs (*vara/be*) is normally fronted in Swedish, creating a link to the preceding context (Herriman 2011:8-9).[151] So, it is an example of the more backwards-oriented information structure in Swedish. In English, on the other hand, placing *it/that* as Theme would be very marked, indicating a contrastive emphasis (2011:9). Consequently, a translation change is required.

Finally, (12) and (13) illustrate clause structure changes involving phrasal verbs in the Swedish originals:

(12a) Hon hade slagit upp **det**. (KE1:249) *'She had looked up* ***it****.'*	(12b) She had looked it **up** (KE1:249t)
(13a) Kandidaten ställer undan **stolen.** (PCJ1:241) *'The candidate pushes aside* ***the chair****.'*	(13b) The postdoc pushes it **aside**. (PCJ1:241t)

In (12), the Swedish original has a pronoun *det/it* as N-Rheme, which has to be moved in the English translation. The English translation results in a split N-Rheme with the particle at the very end of the T-unit. This is a pure syntactic translation strategy, compared to (13) where there is interplay of pragmatic and syntactic translation strategies. In (13) the N-Rheme *stolen/the chair* has been translated into the proform *it*, which is less heavy. This change requires a word order change as a Direct Object realized as a pronoun is placed in-between the verb and the particle in English (similar to (12b)). The translator could, however, have used a linear translation with *the chair* as N-Rheme.

In the similar example (14), the particle *out* has been added in the translation as the original Swedish verb *slängde/threw* has been translated into a phrasal verb *threw out*. So, a syntactic and a pragmatic translation strategy have been used simultaneously. This translation change moves the Direct Object from the N-Rheme to the position left of the added particle *out*, which now, together with the Verb *threw* functions as a split N-Rheme:

(14a) Och slängde **lakanet** (AP1:2217) *'And threw* ***the sheet***'	(14b) And threw *the sheet* **out** (AP1:217t)

[150] For a discussion of the position of Objects in English see Quirk et al. (1985:726).

[151] Referring to other corpus studies, Bohnacker (2010:116) claims that Swedish det/it is 'by far the most common fronted object in Swedish'.

There are examples of the reversed clause structure change in translations into Swedish. In (15a), the particle *off* has been separated from the verb *shake* and there is a split N-Rheme. In the Swedish translation, the Direct Object *tofflorna/the slippers* has been moved to the N-Rheme in the Swedish translation, following the complete VP, which is also reflexive *skaka av sig/shake off + refl.*:

(15a) The old men could **shake** their slippers **off**	(15b) Gamlingarna kunde skaka av sig **tofflorna** (JC1:35t) *'The old men could shake off* ***their slippers****'*

8.1.2 Semantic strategies

Semantic translation strategies are not primarily associated with Movement. However, a semantic reformulation of the constituent moving into the N-Rheme could occur, as is illustrated in (16):[152]

(16a) och berättar inget **för de andra.** (AP1:294) *'and tells nothing* ***to the others****.'*	(16b) and never tells anyone **anything** (AP1:294t)

In (16), both the constituent moving out of the N-Rheme *för de andra/to the others* and the constituent moving into the N-Rheme *inget/nothing* are reformulated semantically in the translation. The perspective is somewhat changed in (16b) as the negation *never* has been added and *anything* has been used instead of *nothing*. This semantic change is not directly involved in the Movement of the constituents, however. Rather it works together with a syntactic translation strategy

Furthermore, transitivity changes are considered as a semantic translation strategy. The T-units where the N-Rhemes have been moved almost exclusively involve a change in transitivity of the N-Rheme as there is a rearrangement of the constituents within the T-unit. This rearrangement within the T-unit is primarily syntactically triggered, but sometimes also for a pragmatic purpose. Seldom, if ever, is the Movement triggered by the need to change or modify the meaning of a

[152] It could be questioned whether the translation change here actually is a Movement, as it borders on being a Restructuring on the level of the T-unit (see 9.2.1.3). It has been categorised as a Movement as the constituents still are near equivalents. The main translation change is a semantic change of perspective.

constituent, which is what the semantic translation strategies typically do (Chesterman 1997:102).

8.1.3 Pragmatic strategies

The pragmatic translation strategies involved in the Movement of N-Rhemes are primarily used to change the information structure. In addition, the pragmatic translation changes can also be related to end-weight. In Chesterman's terms these pragmatic strategies would be similar to a *Change of Coherence* (1997:108). These types of translation changes will now be illustrated.

One type of pragmatic strategy involves the movement of a constituent expressing New information to the N-Rheme. In this way, the change has been made to follow the information principle of Given before New. This is illustrated in (17) and (18):

(17a) They simply swept him in a rotating triangle of processed air into the sun and breeze beyond. All security ended **there** (JC1:125-126)	(17b) De svepte honom helt enkelt med sig i en roterande triangel av bearbetad luft och lämnade honom i solskenet och den lätta vinden utanför. Där upphörde **all trygghet** (JC1:125-126t) *'[…] There ended **all securtiy**'*
(18a) Någonstans i Småland fick jag **mitt namn** (AP1:234) *'Somewhere in Småland got I **my name**'*	(18b) I was given my name **somewhere in Småland** (AP1:234t)

The Swedish translation in (17b) illustrates how Swedish is more backwards-oriented, moving *där/there* to the Theme. In both (17) and (18) the N-Rheme in the translation is also comparatively heavier than the original N-Rheme. So, the translations follow both the information principle and the principle of end-weight. (18) is the first sentence in a new paragraph. So, the movement of the Theme to the N-Rheme in the English translation clearly changes the perspective.

Furthermore, there are also translations where New constituents have been moved from the N-Rheme to another position in the T-unit. This is illustrated in the following example:

(19a) Något till höger kan jag skymta en hund i profil. Det är en beagle, som är upphängd med breda band under magen. Från hundens mage dinglar **röda slangar**. (PCJ1:39-41) *'[…] From the dog's gut dangle **red tubes**.'*	(19b) Somewhat to their right I can glimpse a dog in profile. It's a beagle, suspended by broad straps that gird its stomach. Red tubes dangle **from the dog's gut**. (PCJ1:39-41t)

In (19), the Swedish Subject N-Rheme containing new information, *röda slangar/red tubes,* has been moved to the Theme, and the locative Theme *Från hundens mage/from the dog's gut* has been postponed to the N-Rheme, possibly because of end-weight. Consequently, the original T-unit has the order Given before New, and the translation New before Given. The order of the syntactic functions also alters from AVS → SVA. Thus, the change follows both the syntactic principle and the principle of end-weight, but not the information principle.

Another example involving a similar change of constituents, AVS → SVA, is illustrated in (20):

(20a) På 1870-talet började aktiebolagsformen införas som bolagsform för rederirörelser och då startades i Sverige **ett antal av de företag, som under 1900-talet skulle bli stora, väletablerade rederikoncerner**. (TR1:119-120) *'[…] and then were started in Sweden **a number of the companies** […]'*	(20b) During the 1870's, the joint stock form of company organisation began to be introduced for ship owning business, *and a number of the Swedish companies destined to grow into large well-established shipping groups during the 20th century* were founded **at this time.** (TR1:119-120t)

In this example, the Swedish original has a Given temporal Theme and a very heavy New Subject N-Rheme. The translator could have kept the Theme, but would still have to move the Subject to the position after the Theme. Instead, the Subject has been moved to the Theme, and the original Theme has become N-Rheme. The syntactic principle has been given priority over the information principle, resulting in a translation with a very heavy New Subject Theme. It is a good example of the high tolerance towards placing New information in the Theme in English, which clearly illustrates the difference to the more backwards-oriented Swedish original.[153]

Furthermore, (21) illustrate how similar pragmatic translation strategies have been used in the other translation direction:

[153] Herriman (2010:7) found that temporal/locative adverbials in Swedish often were translated into New Subjects in English.

(21a) Yet, the victory was not complete. It had to be re-established by means of a special liturgy, **year after year**. (KAR1:158-9)	(21b) Men segern var inte fullständig. *Varje år* måste den fastställas på nytt **med hjälp av en särskild liturgi**. (KAR1:158-9t) *'But the victory was not complete. Every year had to it be established again* ***by means of a special liturgy****.'*

(21) contains multiple adverbials at the end of the T-unit with a fairly light temporal Adverbial as N-Rheme. In the translation (21b), the temporal Adverbial has been moved to the Theme and the heavier manner Adverbial has become N-Rheme. This changes the textual structure in the Swedish translation.

Similar to (21), (22) contains multiple Adverbials at the end of the original T-unit:

(22a) According to French Sûreté records, the Foreign Agency began work in Paris probably on a small scale, **in 1982**. (CAOG1:116)	(22b) Enligt franska Sûretés arkiv började utländska byrån arbeta i Paris 1882, **sannolikt i liten skala**. (CAOG1:116t) *'According to French Sûreté records, started the foreign agency work in Paris 1882,* ***probably on a small scale****.'*

Here, the order of the last two Adverbials has been reversed in the translation. The normal word order for multiple Adverbials is Manner^Place^Time in both English and Swedish (Holmes & Hinchcliffe 1994:151; Biber et al. 1999:811; Hasselgård 2010:146-7).[154] If the Adverbial Manner is long, as is the case in both (21) and (22) above, the order may be Place^Time^Manner in Swedish (Holmes & Hinchcliffe1994:151). So, this translation change could also be seen as related to the principle of end-weight.

Finally, (23) illustrates yet another type of pragmatic translation strategy. In this example, a temporal N-Rheme has been moved to the Theme in the translation (23b). There is nothing which requires such a change in the translation. However, the T-unit is the first in a new paragraph. Possibly there are textual reasons behind this translation change, triggered by the desire to start the paragraph from a temporal perspective rather than with the Actor:

[154] The order in the English original is Place, Manner, Time.

(23a) Professorn reser sig från stolen **så fort han märker att dropparna tar.** (PCJ1:240) *'The professor rises himself from the chair* ***as soon as he sees that the drops have taken effect****.'*	(23b) As soon as he sees that the drops have taken effect, the professor rises **from his chair** (PCJ1:240t)

In this section, different types of *Movement* in the analysed material have been exemplified. In the next section, the *Movement* of N-Rhemes will be compared quantitatively for each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type, first in the two translation directions (8.2.1) and then in the two text types (8.2.2).

8.2 Which N-Rhemes have been moved?

N-Rhemes have been moved similarly frequently in the two translation directions; 6.1% in the translations into Swedish and 7.3% in the translations into English (see table 5.2). In this section, *Movement* of each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type will be compared in the two translation directions and the two text types.

8.2.1 Comparison of translation directions

Table 8.1 displays the percentage of each grammatical category that has been moved in the translation. The percentages are presented in descending order for the translations into Swedish, unless otherwise stated:[155]

[155] Bold type highlights the highest percentage of Movement in each translation direction in all tables.

Table 8.1 Movement of Grammatical forms

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Moved	**total**	**%**	**Moved**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Verb Phrase	39[156]	142	**27.5**	21	174	12.1	***
Adverb Phrase	16	93	17.2	16	213	7.5	*
Preposition Phrase	34	521	6.5	38	705	5.4	n.s
Adjective Phrase	5	126	4.0	7	139	5.0	n.s
Noun Phrase	17	600	2.8	91	745	**12.2**	***
Finite Clause	6	224	2.7	5	276	1.8	n.s
Non-finite Clause	3	157	1.9	3	110	2.7	n.s

*= $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$

As table 8.1 shows, Movement typically occurs in the translation of Verb Phrase N-Rhemes in both translation directions, as is illustrated in (X) and (X). Movement of VP N-Rhemes is comparatively more common in the translations into Swedish, 27.5% compared to 12.1% in the translations into English ($p < 0.001$):

(24a) but there it **is** (MH1:84)	(24b) Men så är **det** (MH1:84t) *'But so is **it**'*
(25a) En nedlagd bondgård **skulle** man kanske **kunna säga.** (SC1:143) *'An abandoned farm **would** one perhaps **say**.'*	(25b) A farm: perhaps one should call it **an abandoned farm**. (SC1:143t)

The Swedish original (25) contains a split N-Rheme. In the English translation (25b) *A farm* has been added, and *an abandoned farm* has been moved to the N-Rheme. So the farm is presented both as Theme and N-Rheme.

Furthermore, Adverb Phrase N-Rhemes, see (26), have also been moved to a greater extent in the translations into Swedish, 17.2% compared to 7.5% in the translations into English ($p < 0.05$). In contrast, Noun Phrase N-Rhemes have been moved to a higher extent in the translations into English, 12.2%, compared to 2.8% in the translations into Swedish ($p < 0.001$), as is illustrated in (27). Clausal N-Rhemes have the lowest percentages of Movement in both translation directions:

[156] The numbers indicate the number of each grammatical form that has been moved, here Verb Phrase (39), and the total number of each grammatical form in the original texts, here Verb Phrase (142). Thus, 39 out of 139 Verb Phrases have been moved in the translations into Swedish.

(26a) But I can't go **any farther**. (MA1:158)	(26b) Men längre än så **kan** jag **inte gå**. (MA1:158t) *'But any farther than that **can** I **not go**.'*
(27a) och det vet **alla** (AP1:20) *'and that knows **everyone**'*	(27b) everyone knows **that** (AP1:20t)

Table 8.2 compares the percentage of each syntactic function that has been moved in both translation directions:

Table 8.2 Movement of Syntactic functions

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Moved	**total**	**%**	**Moved**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Verb	39	141	**27.7**	21	173	12.1	***
Object C	2	28	7.1	2	15	13.3	n.s
Indirect Object	1	14	7.1	2	23	8.7	n.s
Adverbial	49	701	7.0	47	919	5.1	n.s
Direct Object	14	474	3.0	29	575	5.0	n.s
Subject C	6	278	2.2	14	338	4.1	n.s
Tail	2	117	1.7	2	93	2.2	n.s
Subject	-	87	-	61	203	**30.1**	***
Others	7	23	30.4	3	23	13.0	n.s

*** = $p < 0.001$

The most notable results in this table are the comparatively higher percentages of moved Verb N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish, 27.7% vs. 12.1% ($p < 0.001$) and moved Subject N-Rhemes in the translations into English, 30.1% vs. 0% ($p < 0.001$). As Verbs are mainly realised by VPs and Subjects frequently by NPs, these results mirror the differences shown in table 8.1. See also examples (24) and (27). This difference between the translation directions can be linked to the V2 constraint that applies to Swedish, but not to English (see sections 8.1.1 and 8.3).

Next, the Movement of Participant, Circumstance, Process and Projection N-Rhemes are presented in table 8.3:

Table 8.3 Transitivity and Movement

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Moved	**total**	**%**	**Moved**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Process	40	143	**28.0**	21	173	**12.1**	***
Circumstance	67	689	7.3	45	898	5.0	n.s
Participant	22	776	2.8	109	1077	10.1	***
Projection	-	116	-	1	96	1.0	n.s

*** = $p < 0.001$

As can be expected from the results in 8.1 and 8.3, there are significantly higher percentages of moved Process N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish and Participant N-Rhemes in the translations into English. 55% (22/40) of the moved Process N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish are Verbal Processes (see Appendix, table 8.1); they occur in reporting clauses. In comparison, Participant N-Rhemes in reporting clauses, i.e. Sayers, are moved to a great extent in the translations into English, as is illustrated in table 8.4:

Table 8.4 Movement of Participant N-Rhemes

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Moved	**total**	**%**	**Moved**	**total**	**%**	**Significance**
Goal	10	226	**4.4**	32	291	11.0	*
Phenomenon	2	52	3.8	1	88	1.1	n.s
Attribute	8	242	3.3	11	291	3.8	n.s
Value	1	132	0.8	6	144	4.2	n.s
Sayer	-	16	-	12	16	**75.0**	***
Actor	-	20	-	25	79	31.7	**
Token	-	14	-	6	34	17.7	n.s
Carrier	-	20	-	5	54	9.3	n.s
Existent	-	28	-	1	24	4.2	n.s

*= $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$

As can be seen in table 8.4, very few Participant N-Rhemes have been moved in the translations into Swedish. Besides Sayer, N-Rhemes, Actor N-Rhemes are also moved to a great extent in the translations into English, 31.7%. Both Sayer and Actor N-Rhemes have significantly higher percentages of Movement in the translations

into English. In addition, the translations into English also have a significantly higher percentage of moved Goal N-Rhemes, 11.0% vs. 4.4% ($p < 0.05$). Finally, Movement of Circumstance N-Rhemes is similar in the two translation directions (see Appendix, table 8.2).

To sum up, the most important differences between the translation directions concern the Movement of VPs/Verbs/Processes, typically Verbal Processes, and NPs/Subjects/Participants, typically Sayer, Actor and Goal. In the following section, Movement of N-Rhemes in both translation directions in the two text types will be compared.

8.2.2 Comparison of Fiction and Popular Science

N-Rhemes have been moved to a greater extent in the Fiction texts, 7.4%, compared to the Popular Science texts, 5.8%, ($p<0.05$).[157] This section will examine if the differences between the translation directions found above (see section 8.2.1) occur in both text types. It will also indicate if there are any other text type differences regarding the Movement of specific types of N-Rhemes, and if so, if this applies to both translation directions. Similar to section 8.1.1 above, the Movement of grammatical forms, syntactic functions and functions in Transitivity will be compared quantitatively.

First, Movement of each grammatical form as N-Rheme is presented in table 8.5. The percentages in the Swedish translations in Fiction are presented in descending order:[158]

Table 8.5 Movement of grammatical forms in the two text types

	Fiction		**Statistical**	**Popular Science**		**Statistical**
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Verbal Phrase	**27.3**	**13.4**	*	**28.6**	6.4	*
Adverb Phrase	15.6	9.6	n.s	25.0	1.8	**
Prep. Phrase	5.7	5.7	n.s	7.5	5.0	n.s
Finite Clause	4.1	2.9	n.s	1.0	1.0	n.s
Adjective Phrase	3.1	3.6	n.s	4.9	**11.1**	n.s
Noun Phrase	3.0	13.2	***	2.6	11.0	***
Non-finite Clause	1.1	3.6	n.s	3.0	1.9	n.s

*= $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

[157] See table 5.2

[158] Bold type marks the highest percentage of Movement in each text type and each translation direction.

Table 8.5 shows that there is a higher percentage of moved Verb Phrase N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish regardless of text-type ($p<0.05$). Similarly, more Noun Phrase N-Rhemes have been moved in the translations into English in both text types ($p<0.001$). Movement of AdvP N-Rhemes is particularly frequent in in the Popular Science texts translated into Swedish where 25.0% of the AdvP N-Rhemes have been moved, compared to only 1.8% in the translations into English ($p<0.01$).

Next, table 8.6 displays the percentage of each syntactic function that has been moved in the two text types and translation directions:

Table 8.6 Movement of syntactic functions in the two text types

	Fiction		**Statistical**	**Popular Science**		**Statistical**
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Verb	**27.5**	14.3	*	**28.6**	6.4	*
Object C.	7.1	-	n.s	7.1	**28.6**	n.s
Adverbial	6.5	5.7	n.s	7.6	4.1	n.s
Direct Object	3.2	5.7	n.s	2.7	4.1	n.s
Subject C.	2.9	3.3	n.s	1.4	5.5	n.s
Tail	1.4	-	n.s	2.3	5.6	n.s
Indirect Object	-	12.5	n.s	16.7	-	n.s
Subject	-	**39.1**	***	-	20.4	**

*= $p<0.05$, ** = $p<0.01$

There are significant differences between the two translation directions regarding the Movement of Verb and Subject N-Rhemes (see table 8.2 above) regardless of text type. Subject N-Rhemes are moved to a great extent in the translations into English in Fiction, 39.1%, significantly higher than in the Popular Science texts, 20.4% ($P<0.001$). These Subject N-Rhemes are to a great extent Sayer N-Rhemes, which have been moved in as many as 80.0% of their occurrences in the translations into English (see Appendix, table 8.3). As there is a general scarcity of Sayer N-Rhemes[159] (and reported speech) in the Popular Science texts this is expected, and will be further discussed in section 8.4.[160]

Finally, Movement of Circumstance N-Rhemes in both text types and both translation directions is presented in table 8.7:

[159] 0.8% in the English original texts and 0.2% in the Swedish original texts

[160] See also Appendix, table 8.4 for Movement of the different types of Process N-Rhemes in the two text types and two translation directions.

Table 8.7 Movement of Circumstance N-Rhemes in the two text types

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Place	**8.8**	4.1	n.s	4.1	3.3	n.s
Time	6.8	**11.5**	n.s	**20.5**	2.9	**
Manner	6.2	3.1	n.s	6.7	**4.8**	n.s
Cause	2.7	6.1	n.s	6.8	-	n.s
Accompaniment	-	4.3	n.s	-	-	n.s

** = $p<0.01$

Generally, most types of Circumstances have been moved to a low extent in both text types and translation directions. The main exception is the high percentage of moved Time N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish in the Popular Science texts, as is illustrated in (28):

(28a) and eventually conquered Babylon itself **during the eighth century BCE**. (KAR1:98)	(28b) och erövrade på 700-talet till sist **själva Babylon**. (KAR1:98t) *'and concuered in the 8th century eventually **the actual Babylon**'*

This is a difference that does not occur for the total material as Time N-Rhemes have been moved to a similar extent in the Fiction texts in both translation directions.

8.2.3 Summary

To sum up the results from section 8.2, N-Rhemes that have been moved to a great extent are displayed in table 8.12. All types of N-Rheme that have been moved in more than 25% of their occurrences are presented in the table:

Table 8.8 Frequently moved N-Rhemes in the two translation directions and text types (+25%)

		Fiction		Popular Science		Table
		E → S	S → E	E → S	S → E	
Grammatical Form	VP	27.3		28.6		8.7
	AdvP			25.0		
Syntactic function	Verb	27.5		28.6		8.8
	Subject		39.1			
	Object C.				28.6	
Process	Verbal	48.9				Appendix
Participant	Sayer		80.0			Appendix
	Actor		41.7			

This table illustrates that Movement is particularly frequent in the translation of two types of N-Rhemes: VPs/Verbs/Processes, Verbal Processes in particular, in the translations into Swedish, and Subjects/Participants Sayer and Actor in the translations into English. Overall, this trend applies for both text types, except for Participant Sayer N-Rhemes, which only have been moved in the Fiction texts. In addition, high percentages of Movement have been found in the Popular Science texts for AdvP N-Rhemes translated into Swedish, 25.0% and Object Complement N-Rhemes translated into English, 28.6%.

Furthermore, the types of N-Rhemes that have been moved to a significantly higher extent in one of the translation directions are presented in table 8.9:

Table 8.9 Differences between the translation directions regarding Movement of the N-Rheme (%)

N-Rheme		English → Swedish	Swedish → English	Statistical significance	Table
Grammatical Form	Verb Phrase	27.5	12.1	***	8.1
	Noun Phrase	2.8	12.2	***	
Syntactic function	Verb	27.7	12.1	***	8.2
	Subject	-	30.1	***	
Transitivity	Actor	-	31.7	**	8.4
	Sayer	-	75.0	***	8.4

** = $p<0.01$, *** = $p<0.001$

The table shows that VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes (Verbal N-Rhemes in particular) have been moved to a higher extent in the translations into Swedish and NP/Subject/Participant N-Rhemes (Sayer and Actor N-Rhemes in particular) to a higher extent in the translations into English. The differences between the text types are very small.[161]

So far, the results have revealed which N-Rhemes that are typically moved in the translations. In the next section, the position to which the N-Rheme moves will be examined, as well as the type of constituents moving into the N-Rheme.

8.3 Movement in and out of the N-Rheme

In section 8.3 Movement to and from the N-Rheme will be analysed. First, section 8.3.1 will examine where the constituents that move out of the N-Rheme end up in the translation. Then section 8.3.2 will show which types of constituents that move to the N-Rheme.

8.3.1 Where does the N-Rheme move?

This section will examine where the moved N-Rhemes end up in the translations. First, table 8.10 presents the position, Theme or Midfield,[162] to which the N-Rheme has been moved in the translation:

Table 8.10 The position of the moved N-Rheme, both translation directions

	English → Swedish		**Swedish → English**		**Statistical**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Significance**
Midfield	84	70.0	129	71.3	n.s
Theme	36	30.0	52	28.7	n.s
Total	120	100	181	100	

Table 8.10 shows that about 70% of the N-Rhemes, in both translation directions, have been moved to the Midfield of the clause (29) and (30):[163]

[161] There is a higher percentage of moved Time N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish in the Popular Science texts, 20,5% vs. 2.9% ($p<0.01$). No corresponding difference is found in the Fiction texts. See table 8.11.

[162] Midfield is defined as the position in-between Theme and N-Rheme, where Theme is defined as the first and N-Rheme as the last constituent that plays a role in transitivity. Interpersonal or textual elements preceding the Theme or following the N-Rheme are part of the Theme or N-Rheme.

[163] Italics mark the constituent which was N-Rheme in the original T-unit.

(29a) he then held it over his head **with his arms fully stretched** (ST1:225)	(29b) Han lyfte den sedan *på raka armar* **över huvudet** (ST1:225t) '*He held it then with stretched arms* ***over his head***'
(30a) men i detsamma tändes **lyktorna** (AP1:41) '*but at that moment went on* ***the street lights***'	(30b) but at that moment *the street lights* **went on** (AP1:41t)

Furthermore, about 30% of the N-Rhemes have been moved to the Theme (31) and (32):

(31a) A similar spirituality had characterised **the ancient world of Mesopotamia**. (KAR1:89t)	(31b) *Det gamla Mesopotamien* präglades **av en liknande andlighet.** (KAR1:89t) '*The ancient Mesopotamia was characterised by* ***a similar spirituality***.'
(32a) En hälsans feber har brunnit **i min kropp.** (LH1:163) '*A fever of health has been burning* ***in my body***.'	(32b) *My body* has been ablaze **with a fever of health** (LH1:163t)

The position of the moved N-Rheme is also similar for the two text types (see table 8.11). In the Fiction texts, 68.8% of the N-Rhemes have been moved to the Midfield, compared to the slightly higher 74.8% in the Popular Science texts. The difference is not statistically significant, however:

Table 8.11 The position of the moved N-Rheme, both text types

	Fiction		**Popular Science**		**Statistical**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Significance**
Midfield	139	68.8	74	74.8	n.s
Theme	63	31.2	25	25.2	n.s
Total	202	100	99	100	

As table 8.10 and 8.11 above have shown, N-Rhemes are usually moved to the Midfield, but the extent to which the Midfield is the favoured position differs depending on the syntactic function of the N-Rheme. In table 8.12, the position to which N-Rhemes with different syntactic functions have been moved is presented:

Table 8.12 The position of the moved N-Rhemes for each syntactic function, total material:

	Midfield			Theme			Statistical
	Moved[164]	**total**	**%**	**Moved**	**total**	**%**	**significance**
Object C.	2	2	100	-	2	-	n.s
Indirect Object	3	3	100	-	3	-	n.s
Direct Object	37	43	86.0	6	43	14.0	***
Subject C.	17	20	85.0	3	20	15.0	***
Adverbial	69	96	71.9	27	96	28.1	***
Verb	44	63	69.8	19	63	30.2	***
Subject	32	61	52.5	29	61	47.5	n.s
Tail	1	4	25.0	3	3	75.0	n.s

*** = $p < 0.001$

From what we know about sentence structure in the two languages, the results in table 8.12 are quite expected. The Object and Complement N-Rhemes, which have their unmarked position late in the clause, are rarely moved, and when they are, they end up in the Midfield. The Object Complement N-Rhemes have been moved to the Midfield position in all translations, which is expected as an Object Complement normally follows its Object and is highly marked in Thematic position.[165] Similarly, all Indirect Object N-Rhemes have been moved to the Midfield.

In contrast, Theme position is preferred for the moved Tail N-Rhemes, 75%, see (33). Movement of Tail N-Rhemes is rare, which is expected as the Tail by definition is added at the end. Placing information in the Tail has a specific discourse function; often it is used as a location for emphasis or end-weight. If moved, Theme position would be the only alternative to create a similar effect of emphasis:

[164] The figures indicate the total number of each syntactic function that has been moved, here Object Complement (2), and the number of these moved syntactic functions (here Object Complements) that has been moved to a certain position in the T-unit, here Object Complements moved to the Midfield (2). Thus, 2/2 moved Object Complements move to the Midfield of the T-unit.

[165] An Object Complement can be fronted as Theme, but there is only one example in my corpus data: *"Damson", the estate agent's brochure had called the shade* (DLO1:76)

(33a) Det gällde att undersöka "möjligheterna för lokalsamhället eller grupper inom detta att få gehör för sina krav" inom de båda systemen - **allt enligt den ursprungliga projektbeskrivningen.** (HG1:124) '*[…]* ***all according to the original project description***.'	(33b) *According to the original project description,* this was to be done **by investigating 'the possibilities for the local community or groups within it to gain a hearing for their demands'**. (HG1:124t)

The position of the moved Adverbial N-Rhemes is interesting as there is more variation in Adverbial placement in the two languages. The results in table 8.12 showed that about 70% of the Adverbial N-Rhemes were moved to the Midfield and about 30% to the Theme. The distribution is similar for the moved Verb N-Rhemes. Finally, the most equal distribution is found for Subject N-Rhemes, where 52.5% were moved to the Midfield and 47.5% to the Theme. The movement for Adverbial, Verb and Subject N-Rhemes will now be examined in more detail.

As was shown in section 8.2, there were significant differences between the translation directions regarding the Movement of Subject and Verb N-Rhemes. The favoured position of the moved Subject and Verb N-Rhemes in the two translation directions, as well as the movement of Adverbial N-Rhemes, is presented in table 8:13:

Table 8.13 Position of moved Subject and Verb N-Rhemes (%)

	Midfield		**Theme**	
	E → S	**S → E**	**E → S**	**S → E**
Adverbial	75.9	62.5	24.1	37.5
Verb	51.3	100	48.7	-
Subject	-	52.5	-	47.5

In the translations into Swedish, Verb N-Rhemes have been moved to the Midfield, 51.3%, and the Theme, 48.7%, to a similar extent. In the Swedish translations, Movement of the Verb to the Midfield is typically related to the V2-constraint in Swedish, as is illustrated in (34), whereas Movement to the Theme always occur in reporting clauses, as is illustrated in (35). In contrast, in the English translations, all Verb N-Rhemes have been moved to the Midfield. This is illustrated in (36), where the Swedish original has a fronted Direct Object *lantbruket/farm work*, which has been moved to the N-Rheme in the translation, with the Verb preceding it:

(34a) As the other ex-Royals filed onto the balcony the boos and catcalls **began. (**ST1:204)	(34b) När de övriga före detta kungligheterna en efter en steg ut på balkongen *började* **buandena och visslingarna**.(ST1:204) *'As the other ex-Royals one after another stepped out on the balcony began* ***the boos and catcalls****'*
(35a) You shouldn't have mixed it with whisky, Marjorie **said** (DLO1:39-40)	(35b) Du skulle inte ha blandat med whisky, *sa* **Marjorie**. (DLO1:39.40t)
(36a) Lantbruket **kan** man **lägga ned**. (SC1:145) '*Farm work* ***can*** *one* ***abandon****.'*	(36b) But you *can abandon* **farm work**, (SC1:145t)

Furthermore, no Subjects have been moved in the translations into Swedish (see table 8.2 above), whereas they have been moved to the Midfield and the Theme almost equally frequently, 52.5% vs. 47.5%. This is illustrated in (37) and (38):

(37a) Under den långa tågresan försonades **pappa och Siiri** (AP1:226) '*During the long train journey reconciled* ***dad and Siiri***'	(37b) During the long train journey, Dad and Siiri **were reconciled** (AP1:226t)
(38a) Huvudinstrumentet för att åstadkomma nödvändig styrning och kontroll skulle vara **staten** (CO1:105) '*The primary instrument for the necessary management and control would be* ***the state***'	(38b) *The state* was to be **primary instrument for the necessary management and control** (CO1:105t)

(37a) has an Adverbial Theme and a Subject N-Rheme, and the Verb is placed before the Subject because of the V2-constraint in Swedish. In the English translation, the unmarked word order with the Subject before the Verb has been chosen, and consequently the Subject has been moved to the Midfield. The Adverbial remains as Theme. In comparison, the unmarked word order is also preferred in the English translation of (38a). This means that the heavy Theme in the Swedish original (38a) has been moved to the N-Rheme, changing places with the Subject, which becomes Theme, in the English translation (38b).

As we have already seen, Theme position is often associated with Given information and the N-Rheme with New information (see e.g. Fries 1994; Butler 2003:123; Thompson 2007:12). Thus, a translation strategy could be to move Given

information out of the N-Rheme and New information into the N-Rheme (see section 8.1.3 above), to follow the information principle more clearly. In the present study, the N-Rhemes have been categorised as Given or New based on them being previously mentioned in the discourse or not. The information status of the moved N-Rheme in each translation direction is presented in table 8.14.

Table 8.14 Information status of the moved N-Rheme (%)

English → Swedish		**Statistical Significance**	**Swedish → English**		**Statistical Significance**
Given	**New**		**Given**	**New**	
60.0	40.0	**	48.6	51.4	n.s

** = p<0.01

The table shows that the majority of the moved N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish contain Given information, 60% vs. 40%, whereas the moved N-Rhemes are equally frequently Given or New in the translations into English, 48.6% vs. 51.4%. These results seem to confirm the hypothesis that Swedish is more backwards-oriented, as Given information to a great extent is moved from the N-Rheme to a position earlier in the clause, as is illustrated in (17) above.

The quite high percentage of moved New N-Rhemes in the translations into English, 51.4%, also reflects how the syntactic principle is more important than the information principle in English, see e.g. (19 above.

Table 8.15, dividing the results into the two text types, shows that the greater percentage of moved Given N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations primarily is a feature of Fiction. In the Popular Science texts, the distributions are more similar. This difference is related to the high percentage of Movement in reporting clauses in Fiction, as these N-Rhemes almost exclusively contain Given information. If the reporting clauses with moved N-Rhemes are excluded, the distributions of Given and New N-Rhemes in the two text types and two translation directions are more similar:

Table 8.15 Information status of the moved N-Rhemes (%)

	English → Swedish		**S.s.**	**Swedish → English**		**S.s.**
	Fiction	**Pop. Sc.**		**Fiction**	**Pop. Sc.**	
Given	67.1	46.3	*	53.7	37.9	n.s
New	32.9	53.7	*	46.3	62.1	n.s
S.s.	***	n.s		n.s	*	

*= p<0.05

8.3.2 Which constituents move into the N-Rheme

To increase the understanding of Movement as a translation strategy in translations between English and Swedish, this section presents the types of constituents that have been moved into the N-Rheme. Focus will be on the syntactic functions of the constituents that have been moved into the N-Rheme. The results will be presented for the two translation categories separately, starting with the translations into Swedish in table 8.16:

Table 8.16 Syntactic function of translated N-Rheme in the Swedish translations

Syntactic function of N-Rheme (EO)	**N-Rheme in corresponding translation (ST)**					
	Verb	**Subject**	**Adverbial**	**Direct Object**	**Others**	**Total**
Verb	-	30	3	6	-	39
Subject	-	-	-	-	-	-
Adverbial	1	3	25	9	11	49
Direct O.	2	1	6	-	5	14
Indirect O.	-	-	-	1	-	1
Object C.	-	-	-	2	-	2
Subject C.	-	2	2	-	2	6
Tail	-	-	-	-	2	2
Others	-	1	1	4	1	7
Total	3	37	37	22	21	120

Table 8.16 illustrates that a majority of the moved Verb N-Rhemes have been replaced by Subjects in the translations into Swedish (30/39). More than half of the moved Adverbial N-Rhemes have been replaced by another Adverbial (25/49). Consequently, the largest differences between the English original texts (EOs) and the translated Swedish texts (STs) concern Subject (+37) and Verb (-36) N-Rhemes. [166] There are also some differences regarding the translation of Direct Object (+8) and Adverbial (-12) N-Rhemes. In other words, the Swedish translations contain more Subject and Direct Object N-Rhemes and fewer Verb and Adverbial N-Rhemes than the English originals. A higher frequency of Subject N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations is to be expected as Subject N-Rhemes are more frequent in

[166] These figures could be seen as referring to the gain or loss of certain syntactic functions as N-Rheme in the translations. As an example, no Subjects have been moved from the N-Rheme and 37 Subjects have been moved into the N-Rheme. Consequently, this results in a gain of 37 Subject N-Rhemes in the translation. Similarly, 39 Verbs have been moved from the N-Rheme and 3 Verbs have been moved into the N-Rheme, which results in a loss of 36 Verb N-Rhemes in the translation process.

Swedish (see section 4.1.1), mainly because of the V2-constraint. This is also reflected in the lower frequency of Verb N-Rhemes in the Swedish translations.

Next, table 8.17 displays the syntactic functions of the constituents that have been moved into the N-Rheme in the translations into English:

Table 8.17 Syntactic functions of translated N-Rheme in the English translations

Syntactic function of N-Rheme (SO)	**N-Rheme in corresponding translation (ET)**					
	Verb	**Subject**	**Adverbial**	**Direct Object**	**Others**	**Total**
Verb	1	2	8	8	2	21
Subject	35	-	17	3	6	61
Adverbial	5	1	29	6	6	47
Direct Object	4	1	18	-	6	29
Indirect O.	-	-	1	1	-	2
Object C.	-	-	1	-	1	2
Subject C.	-	2	7	-	5	14
Tail	-	-	1	-	1	2
Others	1	-	2	-	-	3
Total	46	6	84	18	27	181

As table 8.17 shows, there is a strong tendency to move Adverbials into the N-Rheme in the translations into English. The only type of constituent which is not most likely to be replaced by an Adverbial is the Subject N-Rheme, which mainly has been replaced by a Verb (35/61). However, Subjects have also been replaced by Adverbials to a great extent (17/61). Similar to the Swedish translations, Adverbial N-Rhemes have usually been replaced by other types of Adverbials (29/47). The largest differences between the Swedish originals (SOs) and the English translations (ETs) concern the gain of Adverbial (+37) and Verb (+25) N-Rhemes and the loss of Subject (-55) and direct Object (-11) N-Rhemes. Thus, the types of constituents that have increased in the Swedish translations, S and dO, have decreased in the translations into English, and vice versa.

From tables 8.16 and 8.17, three main conclusions can be drawn. First, Adverbials are most likely to be moved into the N-Rheme in both translation directions. This Movement is most noteworthy in the translations into English where nearly half of the moved N-Rhemes have been replaced by an Adverbial, 46.4%.[167] In comparison, 30.8% of the moved N-Rhemes have been replaced by an

[167] 84/181

Adverbial in the translations into Swedish.[168] Second, the movement of Verb and Subject N-Rhemes mainly involves a reversal of the two. Consequently, in the translations into Swedish, Verb N-Rhemes have mainly been replaced by Subject N-Rhemes, and in the translations into English, Subject N-Rhemes have mainly been replaced by Verb N-Rhemes. These tendencies will be further discussed in the final section, interpretation of the results.

8.4 Interpretation of the results

The results in chapter 6 showed that there was a low degree of translation correspondence in both translation directions for VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes (see table 6.1, 6.2, 6.3).The results in this chapter have shown that a large number of theVP/Verbs/Processes have been moved in the Swedish translations.[169] Similarly, Actor N-Rhemes had the lowest translation correspondence of all participants, in both translation directions (see table 6.5), and this chapter has shown that this is a consequence of Actor N-Rhemes being moved to the Midfield or the Theme in the translations into English.

Furthermore, chapter 6 showed a lower degree of translation correspondence for NP/Subject/Participant/Sayer and Goal N-Rhemes in the translations into English compared to the translations into Swedish. The results in this chapter have revealed that this is largely related to high percentage of NPs, Subjects and Participants being moved in the translations into English.

Overall, the most significant differences between the translation directions seem to be related to word order differences. First, the higher percentage of moved Verb N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish is to a great extent related to the V2-constraint in Swedish. In contrast, the lower tolerance towards Subject N-Rhemes in English (see chapter 4) is reflected in the higher percentage of moved Subject N-Rhemes in the translations into English. The particularly high percentage of moved Sayer N-Rhemes in Fiction is related to the different word order preferences in English and Swedish in reporting clauses (see sections 4.2 and 4.3). As Reported speech is not a characteristic of Popular Science texts, the comparatively lower percentage of Movement in the Popular Science texts compared to the Fiction texts, 5.8% vs. 7.4% ($p<0.05$), is largely related to the high degree of moved Verbal Processes and Participant Sayer N-Rhemes in Reported speech in Fiction.

As was shown in section 8.3.2 above, a majority of the moved Verb N-Rhemes are replaced by Subject N-Rhemes, 76.9%, in the translations into Swedish.[170] This is mirrored in the translations into English, where 57.4% of the moved Subject N-

[168] 37/120

[169] In contrast, the results in chapter 7 showed that the low translation correspondence in the translations into English to a great extent was related to VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes being reformulated.

[170] 30/39 see table 8.16

Rhemes are replaced by Verb N-Rhemes.[171] The translation changes where Subject and Verb N-Rhemes are reversed are mainly of two types. Either, they occur in reporting clauses with a Subject N-Rheme (Sayer) in Swedish or a Verb N-Rheme (Verbal) in English, (see section 8.1.1, examples (6) and (7)). Or, the original sentence has an Adverbial Theme, and a translation change is required due to the V2-constraint in Swedish and the preferred word order SV in English.[172] Either there is only inversion of Subject and Verb or there is inversion plus a postponement of the thematic Adverbial to the N-Rheme (see section 8.1.1, examples (4) and (5))

The postponement of locative and temporal adverbial Themes to the N-Rheme in translations into English is consistent with the results of Johansson (2007) and Svensson (2000a), who both found more locative Themes in Swedish compared to English. Johansson also found more temporal Themes in Swedish. This Movement of locative and temporal Themes to the N-Rheme also occurs in T-units with Direct Object N-Rhemes in Swedish (39).

(39a) *I länder med utåtriktad strategi* lyckades kapital och bistånd inte förändra **de koloniala obalanserna.** (CO1:113) '*In countries with externally-oriented strategy succeeded capital and development assistance not to change* ***the colonial imbalances***.'	(39b) Capital and development assistance failed to change the colonial imbalances **in countries with externally-oriented strategies.** (CO1:113t)

In (39), a word order change is required in the English translations because of the V2-constraint as the Swedish original has an AVSO word order. As the preferred word order in English clauses containing both an Adverbial and an Object is SVOA (Quirk et al. 1985:53-55), the syntactic principle is given priority over the information principle in the English translation as the Subject is made Theme. The thematic locative Adverbials used to make links and create cohesion in the Swedish clauses are instead given clause-final position, presented as newsworthy information. In most cases, both Theme and N-Rheme could have been kept (with inversion of S-V) without sounding particularly more marked than the original. However, the greater markedness of initial locative adverbials with a cohesive function in English is possibly what affects the postponement of the Adverbial to the N-Rheme. In addition, some of the examples contain rather heavy Adverbial Themes. In these cases, end-weight works together with the fronting of the Subject (for more examples of translation changes related to end-weight see section 8.1.3).

[171] 35/61, see table 8.17

[172] The translation changes in reporting clauses, e.g. in (7), is also a result of the V2-constraint in Swedish. English reporting clauses may also have the order V-S if the Subject is realized by a full noun phrase, but S-V is more common.

Adverbials that do not have to move because of syntactic constraints between the two languages are primarily moved for pragmatic reasons such as end-weight or information status. A typical example would be the Movement of a Circumstance N-Rheme, typically Time,[173] from the N-Rheme to the Theme, and a different Circumstance N-Rheme moving to the N-Rheme because of end-weight (see (21) in section 3.2.3 above). According to Hasselgård, the reasons for placing adjuncts in initial position are likely to be functional, or discourse-related (2010:74). When they contain new information they typically mark a new setting or introduce a new topic (2010:86). Fries (2002:141) has also shown that similar temporal adverbials have different effects in Theme and Rheme. Consequently, the Movement of a temporal, or locative, Adverbial from the N-Rheme to the Theme creates a different effect in the translated text compared to the corresponding original.

8.5 Summary

Movement involves a reordering of the clause elements where the original N-Rheme has been moved to another position in the T-unit in the translation. In Chesterman's terms, Movement would primarily be seen as a syntactic translation strategy as it involves a clause structure change (ref.). The syntactic translation strategies involved in Movement can primarily be seen as servitudes, i.e. obligatory translation changes (Vinay & Darbelnet 1995), as they frequently are a result of word order differences between English and Swedish. Some examples are the V2-constraint in Swedish, the preference to place the Subject early in the clause in English and the higher tolerance towards fronted Objects in Swedish. Consequently, the constituents moving out of the N-Rheme are frequently Verbs in the translations into Swedish and Subjects in the translations into English. The constituents moving into the N-Rheme are mainly Adverbials, in both translation directions, Subjects in the translations into Swedish and Verbs in the translations into English.

Movement does, however, also frequently involve pragmatic translation strategies, triggered by the more backwards-oriented information structure in Swedish compared to English or the need to clarify the information brought forward. Whether the pragmatic translation strategies should be seen as servitudes or as the result of e.g. translator preferences can be discussed. Some of the changes are possibly due to different preferences in the languages as regards information structure or the toleration of syntactic markedness, whereas some are completely optional. However, both the syntactic and the pragmatic translation strategies involved in Movement normalise the word order in the translated text to a great extent (see e.g. Baker 1996:176-7; Teich 2002; 2003).

[173] Time N-Rhemes were shown to be moved to a significantly greater extent in the Popular Science texts translated into Swedish compared to the translations into English, 20,5% vs. 2.9% ($p < 0.01$).

9 Restructuring

Restructuring is a relatively free translation, and often involves syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences between the original T-unit and the translation of it, which affect what is placed as N-Rheme in the translation. In section 9.1, the translation strategies involved in Restructuring will be presented (see section 2.6.1 for a more detailed description of Chesterman's (1997) translation strategies). In section 9.1.1 three types of syntactic Restructuring will be presented: *T-unit splits*, *T-unit merges* and *Restructuring within the T-unit*. Semantic and Pragmatic Restructuring are presented in section 9.1.2 and 9.1.3. Next, section 9.2 compares Restructuring of each grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity type of the N-Rheme in the two translation directions and two text types. Finally, the results will be analysed and summarised in section 9.3 and 9.4.

9.1 What is restructuring?

Restructuring is a translation change that occurs either within the T-unit or outside the T-unit as a T-unit split or T-unit merge (see section 3.6). Restructuring within the T-unit would fit into Chesterman's description of a clause structure change, while T-unit splits and merges are equivalent to sentence structure changes (1997:97-8). Consequently, Restructuring can primarily be seen as a syntactic translation strategy. As has been previously shown (see e.g. section 7.1 and 8.1), the translation strategies are not mutually exclusive, but tend to co-work. This is illustrated in (1) where a T-unit with a fronted Object/Goal as Theme has been restructured in the translation:

(1a) Solhjälmen behöll han hela tiden **på**. (LH1:52) '*The topee kept he all the time **on***.'	(1b) He did not remove **his topee**. (LH1:52t)

In (1), the translation is syntactically triggered by the reluctance towards fronted Objects in English. Besides this, the semantic perspective is altered to some extent as *behöll på/kept on* is translated into the negated antonym *did not remove*. In the original, he kept his topee on, while in the translation he did not remove it. Possibly, this translation change is also pragmatic, made to give focus to *the topee*, presenting it as N-Rheme, similarly to the way the fronting of *solhjälmen/the topee* in Swedish puts emphasis on that constituent. This emphasis would have been lost if *the topee* had

been placed in the Midfield in the English translation (*He kept his topee on*). This example also illustrates how the Swedish original in (1a) is more backwards-oriented, whereas the English translation (1b) is more forwards-oriented.

In the following sections, the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic translation strategies involved in Restructuring will be treated separately, starting with the syntactic translation strategies in 9.1.1, the semantic translation strategies in 9.1.2., and finally, the pragmatic translation strategies in 9.1.3.

9.1.1 Syntactic strategies

In this section, three different types of syntactic Restructuring will be presented, starting with T-unit splits in sections 9.1.1.1 - 9.1.1.3, followed by T-unit merges in sections 9.1.1.4 – 9.1.1.6, and finally, Restructuring within the T-unit in section 9.1.1.7.

9.1.1.1 T-unit split

The term *T-unit split* refers to translations where one T-unit in the original text has been realized as two or more T-units in the translation. The occurrence of this translation strategy in the two translation directions and two text types is presented in table 9.1:

Table 9.1 T-unit splits in both translation directions and text types.

	Fiction				**Statistical Significance**	**Popular Science**				**Statistical Significance**
	E → S		**S → E**			**E → S**		**S → E**		
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**		**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	
T-unit splits	48	4.1	24	1.6	***	56	7.2	24	2.6	***

*** = $p<0.001$

To split one T-unit into two or more T-units is significantly more frequent in the translations into Swedish in both text types ($p<0.001$). It is also more frequent in the Popular Science texts compared to the Fiction texts in both translation directions. The difference is, however, only significant in the translations into Swedish ($p<0.01$).

Most frequently, one T-unit is split into **two** T-units in the translation: 89/104 of the T-unit splits in the Swedish translations and 44/48 of the T-unit splits in the English translations. There are 12 examples of a T-unit split into **three** T-units in the translations into Swedish, compared to 2 in the translations into English. Finally,

3 T-units are split into **four** in the Swedish translations, compared to 2 in the English translations.

The T-unit split is primarily treated as a syntactic translation change as it results in a different sentence structure. However, in this process, semantic strategies, e.g. transitivity changes, and pragmatic strategies, e.g. explicitness and information structure changes have also frequently been used. The syntactic strategy to split the T-unit does not only occur as a means to solve a syntactic translation problem, but frequently also serves a semantic or pragmatic purpose.

As a starting point, T-unit split can be characterised as phrasal or clausal. In a phrasal split, a phrase, or part of a phrase (could be an embedded clause), is lifted out of the T-unit and turned into a separate T-unit. The original T-unit involves no hypotactic relationship between clauses, but only consists of a main clause.[174] Consequently, the translation expands a phrase, or part of a phrase, into a separate T-unit. In the clausal split, on the other hand, the original T-unit consists of at least two clauses in a hypotactic relationship, and one of these is translated into a separate T-unit. Thus, the translation involves a change from hypotaxis to parataxis.[175] These types of T-unit splits will now be illustrated, starting with phrasal T-unit splits.

9.1.1.2 Phrasal T-unit splits

Table 9.1 above showed that T-unit splits are particularly frequent in the translations into Swedish. One type of phrasal T-unit split in the Swedish translations occurs in T-units with an NP Tail N-Rheme. These NP Tail-N-Rhemes could be quite 'light' as in (2), but are most frequently heavy constituents, as in (3) and (4) below:

(2a) The rest of their spending is on arms imports, **the subject of the next section**. (CS1:137)	(2b) Återstoden av deras militärutgifter går **till vapenimport**. (2c) Detta kommer att behandlas **i nästföljande avsnitt.** (CS1:137t) '*This will be dealt with* ***in the next section***.'

In (2), the Tail N-Rheme has been turned into a separate T-unit with an added Subject Theme and Verb *Detta kommer att behandlas/This will be dealt with*. The information placed before the Tail in the original sentence has become the first T-unit in the translation, and consequently, the translation is linear. The two T-units in the translation are realised as two separate sentences.

[174] Possibly with embedded clauses in the different constituents.

[175] Unfortunately, the distinction between phrasal and clausal is not always as clear as it may sound. Some problematic examples will be presented later in this section.

Usually, the NP Tail N-Rheme is heavy or complex. Typically, what is placed before the Tail N-Rheme in the original T-unit becomes the first T-unit in the translation, and the Tail is translated into one or more following T-units. These T-units are usually turned into separate sentences rather than coordinated clauses, as in (3):

(3a) The Allied organization and preparation for D-Day were the greatest logistical achievements in the history of warfare: **the accumulation and transport of thousands of tons of stores, the movement of hundreds of thousands of men and their equipment, the gathering of the great seaborne armada**. (MH1:51)	(3b) De allierades organisation av och förberedelser för dagen D var **krigshistoriens största logistiska prestation**. (3c) Det innebar **att anskaffa och transportera tusentals ton varor, förflytta hundratusentals man med utrustning samt att samla och utrusta den stora armadan av skepp**. (MH1:61t) '*It means* ***to accumulate and transport thousands of tons of stores, to move hundreds of thousands of men with equipment and to gather and equip the great armada of ships***.'

In (3c), the expletive Subject *det/it* and the Verb *innebär/means* have been added. The information which is nominalized and informationally dense in the original has been unpacked, made more explicit, and turned into actions/processes in the translation (cf. section 7.1.1 for a further discussion of nominalizations). The translation is linear, and the information is presented in the same order in the original text and the translation. The corpus material contains a similar example where the split results in five T-units in the translation (4):

(4a) It suggests a contest between countries that is patterned after a sporting event in which there are clear rules and habits of behaviour: **a definite distance to be run; an effort carefully measured to that distance; a steady pace being set by the leader (speeding up towards the end); and a prize to be won.** (CS1:2)	(4b) Det antyder en tävlan mellan länderna ungefärligen efter idrottens mönster: **med klara spel- och uppföranderegler.** (4c) Inom idrotten kan det gälla **att löpa en viss distans, varvid prestationen noga mäts i relation till denna distans**; '*Within sports it could be* ***to run a definite distance, whereby the effort carefully measures in relation to this distance*****;**' (4d) löparna bör hålla **ett stadigt tempo** *'the runners should keep* ***a steady pace***' (4e) och accelerera **mot slutet**; *'and [they should] speed up* ***towards the end***' (4f) ett pris står **att vinna osv**. (CS1:2t) *'a price stands* ***to be won etc****.'*

The phrasal T-unit splits involving (usually) heavy NP Tail N-Rhemes are often optional. In all the examples above, a sentence structure similar to the original would have been possible.

Some T-unit splits are not triggered by what is placed as N-Rheme, but are rather related to the Theme, e.g. heavy NP Subject Themes. In (5), the Subject Theme consists of nominalizations, which in the translation have been unpacked and split into two T-units. The translation change is similar to unit shift (see section 7.1.1), but here the NP is not only reformulated into one clause but actually two, which makes it a Restructuring. In the translation, the unspecific Actor *man/one* has been added, as well as the explicit coordinating conjunction *och/and*. The final T-unit in the translation also contains the added explicit link *därmed/thereby* to indicate the connection back to the previous T-units. The translation is linear as the information is presented in the same order in the original T-unit and the translated T-units. Consequently, the N-Rheme of the final T-unit of the translation is also equivalent to the N-Rheme of the original T-unit:

(5a) the public humiliation of the king and the enthronement of a carnival king in his place re-produced **the original chaos**; (KAR1:108)	(5b) Man förödmjukade offentligt **kungen**, '*One humiliated publicly* ***the king***,' (5c) [man] satte en karnevalskung på tronen **i hans ställe** '*[one] placed a carnival king on the throne* ***in his place***' (5d) och [man] återskapade *därmed* **det ursprungliga kaos.** (KAR1:108t) '*and [one] re-created thereby* ***the original chaos***.'

The translation changes in (5) are not servitudes. However, they are clearly related to different norms in the two languages. As was illustrated in section 7.1.1, nominalizations are more frequent in English Popular Science texts, and they are frequently translated into clauses in Swedish (cf. Nordrum (2007)). Thus, the translation in (5b) is a clear case of target language normalisation.

Typically, the other types of phrasal T-unit splits contain heavy, coordinated phrases. In (6), the original N-Rheme consists of four coordinated NPs. In the translation, this information has been split into two N-Rhemes of two separate T-units coordinated by *och/and*. The two N-Rhemes in the new paratactic T-units together contain the same information as the original N-Rheme (apart from the implicitation of the head words of the first two NPs: *outfits* and *ones*) and are presented in the same order. The second T-unit repeats the Subject Theme (elliptical) from the previous T-unit and adds the Verb *har/have*. The translation change is optional:

(6a) They wear **scarlet *outfits* or purple *ones*, and dangly earrings, and hats that look like stage props**. (MA1:56)	(6b) De klär sig **i illrött eller lila**, '*They dress themselves* ***in scarlet or purple***,' (6c) och har **dinglande örhängen, och hattar som ser ut som teaterrekvisita**. (MA1:56t) '*and [they] have* ***dangly earrings, and hats that look like stage props***.'

The distinction between a phrasal and a clausal split is not always clear cut, as is illustrated in (7). This example has a hypotactic relationship in the original, with a projected *that*-clause as N-Rheme. However, this is probably not what caused the translator to alter the sentence structure. Instead, the major problem for the

translator concerns a prepositional phrase functioning as a Circumstance in the English original (7a), *in one of the major misjudgments of his career*, immediately following the Subject Theme, which is the V2 position in Swedish. Thus, a translation change is needed. The translator has chosen to keep *Montgomery* as Theme and has added the verb *gjorde/made* and turned the original PP Circumstance into an NP Goal N-Rheme (7b). The information in the Circumstance, which was originally placed in the midfield of the T-unit, the place with least informational value, is upgraded and presented as newsworthy information. The translator has chosen to place the original N-Rheme as N-Rheme in the second T-unit in the translation. Consequently, the hypotactic relationship remains in the second T-unit (7c).

(7a) Montgomery, *in one of the major misjudgments of his career*, urged **that the landing should go ahead on 5 June. (**MH1:78)	(7b) Montgomery gjorde **en av de stora missbedömningarna under sin karriär** (MH1:78t) '*Montgomery made* ***one of the major misjudgments of his career***' 7c) och talade för **att landstigningen skulle starta den 5 juni.** (MH1:78t) '*and [he] urged* ***that the landing should start on 5 June***'

A translation without a split would have been possible, but it would have required a move of the Circumstantial PP *in one of the major misjudgements of his career* either to initial position or the N-Rheme. Instead, the translator chose a linear translation by using a T-unit split.

In all the examples above, the order of information is the same in both the original text and the translation. The translation change mainly involves a change in sentence structure which repeats or adds the Subject Theme and/or the Verb. The split phrase is placed to the left of the original T-unit if it is a NP Subject Theme and to the right if it is a NP Tail (or other) N-Rheme. The NP Tail N-Rhemes split into different T-units have been realized as separate sentences rather than coordinated clauses. Or at least, the information before the Tail has been turned into a separate sentence. This raises the question of whether there is a clearer separation of the Tail from the rest of the T-unit? Would this indicate that a Tail N-Rheme is less integrated with the rest of the T-unit?

In the translations into English, phrasal T-unit splits are more varied. All seem, however, to be related to the N-Rhemes in the Swedish original texts. First, (8a) has an Attribute N-Rheme consisting of three coordinated AdjPs, which have been split into three reformulated separate N-Rhemes in three T-units in the translation:

(8a) Husen står **raka, rödmålade och välskötta**. (SC1:128) '*The houses stand* ***straight, red-painted and well-cared-for***'	(8b) The houses stood up **straight** (8c) were painted **red** (8d) and looked **well cared for**. (SC1:128t)

In English, it is not possible to link the equivalent three AdjPs to the same verb, as has been done in the Swedish original. Consequently, a syntactic translation strategy has been used to solve a semantic problem, resulting in a reformulation of each of the two last AdjPs into VP + AdjP.

Phrasal T-unit splits also occur in T-units with complex or heavy N-Rhemes. These T-unit splits are often optional, but occur for a pragmatic reason, as is illustrated in (9). This example also shows the complexity of categorising a split as phrasal or clausal:

(9a) I början på 800-talet sprider sig ryktet på de brittiska öarna, sedan längs den franska och holländska kusten **om vildsinta nordmän som kom seglande i grundgående, snabba fartyg, plundrade och brände kloster och kyrkor.** (HL1:33) '*[…]* ***of the fierce Northmen who came sailing in shallow, fast ships, plundered and burned monasteries and churches***.'	(9b) In the early 9th century news spread across Britain and along the French and Dutch coastlines **of the coming of the fierce seafarers from the north**. (9c) *They landed from* their fast, shallow-draught craft **to ravage, plunder and burn *even among* the churches and monasteries**. (HL1:33t)

In the original T-unit, a postponed modifier of the Subject functions as Tail N-Rheme. This Tail contains an embedded clause, a modifying restrictive relative clause, which in the translation has been turned into a separate T-unit. The second T-unit is more explicit, e.g. the addition of the Subject *They*, the Verb *landed* and two prepositions *from* and *among*. It is also hypotactic with a non-finite clause as N-Rheme. The translation change has been categorised as a phrasal T-unit split as the original T-unit contains no hypotactic relationship, and the change has its root within a phrasal N-Rheme. However, what has been turned into a separate T-unit in the translation is an embedded clause. This new T-unit also contains a hypotactic relationship, originally not in the text. There is a noticeable change in clause structure between the original text and the translation. Still, the information is largely presented in the same order, and the only information which does not remain in N-

Rheme position in the translation is *grundgående, snabba fartyg/fast, shallow-draught craft*. The two T-units in the translation are realized as separate sentences.[176]

9.1.1.3 Clausal T-unit splits

Clausal T-unit split refers to translation changes where a T-unit has been changed from hypotaxis into parataxis or separate sentences in the translation. In the translations into Swedish, where they are most frequent (see table 9.1 above), these translation changes typically involve Non-finite clauses.[177] The characteristics of the T-unit splits vary with the type of Non-finite clause in the original T-unit. These will now be presented in more detail.

The first examples concern T-units with Non-finite *–ed* clauses. In (10), the Non-finite *–ed* clause modifies the Subject:[178]

(10a) *Employed by a Swedish advertising agency as their international public relations consultant*, I assisted **in negotiations to sell a campaign to an English and an American client** (BA1:160)	(10b) Jag hade anställts av en svensk reklambyrå **som deras internationella PR-konsult.** '*I had been employed by a Swedish advertising agency* ***as their international PR consultant***.' (10c) En kampanj skulle säljas **till en engelsk och en amerikansk kund** '*A campaign were to be sold* ***to an English and an American client***' (10d) och jag medverkade **vid förhandlingarna** (BA1:160t) '*and I assisted* ***in the negotiations***'

In the translation, this hypotactic *–ed* clause is upgraded to a separate T-unit, the first of three. The main clause of the original T-unit is further split into two T-units in the translation. The modifying *to-infinitive* clause of the original N-Rheme *to sell a campaign to an English and an American client* is turned into a separate T-unit and moved to the left of the main clause. Consequently, there is a change in order of information between the original text and the translation, possibly to avoid repetition of the

[176] A similar strategy has been used when Tail N-Rhemes have been split into separate T-units in the Swedish translations, see (2) and (3) above.
[177] The distribution of Restructuring in different types of N-Rhemes will be further discussed in section 9.2 below.
[178] The hypotactic clause in the original T-unit is marked with italics in the examples in this section.

thematic *I* in all three T-units.[179] The information placed as N-Rheme, however, is very similar in the original T-unit (10a) and the last two T-units of the translations (10c, d).

In (11), the Non-finite *–ed* clause is the second out of two initial Circumstances:

(11a) In the early hours of 6 June 1944, *preceded by airborne assaults to secure their flanks*, the Allied armies landed on the beaches of Normandy **to begin Operation Overlord, the struggle for North-West Europe.** (MH1:1)	(11b) Tidigt på morgonen den 6 juni 1944 landsteg de allierades arméer **på Normandies kust.** '*Early in the morning on the 6 of June 1944 landed the Allied armies* ***on the beaches of Normandy***.' (11c) Det var **inledningen till Operation Overlord, kampen om Nordvästeuropa**. '*That was* ***the beginning of Operation Overlord, the struggle for North-West Europe***.' 11d) Den hade föregåtts av anfall av fallskärmssoldater **för att säkra flankerna**. (MH1:1t) '*It was preceded by attacks from parachute soldiers* ***to secure their flanks***.'

In the translation, the *–ed* clause has been realized as an individual T-unit, the last of three (11d). The N-Rheme of the original, a Non-finite *to-infinitive* clause, has become the second T-unit in the translation (11c). Thus, two circumstantial Non-finite clauses have been upgraded to individual T-units (similar to (10)), placed after the other constituents of the original T-unit, which make up the first T-unit in the translation (11b). In (11) a translation change is required because of the V2-constraint in Swedish, although a simple inversion of the Subject and the Verb would have worked.

While Non-finite *–ed* clauses are usually placed initially, or early in the original English T-units, the Non-finite *–ing* clauses occur in midfield position or as Tails. In (12), the Non-finite *-ing* clause functions as a postmodifier of the Subject:

[179] The split into three T-units is optional as the equivalent Swedish sentence: Jag medverkade vid förhandlingarna för att sälja en kampanj till en engelsk och en amerikansk kund/I assisted in the negotiations to sell a campaing to an English and an American client, is unproblematic.

(12a) The schoolteacher's own father *acquiring one of the traditional trades of the maternal, Cape Town side of the family*, had set up in a garage **as an upholsterer**. (NG1:62)	(12b) Lärarens egen far hade fortsatt **i ett av de yrken som var tradition på morssidan, Kapstaden-sidan, av släkten** '*The teachers' own father had moved on* ***in one of the trades that was traditional on the maternal side, the Cape Town side, of the family***' (12c) och öppnat tapetserarverkstad **i ett garage** (NG1:62t) *'and opened an upholstery* ***in a garage'***

In the Swedish translation, the original Subject Theme with the Non-finite *–ing* clause has been translated into a separate T-unit, (12b). The remains of the original T-unit have become the second T-unit, (13c), coordinated by *and*, which signals the close relation between the two parts. The second T-unit repeats the elliptic Subject Theme [*han/he*]. None of the information in the original N-Rheme is presented as N-Rheme in the translation, which is very rare. Instead, the locative Adverbial *i ett garage/in a garage*, placed immediately before the N-Rheme in the original T-unit, has been made N-Rheme in the translation. This is consistent with the language differences regarding the placement of Circumstances.

Similarly, (13) contains multiple Circumstances at the beginning of the clause, the second of which is a Non-finite *–ing* clause. In the translation, the constituents up to and including the Subject, *the US 1st and 29th Division*, have been turned into a separate T-unit. The information originally placed after the Subject has become the second T-unit, realized as a separate sentence. As in (12) above, there is a word order change in the last T-unit. The N-Rheme of the original T-unit *for the first few hours*, becomes the Theme of the second translated T-unit:

(13a) Further east at Omaha, *facing unexpectedly strong German defences dug into hillside positions,* the US 1st and 29th Divisions suffered heavy casualties **for the first few hours.** (MH1:3)	(13b) Längre västerut ställdes USA:s 1:a och 29:e divisioner mot oväntat hårt tyskt motstånd **från försvararna som låg nedgrävda i ställningar på branterna**. '*Further west [sic!] were put the US 1st and 29th Divisions against unexpectedly strong German defenses* ***from the defenders who were dug into positions on the hillsides***.' (13c) Under de första timmarna led amerikanerna **svåra förluster**. (MH1:3t) '*During the first hours suffered the Americans* ***heavy casualties***.'

In the majority of the examples with a sentence initial or medial Non-finite *ing*-clause, the translation strategy seems to be to turn the Non-finite clause plus the Subject into a separate T-unit. The second T-unit usually repeats the Subject (or is elliptical or rephrased). Often there is also a reordering of information in the second T-unit. Possibly, this could be an information strategy to create a new functional Theme-Rheme structure in the target text.

Another type of clausal T-unit split occurs in T-units where the N-Rheme is an *–ing* clause functioning as Tail, in the English originals. In the translations, the *ing*-clause Tail is usually translated into a separate T-unit, with repetition of the Subject, which is usually the Theme in the English original text and in the first translated T-unit. Consequently, the translation is linear. This is illustrated in (14):

(14a) Vic frowns in the mirror above the handbasin, **thinking again of last month's accounts, the quarterly forecast, the annual review …** (DLO1:113)	(14b) Vic rynkar pannan **i spegeln ovanför handfatet** (14c) och börjar tänka **på förra månadens bokföring, kvartalsplaneringen, års-redovisningen...** (DLO1:113t) '*and starts to think about* ***last month's accounts*** *[…]*'

The strategy is similar to the phrasal splits of NP Tails (see 9.1.1.2) with one exception. Here the T-units are linked with *and*-coordination, as opposed to the Tail NPs which usually have been realized as separate sentences. This could be an indication that a clausal Tail is more closely linked to the preceding discourse than a nominal Tail. The clausal Tails are more directly linked to the Subject Theme of the original T-unit, and consequently the Subject T-unit of the first translated T-unit. The Subject Theme is repeated or elliptical in the second translated T-unit, and so, only *and*-coordination is needed. The nominal Tail, however, is not related to the Subject Theme to the same extent. Whereas the phrasal splits involving NP Tail N-Rhemes are optional, the sentence splits involving *ing*-clause N-Rhemes are seen as servitudes.

Besides Non-finite *–ing* clauses, Non-finite *to-infinitive* clauses also frequently occur as N-Rheme in the English texts. In the translation of these, a similar strategy to the translation of *-ing* clause Tails has been used. In the translation, the *to-infinitive* clause becomes the second T-unit, coordinated with *and*, and frequently with a repeated elliptical Subject. This is exemplified in (15):

(15a) In the grey light of dawn, the astounded defenders of the coastline peered forth from their bunkers and pillboxes **to see before them the Allied armada**. (MH1:101)	(15b) I det grå gryningsljuset blickade de förbluffade försvararna på kusten **ut från sina bunkrar och betongvärn** '*In the grey light of dawn peered the astounded defenders of the coastline* ***out from their bunkers and pillboxes***' (15c) och fick syn på **den allierade armadan**. (MH1:101t) '*and caught eyes on* ***the Allied armada***'

Hasselgård (2010:229) finds this use of the infinitive close to co-ordination in function, which is what the Swedish translations illustrate.

Finally, clausal T-unit splits could also involve Finite clauses. (16) illustrates how an extremely heavy *that*-clause N-Rheme has been split in the translation. It is, however, an embedded modifying Non-finite *–ing* clause within the Finite clause that has been upgraded into a separate T-unit in the translation, (16c). This T-unit is also heavily explicitated:

(16a) A conservative estimate, based on figures from the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), is **that in both 1980 and 1981 the international trade in arms, *including training and technical services as well as the provision of 'major weapons'*, was worth at least $25,000 million**. (CS1:141)	(16b) En försiktig uppskattning (baserad på siffror från US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, ACDA) går ut på **att den internationella vapenhandeln för både år 1980 och år 1981 torde böra värderas till minst 25 000 miljoner dollar**. '*[…]* ***that the international trade in arms both for the year 1980 and 1981 would be worth at least 25000 million dollars***.' (16c) I detta belopp är kostnaderna för upplärning av mottagarländernas personal, för teknisk service och för underhåll av mer avancerade vapensystem **inbegripna**. (CS1:141t) '*In this amount are the costs for training of the receiving countries' staff, for technical service and for the provision of more advanced weapons* ***included***.'

A thematic Finite clause could also be split into a separate T-unit in the translation, as in (17). This new T-unit is coordinated with a second T-unit, by the conjunction *men/but*. The original N-Rheme is kept in the translation as the N-Rheme of the second T-unit:

(17a) *Though political persecution continued intermittently*, there was no further attempt to found a specialised political police **until after the unsuccessful Decembrist Rising of 1825, a century after Peter's death.** (CAOG1:20)	(17b) Politisk förföljelse förekom visserligen fortfarande **till och från**, '*Political persecution occurred however still* ***intermittently,***' (17c) men det gjordes inga nya försök att grunda en särskild politisk polis **förrän efter det misslyckades dekabristupproret 1825, ett århundrade efter Peters död.** (CAOG1:20t)

The sentence splits involving Finite clauses in (16) and (17) are optional. In (17) inversion of the Subject and the Verb is required in the translation, but that translation change need not affect the Theme or the N-Rheme.

Examples (10) – (17) above have illustrated clausal T-unit splits in translations into Swedish. Now, some clausal T-unit splits in translations into English will be illustrated. Example (18) has a Finite Clause temporal N-Rheme, linked to the main clause with the subordinate conjunction *medan/while*. In the translation, the conjunction has been removed and the sub-clause turned into a main clause, separated with a semicolon. The last part of the original N-Rheme has become the N-Rheme of the second T-unit. The information is presented in the same order as the original:

(18a) Hans röst lät avlägsen **medan hela den övriga världen tycktes ha samlats kring den lilla punkt i min hjärna varur min bakfylla strömmade**. (LH1:85) *'His voice sounded distant* ***while all the rest of the world seemed to have congregated around that little spot in by brain whence my hangover came streaming***.'	(18b) His voice sounded **distant**; (18c) all the rest of the world seemed to have congregated **around that little spot in my brain whence my hangover came streaming**. (LH1:85t)

In (19) a relative clause N-Rheme (referring back to the whole clause, functioning as Tail, (see section 3.5.2) has been split into a separate T-unit in the English translation. Here too, the information is presented in the same order:

(19a) Särskilt de makroekonomiska villkor som IMF och Världsbanken ställer har blivit styrande för regering och statsförvaltning i många länder, **vilket också urholkat tilltron till staten.** (CO1:142) '*[…]* ***which has also eroded confidence in the state***.'	(19b) In particular, the macro-economic conditions set by the IMF and the World Bank have become controlling factors **for the governments and public administrations of many countries.** (19c) and this has also eroded **confidence in the state.** (CO1:142t)

Similarly, (20a) contains a non-restrictive relative clause N-Rheme, which has been turned into a separate T-unit in the translation. The Subject and Verb of the first T-unit, *they said*, are repeated and the information presented as N-Rheme in the two translated T-units is similar to the original N-Rheme, (20a):

(20a) De sa att ni var en eländig stackare, lat men inte obegåvad, **som snart skulle gå under om inget avgörande inträffade i ert liv.** (LH1:91) '*[…],* ***who soon would be done if nothing***[180] ***decisive happened in your life***.'	(20b) They said **you were a miserable wretch, lazy but not untalented**. (20c) They said **you'd be done for soon, unless something decisive happened in your life**. (LH1:91t)

In a study of translations between German and Norwegian, Solfjeld (2008) found that a frequent strategy by the translator was to translate hypotactic clauses into coordinated clauses. He states that 'subordination in the source version signals that the information should not be seen as the main focus of the sentence' (2008:21). Consequently, a change in sentence structure influences the reader to interpret the discourse function in a different way from what was intended in the original text. In Solfjeld's study, there was a relatively strong tendency to use coordinative structures. He claims that as these automatically indicate temporal or causal relations, which separate sentences do not, '[c]oordination in certain cases preserves an informational focus equivalent to that of the source sentence' (2008:26). Sofjeld also highlights the importance of punctuation. He states that 'the choice of commas/dashes vs. full stops – has discourse functional effects' (2008:43). The dash or the comma indicates closeness to the preceding sentence from a discourse perspective as they explain or elaborate and do not give a new contribution. He also found that the translation process usually was linear (2008:32).

To sum up, T-unit splits decrease the information density of the text. They also upgrade information originally presented as embedded or hypotactic into separate

[180] There is a slight shift in perspective as the translation uses *unless something/om inte något*, whereas the Swedish original *om inget* is more equivalent to *if nothing*.

T-units in the translation. T-unit splits are frequent in the translations into Swedish. Typically, they involve heavy NPs, realized as Tail N-Rhemes or as Themes, or Non-finite Clause N-Rhemes. While the phrasal Tail N-Rhemes are frequently split into separate sentences, the clausal N-Rhemes are often split into coordinated T-units. In the translations into English, T-unit splits are less frequent. Typically, they involve the split of embedded clauses functioning as modifiers in the N-Rheme, either a clause or phrase, into a separate T-unit.

9.1.1.4 T-unit merge

The term *T-unit merge* refers to two or more T-units in the original text being realized as one T-unit in the translation. The occurrence of this translation strategy in the two translation directions and the two text types is presented in table 9.2:

Table 9.2 T-unit merges in both translation directions and text types.

	Fiction					**Popular Science**				
	E → S		**S → E**		**Statistical**	**E → S**		**E → S**		**Statistical**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Significance**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**Significance**
T-unit merge	21	1.8	67	4.4	***	11	1.4	52	5.6	***

***= p<0.001

As table 9.2 shows, there are significantly more T-unit merges in the translations into English in both the Fiction texts, 4.4% vs. 1.8%, and the Popular Science texts, 5.6% vs. 1.4%. These results clearly mirror the results in table 9.1. So, a hypothesis at this stage would be that the T-unit merges will also mirror the T-unit splits. If so, the T-unit merges would involve main clauses being translated into participle clauses, or NP N-Rhemes or Themes.

In both translation directions, the majority of the T-unit merges involves **two** T-units translated into one, 84/119 in the translations into English and 26/32 in the translations into Swedish. There are, however, also some translations of **three** T-units into one.

The T-unit merge is primarily treated as a syntactic translation strategy in the same way as the T-unit split. In the translation process, however, semantic strategies, e.g. transitivity changes, and pragmatic strategies, e.g. explicitness and information structure changes have also been used to a great extent.

Similarly to the T-unit splits, the T-unit merges have been characterized as either phrasal or clausal. While the characterization of the T-unit splits had its root in the N-Rheme of the original, the characterization of the T-unit merges is rather based on the N-Rheme of the translated T-unit. This means that the N-Rheme in the

merged T-unit is realized either as a phrase or a clause. This distinction is relevant as the realization of an N-Rheme as a clause, a clausal T-unit merge, always indicates a hypotactic relationship within the T-unit. These types of T-unit merges will now be illustrated, starting with phrasal T-unit merges in the translations into English where they are most frequent. [181]

9.1.1.5 Phrasal T-unit merge

The phrasal T-unit merges in the translations into English typically involve simplification or omission where a few quite empty words have been removed and two T-units turned into one.[182] The merge could result in a Tail N-Rheme in the translation, as is illustrated in (21) and (22):

(21a) Stanley har lärt mig se **vilka föraktliga människor dessa är**. '*[…]* ***what descpicable human beings they are***.' (21b) De är **opålitliga, inställsamma och grymma utan att ha något mål i livet**. (LH1:229-30) '*They are* ***unreliable, sycophantic and cruel without having any goal in life***.'	(21c) Stanley has taught me to see what despicable creatures they are: **unreliable, sycophantic, and cruel, lacking any goals in life.** (LH1:229t)
(22a) Hon hade hittat en gammal träningsoverall **på vinden.** '*She had found an old tracksuit* ***in the attic***.' (22b) *Den var* **urblekt blå** '*It was* ***faded blue***' (22c) och på bröstet stod det **COUP DU MONDE** (KE1:182-4) '*and on the chest it said* ***COUP DU MONDE***'	(22d) She had found an old tracksuit in the attic, **a faded blue with COUP DU MONDE across the chest.** (KE1:182t)

In (21) and (22), the second of the original T-units is Relational, containing informationally light pronouns + copula verb. In the translation, the pronoun + the verb *De är/They are* and *Den var/It was* have been removed. In (21) the remains of

[181] Similar to the T-unit splits, the distinction between phrasal and clausal is not always clear cut. Some problematic examples will be presented later in this section.
[182] These are marked in italics in the following examples.

the original second T-unit, which is also the N-Rheme of the original second T-unit, becomes the N-Rheme of the translation. Example (22) consists of three T-units merged into one in the translation. The N-Rheme of the original second T-unit, (24b), *urblekt blå/faded blue* merges with the third T-unit *och på bröstet stod det COUP DU MONDE/and on the chest it said COUP DU MONDE* and becomes the N-Rheme of the translated T-unit *a faded blue with COUP DU MONDE across the chest.*

The translated N-Rhemes could also be Circumstantial, frequently Place, as in (23c):

(23a) Sen gav sig hela troppen av **efter landsvägen**. '*Then set the whole troop off* ***down the road***.' (23b) *De gick* **sakta**. (KE1:341-2) '*They walked* ***slowly***.'	(23c) Then the whole troop set off *slowly* **down the road.** (KE1:341t)

(23) is slightly different from (21) and (22) above, as a Material Process *gick/walked* in (23b) has been removed in the translation. The N-Rheme of the second original T-unit, (25b), *sakta/slowly* has been moved into Midfield position in what is equivalent to the first T-unit of the original. This constituent is informationally light, and so easy to merge into the first T-unit. The repetition used in the original, with the slight reformulation of the Process *gav sig av/set off* into *gick/walked* in (23b), creates a certain emphasis which has been lost in the translation.

Next, example (24) is similar to the examples above in that it contains a relational clause (24a) followed by two material clauses with the processes *går/walks* (24b) and *passerar/passes* (24c). In the translation, the first T-unit of the original has been turned into a hypotactic concessive circumstantial Theme.[183] The participant and process in (24b) *han går förbi/he walks by,* which are semantically equivalent to *han passerar/he passes* in (24c), have been removed in the translation. The three T-units have been merged, and the N-Rhemes of (24b) and (24c) are coordinated in the N-Rheme of the translated T-unit (24d). Thus, two thirds of the information in the original N-Rheme remains in the translated N-Rheme:

[183] This T-unit has been categorised as phrasal although it results in a hypotactic T-unit. The reason for this is that it originally consists of three T-units, and in the translation the first one is realised as a hypotactic Theme. The N-Rheme in the translation is, however, phrasal, consisting of the N-Rhemes of the second and third original T-unit.

(24a) I och för sig är det **bara skog**, '*Anyway it is* ***only forest***' (24b) men han går förbi **en stor egendomlig sten**, *'but he walks by* ***a large peculiar stone,***' (24c) han passerar **en gammal myrstack och en myrväg**. (SC1:117-9) '*he passes* ***an old ant hill and an ant track***.'	(24d) But although it was only forest he passed **a large peculiar stone, an old ant hill and an ant track**. (SC1:117t)

The repetition which is part of the original text, expressed with two different verbs *han går förbi/he walks by* and *han passerar/he passes*, both in the present tense, placing the reader in the midst of the action, has been simplified into one verb in the past tense, *he passed*, in the translation. Similar to (23) above, this generates a slightly different emphasis in the translation as the repeated use of verbs of movement in the original gives more emphasis on each stage of the walk.

Phrasal T-unit merges are rare in the translations into Swedish. One example is (25) where the second T-unit has been merged with the N-Rheme of the first. In this example, the information has been nominalized and presented as a very heavy, infomationally dense NP N-Rheme:

(25a) What is important to grasp is **that these activities do not consume simply money as such**; (25b) rather they use up **labour (particularly young and skilled labour) land, raw materials, research skills, industrial capacity, foreign exchange**. (CS1:45-6)	(25c) Vad som är angeläget att få ett grepp om är emellertid **det faktum att militära aktiviteter inte bara slukar pengar utan lägger beslag på olika slag av resurser sådana som arbetskraft (särkilt ung och välutbildad sådan), landområden, råvaror, forskningstillgångar, industriell kapacitet, utländsk valuta**. (CS1:45t) '*What is important to grasp is however* ***the fact that militariy activitis not only consume money but use up different types of resources such as labour*** *[…]*.'

9.1.1.6 Clausal T-unit merge

The examples characterized as T-unit merges typically involve a translation change from parataxis into hypotaxis. Two (or more) T-units in the original text have been translated into one T-unit with a clausal, hypotactic N-Rheme. In the translations

into English, a typical clause merge results in a translation with a Non-finite Tail N-Rheme (*ing*-clause):

(26a) och jag stirrade **in i hennes bleka ansikte** (26b) och väntade på **att hon skulle säga något mer** (AP1:45-6) '*and [I was] waiting for* ***that she should say something more***'	(26c) and I stared at her pale face, **waiting for her to say something more** (AP1:45t)
(27a) En smal grusad landsväg går **från ett samhälle till ett annat samhälle** '*A narrow gravel main road led* ***from one village to another village***' (27b) och passerar vid något tillfälle **en liten insjö** (SC1:21-2) '*and [it] passes at some point* ***a small lake***'	(27c) A narrow gravel main road led from one village to another village, **passing at some point a small lake** (SC1:21t)

In (26) and (27), the Swedish original texts contain two T-units, coordinated by *och/and*, which have the same Subject (but elliptical). In the translations, the second original T-unit has been restructured into a subordinate *ing*-clause Tail N-Rheme. This type of T-unit merge clearly mirrors the T-unit splits involving *ing*-clause Tail N-Rhemes found in the translations into Swedish

Another type of translation merge reformulates a T-unit into a Finite clause N-Rheme functioning as Circumstance. This is illustrated in (28):

(28a) Och ändå är detta **precis det som var meningen**. '*And yet is this* ***exactly what had been intended***.' (28b) Det är bara det **att det framstår som obegripligt för det gående folket i våra skogar** (SC1:221-2) '*It is just* ***that it seems incomprehensible to the walking people in our forests***'	(28c) Yet that is exactly what had been intended, **though it seemed incomprehensible to the people in the forests who go by foot**, (SC1:221t)

In (28), the translation is linear, presenting the first T-unit of the original as the main clause in the translation (28c) with the second clause (28b) as the hypotactic N-Rheme. The Swedish original marks the concession by means of a separate clause *det är bara det att/it is just that*, whereas the English translation marks the concession by a conjunction, *though*. This results in a more lexically dense T-unit in the English translation.

Finally, the T-unit merges in the translations into English involve the restructuring of the second T-unit of the original text into a sentential relative clause functioning as Tail N-Rheme.[184] This is illustrated in (29):

(29a) Och dessa uppfattningar manifesteras **i handling –** '*And these perceptions are manifested* ***in actions*** *–*' (29b) man bör alltså undersöka **beslutsprocesser** (HG1:148-9) '*one should therefore study* ***decision-making processes***.'	(29c) These perceptions are manifested in actions, **which means that we should study decision-making processes**. (HG1:148t)

In contrast to (26) and (27) above, the original T-units in (29) have different Subject Themes. In the translation, no elements have been removed, instead the clarifying words *which means* have been added to indicate the relation to the preceding discourse.

In comparison, the second T-unit of the original text can also be translated into a relative clause N-Rheme in the translations into Swedish. This is illustrated in (30), where the translated hypotactic T-unit is very similar to the original. Apart from inversion of the Subject and the Verb because of the V2-constraint, the only change is the use of the relative pronoun *som/who* instead of the pronoun she:

(30a) Eventually Diana **got up**, (30b) she hated **the scenes** (ST1:104-5)	(30c) Till slut reste sig Diana **som hatade scener** (ST1:104t) '*Eventually got up Diana* ***who hated scenes***'

Two similar examples are presented in (31) and (32). In both examples, as in (30) above, the second T-unit elaborates on the preceding T-unit, presenting more information about the Subject Theme. In the translations, the relative pronouns

[184] In comparison, there is only one relative clause in the English originals referring back to the whole clause, while there are 10 in the English translations, of which 5 have evolved from restructuring 2 > 1.

vars/whose (31) and *som/which* (32) have been added to link the two T-units. The translations result in more informationally dense T-units with quite heavy N-Rhemes:

(31a) They are **a most important group**. (31b) and we shall discuss their role more fully **later** (CS1:66-7)	(31c) De sistnämnda är **en ytterst viktig grupp vars roll vi senare skall diskutera mera utförligt** (CS1:66t) '*The latter are* ***a most important group whose role we later shall discuss more fully***'
(32a) It used to be **the public washing square**, (32b) and was known still to all the locals **as the Soap Garden**. (JC1:63-64)	(32c) Där låg en gång den allmänna tvättplatsen**, som bland dem som bodde i trakten än i dag gick under namnet Såptorget**. (JC1:63t) '*There was once the public washing place,* ***which among the locals still today was known as the Soap garden***.'

In addition, the T-unit merges can also result in the second T-unit being translated into a Finite clause Circumstance. This is illustrated in (33):

(33a) When baby was born, the young mother would sit at her books **between feeds and household tasks,** (33b) and the young father would be on the other side of the table, **correcting his pupils' papers**. (NG1:153-4)	(33c) När Baby hade fötts satt den unga modern med sina böcker mellan amningarna och hushållsarbetet **medan den unge fadern satt vid andra sidan av bordet och rättade sina elevers uppsatser**. (NG1:153t) '*[…]* ***while the young father sat on the other side of the table and corrected his pupils' papers***.'

Here, the first T-unit (33a) results in an equivalent translation, while the second T-unit has been reformulated into a hypotactic temporal clause N-Rheme. The coordinating conjunction *and* has been removed and the subordinating conjunction *medan/while* added. The translation is linear

To sum up, in both translation directions, many of the phrasal merges involve relational clauses. The result of the merge is slightly different in the two translation directions, however. In the translations into English, where phrasal merges are most frequent, a repeated Subject and Verb is often omitted and the remainder is

presented as a phrasal Tail or Circumstance N-Rheme. In the translations into Swedish, the second T-unit is merged with the N-Rheme of the first T-unit, frequently realized as an NP with an embedded clause. Similarly, the clausal merges frequently result in a Non-finite Tail or Finite Circumstance in the English translations, while the Swedish translations typically result in a Non-Restrictive relative clause or Circumstancial N-Rheme. Consequently, the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this section was confirmed as the T-unit merges clearly mirror the T-unit splits. Furthermore, the merges typically present the information in the same order in the original and in the translation, and the translation is usually informationally denser, often with a heavy N-Rheme. To merge the T-units in the translations is an optional choice by the translator, but it clearly indicates target language normalisation, as there are fewer words/T-unit in the original English texts compared to the Swedish originals, see table 9.3:

Table 9.3 Number of words, T-units and words/T-unit in English and Swedish (originals and translations)

	English Original		**Swedish Original**	
	Fiction	**Pop. Sc.**	**Fiction**	**Pop. Sc.**
No. of words	13556	13723	14011	14160
No. of T-units	1166	781	1536	929
Words/T-unit	11.6	17.6	9.1	15.2

9.1.1.7 Restructuring within the T-unit

Restructuring within the T-unit refers to translation changes where there is a rearrangement of the constituents that involves more than a change in word order, or a change in phrase or clause structure of the N-Rheme. Consequently, there is no one-to-one correspondence between the functional units in the original T-unit and the translated T-unit.

Restructuring within the T-unit occurs similarly frequently in both translation directions and both text types, as is illustrated in table 9.4:

Table 9.4 Restructuring within the T-unit

	Fiction				Statistical Significance	Popular Science				Statistical Significance
	E → S		S → E			E → S		S → E		
	n	%	n	%		n	%	n	%	
Restructuring within the T-unit	90	7.7	124	8.1	n.s.	62	7.9	80	8.6	n.s

There are, however, some differences in what Restructuring on the T-unit level actually involves in the two translation directions. Restructuring within the T-unit could be a result of syntactic, semantic or pragmatic translation strategies; in the majority of the examples there is interplay between two or all of the strategies (cf. section 7.1 and 8.1). The syntactic strategies used in Restructuring within the T-unit will now be illustrated with some examples.

Syntactic strategies have been applied when there is a syntactic difference between the two languages. Consequently, they can be seen as servitudes to a great extent. In both translation directions, restructuring on the level of the T-units involves VP N-Rhemes in the original. This is illustrated in (34) and (35):

(34a) Office security and Caretaking **would disapprove** (JC1:54)	(34b) De som svarade för ordningen och bevakningen inom företaget skulle inte gilla **det** (JC1:54t) '*Those who were responsible for order and security in the company would not like* ***it***'

In (34b) the pronoun det/it has been added as Direct Object N-Rheme. Furthermore, the Theme has become more explicit de som svarade för ordningen och bevakningen inom företaget/those who were responsible for order and security in the company. In comparison, the Swedish original in (35) has a split VP N-Rheme[185] in a T-unit with a marked Theme. Here the V2 constraint together with the split phrasal verb, in (35a), requires a Restructuring of the T-unit in the translation:

[185] T-units with particle verbs where the particle is split from the main verb and placed as N-Rheme in Swedish and where the English equivalent verb contains no particle are categorised as Restructuring. In some cases, this is a very minor type of Restructuring, as in the following example: *Hur och varifrån samlas information in?/'How and from where gathers information in*' (HG1:35), which has been translated into *How and from where is information gathered?* (HG1:53t)

(35a) Så **ser** bilden **ut**. (AP1:95)	(35b) That's **what the picture looks like**. (AP1:95t)

In (35) the Swedish original has a fronted manner adjunct which does not have a direct counterpart in English. The chosen *that's what* construction in the English translation has a similar discourse function.[186]

9.1.2 Semantic strategies

Restructuring on the level of the T-unit can be caused by semantic translation strategies such as rephrasals or changes of perspective. The difference in correspondence between the original and the restructured T-unit could, however, be quite small, as is illustrated in (36):

(36a) They laughed **along with Jack.** (ST1:78)	(36b) De instämde **i Jacks skratt.** (ST1:78t) *'They joined **in Jack's laughter**.'*

In (36), there is a rephrasal as the Process *laughed (along with Jack)* has been reformulated into *instämde (i Jacks skratt) /joined* (*in Jack's laughter).* As this translation change affects more than the N-Rheme it has been categorised as a Restructuring. The semantic meaning is, however, similar in the two T-units.

Another example is illustrated in (37). It shows how the English translation uses one equivalent term *an about-face* for what is expressed with a Process (reflexive verb) and a Circumstance in the Swedish original (37a):

(37a) Sedan **vände** han **sig** militäriskt **om**. (LH1:262) '*Then **turned** he **himself** in a military way **around**.*'	(37b) Then he did **an about-face**. (LH1:262t)

Typically, Restructuring within the T-unit involves a semantic reformulation which results in a T-unit which is often more explicit than the original text. Thus, there is interplay between a semantic and a pragmatic translation strategy. This is illustrated in (38) – (39):

[186] Se Johansson 2007:39-41 for a discussion of the *that's what* construction in English and its Norwegian and German counterparts.

(38a) I was deceiving **him. (**NG1:2)	(38b) Jag gick **smygvägar.** (NG1:2t) '*I walked* ***secretive paths***.'
(39a) She had **no particular preference**. (ST1:25)	(39b) Hon föredrog egentligen inte **den ene framför den andre**. (ST1:25t) '*She did not really prefer* ***the one before the other***.'

In (38b) the Actor is the same as in the original, but a different Process, the intransitive *gick/walked* has been used. The Goal N-Rheme has been removed and a new N-Rheme *smygvägar*, which is a bit difficult to translate into English, has been added. *Gå smygvägar/walk secretive paths* is not explicit in the source text, and could mean something slightly different from deceiving someone. In (39), the translator has made a similar semantic Restructuring by reformulating the Process and the information in the N-Rheme. In addition, the translation also shows a change in transitivity. The Relational Process *had* has been exchanged for the Mental *föredrog/preferred,* which has its root in the original Attribute N-Rheme *no particular preference.* The N-Rheme in the translation is realized as a more explicit Phenomenon *den ene framför den andre/the one before the other.*

Similarly, (40) illustrates rephrasals in the T-unit where there is also a shift of emphasis and perspective:

(40a) The smell was **urine mixed with street**. (JC1:196)	(40b) Gatans alla dofter blandade sig **med stanken av urin**. (JC1:196t) '*All the scents of the street mixed themselves* ***with the stench of urine***.'

In the translation, part of the original N-Rheme, *mixed,* has been reformulated into the Material Process *blandade sig/mixed themselves. The street*, which was originally part of the N-Rheme (40a), becomes the Subject Theme in the translation, with somewhat more positive connotations.[187] The perspective is slightly changed and *the stench of urine* is presented as N-Rheme.

Another more complex example where the T-unit has been restructured is illustrated in (41):

[187] The Swedish word *doft* has more positive connotations than the English word *smell.*

(41a) KGB training manuals and lecture courses are **understandably reluctant to acknowledge any continuities between the treatment of political criminals or Jewish dissidents by the Okhrana and by themselves**. (CAOG1:110)	(41b) I utbildningsmaterial och föreläsningar undviker KGB förståeligt nog **att erkänna något samband mellan ochranans och KGB:s eget sätt att behandla politiska brottslingar eller judiska dissidenter**. (CAOG1:110t) '*In training manuals and lecture courses avoids KGB understandably* ***to acknowledge any correspondence between the Okhrana's and KGB's own way to treat political criminals or Jewish dissidents***.'

In (41a), the Attribute N-Rheme consists of an AdjP with a heavy postmodifying Non-finite clause. In the translation, (43b), the adjective *reluctant* has been removed from the N-Rheme, reformulated into the Material Process, *undviker/avoids*. Here, the problem for the translator has been to translate the inanimate, *KGB training manuals and lecture courses* as the Carrier of the Attribute *reluctant to acknowledge [„„]*. In Swedish, this sentence structure would be awkward (*KGBs utbildningsmaterial och föreläsningar är förståeligt nog motvilliga att erkänna*…). Consequently, the Carrier has been reformulated into a Circumstance Place *i utbildningsmaterial och föreläsningar/in training manuals and lecture courses*, and *KGB* has been reformulated into the animate Actor of a material clause. Primarily, a semantic translation strategy has been used as the voice is changed from passive to active and the transitivity from relational to material. This results in a different ordering of information in the two T-units. In addition, the change of the N-Rheme from a phrase to a clause also decreases the informational density. Consequently, this could also be seen as a syntactic and pragmatic translation change, similar to the T-unit splits (see section 9.1.1.1).

9.1.3 Pragmatic strategies

Pragmatic translation strategies can be used to simplify an originally complex or heavy N-Rheme. In the translation, part of the N-Rheme has been lifted out of the N-Rheme and placed elsewhere in the T-unit. This is illustrated in (42)[188]:

[188] When this strategy has been used to make a separate T-unit of the element that has been lifted out of the N-Rheme, the translation has been categorised as a T-unit split (see section 9.1.1.1).

(42a) Sonny and Aila carried their week's supply of groceries **in the plastic bags whose O.K. Bazaars logo identified families like them everywhere in the streets, wage-earners who had to buy in the cheapest store, with the weekly indulgence of ice-cream cones or peanuts for the kids and the luxury of queuing up for weekend beers on the side of the liquor stores segregated from where white people were served**. (NG1:163)	(42b) Sonny och Aila bar veckans matinköp i plastkassar med O.K. Bazaars logo liksom de andra shoppande familjerna, **kassar som identifierade dem som lågavlönade, nödsakade att handla i den billigaste affären - fastän de unnade sig att köpa glasstrutar eller jordnötter till barnen och sig själva lyxen att köa för en lördagsöl utanför någon bar, segregerade från det utrymme där vita serverades**. (NG1:163t) '*Sonny and Aila carried their week's supply of groceries in plastic bags with O.K. Bazaar's logo just like the other shopping families,* ***bags that identified them as low-paid wage earners […]***'

In (42) the original T-unit contains an extremely heavy N-Rheme consisting of the PP *in the plastic bags* plus a heavy modifying relative clause. In the translation, the PP (+ part of the relative clause) has been reformulated and moved to the left of the N-Rheme *i plastkassar med O.K. Bazaars logo/in plastic bags with O.K. Bazaar's logo*. A new reformulated constituent *liksom de andra shoppande familjerna/like the other shopping families* has also been lifted out of the N-Rheme. Finally, the remains of the original N-Rheme has been turned into a Tail N-Rheme, with the added repetition of the word *kassar/bags* as head. In this example, the N-Rheme is not only exceptionally heavy; it also contains a foreign element *O.K. Bazaar* that possibly needs to be clarified to the Swedish reader.

However, Pragmatic Restructuring is not only a strategy to simplify complex N-Rhemes. Sometimes, it works to elaborate the information presented as N-Rheme. This is illustrated in (43):

(43a) And their pace is **erratic**. (CS1:8)	(43b) Och de väljer fel hastighet **i sina ansträngningar att nå dit.** (CS1:8t) '*And they choose the wrong pace* ***in their efforts to reach there***.'

In this example, the clause shifts from being relational to material. In the translation, *de/they* become Actors who *väljer fel hastighet/choose the wrong pace*, a choice which was not explicit in the original T-unit. In addition, a completely new N-Rheme has been added*, i sina ansträngningar att nå dit/in their efforts to reach there*. Altogether, this translation involves a semantic change from relational to material, as well as the explicitation of the process *väljer/choose*, the pace as *wrong*, and of a completely new

constituent as N-Rheme. Consequently, the information presented in (43b) is quite different, and much more explicit than in the original T-unit, (43a).

Another example of a pragmatic translation strategy is an explicitness change which involves the addition of a new N-Rheme or the removal of the N-Rheme. When a constituent has been added as N-Rheme in the translation, this constituent is typically an Adverbial, similar to (43) above. In (44) and (45), a clause-final locative Adverbial has been added in the translation, which moves the original N-Rheme to the left in the clause. This could be seen as a pragmatic translation strategy to clarify information:

(44a) Hon för in **pipetten** (PCJ1:22) '*She inserts* ***the pipette***'	(44b) She inserts the pipette **into the open aquarium** (PCJ1:22t)
(45a) Den etiska kommissionen **tillkallades** (PCJ1:211) '*The Commission on Ethics* ***was summoned***'	(45b) The Commission on Ethics was called **into special session.** (PCJ1:211t)

In (45) the Swedish original is a passive construction which contains no explicit Actor. The added Adverbial N-Rheme in the translation enables a passive structure also in the translation. The translation with the verb *called* would sound somewhat marked without the added Adverbial. However, the choice of the alternative verb *summoned* e.g., would have worked without the explicitation.

Similarly, the N-Rhemes that have been removed in the translation process are also typically Adverbials, as in (46) and (47). In most cases, these translation changes are also completely optional:

(46a) De kan tappa akvariet **i golvet** (PCJ1:166) *'[…]* ***on the floor****.'*	(46b) Someone can drop **the aquarium**. (PCJ1:166t)
(47a) And the gods cried **aloud** (KAR1:164)	(47b) Och gudarna **ropade (**KAR1:164t) '*And the gods* ***cried***'

Another type of pragmatic Restructuring within the T-unit is illustrated in (48) where there is interplay between semantic and pragmatic translation strategies:

(48a) Att staten fick denna roll hade **flera orsaker.** (CO1:96) *'That the state got this role had **a number of reasons**.'*	(48b) There are **a number of reasons why the state adopted this role**. (CO1:96t)

In (48), the Swedish original has a *that*-clause as Subject Theme. By reformulating the T-unit into an existential clause, the *that*-clause can be presented as a modifier to the NP N-Rheme *flera orsaker/a number of reasons*. This follows the principle of end-weight, and is a coherence change in information structure.

Finally, a completely different type of pragmatic restructuring is illustrated in (49), which is a free translation of a bedtime prayer. Here, a pragmatic translation strategy has been used to adapt the text to the target culture norms of a bedtime prayer while preserving the rhyming structure of the original:[189]

(49a) If I should die before I wake I pray the Lord **my soul to take**. (ST1:42)	(49b) Gode Fader, om jag somnar i Ditt kära namn, låt mig vakna upp imorgon **i Din trygga famn.** (ST1:42t)

To sum up, semantic and/or pragmatic translation strategies have been used to restructure the T-unit on the T-unit level in both translation directions. Frequently, these strategies have been used to simplify heavy or complex Participants. However, information is not only simplified in the translations; it is also clarified as Restructuring involves translations into semantically different and more explicit T-units and N-Rhemes.

So far, the different types of translation strategies involved in Restructuring have been illustrated. In the next section, 9.2, the extent to which N-Rhemes of different types have been restructured in translations, in the two translation directions and two text types, will be compared.

9.2 Which N-Rhemes occur in restructured T-units?

Restructuring occurs similarly frequently in the two translation directions, 16.5% in the translations into English, compared to 14.4% in the translations into Swedish. In this section, the grammatical form, syntactic function and transitivity of the N-

[189] There seems to be no acknowledged translation of this bedtime prayer in Swedish.

Rhemes involved in Restructuring will be presented, in the two translation directions, 9.2.1, and the two text types, 9.2.2.

9.2.1 Comparison of translation direction

First, the percentage of N-Rhemes of each grammatical form will be compared in table 9.5. The percentages are presented in descending order for the translations into Swedish, unless stated otherwise:[190]

Table 9.5 Grammatical forms involved in Restructuring (%)

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Restr.[191]	Total	%	Rest	Total	%	Significance
Non-finite clause	43	157	**27.4**	18	110	16.4	*
Verb Phrase	33	142	23.2	55	174	**31.6**	n.s
Adjective Phrase	23	126	18.3	26	139	18.7	n.s
Finite clause	36	224	16.1	51	276	18.5	n.s
Preposition Phrase	82	521	15.7	127	705	18.0	n.s
Adverb Phrase	14	93	15.0	46	213	21.6	n.s
Noun Phrase	89	600	14.8	144	745	19.3	*

*= $p<0.05$

As can be seen from table 9.5, all grammatical forms have been restructured to a similar extent in both translation directions, with two exceptions. Non-finite clause N-Rhemes have been restructured to a greater extent in the translations into Swedish, 27.4% vs. 16.4%, and NP N-Rhemes have been restructured to a greater extent in the translations into English, 19.3% vs. 14.8%. Non-finite clause N-Rhemes have the lowest percentage of Restructuring in the translations into English and Noun Phrase N-Rhemes the lowest percentage in the translations into Swedish. This is a result of the T-unit splits and merges illustrated in 9.1.1. Furthermore, Restructuring is also common in the translation of VP N-Rhemes in both translation directions, 31.6% in the translations into English and 23.2 % in the translations into Swedish.

Table 9.6 displays the percentage of each syntactic function that has been restructured in the two translation directions:

[190] Bold type indicates the highest percentage of Restructuring in both translation directions in all tables.
[191] The numbers indicate the number of each grammatical form that has been restructured, here Non-finite clause (43), and the total number of each grammatical form in the original texts, here Non-finite clause (157). Thus, 43 out of 157 Non-finite N-Rhemes have been restructured in the translations into Swedish.

Table 9.6 Restructuring of syntactic functions (%)

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Restr.	**Total**	**%**	**Restr.**	**Total**	**%**	**significance**
Tail	40	117	**34.2**	17	93	18.3	*
Verb	32	141	22.7	54	173	**31.2**	n.s
Indirect Object	3	14	21.4	7	23	30.4	n.s
Object C.	6	28	21.4	1	15	6.7	n.s
Subject C.	53	278	19.1	73	338	21.6	n.s
Adverbial	110	701	15.7	169	919	18.4	n.s
Subject	12	87	13.8	41	203	20.2	n.s
Direct Object	64	474	13.5	97	575	16.9	n.s
Others[192]	4	23	17.4	8	23	34.8	

*= $p<0.05$

Tail N-Rhemes have the highest percentage of Restructuring in the translations into Swedish, 34.2%. The percentages are comparatively higher than in the translations into English, 18.3% ($p<0.05$). This is related to the occurrence of T-unit splits illustrated in 9.1.1.1 and 9.1.1.2. In addition, Verb N-Rhemes have also been restructured to a great extent in both translation directions, 31.2% in the translations into English and 22.7% in the translations into Swedish.

Next, Restructuring of Participant, Circumstance, Process and Projection N-Rhemes are very similar in the two translation directions (see Appendix, table 9.1). Restructuring is particularly common in the translation of Process N-Rhemes in both translation direction, 23.1% in the translations into Swedish and 31.2% in the translations into Swedish. All types of Process N-Rhemes, except Verbal Processes, have been restructured to a great extent (see Appendix, table 9.2). However, it is important to emphasize that there is a low frequency of all Process types in both text samples.

Furthermore, there are no significant differences between the translation directions regarding the different types of Participant N-Rhemes (see Appendix, table 9.3). Some types of Participants have been restructured to a great extent. This applies for Existent N-Rhemes, 28.6%, in the translations into Swedish and Actor, 27.9%, and Value N-Rhemes, 27.1% in the translations into English. These are illustrated in (50) – (52):

[192] The percentage of Restructuring is high in the English translations, but it only includes 8 N-Rhemes. Typically, the T-units with an interpersonal or textual element in the N-Rheme are Restructured on the sentence level.

(50a) and there is **a sense in which Vic understands and approves of this gesture**. (DLO1:146)	(50b) och på ett sätt förstår Victor **vad gesten betyer** *´And in one way understands Victor* ***what the gesture means***' (50b) och [han] uppskattar **den**. (DLO1:146t) '*and [he] appreciates* ***it***.'
(51a) I morse inträffade **något som kanske kommer att förändra mitt liv**. (LH1:1) '*This morning happened* ***something that may change my life***.'	(51b) This morning something happened **that may change my life**. (LH1:1t)
(52a) Om den svarta sidan lyser betyder det **att grusbilen ska ta paket** (SC1:93) '*If the black side is shining means it* ***that the gravel lorry should take the parcel*****'**	(52b)If the black side was showing the gravel lorry had to collect **the parcel** (SC1:93t)

Finally, table 9.7 shows that Place N-Rhemes have been restructured to a greater extent in the translations into English, 21.4% vs. 12.1% ($p<0.01$). Besides that, the percentages of Restructuring are similar in the two translation directions:

Table 9.7 Restructuring of different types of Circumstance N-Rhemes[193]

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Restr.	**Total**	**%**	**Restr.**	**Total**	**%**	**Significance**
Matter	5	19	**26.3**	1	12	8.2	n.s
Contingency	25	134	18.7	22	110	20.0	n.s
Manner	30	172	17.4	33	180	18.3	n.s
Time	17	117	14.5	26	181	14.4	n.s
Place	24	199	12.1	77	360	**21.4**	**
Accompaniment	3	30	10.0	4	39	10.3	n.s

** = $p<0.01$

To sum up, overall, Restructuring as a translation strategy has been used to a similar extent in the two translation directions. There are only a few significant

[193] Types of Circumstances which occur as N-Rheme less than 15 times in each translation direction are not included in the table (Angle -/12, 1/11, Role 2/6, -/5)

differences: the higher percentages of restructured Non-finite and Tail N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish and the higher percentages of restructured NP and Place N-Rhemes in the translations into English. In addition, VP/Verb/Process N-Rhemes have been restructured to a great extent in both translation directions. In the next section, Restructuring of N-Rhemes in both translation directions in the two text types will be presented.

9.2.2 Comparison of Fiction and Popular Science

As table 5.3 above showed, Restructuring has been used similarly frequently in the two text types, 17.4% in the Fiction texts vs. 19.4% in the Popular Science texts. In both text types, Restructuring is more common in the translations into English, but the difference is only statistically significant in the Fiction texts, 19.0% vs. 15.3% ($p<0.05$) (see table 5.4 above). This section will examine if the differences between the translation directions found above (see section 9.2.1) occur in both text types. It will also indicate if there are any other text type differences regarding the Restructuring of specific types of N-Rhemes. Similar to section 9.2.1 above, the Restructuring of grammatical forms, syntactic functions and functions in Transitivity will be compared quantitatively. First, table 9.8 displays Restructuring of grammatical forms. The percentages are presented in descending order for the translations into Swedish in Fiction in all tables, unless otherwise stated:[194]

Table 9.8 Restructuring of Grammatical forms in both text types and translation directions (%)

	Fiction		**Statistical**	**Popular Science**		**Statistical**
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Non-finite clause	**25.3**	17.9	n.s	**30.3**	14.8	n.s
Verb Phrase	24.0	**30.7**	n.s	19.1	**34.0**	n.s
Adjective Phrase	15.4	20.5	n.s	21.3	11.1	n.s
Noun Phrase	14.8	17.6	n.s	14.9	21.6	*
Adverb Phrase	14.3	20.4	n.s	18.8	25.0	n.s
Preposition Phrase	14.2	17.8	n.s	17.5	18.3	n.s
Finite clause	13.2	16.1	n.s	19.4	22.6	n.s

*= $p<0.05$

[194] Bold type marks the most frequently restructured category in each translation direction in both text types in all tables.

Table 9.8 shows that the differences between the translation directions reported in the previous section (see table 9.5) occur in both text types. Thus, Non-finite clause N-Rhemes have been restructured to a greater extent in both text types in the translations into Swedish, and Noun Phrase N-Rhemes in the translations into English. However, the only difference that is statistically significant is the higher percentage of restructured NP N-Rhemes in the translations into English in the Popular Science texts, 21.6% vs. 14.9% ($p<0.05$). There are no significant text type differences.

Next, Restructuring of the different syntactic functions of the N-Rheme are compared in both text types and both translation directions in table 9.9:

Table 9.9 Restructuring of syntactic functions in both text types and translation directions (%)

	Fiction		**Statistical**	**Popular Science**		**Statistical**
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**significance**
Indirect Object[195]	**37.5**	**31.3**	n.s	-	28.6	n.s
Tail	26.0	14.0	n.s	**47.7**	25.0	n.s
Verb	23.3	30.2	n.s	19.1	**34.0**	n.s
Object C.	21.4	12.5	n.s	21.4	-	n.s
Subject C.	19.1	23.7	n.s	19.0	18.1	n.s
Subject	14.0	17.1	n.s	13.5	23.5	n.s
Adverbial	13.6	17.8	n.s	18.8	9.5	n.s
Direct Object	12.7	14.7	n.s	12.7	19.9	*

*= $p<0.05$

Table 9.9 shows that there is a very high percentage of restructured Tail N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts translated into Swedish, 47.7%. Tail N-Rhemes have been restructured more frequently in the translations into Swedish in both text types, but the differences are not statistically significant.[196] Furthermore, there is a higher percentage of restructured Direct Object N-Rhemes in the translations into English, in both text types. A difference that is statistically significant in the Popular Science texts, 19.9% vs. 12.7%. This is a difference that was not shown in the results for the total material.

Overall, Restructuring of the different types of Participant, Process and Circumstance N-Rhemes is largely similar in both text types and both translation.

[195] The high percentages of restructured Indirect Object N-Rhemes must be interpreted with caution as there are only 8 Indirect Object N-Rhemes in the English Fiction texts, 16 in the Swedish Fiction texts, 6 in the English Popular Science texts and 7 in the Swedish Popular Science texts.

[196] Restructuring of Tail N-Rhemes is significantly more common in the Popular Science texts, 47.7%, compared to the Fiction texts, 26.0% in the translations into Swedish ($p<0.05$).

One type of Participant, Phenomenon N-Rhemes, have been restructured to a greater extent in the translations into English in the Popular Science texts, 40.0% vs. 0% (see Appendix, table 9.4). Moreover, the higher percentage of restructured Circumstance Place N-Rhemes in the English translations occur in both text-types. The percentages are slightly higher in the Popular Science texts, 26.1% vs. 14.9%, but the difference is only statistically significant in the Fiction texts, 19.8% vs. 10.4% ($p<0.05$).[197]

9.2.3 Summary

To sum up, the types of N-Rhemes that have been restructured to a great extent are displayed in table 9.10. All types of N-Rheme that have been restructured in more than 30% of their occurrences as N-Rheme are presented in the table:

Table 9.10 The most restructured N-Rhemes in the two translation directions and text types (%)

N-Rheme		**Fiction**		**Popular Science**		**Table**
		E → S	**S → E**	**E → S**	**S → E**	
Grammatical form	Non-finite clause			30.3		9.8
	Verb Phrase		30.7		34.0	
Syntactic function	Tail			47.7		9.9
	Verb		30.2		34.0	
	Indirect Object	37.5	31.3			
Participant	Phenomenon				40.0	Appendix
	Value		32.0			
Circumstance	Matter			33.3		Appendix
Process	Behavioural				100	Appendix
	Relational		50.0			
	Mental		33.3		33.3	

Table 9.10 illustrates that the Popular Science texts translated into English have most types of frequently restructured N-Rhemes. In the translations into Swedish, Restructuring of Non-finite clause, Tail and Existent N-Rhemes is particularly common, whereas Restructuring of different types of Process and Participant N-

[197] As the overall frequencies are so small for restructured Process N-Rhemes in the two text types and two translation directions, the percentages are not discussed here. No significant differences between the translation directions or the text types has been found.

Rhemes (Phenomenon, Value, Actor) is common in the translations into English. The differences between the text types are small.

There are very few statistically significant differences between the translation directions. The types of N-Rhemes that have been restructured to a different extent are presented in table 9.11. The level of significance is indicated in the table.[198]

Table 9.11 Restructuring Differences between the translation directions

Feature		**E → S**	**S → E**	**Statistical Significance**	**Table**
Grammatical Form	Non-finite clause	27.4	16.4	*	9.4
	Noun Phrase	14.8	19.3	*	
Syntactic Function	Tail	34.2	18.3	*	9.5
Transitivity	Place	12.1	21.4	**	9.6

*= $p<0.05$, ** =$p<0.01$

In the translations into Swedish, Non-finite clause and Tail N-Rhemes have been restructured to a significantly greater extent, whereas Noun Phrase and Place N-Rhemes have been restructured to a greater extent in the translations into English.

9.3 Interpretation of the results

The results in this chapter have shown that Restructuring is a frequent translation strategy in both translation directions and text types. However, the N-Rhemes involved in Restructuring are somewhat different in the two translation directions and so are the strategies involved. First, the results in chapter 6 show that Non-finite clause N-Rhemes have a significantly lower translation correspondence in the translations into Swedish (see table 6.1). The results in this chapter show that this low translation correspondence is related to many of the Non-finite clause N-Rhemes being restructured in the translation, 27.4%. Furthermore, the results in chapter 4 (see table 4.1) show that Non-finite clause N-Rhemes are comparatively less frequent in the Swedish original texts. So, to change a Non-finite clause N-

[198] In table 9.11, only the two translation directions have been included. In addition, the comparison of the translation directions within the two text types revealed two more differences which only occurred in the Popular Science texts: a higher percentage of restructured Direct Object N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish, 19.9% vs. 12.7% ($p<0.05$) and a higher percentage of restructured Phenomenon N-Rhemes in the translations into English, 40.0% vs. 0% ($p<0.05$)

Rheme in translations into Swedish indicates target language normalisation. Typically, the restructuring of a Non-finite clause in translations into Swedish results in a T-unit split (see section 9.1.1.1). There is a change from hypotaxis to parataxis, and the two T-units in the translation are typically coordinated by *and*, as in (52):

(53a) Gun tanks and specialized armor for mine-clearing, bridging and strongpoint demolition lumbered alongside the infantry, **mopping up pockets of resistance**. (MH1:113)	(53b) Kanonvagnar och pansarvagnar med minröjning, brobygge och värnförstöring som specialuppgift dundrade fram **sida vid sida med infanteristerna** (53c) och städade upp **i motståndsfickorna** (MH1:113t) '*and [they] cleaned up* ***in the pockets of resistance***.'

When the Non-finite clause N-Rheme is an *ing*-clause, as in (53) above, a translation change is required as there is no equivalent to the –*ing* clause in Swedish. In other cases, the translation change is more optional and caused by a wish to normalize the sentence structure and information density in the Swedish text (54):

(54a) Others drifted onto the beaches on fire or crewless, **to burn all day at the waterline**. (MH1:107)	(54b) Andra drev brinnande eller utan besättning **in mot stränderna** *'Others drifted burning or crewless* ***onto the beaches***' (54c) och låg och brann i vattenlinjen **hela dagen.** (MH1:107t) *'and [they] lay and burned at the waterline* ***all day***.'

In addition, the translation correspondence was also lower for Tail N-Rhemes in the translations into Swedish compared to the translations into English, though the difference was not statistically significant (see table 6.2). However, Tail N-Rhemes were shown to be significantly less frequent in the Swedish original texts compared to the English originals (see table 4.2). Some of the Tail N-Rhemes are realized as Non-finite clauses (particularly *ing*-clauses), but some are also heavy or complex NPs, sometimes nominalizations. In the translations into Swedish, these NPs are typically split from the original T-unit and rephrased into a more explicit, less informationally dense separate T-unit, often realised as a separate sentence:

(55a) The myth also expressed their conviction that Babylon was a sacred place, the centre of the world and the home of the gods - **a notion that was crucial in almost all the religious systems of antiquity.** (KAR1:174)	(55b) Myten uttryckte också **förvissningen att Babylon var en helig plats, nämligen världens hjärta och gudarnas hemvist**. (55c) Detta var en grundtanke **i snart sagt alla forntidens religiösa system**. (KAR1:174t) '*This was a fundamental notion* ***in almost all the religious systems of antiquity***.'

In contrast, Restructuring of NP N-Rhemes were shown to be comparatively more common in the translations into English, 19.3% vs. 14.8%. The results in chapter 6, showed a comparatively lower translation correspondence for NP N-Rhemes in the translations into English (see table 6.1). Consequently, this is a result of many NP N-Rhemes being Restructured in the translations into English. NP N-Rhemes were also shown to be less frequent in the English original texts compared to the Swedish original texts (see table 4.1). So, the restructuring of NP N-Rhemes in translations into English seems to indicate target language normalisation. A typical example which involves the restructuring of a Swedish NP N-Rheme in the translation into English is illustrated in (56).

(56a) Vid den här tiden var större delen av befolkningen i Sverige **germaner** (56b) och de talade **ett språk som så småningom ska bli svenska**. (HL1:23-4) '*and they spoke* ***a language which eventually would be Swedish***.'	(56c) At that time most of the inhabitants of Sweden were Germanic, **speaking a language which would one day become Swedish**. (HL1:23t)

In this example, two T-units with NP N-Rhemes in the Swedish original text have been translated into one T-unit with a Non-finite clause Tail N-Rheme in English. This is a reversed translation process to the one illustrated in (53) above. Thus, there is a T-unit merge and a change from parataxis to hypotaxis, which results in a less explicit, informationally denser T-unit. The strategy has been used to normalize sentence structure and information density in the English text.

In addition, Place N-Rhemes were also restructured to a greater extent in the English translations, 21.4% vs. 12.1%. The results in chapter 6 showed that Place N-Rhemes had a lower translation correspondence in the translations into English, particularly in the Popular Science texts (see Appendix, table 6.5). Furthermore, the English original texts were shown to have significantly fewer Place N-Rhemes

compared to the Swedish original texts (see table 4.4). The most typical strategy involved in the Restructuring of Place N-Rhemes is to merge the T-units as in (57).[199]

56a) En gång såg jag **en sådan hund**. 56b) Det var **uppåt vattentornet utanför kliniken där de gör experiment**. (AP1:298-9) '*It was* ***up by the water-tower outside the clinic where they do experiments***.'	56c) I once saw a dog like that, **up by the water-tower outside the clinic where they do experiments**. (AP1:298t)

In (57b) the second of the original T-units is Relational, containing an informationally light pronoun + a copula verb *Det var/It was*. In the translation (57c), the pronoun and the verb have been removed and the remains of the second T-unit, which is also the N-Rheme of the original T-unit becomes the N-Rheme. (58) is slightly different as the Place N-Rheme occurs in the first T-unit (58a):

(58a) och jag stirrade **in i hennes bleka ansikte** (58b) och väntade på **att hon skulle säga något mer.** (AP1: 45-6) '*and [I] waited for* ***that she should say something more***.'	(58c) and I stared into her pale face, **waiting for her to say something more** (AP1: 45t)

In the translation, the second T-unit (58b) has been turned into a Non-finite Tail N-Rheme. As the two T-units have been merged, the Circumstance Place which functioned as N-Rheme in (58a) gets a position in the midfield of the T-unit. In this example, a translation change is required as (58b) contains a preposition + *that*-clause *väntade på att hon skulle säga något mer/waited for that she should say something more*. The choice to merge the T-units is, however, completely optional. Finally, Restructuring on the level of the T-unit is also frequent in the translation of T-units with a Place N-Rheme in the Swedish original, as is illustrated in (59).[200]

[199] 39/77 of the restructured Place N-Rhemes in the translations into English result in a T-unit merge.
[200] 33/77 of the restructured Place N-Rhemes in the translations into English have been restructured on the level of the T-unit

(59a) Återuppbyggnad och manövrerande i det nya politiska läget i Mellanöstern kommer att ta stort utrymme **i de rika industriländerna.** (CO1:44) '*[…] will get much attention* ***in the rich industrial countries***.'	(59b) Reconstruction and maneuvering in the new political situation in the Middle East will occupy **a considerable amount of the rich nations' attention** (CO1:44t)

The division of the material into Fiction and Popular Science revealed a higher percentage of restructured Direct Object N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts translated into English, 19.9% vs. 12.7% (see table 9.9). This is consistent with the low translation correspondence of Direct Object N-Rhemes in the Popular Science texts translated into English (see table 6.6). These Direct Object N-Rhemes typically result in T-unit merges, as in (60) or are restructured on the level of the T-unit, as in (61):[201]

(60a) Begreppet 'politisk kultur' som det en gång lanserades av Almond & verba, innebar ursprungligen **att man mätte medborgares attityder till ett politiskt system** *'[…] meant originally* ***that one measured the citizens' attitudes to a political system'*** (60b) man höll sig alltså **inom samhällsmodell 2B ovan** (HG1:138-9) '*one kept oneself thereby* ***within the societal model 2B above***'	(60c) The concept of 'political culture' as once coined by Almond and Verba, originally meant measuring the citizens' attitudes to a political system - **thus keeping within the societal model shown in Figure 2B (HG1:138t)**
(61a) Mekaniseringen av tillverknings-processerna inom industrin, utvecklingen inom kommunikationsområdet och behovet av nya jordbruksredskap medförde **att verkstadsindustrin under 1870-talets fem första år nästan trefaldigade pro-duktionsvärdet** (TR1:38)	(61b) Mechanisation of production processes in industry, developments in the communications field and the need for new farm equipment prompted a virtual tripling in the value of mechanical engineering production **during the first half of the decade**, (TR1:38t)

[201] 17/44 of the restructured Direct Object N-Rhemes have been restructured on the level of the T-unit and 23/44 have been involved in a T-unit merge.

'*[…]* ***that the mechanical engineering industry during the first five years of the 1870's nearly tripled their production***'	

In (60) two T-units with a Direct Object N-Rheme (60a) and a Place N-Rheme (60b) in the Swedish original have been merged into a T-unit with a Non-finite *ing*-clause N-Rheme in the English translation (60c). In (61) part of the original, quite heavy, N-Rheme has been lifted out, rephrased, and turned into a temporal phrasal N-Rheme *during the first half of the decade*.

Finally, the high proportion of restructured VP N-Rhemes in both translation directions is worth some attention. As the results in chapter 6 showed, VPs had a low translation correspondence in both translation directions. In this chapter, it was shown that many of these VP N-Rhemes have been Restructured in the translation process. In both translation directions, the T-units with VP N-Rhemes have primarily been restructured on the level of the T-unit. In the translations into English, some of these are the result of a syntactic translation strategy, as in (62) where the split VP N-Rheme in the original requires a translation change:

(62a) och hon **såg** frånvarande **ut** (KE1:156)	(62b) and the look on her face was **absent** (KE1: 156t)

However, typically, a pragmatic translation strategy has been used, and a constituent has been added in the translation. In (63b) and (64b) a Place N-Rheme has been added, whereas (65b) illustrates the typical addition of *det/it* in the Swedish translation.

(63a) Det första kapellet **byggdes** (HL1:55) *'The first chapel* ***was built***'	(63b) and the first Christian church or chapel was built **at Birka** (HL1:55t)
(64a) but they **stand out** (MA1:55)	(64b) men de syns **på långt håll** (MA1:55t) '*but they can be seen* ***from afar***'
(65a) How **did** I find **out**? (NG1:1)	(65b) Hur fick jag reda på **det**? (NG1:1t) *'How did I find out* ***it***'

9.4 Summary

Restructuring can primarily be seen as a syntactic translation strategy as the translation results in a different sentence structure. The analysis of the translations reveals three types of syntactic Restructuring: Restructuring on the level of the T-unit, T-unit splits and T-unit merges. T-unit splits are more frequent in the translations into Swedish, whereas T-unit merges are more frequent in the translations into English. As illustrated in table 9.3 above, there is a difference in sentence length between the two languages. The English original texts have more words per T-unit than the Swedish original texts, 11.6 vs. 9.1 in the Fiction texts and 17.6 vs. 15.2 in the Popular Science texts. In the translations into English, the number of words per T-unit have been increased, partly by merging T-units together, whereas they have decreased in the Swedish translations, by splitting up the original T-unit into more T-units. English seems to prefer hypotaxis in some structures where Swedish uses parataxis and vice versa. This is an indication of target language normalisation in both translation directions.

The splits and merges can typically be seen as a result of the interplay between syntactic and pragmatic translation strategies. The translation changes are frequently syntactically triggered by language differences such as the V2-constraint or fronting of Objects in Swedish, or the use of participle clauses or initial multiple Circumstances in English. This results in a different sentence structure, and consequently there is a different realization of the information in the translation compared to the original text. However, in many cases, the reorganization of the information unit is an option used by the translator to normalize the sentence structure. Either, as is typically the case in the Swedish translations, the information density is decreased as phrases, or hypotactic clauses are presented as a separate T-units, or the translation becomes informationally denser as T-units are merged, presenting heavier information in the N-Rheme, as is typically the case in the English translations. To a large extent, the T-unit splits in the translations into Swedish and the T-unit merges in the translations into English mirror each other. To restructure the T-unit or not could be seen as equivalent to the question of domesticating vs. foreignizing the text on the level of sentence structure (rather than word order), i.e. to become denser in the English translations and more elaborate in the Swedish translations. This rearrangement of the constituents in, or beyond, the T-unit typically indicates that a mix of strategies has been used.

Coming to the end of the results, it is clear that nearly all strategies work together to domesticate the text, on the word order level, the semantic level of wording, the sentence structure level, and possibly also information structure level. This will be discussed more in the next, final section of the thesis.

10 Summary and concluding remarks

The aim of the present study is to describe the N-Rheme in English and Swedish Fiction and Popular Science texts, as well as to examine translation correspondences, and lack of correspondences between English and Swedish N-Rhemes. Previous work on textual structure from an English-Swedish contrastive perspective has primarily focused on Themes and sentence openings. Therefore, the present study sets out to examine textual structure from 'the other side', with the N-Rheme as the focus of attention. In this analysis contrastive analysis and translation theory have been integrated in order to get a wider picture of the textual structure of English and Swedish original language, as well as the effect of contrastive differences and translation-related phenomena on the textual structure of translated texts. More specifically, the following questions have been asked:

- ✓ What are the typical formal, syntactic and semantic properties of N-Rhemes in original English and Swedish texts? Do they differ in Fiction and Popular Science texts?

- ✓ How have N-Rhemes been translated? To what extent is there correspondence between N-Rhemes in English and Swedish? What changes have been made? What translation strategies have been involved?

First, the main findings regarding the characteristics of N-Rhemes in English and Swedish original texts will be summarised. Then, the main results of the analysis of the translation correspondences will be presented. Finally, the thesis concludes with some suggestions for future research.

10.1 Summary

The formal, syntactic and semantic analysis of the N-Rhemes shows that N-Rhemes to a large extent are very similar in the two languages. Typically, the N-Rheme is an NP or PP which functions syntactically as an Adverbial or Direct Object. In terms of transitivity, Participants and Circumstances are almost equally frequent; when the N-Rheme is a Participant, it is typically an Attribute or a Goal, and when it is a Circumstance, a Place in Swedish, and a Place or Manner in English.

Some significant differences between the two languages have been found. First, the English texts have a higher percentage of Non-finite clause N-Rhemes in both text types. Contingency and Verbal N-Rhemes are also more frequent in English, but only in the Fiction texts, whereas AdjP and Projection N-Rhemes are more

frequent in the Popular Science texts. In contrast, the Swedish texts have a higher percentage of Adverb Phrase, Subject and Actor N-Rhemes in both text types. Participant and Place N-Rhemes are also more frequent in Swedish, but only in the Fiction texts.

Some of these differences were expected as they relate to word order differences between the two languages, e.g. the V2-constraint in Swedish, the position of the Subject in English, Adverbial placement and the order of Verb and Subject in reported speech. However, in many cases word order is not the only explanation to why there is a difference. Frequently, there is interplay between word order and information structure that affects what is placed as N-Rheme. One example is the use of initial Adverbials/Circumstances in Swedish Popular Science texts used to create a backward link to the preceding context. This results in more Subject N-Rhemes due to the V2-constraint, whereas the same strategy in the English Popular Science texts results in the unmarked word order with a Subject followed by a Direct Objects or a Subject Complement as N-Rhemes. Thus the V2 word order together with a more backwards-oriented information structure seem to result in more Swedish Subject N-Rhemes, Possibly, the principle of end-weight is also involved as these Subjects are frequently quite heavy.

Another interesting finding illustrating how information is structured differently in the two languages concerns the different functions of Tail N-Rhemes in the two languages. In Swedish, Tail N-Rhemes are to a large extent related to an NP/Subject Theme; they are frequently Substitute Themes (Matthiessen 1995:563), enabling the presentation of a participant both as Theme (light, ensuring topic continuity) and as focus at the end of the clause. In English, the Tail N-Rheme is to a greater extent oriented to the Process, frequently realised as Non-Finite *–ing* clauses used for syntactic compression and/or to emphasise the simultaneity of the actions presented in the Tail and the preceding main clause. As there is no clear equivalent to the *ing*-clause in Swedish, the functions performed by the *–ing* clause must be fulfilled by other grammatical categories in the Swedish texts.

A factor that could affect the results is the actual selection of the texts. Although the selection of the texts is based on similarity, the specific styles of the authors or the actual topics of the texts could of course, at least to some extent, influence what is placed as N-Rheme. This might partly explain the greater extent of Place N-Rhemes in the Swedish Fiction texts and the greater extent of Contingency N-Rhemes in the English texts. As Fries (1994:234) has highlighted, the content of the N-Rhemes correlates with the goals of the text, which means that the N-Rhemes reflect differences in the concerns of the texts and the text types. Possibly, the higher proportion of Contingency N-Rhemes in English indicates that the goals of the English texts tend to be more oriented towards reasons and causes, whereas the Swedish texts might be more place-oriented,

The analysis of the translation correspondences: *Full Match, Reformulation, Movement* and *Restructuring* shows that N-Rhemes are more frequently Full Match in the translations into Swedish, 50.6%, compared to the translations into English, 44.3%. Consequently, more translation changes occur in the English translations.

Reformulation is the most frequent translation change, 24.0%, followed by *Restructuring*, 18.1%. Both Reformulation, 25.2% vs. 22.4%, and Restructuring, 19.5% vs. 16.4%, are more frequent in the translations into English. The difference in translation correspondence is most significant in the Popular Science texts. Furthermore, the text type comparison shows that Reformulation is significantly more frequent in the Popular Science texts, 27.8% compared to 21.5% in the Fiction texts. Restructuring is also more common in the Popular Science texts, whereas Movement occurs similarly frequently in both translation directions and both text types. The greater extent of Reformulation and Restructuring in the Popular Science texts is partly an effect of the high complexity and weight of the N-Rhemes.

Overall, high translation correspondence was found in the translation of the unmarked N-Rhemes, e.g. PP, Adverbial, Attribute and Place N-Rhemes in both translation directions, and NP, Direct Object and Participant (Goal) N-Rhemes in the translations into English. The low translation correspondence in the translation of NP, Direct Object and Participant (Goal) N-Rhemes in the translations into English, were to some extent related to the function of the NPs (Subjects) and the form of the Direct Objects (heavy, complex clauses).

The analysis of the translations from the point of view of Chesterman's syntactic, semantic and pragmatic translation strategies showed that the syntactic and the pragmatic strategies and the interplay between them were most important to explain the translation changes. The results in chapter 7-9 highlighted a number of syntactic constraints that could be seen as operating on a cline, from absolute servitudes, via in-between cases to completely optional translation changes. Most importantly, the constraints are:

- The V2-constraint in Swedish
- The SV constraint in English
- The higher tolerance towards fronted elements in Swedish
- The different preferences regarding Adverbial placement in the two languages
- The lack of a clear equivalent to the Non-finite *ing*-clause in Swedish
- The use of preposition + *that*-clause in Swedish, which is not possible in English
- The different word order for main verb + particle + object in phrasal verb constructions in the two languages

These syntactic constraints resulted in unit shifts and function shifts (Reformulations) clause structure changes (Movement and Restructuring) and T-unit merges and T-unit splits (Restructuring) in the translation of N-Rhemes.

The pragmatic strategies involved in the translation process are partly related to the specific language pair, English – Swedish, and partly to the translation process itself. The most typical pragmatic constraints related to the language pair concern information density. A translation change affecting the information density of the

text is caused by a rank shift, e.g. phrase to clause, hypotactic to paratactic or vice versa, i.e. what is discussed as unit shifts in chapter 7 and T-unit merges and splits in chapter 9. The results show that English and Swedish clearly have different clause structure preferences, where English T-units are comparatively denser than the Swedish T-units. English favours hypotactic structures where Swedish has paratactic structures, and this is also reflected in the translations. In the translations into Swedish, clauses are frequently split, resulting in T-units which are informationally less dense, whereas in the translations into English, clauses are merged, resulting in informationally denser clauses. Furthermore, the great extent of Swedish clausal N-Rhemes being translated into nominal N-Rhemes in English also reflects the difference in information density between the two languages. When information density is increased or decreased, either by splits or merges, or by rank shifts, this frequently results in explicitness changes.

Explicitness changes were shown to be highly frequent in both translation directions and both text types. To a large extent, they are triggered by lack of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic equivalence between the languages, but to some extent they could be seen as related to the translation process itself. A typical example of obligatory explicitation is the translation of English Non-Finite constructions into more explicit finite constructions in Swedish. These translations are more explicit by necessity and related to this specific translation pair. In contrast, pragmatic explicitation in the form of cultural filtering could be seen as more optional based and related to translation norms such as the choice between domesticating or foreignizing the text. To some extent, the high frequency of explicitation in the translation of N-Rhemes could also be seen as related to the characteristics of the N-Rheme, i.e. a constituent presented as newsworthy. In the process of transferring information from one language to another, it seems highly important to make sure that the newsworthy information is emphasised, and consequently pragmatic explicitation strategies are used.

The results showed that many of the translation changes could be related to the character of the N-Rheme. N-Rhemes tend to be longer and more complex compared to Themes. The longer the N-Rheme, the more information that potentially could be subject to change in the translation. The great number of Reformulations and Restructuring reflects how translation changes occur with a purpose to ascertain that the goals of the texts are preserved, and even made clearer in the translation. As Popular Science texts are highly loaded with information, these translation changes are particularly frequent there.

Typically, one could say that a majority of the translation changes occur out of a need to normalise the text, either because of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic constraints, or according to favoured target language norms, which are more or less optional. Frequently, the decision to conform to the norm or to use a more marked structure in the translation is often affected by motivations which are generally seen as related to the translation process, or to the characteristics of the N-Rheme. Consequently, a combination of contrastive linguistic explanation and translation

theory is needed to fully understand the process of translating N-Rhemes in English and Swedish.

10.2 Future research

One area that has not received much attention in the present study is the comparison of original text with translated text. To what extent are the N-Rhemes in the translated texts affected by what is usually referred to as *translationese* or *Source Language* shining through? In particular, occurrences of SL shining through in the N-Rhemes translated as Full Match would be interesting, as they might give indications of when the information structure has been given priority over the syntactic structure in the translation process.

At an early stage of this project, I set out to compare N-Rhemes in a wider range of text-types, as well as rhematic development and patterning in the different text types. Both these areas would benefit from more research. First, it would be interesting to compare the characteristics of N-Rhemes in different text types in the two languages. It would also be relevant to analyse how the textual structure in more restrictive texts, such as law-texts where the provision of information is crucial, is affected by the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic constraints of the two languages. Second, studies of Theme/Rheme patterns in translated texts could provide insights into the effects of translation changes on the textual structure of the translated texts. To what extent does the translation changes affect the interpretation and understanding of the message of the text? Furthermore, a comparison of Theme/Rheme patterns in native speakers' and Swedish learners' texts would give more insights into how learners master the textual development in English. In relation to this, it would also be interesting to examine the use of hypotaxis/parataxis and nominal/clausal stuctures in learners' English as an overuse of paratactic structures in English texts written by Swedish learners would affect the textual structure of the text and make it less native-like.

Finally, the present study has only examined translations from the point of view of what is visible in the translation product, in the text. It would be highly interesting to examine how translators reason about textual structure and information structure in the translation process. A study using think-aloud protocols could reveal how translators reason when there is a conflict between the syntactic structure and the information structure in the translation process.

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Appendix

Table 4.1 Grammatical forms of N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop.S		Fiction	Pop.sc	
Finite Clause	121	103	224	174	102	276
Non-finite Clause	91	66	157	56	54	110
Adjectival Phrase	65	61	126	112	27	139
Prep. Phrase	281	240	521	405	300	705
Noun Phrase	332	268	600	426	319	745
Adverbial Phrase	77	16	93	157	56	213
Verbal Phrase	121	21	142	127	47	174
Minor clause	78	6	84	79	24	102
Total	1166	781	1947	1536	929	2465

4.2 Syntactic functions of N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop.S		Fiction	Pop.sc	
Direct Object	253	221	474	334	241	575
Tail	73	44	117	57	36	93
Subject C	136	142	278	211	127	338
Adverbial	413	288	701	580	339	919
Object C	14	14	28	8	7	15
Subject	50	37	87	105	98	203
Verb	120	21	141	126	47	173
Indirect Object	8	6	14	16	7	23
Others	21	2	23	20	3	23
Minor	78	6	84	79	24	102
Total	1166	781	1947	1536	929	2465

Table 4.3 The Transitivity of N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English (EO)		Swedish (SO)		Statistical
	n	%	n	%	significance
Participant	776	39.9	1077	43.7	*
Circumstance	689	35.4	898	36.4	n.s
Process	143	7.3	173	7.0	n.s
Projection	116	6.0	96	3.9	***
Unclassified	223	11.5	220	8.9	**
Total	1947	100	2465	100	

* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$

Table 4.4 Participant N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop. Sc.		Fiction	Pop. Sc.	
Actor	4	16	20	36	43	79
Phenomenon	40	12	52	73	15	88
Carrier	7	13	20	24	30	54
Goal	115	111	226	146	145	291
Attribute	128	114	242	195	96	291
Value	57	75	132	50	94	144
Token	9	5	14	17	17	34
Existent	17	11	28	17	7	24
Sayer	13	3	16	15	1	16
Senser	3	-	3	7	-	7
Receiver	7	2	9	8	-	8
Verbiage	5	3	8	17	7	24
Beneficiary	-	6	6	7	7	14
Behaver	-	-	-	3	-	3
Total	405	371	776	615	462	1077

Table 4.5 Circumstance N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop. Sc.		Fiction	Pop. Sc.	
Contingency	74	59	134	66	44	110
Accompaniment	23	7	30	23	16	39
Manner	97	75	172	97	83	180
Matter	10	9	19	5	7	12
Time	73	44	117	113	68	181
Place	125	74	199	268	92	360
Angle	6	6	12	1	10	11
Role	2	4	6	3	2	5
Total	411	278	689	576	322	898

Table 4.6 Process N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (ST)

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop. Sc.		Fiction	Pop. Sc.	
Material	44	15	59	65	38	103
Mental	17	1	18	9	3	12
Relational	3	4	7	12	3	15
Verbal	45	1	46	17	1	18
Behavioural	12	1	13	23	1	24
Existential	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	121	22	143	126	47	173

Table 4.7 Participant N-Rhemes in English (EO) and Swedish (SO)

	English		Swedish		Statistical
	n	%	n	%	Significance
Attribute	242	31.2	291	27.0	n.s
Goal	226	29.1	291	27.0	n.s
Value	132	17.0	144	13.4	*
Phenomenon	52	6.7	88	8.2	n.s
Existent	28	3.6	24	2.2	n.s
Actor	20	2.6	79	7.3	***
Carrier	20	2.6	54	5.0	*
Sayer	16	2.1	16	1.5	n.s
Token	14	1.8	34	3.2	n.s
Others	26	3.4	56	5.2	n.s
Total	776	100	1077	100	n.s

* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$, *** = $p < 0.001$

6.1 Full Match of Circumstance N-Rhemes

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	S → E	Significance	E → S	S → E	Significance
Accompaniment	73.9	69.6	n.s	42.9	43.8	n.s
Place	65.6	56.7	n.s	66.2	46.7	*
Time	58.9	54.9	n.s	47.7	55.9	n.s
Manner	57.7	44.3	n.s	56.0	45.8	n.s
Contingency	40.0	47.0	n.s	44.1	36.4	n.s

* = $p < 0.05$

6.2 Full Match of Process N-Rhemes (%)

	Fiction		S.S	Pop. Sc.		S.s
	E → S	S → E		E → S	S → E	
Material	54.6	38.5	n.s	46.7	55.3	n.s
Mental	41.2	33.3	n.s	100	33.3	n.s
Relational	33.3	16.7	n.s	-	33.3	n.s
Verbal	33.3	64.7	n.s	100	-	n.s
Behavioural	50.0	43.5	n.s	100	-	n.s
Existential	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	43.8	40.5	n.s	54.5	48.9	

6.3 Full Match of Participant N-Rhemes (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E→ S	S → E	Significance	E → S	S → E	Significance
Sayer	100	13.3	***	100	-	n.s
Actor	75.0	22.2	n.s	31.3	32.6	n.s
Token	66.7	70.6	n.s	40.0	35.3	n.s
Existent	58.8	64.7	n.s	54.5	71.4	n.s
Phenomenon	57.5	57.5	n.s	41.7	14.3	n.s
Carrier	56.1	36.0	n.s	53.9	26.7	n.s
Value	56.4	38.0	n.s	48.0	34.0	n.s
Goal	55.7	43.8	n.s	47.8	35.2	n.s
Attribute	54.7	54.4	n.s	56.1	49.0	n.s

*** $p<0.001$

Table 7.1 Reformulation of Process N-Rhemes

	English			Swedish		
	Fiction	Pop. Sc.	Total	Fiction	Pop. Sc.	Total
Material	3	1	4	14	4	18
Mental	-	-	-	1	-	1
Relational	1	-	1	-	-	-
Verbal	2	-	2	1	1	2
Behavioural	-	-	-	3	.	3
Existential	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6	1	7	19	5	24

Table 7.2 Reformulation and grammatical forms

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop.S		Fiction	Pop.sc	
Finite Clause	41	34	75	73	47	120
Non-finite Clause	40	16	56	15	21	36
Adjectival Phrase	21	12	33	20	8	28
Prep. Phrase	53	48	101	96	84	180
Noun Phrase	72	79	151	90	94	184
Adverbial Phrase	9	4	13	28	22	50
Verbal Phrase	6	1	7	18	5	23
Total	242	194	436	340	281	621

Table 7.3 Reformulation and Syntactic functions

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop.Sc.		Fiction	Pop.Sc.	
Direct Object	78	71	149	105	89	194
Tail	23	12	35	18	11	29
Subject C	32	35	67	45	45	90
Adverbial	93	57	150	133	96	229
Object C	3	4	7	3	1	4
Subject	5	12	17	15	31	46
Verb	6	1	7	19	5	24
Indirect Object	-	2	2	1	3	4
Others	2	-	2	1	-	1
Total	242	194	436	340	281	621

Table 7.4 Reformulation of Participant N-Rhemes in both text types (%)

	Fiction		S.s.	Popular Science		S.s.
	E → S	S → E		E → S	S → E	
Verbiage	40.0	41.2	n.s.	-	71.4	n.s
Phenomenon	30.0	34.3	n.s.	50.0	40.0	n.s
Carrier	28.6	20.8	n.s.	30.8	43.3	n.s
Attribute	27.3	23.1	n.s.	24.6	30.2	n.s
Goal	26.1	24.7	n.s.	31.5	33.8	n.s
Actor	25.0	8.3	n.s.	50.0	18.6	*
Value	17.5	30.0	n.s.	30.7	36.2	n.s
Existent	11.8	11.8	n.s.	18.2	28.6	n.s
Token	11.1	5.9	n.s.	40.0	35.3	n.s
Sayer	-	6.7	n.s.	-	-	n.s
Others	-	8.0	n.s.	25.0	42.9	n.s

Table 7.5 Reformulated Circumstance N-Rhemes

	English		Total	Swedish		Total
	Fiction	Pop. Sc.		Fiction	Pop. Sc.	
Contingency	31	16	47	19	18	37
Accompaniment	4	3	7	4	7	11
Manner	18	14	32	31	28	59
Matter	3	1	4	1	3	4
Time	16	6	22	24	16	40
Place	19	11	30	52	21	73
Angle	1	1	2	-	-	-
Role	-	-	-	1	-	1
Total	92	52	144	132	93	225

Table 8.1 Movement of Process N-Rhemes

	English-Swedish			Swedish-English			Statistical
	Moved	total	%	Moved	total	%	Significance
Verbal	22	46	47.8	2	18	11.1	*
Relational	3	7	42.9	4	15	26.7	n.s
Behavioural	3	13	23.1	2	24	8.3	n.s
Mental	3	18	16.7	2	12	16.7	n.s
Material	9	59	15.3	10	103	9.7	n.s

*= $p<0.05$

Table 8.2 Movement of Circumstance N-Rhemes

	English-Swedish			Swedish-English			Statistical
	Moved	total	%	Moved	total	%	Significance
Time	14	117	12.0	15	181	8.3	n.s
Place	18	199	7.0	14	360	3.9	n.s
Manner	14	172	6.4	7	180	3.9	n.s
Contingency	6	134	4.5	3	110	2.7	n.s
Accompaniment	-	30	-	1	39	2.6	n.s

Table 8.3 Movement of Participant N-Rhemes in both text types (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	S → E	Significance	E → S	S → E	Significance
Sayer	-	80.0	***	-	-	n.s
Actor	-	41.7	n.s	-	23.2	n.s
Token	-	17.7	n.s	-	17.7	n.s
Carrier	-	12.5	n.s	-	6.7	n.s
Goal	4.3	12.3	*	4.5	9.7	n.s
Verbiage	-	5.9	n.s	-	-	n.s
Existent	-	5.9	n.s	-	-	n.s
Attribute	3.9	2.6	n.s	2.6	6.3	n.s
Value	1.8	2.0	n.s	-	5.3	n.s
Phenomenon	2.5	-	n.s	8.3	6.7	n.s

Table 8.4 Movement of Process N-Rhemes in both text types (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	S → E	Significance	E → S	S → E	Significance
Verbal	48.9	11.8	*	-	-	-
Mental	17.7	22.2	n.s	-	-	n.s
Material	13.6	13.9	n.s	20.0	2.6	n.s
Behavioural	25.0	8.7	n.s	-	-	-

*= $p<0.05$

Table 9.1 Restructuring and Transitivity

	English → Swedish			Swedish → English			Statistical
	Restr.	Total	%	Restr.	Total	%	significance
Process	33	143	23.1	54	173	31.2	n.s
Participant	125	776	16.1	211	1077	19.6	n.s
Circumstance	107	689	15.5	164	898	18.3	n.s
Projection	11	116	9.5	12	96	12.5	n.s

Table 9.2 Restructuring of Process N-Rhemes

	English-Swedish			Swedish-English			Statistical
	Restr.	total	%	Restr.	total	%	Significance
Mental	7	18	38.9	5	12	41.7	n.s
Relational	2	7	28.6	8	15	53.3	n.s
Material	15	59	25.4	29	103	28.2	n.s
Behavioural	3	13	23.1	9	24	37.5	n.s
Verbal	6	46	13.0	3	18	16.7	n.s

Table 9.3 Restructuring of Participant N-Rhemes

	English -Swedish			Swedish-English			Statistical
	Restr.	total	%	Restr.	total	%	Significance
Existent	8	28	28.6	3	24	12.5	n.s
Value	30	132	22.7	39	144	27.1	n.s
Token	3	14	21.4	3	34	8.8	n.s
Attribute	37	242	15.3	53	291	18.2	n.s
Actor	3	20	15.0	22	79	27.9	n.s
Carrier	3	20	15.0	12	54	22.2	n.s
Goal	34	226	15.0	59	291	20.3	n.s
Phenomenon	4	52	7.7	12	88	13.6	n.s
Sayer	-	16	-	1	16	6.3	n.s
Verbiage	-8		-	1	24	4.2	n.s

Table 9.4 Restructuring of Participant N-Rhemes (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E→ S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Existent	29.4	17.7	n.s	27.3	-	n.s
Value	24.6	32.0	n.s	21.3	24.5	n.s
Token	21.3	24.5	n.s	20.0	11.8	n.s
Carrier	14.3	20.8	n.s	15.4	23.3	n.s
Attribute	14.1	20.0	n.s	16.7	14.6	n.s
Goal	13.9	19.2	n.s	16.2	21.4	n.s
Phenomenon	10.0	8.2	n.s	-	40.0	*
Actor	-	27.8	n.s	18.8	25.6	n.s
Sayer	-	6.7	n.s	-	-	n.s
Verbiage	-	5.9	n.s	-	-	n.s

*=$p<0.05$

Table 9.5 Restructuring of Circumstance N-Rhemes (%)

	Fiction		Statistical	Popular Science		Statistical
	E → S	**S → E**	**Significance**	**E → S**	**S → E**	**Significance**
Matter	20.0	20.0	n.s	33.3	-	n.s
Manner	16.5	20.6	n.s	18.7	15.7	n.s
Contingency	16.0	18.2	n.s	22.0	22.7	n.s
Time	12.3	12.4	n.s	18.2	17.7	n.s
Place	10.4	19.8	*	14.9	26.1	n.s
Accompaniment	8.7	8.7	n.s	14.3	12.5	n.s