A corpus-based contrastive study of the passive and related constructions in English and Swedish

A corpus-based contrastive study of the passive and related constructions in English and Swedish

Anna-Lena Fredriksson



Doctoral dissertation in English linguistics, University of Gothenburg

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Abstract

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The present study investigates the passive and related constructions in English and Swedish. It is a bi-directional study that uses empirical fiction and non-fiction material in the form of original texts and their translations from the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus. Using a contrastive research methodology, the aims are to characterise the passive and its use, and to chart the relationships between the passive and related constructions in a network.

The first part of the investigation is based on original texts and shows that the passive is used with varying frequencies in English and Swedish in the text types investigated. It is most frequent in Swedish non-fiction data, followed by English non-fiction, English fiction and, lastly, least frequent in Swedish fiction. The *be*-passive and the *s*-passive are the dominant and unmarked forms, whilst the *get*-passive, the *bli*-passive and the *vara*-passive display marginal use.

In the second part, the contrastive analysis focuses on non-congruent translation correspondences, i.e. those that were translated into a non-passive construction. The results show intricate cross-linguistic relationships, where semantic properties such as animacy, participant role, and degree of agentivity and transitivity are central features. The linear organisation of information in terms of theme-rheme structure was found to be a determining factor and is extensively discussed. The networks display a wide variety of clause-structural changes along with changes in lexis. Some strategies, such as the Intransitive construction and the Noun construction, turn out to be strong in both languages, whereas other strategies play a more marginal role. Several strategies are characterised by reduction in transitivity in comparison with the passive, which raises questions about the nature of the passive and about the way it is used in the languages. Another main finding is the overall tendency to retain the thematic structure of the source text in translation, which suggests that textual concerns commonly override syntactic ones when they do not correlate.

KEY WORDS: passive construction, active, middle, intransitive, contrastive study, cross-linguistic study, corpus-based, parallel corpus, translation, Swedish, English, network, transitivity, animacy, participant role, agent, patient, fiction, non-fiction, theme-rheme.

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Abbreviations and symbols

[+Ag] agentful passive [-Ag] agentless passive

EnOF English original fiction text
EnONF English original non-fiction text
ESPC English-Swedish Parallel Corpus

EnT English translation
f. raw frequency
NP noun phrase
PoS part of speech
PP prepositional phrase

Rh rheme

SwOF Swedish original fiction text
SwONF Swedish original non-fiction text

-S added to verb form in gloss/literal translation to show s-

passive

Smid added to verb form in gloss/literal translation to show s-

form middle construction

SwT Swedish translation

Th theme VP verb phrase

~ corresponding active clause

* unacceptable clause

Abbreviations for correspondence groups

ATC active transitive clause with thematic structure retained

CAC closest active counterpart COP copular construction IC intransitive construction

IMC intransitive middle construction
IAC intransitive agentive construction
IDC intransitive deponent construction

IMS intransitive middle s-form GenS generic subject + active verb

REFL reflexive construction

All examples from the *English-Swedish Parallel Corpus* are given with a reference code to the text from which the example was extracted, e.g. SUG1. For most examples, also text type, F (fiction) or NF (non-fiction), is given, e.g. SUG1/NF. A complete list of texts and codes can be found in Appendix I. The original text sample is normally given first, followed by its translation. The translation is signalled with a T after the text code, e.g. SUG1/T.

Unless the English corresponding sentence is formally close, Swedish examples are commonly followed by a literal translation (given in square brackets) of the passive construction and some context. Occasionally, an idiomatic translation is added for further clarification. In the examples, the passive construction and its correspondence in original or translated text are marked in bold type.

Small capital letters are used for the names of participant roles, e.g. ACTOR.

An initial capital letter is used for syntactic functions, e.g. Subject, Agent.

1. Introduction

1.1 Why study the passive construction?

The passive is a complex construction in many ways. It has traditionally been described as one of two constructions within the grammatical category *voice*: the *active voice* and the *passive voice* (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:159, Biber et al. 1999:475), and it involves two grammatical levels – the phrase and the clause. However, as we shall see later, there is at least one more category in the voice spectrum – the *middle voice*, which takes an intermediate position (e.g. Kemmer 1993). Many accounts of voice talk about an active-passive relation, or an active-passive correspondence or conversion, some seeing the passive as a variation of a more basic and unmarked clause structure, the active (e.g. Biber et al. 1999:154, 475).

From a semantic perspective, the active and the passive enable the reader to interpret the activity denoted by the verb phrase from different perspectives. The passive clause in (1:1) describes the situation from the point of view of the PATIENT, i.e. the entity towards which the action is directed, here *vast quantities of water*. We can say that the text foregrounds or promotes this participant while it backgrounds or demotes the participant performing the action. The performing participant, in the present study called ACTOR, is realised in a prepositional phrase, here *by Londoners*, in clause-final position or, most commonly in a passive, not explicitly expressed. In contrast, this performing participant is foregrounded in the active clause in (1:2), which thus presents the event from the perspective of *Londoners*. (1:1) and (1:2) also show corresponding distribution of syntactic functions.

(1:1) passive: Vast quantities of water are consumed by Londoners. (SUG1/NF)

PATIENT V ACTOR

< Subj Vpass Agent >

Londoners consume vast quantities of water.

ACTOR V PATIENT

< Subj Vact Object >

The passive is hence a text-structuring tool, which both allows the writer/speaker to emphasise different perspectives and enables a smooth development of the text (e.g. Biber et al. 1999:943, Thompson 2004:153f.).

From a contrastive perspective, there are both similarities and differences between English and Swedish. The formal relation between an active and a passive is largely the same in the languages, and both express the agentive or causal entity in a passive in an Adverbial introduced by a preposition (by/av). As regards passive form, the languages are both similar and different. In English, the passive is formed periphrastically by the auxiliaries be or get and the past participle form. In Swedish, there is a periphrastic passive with two auxiliaries, bli and vara, but also a morphological passive, the so-called s-passive. The different forms in both languages carry separate meanings and seem to be governed by different conditioning factors. Additionally, whilst the typical passive is formed with a transitive verb, Swedish may form an impersonal passive with an expletive Subject and an intransitive verb ((1:3)), which English cannot.

(1:3) Det dansades hela natten

[it danced-S all night]

"There was dancing all night."

A major issue in the complexity of the passive in both languages is a lack of clear-cut borderlines. It is related to several other constructions, some of which are not fully passive, nor fully active, and they are similar in some respects but different from each other in other ways (e.g. Shibatani 1985, the collections in Abraham & Leisiö 2006, Lyngfelt & Solstad 2006, Brandt & García García 2010, and Hundt 2007). Studies often talk about voice phenomena and cover, for example, possibilities to defocus the ACTOR, the promotion of an active Object referent to passive Subject position, the number and types of participants involved, and varying degrees of transitivity in constructions. Many scholars (e.g. Svartvik 1966, Shibatani 1985, 2006; Kemmer 1993, Hundt 2007) describe a continuum or a network of voice-related phenomena covering, for example, the adjectival predicative construction (e.g. Granger 1983, Quirk et al. 1985:170, Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:401ff.), the middle construction and intransitives (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:401ff., Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006).

Such networks have been described in different ways but normally have in common that they highlight shared properties and overlap between constructions with the aim of explicating relationships. Networks are often represented in the form of circle diagrams, semantic maps or hierarchies. In the present study, the idea of a network is much inspired by *Construction Grammar*, in which

constructions are connected in a system of nodes and inheritance links to capture resemblances and differences (Hilpert 2014).

Granger's (Figure 1.1) representation of relations between the passive and more or less verbal, adjectival or stative categories may give an idea of what a network might look like and help capture part of the complexity mentioned above.

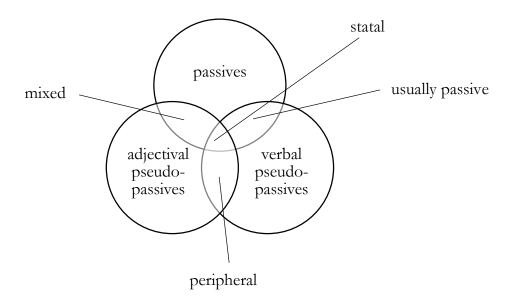


Figure 1.1 Granger's representation of interaction between passive and non-passive categories (based on Granger 1983:107)

The network in Figure 1.1 was used for the classification of the *be* + past participle combinations in Granger's data. The non-overlapping parts illustrate three clear-cut categories: *passive*, *adjectival pseudo-passive*, and *verbal pseudo-passive*. The overlapping areas, i.e. *statal*, *usually passive*, *peripheral*, and *mixed*, represent intermediate, borderline categories. An example of each is given in (1:4a-g), all from Granger (1983:108ff.; emphasis in source).

(1:4)

- a. Passive: That attitude **was maintained by the government** in the further nine days of debates in the house of Lords.
- b. Verbal pseudopassive: She's been rather elusive as far as I'm concerned, so I don't

¹ Granger's terminology does not entirely correspond to the terminology used in the present study, but may still serve to illustrate relationships.

really know her.

- c. Adjectival pseudopassive: We knew quite well that the tsarina **was devoted** to Russia and to her Russian subjects.
- d. Usually passive: I feel we're all faced with this problem.
- e. Peripheral combination: I'm fairly closely connected with that work.
- f. Mixed combination: I'm very interested in poetry.
- g. Statal combination: But I have these two houses that **are built** on to the next door's back garden sort of thing ...

Going clockwise in the figure, we can say that the passive in (1:4a) stands in "direct alternation to a semantically equivalent active verbal group" (Granger 1983:108) and it can have an overt or implicit ACTOR. This is what is normally recognised as a typical passive. The passive category is related to the usually passive category (see (1:4d)), which has all the characteristics of the passive except that its active counterpart is much less frequently used, hence the label usually passive. An active counterpart is even more remote, in fact totally absent, in the verbal pseudopassive (see (1:4b)), but the combination is still verbal. The absence of an active counterpart is a characteristic shared with the peripheral combination (see (1:4e)), which also shows adjectival properties. The adjectival pseudo-passive category (see (1:4c)), like the verbal pseudopassive, has no direct correspondence to a semantically equivalent active verbal group and it behaves like a central adjective. The mixed category (see (1:4f)) shares with the adjectival pseudopassive its adjectival characteristics, but it also shares the possibility of an active equivalent counterpart with the passive. Lastly, situated in the centre, is the statal combination (see (1:4g)). Granger explains that it is "is a truly hybrid category, which has relationships with the three main categories [...] and can therefore rightly be placed at the intersection of the three circles" (1983:114). An essential characteristic of statal combinations is that they require a change in aspect when rephrased as an active (But I have these two houses that are built ... ~ that someone has built ...) giving not a direct but an indirect alternation to an active verbal group.

The examples in (1:4) capture some of the fuzzy borderlines involved, but there are also other problematic issues. A consequence of the fuzziness is that what is defined as a passive in the literature differs. For example, what might be considered a non-passive forming auxiliary (e.g. appear, become) in some accounts may regarded as passive forming in others. Second, some scholars have acknowledged structures consisting only of the past participle, i.e. with no

auxiliary at all, as passive. Third, some accounts entirely exclude non-dynamic events from the passive whereas others acknowledge both dynamic and stative events as passive. These are only a few examples but they show that depending on the criteria used, a passive has been defined in different ways both formally and semantically.²

The complexity on both syntactic, semantic and discourse levels makes the passive hard to handle, for example in translation. Baker pinpoints this by saying that

[t]he use of the passive is extremely common in many varieties of written English and can pose various problems in translation, depending on the availability of similar structures, or structures with similar functions, in the target language. (Baker 1992:102)

A contrastive study of the passive may contribute to a clearer picture and greater awareness of these problems.

Baker's statement clearly relates to the fact that the passive has long been regarded as a marker of formal, abstract and impersonal language (cf., e.g. Chafe & Danielewicz 1987, Biber 1988), as it often serves to defocus the ACTOR, and has been found to be frequent in more formal registers of English. Hence, the use of the passive is commonly related to style and degree of formality in discourse. It is often said to reduce readability, and style guides in both English and Swedish often strongly advise against the use of the passive (e.g. The Plain Language Commission, Institutet för språk och folkminnen³) advocating a more direct and personal style. Such advice has been part of the 'plain language movement' internationally since the 1970's/1980's. An example can be found in the Plain Language Association International's⁴ guidelines for writing a plain language text: "Verbs: in most cases, prefer the active voice rather than the passive". As a result, people often express doubts about using the passive, and there is a lively debate on whether the passive is at all useful. This can be seen in Pullum's (2015a, b) blog entries on the passive and the responses thereto in the Chronicle for Higher Education. Pullum (2014, 2015b), in his defence of the passive, claims that a number of opinions about the passive are false. For example, removing all passives from a text will not make it considerably more concise. Another false assumption is that using passives makes the text clumsy, wordy and vague. Yet another channel that proscribes using the passive is grammar checkers in

² See for example Mihailović (1967), Dušková (1971), Stein (1979), Granger (1983), Siewierska (1984), Quirk et al. (1985), Biber et al. (1999), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Leech et al. (2009).

³ http://www.clearest.co.uk/, http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/klarsprak/att-skriva-klarsprak/webbutbildningen-att-skriva-battre.html.

⁴ http://plainlanguagenetwork.org/plain-language/what-is-plain-language/

computer software, which may have a more direct effect on writing habits and add to the uncertainties of when the passive is suitable or not.

There are signals that the campaign against the passive has had some effect. Leech et al. (2009:148ff.), comparing the use of the passive in the 1960's with the 1990's, report that the construction is losing ground generally in written English. The decrease was found in both British English and American English, and most markedly in scientific writing. In contrast, Seoane and Williams (2006:262) identified an increase in a different register of formal writing, that of prescriptive legal text. A decline in passive use may be an effect of the plain language movement and part of a general on-going colloquialisation in language (Leech et al. 2009:152). The status of the passive in Swedish is, however, more unclear, and a contrastive study may shed light on its status and use.

There is no doubt that the passive has attracted considerable attention over the years in large scale as well as small scale studies. This has helped build a large knowledge base at the same time as it has brought to light the complexity of the construction. One thing these studies have made clear is that the use of the passive may depend on many different factors. However, the exact nature of these factors and their degree of influence on the use or non-use of the passive in the two languages are fairly unknown areas. There may also be aspects that we do not know very much about, which can be discovered in a contrastive analysis (see e.g. Aijmer & Altenberg 1996:12). If the passive is not used, as is advocated by style guides, one may ask what types of construction are used instead. Previous research points to a rich variation. For example, the pilot study in Fredriksson (2001) exploring the passive in English and Swedish indicates a wide variety of constructions corresponding to the passive in both languages. Additionally, cross-language studies on generic pronouns in English and Swedish (Altenberg 2004-2005) and in Swedish and Dutch (Coussé & van der Auwera 2012), on nominalisations in English and their translations into Norwegian and Swedish (Nordrum 2007), and on the verbs få and bli in English and Norwegian (Ebeling 2003) show connections between these constructions and the passive. However, there has been no large scale study taking the passive as point of departure and exploring its use and its connections to related constructions in English and Swedish in a contrastive manner. That is the job this study takes on.

The remainder of this introductory chapter is organised as follows. Section 1.2 presents the aims of the study. Section 1.3 describes the corpus that was used, its design, and the material selected. Section 1.4 outlines the methodological framework and is divided into two parts discussing the contrastive research methodology and the use of translations in contrastive research. Section 1.5 defines the passive in English and Swedish. The chapter ends by describing two key concepts: participant roles (section 1.6) and transitivity (section 1.7).

1.2 Aims of study

The present study is a corpus-based contrastive investigation of a) the passive construction in English and Swedish, and of b) its related constructions in these languages. The study thus has a two-fold overall aim: first, to describe features of the passive construction in English and Swedish based on fiction and non-fiction text, and second, by focusing on non-congruent, i.e. non-passive, translation correspondences, to chart the network surrounding the passive in these languages and to establish its relations to the constructions identified. The study strives to answer the following questions:

- What is the status of the passive in the registers investigated in English and Swedish? Status will be considered primarily in terms of frequencies.
- What differences and similarities exist in the use of the passive in the languages and in the registers studied?
- What constructions, apart from the passive, are included in a (voice) network in English and Swedish, and what is the nature of their relations to the passive?
- What differences and similarities are there in the networks across the languages and across the registers?

The study has two main parts. In the first part, I carry out a quantitative analysis of the passive occurrences extracted from original texts. This analysis forms the basis for the subsequent quantitative and qualitative contrastive investigation of translation correspondences, which constitutes the second part. Since the main interest in the second part is on the passive network, this analysis focuses on non-congruent correspondences. The study uses empirical material in the form of original texts and their translations, and a contrastive research methodology.

1.3 The English-Swedish Parallel Corpus

Many scholars have stressed the usefulness of language corpora in linguistic research, and corpus linguistics is a firmly established field.⁵ One type of corpus, among the wide variety of corpora, is the multilingual corpus which is a widely used resource for cross-linguistic studies (cf. e.g. Aijmer 2008). There are two

⁵ See e.g. *Corpus Linguistics: An International Handbook* (Lüdeling & Kytö 2008 & 2009, Vol.1 & 2) for an extensive survey of corpus linguistics.

main types of multilingual corpora: *comparable corpora* and *parallel corpora* (alternatively called *translation corpora*) (Figure 1.2).

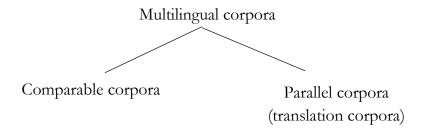


Figure 1.2 Types of multilingual corpora (Aijmer 2008:276)

A comparable corpus consists of original texts in two or more languages. The texts are comparable in terms of text type, size, formality, topic, etc. A parallel corpus consists of original texts and their translations into one or more language. The two corpus types can be combined into one corpus and thereby allow for a wider variety of studies than what is possible with one corpus type alone.

The present study uses empirical material from the *English-Swedish Parallel Corpus* (ESPC). The ESPC was compiled in the 1990's in a joint project at the University of Göteborg and the University of Lund, headed by Karin Aijmer (Göteborg) and Bengt Altenberg (Lund). In the early 2000's, the first version of the corpus was enlarged into the version that was used for the present study.

The ESPC can be described as a combined comparable and parallel corpus suitable for cross-language research of different types (Altenberg & Aijmer 2000). Its structure is illustrated in Figure 1.3. The bold arrows in the figure show the basic methodology used in the present study. In the first part of the study, I retrieved instances of the passive construction from English original (EnO) texts and Swedish original (SwO) texts and used the corpus as a comparable corpus comparing frequencies and certain characteristics of those

⁶ A description of the ESPC, a possible research methodology and examples of research are given in Altenberg & Aijmer (2000). A manual of the corpus, including technical information on e.g. coding and alignment principles can be found in Altenberg et al. (2001).

⁷ From the start, the ESPC research group collaborated with research groups compiling sister corpora at the University of Oslo, Norway (the *English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (Johansson 1998, 2007) and at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland (the *Finnish-English Contrastive Corpus Studies Project*).

⁸ Occasionally, other sources were used for reference. For English, I used in particular the *British National Corpus* (BNC, http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/). For Swedish, I used the *Korp corpus* available at *Språkbanken* (https://spraakbanken.gu.se/).

⁹ See also Johansson's (2007) collection of papers based on the *English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC) and the *Oslo Multilingual Corpus* (OMC).

occurrences in original texts (the bold vertical arrow to the left). In the second part of the study, I used the same occurrences and studied their translations into Swedish (SwT) and English (EnT) respectively (the bold horizontal arrows going from left to right). This part uses the corpus as a bidirectional translation corpus. The other arrows indicate what other types of comparison are possible through this corpus design.

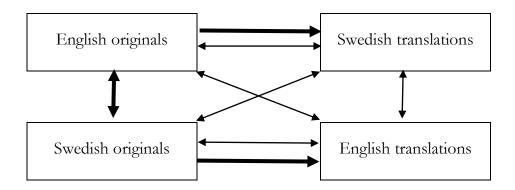


Figure 1.3 The structure of the ESPC (based on Altenberg et al. 2001)

The ESPC contains approximately 2.8 million words (see Table 1.1) including both original and translated texts. Since it consists of source texts and their translations it is delimited, for example, to the types of text that are translated into both languages. The corpus has two main parts, fiction and non-fiction, which are further divided into a number of text types, or categories. All texts are written texts published between 1980 and 2000, and the great majority are extracts of complete texts. With a few exceptions, each text consists of 10,000-15,000 running words (30-40 pages) taken from the beginning of the complete text. To ensure diversity in the material, there is a wide variety of authors and translators.

¹⁰ The two broad text types fiction and non-fiction are divided into the following sub-genres. The number of texts used in this study is given in parenthesis along with language variety. Fiction comprises three categories: children's fiction (1 text used, SwO), detective fiction (1 EnO, 2 SwO), and general fiction (11 EnO, 9 SwO). The non-fiction texts are from eight categories: biography (2 EnO, 2 SwO), geography (travel and leisure; 2 EnO, 1 SwO)), popular science texts in natural sciences (1 EnO), social sciences (2 EnO, 2 SwO), applied sciences (1 SwO), and humanities (1 EnO, 2 SwO), company reports (2 EnO, 2 SwO), and legal documents (EU treaties and legal acts; 2 EnO, 2 SwO). The only text category included in the ESPC that is not represented in the study is prepared speech. The variety of genres in the non-fiction subcorpus enables a broad view of passive use in these text types but any conclusions for each category must be made with caution due to the limited material in each category.

Table 1.1 Size and composition of the full ESPC (based on Altenberg et al. 2001)

		EnO	SwT	SwO	EnT	Total
on	No. of texts	25	25	25	25	100
Fiction	No. of words	340,745	346,649	308,160	333,375	1,328,929
τ	No. of texts	39	39	47	47	172
Non- fiction	No. of words	364,648	344,131	353,303	413,500	1,475,582
	No. of texts	64	64	72	72	272
Total	No. of words	705,393	690,780	661,463	746,875	2,804,511

Since the aim of the study is to explore the passive in a variety of registers and to obtain a rich spectrum of translation possibilities and, ultimately, the network, the study uses texts from both fiction and non-fiction. Since the retrieval of data turned out to be very complicated (see section 1.4.3), the study does not use the full ESPC, but is restricted to 12 texts from each language and each text type, 48 texts in total (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 Number of texts and number of words of the subcorpora used in the study

	EnO	SwO	Total
Fiction	12 / 162,041	12 / 147,308	24 / 309,349
Non-fiction	12 / 144,611	12 / 126,659	24 / 271,270
Total	24 / 306,652	24 /273,967	48 / 580,619

The texts used in the study were chosen so as to give a broad view of the passive in terms of author, translator, register, and language variety. To be able to compare original texts with each other, it is important to aim for similar text categories as far as possible. Moreover, using texts written by many different authors, and perhaps more importantly, translated by many different translators, can also help reduce possible influence from the source languages or pure errors in the translations (see further section 1.4.2 and section 2.3). Details of the texts used (titles, authors, translators, publishers, etc.) are given in Appendix I.

In 2001, the complete ESPC material was tagged for parts of speech (PoS) using the *Constraint Grammar* taggers EngCG-2 and SweCG-2.¹¹ The tagged result shows one word, its lemma and its part-of-speech tag on one line, as illustrated in Figure 1.4. The sentence can thus be read from top to bottom on the left-hand side. The three passive constructions in the passage are marked in bold type, and we can identify the relevant tags as 'V PAST SG1,3' for *was* and 'EN' for the past participle.

At the top of the passage, we find the sequence <*s id=DL1.2.s176 corresp=DL1T.2.s179>*, which contains information unique for this particular sentence. The <*s* signals that the s-unit, i.e. the sentence, starts here. Each s-unit has a unique identifier, in this case *DL1.2.s176*, which gives the author code ('DL1' for David Lodge, text 1), chapter number and s-unit number (here, chapter 2, s-unit 176). This particular s-unit corresponds to s-unit 179 in the aligned translation. <*s>* and <*p>* at the end of the passage indicates end of s-unit and end of paragraph respectively.¹²

```
<s id=DL1.2.s176 corresp=DL1T.2.s179>
Thus <w lemma="thus" pos="ADV">
a <w lemma="a" pos="DET SG">
three-year <w lemma="three-year" pos="A ABS">
lectureship <w lemma="lectureship" pos="N NOM SG">
in <w lemma="in" pos="PREP">
English <w lemma="English" pos="A ABS">
Literature <w lemma="literature" pos="N NOM SG">
was <w lemma="be" pos="V PAST SG1,3">
advertised <w lemma="advertise" pos="EN">
Robyn <w lemma="Robyn" pos="N NOM SG">
applied <w lemma="apply" pos="V PAST
was <w lemma="be" pos="V PAST SG1,3">
interviewed <w lemma="interview" pos="EN">
along with <w lemma="along_with" pos="PREP">
four <w lemma="four" pos="NUM CARD">
other <w lemma="other" pos="DET">
```

¹¹ The tagging was done by Conexor Oy in Finland. For information on the tagging systems and Constraint Grammar, the reader is referred to Karlsson et al. (1995), Samuelsson and Voutilainen (1997), and Voutilainen (2001).

¹² Altenberg et al. (2001) provide more information on technical details.

```
equally <w lemma="equally" pos="ADV">
desperate <w lemma="desperate" pos="A ABS">
and <w lemma="and" pos="CC">
highly <w lemma="highly" pos="ADV">
qualified <w lemma="qualified" pos="EN">
candidates <w lemma="candidate" pos="N NOM PL">
,
and <w lemma="and" pos="CC">
was <w lemma="be" pos="V PAST SG1,3">
appointed <w lemma="appoint" pos="EN">
.
</s>
```

Figure 1.4 Example of parts of speech tagged text from English fiction text

The following tags were used for retrieving passive constructions: 'V' (verb: finite or infinitive), 'PRES' (present tense), 'PAST' (past tense), 'EN' (past participle; English tag), 'AD' (past participle; Swedish tag). They were combined with lemmas for passive auxiliary verbs to form regular expressions enabling effective searches. The rather complex data retrieval procedure is described in section 1.4.3.

1.4 Methodological framework

The study uses authentic data in the form of original comparable texts and translation correspondences to explore the use of the passive and related constructions. The translation approach for contrastive study has been applied in a large number of studies in the last decades, and is thus a well-established, although not unproblematic, approach. This section first outlines the general methodology used and discusses some advantages and disadvantages, and second, describes how the empirical data was collected.

1.4.1 A contrastive study

Contrastive analysis has been defined by Johansson as "the systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities and differences" (2007:1). By comparing and contrasting the passive construction in English and Swedish, the present study is situated within the contrastive analysis

domain.¹³ Modern contrastive analysis¹⁴ allows for studies of both language systems and language use, as shown by Altenberg and Granger's definition:

The aim is to account for both language systems and language use, i.e. the task is not only to identify translation equivalents and 'systematic' correspondences between categories in different languages, but to specify to what extent and in what respect they express 'the same thing' and where similarities and differences should be located in a model of linguistic description. (Altenberg & Granger 2002:18)

In corpus-based contrastive analysis based on language use, translation correspondences very rarely have 100% correspondence with the source texts. Consequently, the constructions identified will form a network showing to what degree they correspond to each other (see e.g. Altenberg & Granger 2002:19, Johansson 2007). Identification of the network related to the passive is one of the primary aims of the present study.

In order to compare and contrast linguistic items across languages, we need to know what to compare. Equivalence is a tricky concept since it may be hard to know what are equivalent items, and it has been one of the core issues in contrastive analysis for many years. The common platform of comparison, the starting-point, is known as the tertium comparationis, which is closely connected to equivalence. Various tertia comparationis can be thought of depending on the type of contrastive study and the kind of equivalence involved. When comparing lexical items, for example, the items should express similar meaning. Elements can be compared in different ways and they may turn out to be similar in some respects while different in others (James 1980:169, Krzeszowski 1989:60). James stresses that "comparability does not presuppose absolute identity, but merely a degree of shared similarity" (1980:168). In addition, Chesterman describes how "every translation task sets its own profile of "equivalence priorities" (1997:69). For example, a legal contract would give priority to close formal similarity sentence to sentence, while for a short story or a poem, stylistic similarity might be more important, and for a tourist brochure the similarity of effect might be prioritised. According to Chesterman, the concept of equivalence is too narrow

¹³ I use the terms *contrastive study*, *contrastive analysis*, and *contrastive linguistics* interchangeably in the present study.

¹⁴ Early contrastive analysis, in the 1960's, was primarily associated with applied linguistics and had a much more pedagogical purpose in foreign and second language teaching than it has today. The availability of electronic corpora with large amounts of authentic material is one of the reasons why contrastive analysis today is a much wider field. Altenberg and Granger (2002), and Johansson (2007), for example, outline the development in more detail.

since it is only one of the types of relations that exist between a source and a target text (ibid.). Instead, Chesterman (1998:55) proposes *perceived similarity* as a comparability criterion, and Johansson (2007:3) points out that "[t]ranslation is a source of perceived similarity across languages".

As we shall see when defining the passive in English and Swedish (section 1.5.1), there are both similarities and diffences cross-linguistically. It is therefore more appropriate to talk about perceived similarity than about absolute equivalence as starting point. The perceived similarity, i.e. the way the passive construction is defined, is based on formal, semantic and pragmatic properties.

Traditionally, contrastive analysis has often been described as a three-step procedure: a) description, b) juxtaposition, and c) comparison (Krzeszowski 1990:35). In the corpus-based methodology used in the present study, this means that the passive is first described for each language based on original texts. The second and the third steps involve a cross-linguistic comparison of the original text and of the translation correspondences. Since the study uses original texts in both languages with their translations, the analysis is made bi-directionally.

1.4.2 The translation approach

Using a parallel corpus for contrastive studies has both advantages and disadvantages, and although various research methodologies have been developed, there has also been criticism. I start by looking at advantages of the approach.

An often-stated strength is that cross-linguistic analyses based on a multilingual corpus can give insights that may be missed in the study of monolingual corpora (Aijmer & Altenberg 1996:12). Further, Aijmer claims that "[a] parallel corpus is unrivalled when it comes to discovering translation correspondences and displaying them as a set or a paradigm" (2008:278). The frequencies and patterns identified will help to show which links are strong, i.e. represent close correspondences, and which are weak, and more distant relations (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenbergen 2004). A strong link will show a high *mutual correspondence value* (Altenberg 1999). A high degree of correspondence probably means that we have not only corresponding constructions but also that other features, e.g. contextual ones, coincide in the two texts. The translation patterns may also enable us to specify what factors may determine, in this case, the choice of a non-passive form in the translation, and the nature of relations between the constructions. In this way, we can chart what constructions are part of a voice network and the nature of network members.

Using translations in contrastive linguistics also has disadvantages and problems, mainly relating to the fact that they are not original texts in their own right, but exist as a product of the translation process. We cannot disregard the possibility that a translation is affected by the translation task and by the choices made by the translator, and therefore reflects the translator's personal style (Lauridsen 1996:67). Mauranen (2004-2005:75, 88) suggests that translations be seen as 'hybrid texts' and argues that they are different from both their sources and from comparable target language original texts. Many scholars have emphasised the risks of using this type of data, one of the reasons being that any translation is likely to be influenced not only by its source text but also by its source language (Mauranen 2004-2005:77). Such influence is often discussed in terms of translation universals (see section 2.3). One way to control for source language influence and the preferences of individual translators in a study is to use a wide variety of texts, and many different authors and translators. This will "increase the validity and reliability of the comparison" and such a study "can be regarded as the systematic exploitation of the bilingual intuition of translators, as it is reflected in the pairing of source and target language expressions in the corpus texts" (Johansson 2007:5). Other ways to test a translation paradigm is to study comparable monolingual corpora or to reverse the procedure and go from translation to original text. Mainly due to the difficulties in automatically retrieving passive constructions from the corpus and the large amount of manual work involved (see section 1.4.3), a systematic reversed procedure falls outside the scope of this study. Monolingual corpora were consulted for verification in certain cases.

The translation correspondences identified in the study are categorised into two broad groups: those that are rendered as a passive construction and those that are rendered as a non-passive construction. I call them *congruent* and *non-congruent* correspondences (Johansson 2007:24). The passives in (1:5) represent a one-to-one match, a congruent translation, with an *s*-passive rendered as a *be*-passive.

(1:5) På natten **fördes** de ut ur gruvan [...]. (PE1/F) [took-S]

At night they were taken out of the mine [...]. (PE1/T)

The translation in (1:6), in contrast, shows a grammatical change. It has an adjectival construction which, from a lexical point of view, corresponds fairly well to the passive construction, but is grammatically different. It is thereby a non-congruent correspondent.

(1:6) Ljudet hördes tydligt genom trummornas dunkande. (LH1/F) [heard-S]

The sound was clearly audible through the pulsing of the drums. (LH1/T)

Some correspondences are interesting from grammatical, semantic as well as lexical perspectives. In (1:7), we find a non-congruent translation into a non-finite infinitive form which is realised by a verb which is converse in meaning (*svara* 'answer'). The translator chose the opposite perspective, resulting in a clear lexical change.

(1:7) She even enjoyed **being asked** questions about her weight, questions which to most fat people are a torment of shame and a temptation to mendacity. (MD1/F)

Hon till och med njöt av att **svara** på frågor om sin vikt, frågor som de flesta feta människor upplever som en skam och en plåga och som frestar dem till lögner. (MD1/T)

[enjoyed of to answer]

The non-congruent translation correspondences were classified into a number of correspondence categories for the contrastive analysis. The classification system is given in section 4.2.

1.4.3 Data collection in a semi-automated procedure

The data was collected in a semi-automated procedure in several steps. The first step was to identify and retrieve, from the source texts, verb forms that may instantiate the passive construction, i.e. verb constructions consisting of a passive auxiliary and a past participle form or the morphological s-passive. This could be expected to be a fairly simple task. However, although the corpus text files were tagged for parts of speech, original texts and their translations were not aligned and searchable in the corpus tool. In other words, original text and translated text existed in separate files. This meant that it was impossible to conduct searches based on grammatical tags and retrieve both a passive instance in a source text and its translation simultaneously. However, I did have access to the tagged files. As shown in Figure 1.4, in this file type, the text occurs as one word and its grammatical tag per line, and is not meant to be read as running text, but to be machine-processed.

The ESPC has been used for a large number of lexical studies and grammatical studies based on lexically retrievable material, i.e. studies which searched for forms of words. However, in the present study, I needed to find instances realising a grammatical construction, and could not use individual

lexemes as a starting point. It was impossible to extract the amount of data needed for the investigation in an entirely manual way, so a more automated method had to be found. Eventually, the following steps were carried out to extract verbs occurring in the passive from the texts chosen.

In the first step, a number of regular expressions, or syntactic search strings, based on the relevant tags were written for retrieving the different forms of the passive that could reasonably be found. The regular expressions used are given in Appendix II. The goal was to retrieve as many instances as possible. Therefore, the regular expressions for the periphrastic passive were designed to allow for up to five words between the auxiliary (be/get/bli/vara) lemma and the word tagged as a participle form. For the morphological s-passive, the regular expression was designed so as to extract words tagged as a verb form and ending in –s. Example, (1:8) illustrates an instance with three words between auxiliary and past participle and (1:9) illustrates a present or past tense s-passive.

(1:8) 3 words between auxiliary and participle form:

They receive their instructions - and **are** in fact themselves **constructed** - on orders sent from those in charge.

(1:9) Lemma ta ('take'), present or past tense s-passive:

Beslutet om att bilda en union {tas | togs} på ett möte i Kalmar i juli 1397 [...].

"The decision to build a union {is | was} made at a meeting in Kalmar in July 1397 [...]"

In the second step, with the regular expressions entered, the text editor *UltraEdit* was used for searching the text files to extract all words meeting the criteria. The result was lists of words, or types, as in (1:10), which shows the first ten past participle forms of the list for English fiction texts.

(1:10) abandoned

absorbed

accepted

acclaimed

accompanied

accomplished

accosted
accumulated
achieved
acquired

Once this first step was completed in both languages, in both fiction and non-fiction text files in both languages and with all regular expression forms, I had a large number of word types that could potentially be (parts of) passive constructions.

The next, third, step was to extract instances of each word type with their aligned translations. This was done by searching the non-tagged version of the ESPC through the web-version of the *Translation Corpus Explorer*¹⁵, which is the software and interface for the ESPC, for each of the word types. Each search generated instances containing the participle form or s-form asked for, together with their translations. A filter was applied to expand the context to include three sentences before and three sentences after the sentence containing the passive instance. All occurrences, original and translation text extracts, were pasted into *Word* files which were formatted to be imported into *FileMaker Pro* databases along with meta information of, for example, author name, translator name, titles, genre (fiction or non-fiction), of each text.

The fourth and final step was to manually go through each occurrence to decide whether it met the criteria set up for a passive construction (section 1.5.1), and if so, code each occurrence according to a set of variables. This inspection and relevant delimitation issues are discussed in section 1.5.2. After the manual inspection of the occurrences had been completed and all non-passive instances had been excluded, the result was a total of 4,685 instances, which form the data for the study.

¹⁵ See http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/cgi-bin/omc/PerlTCE.cgi. Password needed for access.

1.5 Defining and delimiting the passive construction

This section presents a first characterisation of the passive construction in English and Swedish. Section 1.5.1 introduces the network and prototype approach adopted, which is followed by a statement of the defining criteria. Next, the passive variants in English and Swedish are briefly described. Section 1.5.2 concerns the question of how to delimit the passive from related constructions, and deals with the predicative construction (1.5.2.1), the middle construction (1.5.2.2), and some modal expressions (1.5.2.3).

The description of the passive given in this section is complemented by the discussion in Chapter 2, which treats some of the central properties in more detail.

1.5.1 A definition of the passive

The definition of the passive and the analytical framework of the present study rely on two basic assumptions. First, the first assumption is the idea that the passive is situated in a network of constructions. The idea of a network is important for the study both in characterising the passive construction and for exploring its relation to other constructions in the contrastive analysis. This approach is broadly situated within Construction Grammar, in which constructions are seen as existing in hierarchical networks where they are related to each other in a system of nodes (Hilpert 2014:57). More importantly, the network captures relationships between and among constructions on a gradient covering, for example, "distance' between members of a family, [and] clusterings of properties [...]" (Traugott & Trousdale 2013:9). The network idea thus takes a scalar view of constructions, where overlaps and fuzzy boundaries are common. This also means that the passive is regarded as a prototypically structured construction (Shibatani 1985, 2006; Quirk et al. 1985). The prototype approach is outlined below. A scalar view is present also in the second basic assumption of the study. This one concerns transitivity and, following Hopper and Thompson (1980), the idea that transitivity is a gradient phenomenon – a clause may display higher or lower degree of transitivity depending on its properties. This is further discussed in section 1.7.

A prototype approach for the passive has been suggested in several studies, and Shibatani, presenting a prototype based on several passive-related phenomena and a large number of languages, argues strongly that this is the only fruitful way because of the fuzziness of the construction (cf. 1.4.2). Hundt states

that the fuzzy boundaries, or, in fact the flexibility, of grammatical categories such as transitivity and voice help "account for the transfer of attributes from prototypical instances to peripheral on non-prototypical cases" (2007:78).

Shibatani's prototype implies a continuum from a prototype passive to less prototypical passive and non-passive constructions. Quirk et al.'s (1985) approach also acknowledges resemblance and overlap between different structures. Largely based on Svartvik's classic study (1966), Quirk et al. (1985) describe three points on a continuum: the *central passive*, which has only verbal properties, the *semi-passive*, whose members display both verbal and adjectival characteristics; and the *pseudo-passive*, which only superficially looks like a passive (see section 1.5.2.1).

Based primarily on Quirk et al.'s central passive category (1985:167ff.) and the definition of the passive in Swedish in Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4), the following criteria were formulated for a construction to be identified as passive in the present study:

- the verb phrase is marked for passive form:
 - in the periphrastic passive, there is a passive-forming auxiliary which is followed by the past participle form of the main verb. For English the auxiliaries are *be* and *get*, and for Swedish they are *bli* ('become') and *vara* ('be');
 - in the Swedish morphological s-passive, the suffix -s added to the various finite and non-finite forms of the verb;
 - the participle is purely verbal;
- the passive Subject cannot have the same semantic role as a corresponding active clause. The passive Subject is typically a PATIENT;
- the participant realised as active Subject remains in the semantic structure of the passive. This participant, when it is expressed, is realised in an Agent which is formed by the preposition *by* in English and *av* in Swedish followed by a noun phrase. The Agent NP is typically an ACTOR.

The first criterion means that the past participle in a periphrastic passive construction is purely verbal, i.e. it displays no adjectival characteristics. The *be*-passive can be either *dynamic*, focusing in the event itself or on the change of state denoted by the verb, or *stative*, foregrounding the resultant state. Traditionally, the *be*-passive has been regarded as the only 'true' passive type in English, but the formation with *get* as a passive auxiliary has become more accepted among linguists, although there are differing views regarding its syntactic, semantic, and

pragmatic properties.¹⁶ Among the Swedish passive-forming auxiliaries, *bli* is dynamic and *vara* is stative (see further section 2.4.3), giving rise to two distinct passive variants, whilst the morphological *s*-passive can be dynamic or stative.

The second criterion means that the passive Subject typically corresponds to the Object in an active rendering of the clause, and is thereby typically an affected entity, a PATIENT. Other possible participant roles for the passive Subject are outlined in section 1.6. As we saw in (1:3), Swedish can also form an impersonal passive on intransitive verbs and with expletive *det* ('it') as Subject. Another example is given in (1:11). This *det* is non-referential and does not correspond to an active Object, which makes this passive type deviate from the prototypical passive.

(1:11) Det **pratades** om Torsten och Vidart [...]. (KE1/F)

[it talked-S about Torsten and Vidart]

There would be much talk about Torsten and Vidart [...]. (KE1/T)

Since the impersonal passive is a well-established form in Swedish, it is recognised as passive in this study.

The third criterion, the implication of an ACTOR (or similar) participant in the semantic structure, sometimes singles out a passive from a neighbouring construction (for example, separating a passive from a middle s-form), but cannot always serve as a distinguishing criterion on its own (see further section 1.5.2). A periphrastic adjectival construction may, for example, also take a by/av-phrase, which is then not an Agent.

It should be observed that the term 'Agent' is used in this study as a grammatical label to refer to the Adverbial that consists of the preposition *by/av* and a following NP. As is the case with the passive Subject, there are atypical participant roles also for the Agent, see section 1.6.

 $^{^{16}}$ According to the tests used to determine auxiliary status, get is not an auxiliary at all, and not all scholars recognise get + past participle structures as passive (for example Haegeman 1985 and Arce-Arenales et al. 1994). Other linguists, for example Jespersen (1909-1949), Strang (1968) (both referred to in Downing 1996:179), Quirk et al. (1985:160f.), and Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1430), recognise get as a passive auxiliary. The use as a passive auxiliary is of course only one of the uses of get. Similarly, the Swedish verb fa ('get') is highly flexible and its potential use as a passive-forming auxiliary in constructions of the type fa+Object+past participle (I got my bike stolen) has been investigated in Larsson (2012). The construction has shown highly marginal usage and is not considered passive in, for example, the major Swedish reference grammar (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:382). It is not regarded as passive in the present study. Also excluded from the study is the verb varda ('become'), whose past tense form vart occurs dialectally as a passive auxiliary.

Table 1.3 gives an overview of the passive variants studied and an example of each. It does not cover all finite and non-finite forms, nor all tenses and aspects.

Table 1.3 The passive variants in English and Swedish

		English	Swedish
	Туре	<i>be</i> -passive:	vara-passive:
Periphrastic passive	Form	BE + past participle (by + NP)	VARA + past participle (av + NP)
	Example/-s	The trees were cut down (yesterday) (by the owner).	Träden är (nu) fällda . Lit.: The trees are (now) cut down
	Dynamic or stative	Dynamic interpretation	Stative interpretation
	interpretation	The trees are (now) cut down . Stative interpretation	
	Туре	<i>get</i> -passive	<i>bli</i> -passive:
Peri	Form	GET + past participle (by + NP)	BLI + past participle (av + NP)
	Example/-s Dynamic or stative interpretation	I got caught (by the police). Dynamic interpretation	Träden blev fällda (igår) (av ägaren) The trees were cut down (yesterday) (by the owner) Dynamic interpretation
Morphological passive	Туре		s-passive:
	Form		inflectional suffix – <i>s</i> on the verb
	Example/-s		(av + NP) Träden fälldes (igår) (av ägaren) The trees were cut down
	Dynamic or		(yesterday) (by the owner)
	stative		Dynamic interpretation
	interpretation		
			Huset ägs av kvinnan.
			The house is owned by the woman
			Stative interpretation

Since the passive, especially the passive in English, has been so extensively described in the literature, I will not go into more detail on, for example, the various forms and tenses here, and the presentation given here should by no means be considered exhaustive. However, it is necessary to discuss delimitation issues relevant for separating passives from non-passives. This is the topic of the next section. Further, chapter 2 will further develop some of the characteristics introduced in the present and the next section, and also discuss other aspects that have shown to be relevant for the use of the passive and may thereby influence

the translator in the translation process. Chapter 2 will thus add to the characterisation of the passive in English and Swedish.

1.5.2 Delimitation issues and borderline cases

It was shown in the opening sections that the passive has fuzzy semantic boundaries towards related constructions. The fuzziness results from similarities between the periphrastic passive construction and the predicative construction and from different meanings of the s-form of the verb. Additionally, absence of an expressed ACTOR, and the ambiguity between dynamic and stative constructions sometimes make it hard to determine whether an instance is passive or non-passive. A manual inspection of the data was therefore necessary to decide whether occurrences were passive or non-passive. This was done on the material retrieved from original texts, i.e. the material that forms the starting-point of the investigation, and in the analysis of translation correspondences. The following sections discuss the most central delimitation issues and how they were handled. Vagueness and resemblance among constructions are further discussed at relevant places in the contrastive analysis (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

1.5.2.1. The passive construction vs. the predicative construction

The periphrastic passive construction is identical in form to the adjectival predicative construction, both formed by be + participle, and there are participles which display both verbal and adjectival properties. Instances in this class occupy an intermediate position on the continuum between completely passive and completely non-passive. Following Quirk et al. (1985:167ff.), I call members of the intermediate class semi-passives and the completely non-passives (i.e. fully adjectival) pseudo-passives. Neither class is considered passive in the present study, and members of the classes are not included in the data. The literature suggests a range of tests for separating passives from non-passives. I will treat semi-passives first.

(i) Presence of an Agent

The presence of an Agent which could be taken as a clear signal that a given be + participle combination is passive. A verbal interpretation of the examples in (1:12) is supported by the presence of the Agents and by their potential active counterparts which also shows that there are corresponding verbs. On the other

hand, they also fulfill several criteria for adjectivalness (see (ii), (iv)), which makes them atypical passives.

(1:12) 'I am fascinated by numbers,' he confesses. (BR1/F) ~ Numbers fascinate me.

"Jag **är fascinerad** av antal", erkänner han. (BR1/T) ~ Antal fascinerar mig.

The Agents in (1:13) are inanimate, but also animate ones are possible:

(1:13) Han **var fascinerad/intresserad** av en dansk 1700-talskonstnär. (Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:403)

He was fascinated by/interested in a Danish 18th century artist.

The semantic role of the Adverbials in (1:13) is not ACTOR – en dansk 1700-talskonstnär/a Danish 18th century artist is neither the initiator of intresserad or fascinerad, nor is there an intentional entity at work. More appropriate are the roles CAUSE (the artist causing interest or fascination) or PATIENT (interest or fascination is directed towards the artist), which opens the possibility of an adjectival interpretation since adjectives and adjectival participles may take avphrases (Jag blev sjuk av medicinen / I got sick by/from the medicine). Although the definition adopted in the present study allows CAUSE as Agent in a passive, these examples show that the presence of an Agent cannot be taken as evidence that a given instance is passive; it can also be adjectival. Instead, the tests that can be used for distinguishing between adjectival and verbal status are the following:

(ii) Modification

Since participles such as *interested* and *fascinated* are gradable, they can be modified by *very* and *rather* in English, and by *ganska* and *relativt* in Swedish, which provides a sufficient condition for adjectival status (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:389, Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1436). This test is, however, applicable only to gradeable adjectives.

(iii) Position and type of degree adverbials

Verbal participles can take both preposed and postposed degree (and manner) adverbials (see (1:14)), whereas adjectival participles always take preposed ones, as in (1:16) (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:389). Further, verbal participles cannot be modified by degree adverbials such as ganska/fairly, relatively, tämligen/rather, and (allt) för/too unless they modify mycket/much (see (1:15)).

(1:14) Han blev {alltför mycket retad/retad alltför mycket}. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:404)

He was {too much bullied/bullied too much}.

(1:15) *Han blev alltför retad.

*He was too bullied.

(1:16) Han **blev** {ganska/väldigt **förvånad**/***förvånad** ganska/väldigt}.

He was {rather/very surprised/*surprised rather/very}.

(iv) Replacement of auxiliary

If *be* and *bli/vara* can be replaced by a lexical copula such as *feel* and *seem*, and *verka* and *förefalla* respectively, there is a strong indication that the participle is adjectival ((1:17), (1:18)). Replacement is not possible with verbal participles ((1:19)):

- (1:17) 'I feel fascinated by numbers,' he confesses.
- (1:18) I saw you seemed rather interested in my morning swim.

Jag såg att du verkade ganska intresserad av mitt morgondopp.

(1:19) *Its light, summer style **seemed marketed** as "On the Town".

*Dess lätta somriga stil **verkade marknadsförd** som "On the Town".

The replacement test is considered highly reliable in English (Huddleston and Pullum 2002:1437) but is probably less reliable in Swedish (cf. Malmgren 1990:43, Sundman 1987:405f.). There are, although rarely, exceptions to the rule in both languages. The translation and its source in (1:20), taken from the corpus, have verbal participles preceded by *verkade/seemed*:

(1:20) Det var alldeles för varmt att ha en katt i knät, särskilt den här katten - en slankig, gråspräcklig honkatt som **verkade gjord** av något ovanligt kompakt material. (AT1/T)

It was much too hot to have a cat in his lap, especially this one - a loose-strung, gray tweed female who **seemed made** of some unusually dense substance. (AT1/F)

Whilst there is overlap between verbal and adjectival properties in semi-passives, pseudo-passives have reached full adjectival status and display no verbal properties. They are similar to passives in form only. Hence, at this end of the continuum, a clause has no active counterpart (and there is no verb *utmärgla/*emaciate, cf. (1:21)), and no ACTOR can be conceived of, a fact mirrored in Svartvik's (1966:148) label for this class: nonagentive passives. Adjectival

properties, on the other hand, include, for example, coordination with another adjective as in (1:21) and substitution by a lexical copular verb as in (1:22).

(1:21) Hunden var utmärglad och smutsig [...]. (AP1/F)

The dog was emaciated and dirty [...]. (AP1/T)

(1:22) Hunden verkade/föreföll utmärglad och smutsig.

The dog seemed/looked emaciated and dirty.

Moreover, the adjectival status of the participles in these examples can be shown by their ability to occur attributively: *an emaciated dog/en utmärglad hund*, a position which English verbal participles cannot normally have.¹⁷ It is, however, important to observe that Swedish differs from English in this respect, since both verbal and adjectival participles can be used attributively in Swedish: *en nerslagen man* 'a down-knocked man', *en reparerad bil* ('a repaired car'). Attributive use is therefore not a test for adjectival/verbal status in Swedish.

In the present study, I deviate from Quirk et al's view of the pseudo-passive group in one respect. They, like Svartvik (1966:135), include in this group what they call the *statal passive* defined as a structure which refers to a resultant state of an action rather than to the action itself (cf. Granger's use of *statal*, section 1.1). According to Quirk et al. the statal passive "is essentially copular" (1985:170), and it is pointed out that there is often ambiguity between statal (copular) reading and a dynamic (central passive) reading, especially in the past tense, as in (1:23):

(1:23) In 1972, the Democrats were defeated. (Quirk et al. 1985:170)

Quirk et al. state that a dynamic reading of (1:23) is 'someone defeated the Democrats', and an Agent ('by the Republicans') can be added. A stative reading is 'the Democrats were in a state of having been defeated', which they equate with the copular construction, hence non-passive. However, Quirk et al. also recognise a *stative passive* as a prototypical (central) passive, for example the one in (1:24):

(1:24) This conclusion is hardly justified by the results. (Quirk et al. 1985:167)

It is not entirely clear in Quirk et al.'s account how statal (non-passive) and stative (passive) passives would differ, but in (1:24), the Agent (by the results) clearly strengthens a passive interpretation.

¹⁷ Note that stative participles may occur attributively: *a married couple, his published work,* and *the captured prisoner* (Quirk et al. 1985:416).

A stative *be*-passive corresponds to the stative reading of an *s*-passive and to the *vara*-passive in Swedish, and I recognise such instances as passive as long as they meet the criteria for the passive as set up in this study. It is, however, a well-known fact that dynamic and stative passives are sometimes ambiguous. This issue is discussed in section 2.4.3.

This section has presented some ways to distinguish a passive from an adjectival construction. Ambiguous cases found in the data are further discussed in the contrastive analyses. The next section treats the delimitation of *s*-passive from the middle *s*-form.

1.5.2.2. The passive construction vs. the middle construction

Swedish uses the same morphological marking on the verb, i.e. the verb form is identical, for the the s-passive as for several non-passive constructions which sometimes presents a problem for identifying a passive. Most difficult to separate from the passive s-form is the middle construction since there are similarities in both form and meaning. First, the s-passive and the middle s-form both have a PATIENT Subject, i.e. it denotes an affected participant. Therefore, Subject participant role cannot serve as a determining criterion. Second, there is no expressed Agent which is also typical of both constructions. However, an essential difference between middles and passives lies in agency; a middle construction lacks an ACTOR or CAUSE in the semantic structure, whereas the passive always has one. Typically in the middle construction, the process is perceived as occurring spontaneously: "an event that automatically occurs, or a state that spontaneously obtains without the intervention of an agent" (Shibatani 1985:827; cf. also Sundman 1987:325ff., Kemmer 1993, Silén 1997:70ff.;

There are also other verbal *s*-forms that have non-passive meaning. First, *s*-form with *absolute* meaning (Sundman 1987:321ff.) has an AGENTIVE or CAUSE Subject, e.g. *Hunden bits* 'the dog tends to bite'. The VP takes no explicit Object and the event denotes a generic or an iterative activity (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:555), or a typical trait or behaviour (Sundman 1987:324). Second, *s*-form with reciprocal meaning e.g. *De möttes [mötte varandra] varje dag på jobbet* 'they met [each other] every day at work' in which the Subject is both AGENTIVE and PATIENT, and denotes interacting referents. Third, the deponent *s*-form, e.g. *Han andas fort* 'he breathes fast', with an agentive Subject. The three *s*-forms normally present no problem for the delimitation of the *s*-passive and are therefore not further discussed here, but may be treated at relevant places in the results. Further, the use of the term *deponent* in the literature differs between a broad and narrow view. The broad view includes all non-passive *s*-forms, i.e. also absolute, recoprocal, middle, as deponent (e.g. Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2: 554ff.) whereas the narrow view restricts deponent to verbs that have no *s*-less form, e.g. *andas* (Sundman 1987, Kemmer 1993). The present study follows the narrow view (see 4.4.6.2).

Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:556).¹⁹ The s-forms in (1:25) and (1:26) are typical middle constructions.

(1:25) Alla förhoppningar och all optimism **krossades** på en sekund. (Sundman 1987:326) [crushed-Smid]

"All hopes and all optimism were crushed in one second."

(1:26) Hon har förändrats mycket under de senaste åren. (Silén 1997:72) [changed-Smid]

"She has changed a lot during the last years."

In the case of crushing hopes and optimism ((1:25)), we can probably rule out an intentionally acting person, which would have made it passive, and changes ((1:26)) may have very vague, unidentifiable, causes. It is, however, at times very difficult to say if an event happens by itself (automatically or spontaneously) or if an external entity has control over or somehow influences the event. Can this external entity be found? According to Sundman (1987:326), middle clauses often refer to events whose causes are unidentified or unknown, and thereby interpreted as happening spontaneously or without an external CAUSE. Instances in which an agentive participant may be involved but is not expressed are commonly ambiguous. Sundman gives (1:27) as an example which can be interpreted as either passive or middle:

(1:27) Genast **spreds** ryktet att Krupps begått självmord. (Sundman 1987:327) [spread-S or spread-Smid]

"Immediately the rumour {was spread/spread} that Krupps committed suicide."

If we assume that someone intentionally spread the rumour, the clause is passive, but if no CAUSE or ACTOR participant can be thought of or be identified, the clause is middle.²⁰ This example also indicates that the context needs to be taken into account. We know that the [-Ag] passive is far more frequent in language use than the [+Ag] passive, and that the ACTOR participant is often present in or can be inferred from the context. This is what we find in (1:28), taken from the ESPC.

(1:28) Det var en kall vinterdag. Min bror och jag och hans kamrater hade kastat snöboll mot

¹⁹ In some accounts (e.g. Kemmer 1993:142ff.), this construction type is termed as *spontaneous event* and seen as a subtype of a superordinate category of middle constructions.

 $^{^{20}}$ Additionally, we can observe that the middle construction in English, in the translation in (1:27): spread, has no morphological marking. Therefore, so separating middle from passive presents no problem in that respect. Also Swedish has a middle construction with an s-less form of the verb. This one is discussed in the contrastive analysis in section 4.6.1)4.4.6.1.

växthuset i parkens utkant. Många rutor **krossades**. Trädgårdsmästaren misstänkte oss genast och anmälde saken till far. (IB1/NF) [crushed-S]

"Many panes were crushed."

It was a cold winter's day and my brother and I and his friends had been throwing snowballs at the greenhouse on the edge of the park, **breaking** a great many panes. The gardener at once suspected us and reported the matter to Father. (IB1/T)

Crushing can take place with or without a person or a thing performing the action. By looking at the context, we can safely conclude that *krossades* is passive in this case. *Krossades* could also be used with an inanimate participant, a CAUSE: *Många rutor krossades av fallande stenar / Many panes were crushed by falling stones*, which is also passive.

With certain verbs, the Agent is obligatory.²¹ This concerns, for example, verbs denoting abstract relations such as identity and characterisation relations (e.g. *bildas* 'be formed', *representeras* 'be represented', *kännetecknas* 'be characterised', *domineras* 'be dominated'), spatial or temporal relations (e.g. *följas* 'be followed', *omges* 'be surrounded') or causal relations (e.g. *orsakas* 'be caused', *framkallas* 'be evoked', *utlösas* 'be triggered') (Sundman 1987:382). They often take inanimate participants as Agents, as in (1:29). Such instances are considered passive in this study.

(1:29) Nutidsfilmen **representeras** av en rad verk från Kuba. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:402) [represent-S]

"Contemporary film is represented by a series of works from Cuba."

However, many inanimate Agents are troublesome since they have causal meaning and are often on the borderline between passive and middle (Kirri 1975:5, Sundman 1987:385). In (1:30), the passive *s*-form begins to shade into a middle *s*-form:

- (1:30) Hennes utseende förändrades av ljuset. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:402) [changed-S]
 - "Her appearance was changed by the light."
- (1:31) Ljuset förändrade hennes utseende.

²¹ Kirri (1975) uses the term "content Agent" ('innehållsagent') for obligatory Agents arguing that the passive verb and the Agent constitute a semantic unit in which the Agent can be replaced but not omitted.

"The light changed her appearance."

A passive interpretation of (1:30) is supported by the identified and expressed CAUSE (*ljuset* 'the light'), and by the fact that an active corresponding clause, see (1:31), is possible. Sundman (1987:383, 387) suggests that an s-form with an expressed inanimate CAUSE (or INSTRUMENT) be considered passive. Since a middle construction lacks an ACTOR/CAUSE in its semantic structure, an active rendering is not possible, see (1:32). On the other hand, an inanimate participant cannot act intentionally and often has a more indirect influence than an acting participant (cf. Silén 1997:72f.), which speaks towards a middle interpretation. It also seems that when a passive with a non-agentive Adverbial is converted into an active clause, the active Subject receives a more agentive character whereas the Adverbial of a passive is more vaguely causal (Sundman 1987:381, Silén 1997:115, Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:402).

If, however, the Agent is omitted, the event is likely to be considered middle, i.e. interpreted as happening spontaneously, without an identifiable cause:

(1:32) Hennes utseende förändrades. [changed-Smid]

"Her appearance changed."

As has been illustrated in this section, the passive construction and the middle construction are not discrete categories. Kemmer states that "no doubt there is a continuum of events from those that are extremely unlikely to be associated with a human Agent, to those that are extremely likely to have such an Agent" (1993:144). Sundman and Teleman et al. propose gradient scales that are almost identical to that of Kemmer. Figure 1.5, based on Sundman (1987:386) and Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:403), illustrates the relationship.

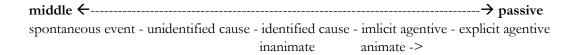


Figure 1.5 Continuum between middle and passive meaning of verbal s-forms

Although instances may be open to middle or passive interpretation and it is at times hard to position a given instance on the continuum, it is necessary to draw the line somewhere in the selection of data for the study. The crucial issue is to identify an ACTOR (or CAUSE, INSTRUMENT, EXPERIENCER) since that participant, implicit or explicit in the semantic structure, is a requirement for the passive. Unidentified causes and spontaneous events are not considered passive

in the present study. However, as shown in (1:28), in actual language use, the acting (or influencing) participant is not always present in the same clause or sentence as the s-form. Had the examples in (1:25)-(1:27) and (1:32) had causal or agentive participants identified in a context, they would have been considered passive. It is hence essential to look not only at the clause or sentence containing the s-form, but at larger chunks of text. The data for the study was extracted so that three sentences before and three sentences after the sentence containing the s-form were included. Nevertheless, there were ambiguous cases and and decisions were based on the author's personal judgement. Non-passive s-forms will be further discussed in the contrastive analysis of intransitive correspondences (section 4.6).

1.5.2.3. Ambiguity in modal expressions

One sub-group whose members may be ambiguous between passive and non-passive interpretation and are sometimes difficult to handle consists of constructions with modal meaning. Some of them have relations with auxiliaries, some with adjectival constructions, and some with middle constructions. They have the form of a passive but are semantically not prototypical passives or not passive at all. Members include, for example, be allowed/tillåtas; be meant; be obliged/tvingas; be permitted/tillåtas; be supposed/anses, antas, skulle; behövas ('be needed'), and krävas ('be demanded', 'be required'). The requirement for these expressions to be considered passive is the same as for other categories, most notably there must be a corresponding verb (allow, mean, behöva 'need' etc.) and there must be an ACTOR (or other participant recognised to realise an Agent) in the semantic structure of the event.

Be allowed to, expressing permission, can be paraphrased by can and may, and is referred to as a 'marginal auxiliary' by Quirk et al. (1985:222f., 236) indicating that it does not have all the properties of a typical modal auxiliary. I consider be allowed to as passive in instances where the context signals that an ACTOR can be understood or is present, see (1:33) and (1:34). This agrees with Granger (1983:177), who regards be allowed (to) to be a central passive.

- (1:33) One more correct answer and we **might be allowed** to see the menus which the old man was keeping to himself. (PM1/NF)
- (1:34) How long, Plato says Socrates asked his jurors shortly before they condemned him to die, **would** a man whose true goal was to do good for his country **be allowed by them** to survive in government? (JH1/F)

Allow as a main verb is illustrated in (1:35), which is clearly passive.

(1:35) After protracted discussion and her repeated pleas she **had been allowed** this weekly visit on Friday evenings [...]. (PDJ1/F)

Also be permitted/tillåtas are passive in (1:36):

(1:36) He was under house arrest for months before he was permitted to leave. (JH1/F)

Han satt i husarrest i månader innan han **tilläts** resa därifrån. (JH1/T) [permitted-S]

With some of those meanings, Swedish is less problematic since there are separate verbal and adjectival counterparts. For example, verbal *tillåtas* (*s*-passive, as in (1:36); 'be allowed') and adjectival (*vara*) *tillåten* ('be allowed'). *Blev tillåten*, however, denotes the transition to a new state (and not the result of the transition) and is passive. We find a similar distinction in English *forbid* (verb) and *forbidden* (adjective).

The relationship between auxiliary verb and main verb is scalar with several intermediate categories (Quirk et al. 1985:137), one being *semi-auxiliary*. Be obliged and be supposed are found in this group. Only very few occurrences qualified for inclusion in the data as most were found to be non-passive.

The single clearly passive instance of *be obliged* is the one in (1:37), whereas (1:38) is non-passive and thereby excluded. The passive interpretation is reinforced by the Agent.

- (1:37) Rembrandt **was obliged by the court** to pay two hundred guilders annually for her maintenance. (JH1/F)
- (1:38) Mrs Fletcher did not like Romley or the neighbourhood of Romley in which, for the early years of her marriage, she **was obliged** to live. (MD1/F)

Again, Swedish differentiates between verbal and adjectival forms: *tvingas* (*s*-passive; 'be obliged', 'be forced') and (*vara/bli*) *tvungen* ('be obliged', 'be forced').

Be supposed is complex in meaning and is treated in different ways in the literature. Granger (1983:160ff.) distinguishes between non-passive and passive be supposed (to + inf) arguing that the non-passive one is a lexicalised combination in which "the Ved [past participle] has a meaning which cannot be deduced from the active meaning(s) of the verb [...]" (1983:162). (1:39) is an example:

(1:39) This is what the government's own policy of devolution **is supposed** to mean. (Granger 1983:162)

This meaning appears to correspond to Quirk et al.'s (1985:137, 143) category semi-auxiliaries, referred to as verb idioms and where *be supposed to* corresponds to 'should'/'ska', 'skulle' and 'ought to'/'borde'. It expresses necessity ("Their team

is supposed to be the best. [= 'should be'; this is the recognized view]") or obligation ("You were supposed to be here at nine. ['ought to have been'; obligation]") (Quirk et al. 1985:237). This sense, further exemplified in (1:40) from the ESPC, is not considered passive in the present study.

(1:40) Because they're secret, these fights have an extra attraction. It's the attraction of dirty words we **are**n't **supposed** to say, words like bum; the attraction of conspiracy, of collusion. (MA1/F)

The non-passive/semi-auxiliary be supposed and other semi-auxiliaries should not be confused with their "homomorphic passive constructions" (Quirk et al. 1985:144 Note [b]). As main verbs, suppose, assume, mean and other verbs denoting a verbal or mental activity typically need an animate participant as ACTOR and a passive reading is therefore closer at hand. This is in line with Granger's (1983:168ff.) classification of this be supposed as passive on the grounds that it is verbal and has a direct correspondence with an active counterpart. However, this meaning is fairly close to 'should', and when looking at actual language use, the borderline is far from clear. In the case of (1:41), which is counted as passive and included in the data, the text talks about St Feliks and some people appreciating and having opinions, and it seems reasonable to accept an unidentified participant supposing 'lofty humanists' to have a sense of humour.

(1:41) St Feliks would have been unlikely to appreciate Chebrikov's mildly comic eulogy, for his gifts did not include a sense of humour. Since, by the 1980s, 'lofty humanists' such as Dzerzhinsky were supposed to have a sense of humour, however, Chebrikov made a humourless attempt to defend him against the charge of being humourless. Dzerzhinsky was not, Chebrikov insisted, 'the ascetic that some people thought him. (CAOG1/NF)

Sankt Feliks själv skulle sannolikt inte ha uppskattat Tjebrikovs aningen komiska lovtal, ty sinne för humor var inte en av hans gåvor. Men eftersom "högsinta humanister" som Dzerzjinskij på senare tid, på 1980-talet, **förmodades** ha sinne för humor, gjorde Tjebrikov ett humorfritt försök att försvara honom mot anklagelsen för att sakna humor. Dzerzjinskij var inte, hävdade Tjebrikov bestämt, "den asket en del människor tror att han var. (CAOG1/T) [supposed-S]

In (1:41), a paraphrase with *should* ('Since, by the 1980s, 'lofty humanists' such as Dzerzhinsky should have a sense of humour') results in a change of meaning, which further signals the possibility of different meanings of *be supposed*.

In Swedish, s-forms of some verbs with modal meaning are ambiguous between passive and non-passive. Two such verbs, behaving in a similar manner, are behöva ('need') and kräva ('demand', 'require', 'claim'). Focusing on kräva, Laanemets (2012:210ff.) identifies several different meanings in her Swedish data, only one of which is clearly used in the passive. In this sense, kräva means 'someone demands something from someone' or 'make a demand of something'. (1:42) is an example:

(1:42) Sedan mannen hade betalat tillbaka har han under hot **krävts** att betala ännu mer. (Laanemets 2012:210)

"Ever since the man had paid back he has under threat been required to pay even more."

Although there is no expressed Agent, there is clearly an animate entity involved in threatening and making demands so it can be concluded that this is a passive.

Expressed *av*-phrases are not common with *kräva s*-forms, and when they occur they do not necessarily realise the ACTOR. In (1:43), the *av*-phrase refers to the participant towards whom the action is directed, i.e. the PATIENT, and not to the ACTOR.

(1:43) Hon tyckte att alla såg forskande på henne. Det fanns nån sorts förväntan i ansiktena som var olustig att se. Plötsligt **krävdes** det av henne att hon skulle gå in i rollen av sörjande föräldralös. (MG1/F)

Nora thought everyone looked questioningly at her. Their faces showed a kind of expectation that was unpleasant to see. Suddenly she **was supposed** to play the part of grieving orphan. (MG1/T)

In English, the *av*-phrase would correspond to an *of*-phrase, *it was demanded of her*, and not a *by*-phrase. The translation also shows the closeness in meaning between *kräva* and *be supposed* expressing necessity.

The step to what, according to Laanemets (2012:211), appears to be the most common sense of *kräva*, 'something is needed' or 'something is necessary', is not far. *Kräva* can here be replaced by *behöva* ('need', 'require'), which behaves similarly.

(1:44) Övriga organisationer/aktörer har sällan den organisation och de resurser som **krävs** för att ställa krav på statsmakten. (CO1/NF)

Other organizations/actors seldom have the organizational resources **required** to make demands of the government. (CO1/T)

The idea of an external ACTOR or CAUSE is even more remote here, and this type can therefore be considered to be a middle construction and not a passive (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:556f., cf. also Sundman 1987:327f.).

1.5.3 Concluding remarks

This section has presented the definition of the passive used in the present study, including issues of delimitation. It has been the aim to highlight the most relevant

delimitation issues related to the passive and the selection of data. It has, however, not been possible to cover all potential problematic issues and all constraints. One category that has not been commented on consists of verbs that are said to be used almost only in the passive, such as *be born* and *be reputed* (Quirk et al 1985:162). Such issues are discussed when relevant in the contrastive analysis.

It is worth pointing out one thing that has bearing on frequency counts. The definition for a passive construction adopted in this study states that a periphrastic passive must have an auxiliary present. However, in cases of more than one passive in the same sentence, the auxiliary is sometimes expressed only for the first instance. In such cases, exemplified in (1:45), the subsequent participle forms were assumed to use the same auxiliary implicitly and were thus regarded as passives. Again, this goes to show the importance of taking the context into account. The three occurrences in (1:45) were counted as separate ones.

(1:45) Untutored in the waltz, the simple quick-quick-slow of passing through a crowd, Rook's country shadow **had been blocked** by waiting cars and errand bikes, **thwarted** by citizens on opposing routes, **stopped** in his path by shopping bags, and kids, and snack-or-bargain carts. (JC1/F)

It is evident from the discussion and from the examples given so far that participant roles play a crucial role in this study, and that, in the passive, they have a distribution different from that in a corresponding active rendering. The next section presents the roles used in the present study.

1.6 Participant roles in the passive

Semantically, voice is a resource for varying the mapping of *participant role* onto the different syntactic functions involved (Saeed 1997:158, Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1427). In this way, the use of the passive allows for variation in the perspective from which a situation is presented (as illustrated also in (1:1)). (1:46) shows how participants are realised by different syntactic functions:

(1:46) active: A tailor mended the trousers.

ACTOR V PATIENT

< Subj Vpass Object >

passive: The trousers were mended (by a tailor).

PATIENT V (ACTOR)

The trousers is an affected entity, i.e. a PATIENT, in both the active and the passive, but syntactically it is realised as an Object in the active and as a Subject in the passive. The ACTOR *a tailor* is a grammatical Subject in the active and part of the optional Adverbial phrase in the passive.

The mapping of participant role onto the Subject position can be described as a hierarchy, or continuum. There are different versions of the hierarchy in the literature. Dowty (1991:578) suggests the one in Figure 1.6:

Figure 1.6 Hierarchy of participant roles (Dowty 1991:578)

It is assumed that the performer of the action, or the participant starting or controlling the action described by the verb, is most likely to be selected for the Subject position in the unmarked case. The further to the right a given role is, the less likely it is to occur as Subject in an active clause. Comrie (1989:59), for example, regards this type of continuum as one of control and suggests that there are correlations between roles, e.g. a conscious initiator (*John* in *John opened the door*) and a mindless initiator (*the wind* in *the wind opened the door* (examples from Comrie), variations in degree of control and linguistic realisation (construction types). The hierarchy as presented in Figure 1.6 applies to an active perspective, and the passive will, of course, reverse the perspective in typically selecting a PATIENT as Subject. Further, the hierarchy serves to illustrate typical relations but does not specify all the participant roles relevant in the present study, nor does it use the same terminology.

So, while an active Subject typically, but not necessarily, is an ACTOR (for example *One of the policemen* in *One of the policemen stopped me*), the Subject of a passive can never have this role. The ACTOR is either left implicit, as in a [-Ag] passive: *I was stopped yesterday*, or realised by the syntactic Agent, as in a [+Ag] passive: *I was stopped by one of the policemen*. The passive Subject, like the active Object, typically denotes an affected entity which in this study is called PATIENT. Although the Subject of a *get*-passive may have a responsibility or a causation feature, its major role is still PATIENT. Hence, if we want a PATIENT in Subject position we use a passive, but if an ACTOR is preferable in this position we choose the active form (section 2.4.2 discusses disourse functions in more detail).

Participant roles (in the literature variously referred to as e.g. semantic roles, functional roles, thematic roles, case roles, deep cases) are discussed, to a greater or lesser extent, in major reference grammars in both English and Swedish, as well as in the syntactic and semantic literature. The extensive literature offers many accounts, but there is no unified view as to for example what roles can be recognised and how many roles are to be recognised (see e.g. the discussion in Dowty 1991). Borderline cases are also frequent in the models offered. The following brief description of the participant roles which are used in this study is based on several sources (Cruse 2000:281ff., Halliday 1994:106ff., Quirk et al. 1985:740ff., Saeed 1997:139ff., Sundman 1987:143ff, and Teleman et al. 1999). A – G below describe and exemplify the roles that seem possible for a passive Subject and a passive Agent.

A. **ACTOR**: the animate initiator and/or performer of the action identified by the verb, capable of acting with volition, is in control of the action. The text also uses the adjective 'agentive' relating to ACTOR.

Examples: John kicked the ball.

The ball was kicked by John.

B. **CAUSE**: usually inanimate entity that is non-intentionally part of an action or non-intentionally initiates an action, not capable of acting with volition, is not in control of the action. The text also uses the adjective 'causal' relating to CAUSE.

Examples: *The storm drove the ship ashore.* (Quirk et al. 1985:754) The house was struck by lightning.

C. **INSTRUMENT**: an entity which the ACTOR uses to perform an action or instigate a process (Quirk et al. 1985:743). The instrument is usually but not necessarily inanimate. The text also uses the adjective 'instrumental' relating to INSTRUMENT.

Examples: The police used **sniffer dogs** to locate the drugs. (Cruse 2000:283)

The pears were bruised by the new mechanical pickers that Victor used. (JC1/F)

D. **EXPERIENCER**: an animate entity that feels, thinks, sees, hears – i.e. experiences something in some way.

Examples: **Kevin** felt ill.

E. **RECIPIENT**: an entity that intentionally or non-intentionally receives or owns something, or benefits from something.

Examples: *She* was awarded the prize. (Quirk et al. 1985:1391)

He [...] said the Royal Prince was owned by a corporation. (AT1/F)

We paid the taxi driver.

- F. **PATIENT**: the most general of the participant roles. In the literature variants of this role have been termed e.g. 'objective, 'affected', 'undergoer', 'theme', 'goal'. The PATIENT can be animate or inanimate. The role is broad and covers:
- an entity towards which the action denoted by the verb is directed:

The ball was kicked by John.

John kicked the ball.

- an entity undergoing a change in state:

The ice was melted by the sun.

- an entity whose location is described:

The book is in the library.

G. **LOCATIVE**: an entity that identifies the location or spatial orientation of the action or state denoted by the verb:

Examples: **The Mariager Fiord** was reached at twilight [...]. (BL1/T) We reached **the Mariager Fiord** at twilight.

The examples given are typical ones, and needless to say, borderline cases are expected. It should be mentioned that the EXPERIENCER role is restricted to apply to 'mental processes' (Halliday 1994:118), which comprise three subgroups of verbs, namely verbs of perception (seeing, hearing etc.), affection (liking, fearing etc.), and cognition (thinking, knowing, understanding etc.). In this way, we exclude from the EXPERIENCER role instances such as *John* in *Mary threw John out of the window* (Cruse 2000:283) in which John clearly experiences something but is also the PATIENT of the action. The clause is similar to *Mary threw John and his trousers out of the window*, and under our definition both *John* and *his trousers* are PATIENT.

Participant roles play a crucial part in the analysis and description of the voice network in general and the passive in particular. From a functional perspective it is almost impossible not to discuss the passive in both syntactic and semantic terms.

1.7 The passive and transitivity

One of the cornerstones in a treatment of the passive construction is the concept of *transitivity*, and as was stated in section 1.5.1, the present study regards transitivity as a gradient phenomenon. This section will outline what this means.

In the traditional view of transitivity, a verb that normally can take one Object is a transitive verb, one that can take two Objects is a ditransitive verb, and one that cannot take an Object is an intransitive verb. Accordingly, a clause with an Object is a transitive clause, and one without an Object is an intransitive clause, and transitivity is considered a binary property of verbs. However, in Hopper and Thompson's (1980) multi-factorial approach to transitivity, the presence of an Object is only one of many components. This broader view presents transitivity as a gradient on which components display high or low transitivity. All components are somehow concerned with the effectiveness with which "an activity is 'carried-over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient" (Hopper & Thompson 1980:251). For example, it is assumed that a punctual action, e.g. kick, has a greater effect on its PATIENT than a non-punctual one, e.g carry, and that an ACTOR acting with volition (as in I wrote your name) creates a more apparent effect than one acting without volition (I forgot your name). The greater effect, the higher degree of transitivity.

The parameters that determine degree of transitivity of a clause are given in Table 1.4

Table 1.4 Parameters of transitivity (after Hopper and Thompson 1980:252).

		High transitivity	Low transitivity
A.	Participants	2 or more participants,	1 participant
		A(gent) and O(bject)	
В.	Kinesis	action	non-action
C.	Aspect	telic	atelic23
D.	Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E.	Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional

²³ A situation is 'telic' if it is represented as having a terminal point or as being completed, and it is 'atelic'if it has no terminal point or is not completed: telic *I ate it up* vs. atelic *I am eating it* (Hopper & Thompson 1980:252) (see further section 2.4.4).

F.	Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G.	Mode	realis	irrealis
Н.	Agency	Agent high in agency	Agent low in agency
I.	Affectedness of Object	Obj. totally affected	Obj. not affected
J.	Individuation of Object	Obj. highly individuated	Obj. non-individuated

Several of the parameters in the table can be directly related to the passive and are among the factors potentially influencing a translator's choices (see Chapter 2). We can compare a passive clause with an active, typically expecting the active to be higher in transitivity than the passive, but we can also compare, for example, two passive clauses with each other. Consider (1:47) and (1:48):

(1:47) She was afflicted, in fact, by superstitious dread. (FW1/F)

(1:48) He had been beaten by the police [...]. (BO1/F)

The sentence in (1:48) shows a higher degree of transitivity than the one in (1:47) in several respects. In (1:48), there are two participants both of which are [human]/[animate] and [concrete], whereas in (1:47) one of the two participants is [inanimate] and [abstract] ([Participants], [Individuation]). The verb in (1:48) denotes a concrete action, which is not the case in (1:47). The former is therefore higher in [Kinesis]. The Agent acts purposefully in (1:48) but not in (1:47) ([Volitionality]). Concerning [Agency], Hopper and Thompson say that "[i]t is obvious that participants high in Agency can effect a transfer of an action in a way that those low in Agency cannot" (1980:252), and the action expressed in (1:48) is therefore more effective than that in (1:47). In sum, (1:48) has more features from the 'high' column than (1:47) has, which makes (1:48) higher in transitivity.

A common denominator among the categories treated in many studies on voice-related phenomena in recent years appears to be transitivity, and a gradient approach to transitivity can help us make a more fine-grained analysis of the correspondences we find. As pointed out by Solstad and Lyngfelt, "compared to a prototypical active transitive sentence, where an animate agent in control of the situation volitionally performs a specific action on an affected patient, there are several ways in which a sentence could be less transitive without actually being passive" (2006:2). When the point of departure is a passive, the question arises whether a non-congruent translation is necessarily more transitive than the source text passive. A reduction in degree of transitivity from a source text to a translation can be referred to as a detransitivisation process.

1.8 Outline of study

The remainder of the thesis is organised as follows. Chapter 2 describes the passive construction in terms of what factors might be relevant in a contrastive perspective and what might have influenced the translators in the translation process. The description also aims to complement the definition of the passive in Chapter 1. With the aim of giving a general picture of the uses of the passive in the two languages, Chapter 3 consists of a quantitative analysis of the full empirical material retrieved from original texts in the ESPC. This analysis hence deals only with source texts passives, and not with translation correspondences. On the other hand, the frequency analysis covers the full set of passive constructions retrieved from the ESPC. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 discuss the non-congruent translation correspondences found in the data. In order to identify the network around the passive, this analysis focuses on non-passive correspondences, first in Swedish translations of English source texts (Chapter 4), and second in English translations of Swedish source texts (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 highlights the main findings, compares the networks, and concludes the thesis.

2. Factors influencing the choice of construction

2.1 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to discuss what factors might have influenced the use of a passive or of a non-passive in the translated material. Although this is primarily a contrastive investigation, it uses translation data, and when we analyse translations, we use the product of the translation process. Presumably, the translators were influenced by a number of factors in the translation process, and different translators make different linguistic choices. Because of this, translations have been regarded as 'second-rate' texts, not as good as 'original texts', and some scholars claim that original text should not be compared with translations. Section 1.4.2 suggested some ways to reduce translation effects, and the issue is further discussed in 2.3.

A second aim of the chapter is to continue the characterisation of the passive construction that was started in Chapter 1. Also here, the focus is on English and Swedish. At the same time, the chapter will serve as an overview of the relevant literature. I will discuss some of the most central properties found in the languages concerned, but more refined characteristics can hopefully be identified in the contrastive analysis (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

The chapter starts with a short discussion of translation norms which is followed by a look into features that are considered universal, or specific, to translated texts. Thirdly, and as the main focus of the chapter, I will discuss some factors that are specific to the passive construction and thereby relevant for a contrastive analysis.

2.2 Translation norms

Norm theory was introduced in translation studies by Toury in the late 1970's (see e.g. Toury 1980), and its applications have taken different forms and directions since. The current trend in translation is to focus on the target language culture and readership in contrast to being faithful to the source language (e.g. Baker 1993:239). We can therefore assume that the translator strives towards a high degree of readability in the target language. The expectations of the target language readership, which include both the prevalent translation tradition and the conventions of non-translated ('original') texts, as well as text type and

discourse conventions form what Chesterman (1997:64) refers to as *expectancy norms*.²⁴ When a translation follows these norms, it will be seen as appropriate or acceptable, while deviations make the translation seem odd in some way. Since the passive does not have the same functions and is not used with the same frequency in all languages, orientation towards the target language becomes important for achieving a smooth and natural translation (Baker 1992:103ff.)

Expectancy norms are related to the product of the translation process but there are also norms related to the process itself. One of them concerns the relation between the source text and the target text: "a translator should act in such a way that an appropriate relation of relevant similarity is established and maintained between the source text and the target text" – the *relation norm* (Chesterman 1997:69). The relation norm is text type sensitive in the sense that different text types may cause the translator to give priority to different aspects, such as formality, stylistic level, or semantic closeness. Chesterman argues that the wide variety of relations that exist between source and target texts makes the broader concept of perceived similarity more suitable than the (narrower) concept of equivalence.

2.3 Universal features of translation

Translation norms should be distinguished from what has been called *universal* features of translation. Drawing partly on Even-Zohar (1979), Baker (1993:243) defines these as "features which typically occur in translated text rather than original utterances and which are not the result of interference from specific linguistic systems". Chesterman (1997:70ff.) refers to these (or similar features) as "general translation laws", but argues that "perhaps the most pervasive of all translation laws is the law of interference" which states that "translators universally tend to be influenced by the language of the source text, in a wide variety of ways" (ibid.). In such cases, the source language seems to dominate over the target language, which runs counter to the current focus on the target language. Gellerstam coined the term translationese to refer to "fingerprints" (1996:54), or reflections, of the source language in the target language. Three main universals have been identified in translation theory and in the translation studies literature (cf., e.g. Blum-Kulka 1986, Laviosa 2002:43ff.). First, translations tend to be more explicit than their source texts, a feature referred to as explicitation. Scholars have also found strong tendencies towards simplifying the language, simplification, for example in terms of syntax, and towards a greater degree of conventionality in translations than in their source texts - normalisation.

²⁴ Cf. Toury's 'initial norm' (1995, in Venuti 2000:200)).

However, although most translated texts probably exhibit these features, they should be regarded as tendencies rather than as absolute laws. We can expect strategies to co-occur, and there will be both regularities and irregularities in translation patterns.

It is evident that all of the features mentioned above may affect the translation of passives. For example, explicitation may be one explanation why we find an active construction in the English translation in (2:1):

(2:1) Hon tyckte inte om honom. Nu ville hon inte prata mer om deras förhållanden. Då **hördes** en bil och Mia rusade fram till fönstret. Men det var inte Dan. (KE1/F)

"Then a car was heard and Mia rushed over to the window."

She didn't like him, and now she didn't want to talk about their circumstances any more. They **heard** a car and Mia rushed over to the window, but it wasn't Dan. (KE1/T)

The Swedish source text has an agentless passive which is rendered as an active with a personal pronoun (*they*) as Subject, making the target text more explicit than its source text.

The fact that translations are affected, randomly or systematically, by the translation process is an important issue to consider. Is it possible, for example, to make generalisations about a language based on translations, and to what extent have the preferences of an individual translator coloured the translation? Although translations have been said to be less reliable than non-translated texts for describing a language (see e.g. Lauridsen 1996, Teubert 1996), the use of multilingual translation corpora for contrastive studies has developed into a wellestablished research paradigm since the 1990's (cf., e.g. the collection of papers in Aijmer and Altenberg (2013)). Johansson (2007:10) points out that "[i]n using translation corpora for contrastive studies, it is therefore important to be able to control for translation effects". As we have seen, this can be done, at least partly, by using texts translated by a wide variety of translators and by using original texts in both English and Swedish and exploring their translations - a bidirectional study. Ideally, the next step would have been the reverse direction, i.e. to start from translations and explore correspondences in original texts. Unfortunately, due to the difficulties in retrieving data in a systematic manner (see section 1.4.3), this was done in only a limited number of occurrences in the present study.

2.4 Factors specific to passives

A survey of the literature on the passive shows that a number of factors may govern the choice of the passive and the ways it is used. It is therefore reasonable to ask what factors may influence the choice of a non-congruent, i.e. a non-passive, construction instead of a passive, or an 'unmarked' passive type instead of a 'marked'? In this section I will give an overview of some of these factors. They often work on different levels and under different conditions, which in turn contributes to the complexity of the construction and the network it is part of. Some factors may have a direct effect on the choice and use of the passive while others may have a more indirect influence.

2.4.1 Agentivity and the Agent

As shown in section 1.5, the implication of an Agent Adverbial, or the idea that there is always, explicitly or implicitly, an entity equivalent to the corresponding active Subject, is a crucial feature in the definition of the passive construction (e.g. Shibatani 1985:832). It is, for example, what distinguishes a Swedish spassive from a formally identical middle construction in which the event takes place automatically or spontaneously without the intervention of an external agentive entity. Out of context, and especially without an Agent, an s-passive and a middle construction are ambiguous in Swedish. Examples (1:30) and (1:32) are repeated here as (2:2) and (2:3).

- (2:2) Hennes utseende **förändrades av ljuset**. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:402) [changed-S] Her appearance **was changed by the light**.
- (2:3) Hennes utseende förändrades. [changed-Smid]

Her appearance changed.

An identified inanimate CAUSE ((2:2)) is intermediate on the middle-passive continuum (Figure 1.5) but it is still recognised as passive. (2:3), on the other hand, out of context, is middle. Or, depending on the context, it can be either passive or middle. The same applies to (2:4), whereas the expressed CAUSE in (2:5) makes that one passive.

(2:4) Många hus skadades svårt.

Many houses were severely damaged.

(2:5) Många hus skadades svårt av nedfallande träd.

Many houses were severely damaged by falling trees.

In addition, although in some cases, e.g. with verbs denoting identity and characterisation relations, the ACTOR is obligatory (see section 1.5.2.2; Sundman 1987:382), the ability to occur without the ACTOR expressed is a central feature of the passive exhibited in many languages (cf., eg., Lyons 1968:378 and Keenan 1985:247). Shibatani explains this as "[a] clause without an agent – or something close to it, like an experiencer – does not permit a passive, since there is no [ACTOR] to defocus" (1985:832). This explains why a clause like *John resembles Bill* cannot be passivised.

It is widely reported that an overwhelming proportion of passives in both English and Swedish occur without an explicit Agent phrase. According to Quirk et al. (1985:164f.) only one out of five passive sentences in English has an expressed Agent. Similarly, Biber et al. (1999:938) report a relation of one [+Ag] finite passive to seven [-Ag] ones in fiction and academic discourse. Laanemets (2012:125) found 12.5 % [+Ag] in her Swedish data including both written and spoken material. Hence, the possibility to leave the ACTOR unexpressed in a clause, often referred to as ACTOR defocusing (e.g. Shibatani 1985:830) or ACTOR demotion (e.g. Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006:8), is likely to affect the choice of construction.

2.4.2 Discourse functions

Defocusing of the Agent is one of the two primary discourse functions operating at clause level. It is generally agreed that the ACTOR is left unexpressed when it is self-evident from the context or when it is irrelevant or unknown. It is important, however, to observe that defocusing may mean different things (Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006:8). In a [-Ag] passive, such as *My bike was stolen yesterday*, the ACTOR (or other participant role recognised for the Agent) is left unexpressed. We can say that it is defocused in the syntactic surface structure, but it is present in the semantic structure. We can also talk about defocusing referring to reduction from present ACTOR to absent ACTOR, as in the difference between a passive and a middle. Hence, (2:6a) and (2:6b) both have an ACTOR present, whereas in the

middle construction in (2:6c), it is absent, defocused, both syntactically and semantically. ²⁵

- (2:6) a. Kim broke the window. (Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006:3)
 - b. The window was broken (by Kim).
 - c. The window broke.

A third use of the term *defocusing* relates to a hierarchy of grammatical functions whereby, in a passive, the ACTOR is separated from the Subject position and realised in an oblique (Agent) argument (Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006:8, cf. also Shibatani 1985:832). In this study, I use defocusing for all three types.²⁶

The other main function operating at clause level is *thematisation*, whereby the passive permits a non-ACTOR to occur as *theme*: *the window* in *the window was broken*. The present study follows *Systemic Functional Grammar* and defines theme as "the element which serves as the point of departure of the message; it is that

²⁵ The structure with an intransitive verb and a non-agentive Subject has been given different labels in the literature: *unaccusative* (unaccusatives have "patient arguments without accusative marking" (Solstad & Lyngfelt 2006:3)); taking a semantic perspective, de Schepper (2010) calls them *spontaneous*; the functional tradition often uses the term *ergative*: clauses such as *someone opened the door – the door opened* have been said to form 'ergative pairs' (e.g. Thompson 2004:135f., cf. also Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:284ff.). The ergative perspective focuses on whether an event is caused to happen or happens by itself, i.e. if there is an external actor or cause making the event come about. A clause with an explicit or implicit actor or cause is an ergative clause, while one without is non-ergative.

²⁶ Following Halliday (1967), Granger (1983), investigating spoken language, suggests that [+Ag] passives have a focalising function. According to this view, the Agent receives unmarked focus in clause-final position, and the focalising function correlates with the end-focus principle. However, as focus and information structure in terms of 'given' and 'new' information are commonly regarded as features of spoken language, this falls outside the scope of this thesis.

A relevant question is where focus is located in [-Ag] passives. Interestingly, Dušková (1971) finds the end-focus principle to hold also for [-Ag] passives, since the verb is in unmarked focal position in such structures: "the verb is the rheme (i.e. the sentence part carrying the largest amount of new information) and thus requires final position" as in *The various methods used to evaluate these circulatory changes have been criticized* (Dušková 1971:127). In contrast, Granger (1983:305ff.) suggests that end-focus plays a less prominent role in agentless passives than in agentful ones in that it applies only in cases with a new verb in clause final position. When other elements follow after the verb phrase, it is no longer focal. In // because the books couldn't be removed from the PREMISES // (Granger 1983:306), the last constituent, from the PREMISES, receives the highest degree of focus. As pointed out by Elisabet Engdahl (p.c.), in a different context, the verb could have been stressed and focalisation would not apply.

which locates and orients the clause within its context" (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:64). The theme is located at the beginning of the clause and the rest of the clause, where the theme is developed, is called the *rheme*. Theme-rheme structure hence reflects the way the writer chooses to organise the message, i.e. the linear organisation of information. In the unmarked case in a declarative clause, the theme is an NP Subject, but also other constituents, e.g. Adverbials and fronted Objects, may realise the theme. A theme often consists of more than one element, and is then a *multiple theme*, as in (2:7), where *and then* are two *textual themes* and *the door of the studio* is a so-called *topical theme*.

An important difference between English and other Germanic languages lies in word order. Whereas English retains SVO word order in cases where the clause-initial element is not a Subject, the other Germanic languages are verb second (V2) languages requiring Subject-Verb inversion after an initial non-Subject, as in (2:7).

(2:7) And then *the door of the studio* **is opened** [...] (BR1/F)

Och så **öppnas** dörren till ateljen [...] (BR1/T)

[and then opens the door of the studio]

The word order difference probably affects the definition of theme. In English the theme in (2:7) is *And then the door of the studio*, but for Swedish, the question is how far into the clause the theme extends. For example, does it include the Verb or not? Studies on theme and sentence openings in German (Steiner & Ramm 1995), Danish (Andersen et al. 2001), Norwegian (Hasselgård 2004), and Swedish (Altenberg 1998, Fredriksson 2004, Holmberg & Karlsson 2013) have shown that theme in those languages differs from English theme in some respects.²⁷ However, using different defintions of theme may be problematic in a contrastive analysis of thematic structures (Hasselgård 2004:191). In the present study, I therefore choose to disregard certain changes in the analysis of correspondences. This concerns minor changes in the position of clause-initial Adverbials and shifts due to the V2 constraint.

Thematisation and defocusing are illustrated in Figure 2.1 (developed from Granger 1983:292). In the upper part of the figure, we find the representation of the active construction: participants, syntactic functions and theme-rheme structure. The middle part represents [+Ag] passives with the same three layers, and the bottom part represents [-Ag] passives. As shown by the two arrows going

²⁷ Acknowledging this cross-language difference, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:81) mention also other languages whose thematic structures differ. The collection in Caffarel et al. (2004) offers functional typological profiles including textual/thematic structure in a number of languages.

from the active NP1 area, defocusing operates on two levels: [+Ag] and [-Ag] passives. In [+Ag] passives, the ACTOR is expressed in the Agent. In [-Ag] passives, by contrast, the ACTOR is not expressed on the syntactic level (indicated by 'Ø'), but present in the semantic structure, as indicated by the presence of '[ACTOR]' in that part. Defocusing thus removes the ACTOR Subject from thematic position. Turning to thematisation, the arrows show that the active PATIENT Object is thematised in thematic position in the passive, in both [+Ag] and [-Ag] passives. The three 'layers': participant role, syntactic function and textual function (i.e. theme-rheme structure) correlate with the three lines of meaning, or metafunctions, in Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:58f.).

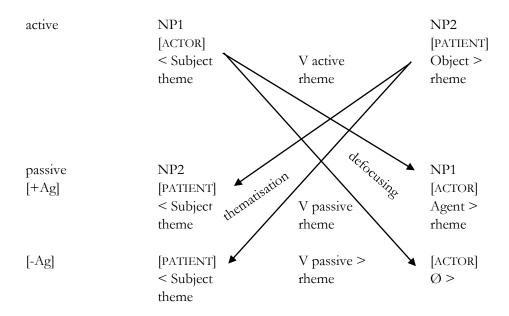


Figure 2.1 Schematic illustration of two passive functions

The overall reason for making use of these functions is that the passive facilitates the connection of one clause or sentence with another and thereby helps make the discourse run smoothly and naturally. The theme then operates above clause level and is the second part of the definition of theme by Halliday and Matthiessen given above: "it is that which locates and orients the clause within its context" (2004:64). Consider the following short piece of text from Thompson (2004:154, italics in source):

(2:8) They'd managed to get themselves on the wrong coach at Exeter. They were rescued by a soldier who spotted them both crying. He took them back to Exeter on another bus.

The use of passive in the second sentence enables the writer to keep the theme of the first sentence. The last part of the rheme of the second sentence, a soldier who spotted them both crying, is picked up as the theme, he, for the third sentence. This patterning shows that the theme is important not only at clause level but also in a larger perspective since "the choice of [t]heme, clause by clause, is what carries forward the development of the text as a whole" (Halliday 1994:336).

It is generally agreed that thematising and defocusing are the major functions of the passive, and that they are to a large extent universal (e.g. Lyons 1968:378, Givón 1993, Foley and van Valin 1985, Keenan 1985, Halliday 1994).²⁸ It has, however, also been argued that one or the other function is the basic and primary one. Several factors speak in favour of defocusing. The fact that about 80% of all passive clauses both across languages and across many registers are agentless strongly also suggests that Agent defocusing is the main discourse function, as is claimed by Shibatani (1985:830). In impersonal passives, thematisation does not apply, which again gives Agent defocusing as the primary function (e.g. Shibatani 1985:832ff.). Consider the Swedish impersonal passive with an expletive *det* ('there') as Subject, in (2:9):

(2:9) Det **talas** mycket om "kärlek vid första ögonkastet" [...]. (BL1/F) [it speak-S]

"There is much talk about "love at first sight" [...]."

Swedish impersonal passives rarely take an Agent, and if the passive is seen primarily as an Agent defocusing process, such impersonal passives pose no problem. The thematisation view, by contrast, taking the promotion of an active non-ACTOR to passive Subject/theme position to be the main function, fails to handle impersonal passives since there is no non-ACTOR to promote – the passive Subject is semantically empty. Lastly, in [+Ag] passives, in which the ACTOR is defocused from Subject to Agent position, the defocusing function often cooccurs with the principle of end-weight according to which longish chunks of text are placed towards the end of the clause (Quirk et al. 1985:1362). The fact remains that in most cases both functions apply and are simultaneous. In this work thematisation and defocusing are therefore seen as complementary and equally important passive functions. If only one function applies, as in the impersonal passive (where thematisation does not apply), this is considered to be

²⁸ The terms used in the literature for the functions differ. Alternative terms for thematisation are for example 'topicalisation', 'foregrounding' and 'promotion', and for defocalisation 'agent suppression', 'agent backgrounding' and 'agent demotion' (see e.g. Foley and van Valin 1985:322, Keenan 1985:243f., Givón 1993:48ff.).

a deviation from the typical pattern (cf. Shibatani's (1985) prototype) with a referential Subject.

2.4.3 The ambiguity between dynamic and stative passives

As was shown in Chapter 1, the passive can be dynamic or stative. The Swedish periphrastic passive, using different auxiliaries for dynamic (*bli*-passive) and stative (*vara*-passive) situations and events, is unambiguous. In English, however, the *be*-passive is either dynamic or stative. The types are not always easy to distinguish, and the topic has occupied linguists for a long time. The two types have been given a number of different labels of which 'actional' and 'statal' passives, and 'passives of becoming' and 'passives of being' are only a few. The stative type has sometimes not been regarded as passive - some scholars have seen only the dynamic type as passive and taken the stative type to be a copula + predicative construction. Yet others regard them as two different types of passives.

At the centre of the debate have been ambiguous structures that can be interpreted either dynamically or statively. The sequence *They were married* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1436) is an example. The dynamic interpretation reads *They were married last week in London*, whereas the stative is present in *They were married for many years*. A similar contrast is found in *They were injured when the platform they were standing on collapsed*, which denotes an event and is hence dynamic, and *She is injured and will have to miss the next two matches*, is stative (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1437). A *get*-p is dynamic and can be used for avoiding ambiguity: *They got married last week in London*; **They got married for many years*; *They got injured when the platform they were standing on collapsed*; *She got injured and will have to miss the next two matches*. Sequences like *They were married* and *They were injured* in isolation are ambiguous between a dynamic and a stative interpretation, and the context has to be looked at in order to determine the status.

Biber et al. (1999:940) are hesitant as to the delimitation of the stative passive from non-passives. They say that in a stative *be*-passive "the focus is on the result, not on the agent and the action" and that they "are like constructions with copular *be* plus adjective" (1999:940). Palmer is more explicit in claiming that, although there are degrees of adjectivalness, "[a]ny verb that has a passive may also have a statal passive" (1987:88f.). Thereby, Palmer aims to separate semi-passives and pseudo-passives, which display adjectival properties and participles that have no corresponding verb, from verbal participle constructions

that describe a state. Again, as is also pointed out by Palmer, the context plays a crucial role.

Just like the *be*-passive, the Swedish *s*-passive is both dynamic and stative. In (2:10) and (2:11), we find the verb *omge* in a stative *s*-passive and a *v*-passive, which is always stative.

(2:10) Ett foto av William Ford ganska sent i livet visar honom som ordförande för en jury i Dearborn. Han sitter tungt i en strikt kostym med väst och en kraftig klockkedja trädd genom denna. Han **omges av de övriga elva redliga männen**. (RL1/T)

A photograph of William Ford in later life shows him as foreman of a Dearborn jury, seated heavily in formal three-piece suit, with a solid watch chain strung across his waistcoat. He is surrounded by the eleven other good men and true. (RL1/NF)

(2:11) Den kvällen blev pappa den beskyddande jätte som förde mig in i upptäckterna av vår nya värld. Vi **var omgivna av en stor skog**. (BO1/T)

That evening Dad became the guardian giant who led me into the discoveries of our new world. We were surrounded by a great forest. (BO1/F)

A stative *s*-p may denote identity (e.g. *motsvaras* 'correspond-S', *symboliseras* 'be symbolised'), time or space (e.g. *föregås* 'be preceded'), ownership (e.g. *ägas* 'be owned') and other static relation types but not all of them correspond to the *v*-p.

2.4.4 Aktionsart

Aktionsart relates to the temporal characteristics of the process, for example whether the action has a natural end-point or not, or whether it is durative, ingressive or iterative. Traditionally, in the Swedish grammatical tradition, Aktionsart has played a central role in the description of passives and has been thought of as strongly influencing the choice of passive type in general (e.g. Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:391ff.). Other studies, for example Engdahl (2001), suggest that factors such as control and animacy sometimes override Aktionsart. This section looks at how Aktionsart relates to the different Swedish passive forms but I will not go through all the different combinations presented in Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:381f., 391f., 393).

A basic difference between the Swedish passive types is that the *s*-passive should be used when the focus is on the event itself, as in (2:12), whereas the *bli*-passive ('become'), (2:13), is dynamic and foregrounds the result of the action or the change of state denoted by the verb, and the *vara*-passive ('be'), (2:14), is stative and places the resultant state in focus.

(2:12) s-passive: Hon lades in på sjukhus.

"She was admitted to hospital."

(2:13) bli-passive: Hon blir/blev inlagd på sjukhus.

"She is (being)/was admitted to hospital."

(2:14) vara-passive: Hon är/var inlagd på sjukhus.

Lit: She is/was admitted to hospital / She has/had been admitted ...

The English translations of (2:13) and (2:14) are ambiguous whereas in Swedish the different auxiliaries reflect whether the focus is the change of state or the resultant state. Example (2:14) focuses on the state; the interpretations are 'she is admitted to hospital and will have to stay for another week' / 'she was admitted to hospital for a long time' portraying a continuing state and therefore having continuative aspect or Aktionsart (Brinton 1988:3). In contrast, (2:13) refers to the process of admitting: 'she is/was admitted to hospital today'; the transition to a new state is emphasised and it is hence ingressive in aspect (ibid.). Moreover, (2:13) denotes an event that occurs at a single moment and is represented as reaching a terminal point; it is a bounded situation in the terminology of Declerck: "[a] situation is bounded if it is represented as reaching a terminal point, otherwise it is unbounded" 1991:119).²⁹ According to Brinton (1988:3), the distinction between boundedness and unboundedness belongs in the area of Aktionsart. The varapassive in (2:14) represents an unbounded situation since no terminal point is implied. The distinction bounded/unbounded cuts across the three passive types since all three Swedish passive types can be used with both bounded and unbounded Aktionsart. A bli-passive can denote unbounded situations as in (2:15) although bounded ones are more typical, and vara-passives are frequently used in bounded situations as in (2:16):

(2:15) Patienten blev hela tiden övervakad av vår personal. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:393)

"The patient was all the time supervised by our staff."

(2:16) Kyrkan var byggd när kungen besökte staden. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:394)

²⁹ There is little consensus among linguists as to the distinction between aspect and aktionsart or to the nature of the two. A range of alternative terms are used. For the bounded/unbounded distinction we find for example 'perfective' vs. 'imperfective', 'conclusive' vs. non-conclusive', and 'telic' vs. 'atelic' (Declerck 1991:121). The definitions and descriptions given vary and it has been argued that there are certain meaning differences between them. Subclassification within each term is also possible, but for the present study the bounded/unbounded dichotomy suffices.

"The church was built when the king visited the town."

According to Teleman et al. the s-passive is preferable when the meaning is generic or iterative:

(2:17) Fågelfrö köps i djuraffären. (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:398)

"Bird seed can be bought in the pet shop."

As pointed out by Engdahl (2006:25), this does not mean that the *bli*-passive is always better in specific events. The *s*-passive in (2:18) is preferred to the *bli*-passive in (2:19). This *bli*-passive is rather marked although it denotes a specific bounded punctual event.

(2:18) Uppgiften lämnades in för sent. (Engdahl 2006:26)

"The exercise was handed in too late."

(2:19) ?Uppgiften blev inlämnad för sent.

"The exercise was handed in too late."

Teleman et al (1999:Vol.4:398f.; cf. also Engdahl 2006:24) further show that the s-passive is the preferred, or only, form in instructions of various kinds, such as signs (Dörren öppnas utåt. 'the door opens outwards'), announcements (Dörrarna stängs! 'the doors close/are closing'), recipes (Mjölet tillsätts under omrörning. 'the flour is added while stirring), and in rules (I bisatser placeras inte framför det finita verbet. 'in subordinate clauses, not is placed before the finite verb'). A plausible reason why the bli-passive is not possible in such contexts is that the Subject of a bli-passive sometimes "may influence the situation described or [have] some control over it" (Engdahl 2006:32) with the result that the (understood) passive Agent is weakened. The ACTOR in instructions and directives can be assumed to be in full control which makes the s-passive the best option (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:399).

2.4.5 Animacy of the Subject and the Agent

Animacy of both the Subject and the Agent is closely related to the type of participant, and it has been claimed that the passive Subject is typically an inanimate entity since the most common of its corresponding active counterparts, the Direct Object, characteristically is an animate PATIENT, but

preferences may vary according to passive type. For example, it has been shown that the *bli*-passive prefers animate Subjects to inanimate ones (Laanemets 2012:115; cf. also Sundman 1987:442, Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:390), which has been related to the control feature since supposedly only an animate being can influence a situation.

Animacy of the Agent is also strongly related to participant role. An ACTOR and an EXPERIENCER are animate whereas a CAUSE and an INSTRUMENT are typically inanimate. A passive with an inanimate Agent can be problematic in that it often borders to middle voice structures. All in all, we may assume that animacy of the participants involved influences the choice of structure in translation.

2.4.6 Control and responsibility

While in the *be*-passive and the *s*-passive the ACTOR (the passive Agent) retains control and the Subject is purely a PATIENT, the PATIENT Subject of a *bli*-passive and a *get*-passive has been said to remain in control to a certain extent, i.e. the Subject is indirectly responsible for or involved in the action expressed in the clause (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:390, Engdahl 2001). Givón and Yang refer to the feature of control as the *human-agentive feature* (1994:139). Hence, if the Subject is able to influence the situation or at least does not hinder the action expressed, it seems as if the *bli*-passive is preferred. (2:20) is an example:

(2:20) Some winklebrain from the bank who managed to get himself sacked the following week (and you really do have to be a winklebrain to **get ejected** from there) stepped out one evening with Stu for a post-Arbeit beverage at Squires Wine Bar. (JB1/F)

There are obvious correlations between, for example, degree of control/responsibility, animacy, and degree of transitivity in various types of construction, so it remains to be seen whether these connections remain in translations. First, however, control and responsibility are further investigated in section 3.3.2 in the analysis of source text passives.

2.4.7 Text type and style

The passive is text type sensitive in the sense that it is used with varying frequencies in different registers in English (Svartvik 1966, Granger 1983, Biber 1988, Biber et al. 1999). It is known as a marker of distance, objectivity and impersonality in language. Baker points out that "[b]ecause of its widespread use in technical and scientific English in particular, [the passive] has had a strong influence on similar registers in other languages through translation" (1992:102).

On the other hand, as was mentioned in the introductory section, there are indications that *be*-passive use is decreasing in at least some formal registers. Still, a number of studies over the years have shown that the passive is highly genresensitive in that it is more frequently used in some registers within a language than in others (cf. Svartvik 1966:155, Westman 1974, Biber 1988, Nordman 1992, Biber et al. 1999:476, Laanemets 2012:88ff.). Since the data used in the present study was retrieved from various registers and text types, half from fiction and half from non-fiction texts, it seems highly likely that frequency of usage may vary. Part of the corpus material used in the present study can be expected to display rather formal language.

3. A quantitative analysis of passives in source texts

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will present a quantitative analysis of passives extracted from the Swedish and English source texts selected in the ESPC. The frequency with which the passive is used in a given language can be related to the availability or non-availability of functionally similar structures, i.e. non-passive structures that can be used for expressing the same or similar propositional content, or for performing similar functions in that language. Thus, if the passive is used with relatively high frequency, it is likely that there are few functionally similar structures in that language, but if there are a number of 'passive-like' competing options to choose among in the language, the hypothesis is that the passive will be used with relatively low frequency (Siewierska 1984:250, cf. also Baker 1992:102). However, as we saw in Chapter 2, passive use may be influenced by other factors than pure availability of competing structures.

This chapter hence investigates passives in the source texts. The aim of the chapter is to give a general picture of the passive from its use in the present data, and in contrast to the analysis of translation correspondences (Chapter 4 and Chapter 5), which delimits the data to non-congruent correspondences, this chapter deals with the complete set of source text passives. Hence, it covers passives that were translated by a passive (i.e. congruently) and those that were translated by a non-passive construction (i.e. non-congruently). The main reason for using the complete set of data for the quantitative study is that it gives a more complete picture of the passive in the two languages, which will be valuable also for the analysis of translation correspondences and the overall network.

In addition to frequencies of occurrence split across language, passive type and text type, the analysis will cover some of the features discussed in Chapter 2, viz. semantic characteristics of passive variants, and agenthood and animacy of the Subject and the Agent. I will also explore to what extent the English passive and the Swedish passive are comparable with respect to these features. The quantitative analysis will add to the characterisation given in Chapter 2, and will serve as background to the analysis of translation correspondences in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

In the following sections, frequency is presented in three ways. In addition to raw frequency (given in columns/rows headed 'no.'), which is the count of passive constructions found, I often give relative frequency (columns/rows

headed "%"), which gives us the relative proportions of passives among the texts discussed. However, since the number of words in each text varies slightly (see section 1.3), I also give normalised frequency per 1,000 words (columns/rows headed 'f/1,000 words'). This value tells us how common the passive is relative to the total number of words in each specific text, and allows us to compare texts accurately (Biber et al. 1998:263f.).

The chapter is organised as follows: section 3.2 presents overall frequencies and has two sub-sections in which frequencies in the subcorpora fiction and non-fiction are discussed. Section 3.3 focuses on the different passive variants and brings up frequency distribution and some semantic characteristics. Agenthood is discussed in section 3.4, and section 3.5 deals with animacy of the Subject and of the Agent.

3.2 Frequency of occurrence across sub-corpora

In total, 4,685 occurrences of the passive construction were retrieved from the material. As Table 3.1 shows, passive frequencies vary considerably between the two languages and between the subcorpora representing different text types.

Table 3.1 Overall frequencies of passive constructions in English and Swedish source texts

	EnOF	EnONF	Total	SwOF	SwONF	Total
no.	626	1219	1845	440	2400	2840
f./1,000 words	3.9	8.4		3.0	18.9	

The passive occurs most frequently in the Swedish non-fiction texts followed by the English non-fiction texts, the English fiction texts and finally the Swedish fiction texts. Thus, in the present data the passive is stronger in English fiction texts (normalised figure: 3.9 occurrences/1,000 words) than in Swedish fiction texts (3.0), whereas the opposite is the case for non-fiction writing in which the Swedish non-fiction data show very high figures (18.9/1,000 words) in comparison to English non-fiction (8.4/1,000 words). The chi square test shows highly significant differences in both cases (p <0.001).³⁰

A comparison of English fiction and non-fiction source texts reveals that the passive is used more than twice as often in the non-fiction texts (3.9/1,000 words vs 8.4/1,000 words), a highly significant difference according to the chi

³⁰ The program *StatView* was used for the chi square statistical test.

square test (p<0.001). The EnOF figure is similar to Biber et al.'s (1999:938) 4/1,000 words for finite passive constructions in fiction, and to McEnery and Xiao's (2005) findings of 4.1/1,000 words for *be*-passives in the fiction subset³¹ of the Freiburg-LOB corpus (FLOB).³² Slightly higher are the 4.5/1,000 words found by Svartvik (1966:155) for agentive passives in fiction. Svartvik's material dates back to the 1950's, whereas the FLOB corpus and the ESPC consist of texts from the early 1990's and 1980-2000 respectively. These results indicate a slight decrease in passive frequency in fiction text from 1950 and onwards.

Also the non-fiction data seem to be roughly comparable to previous studies. A recalculation of McEnery and Xiao's (2005) results for the non-fiction part of the FLOB gives 9.8 occurrences per 1,000 words³³, hence slightly higher than the present study. This is possibly due to discrepancies in genres between the present data and that of McEnery and Xiao. The non-fiction data are discussed in more detail in section 3.3 and section 3.5.

Turning now to the Swedish fiction and non-fiction data, we find that the difference is even greater than that between the English texts. The fiction subcorpus has a relatively low share of passives, 3.0/1,000 words, indicating that Swedish writers of fiction often choose other means of expression. The non-fiction subcorpus, on the other hand, reveals that the passive is used with very high frequencies in Swedish non-fiction writing (18.9/1,000 words), not only in comparison with Swedish fiction but also with the English non-fiction texts. The differences are highly significant according to the chi square test.

Given the facts that the passive, by signalling the writer's detachment, is widely acknowledged as a characteristic of formal language and thereby a strong category in many formal registers in English to the extent that it is sometimes considered the norm (Baker 1992:103), and that it has been suggested that the passive is less used in Swedish due to the availability of other impersonalising constructions such as the generic Subject *man* (Siewierska 1984) and nominalisations, the result for Swedish non-fiction is indeed unexpected. Unfortunately, there are very few quantitative studies on the passive in Swedish,

³¹ The figure 4.1/1,000 words is the average of the figures given for General fiction, Adventure fiction, Science fiction, and Romantic fiction in McEnery and Xiao.

 $^{^{32}}$ The be + past participle structures included in McEnery and Xiao are only those where the past participle follows immediately after the passive auxiliary (and other possible auxiliaries) with no intervening Adverbial. The present study, however, allows up to five words between passive auxiliary and part participle. More similar extraction principles may have given a greater difference.

³³ The figure 9.8/1,000 words is the average of the figures given for the non-fiction written genres in McEnery and Xiao. The genres are: Press reportage; Press editorials; Press reviews; Religion; Skills, trades and hobbies; Popular lore; Biographies and essays; Reports and official documents; Science (academic prose).

but as we shall see in section 3.2.2, there are a few investigations we can compare with.

So far, I have treated the four corpora (EnOF, EnONF, SwOF, SwONF) as four sets of text although they are in fact conflations consisting of 48 separate text samples. In the following sections I will break down the overall frequencies of the corpora in order to discuss frequency text by text, since we are likely to find a certain variation. I start with the English fiction data.

3.2.1 Frequency across texts in English sources

The results in the English fiction subcorpus reveal a considerable variation among the texts (Table 3.2). Normalised frequency ranges between 2.3/1,000 words and as many as 8.6/1,000 words. The top score, 8.6, is almost double the size of the second largest score, 4.8. The relative frequency among the texts also varies a great deal. JH1 tops the list with 18.2% (114/626) of the total number of passives in these texts.

Table 3.2 Frequencies of passive constructions in English fiction texts (EnOF)

Text code	Size of text in	no.	0/0	f / 1,000 words
(author)	no. of words			
JH1 (Heller)	13,282	114	18.2	8.6
JC1 (Crace)	12,000	57	9.1	4.8
DLO1 (Lodge)	14,335	60	9.6	4.2
BO1 (Okri)	13,000	53	8.5	4.1
PDJ1 (James)	16,294	66	10.5	4.1
BR1 (Brink)	15,199	56	8.9	3.7
MD1 (Drabble)	15,000	52	8.3	3.5
FW1 (Weldon)	13,000	43	6.9	3.3
JB1 (Barnes)	13,431	40	6.4	3.0
AT1 (Tyler)	12,500	30	4.8	2.4
GN1 (Naylor)	13,000	30	4.8	2.3
MA1 (Atwood)	11,000	25	4.0	2.3
Total	162,041	626	100.0	3.9

When taking a closer look at the authors' names in Table 3.2, we find that five of the six topmost texts were written by male authors.³⁴ The only woman writer getting into the top six is P.D. James, in 5th place. The only male writer among the bottom six is Julian Barnes, in 9th place. This strongly suggests a greater preference for passive constructions among male authors than among female

³⁴ I am grateful to Elisabet Engdahl (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

ones. This is a somewhat unexpected finding and to my knowledge, gender is a variable that has not been investigated in relation to voice preferences previously. Research on gender differences in language use has often focused on spoken language, communication strategies and verbal behaviour in a wide range of settings and cultures (see e.g. the extrensive research overview in Kendall & Tannen 2007), but the connection to fiction writer's preferences seems too vague as a basis for any conclusions. We have also seen that a number of factors possibly influence passive/non-passive use, and it is difficult to isolate a gender variable.

Being composed of several different text types, from biographies and travel descriptions and guides, which are narrative in character, to legal acts and EU treaties (section 1.3), which are purely factual texts, the non-fiction subcorpus texts are heterogeneous in composition, which is reflected in the variation in passive frequency as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 Frequencies of passive constructions in English non-fiction texts (EnONF)

Text code	Size of text in	no.	0/0	f / 1,000 words
(subgenre)	no. of words			
AZ1 (company report)	12,733	177	14.5	13.9
AEEA1 (law)	12,000	156	12.8	13.0
CS1 (soc. science)	11,285	130	10.7	11.5
MAAS1 (law)	10,337	97	8.0	9.4
CAOG1 (humanities)	13,053	118	9.7	9.0
SUG1 (geogr: travel)	9,281	71	5.8	7.6
CSA1 (nat. science)	12,928	94	7.7	7.3
PM1 (geogr: travel)	13,000	93	7.6	7.0
ABB1 (company rep)	12,760	88	7.2	6.9
AS1 (soc. science)	11,234	67	5.5	6.0
RL1 (biography)	13,000	74	6.1	5.7
RF1 (biography)	13,000	54	4.4	4.1
Total	144,611	1219	100.0	8.4

According to Biber, texts with a high frequency of passive constructions are informative, "typically abstract and technical in content, and formal in style" (1988:112). The genres with the highest scores on Biber's dimension of abstract vs. non-abstract distinction are academic prose and official documents, a pattern recurring in McEnery and Xiao (2005). The present study only partly supports that pattern. A company report (considered to belong in the genre Official documents) (13.9) and a Law text (13.0) show the highest frequencies, followed by one of the popular science texts (11.5). There is, however, variation within the genres which can be seen in the much lower frequencies in the other texts in these genres, most notably in the company report with 6.9. These differences

may indicate a shift in non-fiction writing in English towards less use of passives. In fact, several studies (e.g. Seoane 2006, Leech et al. 2009:148ff.) based on the LOB and FLOB corpora and the Brown and Frown corpora, representing British and American written English from 1961 and 1991/1992 respectively, have observed a general decrease in passive use, in favour of a more personal style. The strongest decrease was noted in scientific English, and the weakest decrease in fiction, and the decrease appears to be greater in American English than in British English. In sum, based on the present result we can say that English non-fiction writing in general tend to show a rather frequent use of passives but, importantly, usage differs both within and between genres. The biographies, for example, are low on the scale, one of them even lower than several of the fiction texts.

3.2.2 Frequency across texts in Swedish sources

The proportions of passives in the Swedish fiction material is given in Table 3.4. The highest score among the SwOF texts is 5.9/1,000 words and the lowest is 1.9. Thus, there is a notable difference across the texts also in this subcorpus. The only large scale study on the passive in fiction in modern Swedish is Laanemets (2012). Laanemets compares passives and their uses in Swedish, Norwegian and Danish in four genres: newspaper, fiction, conversation and (political) debate. A recalculation of her figures³⁵ gives 4.4/1,000 words in fiction, which places that genre in third place on the scale which is headed by newspaper (13/1,000 words), considered neutral in style, followed by debate (5.7/1,000 words; formal in style), then fiction (4.4/1,000 words; informal, literary style), and lastly conversation (3/1,000 words; informal, personal style). Laanemets' frequency for fiction, which is an average figure, is thus a little higher than that for most of the SwOF texts in the present study.

³⁵ Laanemets' (2012:88) relative frequencies are based on the number of finite verbs in her material.

Table 3.4 Frequencies of passive constructions in Swedish fiction texts (SwOF)

Text code	Size of text in	no.	%	f / 1,000 words
(author)	no. of words			
PCJ1 (Jersild)	12,188	72	16.4	5.9
LG1 (Gustafsson)	10,704	42	9.5	3.9
PE1 (Enquist)	12,225	44	10.0	3.6
BL1 (Larsson)	15,247	51	11.6	3.3
JG1 (Guillou)	10,490	35	8.0	3.3
LH1 (Hagerfors)	10,299	30	6.8	2.9
MS1 (Scherer)	12,531	31	7.0	2.5
MG1 (Gripe)	12,257	29	6.6	2.4
GT1 (Tunström)	12,493	27	6.1	2.2
RJ1 (Jönsson)	13,353	28	6.4	2.1
AP1 (Pleijel)	12,662	26	5.9	2.0
KE1 (Ekman)	12,859	25	5.7	1.9
Total	147,308	440	100.0	3.0

In terms of author gender, the picture in the Swedish texts is even more consistent than in the English texts. Unfortunately, there is not an equal number of male and female authors here (8 male, 4 female) but the top six positions are all occupied by male authors. Based on the English and Swedish data, we can therefore draw the conclusion that male fiction writers use the passive construction to a greater extent than do female fiction writers.

When we turn to the Swedish non-fiction material, the fourth and last subcorpus, the picture changes dramatically (see Table 3.5). Although also this collection of texts exhibits variation in frequency, the variation is much greater than what we have seen in the rest of the material. There is a range from 9.9/1,000 words in a biography text to 39.6/1,000 words in a Law text, which is the highest number in the whole material. The two Law texts have particularly high frequencies, 39.6 and 38.5 respectively, and are followed by seven texts that cluster around 20 and by three around 10.

Table 3.5 Frequencies of passive constructions in Swedish non-fiction texts (SwONF)

Text code (subgenre)	Size of text in	no.	0/0	f / 1,000 words
	no. of words			
JLIK1 (law)	2,424 ³⁶	96	4.0	39.6
UTL1 (law)	8,594	331	13.8	38.5
PEA1 (company rep.)	9,468	201	8.4	21.2
CO1 (soc. sci: wel)	11,866	249	10.4	21.0
LI1 (geogr: travel)	11,887	248	10.3	20.9
VOL1 (company rep.)	12,194	247	10.3	20.3
HL1 (hum: hist)	12,397	244	10.2	19.7
LU1 (soc sci: econ)	12,209	220	9.2	18.0
AA1 (hum: hist)	11,379	199	8.3	17.5
CP1 (appl. sci: med)	10,008	119	5.0	11.9
IB1 (biography)	11,410	119	5.0	10.4
KF1 (biography)	12,823	127	5.3	9.9
Total	126,659	2400	100.0	18.9

These figures are, in fact, roughly in line with those presented by Nordman (1992) in a study of Swedish 'special purpose texts'³⁷ in the areas of Computer Technology, Electronic Technology, Business Economics, Law, Communication Theory and Linguistics. Nordman's results show that Economics has the highest frequency (42/1,000 words), followed by Computer Technology (30), Law (29), Electronic Technology (26), Linguistics (23) and Communication (17).³⁸

Furthermore, Westman (1974) investigating 'informative texts'³⁹ found 16.7/1,000 words, i.e. slightly less than that found in the present study. It should be noted that the genres and text types in Nordman and Westman are not entirely comparable to those of the present study, but a comparison can still give a rough indication of the status of the passive.

³⁶ Some of the texts in the corpus consist of shorter complete texts. The Swedish legal acts are two of these.

³⁷ "Special purpose texts" here include handbooks, textbooks and scientific articles.

³⁸ Figures were recalculated from Nordman (1992:76), who presents the results in percentage shares of the total number of words per subject area.

³⁹ 'Informative texts' here comprises brochures published by authorities or institutions close to authorities and addressing "society in general", informative newspaper articles, textbooks and "debate texts" from books and journals on the subject "marriage and women issues".

3.2.3 English and Swedish source texts compared

A comparison of the English and Swedish non-fiction source texts shows that the passive holds a stronger position in the Swedish non-fiction than in the English. Again, the difference is highly significant (p<0.001). This result is contrary to what might be expected given the hypothesis that one reason for the frequent use of the passive in English non-fiction writing is the lack of alternative modes of expression (Sager, Dungworth & McDonald 1980:209f., Siewierska 1984:250). It is assumed that the impersonal quality, which is highly characteristic of some non-fiction genres, is achieved in English to a great extent by the passive in the absence of other alternatives. However, another construction which is clearly a potential option instead of a passive is a nominalisation. It is fairly similar to the passive in stylistic level and allows for economy in language, just as the passive does. In her study of English lexical nominalisations and their translations into Swedish and Norwegian, Nordrum (2007:200) finds that approximately one fifth of the English source text nominalisations were rendered as clauses in Swedish (and in Norwegian), which suggests a greater preference for nominalisations in English than in Swedish.

An alternative construction in Swedish is the stylistically unmarked generic pronoun *man*, for which Altenberg (2004-2005:98) reports a frequency in Swedish non-fiction source texts in the ESPC of 3.8 occurrences per thousand words, whereas the frequency of *one* in the English STs is as low as 0.16.⁴⁰ Hypothetically, then, the availability of *man* should decrease the use of passives, but contrary to this expectation, Swedish seems to display higher frequencies than English of both passives and of *man/one* in many genres of non-fiction writing.

Finally, since the 1970's/1980's, style guides and authorities (e.g. Institutet för språk och folkminnen, Plain Language Commission, and the European Union; cf. also Seoane & Williams 2006, Pullum 2014)⁴¹ have strongly advised against the use of passives. Companies and the public sector, for example, are recommended to use active verbs before passive ones as one among several strategies for better reader orientation and clarity in text. Additionally, the use of automatic grammar checkers in computer software is likely to have an effect on the choice between a passive and a non-passive option. Given the high numbers in the Swedish non-fiction material, the recommendation may seem justified, but

⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Altenberg does not compare the use of *one* with generic *you* and *we* in original text, but it is shown that *man* and *you* are close translations correspondents (2004-2005:104).

http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/klarsprak/att-skriva-klarsprak/webbutbildningen-att-skriva-battre.html, http://www.clearest.co.uk/#, ec.europa.eu/translation.

we have also seen that the passive can also enable a smooth text development and thereby facilitate understanding. We need more recent data to verify the effect of the plain language movement and other factors. If there is an on-going colloquialisation trend in language with a reaction against a detached and impersonal style as has been observed in English, a spread to Swedish does not seem unlikely.

As shown in Table 3.3 and Table 3.5, there is variation in passive use in the non-fiction data both within and across genres and languages. I will now group frequencies and distribution together for a comparison of genres across language/subcorpus. Table 3.6 shows the distribution of passives across genres. The frequency rates for the fiction subcorpora are the average ones, whereas the figures for the non-fiction part are shown text by text separated by a slash.

Table 3.6 Comparison of normalised frequencies of passives in original texts grouped according to genres

Text type	EnO	SwO
- Fiction	3.9	3.0
- Non-fiction		
Official documents		
Law	9.4 / 13.0	38.5 / 39.6
Company reports	6.9 / 13.9	20.3 / 21.2
Popular science		
Social sciences	6.0 / 11.5	18.0 / 21.0
Natural sciences	7.3	11.9
Humanities	9.0	17.5 / 19.7
Popular lore (geography/travel)	7.0 / 7.6	20.9
Biographies	4.1 / 5.7	9.9 / 10.4

Although there is a statistically significant difference between the languages in the fiction genre, the difference is even greater in the non-fiction genres. On the whole, the Swedish original texts show a considerably higher frequency with the most notable difference found in Law in which the Swedish texts are particularly high. Legal text forms part of Official documents which tops the list in both languages, agreeing with McEnery and Xiao (2005), who find a frequency of 14/1,000 words for this genre in English. The discourse of its sub-groups (Law and Company reports) can be expected to be impersonal and detached in contrast to involved in character, with emphasis on abstract information (cf. Biber 1988:152f.).

Medial position is occupied by popular science and popular lore in which the Swedish texts in some cases show double the frequency of the English ones. Again, the English figures agree well with those of McEnery and Xiao (2005) who found approximately 9/1,000 words in roughly corresponding categories.

Towards the other end, displaying even lower frequency in both languages, we find Biographies in which the difference between the languages is again great (4.1/5.7 vs. 9.9/10.4 per 1,000 words). Biographies are similar to the other non-fiction texts in being factual/informative in contrast to imaginative, but at the same time they resemble fiction in being more narrative than other non-fiction genres. Since the main topic of a biography is a person, the discourse is supposedly more concrete and personal with more prominence being given to the agentive entity, and we can expect the style to be more involved and more informal and, typically, the writer to use fewer passive constructions. Biber (1988:253) finds a mean frequency of 9.9/1,000 words and McEnery and Xiao (2205) report 8.4 for Biographies, hence similar to the Swedish data and higher than for the English originals in the present study.

The fiction corpora in both languages, whose discourse is typically imaginative, narrative and informal, display the fewest passives (cf. Biber 1988:112, 151f.). As already discussed, passives are more frequent in the English fiction data than in the Swedish, but we can also see that the difference is smaller than in the non-fiction data. The only feature shared by the languages seems to be the cline from formal to informal working alongside with the distinction between informative and imaginative. The frequency with which the passive is used, however, varies considerably. This raises the question to what extent variation is reflected in the different passive variants, which is the topic of the next section.

3.3 Distribution of passive types

In this section I will report on the frequency and distribution of the passive types in the material and discuss differences and similarities between the types and between the languages. As previously described, both English and Swedish make use of two auxiliaries for forming the periphrastic passive: *be* and *get* in English, and *vara* and *bli* in Swedish. In addition, Swedish has the morphological *s*-passive. In the following I start with the prototypical passive construction, which has a corresponding active counterpart and an overt Subject with semantic content (Siewierska 1984:28) (section 3.3.1), and its different variants mentioned above. The other main type is the impersonal passive which has a non-referential, semantically empty, pronoun as its Subject (section 3.3.3).

3.3.1 The main passive types

Of the five variants of personal passive investigated (s-passive, bli-passive, vara-passive, be-passive and get-passive), the be-passive and the s-passive are heavily predominant in both the fiction and the non-fiction material in their respective language (Table 3.7 and Table 3.8).

Table 3.7 Frequencies of passive variants in English originals

Passive	EnOF			EnONF		
variant	C/1 000	no.	%	f/1,000 words		
be-passive	620	99.0	3.83	1214	99.6	8.39
get-passive	6	1.0	0.04	5	0.4	0.03
Total	626	100.0	3.872	1219	100.0	8.42

Table 3.8 Frequencies of passive variants in Swedish originals

Passive		SwOF			SwONF		
variant	no.	%	f/1,000 words	no.	%	f/1,000 words	
s-passive	425	96.6	2.89	2350	97.9	18.56	
vara-passive	8	1.8	0.05	39	1.6	0.31	
bli-passive	7	1.6	0.05	11	0.5	0.09	
Total	440	100.0	2.99	2400	100.0	18.96	

With less than 1/1,000 words, the *get*-passive and the Swedish periphrastic passive types are indeed very rare in the material and are thereby clearly the marked variants in the languages, whereas the *be*-passive and the *s*-passive are unmarked. This relation is confirmed by studies in both languages (cf. Silén 1997:199, Engdahl 2001:89, McEnery and Xiao 2005, Laanemets 2012). The low frequency of *get*-passive can, to a certain extent, be text type-related since it has been shown to be more frequent in spoken or colloquial language than in written, and my data consist of written language only.⁴² The findings of the *get*-passive in

⁴² However, with less than half a dozen agentive *get*-passives in his material, Svartvik points out that he finds no indication 'that the *get*-passive is common in colloquial English' (1966:149). Similarly, McEnery and Xiao (2005) find very few occurrences, only 0.26/1,000 words, in the dialogue part of the BNC, as do Carter and McCarthy (1999:45) investigating informal spoken British English (1/1,000 words). In a more recent study, Schwarz (2015) reports fairly stable figures, 0.26 (for 2002) and 0.24/1,000 words (for 2010) (recalculated from 257 and 237 occurrences per million words), for central *get*-passives based on the Corpus of American Soap Operas (http://corpus.byu.edu/SOAP/),

the present study are lower than those reported by Collins (1996:54f.) who finds an average of 0.077/1,000 words (re-calculated from 77.4 per million words) in the fiction parts of corpora of British English, American English, Australian English, and Indian English. There are, however, indications that the *get*-passive is increasing in use, perhaps as part of a current colloquialisation process in English. Although it is still highly infrequent in comparison with the *be*-passive, Leech et al. (2009:156) found a slight increase overall in both AmE and BrE from the 1960's to the 1990's.

Similarly, Laanemets (2012) finds the highest proportion of *bli*-passives in the spoken data in her study: 14.5% in Conversation, whereas the other spoken genre, Debate, reaches 6.1%.⁴³ However, Laanemets (2012:100) also relates the distribution of *s*-passive and *bli*-passive to genre – the more formal genre (in her case Political debate and Newspaper), the higher frequency of *s*-passive, and conversely, the more informal style (Conversation and Fiction), the more use of the *bli*-passive.

3.3.2 Get-passive and bli-passive: some semantic features

There are supposedly other factors than medium and level of formality involved in the use of the *get*-passive and the *bli*-passive. In order to get a clearer idea of what these variants do in text and why they are at all used when they seem to be such a marginal phenomenon, this section will investigate a few aspects that have been discussed in the literature before. As mentioned in section 2.4.6, the *get*-passive and the *bli*-passive share certain semantic and/or pragmatic features, some of which distinguish them from the *be*-passive and the *s*-passive/*vara*-passive to a certain extent. Firstly, both types occur only in dynamic events which makes them, and in particular the *get*-passive, useful for avoiding any potential stative/dynamic ambiguity as in *The chair was/got broken*, *Hon var/blev inlagd på sjukhus* 'she was/became admitted to hospital'. Secondly, the focus is often on the event/process or on the Subject rather than on the Agent, which ties in with the claim that *get*-passives are typically agentless. The *bli*-passive, in contrast, can take an Agent in the same way as the unmarked *s*-passive.

A third feature relates to "the favourability of the process for the subject-referent" (Collins 1996:51), and at the same time reflects the attitude of the speaker/writer towards the events described. All passive variants can be

which contains scripted dialogue. We can safely conclude that the *get*-passive is the marked English passive variant from the point of view of frequency in both spoken and written language.

⁴³ The *vara*-passive was not part of the study.

adversative, neutral or beneficial in meaning or be used in such contexts, but a number of studies, e.g. Carter and McCarthy (1999) and Schwarz (2015), have observed that the *get*-passive is predominantly used for expressing a negative speaker stance and/or in an adversative context. However, a few verbs which are neutral in meaning are sometimes used with exceptionally high frequencies which may result in high proportions of this meaning as in McEnery and Xiao (2005) in which case 58.9% of the *get*-passives were neutral while 37.7% of the *get*-passives were negative.⁴⁴ In comparison with the *be*-passive, however, the *get*-passive showed a much higher proportion of negative occurrences (37.7% in *get*-passives vs. 15% in *be*-passive. In the present data, 8 (out of 11) *get*-passives and 7 (out of 18) *bli*-passives were found to have a clear negative meaning, illustrated in (3:1) and (3:2). The result for the English data thus accords with previous studies as regards the *get*-passive.

- (3:1) That it very suddenly struck me that on the night they'd tried to express their hopeless resistance by committing sabotage, the night they'd got caught, I'd been sitting at my desk [...] (BR1/F)
- (3:2) Från de förödmjukelser som Immanuel som obemedlad **blev utsatt** för i barndomen skulle han som vuxen aldrig bli fri. (KF1/NF)

Immanuel would never recover from the humiliations that he **was exposed** to in his childhood [...]. (KF1/T)

Studies have shown that although many verbs used in the *get*-passive are inherently negative (e.g. *get arrested, get burgled*), this is not a necessary criterion.⁴⁵ In many cases the verb is neutral and the problematic circumstance can be inferred from the context.

Furthermore, there are 2 beneficial *bli*-passives (one given in (3:3)) but no *get*-passives of this kind. Carter and McCarthy (1999), McEnery and Xiao (2005), and Schwarz (2015) note that beneficial *get*-passives are clearly in the minority in their corpora.

(3:3) År 1520 blev Danmarks kung Kristian II krönt till kung i Sverige. (AA1/NF)

In 1520 King Christian II of Denmark was crowned King of Sweden. (AA1/T)

⁴⁴ Among the verbs with neutral meaning frequently used in the *get*-passive are: *married, paid, dressed* and *changed*.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that, although certain verbs are used in the *get/bli*-passive, this does not mean that this form is the most frequent in the passive. Since the *get*-passive and the *bli*-passive are marked forms and make up only a tiny part of all passives, it is highly likely that the unmarked forms are more frequent in these verbs as well.

The neutral type is the most frequent one in the Swedish material (9 instances), as in (3:4), whereas the English data contains 3 instances ((3:5)):

(3:4) Torsten skakade av sig dessa tankar så snabbt han kunde. Här måste ju något **bli gjort.** (LG1/F)

Torsten tried to shake off these thoughts as quickly as he could. Something had to **be done** here. (LG1/T)

(3:5) The local authority has arranged for the twins to attend some kind of day care centre. They **get collected** most days. (PDJ1/F)

In these cases neither the verbs themselves nor the contexts are adversative or beneficial, and the passives can readily be replaced by an *s*-passive and a *be*-passive respectively.

Finally, a fourth feature related with the *get*-passive and the *bli*-passive concerns the matter of control/involvement or responsibility of the subject-referent, which Givón and Yang refer to as 'the human-agentive feature' (1994:139). If the Subject is able to influence the situation, it seems as if the *bli/get*-passive is preferred. Although it is sometimes very difficult to say whether the Subject referent was able to influence the situation, some cases seem clearer than others. (3:1) and (3:6) appear to be [+ control], i.e. the Subject-referents are clearly responsible for or involved in the event, and they are also negative:

(3:6) Some winklebrain from the bank who managed to get himself sacked the following week (and you really do have to be a winklebrain to **get ejected** from there) stepped out one evening with Stu for a post-Arbeit beverage at Squires Wine Bar. (JB1/F)

As noted by Collins (1996:52), the responsibility/involvement feature is usually absent from neutral *get*-passives (as in (3:5) and (3:7)). We can see a certain correlation between control and adversativity or beneficiality in the data: 4 [+ control] in 8 adversative occurrences (11 occurrences in total) in the English data, and 2 [+ control] in adversative plus 2 in beneficial passives in the Swedish data. A correlation can also be observed between inanimacy and neutral *bli*-passives: 8 out of 9 instances (see for example (3:7)) have inanimate Subjects, which at the same time should rule out the control feature. Animacy of the passive variants is discussed in more detail in section 3.5.1. All the neutral *get*-passives, on the other hand, have animate Subjects (see (3:5) and (3:7)).

- (3:7) I've got my hands full raising my son. "Children get raised overnight, Mattie." (GN1/F)
- (3:8) Fordringar upptas till det belopp som efter individuell prövning beräknas **bli betalt**. (PEA1/NF)

Receivables are reported at the amount that is expected to **be paid**, based on an individual assessment. (PEA1/T)

Two factors explain the use of a *bli*-passive in (3:7). First, there are two consecutive passives – an *s*-passive followed by a *bli*-passive, and according to Laanemets (2012:188f.), this is the typical pattern in Swedish in cases of 'double passives'. Second, the *bli*-passive is the preferred form for orientation to future time.

Based on this limited data, we can draw only very tentative conclusions and compare with previous studies. Concerning the three-part division between adversative, neutral and beneficial in the present data, the *get*-passive is predominantly adversative in meaning and hence concurs with previous findings. In contrast, the tendency for an adversative meaning is weaker in the Swedish *bli*-passive, of which most occurrences are neutral in meaning. The control feature is most evident in adversative passives, especially in *get*-passives, but present also in beneficial *bli*-passives. Also controllability seems to be weaker in the *bli*-passive than in the *get*-passive (cf. Engdahl 1999:23), which suggests that other factors may govern the use of this variant.

3.3.3 The impersonal passive

The last passive type to be discussed is the impersonal passive. In the present study, I use the term to cover constructions which are introduced by a non-referential (semantically empty) pronoun as Subject. Perhaps the most typical impersonal construction is the one with an expletive *det* in Subject position followed by an intransitive (as in (3:9)) or a transitive verb (as in (3:10)).⁴⁶ The one in (3:10) is sometimes called the *passive presentational* construction or the *existential* construction (e.g. Engdahl 1999:11). In English, the existential passive construction has *there* as a formal Subject, which is followed by a passive VP and an NP (as in (3:11). Lastly, I include clauses with *det* ('it') and *it* and an extraposed clausal Subject, as (3:12) and (3:13), i.e. so-called *extraposition*. Extraposed clauses with a passive VP are not always regarded as impersonal constructions (Engdahl & Laanemets 2015:132f.). The distribution is shown in Table 3.9.

⁴⁶ Sometimes the term *impersonal passive* is restricted to intransitive constructions and expletive *det* 'it' (see e.g. Engdahl (1999:11, 32), cf. also Lyons (1968:379)).

	no. of intrans. impersonal passives	no. of transitive imp		Total	
		Subj. = NP (existential)	Subj. = clause (extraposition)		
SwOF	8	7	(Chiraposition)	2	17
SwONF	4	13		25	42

0

1

21

15

7

49

15

8

82

Table 3.9 Frequencies of impersonal passives in original texts

12

EnOF

Total

EnONF

Impersonal passives were found to be more than twice as frequent in the Swedish data (59 occurrences) as in the English (23 occurrences). The most frequent type is the transitive passive with an extraposed Subject, in Swedish in the non-fiction data (see (3:13)) and in English in the fiction data (see (3:12) and the translation in (3:13)). Verbs such as *anta*, The second most frequent type of impersonal passive is the transitive passive with an NP as a postponed Subject, i.e. the existential construction, as in (3:10). The English data contain only one occurrence of this type (see (3:11)). Impersonal passives may have generic interpretation as in (3:9), in which the meaning is 'a general assumption is that ...', but when there is reference to individual events, (3:10) there is an implied unspecified agentive or experiencing element. In transitives with nominal postponed Subjects, the Subject NP is often indefinite and has weak referentiality ((3:10) and (3:11)).

(3:9) Det **cyklas** i Lund mer, tror jag, än i någon annan stad [...]. (LI1/NF)

[it bike-S in Lund, think I, than in any other town]

There must be more **cycling** in Lund than in any other town I believe [...] (LI1/T)

(3:10) Det **hördes** häftiga röster från köket [...]. (KE1/F)

[it heard-S loud voices from the kitchen]

Loud voices came from the kitchen [...]. (KE1/T)

- (3:11) As the generations passed, of crabs and fishermen alike, the crabs with patterns that most resembled a samurai face survived preferentially until eventually there **was produced** not just a human face, not just a Japanese face, but the visage of a fierce and scowling samurai. (CSA1/NF)
- (3:12) The painting was cut twelve times with a knife and from the nature of the damage it **was deduced** that the stabs and cuts were inflicted with great force. (JH1/F)

(3:13) Det **antas** att ett gott socialt stöd kan verka som buffert mot negativa livshändelser och därmed skydda från sjukdom. (CP1/NF)

It **is assumed** that good social support can act as a buffer against negative life events and thus protect against disease. (CP1/T)

The least frequent type, available only in Swedish, is the intransitive impersonal passive (see (3:14) and (3:15)). An intransitive passive characteristically has an implied indefinite human (generic) agentive element and involves an intransitive verb that denotes a human activity, such as *tala* 'speak' and *bygga* 'build'. Furthermore, intransitive passives are typically iterative in meaning and denote repeated actions or events (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:371).

(3:14) Det talas mycket om "kärlek vid första ögonkastet" [...]. (BL1/F)

[it speak-S a lot about "love at first sight"]

Much **is said** about falling in love at first sight [...]. (BL1/T)

(3:15) Aldrig har det **byggts** så intensivt. (LI1/NF)

[never has it built-S so intensely]

The suggestion that the *bli*-passive has a strong preference for animate Subjects (Engdahl 2001:83, Laanemets 2012:115) and the agentive nature of the *bli*-passive Subject can possibly explain the very low frequency of periphrastic impersonal passives in the material. The only periphrastic occurrence with a nonreferential *it* has an extraposed clausal Subject, and is presented in (3:16). Similarly, Laanemets (2012:120f.) found a single occurrence in her data, an intransitive impersonal passive in the spoken material ([...] det blir städat [...]), and draws the conclusion that this construction is close to non-existent in Swedish today. Based on the present data (i.e. the Swedish original texts), I can only agree.

(3:16) Det blev bestämt att hon skulle stanna där tillsvidare (MG1/F)

It was decided she would stay with them for the time being. (MG1/T)

According to Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:387), *bestämma* 'decide' is one among a limited number of verbs that allow an impersonal periphrastic passive with a postponed clausal Subject. In this case the *bli*-passive can readily be replaced by an *s*-passive without any change of meaning.

Although expressed Agents are infrequent in impersonal passives in general, they are usually allowed with extraposed clausal Subjects and placed in the core clause (Engdahl 2006:39, note 17). The present material contains one in Swedish and one in English:

(3:17) Det **brukar sägas** av utbildare och andra, att genier behöver man inte bry sig om, de är starka nog att klara sig själva. (KF1/NF)

"It is often said by educators and others, [...]."

(3:18) 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/NF)

3.4 Agentful and agentless passives

As we saw in sections 1.5 and 2.4.1, a central feature of the passive exhibited in many languages is the ability to occur without the agentive entity expressed (section 2.4.1; Keenan 1985:247), and it is widely reported that an overwhelming proportion of passives in English (Quirk et al. 1985:164f.) and Swedish (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:373) occur without an explicit Agent phrase. According to Quirk et al. (1985:164f.) only one out of five passive sentences in English has an expressed Agent. Similarly, Biber et al. (1999:938) report a relationship of one [+Ag] finite passive to seven [-Ag] ones in fiction and academic discourse. This pattern is maintained in the present data. The proportions of [+Ag] and [-Ag] passives in the present material are presented in Table 3.10 and Table 3.11.

Table 3.10 Proportions of agentful and agentless passives in fiction original texts

	En	OF	SwOF		
Agenthood	no.	%	no.	%	
- Agent	511	81.6	375	85.2	
+ Agent	115	18.4	65	14.8	
Total	626	100.0	440	100.0	

Table 3.11 Proportions of agentful and agentless passives in non-fiction original texts

	EnC	NF	SwONF		
Agenthood	no.	%	no.	%	
- Agent	996	81.7	2111	88.0	
+ Agent	223	18.3	289	12.0	
Total	1219	100.0	2400	100.0	

As the tables show, more than 80% of all passives in both languages in both subcorpora are [-Ag]. The proportion is higher in the Swedish source texts than in the English ones, which still exceed Svartvik's (1966:141ff.) findings of 80% [-Ag]. McEnery and Xiao (2005) find that approximately 90% of the passives in their FLOB data are [-Ag], thus a higher proportion than both the English and Swedish data in the present study. The figures (80-90% [-Ag]) also agree with those presented in Silén (1997:200) and Laanemets (2012:125) for Swedish on written material (fiction, news, popular science (cf. also Engdahl 2006:37 for similar results).⁴⁷

A look at the passive types separately reveals that all the *get*-passives in the material are [-Ag]. Although *get*-passives do occur with an Agent, the opposite reflects the emphasis on the event/process (Carter and McCarthy 1999:54) and the agentive nature of the Subject-PATIENT which makes the *get*-passive typically agentless. *Bli*-passives differ in this respect. There is only one instance of [+Ag] among them (see (3:19)), and according to Teleman et al. (1999:4:387f.), *bli*-passives take Agents in the same way as *s*-passives do but can more easily occur without the Agent.

(3:19) I lagom tid till domkyrkans 800-årsjubileum 1923 **blev** uret skickligt **restaurerat** av den danske tornurmakaren Bertram Larsen och domkyrkoarkitekten Theodor Wåhlin. (LI1/NF)

But just in time for the eighth centenary of the cathedral in 1923, the clock was skilfully **restored** by the Danish watchmaker Bertram Larsen and the cathedral architect Theodor Wåhlin. (LI1/T)

This suggests that, although involvement and writer stance/favourability may influence the choice between the passive forms in Swedish, the agentive orientation of the Subject in *bli*-passives seems less prominent than for *get*-passives and does not prevent the Agent from being expressed. The single occurrence of [+Ag] *bli*-passive here can be contrasted with 19% in Laanemets (2012:126) and 13% in Silén (1997:199), and Laanemets points out that an expressed Agent was more common in *bli*-passives than in *s*-passives in both written and spoken data. Expressed Agents in the various passive forms are discussed in more detail in 3.5.2 in relation to animacy.

⁴⁷ The spoken material (debate and conversation) in Laanemets' data showed 10 per cent expressed Agents. The Swedish figures were higher than those in Danish (written: 12.6%, spoken: 2.8%) and Norwegian (written: 9.3%; spoken 6.5%) for [+Ag].

3.5 Animacy of the Subject and the Agent

This section examines whether the Subject and the Agent in passive clauses are animate or inanimate, if there are any differences between English and Swedish, and between the passive variants. Animacy of both the constituents is closely related to the type of participant. It has been claimed that the passive Subject is typically an inanimate entity since the most common of its corresponding active counterparts, the Direct Object, characteristically has the participant role PATIENT and is typically animate, but preferences may vary according to passive type (Svartvik 1966:50f., Teleman et al. 1999:4:390). Animacy/Inanimacy of the Agent is also strongly related to participant role. An ACTOR and an EXPERIENCER are animate whereas a CAUSE and a PATIENT are typically inanimate.

3.5.1 Subject animacy

As we can see in Table 3.12-Table 3.15, there is an overall tendency for passive Subjects to be inanimate. There is a range between 51.6% (in EnOF) to 79.9% (in SwONF), whereas animate Subjects range from 18.1% (in SwONF) to 45.7% (in EnOF). This gives an average percentage of 70 % inanimate Subjects for the English data, which is lower than Svartvik's (1966:51) figure of 84%, and 77% for the Swedish data. Interestingly, the non-fiction subcorpora show great similarity in the proportion of animate and inanimate Subjects; approximately 80% of the Subjects in both languages are inanimate. The high proportion of inanimate Subjects in non-fiction material can also be accounted for by the nature of the texts, typically dealing with abstract, inanimate matters. The fiction subcorpora show greater differentiation with 51 and 61% inanimate Subjects respectively, and hence a more equal distribution of animate and inanimate Subjects, in particular in EnOF which shows as much as 45.7% animate Subjects.

Table 3.12 Subject types in EnOF

	<i>be</i> -passive		get-passive		Total	
Subj. type	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
inanimate	323	52.1	0	0.0	323	51.6
animate	280	45.1	6	100.0	286	45.7
impersonal	16	2.6	0	0.0	16	2.6
no Subject	1	0.2	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	620	100.0	6	100.0	626	100.0

Table 3.13 Subject types in EnONF

	<i>be</i> -passive		<i>get</i> -p	assive	Total		
Subj. type	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
inanimate	971	79.8	3	60.0	974	79.7	
animate	238	19.5	2	40.0	240	19.6	
impersonal	8	0.7	0	0.0	8	0.7	
Total	1217	100.0	5	100.0	1222 ⁴⁸	100.0	

Table 3.14 Subject types in SwOF

	s-pa	ssive bli-passive		assive	vara- _I	passive	Total	
Subj. type	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
inanimate	260	61.0	4	57.1	6	75.0	270	61.2
animate	149	35.0	2	28.6	2	25.0	153	34.7
impersonal	16	3.8	1	14.3	0	0.0	17	3.9
no Subject	1	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.2
Total	426	100.0	7	100.0	8	100.0	441 ⁴⁹	100.0

Table 3.15 Subject types in SwONF

	s-passive		bli-passive		vara- _F	passive	Total	
Subj. type	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
inanimate	1880	80.0	4	36.4	34	87.2	1918	79.9
animate	423	18.0	7	63.6	5	12.8	435	18.1
impersonal	42	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	42	1.8
no Subject	5	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	0.2
Total	2350	100.0	11	100.0	39	100.0	2400	100.0

Looking at the passive types separately, we find that the unmarked passive variants, the *be*-passive and the *s*-passive, take both animate and inanimate Subjects with apparently no restrictions. The predominance of inanimate Subjects should be seen as a result of the tendency for Objects in active clauses, and hence Subjects of passives, to be inanimate rather than as a strong preference for these passive types.

A phenomenon that would raise the proportion of animate Subjects in passive clauses is the occurrence of mental process clauses, i.e. clauses containing a perception, affection, or cognition verb, with Sensers/Experiencers as Subjects,

⁴⁸ Three occurrences in the EONF data have both an animate and an inanimate Subject. Therefore the total number of Subjects is 1222 instead of 1219 which is the total number of passives.

⁴⁹ One occurrence in the SOF data has one animate and one inanimate Subject. Therefore the total number of Subjects are 441 whereas the total number of passives in the subcorpus is 440.

illustrated in (3:20) and (3:21). According to Granger, such examples can be explained by 'the Experiencer First Principle' which says that '[i]n English, the experiencer precedes the phenomenon unless there is a good reason for it not to' (1983:214).

- (3:20) At an incredible distance, across the ochre and brown harvested fields, *I* was hypnotized by those two unmatched towers [...] (BR1/F)
- (3:21) She was afflicted, in fact, by superstitious dread. (FW1/F)

Similarly, the *bli*-passive and the *get*-passive have been claimed to prefer animate Subjects to inanimate ones (Sundman 1987:442, Teleman et al. 1999:4:390), which has been related to the control feature (see sections 2.4.6 and 3.3.2) since supposedly only an animate being can influence a situation. The claim was confirmed in Engdahl (2001) who shows that the choice between the *s*-passive and the *bli*-passive in Swedish to a large extent is determined by this semantic factor, which, in a second step, has lexical consequences. Not all verbs are productive in the *bli*-passive, meaning that only part of the verbs that can be passivised in Swedish are used in this passive form. Engdahl's (2001) results show that most *bli*-passives consist of verbs taking an animate Object in the active, and hence an animate Subject in the passive (88% animate *bli*-passive Subjects).

Owing to the scarcity of occurrences, the results for *bli*-passives in the present study are ambiguous and difficult to interpret. Whilst the proportion in the non-fiction subcorpus is 7 animates and 4 inanimates, the fiction subcorpus contains more inanimate than animate ones (4 vs 2). As discussed in section 3.3.2, inanimate *bli*-passive Subjects seem to co-occur with the factor neutral, but also to the factor adversity, and they usually lack the factor control. We may now add that these occurrences are rather resultative or ingressive in meaning (cf. Sundman 1987:443f., Teleman et al. 1999:4:391), focusing on the resultant state or on the inception of a state, indicating that the aspectual factor becomes more prominent in neutral and non-control *bli*-passives (see (3:22)(3:22), (3:23) and (3:24)) than in adversative and beneficial ones, and overrides the animacy factor according to which *bli*-passives prefer animate Subjects.

(3:22) Det var troligen så att det inte skulle gå att få något nytt lyft i lånet om inte byggnadsinspektören hade varit där ute och sett till att något **blivit gjort** sen sista lyftet. (LG1/F)

It was probably because they wouldn't get the next instalment of the loan if the building inspector hadn't been out there and seen that something **had been done** since the last one. (LG1/T)

(3:23) Fordringar upptas till det belopp som efter individuell prövning beräknas **bli betalt**. (PEA1/NF)

Receivables are reported at the amount that is expected to **be paid**, based on an individual assessment. (PEA1/T)

(3:24) Affären väntas bli genomförd under våren 1999. (VOL1/NF)

The transaction is expected to **be completed** during the spring of 1999. (VOL1/T)

As much as 85% of the *vara*-passives have inanimate Subjects. Most of them were found in the non-fiction material (although the relative frequency is slightly higher in the fiction data) and their presence can probably be explained by the abstract subject matters of the texts. As with *bli*-passives, many of the verbs occurring in the *vara*-passives with inanimate Subjects are resultative (cf. Sundman 1987:444):

(3:25) Merparten av datormiljöer och applikationer beräknas **vara åtgärdade** och **testade** under andra kvartalet 1999. (VOL1/NF)

[most computer environments and application are estimated to be taken care of and be tested during the second quarter 1999]

As we can see in Table 3.13, also *get*-passives occur with inanimate Subjects ((3:26) and (3:27)) despite the strong preference for animate ones. In contrast to the *bli*-passives above, all three cases are adversative which suggests that this factor is strong enough to override the animacy factor. The control feature, on the other hand, is absent.

- (3:26) But across these red lines people defy organisation: telephones don't work, planes don't take off and precise questions **get forgotten** in speculation or laughter. (AS1/NF)
- (3:27) Twice he took her to the theatre, and on one occasion presented her with a bunch of violets which **got dropped** in the dark and **trodden** on. (RF1/NF)

Get-passives with inanimate Subjects have also been recorded by for instance Collins (1996:52) and Herold (1986, based on spoken American English, referred to in Givón and Yang 1994:140). In the latter study, 89% of the get-passive Subjects as compared to 54% of the be-passive Subjects were human.

3.5.2 Agent animacy

The typical Agent in a passive construction is an animate ACTOR but in less central cases it can consist of any of a number of other participant roles that can be either animate or inanimate (see section 1.6). This section examines the proportions of animate and inanimate Agents in the subcorpora and looks at differences between the languages and between the passive variants.

Contrary to expectations, inanimate Agents are in the majority in the data. The findings are presented in Table 3.16 - Table 3.19, where we can see that the greatest difference is found in the SwOF data in which 72% are inanimate and only 28% animate. This subcorpus thereby stands out from the others in which the Agents are more evenly distributed and from the findings reported by Sundman (1987:512, note 65) whose study on the Swedish passive found an equal division (50/50) of animate and inanimate Agents among *s*-passives, whereas animate Agents were more frequent than inanimate ones in the periphrastic passives (33% vs. 67%).

Table 3.16 Agent animacy in EnOF

	<i>be</i> -passive					
Agent type	no.	%				
animate	57	49.6				
inanimate	58	50.4				
Total	115	100.0				

Table 3.17 Agent animacy in EnONF

	<i>be</i> -passive					
Agent type	no.	%				
animate	105	47.3				
inanimate	117	52.7				
Total	222	100.0				

Table 3.18 Agent animacy in SwOF

	s-pa	ssive	e <i>bli</i> -passive		vara-	passive	Total	
Agent type	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
animate	17	27.9	0	0	1	25.0	18	27.7
inanimate	44	72.1	0	0	3	75.0	47	72.3
Total	61	100.0	0	0	4	100.0	65	100.0

Table 3.19 Agent animacy in SwONF

	s-pa	issive	bli-passive		vara-j	passive	Total	
Agent type	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
animate	140	49.6	1	100.0	2	33.3	143	49.5
inanimate	142	50.4	0	0.0	4	66.7	146	50.5
Total	282	100.0	1	100.0	6	100.0	289	100.0

The EnOF Agents were found only in *be*-passives (i.e. no *get*-passives are [+Ag]) and are equally divided between animate and inanimate ones, in line with Svartvik (1966:141). Granger (1983:190), in contrast, in her data based on spoken English found that 77% of the Agents were animate.

As mentioned earlier, inanimate Agents are non-prototypical in that their referents are not intentional purposive elements. Nevertheless, they are frequent in the data in both languages, which makes it interesting to see if we can find any explanations for the relationship between inanimacy and agenthood. There are at least five factors: /non-/deletability of the Agent, finiteness, modification, relation with the Subject, and information/thematic structure.

First, according to Svartvik (1966:125), inanimate Agents are more often optional/deletable than are animate ones. In (3:28), the Agent *by vigilantes* is deletable whereas in (3:29), the Agents are non-deletable.

- (3:28) She and Ben Reitman were in town but there was a riot and she **was prevented** from speaking **by vigilantes**. (RF1/NF)
- (3:29) The problem, of course, was that no one had the faintest idea of where the Plague came from. Who would suspect a rat or a flea? To them, it was caused by miasmas in the air, or by invisible evil spirits [...] (BR1/F)

It can be assumed that this is lexically determined. Sundman (1987:381) suggests that certain passive verbs, in particular verbs denoting abstract relations such as characterisation, identity, time, space, or cause, are constructed with an obligatory Agent adverbial in particular if this is inanimate. Thus, the clause requires an Agent in order not to be ungrammatical.

Second, Svartvik (1966:125) found a statistical association between animate/inanimate and definite/indefinite form. To test this, I applied the chi square test on the EnOF material. It turned out that, although inanimate Agents tend to be indefinite, as in (3:30), and animate Agents are more often definite, as in (3:31), there is no evidence of association between these variables in the EnOF data.

- (3:30) The rattling moving van crept up Brewster like a huge green slug. It was flanked by a battered gypsy cab that also drove respectfully over the hidden patches of ice under the dayold snow. (GN1/F)
- (3:31) I was talking to a man with a stammer who was training to be an estate agent when Gillian was brought across by the organiser. (JB1/F)

Thirdly, Svartvik further claims that modification occurs more often in inanimate agents than in animate. Unfortunately, the material was not coded for modification, so we can only look at examples. The nominal head of the Agent in (3:32) is both pre- and postmodified:

(3:32) He'd been bumped and buffeted by the selective tidal chaos of the street which unfooted and swept away those newcomers who did not understand its current or its flow. (JC1/F)

Modification in the Agent may result in rather long sequences, in particular when consisting of relative clauses (as above), which should preferably be placed towards the end of the clause. On the other hand, Svartvik found modification to be more frequent in Subjects of agentful clauses than in other Subjects (1966:124), but overall Agents, including coordinated Agents, were longer than Subjects in his material (1966:129).

Fourthly, since Subjects of transitive verbs, at least in Swedish, preferably consist of animate entities, inanimate entities are more likely to be realised as Agents (Sundman 1987:381).

The last factor concerns the information structure and the thematic structure of the text which are likely to influence the animacy of the Agent. It has been claimed that inanimate entities tend to carry newsworthy information and therefore typically be rhematic, while animate entities are more often thematic carrying information that is already known by the speaker (Sundman 1987:381). This ties in well with the claim that inanimate Agents are typically indefinite, since indefinite items usually convey new information.

So far we have looked at the Subject and the Agent separately but it is also interesting to take a combined view especially since our findings for the Agent run counter to the prototype expectation and both inanimate Subjects and inanimate Agents are equally frequent or more frequent than animate ones. Are the Subjects of animate and inanimate Agents animate or inanimate?

Starting with the prototypical situation, i.e. an inanimate Subject and an animate Agent, we find that in all subcorpora, except EnOF (see Table 3.21), inanimate Subjects are more frequent than animate ones, which is not surprising given the overall high proportion of inanimate Subjects. It is more interesting to

observe that also in inanimate Agent clauses (see Table 3.20), i.e. a non-prototypical situation, inanimate Subjects are still in the majority (see (3:33)).

Table 3.20 Animate/inanimate Subjects and in clauses with inanimate Agents

Cubicat true	EnOF		EnONF		SwOF		SwONF	
Subject type	Ag inanimate		Ag inanimate		Ag inanimate		Ag inanimate	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
animate	24	41	15	13	23	49	29	20
inanimate	34	59	102	87	24	51	117	80
Total	58	100	117	100	47	100	146	100

Table 3.21 Animate/inanimate Subjects and in clauses with animate Agents

Subject type	EnOF		EnONF	EnONF		SwOF		
Subject type	Ag animate		Ag animate		Ag animate		Ag animate	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
animate	31	55	36	35	8	44	34	24
inanimate	25	45	68	65	10	56	108	76
Total	56	100	104	100	18	100	142	100

(3:33) And it was unlikely that his holiday would be interrupted by the need to take even a cursory glance at the Whistler, Norfolk's notorious serial killer, dead or alive. (PDJ1/F)

Another non-prototypical pattern, although in minority, contains an animate Subject and an inanimate Agent. Some of them denote a concrete event as in (3:34) and (3:35), but in many of them the verb is used metaphorically with a figurative meaning as illustrated in (3:36).

(3:34) Hade hon kommit bara lite tidigare **kunde** *hon* **ha träffats** i huvudet **av istappen** [...]. (MG1/F)

[had she arrived only little earlier could she have hit-S in the-head by the-icicle]

- (3:35) In a tremulous voice he said that if he had betrayed his oath in any way he should be run over by a lorry. (BO1/F)
- (3:36) Joseph was struck by all the stillness of the city night. (jc1)

What these have in common is that they follow 'the Experiencer First Principle' according to which 'the experiencer precedes the phenomenon unless there is a good reason for it not to' (Granger 1983:214).

Finally, we may observe that there is a fairly even distribution of animate and inanimate Subjects in both Agent variants in the fiction material in both languages, with percentages clustering roughly around 50. In the non-fiction material, in contrast, we find predominantly inanimate Subjects with both animate and inanimate Agents. The EnONF subcorpus scores highest with 87% inanimate Subject + inanimate Agent. It can be assumed that this high proportion of inanimate NP entities reflects the subject matters of the non-fiction texts, focusing mainly on abstract inanimate issues.

3.6 Summary of chapter

The quantitative analysis of the passive as used in original texts presented in this chapter has shown that there are both differences and similarities between the languages, and that several factors probably influence usage. In terms of overall frequency we found that there is great genre variation across and within the languages. The passive was most frequent in Swedish non-fiction texts where the high figures from the text type Law raise frequencies dramatically. However, Swedish non-fiction shows higher frequency than English non-fiction in all the text types investigated. English non-fiction comes in second place, followed by English fiction and, lastly, Swedish fiction.

More than 80% of all passive clauses occur without an expressed Agent. The [-Ag] proportion was slightly higher in Swedish than in English in both fiction and non-fiction. Contrary to what might be expected given the passive prototype with an intentionally acting participant as the Agent Adverbial, inanimate Agents were in majority in the data. This was particularly strong in Swedish fiction, whilst in the other subcorpora inanimate Agents reached just over 50%.

When we add animacy of the Subject, we found that also here, inanimate participants were in the majority overall. English fiction showed a fairly equal division between animate and inanimate Subjects, while the other subcorpora had between 61% and 80% inanimate Subjects. Due to the scarcity of instances, it is hard to draw any conclusions about the *get*-passive and the *bli*-passive other than that they give a mixed picture. The *vara*-passive seems to follow the picture of the unmarked *s*-passive, i.e. it prefers an inanimate Subject.

Among the passive variants, the *be*-passive and the *s*-passive are the dominant and unmarked forms, a result which agrees with many previous studies. The *get*-passive and the Swedish periphrastic forms, the *bli*-passive and the *vara*-passive, showed marginal use which makes it difficult to draw any far-reaching conclusions about them. Some interesting tendencies emerge, however, when we

look at those forms in the light of factors such as animacy, favourability of the event, control, and type of event. The *get*-passive was predominantly used in an adversative situation, whereas the adversative meaning was weaker for the *bli*-passive which was more often used in neutral contexts. The the beneficial meaning was absent from *get*-passives and weak in *bli*-passives. Lastly, the control feature was stronger in the *get*-passive than in the *bli*-passive. In *get*-passives it was most evident in adversative contexts, whereas it was more frequent in beneficial contexts among *bli*-passives.

4. Non-congruent correspondences of English passives

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter accounted for the use of the passive in the source texts of the two sub-corpora, focusing on frequencies and certain characteristic aspects. By presenting an overall picture of the passive in original text in both languages, that analysis constitutes the background for the present chapter and the next one, both of which analyse how subsets of these passives were translated. The analyses of the translation correspondences are limited to non-congruent translations, i.e. cases in which the passive is rendered as a non-passive construction. The translation correspondences will thus tell us what translation strategies were used by the translators, but they will also reveal the network of structures surrounding the passive, which is my primary concern, and thereby enrich our knowledge of the language systems. This chapter deals with Swedish translation (SwT) correspondences of English source text passives and Chapter 5 treats English translation (EnT) correspondences of Swedish source text passives. The chapter is introduced by an account of the overall frequency of congruent and noncongruent correspondences. Section 4.2 discusses the process of classifying the translation correspondences according to translation strategies and describes the correspondence groups and the classification system. The main part of the chapter, from section 4.3 and onwards, treats the non-congruent translations, starting with what might be regarded as the closest active rendering of a passive clause.

As was shown in section 3.2, 1,845 instances of the passive construction were retrieved from the English original texts. The 1,845 instances were analysed for the broad classification into congruent and non-congruent correspondence. As Table 4.1 shows, congruent translations were in the majority (69% in total), and were more frequent in non-fiction (73%) than in fiction. A non-congruent translation option was used in 31% totally, with higher frequency in fiction than in non-fiction. So, although congruent correspondences are in majority, almost 40% of the fiction instances and almost 27% of the non-fiction ones use a non-passive option. The 566 occurrences of non-congruent translation hence constitute the material investigated in the present chapter.

Table 4.1 Proportions of congruent and non-congruent Swedish translations of English source text passives

	Fiction		Non-ficti	Non-fiction		
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Congruent Swedish translation ⁵⁰	385	61.5	894	73.3	1279	69.3
Non-congruent Swedish translation	241	38.5	325	26.7	566	30.7
Total	626	100	1219	100	1845	100

This result suggests that in many cases the language systems and the uses of the passive are close enough to allow a congruent translation. Still, in a fairly large number of examples, we find a non-passive alternative in the translation. According to Johansson, "[d]ivergent correspondences commonly occur even in the case of closely related languages [...]" which "can be taken to indicate to what extent the repertoire of forms used for particular purposes differs across languages" (2007:25). Baker points out that the availability of structures with functions similar to those of the passive may be a problematic factor in translation (1992:102). This is supported by the results of the pilot study in Fredriksson (2001), which suggests that we may expect a large number of divergent translational correspondences and a variety of influencing factors.

The translation pattern that will be identified is expected to reveal the network relations that the passive construction is believed to be part of. Several scholars (cf. e.g. Svartvik 1966, Lyons 1968:373ff., Shibatani 1985, Lyngfelt & Solstad 2006, Hundt 2007) have claimed that the passive is related to the adjectival construction, the middle construction, the reciprocal construction, and the reflexive construction, among others. However, the contrastive similarities and differences between the related structures within the network are fairly unknown. Thus, the main aim of the chapter is to establish what constructions are included in the network, their characteristics, and how strong the relations between them are in the languages investigated.

Before turning to the results, in section 4.3 and onwards, I will say a few words about the process of classifying the translation correspondences according to translation strategies and into correspondence groups.

⁵⁰ Congruent translations split into passive type: (fiction) *s*-passive 254, *bli*-passive 86, *vara*-passive 45; (non-fiction) *s*-passive 800, *bli*-passive: 28, *vara*-passive: 66.

4.2 Classification of translation correspondences

The study uses translations to investigate the voice network, and translations can be described in terms of translation strategies. According to Chesterman, "strategies are ways in which translators seek to conform to norms [...] to arrive at the best version they can think of [...]."(1997:88). The analysis of the translations in the present study showed that translators used a large number of strategies for translating passives, and thus a large number of translation correspondence groups emerged. They were grouped according to a classification system which was developed during the analysis and is primarily based on formal properties, most of which can be described as syntactic shifts to some kind of non-passive constructions. Chesterman (1997:93) proposes three main strategies forming an overall framework for analysing translations: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic strategies, which can be divided into a number of suitable substrategies. One problem is that the strategies often overlap. For example, a syntactic shift may co-occur with a semantic and/or pragmatic one. This is illustrated in (4:1) where we find a syntactic shift from passive to active (in this case a generic Subject and an active verb) co-occurring with a pragmatic strategy involving change in explicitness - the addition of the active Subject makes the translation more explicit than the source text.

(4:1) So, forsaking New York and the cities of the East, the Frenchman went in search of the raw, wild heart of the continent, and as he headed inland, he asked people where the real frontier was. Where were the Indians? (P) Ten years ago, he was told, they were here. There, five years. There, two. Tocqueville arrived in settlements where men told him, "I cut down the first tree of the forest." (RL1/NF)

Medan han färdades inåt frågade han folk var det verkliga gränslandet låg. Var fanns indianerna? (P) För tio år sedan, **berättade man** för honom, fanns de här. Där för fem år sedan. Där för två. Tocqueville kom till bosättningar där folk berättade för honom: "Jag högg ned det första trädet i skogen." (RL1/T)

The study uses syntactic strategies as point of departure, and aims to highlight semantic and pragmatic strategies when they are relevant. Since both semantic and pragmatic factors are highly interesting for the passive and its use, it was not an option to focus solely on syntactic strategies. In other words, whilst the correspondence groups are chiefly grammatical, the language instances may involve for example lexical and semantic shifts also.

The classification system takes the verb phrase as point of departure, i.e. it is the entity or entities that correspond to the passive VP that determine which correspondence category an instance falls into. The first distinction is made between shifts relating to the VP or the clause, shifts involving a change in part

of speech, and paraphrases. Some correspondence groups are further divided into subgroups. Most correspondence groups are centred around the VP, but the group Generic Subject + active verb is based on Subject type and not on VP. The categories are described and exemplified below. The classification system is illustrated schematically in Figure 4.1.

Closest active counterpart (CAC): the translation shows reorganisation of clause elements and shifts in thematic structure. Typically, the shifts follow the active-passive correspondence pattern, according to which the Subject of the passive is realised as the Object of the active, and the expressed or non-expressed ACTOR of the passive is realised as the Subject of the active. In other types of restructuring, the entity realised as the passive Subject might occur as an Adverbial in the active, or the entity realised as a passive Adverbial might be rendered as active Subject. The instances in this correspondence group seem to be what can be thought of as the closest possible active counterparts.

(4:2) The attacker told by standers he **had been sent** by the Lord. (JH1/F)

Angriparen förklarade för de kringstående att Gud hade sänt honom. (JH1/T)

Active transitive clause with thematic structure retained: the translation uses an active transitive form of the verb and it retains the main referents of the source text in a similar linear organisation. The referents commonly take on grammatical and semantic roles that are different from those in the source text. There is frequently a change in lexis to a verb taking different argument structure than that of the source text, which allows the thematic structure of the source text to remain largely constant. It is important to observe that certain thematic changes, for example differences in the position of clause initial adverbials or minor shifts due to the verb-second constraint in Swedish, are disregarded in this translation category. As theme-rheme changes were counted primarily shifts in the position of Subject and Object referents.

(4:3) After The Nightwatch, sixteen years passed before Rembrandt **was given** a commission for another group portrait,[...]. (JH1/F)

Efter "Nattvakten" gick det sexton år innan Rembrandt **fick** beställning på ett nytt grupporträtt [...]. (JH1/T)

[Rembrandt received a commission]

Generic Subject + active verb (GenS): the translation uses an active form of the verb, and the Subject is realised by an impersonal pronoun or an indefinite noun with generic reference. The fact that the Subject is the governing factor distinguishes this correspondence group from others. There is a certain overlap to other correspondence groups (e.g. ATC and Intransitive), which use non-generic Subjects.

(4:4) All of these things are possible: we've both reached that borderline age, that buffer zone in which it **can** still **be believed** such tricks will work if you avoid bright sunlight. (MA1/F)

Alltsammans är möjligt: vi har båda kommit till den gränsålder, den buffertzon där **man** ännu **kan tro** att sådana knep fungerar bara man undviker klart solsken. (MA1/T)

[the buffert zone where you can still believe]

Intransitive construction (IC): the translation uses a one-participant construction with an intransitive verb form corresponding to the source text passive. The instances in this category are often similar to those in the previous group (No thematic change) except that they are intransitive. There is often change in lexis. The ICs are divided into several subgroups.

(4:5) These attempts were abandoned at the end of 1901 [...]. (CAOG1/NF)

Försöken **upphörde** mot slutet av 1901 [...]. CAOG/T

[the attempts ceased]

Reflexive construction (REFL): the translation uses a reflexive construction consisting of an active verb followed by a reflexive pronoun.

(4:6) But the less tangible demands of neighbourliness **might be** less easily **shrugged away**. (PDJ1/F)

Men det kanske inte skulle bli lika lätt att **skaka av sig** andra, mindre klart uttalade krav som grannsämjan kunde ställa på honom. (PDJ1/T)

[be as easy to shake off oneself other, less clearly expressed]

Copular construction (COP): the translation uses a copula verb corresponding to the source text passive.

(4:7) The merger was completed in record time, a new, single, integrated organisation **has been put** in place and the group's portfolio of businesses has been restructured to focus on healthcare. (AZ1/NF)

Samgåendet klarades av på rekordtid, en ny, enhetlig, integrerad organisation är på plats

och koncernens verksamhet har omstrukturerats till att fokusera på hälsovård. (AZ1/T)

[is in place]

Lexical verb + past participle construction: instead of a passive auxiliary, the translation uses a lexical verb combined with a past participle. The function of the first verb is thus similar to that of a passive auxiliary.

(4:8) 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. (DL1/F)

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. (DL1/T)

[has been sitting closeted]

Noun construction: a nominal construction corresponds to the passive construction. The members are divided into several subgroups.

(4:9) The phrase 'arms race' is really a misnomer. It suggests a contest between countries that **is patterned** after a sporting event in which there are clear rules and habits of behaviour [...].(CS1/NF)

Uttrycket "rustningskapplöpning" är i själva verket en felaktig beteckning. Det antyder en tävlan mellan länderna ungefärligen efter idrottens **mönster**: med klara spel- och uppföranderegler. (CS1/T)

[after the sports' pattern]

Adjective construction: an adjective construction corresponds to the passive construction. The members are divided into several subgroups.

(4:10) Major weapon producers, therefore, **are tempted** to try to realise economies of scale by increasing arms exports, both to allies and to developing countries. (CS1/NF)

De stora vapentillverkarna **är** därför **benägna** att försöka återvinna stordriftens fördelar genom att öka sin vapenexport, både till sina allierade och till u-länderna. (CS1/T)

Adverb construction (AdvC): an adverb construction corresponds to the passive construction.

(4:11) He'd not be caught. (JC1/F)

Han **skulle** inte **åka fast**. (JC1/T)

Paraphrase: the group contains structures so radically different from their passive sources that they cannot be systematically categorised into any of the other translation categories.

(4:12) On the way they passed a poster advertising a lecture on European literature to **be delivered** in town by the anarchist Emma Goldman. (RF1/NF)

På vägen såg de en affisch som gjorde reklam för en av anarkisten Emma Goldmans föreläsningar om europeisk litteratur. (RF1/T)

The classification system is illustrated schematically in Figure 4.1 below, and an overview of frequencies of occurrence is given in Table 4.8 in section 4.13 at the end of the chapter.

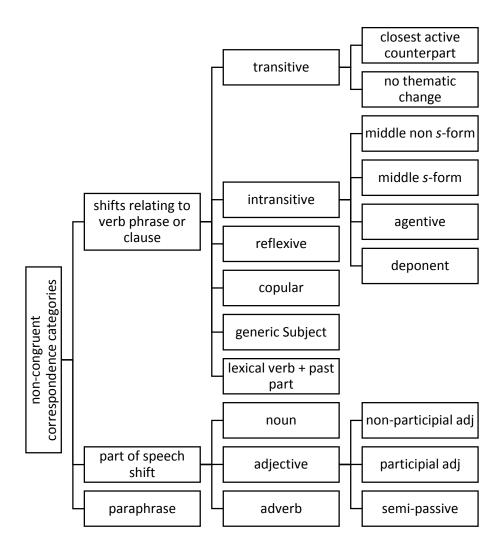


Figure 4.1 Overview of classification system and translation correspondence categories

4.3 Translation into Closest active counterpart

The Closest active counterpart (CAC) strategy is one of the most obvious and expected ones. Typically, this relation between the passive and its translations can be described as following the 'active-passive correspondence pattern', according to which the Subject of the passive is realised as the Object of the active, and the Agent of the passive is realised as the Subject of the active, as in (4:13). There are, as we shall see, also a few variants of clause restructuring here. The reorganisation of syntactic constituents is accompanied by changes in thematic structure, in that what is realised as theme in the source text typically appears in the rheme of the translation.

There are 52 (22.3%) instances of CAC in the fiction subcorpus and 50 (16.7%) in the non-fiction subcorpus. The 102 instances make up 19.2% of the non-congruent translations. This makes CAC the most frequent non-congruent option in the fiction text, the second most frequent in non-fiction, and the second most frequent non-congruent strategy overall among the English translations.

It was suggested in section 1.7 that degree of transitivity may be a relevant issue in the translation of passives. Let us start at this end by looking at a [+Ag] passive. Consider (4:13):

(4:13) Descartes spent much of the rest of his life in Amsterdam and was not noticed by Rembrandt. (JH1/F)

Descartes tillbringade mycket av sitt återstående liv i Amsterdam utan att Rembrandt lade märke till honom. (JH1/T)

Although one is passive and one is active, the original and its translation in (4:13) are equal in degree of transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) model (cf. section 1.7). The following parameters apply to both source text and target text in (4:13):

(4:14)

Participants: two
Kinesis: action
Aspect: telic
Agency: high

Affectedness of Object: low degree of affectedness Individuation of Object: high (referential, animate)

All of the parameters in (4:14) (4:14) except Affectedness of Object demonstrate high degree of transitivity. This similarity suggests that degree of transitivity is not a core issue for this [+Ag] passive, but that the shift is one of perspective and discourse development.

Although (4:13) is an agentful passive, most passives are agentless (cf. section 3.4) and thus the ACTOR is only implicit in the passive clause. It is therefore relevant to look at first, the proportions of [+Ag] and [-Ag] source text passives rendered as CACs, and second, where the active Subject in a translation of an [-Ag] passive is picked up from. A final issue is differences in degree of agentivity and transitivity between the source and the target texts, especially for [-Ag] renderings.

As Table 4.2 shows, passives without an Agent in the source clearly outnumber those with an Agent in the fiction data, whereas the proportions are more even in the non-fiction texts. In total, a change from a [-Ag] passive to CAC occurs in as much as in 61% of the cases.

1	<i>J</i> ,	O		3		1	
EnO text	Fiction	Fiction		Non-fiction		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
+ Agent	15	29	25	50	40	39	

25

50

50

100

62

102

61

100

Table 4.2 Proportions of +/- Agent in EnO sources of Swedish CAC correspondences

I will discuss the [-Ag] correspondences first, and then treat the [+Ag] ones.

71

100

4.3.1 Translations with [-Ag] sources

37

52

- Agent

Total

The fact that an agentless passive is often translated into a CAC suggests two things. First, the translation is more explicit than the source text since an argument that is implicit in the passive clause is explicit in the translation, and second, the translators of the fiction material were 'freer' and more creative in allowing greater reorganisation than those of the non-fiction material.

Let us first explore whether there are different degrees of explicitation in the translations. Example (4:15) illustrates that the Subject is not always easily identified:

(4:15) You see a familiar name and it sets off all sorts of memories. Old boys write in from various parts of the world and say what they're up to. Good God, you think, I'd never have thought Bailey would be in charge of the whole South East Asia operation, you say to yourself. I remember when he **was asked** what the principal crop of Thailand was and

he answered transistor radios. Oliver says he doesn't remember anything about school. (JB1/F)

Man får syn på ett välbekant namn i spalterna och det ger upphov till alla möjliga sorters minnen. Gamla kompisar från förr skriver från olika delar av världen och berättar vad de har för sig. Herregud, tänker man: aldrig kunde jag väl ha anat att Bailey skulle basa för hela den där sydostasiatiska operationen! Jag minns när en lärare **frågade** honom vad som var huvudnäringen i Thailand och han svarade transistorradior. Oliver säger att han inte minns ett dyft från skolan. (JB1/T)

[a teacher asked him]

If we look for contextual clues here, we find that it is only the sentence following the passive in the original text in (4:15) that contains the word 'school', whereas in the translation, the addition of *en lärare* 'a teacher' as Subject makes this clear earlier. The translation is thereby more explicit and shows a high degree of explicitation, i.e. the agentive element is not easily inferable from the context. The two animate participants, i.e. the active Subject and the active Object, also give higher transitivity to the translation than to its source.

In the majority of [-Ag] English passives translated as CAC, however, the ACTOR is easily inferable from the context, very often to be found in the same sentence, as in (4:16).

(4:16) According to the KGB version of events, the first major success of Cheka penetration was achieved against the organisation 'Union of Struggle against the Bolsheviks and the Dispatch of Troops to [General] Kaledin', based in Petrograd. (CAOG1/NF)

Enligt KGB:s version av händelserna **uppnådde** tjekan sin första större infiltrationsframgång hos organisationen "Unionen för kamp mot bolsjevikerna och avsändande av trupper till [general] Kaledin", som hade säte i Petrograd. (CAOG1/T)

[according to KGB's version of the events achieved the cheka its first major penetration success]

This is also one of the cases with a variation in clause structure from the typical active-passive correspondence pattern. What becomes the Subject in the active construction is present not as an Agent but as a postmodifier in the Subject NP of the passive clause, which makes a transition to an active easy. The translation thus uses *tjekan* 'Cheka' as an ACTOR Subject and the rest of the passive Subject is found as an Object in the translation. An *of*-postmodifier can have subjective or objective interpretation. An objective interpretation of this kind of *of*-postmodifiers might be a more common⁵¹ (reading: 'Cheka was penetrated'), but a subjective interpretation with *Cheka* as ACTOR ('Checka penetrates') is

⁵¹ Lene Nordrum (p.c.).

supported by the post-verbal *against the organisation*. The split of the Subject places this particular instance on the borderline between CAC and a transitive structure with basic thematic structure retained (section 4.4).

Another variation in clause reorganisation is shown in (4:17), in which the complex prepositional phrase in the Adverbial (*in the Protocol* ...) becomes the thematic active Subject, which means there is a change in thematic structure:

(4:17) Further provisions relating to the implementation of the procedure described in this Article **are set out** in the Protocol on the excessive deficit procedure annexed to this Treaty. (MAAS1/NF)

Protokollet om förfarandet vid alltför stora underskott i de offentliga finanserna, vilket fogas till detta fördrag, **innehåller** ytterligare bestämmelser angående tillämpningen av det förfarande som beskrivs i denna artikel. (MAAS1/T)

[the protocol on ... contains further provisions]

There is a lexical shift in (4:17) from the stative passive *are set out* to the stative *innehåller* ('contains'), which cannot be passivized (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:363). This shift results in an active clause which completely changes the order of information.

Also the next example, (4:18), exemplifies one of the main trends in the [-Ag] source instances in this strategy – that the participant which becomes the active Subject is present in the immediate context. On a clausal level, however, there is an increase in the degree of agentivity and transitivity in the translation.

(4:18) Macon got out of the car and walked around to open the door. When he took hold of Edward's collar, Edward dug his toenails into the upholstery. He **had to be dragged** all the way to the building, scritching across the hot concrete. (AT1/F)

Macon steg ur bilen och gick runt för att öppna dörren på Edwards sida. När han tog tag i halsbandet tog hunden spjärn med klorna i sätet. Macon **måste dra** honom fram till ingången tvärs över den heta asfalten. (AT1/T)

[Macon must drag him]

The translation differs from the source text in having the features [+human] and [+proper name] making it individuated in contrast to non-individuated, and an ACTOR Subject participant in contrast to a PATIENT one.

If we look at passages larger than the clause we find that changes in the thematic structure affect the development of the text. In (4:19), the translation creates a clear thematic chain in three consecutive sentences, across the paragraph transition, by retaining the theme *han* 'he' of the previous sentence and keeping it also in the subsequent one.

(4:19) The mere thought of it upset him. He looked gratefully at his own surroundings. (P) Most of his work **was done** at home; otherwise he might not have cared so about the mechanics of the household. He had a little study in the spare room off the kitchen. (AT1/F)

Redan tanken gjorde honom upprörd. *Han* kastade en tacksam blick på sin egen omgivning. (P) Han **skötte** för det mesta sitt arbete i hemmet, annars skulle han kanske inte ha brytt sig så mycket om rutinerna i hushållet. *Han* hade sitt lilla arbetsrum i gästrummet innanför köket. (AT1/T)

[he managed usually his work]

The choice of theme is often a choice of Subject and continuity, and the shift here might appear to be rather small. Still, by keeping the same Subject as theme, the translation gives greater prominence to *han* than the source text does. Johansson (2004) studied Subject selection and translation correspondence in English-Norwegian, and found a strong tendency to select as active Subject a participant from the preceding sentence and thereby allow for Subject continuity in cases where there was also a change in voice.

Subject selection may seem a less relevant issue in translation of [+Ag] passives, but the next section will investigate, among other things, what types of Subject occur here.

4.3.2 Translations with [+Ag] sources

Turning to CACs with [+Ag] sources we find that in fiction, 13 of the 15 instances are animate Agents, and in non-fiction, 18 of the 24 are animate Agents (Table 4.3). Hence, there is a clear dominance of animate Agents which are, presumably, turned into active Subjects. It is not surprising that there are few inanimate active Subjects in Swedish. According to Sundman (1987:381), there is a strong tendency in Swedish for inanimate entities to be realised as Adverbial in a passive clause rather than as Subject in an active. This can also be expected given the general preference for animate agentive Subjects in discourse.

Table 4.3 Animacy of expressed Agents in sources of Swedish CAC translations

	Fiction		Non-fiction		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
animate Agent	13	87	19	76	32	80
inanimate Agent	2	13	6	24	8	20
Total	15	100	2552	100	40	100

We will look at a few animate instances first. Consider (4:20):

(4:20) There was a sort of host who dished out the sherry and took each new arrival round the groups; though as there were quite a lot of us he couldn't remember all our names so we were forced to say them. Or perhaps he deliberately didn't remember some of our names. I was talking to a man with a stammer who was training to be an estate agent when Gillian was brought across by the organiser. (JB1/F)

Eftersom vi var rätt många närvarande kunde han inte komma ihåg allas våra namn, så vi tvingades att presentera oss själva. Eller kanske var det så att han glömde vissa namn med flit. Jag stod och pratade med en blivande fastighetsmäklare som stammade, och det var då värden kom fram och **presenterade** Gillian. (JB1/T)

The Swedish translation illustrates the typical reorganisation that takes place in CACs from [+Ag] passives. The animate passive Agent by the organiser is thematised as the active Subject värden ('the host'), and the theme and Subject (Gillian) of the source text is rhematic in the translation. In addition, the translation gives more prominence to the active Subject by det var då ('it was then') than what we see in the original. However, in (4:20), there is no shift in degree of transitivity.

Sometimes a CAC is only one of several translation strategies used for a chain of source text passives:

(4:21) Untutored in the waltz, the simple quick-quick-slow of passing through a crowd, Rook's country shadow had been blocked by waiting cars and errand bikes, thwarted by citizens on opposing routes, stopped in his path by shopping bags, and kids, and snack-or-bargain carts. He'd been delayed by brochure touts and leafleteers, tackled at the knees and chest by rubbish cans, hydrants, signs, post boxes, newspaper stands. He'd been bumped and buffeted by the selective tidal chaos of the street which unfooted and swept away those newcomers who did not understand its current or its flow. (JC1/F)

Otränad i de turer och steg som lätt förde den vane genom trängseln hade Rooks odugling till förföljare blivit hindrad av bilar och budcyklar, av folk som var på väg åt rakt motsatt håll, av väskor och barnungar, av lådor med fyndvaror och små matstånd. Folk

⁵² One instance has two Agents. Therefore the figure does not correspond to the number of [+Ag] instances.

som ville pracka på honom broschyrer och reklamlappar **hade sinkat** honom, och det ömmade i knäna och bröstet efter alla soptunnor, vattenposter, skyltar, brevlådor och tidningsstånd som han hade slagit i. Han hade fått sina törnar i det myllrande kaos som gatan utgjorde för alla nykomlingar som inte hade hunnit anpassa sig till rytmen och tempot. (JC1/T)

The EnO and the SwT develop the text in different ways and hence follow different patterns of thematic progression. The EnO shows continuity of theme by keeping the same Subject (he originating in Roook's country shadow) whereas the SwT picks up folk ('people') from the Rheme of the previous clause and therefore gets a heavy Subject with a relative clause. On the whole, there is more variation of structures in this passage in the translation. It starts with a congruent translation into a [+Ag] bli-passive (blivit hindrad av / had been blocked by). Second, after hade sinkat ('had delayed') we find an impersonal construction with expletive det (det ömmade 'it ached') as a translation of had been tackled, and finally there is a nominalisation with få (fått sina törnar) corresponding to had been bumped and buffeted. The variation of constructions gives less consistency in theme and a different rhythm to the text. But by picking up Han ('he') as sentence theme of the last sentence, the translation still maintains the perspective of the source text.

Turning our attention now to inanimate Agents, we find that there are only 8 occurrences in the CACs. (4:22) has two coordinated Agents, one of which is animate (a collective NP considered animate) and one inanimate:

(4:22) The Bolsheviks saw the Civil War from the beginning as part of a great Allied plot. In reality, the revolt of the Czechoslovak Legion **had been prompted** not by the Allies but by fears for its own survival after attempts by Leon Trotsky, now Commissar for War, to disarm it. (CAOG1/NF)

Redan från början betraktade bolsjevikerna inbördeskriget som en del av en stor allierad komplott. I själva verket var det inte de allierade som **hade framkallat** den tjeckiska legionens revolt, utan dess oro för den egna överlevnaden sedan Lev Trotskij, nu folkkommissarie för krigsärenden, försökt avväpna legionen. (CAOG1/T)

[it was not the allied who had prompted the Czechoslovak Legion's revolt]

The long and heavy EnO Agent is divided into two parts by a cleft in the SwT, and the animate part is singled out and used as active Subject. This enables the SwT to have a short animate Subject at the same time as it retains most of the information in end focus position. Most of the other inanimate Agents are fairly short and have a clear causal role. Had they been animate, they would have been interpreted as ACTORS.

4.3.3 Subject animacy in CAC translations

Given the close relation between animacy, type of constituent and participant role (cf. Chapter 2), it is interesting to explore animacy of all CAC instances. As Table 4.4 shows, the general preference for animate active Subjects applies to the CAC translations.⁵³

Table 4.4 Subject animacy in Swedish CAC translations.

	Fiction		Non-fiction	Non-fiction		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	
animate Subject	44	88	33	69	77	79	
inanimate Subject	6	12	15	31	21	21	
Total	50	100	48	100	98	100	

We can see that an animate Subject (exemplified in (4:18)-(4:22)) is clearly preferred in both fiction and non-fiction, which agrees with Sundman's (1987:381) claim, but the difference is somewhat smaller in non-fiction. The non-fiction CACs thus allow more inanimate Subjects (31 % vs. 12 %). The animate Subjects are typically agentive, whereas the inanimate Subjects are typically causal ((4:23)-(4:25)), and they vary between concrete ((4:24)) and abstract ((4:23), (4:25)) meaning.

(4:23) Perhaps they feared that too many of his energies **would be diverted** to the campaign. (PDJ1/F)

Kanske var de rädda för att kampanjen **skulle ta** alltför mycket av hans energi. (PDJ1/T)

[perhaps were they afraid that the campaign would take too much of his energy]

(4:24) His eyebrows were singed, his lips cracked, and his office-worker's hands **were torn** and **cut** by the branches. (RF1/NF)

Ögonbrynen blev svedda, läpparna sprack och grenarna **skavde** och **skar sönder** hans ovana händer. (RF1/T)

[the branches tore and cut his untrained hands]

(4:25) The other, more visible, side of the coin is the cumulative economic damage **being** inflicted by the continuing arms race. (CS1/NF)

Vad som tydligt syns är motsatsen, nämligen den ekonomiska skada som den fortlöpande

⁵³ The table excludes four instances of impersonal passive Subject.

kapprustningen med kumulativ verkan **resulterar i**. (CS1/T)

[which the continuous arms race with cumulative effect results in]

The strong preference for animate Subjects in the CAC data raises the question whether there is a shift from inanimate to animate Subject involved in the translation process, i.e. if a passive inanimate Subject is replaced by an active animate Subject regardless of agenthood. There was a shift from an inanimate Subject in the source text to an animate one in the translation in 23 of the 41 instances in fiction, and in 27 of the 35 instances in non-fiction. This suggests that Subject animacy is a fairly strong factor in the choice of construction in translation. However, we also note that 3 of the 6 inanimate Subjects in fiction translation had animate Subjects in the sources, i.e. the reverse process took place.

4.3.4 Concluding remarks

In summary, the findings for the CAC strategy are partly supported by results in Johansson (2004), where voice change was one of the issues explored. In shifts from passive to active, although not only to a CAC-pattern, Johansson found a strong tendency to select as active Subject a participant from the preceding sentence and thereby allow for Subject continuity. However, this was only one of several strategies in the present data, and it is not clear what actually triggers the shift from passive to active in this way. Animate Subjects dominate in this particular translation strategy, but they do not seem to be the preferred option in the full translated material.

A somewhat unexpected finding was that the majority of the CAC renderings, whose Subjects should typically correspond to the passive Agents, have [-Ag] passives as sources. It turned out, however, that this 'missing' ACTOR participant in the translations is usually present in the nearby discourse. Thus, whereas there is an increase in transitivity at clause level, by the addition of an active Subject, there is typically no increase on the level beyond the clause/sentence. However, it was found that the presence or absence of participants in the passive clause affects the degree of explicitation and the prominence given the different parts of the clause, and we can conclude that the strategy is characterised by more variation than what was expected.

The syntactic reorganisation in clause structure in this strategy entails reorganisation in theme-rheme structure. The translation then unfolds the text in a different way, giving prominence to different entities than the source does. This means that a constant linear organisation of information is not very important here. Rather the opposite, as there must be other, more important, reasons for the shift. In some cases there seem to be lexical reasons, but in most cases it was not possible to explain why the shift takes place. The next strategy focuses on active structures with indefinite or non-specific Subjects.

4.4 Translation into Generic Subject + active verb

In 12% (64 instances) of the cases (fiction: 8.6%, non-fiction: 14%) of the non-congruent translations, we find an active construction with a generic Subject. The strategy is similar to the CAC but has a generic active Subject. It is the fifth most frequent non-congruent strategy in the material. An example is: *Man har mördat Palme* ('One has murdered Palme') (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:395). A generic Subject is functionally similar to an [-Ag] passive in that it allows vague and non-specific reference in cases when the speaker does not want to or cannot specify ACTOR or CAUSE, and several studies have shown clear correlations. In research by Altenberg (2004-2005:104) on original texts and their translations, the [-Ag] passive featured as the second most frequent correspondent (after *you*) to the *man*-structure.⁵⁴ A passive was a strong candidate also in Coussé and van der Auwera's (2012) study of Swedish *man* and Dutch *men*.

A generic Subject can be realised by different means. In the present study, I consider as generic Subject different types of pronoun and general nouns referring to people in general and expressing indefiniteness or non-specificity. We can, however, distinguish two broad reference types. Although it is generic in meaning, *man* varies in reference from *general generic*, referring to people in general as in (4:26), to *restricted generic*, which refers to a contextually/situationally delimited group of people, see (4:27) (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:394ff., Altenberg 2004-2005).

- (4:26) Förr i tiden **åt man** denna rätt med bröd och kokt potatis, men nu tack vare den moderna utvecklingen och frityrkokarens intåg **kunde man njuta** den med pommes frites. (PM1/T)
 - "Before you used to eat [ate you] this dish with bread and boiled potatoes, but now thanks to modern development and the deep fryer's entrance you could enjoy it with French fries."
- (4:27) Goda vänner hade rekommenderat en man vid namn Pierrot i Lacoste; han skulle vara skicklig och dessutom korrekt i sin prissättning. **Man beskrev** honom som ett original,

⁵⁴ Altenberg's (2004-2005) research was based on the complete English-Swedish Parallel Corpus, whilst the present study uses only parts of the corpus.

och vi stämde möte med honom klockan halv nio på morgonen, medan det var tyst i stenbrottet. (PM1/T)

"They described him as an original."

In Swedish, the generic Subject is most commonly realised by *man* ('one') which is considered fairly neutral in style. In the present data, there are 64 instances of this translation strategy and, as Table 4.5 shows, *man* is the most common Subject (59 out of 64 instances).⁵⁵

Table 4.5 Generic variability in Swedish translations with a generic Subject

Swedish	Restricted generic		General generic		Total
correspondences	reference		reference		
	fiction	non-fiction	fiction	non-fiction	
man	13	22	7	17	59
vi	-	-	1	1	2
någon	-	2	-	-	2
folk	-	-	1	-	1
Total	13	24	9	18	64

Restricted reference is the most common type found and is illustrated in (4:28):

(4:28) Weidenbaum bases his hopes that inflation will be reduced during this military build-up on measures to bring the federal budget into balance by "trimming the fat" on non-defence spending. But, four months after his speech, the prospect of a balanced budget by 1984 was fading and proposals for heavy cuts in military spending **were being debated**. Three characteristics of cost-push inflation should be mentioned: wage costs, mark-up and imported inflation. (CS1/NF)

Han grundar sina förhoppningar om att den pågående militära upprustningen skulle kunna genomföras samtidigt som inflationstakten reducerades på aktuella försök i syfte att bringa den federala budgeten i balans genom att "avlägsna överflödet" i de ickemilitära offentliga utgifterna. Men fyra månader efter detta tal hade utsikterna att fram till år 1984 kunna uppnå en balanserad budget försvunnit och **man hade börjat dryfta** förslag om kraftiga nedskärningar i militärutgifterna. När det gäller kostnads inflation är det tre karakteristiska faktorer som måste uppmärksammas: lönekostnader, inhemsk prisstegring och importerad inflation. (CS1/T)

In (4:28), the meaning of man is clearly not 'people in general' or 'anyone at all', but rather the people involved in the situation depicted. Man refers to a situationally restricted group of people and, in this case, excludes both the speaker and the addressee. Man could be replaced by they/de. This 'restricted

 $^{^{55}}$ Du ('you') is also used as a generic Subject, but there were no occurrences in this material.

exophoric generic reference' was the most common type in the GenS group. Exophoric reference to a third party can be seen as an extreme case of distant generic reference (Altenberg 2004-2005:94ff.).

The text extract in (4:28) is from a non-fiction text and displays rather long sentences with complex structures and several passives in the immediate context. The shift to a GenS also means changes in the thematic structure. The thematic heavy Subject of the English source text becomes rhematic in the translation.

Sometimes there is no clear difference between restricted generic reference and general generic reference. Consider (4:29):

(4:29) For centuries after, **people** imagined that they could discern ghostly samurai armies vainly striving to bail the sea, to cleanse it of blood and defeat and humiliation. (P) The fishermen say the Heike samurai wander the bottoms of the Inland Sea still - in the form of crabs. There are crabs to **be found** here with curious markings on their backs, patterns and indentations that disturbingly resemble the face of a samurai. When **caught**, these crabs **are** not **eaten**, but **are returned** to the sea in commemoration of the doleful events at Danno-ura. (P) This legend raises a lovely problem. (CSA1/NF)

Under århundraden därefter har **folk** tyckt sig kunna skönja spökarméer av samurajkrigare, som fåfängt strävar efter att ösa ur havet, länsa det på blod, nederlag och förödmjukelse. (P) Fiskarna menar, att Heikes samurajer alltjämt vandrar på bottnen av Japanska sjön - i krabbors skepnad. Här och var **finner man** krabbor med egendomliga märken på ryggen, mönster och inskärningar, som på ett oroande sätt liknar ett samurajansikte. Om **man fångar** en sådan krabba, **äter man** den inte utan kastar den tillbaka till åminnelse av de sorgliga händelserna vid Danno-Ura. (P) Denna legend skapar ett intressant problem. (CSA1/T)

The source text of (4:29) contains a sequence of impersonal expressions, starting with *people*, followed by a non-finite passive, another non-finite construction, and two more passives. The non-finite constructions and the last two passives have the same Subject and are all rendered as generic *man*-constructions in the translation, the first likely to trigger the second and the third ones. One could argue in favour of restricted generic reference with exophoric reference to a third party ('those who find a crab') but the borderline to general generic reference ('anyone who finds a crab') is vague. This type of ambiguity was found by Wales (1996:59, 78), who also shows how the scope of reference of *you* may vary between restricted/specific and general generic in one and the same sentence. Since the agentless passives in the source text accommodate both reference types, no referential shift takes place in the translation (cf. Altenberg 2004-2005:107).

Less than half of the GenS instances show general generic reference, most of them including both speaker/writer, addressee and a third party. Example (4:30) illustrates this group:

(4:30) It has been a long time, but so what? I've got my hands full raising my son. "Children **get raised** overnight, Mattie. Then what you got? I should know. I raised seven and four of my grand and they all gone except Ciel. (GN1/F)

Det var länge sedan, men än sedan då? Jag har händerna fulla av att uppfostra min son." "Barn **fostrar man upp** på en natt, Mattie, och vad har du sedan? Det borde väl jag veta, jag har fostrat sju barn och fyra barnbarn och nu är dom borta allihop utom Ciel. (GN1/T)

[children raise you up in a night]

Example (4:30) is from informal fiction dialogue. The source text displays one of the two instances of *get*-passive in this translation category. A *get*-passive is more informal than a *be*-passive which might explain that the translation has *man* rather than the passive. This instance of *man* may at first seem to refer to the speaker herself, i.e. have definite reference (cf. Coussé & van der Auwera (2012:122f.)), but it also seems to create a contrast with the *I* in the same situation, and thus apply to parents in general.

There are five occurrences using a different pronoun than *man* or a generic indefinite noun. They are *folk* ((4:31), ('people'), *vi* ((4:32) 'we', 2 occurrences), and *någon* ((4:33), 'anyone'/'someone', 2 occurrences).

(4:31) The word artist embarrasses me; I prefer painter, because it's more like a valid job. An artist is a tawdry, lazy sort of thing to be, as most people in this country will tell you. If you say you are a painter, you will be looked at strangely. Unless you paint wildlife, or make a lot of money at it, of course. But I only make enough to generate envy, among other painters, not enough so I can tell everyone else to stuff it. (MA1/F)

Ordet konstnär gör mig generad; jag föredrar målare, för det är mer som ett giltigt arbete. Att vara konstnär är pråligt, lättjefullt, vilket de flesta här i landet kan tala om. Säger man att man är målare tittar folk konstigt på en. Såvida man inte är naturmålare, eller tjänar en massa pengar på det, förstås. Men jag tjänar bara tillräckligt mycket för att väcka avund, bland andra målare, inte tillräckligt mycket för att kunna be alla andra dra åt helvete. (MA1/T)

[say you that you are a painter look people strangely at you]

The reference of *folk* ('people') is always generic and should normally exclude the speaker. In, (4:31) his noun serves to contrast the three instances of *you* in the same sentence, all of which are rendered as *man* (the third in the object form *en*) and are speaker-oriented.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In these cases, the speaker uses *man* to refer to himself/herself (*man* thus replaces *I*), and reference is not generic but specific. The functions of this use of *man* seem to be different from those of generic *man* (cf. e.g. Coussé and van der Auwera 2012:122f.).

In (4:32), the passive is translated by vi ('we') which has general reference and is both speaker and reader-oriented:

(4:32) Socrates was past forty when Plato was born. (P) He was more than sixty when they met, and Plato could not have known for as many as ten years the man who was to inspire him with a lifelong devotion to thought and whose death was to embitter him with a disillusioned hatred for the political freedom and materialistic orientation of the democratic city with which both names are associated. (JH1/F)

Sokrates var fyrtiotvå när Platon föddes. (P) Han var över sextio när de träffades, och Platon kan inte ens så länge som i tio år ha känt den man som skulle komma att inge honom en livslång hängivenhet för tänkandet och vars död skulle komma att fylla honom med bitterhet, besvikelse och hat mot den politiska friheten och den materialistiska andan i den demokratiska stad som **vi förbinder** med båda dessa namn. (JH1/T)

[which we associate with both these names]

The last correspondence type consists of the indefinite pronoun *någon* ('someone'), which in (4:33) refers to a specific, although unknown, person, so in this case there is restricted exophoric reference.

(4:33) I arrived home to discover that a scale model of Stonehenge **had been planted** behind the garage. The table had arrived - five feet square, five inches thick, with a massive base in the form of a cross. (PM1/NF)

Väl hemma igen upptäckte jag att **någon hade ställt upp** en skalenlig modell av Stonehenge bakom garaget. Trädgårdsbordet hade kommit - en och en halv meter i fyrkant, tretton centimeter tjockt och med ett massivt underrede i form av ett kors. (PM1/T)

[someone had placed a scale model of S]

Before summing up this section, I will make a few observations relating to text type distribution. The translation strategy GenS was found only for [-Ag] passives, which is to be expected. Moreover, it was found in both fiction and in non-fiction text, but not in all the non-fiction texts; there are no occurrences in the two Law/EU texts (Agreement on the European Economic Area (AEEA1) and the Maastricht Treaty (MAAS1)). One of the two company reports contains one instance, the other one no instance. Although *man* is fairly frequent in other non-fiction texts, these two text types seem to avoid the vagueness and indefiniteness of the generic Subject in Swedish translations. This is interesting since the text type Law tops the frequency list for passives in source texts (cf. section 3.2.2) with 38 and 39 occurrences/1,000 words, which is by far the highest numbers overall. Company reports follow with 20 and 21 occurrences

per/1,000 words.⁵⁷ Investigating *man* in the full ESPC, Altenberg (2004-2005:99) observes a fairly even distribution of *man* except that it does not occur in the legal documents. So, although the legal documents and the company reports use one impersonalising strategy, the passive, to a very high degree, they do not seem to favour generic Subjects.

Summing up, the translation correspondences show that an active clause with a generic Subject is the fifth most frequent correspondence type in the material. This supports claims in previous studies that it is a useful alternative to a [-Ag] passive. The majority of the GenS have restricted generic reference, so although they preserve the vagueness and indefiniteness of the passive sources, they refer to a situationally or contextually restricted participant. This participant is expressed in the active ACTOR Subject, so although it is non-specific, and low in transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson (1980), it is typically higher in transitivity than the passive. The GenS instances are normally transitive, a property they share with CACs and with the next strategy to be discussed. Lastly, we observe that just as in CACs, the linear organisation of the source text and, hence, the thematic structure are systematically altered. The opposite is characteristic of the next strategy to be discussed.

4.5 Translation into Active transitive construction with thematic structure retained

In contrast to the previous translation strategies, in which the thematic structure and the linear organisation of referents were changed, the present strategy allows the thematic structure to remain largely constant in the translation. The instances in this group make up 12.2% of the non-congruent translations (10.3%/24 instances in fiction and 13.7%/41 instances in non-fiction). This translation category emerged during the analysis and is interesting in several ways. In contrast to the previous strategy, most of these instances have no reorganisation of clause elements, but the verb will take a different set of arguments and/or the referents will take on different participant roles. Very often, there is a change in lexis. (4:34) is a typical example:

(4:34) It will require imagination to use the present period of recession as the opportunity to move down the main avenues of the NIEO, as indicated in the paragraph above; but times of crisis **have been used** before now for new departures in policy, to the good of

⁵⁷ These figures can be compared with the highest frequency found in English source text: 13.9/1,000 words.

the great majority. (CS1/NF)

Det fordras en del konstruktiv fantasi att ta den nuvarande konjunkturnedgångsperioden till anledning att söka sig in på de vägar som den nya ekonomiska världsordningen anvisar. Men tidigare krisperioder **har gett upphov till** att man slagit in på nya vägar i den ekonomiska politiken, och detta till det stora flertalets bästa. (CS1/T)

The translation in (4:34) retains the Subject and theme of the source text in times of crisis rendered as tidigare krisperioder. There is a change in lexis in the VP from have been used to har gett upphov till ('have given rise to'). In the active, the Subject becomes an INSTRUMENT since the agentive component is reduced. At the same time, this enables a constant thematic structure. This pattern is supported by findings in a study of translation of passives in the language pair German-Norwegian, in which Pitz observes that maintaining "identical theme-rheme order is more important than the argument structure of the verb" (2006:247).

There are many ways to maintain theme-rheme structure. A recurrent pattern is the use of the verb fa ('get', 'receive') in different combinations. Fa is highly flexible and may enter into a number of syntactic contexts (Viberg 2002). The most frequent one, especially in the fiction data, was fa+NP(Possession), as in (4:35), which featured frequently also in Viberg (2002):

(4:35) Every day the ambulances would drive out to the border to meet the refugees as they arrived, most of them more than half dead with cold. They were given brandy first of all. (BR1/F)

Varje dag körde ambulanserna ned till gränsen för att ta emot flyktingarna vart efter de kom, flertalet av dem halvdöda av kölden. Först av allt **fick** de konjak. (BR1/T)

[first of all got they brandy]

It is typical of the $f\mathring{a}$ -instances here that the perspective is changed. The verbs *give* and $f\mathring{a}$ present the process from different directions, and thus the shift from passive to active means that the referents retain the same participant roles – both Subjects are RECIPIENTS and both Objects are PATIENTS⁵⁸. In her study of English correspondences of Norwegian $f\mathring{a}$, Ebeling (2003:238ff.) found a similar pattern, viz. English passives as translations of monotransitive $f\mathring{a}$, and concludes that there is typically a stronger sense of an agentive participant and more explicit action in the passives than in the $f\mathring{a}$ -cases. The same tendency was found in my material. In (4:35), there is a slight shift in perspective in that the source text takes They as point of departure – it is the only theme – whereas the translation

⁵⁸ Passive *give* is the typical verb among these *få*-instances, but there are also other verbs (e.g. *be approached*, *be awarded*, *be exposed*, *be granted*).

highlights the circumstance, *först av allt* ('first of all'), before the participant, which also places the Verb before the Subject. The ACTOR participant can be understood from the context but is still implicit in the passive. The translation, in contrast, has no implication of an ACTOR. Further, according to Viberg (2002:128), the connection between verbs of possession in the passive and fa can be assigned to the inherently non-agentive meaning of fa. It is clear in the present study that a common consequence of this is a reduction in transitivity.

A second pattern in this translation strategy has stative instances corresponding to either a dynamic or a stative (as in (4:36)) passive:

(4:36) The nitrogen in the Earth's atmosphere is much more chemically inert and therefore much more benign than oxygen. But it, too, **is** biologically **sustained**. (CSA1/NF)

Kvävet i jordatmosfären är kemiskt mycket trögare och därför mycket gynnsammare än syret. Men även detta **har** biologiskt ursprung. (CSA1/T)

[but also this has biological origin]

The stative passive of the source text is rendered by the relational verb *har* ('has') omitting any implicit ACTOR and reducing transitivity.

In (4:37), the ongoing and inchoative meaning of the passive progressive is kept in the translation *blir av*, but the agentive participant implicit in the passive is more vaguely understood in the translation:

(4:37) Track lighting is spreading over the ceilings, the lower floors **are being stripped** of their old linoleum, smelling of Pine Sol with an obscure base note of ancient throwup and pee, and the wide boards underneath are being sandblasted. (MA1/F)

Strömskenorna sprider sig i taken, golven på de lägre våningarna **blir av med** sin gamla linoleum, de luktar Pine Sol med en otydlig basnot av gamla spyor och urin, och de breda golvbräderna under den slipas. (MA1/T)

[the floors on the lower floors get rid of/lose their old linoleum]

Multi-word combinations such as *bli av med* ('lose', 'get rid of') are recurrent in this correspondence group. According to Biber et al's definition, combinations such as *pick up*, *get away with*, and *take a look at* form "relatively idiomatic units and function like single verbs" (1999:403). They can be considered multi-word verb constructions. Other instances in the present Swedish data are *ge upphov till* ('give rise to'), *göra framsteg* ('make progress'), and *ställa anspråk på* ('lay claim to'). The most frequent one is *bero på* ('depend on', be caused by'), as in (4:38):

(4:38) Our initial excitement had turned into anti-climax as the plans became more and more dog-eared and, for one reason or another, the kitchen remained untouched. Delays **had** been caused by the weather, by the plasterer going skiing, by the chief ma on breaking

his arm playing football on a motor-bike, by the winter torpor of local suppliers. (PM1/NF)

Den första ivern hade förvandlats till antiklimax när ritningarna blev allt skrynkligare medan köket av någon anledning förblev orört. Förseningarna **berodde på** vädret, på att stuckatören var borta och åkte skidor, på att murarbasen hade brutit armen medan han spelade fotboll på motorcykel, på leverantörernas vintertröghet. (PM1/T)

Thanks to the shift of lexis, the translation can retain the long passive Agent in postverbal position. The sequence seems to introduce previously unknown information, and the principles of end-focus and end-weight, pushing longish chunks towards the end of the clause, thereby coalesce (Quirk et al. 1985:1361f.).

When there is a passive Agent in the source text translated into an active transitive clause with thematic structure retained, this Agent is typically turned into an active Object in translation (cf. section 5.3.3). This happens in both (4:38) and (4:39). The shift of lexis in (4:39) is a shift from causative *are made* to the perception verb *känna* ('feel') (cf. Altenberg 2002), and the Subjects' roles shift from PATIENT in the original to EXPERIENCER the translation.

(4:39) They are made uneasy by factors which cannot be measured. (AS1/NF)

De **känner** obehag inför allt som inte kan mätas. (AS1/T)

[they feel uneasiness]

The lexical combination känna obehag inför in (4:39) is also a collocation or a relatively fixed combination.

Summing up this section, we can say that the translation strategy of using a transitive clause with retained thematic structure is characterised by variation in lexis and sometimes in participant roles. Some instances show clear reduction in transitivity, whilst others remain more or less constant. These shifts can be seen as tools for maintaining the main linear organisation of the clause. Several cross-linguistic studies involving other languages than Swedish (e.g. Hasselgård 1998, 2004 on English-Norwegian; Pitz 2006 on German-Norwegian) have shown that this is a powerful strategy – similar theme-rheme structure is more important than closely corresponding lexis and argument structure. Constant thematic structure is a fairly strong feature also in the next correspondence group, which focuses on intransitive constructions.

4.6 Translation into Intransitive construction

With 21.2% of the non-congruent translations, the Intransitive construction (IC) group forms the largest correspondence group overall. It is by far the strongest one in the non-fiction part (23.1%) and the second strongest (18.5%) in the fiction material. This means that a detransitivisation strategy is a very important strategy when a passive-to-passive translation is not chosen. A [-Ag] passive is syntactically/formally intransitive but semantically transitive (Shibatani 1985:839), i.e. semantically it is a two-participant construction, since there is always an implicit ACTOR (or CAUSE/INSTRUMENT/EXPERIENCER) argument. An intransitive construction, in contrast, is both syntactically and semantically a one-participant construction and should thereby be less transitive than a passive. Thus, translating a passive by an IC generally means reduction in transitivity. However, according to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) view of transitivity, this is not necessarily so; for example, a one-argument clause with more high-transitivity features may be more transitive than a two-argument one.

As Table 4.6 shows, there are 113 ICs in the material. The great majority (86%) of them has a [-Ag] passive as source, but also [+Ag] ones are rendered as intransitives. The ICs are divided into four sub-types: Intransitive middle construction (IMC), Intransitive deponent s-form (IDS), Intransitive agentive construction (IAC) and Middle s-form (MS).

Table 4.6 Subtypes and frequencies of Intransitive Constructions in Swedish translations

Intransitive subtypes	Fiction	Non-fiction	Total
Intransitive middle constr. (IMC)	40	44	84
Intransitive deponent s-form (IDS)	3	13	16
Intransitive agentive constr. (IAC)	0	10	10
Middle s-form (MS)	0	3	3
Total	43	70	113

4.6.1 Intransitive middle construction

The most frequent type of structure is the so-called Intransitive middle construction (IMC; 84 instances, 74%). It uses an intransitive verb and is characterised by its non-agentive Subject and by the lack of an ACTOR/CAUSE second participant, and is illustrated in (4:40) and (4:41):

(4:40) They thumped and whistled and sang and swore amid the falling masonry and sagging beams, stopping (with some reluctance, it seemed to me) at noon for lunch. This was

demolished with the same vigour as a partition wall - not modest packets of sandwiches, but large plastic hampers filled with chickens and sausage and choucroute and salads and loaves of bread, with proper crockery and cutlery. (PM1/NF)

De bankade och visslade och sjöng och svor bland rasande puts och sackande bjälkar; vid tolvtiden avbröt de arbetet (med viss motvilja, tyckte jag) för att äta lunch. Och lunchen **försvann** lika hastigt som en mellanvägg - inga blygsamma smörgåspaket, utan stora plastkorgar fulla med kycklingar och korv och surkål och sallader och hela bröd, plus riktigt porslin och riktiga bestick. (PM1/T)

[and lunch disappeared as fast as a partition wall]

(4:41) "It was almost as though I'd been put down in a shop of life styles, and told, there they are, take your pick" [...]. (MD1/F)

"Det var nästan som om jag **hade hamnat** i en butik för livsstilar och blivit tillsagd: se dig om, gör ditt val!" (MD1/T)

[had ended up]

The fact that the IMC in (4:41) is co-ordinated with a *bli*-passive ((*hade*) *blivit tillsagd* 'had been told') strengthens the impression of an affected Subject. However, whereas a potential CAUSE related to *hade hamnat i* is entirely absent or unidentified, there is clearly an ACTOR, someone saying something, in the *bli*-passive.

A construction like that in (4:40) and (4:41) can be called an *intransitive middle* (cf. Lyngfelt 2007:92ff.). According to Shibatani, "[m]ost middle (medio-) passives or pseudo-passives are better understood as constructions which express SPONTANEOUS occurrence—an event that automatically occurs, or a state that spontaneously obtains without the intervention of an agent" (1985:827; cf. also Kemmer 1993:142). The fact that the Subject is an affected entity; more specifically, it denotes the PATIENT against which the action is directed, is a characteristic shared by both passives and middles (cf., e.g. Shibatani 1985, Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:556). By exhibiting similarities with both the active and the passive voice, the middle construction, or the middle voice (see e.g. Kemmer 1993), can be placed between them (see the discussion in section 1.5.2.2).

Hence, a similarity between the source texts and the translations in this correspondence group is that the Subjects are PATIENTS. The ACTOR is implicit in the [-Ag] passives, whereas in the intransitive middle construction, there is no idea of an ACTOR, hence detransitivisation. The process in (4:41), *hamna i* 'land in', 'end up in', is perceived as happening without an intervention of an external ACTOR or CAUSE. The action often appears to take place spontaneously or automatically.

Now, consider (4:42):

(4:42) Their decisive naval encounter, with the Emperor on board ship, occurred at Danno-ura in the Japanese Inland Sea on April 24, 1185. The Heike were outnumbered, and outmaneuvered. Many were killed. (CSA1/NF)

Det avgörande slaget stod till sjöss med kejsaren ombord på ett skepp. Detta hände vid Danno-Ura i Japanska sjön den 24 april 1185. Heike-klanens styrkor var underlägsna och besegrades. Många **stupade**. (CSA1/T)

[many died]

The verb *stupa* is intransitive and there is only one participant here – the PATIENT *många*. Thus, at clause-level, this is clearly an IMC. However, since the context tells about warfare, which leads us to the assumption that there are ACTORS involved. Further support for an (implicit) acting participant comes from the definition of *stupa* in *Svenska Akademiens ordbok* (Swedish Academy dictionary)⁵⁹. One of the senses reads 'die or be killed in battle' (my translation). The fact that a middle construction can be used in combination with a contextual ACTOR above clause-level suggests that there may be similarities between the IMC and the [-Ag] passive that go beyond the shared Subject PATIENT.

Further, Lemmens, in his study of causative constructions focusing on verbs of killing, finds that "the verb which occurs most in the literature as typically transitive, the general verb *kill*, conforms least to the intentional Actor prototype of transitives" (1998:115). For example, it shows high lexical flexibility and an ability to take non-volitional and inanimate ACTORS, as in *the crash killed* 112 people (Lemmens 1998:123). This non-prototypicality can thus also explain the possibility to use an intransitive verb that requires no external ACTOR/CAUSE in (4:42). Also, *stupade* ('die', 'be killed') focuses on the result of the action rather than on the act of killing, and the same could be argued for *Many were killed* since the implied ACTOR is vague and unidentified.

Middle status is especially apparent in translations of, for example, *is made* and *was done* into the non-agentive *skedde* 'happened'. At times, the translation gives a more vague depiction of the event: *But progress was being made – Men det gick framåt* 'but it went forward' (PM1/NF) in describing the construction of a house. In all the instances, the degree of transitivity is reduced in comparison to the source text passives (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980, Lyngfelt 2007).

⁵⁹ See http://www.saob.se/, 'stupa' sense 6b.

⁶⁰ There were a total of 7 instances of *kill* in the complete English sources. 4 of them had a congruent (passive) translation (3 *bli*-passives, 1 *s*-passive), and 3 a non-congruent translation, 2 of which were intransitives and 1 a CAC.

Changes in lexis were common among the intransitive middles. In (4:43), the shift from transitive *raise* in EnO to intransitive *gå upp* 'rise' in the SwT means that the inherently agentive element is lost.

(4:43) Opened in 1894, it took eight years to build. Splendid views from the enclosed high-level walkway across the top of the towers (lift). Various exhibitions, plus Victorian engine rooms with the original steam pumps. The huge bascules **are raised** to let big ships through. (SUG1/NF)

Uppförd 1894, tog åtta år att bygga. Fin utsikt från den inbyggda, högt belägna gångbron vid Norra tornets topp (hiss). Olika utställningar i de båda huvudtornen, plus viktorianska maskinrum med de gamla ångpumparna. De väldiga broklaffarna **går upp** för att släppa igenom stora fartyg. (SUG1/T)

[the huge bascules go up]

As mentioned above, most ICs have [-Ag] as sources, but there are also [+Ag] ones, and we may ask what happens to the ACTOR/CAUSE of the passive in the intransitive. The actors are normally present but in a form that suits the intransitive expression. (4:44) is an example.

(4:44) The waitress paused so that the point of what she said **was** not **missed** or **weakened** by the laughter that she caused or by the noise of Rook's disruptive sneezes. (JC1/F)

Servitrisen gjorde en paus, så att själva poängen **skulle gå fram** utan att drunkna i deras skrattsalvor eller i det oväsen som Rook förde när han med jämna mellanrum drabbades av nya nysattacker. (JC1/T)

[so that the point itself would go without drowning in their laughter]

The new rendering of what is the ACTOR/CAUSE in the original often seems to reduce the agentive or causal relation signalled in the *by*-phrase, making it much more neutral and 'flat' in the translation.

A number of the translations use a stative verb although the process described by a passive in the source text is dynamic ((4:45)). In some cases, both the passive and the intransitive are stative ((4:46)).

(4:45) She had timed the chickens for nine o'clock: they were ready sprinkled with dried rosemary as the recipe book had suggested. Peeled potatoes were waiting in cold water. The frozen peas **were decanted** into the pan. (FW1/F)

Hon hade beräknat att kycklingen skulle bli klar klockan nio: den låg redo, ingniden med torkad rosmarin, som kokboken föreslog. Skalad potatis väntade i kallt vatten. De frusna ärterna **låg** i sin gryta. (FW1/T)

[it lay prepared; the frozen peas lay in their pan]

The linear organisation and thematic progression seem important in (4:45). The text describes a meal preparation, and the ingredients they (for the chickens), peeled potatoes, and the frozen peas are thematised, which is enabled by two passives and one progressive form in the original. With slight restructuring, the same themerheme structure is kept in the translation. Thematic structure is retained also in (4:46).

(4:46) He took down his tool kit from the high cupboard where it **was kept** well out of Timmy's reach. (PDJ1/F)

Han tog ner sin verktygslåda ur skåpet på väggen där den **stod** väl utom räckhåll för Timmy. (PDJ1/T)

[where it stood well out of reach]

The occurrences using a stative verb are similar to the existential deponent construction which is discussed in the next section.

4.6.2 Deponent s-form

The second most frequent type in this correspondence group is the Deponent s-form. In contrast to the Intransitive middle construction, the deponent has morphological marking. It is not unusual that related structures share formal characteristics; Swedish employs the same morphological marking, the s-suffix, for the dominant passive variant, i.e. the s-passive, for the deponent form and for the middle s-form. This section concerns the deponent form. Following Sundman (1987) and Kemmer (1993), I restrict the deponent form to verbs or constructions that only have s-forms, i.e. they have no s-less forms, in order to clearly separate this form and its label from the middle s-form in this discussion. 62

With 13 of the total 16 instances, the intransitive deponent verb *finnas* ('be', 'exist') dominates this group. *Finnas* (and its various forms) has existential meaning, which is not always as clear in the source texts:

(4:47) The novelist is a capitalist of the imagination. He or she invents a product which consumers didn't know they wanted until it **was made** available, [...]. (DL1/F)

Romanförfattaren är fantasiens kapitalist. Han eller hon hittar på en produkt som

⁶¹ Historically, the *s*-passive, the middle *s*-form, the reciprocal *s*-form and the reflexive *sig* originate in the reflexive form *sik* but have developed different meanings (cf. Lyons 1968:371ff., Kemmer 1993).

⁶² This differs from, e.g. Teleman et al's (1999:Vol.2:555) definition of 'deponent' which includes all non-passive *s*-verbs as deponent forms.

konsumenterna inte vet att de vill ha innan den **finns** tillgänglig, [...]. (DL1/T)

[before it is available]

The shift to existential meaning means reduction in the degree of transitivity. Most of the instances of *finnas* are found in the EU Law text (*Agreement on the European Economic Area*). Here we find translations which are more or less standardised ((4:48)):

(4:48) Article 20. Provisions and arrangements that apply to fish and other marine products **are set out** in Protocol 9. (AEEA1/NF)

Artikel 20 (P) Bestämmelser och arrangemang som avser fisk och andra produkter från havet **finns** i protokoll 9. (AEEA1/T)

With only two exceptions, the phrase *be set out* was consistently rendered as existential *finns* in the translation.⁶³ The consistency can be expected given the importance of keeping meaning constant in a law text.

Some intransitive deponent verbs take an agentive Subject, in contrast to the affected Subjects seen so far. Example (4:49) shows the only instance in the data.

(4:49) Arthur Wandle had a well-situated and prosperous shop which nestled just at the foot of Gurney Castle, and **was** much **frequented** in the summer by tourists. (FW1/F)

Arthur Wandle hade en blomstrande butik med utmärkt läge alldeles vid foten av Gurney Castle. På sommaren **flockades** turisterna där, men på vintern var det lugnare, [...]. (FW1/T)

[in summer flocked-S the tourists there]

First, we can see that the translation changes the thematic structure and has the animate ACTOR turisterna as Subject. Second, the verb flockades ('flocked-S') is interesting. Most deponent verbs denote an iterative or generic action (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:555), which is exemplified by frequent in the source text. But, according to Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.2:556), it is typical of deponent verbs that can be paraphrased by an s-less form and a reflexive Object, such as flockas – flocka sig, to describe a single action only. However, as Lyngfelt (2007:112) points out, the reflexive sig in many collective verbs is not reflexive in the usual sense (that the Subject does something with/to itself). Instead, the plural Subject referents perform a collective action: "several separate actions with a collective

⁶³ Set sth out 'to present ideas, facts, etc. in an organised way, in speech or writing (OALD).

effect" (ibid.) which is clearly an iterative action.⁶⁴ This seems to apply to the deponent form also, since we can tell from the context that it is an iterative activity.

Another deponent form is the one in (4:50):

(4:50) The greatest revolutionary rising of the nineteenth century, the Paris Commune of 1871, had been defeated, Lenin argued, because it placed too much faith in conciliation and too little in force. (CAOG1/NF)

Den största revolutionära resningen under 1800-talet, Pariskommunen 1871, **hade** enligt Lenin **misslyckats** därför att regimen satte för stor tro till försonligheten och för liten till makten. (CAOG1/T)

[had according to Lenin failed because]

The thematic structure remains largely unchanged but there is a change in lexis, this time from the highly transitive and agentive *defeat* to the deponent verb *misslyckas* ('fail') with lower transitivity. The translation presents the Subject referent as weakly agentive whereas the implicit ACTOR in the passive original is strongly agentive. The participant roles are changed due to the change in lexis which results in a change of perspective from which the activity is depicted.

4.6.3 Intransitive agentive construction

The next intransitive type is the Intransitive agentive construction (IAC)⁶⁵, in which the Subject is non-agentive but there is an ACTOR or CAUSE present in the same clause. It is illustrated in (4:51):

(4:51) The willingness of other European police forces to cooperate with the Foreign Agency was increased by a spate of anarchist assassinations. (CAOG1/NF)

Andra europeiska polisstyrkors villighet att samarbeta med utländska byrån **växte på grund av en störtflod av anarkistiska lönnmord**. (CAOG1/T)

[other European police forces' willingness to cooperate with foreign agency grew because of a spate of anarchist assassinations]

⁶⁴ Flockas can also have middle meaning in which case the Subject is not agentive or causal (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:557. That does not seem to be the case here.

⁶⁵ Lyngfelt (2007:92f.) also uses the term 'intransitive agentive construction' but for structures with an agentive Subject + intransitive verb (e.g. *She ran*).

The passive is rendered as the intransitive *växte* ('grew'), and *på grund av* ('because of') can be considered a 'quasi-agent' (cf. Svartvik 1966:102ff.). According to Svartvik, quasi-agents are often lexically determined and tend to occur with structures that are not fully passive, such as semi-passives, displaying both verbal and adjectival properties.⁶⁶ It is therefore not surprising that they occur with several IACs.

In (4:52), we find that the translation loses part of the strong causality feature by using the verb *hamna* 'happen to end up', but still gives the ACTOR in an *av*-phrase:

(4:52) To a relative of Plato's of mediocre mind went the position of head of the school, an office Aristotle might have coveted. He returned twelve years later and founded his Lyceum. By then the city **had been subjected** to Macedonian rule, **first by Philip, next by Alexander**. (JH1/F)

En medelmåttigt begåvad släkting till Platon övertog posten som chef för skolan, en befattning som Aristoteles kunde ha eftertraktat. Han återvände tolv år senare och grundade sitt gymnasium. Vid det laget hade staden hamnat under makedoniskt styre, först av Filip och därnäst av Alexander. (JH1/T)

[by then had the city ended up under Macedonian rule]

The phrasal verb *subject to* expresses strong agentivity/causality and its Subject is equally strongly affected by the action. The ACTOR, i.e. the one subjecting, is present in an Agent.

4.6.4 Middle s-form

The Middle s-form (MS) is semantically similar to the Intransitive middle construction in that it is characterised by a non-agentive Subject and by the lack of an ACTOR/CAUSE second participant. The process is interpreted as happening spontaneously or automatically. However, whereas the IMC has no morphological marking, the MS has, and the borderline between passive and middle meaning is often vague. As we saw in section 1.5.2.2, the crucial factor for distinguishing an s-passive from a middle s-form is the presence of an ACTOR/CAUSE. This means that an inanimate CAUSE must be identified and expressed. If the Adverbial is omitted, there is no longer an idea of an intervening

66 There is a range of cause- or instrument-denoting prepositions (such as, in English, *about*, *at*, *over*, *to*, and *with*, and, in Swedish, *med* 'with', *på grund av* 'because of', *åt* 'at', and *över* 'about', 'over') that may be used to introduce what Svartvik calls 'quasi-agents' (1966:102ff.).

entity and the remaining sequence has an "unidentified inanimate cause" (Sundman 1987:386) or is perceived as happening spontaneously. The VP is then interpreted as middle. The middle is not very frequent in the material; there are only 3 clear occurrences as translation of a passive, which suggests that translators prefer other means of expression.

In (4:53), the VP *kunde bildas* ('could form') is interpreted as middle since there is no ACTOR, CAUSE or INSTRUMENT present, and the verb *bilda* does not necessarily denote an intentional activity. The implied Agent is vague and non-specific, and the activity is rather perceived as a spontaneous or automatic process. Hence, it could be described as closer to middle meaning than to a prototypical passive.

(4:53) There was once a time before life, when the Earth was barren and utterly desolate. Our world is now overflowing with life. How did it come about? How, in the absence of life, were carbon-based organic molecules made? How did the first living things arise? (CSA1/NF)

Det fanns en gång en tid som föregick livet, då jorden var livlös och fullkomligt öde. Vår värld flödar nu över av liv. Hur har det blivit så? Hur **kunde** kolbaserade organiska molekyler **bildas** då liv ännu inte fanns? Hur uppstod de första levande varelserna? (CSA1/T)

[how could carbon-based organic molecules form-Smid]

The source text passive and the middle form in the translation are even closer in (4:54). Judging from the context and from the fact that we can remove the passive auxiliary (and say *sales growth for Pulmicort Turbuhaler doubled*) without any change of meaning, both the source text and the translation are semantically middle. However, the source is clearly passive in form, and the translation must be considered middle.

(4:54) During 1999, the business extended the market leadership of Prilosec, with over \$3.8 billion in sales. Sales of Seroquel exceeded \$200 million in its second full year on the market and sales growth for Pulmicort Turbuhaler **was doubled**. (AZ1/NF)

Under 1999 stärktes den marknadsledande ställningen för Prilosec med en försäljning på mer än 3,8 miljarder USD. Försäljningen av Seroquel under produktens andra hela år på marknaden översteg 200 miljoner USD och försäljningsökningen för Pulmicort **fördubblades**. (AZ1/T)

[sales growth for Pulmicort Turbuhaler doubled]

Instances where the form can be active or passive and the grammatical Subject remains the same, such as *be doubled – doubled* and *be filled – filled*, have been called 'transmutations' (Svartvik 1966:90) and 'morphological doublets' (Mihailović

1967:320). In Swedish, *fördubblas* and *utvecklas* are often used with middle meaning (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:556). Consider (4:55):

(4:55) Industrial production growth in the OECD countries reversed its trend and turned positive during 1999. ABB conducts 80 percent of its business in OECD countries and benefited from the recent economic upturn. Economic growth improved throughout Europe, except for Norway and Denmark. The positive trend **was** also **seen** in Central and Eastern Europe. (ABB1/NF)

Industriproduktionens tillväxt i OECD-länderna vände och blev positiv under 1999. ABB bedriver 80 procent av sin verksamhet i OECD-länder och gynnades av den senaste ekonomiska uppgången. Den ekonomiska tillväxten förbättrades i hela Europa med undantag av Norge och Danmark. Också Central- och Östeuropa **utvecklades** positivt. (ABB1/T)

[also Central and Eastern Europe developed positively]

In addition to the shift of form, there was a lexical change made in (4:55) from was seen to utvecklades ('/was/ developed'). A causal entity related to utvecklades can possibly be found in the preceding context ('den senaste ekonomiska uppgången'/'the recent economic upturn'), but the connection is not entirely clear. In addition, this cause cannot be related to the source text passive. Also, was seen requires an animate ACTOR. Again, in the absence of a clear animate ACTOR or inanimate CAUSE for utvecklades, the form will be interpreted as middle. We can also note that the sentence preceding utvecklades, contains the middle s-form förbättrades which translates the Intransitive middle improved, also a transmutation.

These translations raise the question about 'how passive' the source text constructions actually are. They seem to suggest that there is a gradience of agentivity not only between passives and middles but also within the passive category. In some sense, the gradience is similar to that found between passives and adjectival (predicative) structures (section 4.10.2; Quirk et al. 1985:167ff.). However, those found here are of a different kind; they do not display any adjectival characteristics, but are simply lower in agentivity.

4.6.5 Concluding remarks

It is striking that the Intransitive construction strategy is the strongest noncongruent strategy among the Swedish translations in the material, since it means that the implicit passive ACTOR is not only contextually hidden or rendered nonspecific, but completely defocused, or suppressed in the translations. Two main patterns were identified among the IC types. First, although the ICs omit the ACTOR, it was shown that this participant is sometimes contextually present. It can be found either in the same clause, as is the case in IACs, or in the immediate context. This type is close to a [+Ag] passive in that the ACTOR/CAUSE is present but expressed differently, or it can be understood from the wider context, as in the case with *stupade* ('die', 'be killed') in (4:42). We also saw that an IMC may be co-ordinated with a *bli*-passive. All this suggests that there is some kind of indirect relation between this spontaneous non-agentive event type and events that are more agentive and higher in transitivity. However, we need more data in order to explore this relationship further.

Second, the fact that the ICs normally defocus the ACTOR entirely raises questions about the nature of [-Ag] passives. Some of the source texts passives are rather 'weak' in that the implicit ACTOR is vague or they use stative verbs. They are typically rendered by much weaker, less agentive entities in the translations, and there are often shifts in lexis to less dynamic verbs. It seems as if the original texts in many cases could have used a middle construction without any change of meaning. Especially the translation with a middle s-form tends to reinforce that impression. The few instances of MS capture the closeness of the passive and the middle in that a VP may shift between passive and middle with only little or no change in meaning (/was/doubled). Given the emphasis that the middle-passive issue is often given in the literature, it is interesting that middle s-form is so infrequent in the material, and the most common structure was the IMC.

To conclude, we can say that the linear organisation of the source text normally remains constant in this strategy. Although the source texts could potentially have used intransitives, it is likely that the thematisation function of passive is at work for creating thematic progression in the texts (see e.g. (4:45)). There are often changes in lexis, sometimes from a dynamic to a stative verb. Many middle or deponent verbs have reflexive variants and it has been shown that they share several characteristics (see e.g. the discussion of *flockades* ((4:49)) and e.g. Kemmer 1993). Translations using the reflexive construction is the topic of the next section.

4.7 Translation into Reflexive construction

A typical reflexive construction is a transitive structure with an animate ACTOR Subject acting on a PATIENT Object (the reflexive pronoun) (cf. e.g. Sundman 1987:316, Lyngfelt 2007:100f.) as in (4:56). A difference between the passive and the typical reflexive is then that the Subject takes on different participant roles.

A reflexive construction is used in 24 instances in the material (10 in fiction, 14 in non-fiction), making up 4.5% of the non-congruent translations.

In (4:56), the PATIENT Subject of the passive becomes an ACTOR Subject in the reflexive: *han skrev in sig* 'he wrote in himself'.

(4:56) His German teacher, however, was sufficiently impressed by his achievements to encourage him to apply for a scholarship to Cornell University. He failed to get this and was instead matriculated as an Arts 11 student in the spring of 1909 at the City College in New York, where he took Latin, German, Physics, Gym and Chemistry. (RF1/NF)

Men Henrys tysklärare var tillräckligt imponerad för att uppmuntra honom att söka ett stipendium till Cornell University. Han lyckades inte få något stipendium, utan **skrev** istället på våren 1909 **in sig** vid City College i New York där han läste latin, tyska, fysik, kemi och fysisk fostran. (RF1/T)

[he succeeded not get any scholarship, but wrote instead in the spring 1909 in himself at City College in New York]

Although the Subject referent cannot be the sole agentive entity in the situation (*skriva in sig* 'write in oneself'), the process requires that the Subject act with a certain degree of intention and responsibility. The implied external ACTOR of the passive is omitted in the translation, which has an effect on transitivity. Lyngfelt (2007:124) points out that the reflexive pronoun is known to reduce transitivity (compare e.g. 'explain sth' and 'explain oneself'), and although there is an Object, the reflexive pronoun, that Object is co-referential with the Subject. By the change of lexical verb, the perspective from which the situation is depicted changes but the thematic structures remain largely unchanged. We can also note that the implied passive ACTOR is unspecified and rather generic, which might be the reason for focusing on the process and the acting participant.

Another example exhibiting an agentive animate Subject is the one in (4:57), but here there is no loss of participant in comparison to the source:

(4:57) My own decision **was made** when my mother casually mentioned in a letter that a couple of my friends from Stellenbosch University were also on the point of leaving. (BR1/F)

Själv **bestämde jag mig** när min mor i ett brev i förbigående nämnde att ett par av mina vänner från universitetet i Stellenbosch också stod i begrepp att ge sig av. (BR1/T)

[decided I myself]

Example (4:57) also shows another difference in transitivity in comparison to (4:56). It could be argued that this reflexive element is not influenced by the Subject in the same way as the one in (4:56), and is therefore less transitive (cf. Lyngfelt 2007:102).

In addition to the typical reflexive with an animate agentive Subject, another type, exhibiting a non-agentive Subject was found in the data. As many as 10 of the 24 reflexives are non-agentive. Consider (4:58):

(4:58) The crowd yelled. The man flailed, got up, shouted and huffed. Then he pounced on her, lashing at her face. Dad started towards him, but his rescue attempt **was cut** short. The madame grabbed the bad loser's crotch and he screamed so loud that the crowd fell silent. (BO1/F)

Hopen jublade. Mannen fäktade med armarna, reste sig, skrek och gormade. Så rusade han mot henne och gjorde ett utfall mot ansiktet på henne. Pappa sprang emot honom, men hans räddningsförsök **kom av sig**. Kvinnan grep tag i skrevet på den dålige förloraren, och han skrek så högt att hopen förstummades. (BO1/T)

[his rescue attempt stopped short]

In (4:58), the Subject, *his rescue attempt*, is inanimate and has the role PATIENT, but the translator chose an intransitive reflexive which entirely demotes the ACTOR. The Subject does not act upon itself (cf. Lyngfelt 2007:102), and the process is therefore depicted as happening spontaneously or automatically, i.e. no ACTOR is presupposed. This reflexive is thus parallel to an IMC (section 4.6.1). Lastly, we also note that *kom av sig* in (4:58) has acquired a meaning special to the reflexive ('stop unexpectedly'). Fixed lexical combinations occurred several times in the material, and according to Lyngfelt (2007:125) lexicalisation is typical for intransitive and middle reflexives. Other examples found are: *göra sig kvitt* ('get rid of') and *skaka av sig* ('shake off').

The intransitive middle reflexive is illustrated also in (4:59):

(4:59) According to Robyn (or, more precisely, according to the writers who have influenced her thinking on these matters) there is no such thing as the "self" on which capitalism and the classic novel **are founded** [...]. (DL1/F)

Enligt Robyn (eller, för att vara mer exakt, enligt de författare som har påverkat henne i det här ämnet) existerar det inget "jag" av det slag som kapitalismen och den traditionella romanen **baserar sig på** [...]. (DL1/T)

[the traditional novel bases itself on]

Just like (4:58), example (4:59) has an inanimate, and thereby non-agentive/non-intentional, Subject which cannot 'act on' any other entity, and the reflexive pronoun is 'empty'. The possibility of construction shift between the reflexive (basera sig 'base itself'), a middle s-structure (baseras 'base-Smid') and an s-passive (baseras 'base-S') emphasises the close connections between them, and clearly positions the reflexive within the middle domain (Shibatani 1985, 2006, Kemmer 1993, Lyngfelt 2007:124f.).

Finally, fa is a frequent translation of the passive, and is found in most non-congruent correspondence groups. There are five instances of fa with a reflexive verb. (4:60) illustrates:

(4:60) GILLIAN said that in her opinion *their* was just as cumbersome and just as obviously diplomatic as *his* or *her*, but why was the meeting being so squeamish about making a point anyway? Since women **had** for centuries **been instructed** to use the masculine possessive pronoun when referring to the whole human race, why shouldn't there be some belated corrective action, even if it did stick in a few (masculine) throats? (JB1/F)

GILLIAN sa att det där med *folk* och *deras* bara var undanflykter - varför ville inte ledamöterna se sanningen i vitögat? Här hade kvinnor i århundraden **fått finna sig i** att så fort det syftades på människan i största allmänhet användes uttrycket *man*! Varför inte sent omsider sätta in moteld och korrigera saken, även om vissa personer kände sig trampade på (de maskulina) tårna? (JB1/T)

[here had women for centuries had to accept]

Få combined with an infinitive verb generally has modal meaning and, although permission seems to be the default interpretation, obligation is one of the most frequent inferences (Viberg 2002:132). When it is used with a reflexive verb in the present data, it usually has obligation meaning. In (4:60) this is the meaning brought out by both the context and the lexicalized expression få finna sig i ('have to accept'). The translation retains the Subject as PATIENT, and simultaneously, the implicit passive ACTOR of the source text is reflected in the presence of an external intentional or non-intentional actor or force in the få-structure (cf. Viberg 2002:132ff., Ramnäs 2004).

4.8 Translation into Copula construction

There are 15 instances (6 in fiction, 9 in non-fiction, in total 2.8%) in which the passive corresponds to a copula construction (COP). (4:61) is a typical instance:

- (4:61) Entitled The Industrious Muse: Narrativity and Contradiction in the Industrial Novel (the title **was foisted** on her **by the publishers**, the subtitle was her own) it received enthusiastic if sparse reviews, [...] (DL1/F)
 - [...] Den industriella musan. Berättarteknik och motsättningar i den industriella romanen (huvudtiteln **var** förläggarens idé, men undertiteln var hennes egen) och den fick entusiastiska om än fåtaliga recensioner, [...] (DL1/T)

[the main title was the publisher's idea]

The causal strength of *foist/be foisted* is lost in the translation using the neutral *vara* ('be'), and the Agent entity becomes a Subject Complement. A COP often results

in reduction in transitivity and a change of perspective since the ACTOR is altogether omitted or expressed in a different way than in an Agent.

In other cases, the COP reflects the stative character of the source text and is then an alternative to, for example, a congruent *vara*-passive ((4:62)).

(4:62) By the 19th century London had expanded enormously, but pockets of the capital **were trapped** in harsh poverty, vividly described in Charles Dickens' novels. (SUG1/NF)

Vid 1800-talets början hade London expanderat, men i delar av staden **var** fattigdomen stor, vilket beskrivits av bl.a. Charles Dickens. (SUG1/T)

[but in parts of the city was poverty large]

Certain verbs occurred several times. For example, the passive of *make* was translated into a COP 4 times. (4:63) is one of them:

(4:63) The fossil evidence could be consistent with the idea of a Great Designer; perhaps some species are destroyed when the Designer becomes dissatisfied with them, and new experiments are attempted on an improved design. But this notion is a little disconcerting. Each plant and animal **is** exquisitely **made**; should not a supremely competent Designer have been able to make the intended variety from the start? (CSA1/NF)

De fossila bevisen skulle kunna stämma överens med tanken på en Stor Formgivare. Kanhända förstörs vissa arter när Formgivaren blir missnöjd med dem och kanske vidtas nya experiment efter en förbättrad plan. Men denna tanke är en smula förvirrande. Varje växt och djur **är** ett utsökt hantverk. Skulle då inte en suveränt skicklig Formgivare varit i stånd att skapa den avsedda varieteten redan från början? (CSA1/T)

The translation in (4:63) shows a copula and predicative construction with the 'making' conveyed in the NP ett utsökt hantverk ('an exquisite handicraft').

4.9 Translation into Lexical verb + past participle construction

In addition to the two passive-forming auxiliaries in Swedish, a few other verbs were found with past participles. Although they are full lexical verbs, their function is parallel to the regular passive-forming auxiliaries (cf. Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:382). Svartvik (1966:148f.) refers to such verbs as "lexically marked auxiliaries" and remarks that an "agent extension is unlikely or impossible" (1966:148). There are 13 instances (2.4%) altogether and it is typical of them that the two components, i.e. the 'auxiliary' and the past participle, form close lexical units.

Although a lexical (non-passive) auxiliary may serve to avoid ambiguity where a passive auxiliary may be ambiguous between a dynamic and a stative reading (Svartvik 1966:150), the choice of auxiliary in (4:64) is probably lexically governed. The variant chosen is fully idiomatic and stylistically more elegant than the obvious alternatives *var anklagad* using the passive auxiliary *vara*, and the *s*-passive *hade anklagats*.

(4:64) Asclepius had voted to spare a man who had been charged with crimes. (JH1/F)

Asklepios hade röstat för att en människa som **stod anklagad** för ett brott skulle skonas. (JH1/T)

[stood charged]

In (4:65), gått (förlorat) ('go lost') emphasizes gradual change and is more idiomatic than a corresponding passive (*förlorats, *blivit förlorat) would have been. An alternative could have been a lexical shift to an IMC - försvunnit ('disappeared'). Also with gått förlorat, the ACTOR is left unspecified and the translation is similar to a middle construction.

(4:65) Urey had argued compellingly that the early atmosphere of the Earth was hydrogen-rich, as is most of the Cosmos; [...]; and that the origin of life occurred before the hydrogen was lost. (CSA1/NF)

Urey hade på ett övertygande sätt hävdat, att jordens tidiga atmosfär var rik på väte, liksom det övriga kosmos, [...] och att livet uppstått innan vätet **gått förlorat**. (CSA1/T)

[gone lost]

Lastly, consider also the syntactic frame 'få+NP+participle' which deviates from other instances in this group both syntactically and semantically. In the translation of (4:66), there is clearly an implicit agentive, and the Subject is PATIENT. The få-construction expresses a possible maleficient situation.

(4:66) And it was unlikely that his holiday **would be interrupted** by the need to take even a cursory glance at the Whistler, Norfolk's notorious serial killer, dead or alive. (PDJ1/F)

Och det var inte troligt att han **skulle få** sin semester **avbruten** och behöva kasta ens en flyktig blick på Visslaren, Norfolks beryktade massmördare, död eller levande. (PDJ1/T)

The få+NP+participle construction is parallel to the passive in requiring an external ACTOR and having a non-agentive Subject. It can also take an *av*-Agent phrase. The maleficial, and beneficial, interpretations show connections to the *bli*-passive (and parallels to the *get*-passive). However, as pointed out by Larsson (2012:28) in her study of what she calls the 'få-passiv', the construction differs

from the prototypical passive in that the Subject does not always match the Object of a corresponding active. For the translation in (4:66): *X skulle avbryta honom ('X would interrupt him'). An active rendering would rather be att X skulle avbryta hans semester ('that X would interrupt his holiday'), where the Object corresponds to the Object in (4:66) SwT. According to Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:382), constructions with få+NP+participle could possibly be recognised as passive.

4.10 Translation with a part of speech change

So far the changes discussed have concerned translation shifts resulting in some type of verb construction in the translation. In this section, I will investigate shifts in which the source text passive construction is rendered as a different part of speech, i.e. one part of speech is replaced by another.

The parts of speech identified in the translations in the present study are noun, adjective and adverb. Noun structures, particularly nominalisations, have often been considered characteristic of formal texts and are similar to the passive in that respect. Adjectival participles are related to the passive through the participle. The adverbs, in contrast, are more unexpected as translation correspondences. I will start by looking at noun structures.

4.10.1 Noun construction

Replacement of the passive by a nominal construction is one of the strongest strategies in Swedish translations. It accounts for 13.5% (72 instances) of the total number of non-congruent renderings (fiction 33 instances, 14.2%), non-fiction 39 instances (13.0%)) which makes it the third most frequent overall. They fall into two main types: fa-structure and nominalisation.

4.10.1.1 Translation into a få-structure

Among nominal structures, the structure containing the verb fa followed by a noun corresponding to the passive verb is particularly frequent. This structure is found in more than 50% (18 of 33) in the fiction texts and 34% (13 of 39) in the non-fiction texts. Consider (4:67)0:

(4:67) He'd been delayed by brochure touts and leafleteers, tackled at the knees and chest by

rubbish cans, hydrants, signs, post boxes, newspaper stands. He'd been bumped and buffeted by the selective tidal chaos of the street which unfooted and swept away those newcomers who did not understand its current or its flow. (JC1/F)

Folk som ville pracka på honom broschyrer och reklamlappar hade sinkat honom, och det ömmade i knäna och bröstet efter alla soptunnor, vattenposter, skyltar, brevlådor och tidningsstånd som han hade slagit i. Han **hade fått sina törnar** i det myllrande kaos som gatan utgjorde för alla nykomlingar som inte hade hunnit anpassa sig till rytmen och tempot. (JC1/T)

The English source text displays a chain of passives all of which have active renderings in the translation. In the translation, He'd been bumped and buffeted was rendered as Han hade fått sina törnar ('he had got his bumps'), i.e. the passive construction has been changed to fa ('get')+NP while the Subject is still a PATIENT. The basic meaning of fa is 'get', 'receive', and fa is thus inherently nonagentive (Viberg 2002:128). The non-agentive character of the fa-structure combined with the noun often gives a rather stative interpretation, whereas the passive is perceived as more dynamic. Ebeling (2003) makes the same observation in translation of Norwegian fa+NP into English give and says that "there may be a stronger presence of an actor in the passive sentence with give than in the active one with fa' (Ebeling 2003:239).

In the original of (4:67), the Agent is inanimate and expresses CAUSE, but there were also animate, although non-agentive (non-volitional), Agents among the nominal få-structures, as in (4:68). The Subjects, on the other hand, are inanimate.

(4:68) During the winter months, the reserve is frequented by good numbers of wildfowl, gulls and waders, such as snipe and jack snipe. (SUG1/NF)

Under vintermånaderna får reservatet besök av ansenliga skaror andfåglar, måsar och vadare, som t ex enkelbeckasin och dvärgbeckasin. (SUG1/T)

[get the reserve visits from good numbers of]

In contrast to the reflexive uses of fa (fa+VPinfinitive+reflexive; see (4:60) in section 4.7), most of which express modality, particularly obligation, these fa+NP-structures usually express possession (as in 0), abstract or concrete. There are, however, also 3 occurrences of fa+NP with modal meaning. Two of them express permission and are renderings of 'be allowed to' as fa lov att (see (4:69)) and hade fatt lov att, and one expresses possibility and renders 'be allowed to' as ha möjlighet att ('have possibility to').

(4:69) A ruler inspired with that love of philosophy of which Socrates and Plato spoke was not going to have much time to rule or **be allowed** to rule long. (JH1/F)

En härskare som vägleddes av den kärlek till filosofin vilken Sokrates och Platon talade

om skulle inte få mycket tid över till regerandet eller få lov att regera särskilt länge. (JH1/T)

[or get permission to rule very long]

Most instances show close lexical correspondence between the verbs and the nouns. $F^{\dot{a}}$ +NP can often be considered a fixed lexical unit, as $f^{\dot{a}}$ en chock ('get a shock') in (4:70):

(4:70) Dalgliesh had last seen Blaney six months earlier splashing alone along the edge of the beach, painting gear slung over his shoulder, and **was shocked** by the change in the man. (PDJ1/F)

Dalgliesh hade sett Blaney sex månader tidigare när han hade kommit strosande i vattenbrynet med målargrejerna över axeln och han **fick** nästan **en chock** när han såg hur han förändrats. (PDJ1/T)

[he got almost a shock when he saw how he had changed]

Other fixed expressions are: få stryk (source: 'be beaten'), få förlåtelse ('be forgiven'), få lön ('be paid'), få sparken ('be sacked') and få en knäck ('be damaged'). These are all highly idiomatic in their contexts, and also more informal than a corresponding passive would have been. The fixed expressions are more frequent in the fiction texts than in the non-fiction ones. The majority of the non-fiction instances are semantically and lexically close but not as fixed.

4.10.1.2 Translation into a nominalisation

A second group among the noun structures consists of compound nouns corresponding to a variety of more complex structures in the source texts. When an NP stands in systematic correspondence with a clause, it is referred to as a nominalisation (Quirk et al. 1985:1288, Nordrum 2007). Refusal-refuse and truth-true may illustrate the relation: his refusal to help – he refuses to help and the truth of her statement – her statement is true (Quirk et al. 1985:1288). In (4:71), we find the source text Subject (the clippings) and (passive) VP merged into a compound NP, a nominalisation, kvistbränningen 'clippingburning' in the translation. In (4:72), the nominalisation originates in a slow process of being cleaned up, a complex NP which includes the passive VP. We can thus say that a nominalisation packs the passive VP and other parts into a more condensed format.

(4:71) We loved the vines [...], the blue smoke in the pruning season as **the clippings were burned**, [...]. (PM1/NF)

Vi älskade vinstockarna [...], den blå röken från kvistbränningen under

beskärningstiden, [...]. (PM1/T)

[the blue smoke from the clippingburning during the pruning season]

(4:72) Once so polluted that no life survived in the waters that flowed through London, the Thames is now undergoing a slow process of being cleaned up and fish are beginning to recolonise. (SUG1/NF)

En gång i tiden var Themsen så förorenad att inget liv överhuvudtaget kunde finnas i dess vatten och nu håller floden på att genomgå **en långsam reningsprocess** och fisken har börjat återvända så smått. (SUG1/T)

[undergo a slow cleaning-process]

The compound in (4:71) can be rephrased by an active clause: we burned the clippings, which shows that the first noun of the compound in the Swedish translation is the Object of the second noun. The of-construction in the source text NP in (4:72) corresponds to the first noun in the compound and the head is rendered as the second part. In her study of the translation of lexical nominalisations, Nordrum (2007) found parallel tendencies involving compounds in translations of different types of lexical nominalisations from English into Swedish. It is also well known that Swedish more easily than English uses compound nouns, which often creates more lexically dense text. (4:73) clearly shows how the target text NP serves to create a shorter text by means of integration:

(4:73) Freedom of establishment shall include the right to take up and pursue activities as self-employed persons and to set up and manage undertakings, in particular companies or firms within the meaning of Article 34, second paragraph, under the conditions laid down for its own nationals by the law of the country where such establishment is effected, subject to the provisions of the Chapter relating to capital. (AEEA1/NF)

Etableringsfriheten skall innefatta rätt att uppta och utöva självständig förvärvsverksamhet samt rätt att bilda och driva företag, särskilt bolag som de definieras i artikel 34.2, på de villkor som **etableringslandets lagstiftning** föreskriver för egna medborgare, med förbehåll för bestämmelserna i kapitlet om kapital.

The passive is effected, or rather, the entire Adverbial by the law of the country where such establishment is effected is incorporated into the NP etableringslandets lagstiftning ('the country of establishment's legislation/'legislation of the country of establishment'). This example is an extract from a European Union law text, Agreement on the European Economic Area, representing a text type we can expect to find on the very formal side on an informal-formal scale. Nominal forms and nominalisations have been shown to score at least as high as passive forms in frequency in this text type (see e.g. Biber 1988:166f., 178, 254). It is thus not

surprising that most of the examples of this nominal form are found in the non-fiction data.

The NP structure with a possessive/genitive determiner as in *etableringslandets lagstiftning* in the translation was found in a few more instances in the material. Consider (4:74):

(4:74) The Lady Nii, grandmother of the Emperor, resolved that she and Antoku **would** not **be captured by the enemy**. (CSA1/NF)

Fru Nii, anmoder till kejsaren, beslöt att hon och kejsaren inte skulle bli **fiendens fångar**. (CSA1/T)

[not would be the enemy's captives]

The passive *would not be captured* corresponds to the noun *fångar* ('captives'), and the Agent *by the enemy* is rendered as the *s*-genitive form *fiendens*. Quirk et al. (1985:1289) show how elements of the NP can be matched with clausal elements and participant roles such as ACTOR and PATIENT: *the play's hostile reception by the critics* – *The play was received in a hostile manner by the critics*. They refer to the former structure as passive nominalisation. Similarly, Nordrum (2007:87ff.) found that an English passive nominalisation may be translated into Swedish using an *s*-passive with a retained Agent, but also that a *by*-phrase may be turned into an *s*-genitive, as in (4:74)0. The dynamic meaning of the passive is, at least partly, communicated by *bli* in the translation. Turning a passive clause into an NP does, however, reduce the degree of agentivity since there is normally no longer an expressed ACTOR participant in the clause.

4.10.2 Adjectival and participial constructions

There are 21 instances (3.9% of the non-congruent translations) of Adjectival constructions in the material (10 in EnO fiction, 11 in EnO non-fiction). It is interesting to separate adjectival participles from 'regular', i.e. non-participial, adjectives since verbal and adjectival participles are not discrete categories (cf. e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:414). Following Quirk et al. (1985:168) and the definition adopted in this study (section 1.5.2.1), participles that are partly adjectival and partly verbal were categorised as semi-passive. They are categorised separately from fully adjectival participles. In contrast to what might be expected given the close relationship between participial adjectives and passives, there were more non-participial instances than participial ones. The frequencies are shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 Adjective constructions in Swedish translations

	Fiction	Non-fiction
Non-participial adj.	5	7
Participial adjective	3	3
Semi-passive	2	1
Total	10	11

Many of the non-participial adjectives (12 in total) have in common that they have bounded Aktionsart, i.e. denote finished actions, which is atypical of adjectives (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:155). The translation in (4:75) is an example.

(4:75) Peeled potatoes were waiting in cold water. The frozen peas were decanted into the pan. A bread sauce mix waited in the bowl for its re-hydration. The chocolate mousse **had been made** and Ben and Alice had quarrelled over who should lick the spoon and who should scrape the bowl. (FW1/F)

Skalad potatis väntade i kallt vatten. De frusna ärterna låg i sin gryta. En redd mjölksås på mix inväntade tillsats av vatten i sin skål. Chokladmoussen **var färdig**, och Ben och Alice hade bråkat om vem som skulle slicka skeden och vem som skulle skrapa skålen. (FW1/T)

[the chocolate mousse was ready]

The context of (4:75) describes a number of finished or on-going actions. For the passive *had been made*, a past perfect passive signalling an action completed in the past, the translator chose the predicative structure with the copula *var* 'was' combined with the adjective *färdig* 'ready' focalising the result of the action. The ACTOR is hence defocused and the translation is lower in transitivity than the source.

An interesting instance involving a lexical shift is found in (4:76):

(4:76) Their decisive naval encounter, with the Emperor on board ship, occurred at Danno-ura in the Japanese Inland Sea on April 24, 1185. The Heike **were outnumbered**, and outmaneuvered. Many were killed. (CSA1/NF)

Det avgörande slaget stod till sjöss med kejsaren ombord på ett skepp. Detta hände vid Danno-Ura i Japanska sjön den 24 april 1185. Heike-klanens styrkor **var underlägsna** och besegrades. Många stupade. (CSA1/T)

The translation uses the opposite of *outnumber*, the adjective *underlägsen* ('be inferior'), which allows the thematic structure to be retained although there is a shift in perspective. Lexical changes or slight reformulations from the source texts recur in this translation category. Another instance is found in (4:77):

(4:77) Similar success has been achieved in merging AstraZeneca's marketing operations in other regions of the world and sales growth performance has generally been strong.

(AZ1/NF)

Integrationen av AstraZenecas marknadsföringsverksamhet **har varit** lika **framgångsrik** i övriga delar av världen och försäljningstillväxten har i allmänhet varit stark. (AZ1/T)

[the integration of Astra Zeneca's martketing operations has been as successful in other parts of the world]

In contrast to (4:75) and (4:76), in which the thematic structure is kept constant, it is changed in (4:77), in a way similar to what we find in CACs (section 4.3) in that the passive Subject corresponds to, here, the active Complement, and as a result, the degree of transitivity is reduced.

There were 6 participial adjective instances, i.e. cases that are clearly adjectival with no verbal properties. These are Quirk et al.'s pseudo-passives. (4:78) illustrates:

(4:78) The cold weather cuisine of Provence is peasant food. It **is made** to stick to your ribs, keep you warm, give you strength and send you off to bed with a full belly. (PM1/NF)

När det är kallt i Provence äter man husmanskost. Den **är avsedd** att mätta, att hålla en varm, skänka krafter och skicka en nöjd och belåten i säng. (PM1/T)

[it is intended]

Although the source text passive can be considered stative, the verb *make* retains the idea of an ACTOR, although vague and indefinite. This is completely lost in the translation.

The semi-passive is an intermediate category which displays both verbal and adjectival characteristics (section 1.5.2.1). The translation in (4:79) is considered a semi-passive:

(4:79) It was too late to talk him out of this conviction that would have led to his being burned as a heretic in those enlightened Dark Ages to come, in which Plato was embraced and absorbed and Aristotle was rediscovered and acclaimed "the Philosopher" by such as Aquinas. (JH1/F)

Det var för sent att få honom att överge denna övertygelse, som skulle ha lett till att han hade blivit bränd på bål som kättare under den upplyst mörka medeltid som skulle komma, då Platon **blev uppskattad** och studerad och Aristoteles nyupptäcktes och hyllades som "Filosofen" av sådana som Thomas av Aquino. (JH1/T)

The source text uses a clearly verbal participle (*embraced*), and the construction is passive, whereas the participle in the translation shows both verbal and adjectival properties. The verbal properties for *blev uppskattad* include: there is a corresponding verb (*uppskatta* 'appreciate'), the phrase can take an Agent Adverbial, as in the subsequent clause, and it is coordinated with the purely

passive (blev) studerad. On the other hand, adjectival properties for blev uppskattad include the possibility of premodifying (but not postmodifying) the participle with ganska (alone, not ganska mycket), and replacing bli by a lexical copular verb such as verka and förefalla: Both these properties are fairly strong indicators of adjectival status (Malmgren 1990:43, Sundman 1987:405f., Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:392).

4.10.3 Adverb construction

There are 8 instances (7 in fiction, 1 in non-fiction; 1.5%) where an Adverb construction was found as a correspondence of the passive. Five of them are combinations with *fast* ('trapped', 'caught' (4:80)) or *kvar* ('kept on', 'left' (4:81)) and one consists of a place adverb ((4:82)). The other two are *ge vika* ('give way') corresponding to *be budged*, and *få tillbaka* corresponding to *be returned*.

The English source text in (4:80) contains one of the very few instances of the *get*-passive in the material. As we have seen before, the *get*-passive is commonly used for depicting situations that are unfavourable for the Subject referent, as is the case here, and this image is retained in the translation.

(4:80) That it very suddenly struck me that on the night they'd tried to express their hopeless resistance by committing sabotage, the night they'd got caught, I'd been sitting at my desk trying to find the right image to express a young man's state of mind after he's had sex for the first time. (BR1/F)

Jo, att det helt plötsligt slog mig, att samma natt som de hade försökt ge uttryck för sitt hopplösa motstånd genom att göra sabotage, natten när de **blev fast**, hade jag suttit vid mitt skrivbord och letat efter den rätta bilden för att beskriva en ung mans sinnesstämning efter det att han hade haft sin första erfarenhet av sex. (BR1/T)

In both (4:80) and (4:81), the source text passives are dynamic VPs with clear, although implicit, agentive participants. In the translations the agentive property is lost making them less transitive. *Blev* emphasises a situation in which the state did not hold, i.e. a transition to new state, but the impression is less 'vivid' descriptions of the situations.

(4:81) When Henry Ford had gone to start work in Detroit in 1879, he was just one of thousands of farmboys heading into town - and the farming families who **were left** behind were no better off for having one less mouth to feed. (RL1/NF)

När Henry Ford gav sig iväg för att börja arbeta i Detroit 1879 var han bara en av tusentals bondpojkar som styrde kosan mot staden - och jordbrukarfamiljerna som **blev kvar** klarade sig inte bättre bara för att de hade en mun mindre att mätta. (RL1/T)

The use of an adverb in (4:82) seems to be the result of a lexical gap in the languages.

(4:82) Scudder's Cottage, small-windowed, picturesque under its tiled, dipping roof, was fronted by a flowering wilderness which had once been a garden. (PDJ1/F)

Scudder's Cottage var ett pittoreskt hus med små fönster och sluttande tegeltak, men den blommande trädgården **framför** var helt förvildad. (PDJ1/T)

Here, the stative passive in the source text is rendered by the place adverb *framför* 'in front', since a Swedish verb corresponding to *be fronted* is hard to find. The translation is on the borderline to a Paraphrase, the next translation strategy.

4.11 Translation into Paraphrase

The translation category Paraphrase includes a medley of instances with structures radically different from their passive sources. They are often highly (lexically and/or semantically) idiomatic but cannot be systematically categorised into any of the other classification categories. The borderline to omission is often vague. For a sequence to be considered a Paraphrase, the propositional content of the passive construction should be kept in the translation, but the borderline to propositional content omission is often fuzzy. Omissions are not included here since they do not add to a contrastive analysis. With 35 instances (18 in fiction, 17 in non-fiction; 6.6% in total), a Paraphrase is a fairly marginal strategy.

The instances in the fiction subcorpus show greater variation in relation to the original texts than do the non-fiction instances. A fiction Paraphrase often seems to reflect a greater freedom and space for creativeness that is probably available to translators of this genre than to translators of non-fiction material. The translation in (4:83) is a typical example.

(4:83) Stuart must have rung my boudoir and learned how the telephone **is answered** in about fifteen languages so far. (JB1/F)

Stuart måste ha ringt min budoar och inhämtat att telefonsvararen hittills **håller sig** med cirka femton språk. (JB1/T)

The translation shows a rather free translation with a reflexive construction.

Some instances classified as Paraphrase contain idiomatic expressions in the translations, as in (4:84):

(4:84) He wanted just to disappear and **be forgotten**, not be remembered - immortalised - as the locomotive pisser in a village joke. (JC1/F)

Just nu ville han bara försvinna, **gå upp i rök**, och minst av allt bli ihågkommen eller lika odödlig som den pissande lokföraren i en av byns klassiska skämthistorier. (JC1/T)

[go up in smoke; vanish into thin air)

The passive could have been congruently translated (as *glömmas bort*), as was the choice for the subsequent passive (*be remembered*), which is rendered as a *bli*-passive: *bli ihågkommen*. As the thematic structure remains intact, it is hard to say why the shift was made.

Example (4:85) illustrates a case with an omitted passive VP, but with the same content and message:

(4:85) It was against the background of this atmosphere that Henry and a friend from the citrus grove named Bill Parr travelled to San Diego one day with the intention of visiting a Mexican whorehouse. On the way they passed a poster advertising a lecture on European literature to **be delivered** in town **by the anarchist Emma Goldman**. (RF1/NF)

Det var mot bakgrund av dessa händelser som Henry och hans arbetskamrat Bill Parr en dag åkte in till San Diego för att besöka en mexikansk bordell. **På vägen såg de en affisch som gjorde reklam för en av anarkisten Emma Goldmans föreläsningar om europeisk litteratur.** (RF1/T)

The passive VP *be delivered* (and the place Adverbial *in town*) is omitted but the action can still be clearly understood from the context, and the example could be considered an instance of implicitation. Furthermore, the paraphrase involves some reorganisation in information structure, which was seen in many of the cases of Paraphrase. Here, the ACTOR, expressed in the passive Agent, is turned into a possessive determiner in the SwT in a way similar to what we saw in Nominal constructions (section 4.10.1).

Other non-fiction instances are closer to being judged as omission. Consider (4:86), in which the content of the passive VP is rather vague in the translation.

(4:86) Just two countries, the United States and the Soviet Union, accounted for 85 percent of this military research and development. France and Britain make up about another 5 percent. On top of this, more than \$10,000 million is spent each year on 'non-military' space research, much of which may have been undertaken principally for military purposes. (CS1/NF)

USA och Sovjetunionen svarade tillsammans för 85% av denna militära forskning och utveckling. Lägger man därtill Frankrikes och Storbritanniens andel stiger siffran till omkring 90%. **Därtill kommer ytterligare 10 000 miljoner dollar varje år** för vad som rubriceras som "icke militär" rymdforskning; en stor del av denna har emellertid av allt att döma satts i gång med militära mål i sikte. (CS1/T)

[to that comes another 10 000 million dollars every year]

Not unexpectedly, Paraphrase is not a frequently occurring strategy (3 instances) in what is supposedly the most formal genre investigated, Law. In 0, thematic restructuring allows the passive to be left out and there is reduction in agentivity. The shifts result in a more direct way of expression, following recommendations on using active verbs instead of passives (see e.g. European Union 2012).

(4:87) The basic tasks to **be carried out** through the ESCB shall be: [...]. (MAAS1/NF)

ECBS grundläggande uppgifter **skall vara**: [...]. (MAAS1/T)

[ECBS basic tasks shall be]

To sum up, the group Paraphrase is made up of very disparate instances. Properties that are central to other correspondence groups, for example reduction in agentivity and thematic restructuring, are found among paraphrases too, but no clear pattern could be found for these properties. The type of paraphrasing that is typical in the fiction data can rightfully be described as paraphrasing – expressing something differently – whereas what happens in non-fiction is more often about not replacing the passive. Such instances typically give a more vague impression than a reformulation does.

4.12 Translation into Non-finite past participle construction

Lastly among the translations from English into Swedish, I will discuss one type that falls outside of the other non-congruent correspondence groups. This group consists of non-finite past participle constructions. Whilst the other groups all contain some type of non-passive construction, a past participle is passive in itself (cf., e.g. Teleman et al. 1999:Vol4:361 [note 2]), and it can therefore not be seen as a non-passive alternative. On the other hand, since there is no auxiliary, it does not meet the defining criteria set up for a passive construction in the present study (section 1.5.1).⁶⁷ It is therefore not a congruent translation either. Since

⁶⁷ Indeed, some English grammars recognise as passive non-finite structures consisting of a past participle only: *That would be the cause of death, I think, heavy blow from a piece of lead piping wrapped in a sock* (Biber et al. 1999:936). Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1429) recognise *checking* in the following as a 'concealed passive': *This draft needs checking carefully by the editor*. That the

non-finite past participle constructions occur as translation correspondences, I will discuss them briefly, but they are not included in the network description.

Non-finite clauses provide an effective means for syntactic compression since they lack tense markers and frequently also an expressed Subject (Quirk et al. 1985:995). It is well-known that there are differences in the use of non-finite clauses in English and Swedish. For example, studies have shown that non-finite clauses are more frequently used in English than in Swedish (Ljung & Ohlander 1982:210, Ingo 1991:234). Two types of past participle correspondences are found in the Swedish translations. The first is illustrated in (4:88):

(4:88) Aristotle could see similarities also between the Holland of the Dutch Republic in which he discovered himself **being resurrected** on canvas and the ancient Athens that had existed before his birth and about which he had heard and read and written. (JH1/F)

Aristoteles kunde också se likheter mellan den holländska republiken där han såg sig själv **återupplivad** på duken och antikens Athen sådant det hade funnits före hans födelse och som han hade hört berättas och läst och skrivit om. (JH1/T)

The source text in (4:88) shows a non-finite consisting of a progressive passive whilst the translation has a non-progressive past participle structure. This reflects another structural difference between the languages in that the progressive aspect has no direct counterpart in Swedish, and in this case the 'ongoingness' of the progressive is lost in the translation, which focuses on the resultant state. The *s*-passive *återupplivas* ('resurrect-S') would have conveyed the ongoingness better.

The second type found in the data has a full finite clause in the original text but a non-finite past participle in the translation, see (4:89):

(4:89) Tomudex, the first of AstraZeneca's cytotoxic agents, is used as monotherapy treatment of advanced colorectal cancer and **is approved** in 36 countries. (AZ1/NF)

Tomudex är det första av AstraZenecas cytotoxiska medel, **godkänt** i 36 länder, och används för monoterapibehandling av framskriden cancer i tarm och ändtarm.. (AZ1/T)

The order of information was rearranged, but no information was left out, and we can also see that the past participle is co-ordinated with an *s*-passive – *används* ('is used'). The fact that Swedish is less likely to use non-finite past participle clauses than English is reflected in the data – there are only 6 instances in total, 1 in fiction and 5 in non-fiction.

clause can be paraphrased as a standard passive (*This draft needs to be checked carefully by the editor*) and the fact that there is a *by*-phrase present are "sufficient to establish it as passive in spite of the exceptional morphology" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002:1429).

4.13 Summary of chapter

This chapter has analysed the non-congruent translation correspondences in Swedish translations of English original passives with the aims of mapping out what constructions occur in translations, the degree of correspondence between the passive and those constructions, and what characterises the relations. The translation correspondence groups and their frequencies split by text type and by passive type are given in Table 4.8.68 The five most frequent correspondence groups are shown in bold type.

Table 4.8 Overview of non-congruent translation correspondence groups in Swedish translations of English original text passives

Swedish translation	English fiction				English non-fiction			Total		
correspondence group	original			original			10tai			
	be-pa	assive	get-1	passive	<i>be</i> -passive		get-passive			
VP/clause change	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Closest active counterpart	52	22.3	-	1	50	16.7	-	-	102	19.2
Generic Subject + active verb	20	8.6	2	0.9	42	14.0	1	-	64	12.0
Active transitive constr. with thematic structure retained	24	10.3	-	1	41	13.7	ı	ı	65	12.2
Intransitive construction	43	18.5	-	1	69	23.1	1	0.3	113	21.2
Reflexive construction	10	4.3	-	1	13	4.3	1	0.3	24	4.5
Copula construction	6	2.6	-	-	9	3.0	-	-	15	2.8
Lexical verb + past part.	8	3.4	-	1	5	1.7	1	1	13	2.4
Part of speech change										
Noun construction	33	14.2	-	-	39	13.0	-	-	72	13.5
Adjectival construction	10	4.3	-	-	11	3.7	-	-	21	3.9
Adverb construction	6	2.6	1	0.4	1	0.3	_	-	8	1.5
Paraphrase	18	7.7	-	_	17	5.7	_	-	35	6.6
Total	233 / 100%			299 / 100%			532/ 100%			

The wide variety of corresponding constructions found shows that Swedish possesses a number of non-passive options that are somehow connected to the passive in English. As we can see from the table, some strategies occur more

⁶⁸ The table excludes 28 instances of zero translation in which the passive construction was considered entirely omitted, and 6 instances of non-finite past participle construction, which are considered neither congruent nor non-congruent translations (briefly discussed in section 4.12.).

frequently whilst others are more marginal, occurring less frequently. We can also see that the topmost processes are the same in both text types, but they occur with different ranking. The major processes, displaying more than 10% relative frequency of occurrence in total, can be characterised as follows.

• Intransitive construction

The strongest degree of correspondence was found with the Intransitive construction group (21.2%). With 23%, the Intransitive construction is by far the most frequent process in the non-fiction material, and the second most frequent in fiction. The subcategories display different properties, but overall, this strategy is a major defocusing strategy characterised by changes in lexis from two-place verbs for passives to one-place verbs for intransitives. As a passive by definition is always semantically transitive, whereas an intransitive construction is always intransitive, the shift results in participant loss, and hence reduced degree of transitivity. Also the causal relation present in a [+Ag] passive in the original is typically rendered in a weaker way in an IC. Although some of the source text passives are fairly 'weak' with vague or unspecified ACTORS/CAUSES, the high frequency of this strategy is nevertheless remarkable. A second characteristic of this strategy is the preference for a constant linear organisation of the information, i.e. the thematic structure of the original text is normally retained in the translation.

• Closest active counterpart

The second strongest translation strategy overall, occurring in 19.2% of the cases, and the strongest process in the fiction data (22.3%), is the CAC. The translation typically follows the so-called active-passive correspondence pattern, but also other, more unexpected patterns, were found. Here, syntactic reorganisation overrides concerns for maintaining the linear organisation of information, i.e. theme-rheme structure. [-Ag] sources were more common than [+Ag] sources, and it was found that the 'new' active Subject is typically found in the context. Another strong factor in this strategy seems to be Subject animacy – 79% are animate.

Noun construction

In third place we find the Noun construction (13.5 % in total), which is the third strongest strategy in fiction text. Noun structures might have been expected to be more frequent in non-fiction than in fiction given its usefulness for packing information. It turns out, however, that more than half of the fiction ones are $f \hat{a} + NP$ structures typically expressing possession or being fixed lexical combinations. The two main types identified in this category both reduce the degree of agentivity in comparison with the passive.

• Active transitive construction with thematic structure retained

The strategy of using a transitive clause keeping the thematic structure of the passive clause largely unchanged is the fourth most frequent one. The syntactic shift is achieved by a change in lexis to a verb that takes a different set of arguments in order to maintain theme-rheme structure. The change in lexis takes different forms, and there is also variation in Subject participant roles.

• Generic Subject + active verb

The GenS strategy is characterised by its generic Subject, typically realised by *man*. The instances are normally transitive and result in an increased degree of transitivity since the sources are all [-Ag] passives. The generic active Subject is not fully generic but normally refers to a situationally or contextually restricted group of people. The strategy is more common in non-fiction than in fiction, but is not productive in all non-fiction genres.

The remaining, minor, processes occur with less than 10% in total. Reflexives and copula constructions, as well as adjectival and adverb constructions are typically detransitivisation processes. Lexical shifts are frequent here, which is characteristic also for the lexical verb + past participle construction. Paraphrases form a disparate group with some difference between fiction and non-fiction in the type of paraphrase.

5. Non-congruent correspondences of Swedish passives

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I investigated Swedish non-congruent translations of English passives. In this chapter I will reverse the perspective and discuss English non-congruent translations of Swedish source text passives. The chapter is structured in a way similar to Chapter 4, i.e. it discusses the correspondence types one by one.

As the quantitative analysis in chapter 3 showed, a total of 2840 instances of the passive construction were retrieved from Swedish fiction and non-fiction original texts. 2400 instances come from non-fiction texts and 440 instances from fiction texts. 1687 non-fiction (70.3%) and 286 fiction (65%) of these were translated congruently, i.e. using a passive (Table 5.1). It is noteworthy that all congruent instances were *be*-passives – there were hence no *get*-passive translations at all.

Table 5.1 Proportions of congruent and non-congruent English translations of Swedish source text passives

	Fiction		Non-fiction		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Congruent English translation	286	65.0	1687	70.3	1973	69.6
Non-congruent English translation	154	35.0	713	29.7	867	30.5
Total	440	100	2400	100	2840	100

We can conclude that a congruent translation, i.e. passive-to-passive, was preferred in a majority of the cases in both English and Swedish (see Chapter 4), but there will be some aspects of the languages and of the texts that cause the translators to use non-passive options to a considerable extent – in 30.5% of the cases. As we will see, the non-congruent translations use a variety of constructions. They are the topic of this chapter. The translation correspondences were categorised according to the classification system presented in section 4.2. An overview of correspondence groups and frequencies of occurrence can be found in Table 5.10 at the end of this chapter.

5.2 Translation into Closest active counterpart

5.2.1 Introduction

Translating a passive into an active largely following the active-passive correspondence pattern is the strongest non-congruent strategy in the English translations (21.8% in total). It is the the strongest strategy in the fiction material and the third strongest in non-fiction.

Since this translation strategy involves reorganisation of the clause elements, and the passive Agent ACTOR should be promoted to active Subject position, we could expect the ACTOR to be present in the source text. As can be seen from Table 5.2, however, the majority of CAC instances have a [-Ag] as source: as many as 83% in fiction and 76% in non-fiction texts. In other words, very few of the fiction passives translated into a CAC in English had an expressed Agent in the passive clause of the source text.

Table 5.2 Proportions of +/-Agent in SwO sources of English CAC correspondences

SwO text	Fiction		Non-fiction		Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
+Agent	6	17	24	24	30	22
-Agent	30	83	75	76	105	78
Total	36	100	99	100	135	100

Compared with the Swedish translations (section 4.3, Table 4.2), we find that a smaller proportion (71%) was [-Ag] in SwT fiction, meaning that more occurrences in SwT than in EnT had an expressed Agent in fiction. In non-fiction, the difference between Swedish and English translations is greater. Whilst SwT shows a 50/50 share, 78% are [-Ag] in the EnT. All in all, this makes it very clear that an expressed Agent in the passive clause is not crucial for an active CAC rendering. I will discuss renderings with [-Ag] sources first to find out, among other things, where the new active Subject comes from.

5.2.2 Translations with [-Ag] sources

The data show that although the ACTOR is not present in the passive clause, the active Subject is commonly easily retrievable or understood from the context. The context in (5:1) describes a book, and the active Subject is added.

(5:1) Bland annat, påstods det, till en gammal keltisk jordfästning nära Northampton. Druiderna och deras ritualer **framställdes** med tydlig ironi. Vers deklamerades och fanor med märkliga symboler bars runt. (BL1/F)

[the Druides and their rituals described-S with evident irony]

One of their new places was an old Celtic earth fortress near Northampton. The writer **described** the Druids and their rituals with evident irony. Verses were declaimed and banners with strange symbols were carried around. (BL1/T)

Commonly, the active Subject participant is present in a different position and function in the same sentence, and a reorganisation of the sentence results in a new structure that either reduces or extends the clause. Examples (5:2)-(5:6) show a few different variants. In the translation in (5:2), the complex sentence of the source text is turned into a simple sentence, and the referent of the relative pronoun/passive Subject becomes direct Object. The Subject of the superordinate clause is retained as the simple clause Subject.

(5:2) De segerrika officerarna fick rikt byte som skickades hem till Sverige. (HL1/NF)

[the victorious officers got valuable loot that sent-S home to Sweden]

The victorious officers sent home valuable loot. (HL1/T)

Similarly, the translation in (5:3) shows continuity of theme by retaining the theme/Subject and ACTOR, although it is implicit in the second clause, of the first clause. On the other hand, the context makes it clear that the topic of the text is Immanuel, not his father, and in the source text, the passive Subject *han* contributes to making Immanuel a more prominent participant.

(5:3) Hans far lärde honom visserligen att skriva, läsa och räkna men redan vid fjorton års ålder **togs** han ur skolan. (KF1/NF)

[but already at fourteen years age took-S he out of school]

Immanuel's father had taught him to read, write, and count, but **took** his son out of school at age fourteen. (KF1/T)

In (5:4), the two sentences of the source text are made one complex sentence in the translation, which inserts the anaphoric pronoun *it* referring back to *The crisis*, and contributes to the cohesion of the text.

(5:4) Krisen har fördjupat fattigdomen och därmed också ökat riskerna för accelererande miljöproblem. Samridigt [sic] har krisländernas förmåga att möta dessa problem urholkats. (CO1/NF)

[at the same time has the crisis countries ability to meet these problems reduced-S]

The crisis has worsened poverty, thereby making the risk of accelerating environmental problems even greater while it **has reduced** the crisis countries' capacity to deal with these problems. (CO1/T)

Insertion of an anaphoric pronoun as Subject was identified as a recurrent choice in Johansson (2007:212) in his study on subject selection in English and Norwegian, and it appeared more frequently in the fiction texts than in non-fiction in my material.

In a few cases, the active Subject corresponds to a PP that is not introduced by by but by of a quasi-agent in the passive clause. The same construction was found in the Swedish translations (e.g. section 4.6.3). Svartvik (1966:102) distinguishes by-Agents, which are grammatically determined, from lexically determined quasi-agents which are introduced by other prepositions. "Unlike by in by-agents, these prepositions are not voice-conditioned, but are selected by collocation with particular verbs" (Svartvik 1966:102): be worried about/glädjas över, surprised at/förvånad över". Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:362) remark that such s-forms are often middle and the PP commonly denotes a CAUSE. The meaning of the PP is not a distinguishing criterion for passives and middles since also a by/av-phrase may be causal (section 1.5.1). It is, however, important that an Agent, i.e. a by/av-phrase can be added, which is possible in (5:5): ersätts av X med nya lån. The NP of the quasi-Agent is used as a Subject:

(5:5) Och skulder till IMF och Världsbanken **ersätts** med nya lån. (CO1/NF)

[and debts to IMF and the World Bank replace-S with new loans]

[...] and new loans **replace** debts to the IMF and the World Bank. (CO1/T)

With the two participants taking each other's roles, the process is reciprocal which is typical of a *med*-PP according to Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.3:457), who describe the PP as an object-like adverbial. The fact that the translator chose to promote this element to Subject role emphasises the close connections between the constructions.

Another, related, type is illustrated in (5:6). Here, part of the place Adverbial is thematised in active Subject position, and the collocational connection between the verb and the preposition is weaker:

(5:6) Århundradets fest skall det bli. Ett flerfärgat fyrverkeri kommer att **avfyras** från små flottar i palatsets dammar. (PCJ1/F)

[a multi-coloured firework will launch-S from small ponds in the palace's ponds]

It will be the celebration of the century. In the pond in the palace grounds, a flotilla will launch a display of multicoloured fireworks. (PCJ1/T)

Also Laanemets (2012:137ff.) found a number of agent-like Adverbials connected to passives in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, and shows that they denote a variety of meanings, such as time and place, but often have a more or less agentive or causal role. In (5:6), we can also observe that English readily allows the inanimate Subject to take agentive character.

Not all passive Agents/CAC Subjects are ACTORS. Example (5:7) has an EXPERIENCER Subject and the sequence is interesting in that there is a change of perspective in which participant is the prominent one:

(5:7) Det var liksom självklart från början, att hon skulle behålla det här för sig själv. För det mesta dök det upp som en överraskning, och det gick inte att förutse när det skulle inträffa, men ibland kunde hon få som ett slags föraning strax innan. Det **kunde förnimmas** i själva luften, en overklig stämning som inte gick att beskriva. (MG1/F)

[it could perceived-S in the air]

She couldn't even talk about it with Dag. She never knew when it would happen, but sometimes she had a kind of presentiment just beforehand. She **could feel** it in the air - an unreal atmosphere that could not be described. (MG1/T)

The translation has *she* as a constant theme throughout the extract, although with different participant roles assigned to it. In the source text, on the other hand, more emphasis is placed on *det* ('it'). The use of another impersonal construction (*det gick inte att* 'it was not possible to') in addition to the passive contributes to giving *hon* ('she') a more backgrounded role in the source.

5.2.2.1 Subject animacy and participant roles with [-Ag] sources

Participant animacy and participant role were identified in Chapter 2 as two factors that could potentially influence the translator's choice of strategy, and it can be assumed that a shift to a CAC is related to a preference for the active Subject. Let us look more closely at the distribution of animate and inanimate

Subjects in the CACs that have a [-Ag] as source. In such cases, the CAC Subject does not originate in the passive Agent. As Table 5.3 shows, animate Subjects dominate, as could be expected, but some interesting issues emerge.⁶⁹

Table 5.3 Animate and inanimate Subjects in English CACs with [-Ag] as source.

	Fiction		Non-f	iction	Total	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
animate Subject	27	93	33	66	60	76
inanimate Subject	2	7	17	34	19	24
Total	29	100	50	100	79	100

Most of the inanimate Subjects are, as expected, causes. In (5:8), the cause is present in the opening of the sentence also in the original text.

(5:8) Regleringar och subventioner av boendet och byggandet medförde att fastighetspriserna **drevs** upp. (LU1/NF)

[entailed that property prices pushed-S up]

Regulations and subsidies for dwellings and construction **pushed** property prices up. (LU1/T)

Some instances show a shift from animate Subject/theme in the passive clause to an inanimate Subject in the active, i.e. the opposite if the expected pattern is an animate active Subject. (5:9) is an example.

(5:9) När han berömde hämtade hans favoritelev stora krafter ur denna uppmuntran och **sporrades** till fördubblade ansträngningar. (KF1/NF)

[when he praised drew his favourite student large strength from this encouragement and spurred-S to doubled efforts]

His favorite student drew immense strength from Peterov's praise, which **spurred** him to redouble his efforts. (KF1/T)

Turning to the animate Subjects, it is noticeable that 8 of the 22 non-fiction Subjects are collective NPs denoting an organisation or a company consisting of people, such as *the Government, the Volvo Group* or *the Swedish forces*. Such entities can be seen as borderline cases between animate and inanimate (cf. e.g. Sundman 1987:153), and they may, alternatively, have been classified as inanimate entities

⁶⁹ The table excludes 26 instances which had no expressed or implicit Subject. Therefore, the total number is lower than for the [-Ag] group in Table 5:2.

which would have raised the number of inanimate Subjects. (5:10) illustrates this group.

(5:10) Attackerade från tre håll **sattes** danskarnas skansar i brand. Kung Kristian flydde blödande till sina skepp, han hade fått framtänderna bortskjutna. (HL1/NF)

[attacked from three sides set-S the Danish' fortifications on fire]

Finally the Swedish forces attacking from all sides **set fire to** the Danish fortifications and King Christian fled to his ship, bleeding and injured in the mouth. (HL1/T)

The active Subject of (5:10) has a clear agentive character which further supports the idea to consider such collective NPs animate. We also note that the translation makes explicit the identity of the agentive entity, which is ambiguous in the original text of (5:10), due to the lack of a participant Subject.

It is interesting that 10 of the 25 animate fiction CAC Subjects are EXPERIENCER Subjects of perception verbs. In 8 of these cases, the source text verb is *höra* 'hear'. The passive of 'höra' often has an implicit generic EXPERIENCER (Teleman et al. 1999:2:557) and modal meaning (Engdahl 1999:21) as in (5:11). Or as Viberg puts it: "[t]here is a variety of phenomenon-based perception verbs that indicate the existence of a stimulus, the fact that something can be perceived" (2008:167). *Höras* is one of those perception verbs.

(5:11) Genom trossbotten **hördes det att** Per-Ola frågade nåt och Torsten svarade. (KE1/F)

[through the floorboards heard-S it that Per-Ola asked something]

Through the floorboards, Johan **could hear** Per-Ola asking something and Torsten answering. (KE1/T)

The Swedish source text uses the impersonal/expletive *det* as Subject, parallel to an existential construction, and an *att*-sats (*that*-clause) as a sentential Subject. Viberg (2008:167ff.) describes the type of Subject in (5:11) as a factive sentential Subject since the *att*-clause expresses a fact, and his comparison of English, Finnish, French, German and Swedish suggests that the construction "appears to be a relatively language-specific characteristic of Swedish". The verb and the expletive Subject give a generic interpretation – no specific EXPERIENCER is given. In contrast, English renders the experiencer more explicit by specifying the participant, which also increases transitivity.

⁷⁰ The other two perception verbs are *förnimma* 'perceive' and *upptäcka* 'discover'. All in all, there are 31 instances of *höra* in the fiction corpus. Their renderings were distributed as follows: CAC 8 instances, copula 7, *be*-passive 6, omission/paraphrase 4, intransitive 3, generic Subj + active verb 2, adjectival construction 1.

Another main use of passive *höra* in the material has the PHENOMENON, i.e. what is heard, as Subject (as in (5:12)), but it is similar to (5:11) in that the EXPERIENCER referent is not limited to those in the situation. Again, English chooses an identified animate entity as Subject, making the translation more explicit than the source.

(5:12) Vi satt vid bordet alla tre, Siiri och Hugo och jag, och lampan var tänd, och Siiri såg så vacker ut. Hon lyssnade efter pappas cykel, till slut **hördes den** vid grinden. (AP1/F)

All three of us were at the table, Siiri, Hugo and I, the lamp lit and Siiri looking beautiful. She was listening for Dad's bike and at last **we could hear** it at the gate. (AP1/T)

It should, however, be noted that a CAC is not the only translation strategy used for passive *höra*, but it is the most frequent one in the fiction corpus.

A final observation can be made before leaving the issue of Subject animacy. As mentioned above, there were 26 instances that had no expressed Subject. The majority are non-finite infinitival constructions, as in (5:13):

(5:13) Den totala sjukfrånvaron i hennes studie varierade mellan olika avdelningar från 7-16%. Några säkra orsaker till detta **kunde** inte **fastställas,** men av två för övrigt likvärdiga daghem hade det med stor utelekplats bara hälften så stor sjukfrånvaro som det med liten lekplats (8% vs. 16%) [...]. (CP1/NF)

[any certain causes for this could not established-S]

The total sickness absence in her study varied between different departments from 7% to 16%. It was not **possible to establish** any certain causes for this, but in two otherwise similar day-care centres, the one with a large outdoor playground had only half as much sickness absence as the one with a small playground (8% vs. 16%) [...]. (CP1/T)

Many of these instances use an impersonal construction functionally similar to the [-Ag] passive, and it is characteristic that 25 of the 26 instances are from the non-fiction data.

5.2.3 Translations with [+Ag] sources

In a CAC corresponding to an agentful passive, the Subject will originate in the Agent of the source passive. I will now look at whether these Agents are animate or inanimate, and if the distinction affects the active translation. All the 6 [+Ag] fiction instances and 7 of the 24 non-fiction instances were inanimate Agents (see Table 5.4), giving inanimate active Subjects which is somewhat unexpected given

that the typical active Subject is animate (and agentive), and we could assume this to be more strongly reflected in the translation pattern.⁷¹

Table 5.4 Animacy of expressed Agents in sources of English CAC translations

	Fict	ion	Non-fiction		
	no. %		no.	%	
animate Agent	0	0	17	71	
inanimate Agent	6	100	7	29	
Total	6	100	24	100	

The active translations feature inanimate entities functioning as seemingly agentive Subjects. Consider (5:14) and (5:15):

(5:14) Behovet av en omprövning **förstärks** av andra tendenser i samhällsekonomin. (LU1/NF)

[the need for a reassessment accentuate-S by other tendencies in public economy]

Other economic tendencies **accentuate** the need for a reassessment. (LU1/T)

(5:15) Hans ansikte **var belyst** underifrån av min stallykta och såg groteskt svullet ut med mörka skuggor som kontrasterade mot gulaktigt bulnande partier av blankt skinn. (LH1/F)

[his face was lit from below]

My lantern **lit** his face from below: it was grotesquely puffy, dark shadows contrasting with yellowish bulges of bare skin. (LH1/T)

The examples illustrate several factors that make inanimate Agents problematic: the nature of the verbs and the constructions, and the roles of the Agents and active Subjects. First, depending on the context, the s-form in (5:14), förstärks, could be used either as a middle verb or as a passive verb. That is, the process could be seen as happening without an external CAUSE/ACTOR, or no CAUSE can be identified (middle construction) or as being dependent on an external CAUSE/ACTOR (passive construction). As we have seen before, passives and middles are sometimes difficult to separate. Silén (1997:72f.) uses an extraction test for distinguishing between passive av-phrases and non-passive av-phrases. She shows that when the av-phrase can be separated from the verb phrase, the clause is likely to be middle. For (5:14), this paraphrase will result in (5:16):

⁷¹ The corresponding figures in Swedish translations were the following: fiction: 13 animate Agents and 2 inanimate Agents; non-fiction: 19 animate Agents and 6 inanimate Agents. Thus, animate Agents and presumably animate active Subjects dominate here.

(5:16) Behovet av en omprövning förstärks. Det beror på andra tendenser i samhällsekonomin.

[the need for a reassessment accentuate-Smid/-S. This depends on/is caused by other tendencies in public economy]

The *av*-phrase is here less tightly connected to the verb than it is in a prototypical passive. The clause is middle both semantically (Subject=PATIENT) and syntactically (verb: intransitive). On the other hand, the translation in (5:14) brings out the passive interpretation of the source text by using the Agent as active Subject. This correspondence pattern (referred to as 'conversion criterion' in e.g. Silén (1997:23)) signals that (5:14) can be considered passive, although it is not the most prototypical one. In the present study, however, (5:16) would still be considered passive, since the CAUSE comes in the following sentence.

There was a noticeable difference between concreteness and abstractnesss among the instances with inanimate Agents in fiction and non-fiction CACs. The verb in (5:14), in the non-fiction data, *förstärks* 'strengthen-S', is abstract, and other verbs include *betecknas* 'denote-S', *kompenseras* 'compensate-S', *präglas* 'characterise-S' and *påverkas* 'influence-S', all of which denote abstract processes and rarely seem to take an animate ACTOR/CAUSE (cf. Silén 1997:72). In contrast, in (5:15), we find the concrete verb, *belysa* 'light (up)' from the fiction data. With verbs such as that and *träffats* 'hit-S' and *hinnas upp* 'catch-S up with', the six fiction instances are overall more concrete than the non-fiction instances but they still have inanimate Agents. These Agents take the role of Subject in the translations. So, what are the Subjects like?

We can see from (5:15) that the stative character of the *vara*-passive appears to be reduced in the active translation. In fact, as suggested by Sundman (1987:381) and Teleman et al. (1999:4:402), when an expressed inanimate Agent is translated into a CAC with an inanimate Subject, this Subject tends to receive a more agentive character than the causal Adverbial had. The same appears to apply to (5:14). The semantic function is the same, but the change of grammatical function seems to cause this shift in interpretation. A likely reason is that an active Subject is 'expected' to be an ACTOR according to the hierarchy of Subject selection (section 1.6). The difference between ACTOR (animate entity) and CAUSE (usually inanimate entity) seems to be almost neutralised and it is hard to determine, from a semantic point of view, if the structures are passive, middle, or active.

Passives with inanimate Agents and their CAC renderings illustrate well the fuzziness involved and the closeness between the passive construction and the middle construction. Sundman (1987:386) describes the relation as a continuum (Figure 5.1; my translation into English) running between:

A: a middle construction with an unclear CAUSE/ACTOR making the process take place, through

B: an intermediate construction (middle/passive depending on context) with an inanimate expressed Agent, to

C: a prototypical passive with an identified animate ACTOR.

A. UNCLEAR	B. INAN	IIMATE	C. ANIMATE		
CAUSE	CAUSE		CAUSE/ACTOR		
(=spontaneous event)	unidentified	identified	unidentified	identified	

Figure 5.1 A causal continuum (adapted from Sundman 1987:386)

If the inanimate Agent in a B-type construction is left out, the clause is likely to be interpreted as happening autonomously, and is thus a middle structure as in *Behovet av en omprövning förstärks* (out of context). The clause will then move left on the scale and become an A-type construction. Given this, it is highly interesting that when an expressed inanimate Agent is translated into a CAC with an inanimate Subject, this Subject tends to be interpreted as more agentive, and thus move towards the right wing of the scale.

The 17 CACs with an animate Ag (see Table 5.4) in the source are fairly strightforward, but a few things can be mentioned. Collective NPs are fairly frequent: 5 of the 17 animate ones in non-fiction are collective NPs, e.g. regeringar, Svea Hovrätt, PEAB Finans, släkten Krognos, the police authority). A society institution, a company, or an organisation was classified as animate when the referent of the nominal is human and acts with volition. The members of the group are therefore comparable to a non-collective participant.

A final issue to look at in CACs is the clause reorganisation that follows from this translation strategy and how that affects the text. In a CAC, the Subject originates in the passive Agent or is inferable from other parts of the discourse. In either case, the thematic structure of the translation will be different from that of the source. Changes have already been mentioned in a few cases, and we have seen that different types of NPs are thematised as Subjects. Most of them have been rather short, but also a short Subject might change the impression of the text. A long one maybe even more so. Consider first (5:17):

(5:17) En annan faktor är vilken roll staten i krisländerna **tillåts** spela av andra aktörer med inflytande i sammanhanget, som t ex transnationella företag, internationella organisationer, etniska och regionala grupperingar och lokalsamhällen. Till dessa aktörer hör också biståndsgivarna. (CO1/NF)

[another factor is which role the state in the crisis countries allowed-S play by other actors with influence in the context, as e.g. transnational companies, international organisations,

ethnic and regional groups and local communities. To these actors belong also the assistance donors

Another factor is the role other actors with influence in this context, such as transnational companies, international organizations, ethnic and regional groups, local communities etc., **allow** the state in crisis countries to play. Assistance donors are to be counted among these actors. (CO1/T)

The source and the translation in (5:17) display changes not only in syntactic structure and sentential theme-rheme structure, but also in the thematic development of the next sentence. The main sentence theme (*En annan factor / Another factor*) is retained in the translation but considerable changes are made in the rheme of the sentence as in the subsequent sentence. First, the long and syntactically complex source Agent is turned into a Subject in the translation. The source Agent/rheme is then turned into theme in the next sentence following a linear progression pattern (Daneš 1974 referred to in Fries 1995:321). The translation, on the other hand, does not use this cohesive chain but introduces what seems to be contextually new information (*Assistance donors*) as theme in the next sentence. Radical changes in the thematic or topic development of a text will force the reader to focus on different things since perspectives are shifted (eg. Ventola 1995). It appears highly likely that repetition of such shifts in a text will result in the source and its translation not saying the same thing.

The text in (5:18) is from *Utlänningslagen* ('Aliens Act') and displays a long and syntactically complex Subject and theme, and a short rheme containing an agentful passive. The English translation reverses the perspective entirely by using the short and animate passive Agent as Subject. This makes this solution more direct and accessible, despite the fact that the rheme now contains the complex sequence.

(5:18) 3 § Statens invandrarverks beslut i fråga om avvisning eller utvisning och en i samband därmed behandlad fråga om uppehållstillstånd eller arbetstillstånd eller återkallelse av sådana tillstånd **får** av utlänningen **överklagas** till regeringen. (UTL1/NF)

[may by the alien appeal-S to the government]

An alien **may appeal** to the Government against a decision by the National Immigration Board concerning refusal of entry or expulsion and a question, dealt with in this connection, concerning a residence or work permit or the revocation of such permits. (UTL1/T)

The genre Law is one of the most formal ones, and for source and target texts to convey the same message can be assumed to be a crucial factor. When we look at all the CAC instances of this text it turns out that 4 of the 6 CAC instances have the sequence får av utlänningen överklagas which is consistently translated into the active an alien may appeal. There is thus a high degree of consistency in this

respect, but it is hard to say if they are fixed lexical phrases since they are specific to this text.

Translations with long and heavy NPs as Subject turn out to be a recurrent pattern in the data, not only in CACs. Also nominalisations commonly exhibit heavy Subjects. The issue of preference for long and complex sequences in theme/Subject or in rheme/non-Subject position has been discussed in several studies before. On the one hand, Swedish has been said to prefer a light theme (as in (5:17)) to a heavy theme (as in (5:18)) (e.g. Altenberg 1998, Nordrum 2007:80). The structure illustrated in (5:18) can therefore be considered a marked structure. On the other hand, complex and informationally dense themes (as in (5:17)) are typical of English formal text. Preferences may become especially apparent with inanimate referents. According to Sundman (1987:381), there is a strong tendency in Swedish for inanimate elements to be realised as Adverbial in a passive clause rather than as Subject in an active. This supports (5:17) but clearly goes against (5:18), making the latter appear highly genre-specific.

5.2.4 Summary and concluding remarks

Summing up, we can highlight the following tendencies in CAC translations. The majority (78%) of CAC structures have a [-Ag] as source, but the active Subject is commonly present in the nearby context. There is some variation in the syntactic restructuring that takes place - when there is no Agent to promote to Subject position, the Subject may correspond to a quasi-Agent or another type of Adverbial. The active Subject performs a variety of roles, among which EXPERIENCER and CAUSE were fairly common besides PATIENT. Translations often have more explicit Subjects than the original texts, typically resulting in increased degree of transitivity. There were frequent shifts in discourse perspective, but no clear patterns could be found.

5.3 Translation into Generic Subject + active verb

The strategy Generic Subject + active verb is a weak translation strategy in English translations. There were seven instances in the fiction corpus and only two in the non-fiction data. It accounts for only 1.5% of the non-congruent strategies, and the members of the group show far less variety than those in the Swedish translations. Here we only find one personal pronoun and a few indefinite ones. The distribution of the 9 occurrences split according to two broad reference types – general generic reference and restricted generic reference (cf. section 4.4) – is shown in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5 Generic variability in English translations with a generic Subject

English	Restricted	generic	General ge	neric	Total
correspondences	reference		reference		
	fiction	non- fiction	fiction	non- fiction	
you	5	1			6
somebody/someone	2				2
nothing				1	1
Total	7	1	0	1	9

Given that *you* has a wide range of potential references, extending between 'people in general'/'all of you' and specific reference to the speaker (Wales 1996:78f.), it is not surprising that it makes up more than half of the occurrences. We also observe that there is no instance of *one* as a translation correspondence here. *You* is often considered an informal equivalent of *one* (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:387) and Wales (1996:81) suggests that they are in "a kind of stylistic complementary distribution". However, from a translation perspective, the shifts we find in this translation group show a decrease in stylistic level if we take the passive to be fairly high on the formality scale.

Eight out of the nine occurrences are situationally restricted, usually referring to 'anyone in that situation' rather than to a specific person, and several correspond to an impersonal source text passive using expletive *det* as Subject:

(5:19) Min enda chans är att lägga mig ner och sparka - annars klår han upp mig direkt. Han är fruktansvärt skicklig. **Det märks** aldrig när han klår mig. **Det märks** bara när jag slår tillbaka. Han vrider om mina armar, bänder upp ett finger, sliter tag i öronen eller slår dödsslaget under näsryggen. (RJ1/F)

[it notice-S never when he beats me. It notice-S only when I hit back]

My only chance is to lie down and kick, or he'll beat me up at once. He is very crafty. **You can** hardly ever **tell** by looking at me that he's beaten me up. It's only when I hit back that **somebody notices**. He twists my arms, bends my fingers, pulls my ears and gives me 'the death blow' under the bridge of my nose. (RJ1/T)

The form *märks*⁷² often collocates with expletive *det* and may imply a completely generic and indefinite EXPERIENCER as reference. However, in this context, reference must be seen as restricted to the situation. By using *you* and *somebody* the translation preserves the non-specificity of an agentless passive at the same time as the context makes it clear that the event is restricted to the situation (*by looking at me | It's only when I hit back*).

Generally, active Subjects denote specific/identifiable participants. However, it has been shown that EXPERIENCER participants can be generic or specific (Engdahl 1999:21), and with a generic EXPERIENCER, the borderline to a middle structure is sometimes vague (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol2:557). Consider the following example with the perception verb *höra* 'hear':

(5:20) Dagar med de rätta förhållandena kunde man höra tyska och engelska talas på apparaten. Och inte sällan **hördes** Kalundborg i Danmark. (LG1/F)

[and not seldom heard-S Kalundborg in Denmark]

On days when conditions were right you could hear German and English spoken on the wireless set. And **you could hear** Kalundborg in Denmark quite often. (LG1T)

There is no identifiable participant involved in either the passive *hördes* or the active Subject *you*. On the other hand, the EXPERIENCER is not 'people in general' or 'anyone at all', but rather someone involved in the situation, making the event situationally restricted. The verbs *hördes/could hear* do not denote a conscious, purposeful activity (in which case the verbs *lyssna/listen* would be used), and it could be argued that they are close to spontaneous events, i.e. middle structures. This shows that there is a close correlation between the weak passive/middle structure and the active with a generic pronoun. In terms of degree of transitivity, the addition of a participant, although it has generic meaning, gives an increase in transitivity.

The single *you* instance (see (5:21)) in the non-fiction material is interesting. In addition to the generic *man* + passive (*man ansågs* 'you were considered'), the Swedish source text has several passives, congruently translated, and another *man* in the immediate context.

(5:21) Efter middagen och kaffet kallades parterna till fars rum. Där vidtog nya förhör och nya erkännanden. Därefter hämtades mattpiskaren och man fick själv ange, hur många rapp

⁷² The passive *märkas* ('was noticeable', 'was noticed') and its different forms is a marked passive in that it is rarely found with an expressed Agent. However, Språkbanken's Swedish corpus Korp gives, for example, *Den kommer att märkas av alla personalgrupper:* [...]'It will be noticed by all staff groups"; [...] *där den märks av både polisen och allmänheten* [...]''[...] where it is noticed by both the police and the public [...]". (Accessed 16 July 2014).

man ansågs förtjäna. (IB1/NF)

After dinner and coffee, the parties were summoned to Father's room, where interrogation and confessions were renewed. After that, the carpet beater was fetched and you yourself had to state how many strokes **you considered you** deserved. (IB1/T)

In the source text, man and the implicit passive agentive of ansågs are coreferential, which, at first sight, may seem ambiguous. The translation is more explicit with its two instances of you. The text extract is from Ingmar Bergman's biography, and the speaker talks about himself here. There is no generalisation in the use of you, neither does the writer address the reader. However, despite the fact that you could be replaced by *I*, we, or one, it does have a generic feel. Wales points out that "[t]he subjectivity of the generalization makes you strongly egocentric in its orientation, and it is often difficult to distinguish between 'indefinite' and 'definite' reference" (1996:79).

It is noteworthy that although English possesses several other pronouns than *you* and other options for expressing genericity (e.g. Wales 1996, Altenberg 2004-2005, Johansson 2007:180ff.), the use of a generic Subject and an active verb is not a highly preferred option in English translations in the present data.

5.4 Translation into Active transitive construction with thematic structure retained

5.4.1 Introduction

Just like the Swedish translations, the English translations use an active transitive construction with a verb that takes a different set of arguments than the passive VP as a means to preserve the thematic structure of the source text. Hence, in contrast to the CAC strategy and the Generic Subject + active verb, the instances in Active transitive clause with thematic structure retained do not reorganise the clause elements according to the active-passive correspondence pattern. There are, however, other syntactic and/or semantic reorganisations in terms of referents taking on different roles. A variety of structures are used in order to maintain, largely, the linear organisation of the referents. A recurrent aspect in this variation is a change of lexis which occurs in a number of cases.

Active transitive clause with thematic structure retained is the second strongest strategy (20%) in the EnT data. It is the strongest in non-fiction (21.4%) and the third strongest in fiction (14.7%). Such high frequencies is a clear signal that preservation of the linear organisation of a clause is important overall, and it

also suggests that it is more important in non-fiction text than in fiction. The same translation strategy was identified in the Swedish translations (section 4.5) in 12.2% of the cases (fourth most frequent strategy).

Although a variety of sub-strategies were employed to retain the thematic structure, there were a few recurrent features, illustrated in (5:22):

(5:22) Detta misantropiska synsätt påminner om - kanske inte utan orsak? - den tyske filosofen Arthur Schopenhauers ord att "denna världen är den sämsta tänkbara, ett faktum som även bekräftas av erfarenheten". De båda citaten **kan ses** som ett uttryck för den undergångsstämning som rådde i många europeiska kretsar under senare delen av 1800-talet. (KF1/NF)

[the both quotes can see-S as an expression for the feeling of doom]

Such a misanthropic vision is similar to that of the German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer, who once wrote, "This world is the worst of all possible worlds, a fact that is confirmed even by experience." Both quotes **express** the feeling of doom and demise that reigned in many European intellectual circles during the latter part of the nineteenth century. (KF1/T)

De båda citaten / Both quotes function as the Subject in both cases but there is a change of verb from kan ses 'can be seen', a mental process, to express, a verbal process. Not only are the processes and forms (passive and active form respectively) different in the source and translation, they also require different participants as Subjects in these forms — a PATIENT in the source text and an ACTOR-like in the translation.

This section first looks at structural changes of three main types (5.4.2-5.4.4) and then discusses a few more semantically oriented strategies (5.4.5) before concluding the section in 5.4.6.

5.4.2 Adverbial → inanimate agentive-like Subject

We saw already among the CACs that inanimate Subjects are frequent in the English translations, especially in the non-fiction texts. In the present strategy, the translated Subject originates in an Adverbial in the source text. It is inanimate and has an ACTOR-like function. This translation pattern, with 32 occurrences (30%) in the non-fiction data but none in fiction, has the following form:

(5:23)

The Swedish source text Adverbial hence corresponds to a typically inanimate Subject in the English translation, so the circumstance is expressed as an NP. The source text postverbal Subject is rendered as the Complement/Object. It is striking that 24 of the 32 instances identified are verbal processes (see (5:26)), which indicates a correspondence between process, structure and translation pattern, but of course the correspondence would not be restricted to the verbal process alone. (5:24) and (5:25) illustrate the pattern in (5:23). It is clear that the EnTs readily allows an inanimate Subjects, which adopt an agentive-like character.

(5:24) Inom koncernfunktion Finans **hanteras** övergripande frågor rörande finansiering inom rörelsen såsom cash management och investeringar. (PEA1/NF)

[within concern function Finans manage-S comprehensive issues]

The group function Finans **manages** comprehensive issues concerning financing within the business such as cash management and investments. (PEA1/T)

(5:25) På ett ställe i annalerna **betecknas** Petrus Olai som "musicus". (KF1/NF)

[at one place in the records denote-S Petrus Olai]

The album also **denotes** Petrus Olai as "musicus, [...]. (KF1/T)

A subset of the instances in this category can be described as impersonal constructions with an implicit expletive det ('it'): på en runsten vid Gripsholm berättas (det) om ... / on a rune stone at Gripsholm tell-S (it) about Example (5:26) shows an implicit impersonal Subject and a verbal process.

(5:26) På en runsten vid Gripsholm **berättas** om några av Ingvars följeslagare: "De foro manligen fjärran efter guld och gåvo örnen föda i österled. De dogo söderut i Serkland." (AA1/NF)

A rune stone at Gripsholm Castle **describes** the fate of some of Ingvar's followers: "In manly mood they sought gold afar and gave eagles food in eastern lands. They died in the south in Serkland." (AA1/T)

Several observations can be made from this example.⁷³ First, English readily allows an inanimate participant as Subject of a verbal process despite the fact that the act of speaking normally requires a human speaker. Swedish, on the other hand, does not agree here. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:253ff.) offer some explanation. They point out that there are certain historical similarities between verbal and mental clauses, and this may explain why some verbal processes resemble mental processes, for example in tense selection. Hence,

[...] when the Sayer is realized by a nominal group denoting a symbol other than a human speaker, the tense selection is likely to be more like that of a 'relational' clause, as in *the study says that* [...]. While such clauses are still clearly 'verbal', they are closer to 'relational' clauses than are 'verbal' ones with a human speaker as Subject [...]. (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:254f).

This may also explain the translation in (5:22) of ses ('be seen') as express. In their definition, "the Sayer can be anything that puts out a signal" (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:254), whereas this is not a preferred pattern in Swedish. In his investigation of a set of causative verbs (verbs of killing), which would presumably also require a human ACTOR, Lemmens (1998:99ff.) found that inanimate entities quite frequently occurred as Subjects and they could be considered directly responsible for the events in question.

Second, as mentioned above, in the case of (5:26) and several similar instances, it could be argued that the expletive *det* 'it' has been omitted from an initial Subject position and replaced by a place Adverbial (*på en runsten vid Gripsholm*), which is possible in neutral and formal written language according to Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.3:391). Thus, in this way, a prepositional phrase as Adverbial may marginally function as the Subject (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:38) and as the only theme. Further, the notional Subject of the passive corresponds both semantically and position-wise to the Object of an active (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.3:388) which is exactly what we find in the English translation in (5:26). This procedure therefore allows the thematic structure to be retained. Hundt (2007:17) shows a similar correspondence to exist in certain intransitive mediopassive (Hundt's terminology) constructions. In *This artificial snow does not ski badly* (ibid.), the Subject nominal has been promoted from a related Adverbial of place (*One does not ski badly on this artificial snow*).

 $^{^{73}}$ Other verb correspondences found in the same pattern are, for example: beteckna-S / denote, föreslå-S / propose, skildra-S / tell, uttala-S / express, visa-S / show.

Both contrastive grammars (e.g. Svartvik & Sager 1977) and previous studies (e.g. Johansson 1996, Altenberg 1998) emphasise that English and Swedish often differ in sentence opening patterns and in the degree of markedness in non-Subject openings. While Swedish seems to be more flexible in fronting non-Subject constituents, English more readily allows inanimate active Subjects. So, different constraints are at work in the languages, and together, these constraints result in different patterns in translations and the way discourse develops in the text (cf. e.g. Johansson 1996:36).

The structure illustrated in (5:23) covers also a third sub-category. As the Swedish source text in (5:27) illustrates, the Adverbial *därmed* ('with/by that') has conclusive meaning which serves to make logical relations explicit, i.e. the passive clause presents a conclusion which is based on the preceding text (Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.2:646f., Vol.4:144). The English translation uses the anaphoric pronoun *this* to summarise the previous discourse, thus serving a similar function.

(5:27) I funktionalismens anda fick också Lund sin första moderna generalplan år 1942 som visade hur man tänkte sig att staden skulle utvecklas i framtiden. Bebyggelsen skulle delas in i olika områden för industrier, villor, hyreshus, skolor eller sjukhus. Därmed **inleddes** en övergång från den gamla integrerade staden där sådana funktioner legat blandade till dagens moderna funktionsuppdelade stad. (LI1/NF)

[with that initiated-S a transition from the old integrated town]

In the spirit of Functionalism, Lund also got its first modern general plan in 1942, showing how the authorities envisaged the town developing in the future. There were to be different areas for industry, houses, blocks of flats, schools or hospitals. This **initiated** a transition from the old integrated town where functions of this kind were mingled to the modern town divided up according to function. (LI1/T)

Again, the SwO passive implies an animate agentive whereas the EnT uses an inanimate Subject as the corresponding referent. It is also noticeable that the SwO could have had *detta inledde* ('this initiated'), entirely congruent with EnT.

5.4.3 Agent \rightarrow Object

Another structure identified in this translation strategy was the passive Agent turned into the Object as in (5:28), also enabling the thematic structure to remain intact. This particular pattern seemed to occur especially with figurative expressions. In (5:28), for example, it is not possible to omit the Agent *av möjligheten*.

(5:28) Medan han berättade om Tessie **slogs** han av möjligheten att den där Volvon ute på Nynäsvägen hade kunnat vänta in honom. (JG1/F)

As he was telling her about Tessie, Carl **considered** the notion that the police Volvo out on Nynäsvägen might have been waiting for him. (JG1/T)

Example (5:28) also has a lexical shift, *slogs av* 'be struck by' – *considered*, which are not each other's closest counterparts. In other instances, a lexical shift is more predictable. An example is the passive *drabbas* ('affect-S') as in (5:29), which is idiomatically translated by the active *suffer* in the sense 'being affected by illness'. Similar to (5:28), the Agent referent is rendered as the active Object, thereby retaining the thematic structure.

(5:29) Ett oscilloskop är en smal plåtlåda med ett litet tv-fönster. I fönstret skimrar ljusa kurvor mot grön bakgrund. Om jag **drabbas** av en häftig känsla, börjar kurvorna slå i oscilloskopen på laboratoriebänken. (PCJ1/F)

An oscilloscope looks like a narrow, sheet-metal box with a little window, like a TV-screen. Inside it, curves of light shimmer against a green background. If I **suffer** an intense emotion, the curves begin to throb in the oscilloscopes. (PCJ1/T)

5.4.4 Subject → Object + new Subject

In yet other cases, the SwO Subject referent is rendered as the EnT Object and an explicit agentive or causal, animate or inanimate, Subject is added. In the case of (5:30), the change of thematic structure of the preceding clause affects the passive clause. By the addition of a new active Subject, the overall thematic structure of the second part is retained.

(5:30) Luftvägsinfektioner och antibiotikakonsumtion står i samtliga delstudier i centrum för intresset, men i viss mån **berörs** även andra infektioner och annan typ av sjuklighet bland barnen. (CP1/NF)

[respiratory tract infections and the consumption of antibiotics stand in all partstudies in the centre of interest, but to a certain extent deal-S also other infections and other type of morbidity among the children]

The studies making up this thesis all focus on respiratory tract infections and the consumption of antibiotics, but they also **deal** to some extent with other infections and other types of morbidity among the children. (CP1/T)

5.4.5 A few semantic issues

The shifts often result in a change of perspective. The Subjects in (5:31) are both RECIPIENTS although the original text *ägna* ('accord') in the passive assumes an agentive whilst *receive* in the active does not. The verbs are hence each other's converses.

(5:31) Eftersom såväl den akuta mediaotiten (AOM) som den sekretoriska (SOM) kan få konsekvenser för barnets och familjens välbefinnande, för sjukfrånvaro, vårdkonsumtion, antibiotikaförbrukning och åtminstone på kort sikt för barnets hörsel är det följdriktigt att dessa tillstånd **ägnats** särskild uppmärksamhet inom den daghemsinriktade forskningen. (CP1/NF)

[that these states accorded-S particular attention]

Since both acute otitis media (AOM) and secretory otitis media (SOM) can have consequences for the well-being of the child and the family, for sickness absence, care utilization, consumption of antibiotics, and at least in the short term for the child's hearing, it is logical that these states **have received** particular attention in research into day-care centres.

Other examples of oppositeness in meaning in this group were, for example, *utspisades* ('was fed') – *received* and *flyttats från* ('be moved from') – *given way to*. Such shifts of lexis do not usually change the meaning of the text in any radical way. A slight change could be detected in (5:32), which is a Law text (*Utlänningslagen*), but it could be argued that *committed* and *punishable* together correspond to the source text passive *döms* 'be sentenced'.

(5:32) [...] eller 2. om utlänningen **döms** för ett brott som kan leda till fängelse enligt denna lag eller enligt författningar som har utfärdats med stöd av lagen, [...] (UTL1/NF)

[if the alien sentence-S for a crime that can lead to prison]

[...] if the alien **has committed** a crime punishable by imprisonment under this Act or under regulations issued in pursuance of the same [...] (UTL1/T)

The causative meaning of (5:33), tvingades 'was forced', is retained in the translation but in the form of the modal have to expressing obligation.

(5:33) Det var den inre reningen. Nu återstår den yttre. På matta ben **tvingades** jag följa honom igen, denna gång till hans eget tvättrum där Selim just höll på att hälla vatten i badkaret. (LH1/F)

[on jelly legs forced-S I follow him]

"That was the interior cleansing. Now for the exterior!" My legs were jelly, but I had to follow him again, this time to his private washroom, where Selim was pouring water into the bathtub. (LH1/T)

Altenberg (2002:105) points out that with an unspecified or contextually implied CAUSE (or ACTOR), the causative construction can often be replaced by a non-congruent construction in the translation as long as the result is expressed.

5.4.6 Concluding remarks

This section as dealt with several structures that serve to maintain the linear organisation of information of the source texts. The variants of the active transitive clause retaining the thematic structure display close affinities with the passive although lexical shifts are frequent. The clearest strategy was the one in which an initial Adverbial is replaced by an inanimate agent-like Subject in the translations. It was found only in the non-fiction sub-corpus, which also displays a very high number of passives in the Swedish source texts. The fact that Swedish dislikes an inanimate causal or agentive-like Subject is well-known, and given the frequent/systematic correspondence it would seem clear that this is a useful means to avoid agentive inanimate Subjects. On the other hand, this resistance thus helps increase passive usage, which also creates an impersonal text.

Replacement of an Adverbial/circumstance by a Subject/participant also increases the degree of transitivity in this group. Another impression is that the translations tend to be more straightforward, less ambiguous and often more explicit than their sources. All in all, this strategy clearly suggests that maintaining the linear organisation of main participants is very important.

5.5 Translation into Intransitive construction

In contrast to the Swedish translations (section 4.6), which had four subtypes, there were only two subtypes of Intransitive Construction (IC) in the English translations. First, the intransitive middle construction (IMC), which consists of an active form of the verb, a non-agentive Subject and no agentive/cause that can be understood from the context, and second, the intransitive agentive construction (IAC), which has an agentive or similar entity expressed in the context. The other two types distinguished in the Swedish translations, the deponent *s*-form and the middle *s*-form, do not exist in English. As can be seen in Table 5.6, the intransitive middle is by far the most frequent options used in the material. With 16% in total, the IC is the fourth most frequent strategy in the EnT data. It is the second strongest in non-fiction (22.5%) and forth strongest in fiction (14.3%).

Table 5.6 Subtypes of intransitive English translation correspondences and their frequencies

Intransitive sub-types	Fiction	Non-fiction	Total
Intransitive middle constr. (IMC)	25	64	89
Intransitive agentive constr. (IAC)	4	6	10
Total	29	70	99

5.5.1 Intransitive middle construction

The shift from a semantically transitive source structure to an intransitive target structure means reduction in transitivity – one participant is omitted in the translation. 59 of the 89 intransitive middle occurrences have an [-Ag] source, so they are syntactically intransitive, although semantically transitive.

It is typical of the IMCs in this group that they have a non-prototypical s-passive in their sources. Consider (5:34) and (5:35):

(5:34) Under större delen av 1970- och 1980-talen har Sverige haft underskott i bytesbalansen. Efter devalveringarna **förbättrades** balansen från 1983 och några år framåt, när den inhemska efterfrågan dämpades och utrikeshandelsnettot förbättrades. (LU1/NF)

For most of the 1970s and '80s Sweden's current account was in deficit. Following the devaluations in 1981 and 1982, the balance **improved** for some years when domestic demand was subdued and the balance of trade was strengthened.(LU1/T)

(5:35) Inne i staden **tänds** gatlyktorna när mörkret faller, ... (AP1/F)

In the town, the street lights **come on** when darkness falls (AP1/T)

Here, the s-passive is non-prototypical in that its implicit ACTOR is vague and unidentified, and the s-form borders to a middle construction, but still considered passive. In the translations the understanding of an ACTOR/CAUSE is completely gone, making the translation even vaguer, and the event is interpreted as happening automatically or spontaneously. The loss of the agentive element results in decreased transitivity. Such weak s-passives clearly indicates a close relationship to the middle construction.

Also in cases where the verb requires a human participant acting with volition, as in (5:36)-(5:38), the English translation may use an intransitive middle. This produces an even greater difference between source and translation.

(5:36) I oktober 1998 **genomfördes** en framgångsrik uppskjutning av den europeiska rymdraketen Ariane 503, som därmed är kvalificerad för kommersiella uppskjutningar. (VOL1/NF)

[in October 1998 carried-S out en successful launch]

A successful launch of the Ariane 503 European space rocket **took place** in October 1998 and the rocket thereby qualified for commercial launches. (VOL1/T)

(5:37) Och skulder till IMF och Världsbanken ersätts med nya lån. En del av det bilaterala biståndet **används** till att betala krisländernas förfallna skulder till IMF och Världsbanken. (CO1/NF)

[a part of the bilateral assistance used-S for to pay]

Meanwhile renegotiations continue in the so-called Paris Club, and new loans replace debts to the IMF and the World Bank. Some bilateral assistance **goes** towards repaying the crisis countries' matured loans to the IMF and the World Bank. (CO1/T)

(5:38) Just då **öppnas** dörren till kongressalen och en dam i strikta kläder - antagligen hans sekreterare - störtar emot honom och utropar: - Monsieur, vänta - ni kan inte gå nu. (MS1/F)

[right then open-S the door of the conference hall]

At this moment the door of the conference hall **opens** and a correctly dressed lady, presumably a secretary, rushes up to him and calls: 'Monsieur, wait! You can't leave now...' (MS1/T)

Also (5:39) shows that it is sometimes difficult to determine if the construction is passive or middle, if an ACTOR/CAUSE/INSTRUMENT can be understood from the context or if the event/action is spontaneous/automatic (cf. e.g. Lyngfelt 2007).

(5:39) När han böjde sig ner för att lägga in växeln på motorn var han nära att falla. Han brydde sig inte om att skjuta ifrån eller hålla av för att komma bort från pålarna. Han gav bara gas. Ett skärande ljud hördes när skrovet **pressades** mot trät ögonblicket innan båten girade ut på fritt vatten. (BL1/F)

[a strident noise heard-S when the hull pressed-S against the wood]

He lifted a hand by way of thanks, but it didn't get higher than his waist. When he bent down to put his engine in gear, he nearly fell. He didn't bother to bear away from the posts; he just opened the throttle. There was a strident noise as his hull **pressed** against the wood an instant before the boat sheered off to open water. (BL1/T)

The context tells us that there is some kind of force causing the pressing, but as the force is unidentified, the translation may readily use an IMC. Again, the SwO is a weak passive.

A subset of the IMC group consists of the verb *be* (and one instance of *come*) in an existential construction (6 in fiction, 12 in non-fiction). The six fiction

instances were all translations of the Swedish perception verb *höra* in the past passive form, signalling a close correspondence:

(5:40) Farquhar satt bredvid mig hela tiden men sa inget. Det sved i mina sår och törsten plågade mig. Runt omkring **hördes** röster som skrek och kommenderade, åsnor som skriade och hästar som gnäggade. (LH1/F)

[all around heard-S voices that screamed and commanded]

Farquhar sat next to me but said nothing. My wounds were stinging, and I was plagued by thirst. All around **there were** voices shouting and giving commands, donkeys braying, horses whinnying. (LH1/T)

(5:40) contains the past passive of *höra* which often has generic implications, and with a non-expressed EXPERIENCER or impersonal *det* as Subject it is very similar to an existential construction (Viberg 2008:167f.). These six instances contain *hördes* ('was heard') with the meaning 'something can be perceived', very close to the meaning of the existential *there*-construction in their translations. In addition, these instances usually depict an event (here, someone heard voices), and not "a continuing state of existence" (Biber et al. 1999:436), so *be* is used in its atypical sense, referring to an event. Another, similar, way to render *hördes* is with the phenomenon, i.e. what is heard, as Subject (e.g. *Det enda som hördes var ... - The only sounds were ...*) which was classified as a copula construction but is very similar to the intransitive use.

It should be noted that an existential *there* in an instransitive or a copula construction is not the only non-congruent option used for a passive of *höra*. We have also seen the generic use of *hörs/hördes* translated into a generic Subject and an active verb (*you could hear*, 5.3) where a relation to the middle construction (a spontaneous event reading) was suggested. Although a number of the source text verbs display weak passives with non-specific ACTORS, EXPERIENCERS etc, both an instransitive rendering and a copular rendering mean that this participant is lost, and hence a reduction in transitivity in comparison to the passive. The exception is when this participant is present in the context.

In contrast to the fiction instances of existential *there* +be, all of which translated *hördes*, the non-fiction instances were much more lexically diverse. They were, however, similar to the fiction ones in that many of the existential *be*-instances translate a dynamic passive. It is often difficult to distinguish between a stative and a dynamic reading in the translation, as in (5:41):

(5:41) Man fann en betydligt högre sjukfrånvaro bland daghemsbarnen än bland barnen i familjedaghem i genomsnitt 12,3% respektive 4,5% av möjliga närvarodagar. Någon medicinsk bedömning av sjukfrånvaron **gjordes** ej. (CP1/NF)

[any medical assessment of the sickness absence made-S not]

A significantly higher rate of sickness absence was found among children in day- care centres than those in family day-care: an average of 12.3% and 4.5%, respectively, of all the possible attendance days. **There was** no medical assessment of the sickness absence. (CP1/T)

With a stative reading it appears that English de-emphasises the process meaning in favour of placing contextually new information late in the clause (and consequently a re-organisation of participants). With a dynamic reading, *be* is used as a dynamic verb with an event reading. Also Ebeling (2003:134ff.) noticed a loss of inchoative or dynamic meaning to a stative meaning in translation of Norwegian intransitive *bli*-constructions into English existential *be*-constructions. This suggests that the English existential holds a rather strong position which here overrides the passive.

5.5.2 Intransitive agentive construction

In a minority of ICs, the CAUSE/INSTRUMENT of an action or event is expressed although the VP is intransitive. The Subject is usually non-agentive and the cause is expressed in a quasi-Agent, in (5:42) *from*) or simply present in the context, as in (5:43).

(5:42) Sen ramlade han och kände en häftig smärta när repet **drogs åt** kring kroppen **av dess egen tyngd**. Han hängde med repet djupt inskuret under armarna och tunga ben. Något vatten kände han inte än. (KE1/F)

Falling, he felt a violent pain as the rope **tightened** round his body **from its own weight**. He was hanging, the rope cutting deeply under his arms from the weight of his body and legs. He could feel no water. (KE1/T)

We can see that (5:42) retains the thematic structure of the source text. Apart from minor shifts, for example due to the V2-constraint in Swedish, this is the case with most IMCs and IACs.

The two instances in (5:43) might at first sight seem to be IMCs as the forms as such, *antändes – ignited* and *genombrändes – burned through*, signal more or less spontaneous events. However, at closer inspection we find that the events are the result of an experiment which is clearly described in the context. Hence the INSTRUMENT, as well as the ACTOR behind the INSTRUMENT, are present.

(5:43) Sedan isbiten frusit fast i träringen, utfördes försöket genast - o under! - den lille såg med strålande ögon huru ett under isen lagt mångdubbelt papper **antändes** och **genombrändes**. Därefter försökte och lyckades han även att på samma sätt antända faderns tobakspipa. (KF1/NF)

[paper ignited-S and through-burned-S]

When the piece of ice had frozen inside the wooden ring, his first experiment was begun. Oh miracle! With shining eyes the little boy watched as a piece of paper, folded several times and placed under the ice, **ignited** and **burned through**. After that he tried and succeeded in lighting his father's tobacco pipe using the same method. (KF1/T)

One occurrence among the ICs deviates from the typical pattern in having an ACTOR Subject:

(5:44) Detta flyktiga leverne hade i statens ögon gjort mig till en så kallad "gränsgångare", en person som bodde i ett land och arbetade i ett annat. I mina egna ögon var jag snarare en flyttfågel som **hade matats** för länge. (BL1/F)

[a bird of passage that had fed-S too long]

In the eyes of the authorities my transient way of life made me a 'border-crosser': a person who lives in one country and works in another. But I saw myself rather more as a bird of passage that has paused and **fed** too long. (BL1/T)

Feed is used in its intransitive meaning and together with paused, an ACTOR Subject is clearly understood.

5.5.3 Intransitive constructions and Subject animacy

The animate (but non-human) Subject in (5:44), is one of the few ones among the ICs. Table 5.7 shows the proportions of animate, inanimate and impersonal Subjects in the IC English translations.⁷⁴

Table 5.7 Subject types in English ICs.

		Fiction	Non- fict.	Total			
		no.	no.	no.	%		
animate	IMC	3	4	7	9.2		
Subject	IAC	2	0	2	7.2		
inanimate	IMC	16	47	63	72.4		
Subject	IAC	2	6	8	/ 2.7		
impersonal	IMC	6	12	18	18.4		
Subject	IAC	0	0	0	10.4		
Total		29	69	98	100		

⁷⁴ The table excludes one instance of no Subject.

With 90% inanimate and impersonal Subjects clearly dominate in ICs in the data. High frequency of inanimate Subjects is expected given that they are affected entities, but this seems to be a rather high figure. The animate Subjects are typically affected participants bordering to EXPERIENCERS.

(5:45) Därför är förskolebarn också de som oftast introducerar luftvägsinfektioner i familjen och smittar övriga syskon och föräldrar, främst modern (Dingle et al. 1964; Monto and Sullivan 1993). Under de första levnadsåren tycks pojkar **drabbas** i något större utsträckning än flickor. (CP1/NF)

[during the first years of life seem boys affect-S slightly more than girls]

That is why it is mostly preschool children who introduce respiratory tract infections into the family and infect siblings and parents, chiefly the mother (Dingle et al. 1964; Lebowitz et al. 1972; Monto and Sullivan 1993). During the first years of life, it appears that boys **suffer** slightly more than girls. (CP1/T)

The source of the suffering is clear from the context, and the EnT idiomatically uses an intransitive. Other ICs with animate Subjects include *drowned*, *panicked*, *suffocate* and *woke*.

5.5.4 Concluding remarks

There are great similarities between both types of ICs and the passive. The IAC and the passive share the non-agentive Subject and an expressed agentive or equivalent, and the IMC shares the former but not the latter attribute. Of course, they differ in the form of the verb.

The thematic structure normally remains unchanged in the ICs. This was a strong feature also in Active transitives (section 5.4), so in this respect the groups are very similar. An IC corresponding to an [-Ag] passive is an effective means for preserving the linear organisation of the clause. When the implied Agent of the passive is vague or unspecified, there is no great difference in meaning between an [-Ag] passive and an IC, but there is still a reduction in transitivity.

These results indicate that Swedish prefers a weak/non-prototypical passive, close to a middle, to an active with inanimate Subject, at least when the verb needs a Subject participant acting with volition or control. English, on the other hand, seems to prefer an intransitive middle. This preference in Swedish would help raise the use of the passive in comparison to English, and the system difference helps explain why this strategy was often chosen.

5.6 Translation into Reflexive construction

The reflexive construction is the weakest strategy (0.5%) in English translations. There were only 3 instances altogether: 1 in fiction and 2 in non-fiction text. The fiction one (in (5:46) is an intransitive reflexive with an EXPERIENCER Subject (cf. Lyngfelt 2007:118). Hence, the Subject does not really act on the Object:

(5:46) I den grå depressionen står tiden stilla. Där händer ingenting, inte ens ångest. När substansen börjar gå ur mig, vanligen efter cirka fyra timmar, **grips** jag av en stark färglängtan. (PCJ1/F)

In the grey depression time stands still. Nothing takes place, not even anxiety. When the substance begins to leave my system, usually after about four hours, I **find myself** in the throes of an overpowering desire for colour. (PCJ1/T)

We also find a reflexive in a predicative construction (cf. Lyngfelt 2007:101):

(5:47) Bara riddarens hustru fick tituleras "fru". (HL1/NF)

Only the wife of a knight was entitled to **call herself** "Fru". (HL1/T)

The third and last one is a transitive agentive:

(5:48) Då straffkvoten fastställts, hämtades en grön, hårt stoppad kudde, byxorna och kalsongerna knäpptes ner, man **lades** framstupa över kudden, någon höll ett stadigt tag om förbrytarens hals och slagen utdelades. (IB1/NF)

After that, the carpet beater was fetched and you yourself had to state how many strokes you considered you deserved. When the punishment quota had been established, a hard green cushion was fetched, trousers and underpants taken down, you **prostrated yourself** over the cushion, someone held firmly on to your neck and the strokes were administered. (IB1/T)

The reflexive in (5:48) breaks the chain of passives in the immediate context and adds to greater variation of constructions.

It is often pointed out in contrastive grammars (e.g. Svartvik & Sager 1977:197ff.) that many verbs that are reflexive in Swedish correspond to English non-reflexive forms, so the lower frequency of reflexives in English translations than in Swedish translations (section 4.7) is not surprising.

5.7 Translation into Copula construction

A passive was rendered as a copula structure in 29 instances (4.7% in total; 9 instances in fiction, 20 in non-fiction, see Table 5.8). The most central copular

verb in English is *be*, which is also the dominant verb in this correspondence group. While *be* is inherently stative and considered to be a current copular verb, both *become* and *turn* are dynamic and resulting (Quirk et al. 1985:1172, Biber et al. 1999: 436ff.). However, also *be* can be used to refer to events and activities (Quirk et al. 1985:1174). Copular verbs express relations such as identity, cause and condition between participants or between participant and circumstance. One question that arises is whether the sources of the *be*-renderings are stative passives corresponding to the main meaning of the *be*-copula, or not.

Table 5.8 Copula verbs in English translations

English correspondences	Fiction	Non-fiction	Total
be	7	14	21
become	1	5	6
turn	1	1	2
Total	9	20	29

Although they are lexically diverse, it is typical of the sources that they are dynamic and denote some kind of process. This process is usually de-emphasised in the translation which uses stative *be*, as in (5:49). In a few cases, the agentive character of the passive is low, i.e. the passive borders to a middle construction, but there is still a shift from dynamic to stative. A reduction in the degree of transitivity is hence typical of this subgroup.

(5:49) I detta alternativ **utvecklas** visserligen den internationella efterfrågan förhållandevis starkt, men den svenska anpassningsförmågan är väsentligt sämre. (LU1/NF)

[in this alternative develop-S]

International demand **is** comparatively strong in this alternative but the Swedish economy is appreciably less flexible. (LU1/T)

Ebeling, in her contrastive study of English correspondences of Norwegian *bli* and *få*, found that "[...] in translated text, *be* has been used as a resulting copula on a par with *become* and *get*" (2003:123), but it was hard to find clear examples of this in the present data.

The thematic structure is often altered in the copula translations. In (5:50)(5:49) the shift is due to the Subject being postponed in the source, but in (5:50), more extensive clause structure changes are made.

(5:50) Färjan *Ofelia* mellan Limhamn och Dragör hade åter **satts** i trafik efter en totalrenovering och utnämnts till "Sundets drottning". (BL1/F)

[the ferry Ofelia between Limhanmn and Dragör had again put-S in traffic]

For the ferry Ofelia, which plied between Limhamn and Dragor, had undergone a complete renovation and **was** now - presented as *Queen of the Sound* - back in service. (BL1/T)

A result meaning is retained with a resulting copula such as *become*. *Become* is a process verb that expresses a change from one condition or state to another, i.e. inchoation, and according to Quirk et al. (1985:1174) it emphasises the duration of the change. All the four *become* translations clearly exhibit this meaning, which is also present in their sources. (5:51) is one instance:

(5:51) Munkar och nunnor läste och undervisade ur samma latinska böcker i Linköping och Eskilstuna som i Worms och Bologna. På detta sätt **drogs** svenskarna, genom kyrkans försorg in i en europeisk gemenskap som skulle vara i 400 år. (HL1/NF)

[in this way drew-S the Swedes]

Monks and nuns read and taught from the same Latin books in Linköping and Eskilstuna as did their brothers and sisters in Worms and Bologna. In this way, thanks to the Church, Sweden **became** part of a European community which would endure for 400 years. (HL1/T)

In (5:51), the CAUSE (*På detta sätt / In this way, thanks to the Church*) is given in the context in both source and target text, and there is no reduction in transitivity.

There were two instances of *turn*, both of which border on middle meaning and translate fairly weak passives. (5:52) is one of them:

(5:52) Finanspolitiken var stram i så måtto att budgetunderskottet kraftigt minskade och under några år **vändes** till ett överskott. (LU1/N

[and under a few years turned-S to a surplus]

Fiscal policy was tight in the sense that the budget deficit underwent a marked reduction and even **turned** into a temporary surplus. (LU1/T)

A recurrent impression from the copula renderings is that there is a reduction in content when the (passive) lexical verb is replaced by, typically, copular be. Be is the copular verb that is most neutral in meaning, become is rather neutral, whereas turn carries more lexical meaning. When be is used in a translation to render a lexical verb that also has an understood ACTOR participant, the result is very often a bleached version of the source. A few additional examples of lexical verbs are skulle byggas ('would be built'), har skrivits ('has been written') and redovisades ('was reported'), all of which were rendered by a form of be. Unless the

context clearly compensates for the loss, we cannot say that the translation says the same as its source.

5.8 Translation into Lexical verb + past participle construction

In the Swedish translations, it was found that a few other full lexical verbs sometimes replaced the regular passive forming auxiliaries with past participles, and that their functions could be considered fairly parallel. In the English translations, this option was both less frequent than in the Swedish translation, and there was less variety in the instances. The single verb found was *become*, which was used twie in fiction and four times in non-fiction.

It is typical of the instances in this group that they emphasise gradual change, i.e. the core meaning of *become* (Quirk et al. 1985:1174), which is often strengthened by modification (cf. Svartvik 1966:149), such as *in recent years*, *in the course of the 1990s* in (5:53), or event duration is evident from the context in a different way (*changed in appearance*, *the growing brick industry*) in (5:54). At the same time, potential stative/dynamic ambiguity can be avoided.

(5:53) De senaste årens trend i riktning mot ett allt mindre intresse från omvärlden och en allt mer marginell roll i världsekonomin kommer sannolikt att **förstärkas** under 1990-talet. (CO1/NF)

[will probably strengthen-S]

The declining interest in the rest of the world in this region in recent years, and its increasingly peripheral role in the world economy, will in all likelihood **become** more **pronounced** in the course of the 1990s. (CO1/T)

(5:54) Den gamla korsvirkesstaden bytte skepnad. Den framväxande tegelindustrin kunde tillverka billigare och bättre tegel och korsvirkestraditionen dog ut. Staden **förtätades** med gårdsbebyggelse. (LI1/NF)

[the town condensed-S]

The old half-timbered town changed in appearance. The growing brick industry was able to make cheaper and better brick and the traditional half-timbered style of building died out. The town **became** more densely **built up** with buildings in the courtyards. (LI1/T)

It is noteworthy that the sources of the *become*+participle occurrences found here are all *s*-passives and not *bli*-passives. The *s*-passive thus covers the

inchoative/durative meaning of the *bli*-passive, especially when it is reinforced in the context.

One of the fiction instances clearly deviates from the others and shows an interesting similarity to the *get*-passive:

(5:55) Men ovanpå detta nedre huvud växte så ett annat huvud ut, det bröt sig fram som en knopp ur hans panna, eller som en fånge som förtvivlat försöker bryta sig igenom en fängelsemur, men misslyckas, och **döms** till livslång fångenskap, till hälften innesluten i muren. (PE1/F)

[and sentence-S to lifelong imprisonment]

But on top of this lower head, another head had grown, it erupted like a bud from his forehead, or like a prisoner desperately trying to break through a prison wall, but who, having failed, **becomes sentenced** to lifelong imprisonment, half enclosed in the wall. (PE1/T)

The context here depicts an unfavourable situation for the Subject referent. It has often been claimed that in the *get*-passive, focus is placed on the Subject's condition rather than on the Agent's, and on what happens to the Subject as a result of the action or event described in the clause (e.g. Downing 1996:203). Collins describes this as "the favourability of the process for the subject-referent" (1996:51) and claims that this at the same time reflects the attitude of the speaker/writer towards the events described. All passive variants can be adversative, neutral or beneficial in meaning or be used in such contexts, but a number of studies, e.g. Givón and Yang (1994), Downing (1996) and Carter and McCarthy (1999), have observed that the *get*-passive is predominantly used for expressing a negative speaker stance and/or used in an adversative context. Interestingly, the *become*-structure in (5:55) seems to take on exactly that meaning, and there is no impression of gradual change.

Yet another feature often assigned to the *get*-passive and which seems to apply to (5:55) concerns control and responsibility. While in the *be*-passive (and the *s*-passive in Swedish) the agentive entity, i.e. the passive Agent, retains control and the Subject is purely a PATIENT, the PATIENT Subject of a *get*-passive (and a *bli*-passive) has often been said to remain in control to a certain extent; the Subject is indirectly responsible for or involved in the action expressed in the clause (e.g. Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:390, Engdahl 2001). Hence, if the Subject is able to influence the situation or at least does not hinder the action expressed, it seems as if the *get*-passive is preferred. Further, an analysis of the source text *get*-passives in the present data showed a certain correlation between control and adversative meaning.

Hence, there seem to be similarities between the *get*-passive and the *become*+participle structure, which would not be surprising. In contrast to *get*,

which has become increasingly acknowledged as a passive auxiliary despite the fact that it is rather restricted in usage, *become* is not generally considered a passive auxiliary (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985:162n). One of the principal criteria for passive status is the possibility to add an Agent, which does not seem impossible in some of the *become*-structures in this data. We know that also *get*-passives regularly occur without an expressed AGENTIVE referent. It remains to be seen whether *become* + particple will be seen as a passive also.

5.9 Translation with a part of speech change

So far, the translation strategies have mainly concerned the VP of the translations, i.e. the translations have used a verb construction corresponding to the passive VP. In the present section, I will discuss translations containing another word class than the verb (cf. 4.10). The word classes are noun, adjective and adverb.

5.9.1 Noun construction

A noun construction is a strong category in the English translations. It is the third most frequent translation strategy overall (18.4%), the second strongest in non-fiction (20.6%), and the fourth stronges in fiction (10%). The noun constructions are divided into six subgroups according to structural characteristics. These groups cover the great majority of the instances but a few instances fall outside these patterns.

5.9.1.1 Translation into nominalisation + prep + NP

The most frequent type, covering 45 instances in total, is a lexical nominalisation in which the passive verb is rendered as an NP and the passive Subject is turned into a PP, giving the structure NP + prep + NP (e.g. the growth of new towns). The passive clause is thus turned into a phrase and allows more elements into the new clause. In all but five instances, the preposition used is of^{16} . It was observed that 35 of the 45 shifts to nominalisation + prep + NP had, as source, a passive

⁷⁵ The passive Subject will be the active Object.

⁷⁶ The other prepositions used were about (two instances), *between*, *for* and *in*. I will not go into detail here on differences in meaning relating to choice of preposition.

structure which was part of either a narrative *att*-clauses ('that'-clause), most following a preposition, a clause with *hur* ('how'), or a temporal or conditional clause.⁷⁷ The most frequent type (23 occurrences) was the *att*-clause ((5:56) with preposition and *att* in italics):

(5:56) De nordtyska handelsstäderna, den s k Hansan, hade övertagit handeln i Östersjön, och det livliga handelsutbytet med dem ledde *till att* en rad nya städer **bildades**, till stor del vid Östersjökusten och Mälaren. (AA1/NF)

[led to that a number of new towns formed-S]

The Hanseatic towns of Northern Germany had taken over the Baltic trade, and lively commercial contacts led to **the growth of many new towns**, mainly on the Baltic coast and the shores of Lake Mälaren. (AA1T)

This shift reflects a typological difference between the languages in that English cannot have a *that*-clause following a preposition, whereas this is an unmarked construction in Swedish. We may also observe that CAUSE is present in both original and translation, and the noun *growth* conveys the dynamic meaning of *bildades* ('be formed').

There were 7 instances of an NP + prep + NP originating in a clause with *hur*.

(5:57) I en bilaga till utredningen illustreras *hur* ett obligatoriskt sådant system **skulle kunna utformas**. (LU1/NF)

[in an appendix of the investigation illustrate-S how an obligatory such system could form-S]

The construction of such a compulsory system is illustrated in an annex. (LU1/T)

First of all, it should be said that all the 7 instances come from the same text, so the tendency to translate the structure *hur* + NP Subject + passive VP into a lexical nominalisation could simply be particular to the translator of this text.⁷⁸ Despite this, it is clear that example (5:57) illustrates the textual/restructuring force of nominalisations. The translation has promoted the elements realised by the nominalisation to Subject and theme, and it serves to sum up previous information (on the national pension system). Many of the nominalisations in the NP + prep + NP group are Subject and theme, which is a typical function of nominalisations in English scientific texts (Halliday & Martin 1993). Second, the

⁷⁷ It should be noted that a nominalisation + prep + NP structure was not the only type of nominalisation correspondence of these sources, but by far the most common one.

⁷⁸ The text is *Långtidsutredningen* (title of translation: The Medium Term Survey of the Swedish Economy) which is classified as 'social sciences/economics' in the corpus description.

pattern of using the nominalisation as Subject and theme did not emerge in the other direction, i.e. in Swedish translations of English passives, which supports Nordrum's (2007:145) suggestions that this writing strategy is less common in Swedish. Finally, we may also note that the first passive of the source text ((5:57) *illustreras*) is translated congruently (*is illustrated*) but in rhematic position. The translator thus uses two impersonalising strategies in the same clause, and the ACTOR is even further demoted than in the two passives.

In (5:58), the temporal Adverbial is turned into a prepositional phrase (*during* + nominalisation) keeping the temporal meaning intact:

(5:58) När priser och kvaliteten på varorna **diskuterades** malde hans käkar och knogarna vitnade på handen som höll det korta ridspöt. (LH1/F)

[when prices and quality of the merchandise discussed-S]

During **discussions** about price and quality, his jaw muscles twitched and the knuckles on his whip hand turned white. (LH1/T)

The correspondence between a clause and a preposition followed by a nominalisation is a pattern that was recognised also by Nordrum (2007:137ff.) in her investigation of English lexical nominalisations and their translations into Swedish and Norwegian. This means that the correspondence goes in both directions.

5.9.1.2 Translation into NP + passive VP / passive VP + NP

Another fairly large correspondence type (24 instances) renders the passive VP as an NP which is followed by a passive VP of a verb other than that of the source (or the reverse order: other passive + NP). An example is (5:59):

(5:59) Dessutom **planeras** för fortsatt tillväxt såväl organiskt som genom förvärv genom att vara aktiv i den omstrukturering som pågår inom branschen. (VOL1/NF)

[in addition plan-S for continued growth]

Plans are also being made for continuing growth, organically as well as through acquisitions, by being active in the restructuring that is under way within the industry. (VOL1/T)

In (5:59), the passive *planeras* is turned into *plans* and a 'new' passive VP is added in the translation. This can be seen as the opposite strategy to the previous one. Instead of reducing the clause to a phrase in the translation, the nominalisation

helps 'unpack' a new full clause: *plans are also being made for* ... Another example is (5:60):

(5:60) Finansieringsformerna måste ses över. Statens rimliga roll behöver definieras, teknologivalsfrågorna **studeras** etc. (CO1/NF)

[the choices of technology study-S]

The financing must be reviewed, an acceptable state role must be defined and **studies** *must be made* of issues related to the choice of technology etc. (CO1/T)

The first two of the passives in the source text (*måste ses över*, (*behöver*) definieras) were translated congruently into *must be reviewed* and *must be defined*, whilst for the third passive, *studeras*, the translator used a nominalisation followed by a passive. A possible explanation for this shift is the passive Subject *teknologivalsfrågorna* ('technology-choice-issues') which does not translate congruently, but corresponds to *issues related to the choice of technology*.

5.9.1.3 Translation into existential *there* + nominalisation

It is interesting to look into the existential *there* structures in relation to nominalisation since the notional Subject NP, i.e. the nominalisation, will correspond to the passive VP of the source text. 7 of the nominalisations had *there* as grammatical Subject (1 in fiction, 6 in non-fiction). (5:61) gives the single occurrence found in the fiction texts:

(5:61) Det **pratades** om Torsten och Vidart och om att Torstens egen grabb hade sprungit och anmält. (KE1/F)

[it talked-S about]

There would be much **talk** about Torsten and Vidart and that Torsten's own lad had gone and reported him. (KE1/T)

The original illustrates that Swedish, unlike English, has an impersonal passive formed with intransitive verbs. The intransitive passive usually requires a human agentive which should be indefinite/unspecified but, it can be situationally restricted (Siewierska 1984:100, Shibatani 1985:834, Sundman 1987:376, Kemmer 1993:148, 178, Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.4:363). In this respect the

construction is parallel to the 'generic Subject + active verb' construction.⁷⁹ Further, it follows from this that the ACTOR is commonly not realised as an Agent.⁸⁰ In using the existential *there* and the nominalisation, the translation in (5:61) both retains generic meaning and leaves out the AGENTIVE.

The other type of impersonal Swedish passive is a passive presentational (or existential) construction (Engdahl 1999:11, 30ff.) which has a transitive verb. There were two occurrences in the material, one of which is (5:62):

(5:62) Pneumokocker är mycket penicillinkänsliga, men från olika länder **har** under senaste decenniet **rapporterats** förekomst av multiresistenta stammar, vilket har kopplats till ett alltför högt antibiotikatryck och har därför tillfört den terapeutiska problematiken nya dimensioner. (CP1/NF)

[but from different countries has during the last decade reported-S existence]

Pneumococci are very sensitive to penicillin, but *there* have been **reports** from different countries in the last decade about multiresistant strains which have been linked to excessively high pressure of antibiotics and have therefore added new dimensions to the therapeutic problem. (CP1/T)

In (5:62), the expletive *det* was omitted from the presentational construction. According to Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.3:391), an Adverbial of place may replace expletive *det* in neutral and formal written language. This seems to have no effect on meaning. Teleman et al. (1999:Vol.4:371) further points out that intransitive impersonal passives tend to have iterative meaning, i.e. denote several simultaneous or consecutive actions. If this applies also to presentational passives, that would explain the choice of a plural noun in the translation. Also the Adverbial (*from different countries*) supports an existential iterative interpretation.

5.9.1.4 Translation into *ing*-nouns

There were 10 instances of nouns in *-ing* which fall into three different subgroups. Consider (5:63)-(5:65):

(5:63) Mannen, som var mycket välbevarad, hade offrats rituellt genom att hängas i ett

⁷⁹ Clauses with the generic man as Subject were also found to be common translation correspondences of English lexical nominalisations (Nordrum 2007:110f., cf. also Altenberg 2004-2005).

⁸⁰ The SwONF material does contain one example of a passive presentational construction with an expressed (generic/unspecified) Agent: *Det brukar sägas av utbildare och andra*, att genier behöver man inte bry sig om, de är starka nog att klara sig själva. (KF1)

hamprep som han fortfarande hade runt halsen. (BL1/F)

[had sacrificed-S ritually by to hang-S in a hemp rope]

The man had been ritually sacrificed by **hanging**: the hemp rope used was still around his neck. (BL1/T)

(5:64) Den 1 december samma år **invigdes** Akademiska föreningen, som alltsedan dess har detta datum som sin årliga högtidsdag.(LI1/NF)

[the 1 December same year opened-S]

1st December the same year saw **the official opening** of the Academic Union, which observes this date annually as its founding day. (LI1/T)

(5:65) Jag kunde till och med se på ljusreflexerna i taket om den behövde **sotas**. (BL1/F)

[if it needed sweep-S]

To know if the heater needed **cleaning**, I only had to watch the reflections from the flames on the ceiling. (BL1/T)

Although the *ing*-form is obligatory in the grammatical contexts of (5:63) and (5:65), the nouns in all three cases have a clear process meaning, which is typical for ing-nouns according to Grimshaw (1990:67, referred to in Nordrum 2007:55). Quirk et al. state that the -ing suffix, e.g. in opening, form "concrete count nouns referring to what results from the actions of the [verb] base [...]" (1985:1550). We can also note that (5:63) and (5:65) denote bounded punctual events, while (5:64) has unbounded meaning – it is unknown whether the cleaning has taken place or not. Finally, cleaning in needed cleaning seems to be intermediate between verbal participle and nominalisation. On the one hand, it can take the indefinite article and a premodifier: a good cleaning⁸¹ which points to nominal status. On the other hand, its verbal status is evident in Quirk et al.'s (1985:1189) discussion of need + -ing-participle. They say that in the case of need (and a few other verbs) "[the complement] participle construction matches in meaning the passive of the corresponding infinitive construction [...]" (ibid.) Thus, for (5:65), the alternatives are if the heater needed cleaning and if the heater needed to be cleaned. The possibility for alternating is explained by the reference of the implicit element. In this case, it is the implicit Object (clean the heater), not the Subject, that is coreferential with the superordinate clause Subject (Quirk et al. 1985:1189).

⁸¹ The phrase *a good cleaning* in sentence final position (to avoid phrases such as 'a good cleaning cloth') yielded 17 hits in the *Corpus of Global Web-based English* (http://corpus2.byu.edu/glowbe/, accessed August 8, 2013).

Similar active-passive alternation is possible for certain infinitives in Swedish (cf. Teleman et al. 1999:Vol.3:602ff.).

5.9.1.5 Translations into possessive + noun

In a few examples (3 in fiction, 4 in non-fiction), we find the passive rendered as a possessive followed by a nominalisation or a 'regular' noun. Example (5:66) illustrates this type.

(5:66) Om hon gråtit i gruvan, innan de **befriades**, det vet ju ingen. (PE1/F)

[before they liberated-S]

If she had been crying in the mine, before their **liberation**, that nobody could know. (PE1/T)

In all seven cases the translation retains the referent of the active Subject as passive Subject, although in genitive/possessive form, which means that in the active it would be an Object (here *before somebody liberated them*). The low number of correspondences of this type is in line with Nordrum (2007:118) who found far fewer *s*-genitives/pronominal forms than *of*-constructions realising the Object of a nominalisation (11 instances vs. 168) in English original texts, indicating that it is not a preferred form in English. Although a congruent passive (*before they were liberated*) would have been possible in (5:66), the nominalisation fits in very well too.

5.9.1.6 Translations into compound

A passive was translated into a noun compound in 6 instances. In all of them the first element of the compound corresponds to the passive Subject, as in:

(5:67) Den högre utbildningen behöver förstärkas. Dess resurser **kan utnyttjas** bättre genom nya system för styrning, anslagsfördelning och antagning. (LU!/NF)

[its resources can utilize-S better]

Higher education needs to be reinforced; new systems for management, the distribution of appropriations and admissions can lead to better **resource utilization** here. (LU1/T)

Again, there are similarities to Nordrum (2007:100) who found that an English lexical nominalisation with an Object (e.g. a deverbal noun + prep + NP) can be translated into Swedish by a compound of the same structure as in (5:67), i.e. first

noun is the grammatical Object of the second noun: *utilize resources*. We can also observe that the ordering of information is radically different. The translation /theme and places the compound nominalisation in final focus position. The other three occurrences do not, however, reorganise the clause to the same extent.

5.9.1.7 Concluding remarks

This section has shown that the strategy Noun construction is highly flexible. A large number of complex clause-structural shifts take place, which commonly have consequences for the organisation of discourse, as they are normally accompanied by theme-rheme restructuring. This is despite the fact that lexical nominalisations have text-structuring functions that are similar to the passive in many respects (Nordrum 2007:28ff.).

Additionally, as can be expected in a noun structure, the ACTOR or CAUSE is typically defocused. In some cases, e.g. *construction, discussion, liberation,* the noun assumes middle-like meaning, or gives a very vague idea of any ACTOR. However, since an ACTOR or a CAUSE is rarely contextually present, this strategy is much characterised by reduced transitivity.

The fact is that shifts from passive to noun/nominalisation does not make the text more accessible. Both passive and nominalisation are markers of formality, making the text more impersonal, so the question is why this shift occurs. Nordrum (2007:112) suggests that there may be different cultural conventions for popular science texts which would cause shifts from English nominalisations to clauses in Swedish and Norwegian, making texts more accessible.

5.9.2 Adjectival and participial constructions

The closeness between verbal and adjectival participles sometimes results in difficulties to distinguish passives from adjectival predicative structures, and an intermediate category, the semi-passive, can be identified on a gradient scale (see section 1.5.2.1). Given the resemblance between the passive construction and the adjectival predicative construction, it is somewhat unexpected that 77% (34 out of 44) of the adjectival correspondences are non-participial structures (see Table 5.9). This difference is greater than that found in Swedish translations (section 4.10.2).

Table 5.9 Adjective constructions in English translations

	Fiction	Non-fiction	Total
Non-participial adjective	4	30	34
Participial adjective	0	6	6
Semi-passive structure	1	3	4
Total	5	39	44

It is typical of the majority of the non-participial instances that they defocus the ACTOR, i.e. there is a reduction in transitivity. Let us look at a few examples that illustrate this in various ways. First (5:68):

(5:68) En avreglering inom EG kan betyda att energipriset på sikt höjs och **utjämnas** mellan länderna, vilket betyder att energikostnaden minskar i betydelse som konkurrensfördel. (LU1/NF)

[may mean that energy price in the long term raise-S and neutralise-S between the countries]

With EC deregulation, the price of energy may move up as it becomes more **uniform** between countries, in which case energy costs will be less important as a competitive advantage. (LU1/T)

The cause (*En avreglering inom EG kan betyda att / With EC deregulation*) is expressed in the same sentence as the passive occurs but whereas the source text has two coordinated clauses and the events can be seen as simultaneous, the translation depicts the events as consecutive processes with middle meaning. This makes the CAUSE weaker in the translation.

Although most of the instances in this group use a form of *be* (e.g. *are detrimental, will be open, was inadequate* and *was contagious*), a few instances, such as (5:68) with *becomes* and (5:69) with *grew* use more lexical verbs.

(5:69) De gav heller inte den absoluta prioritet till nationell utveckling som biståndsgivarna antog. I stället **förstärktes** det paternalistiska draget. (CO1/NF)

[instead strengthened-S the paternalistic aspect]

Neither did they give national expansion the absolute priority that the donors had assumed. Instead, the paternalistic aspect **grew stronger**. (CO1/T)

The use of *grew* helps maintain the durative aspect of the event but *grew stronger* de-emphasises the agentive character in comparison with the SwO *förstärktes* ('strengthened-S'). Although the SwO shows a weak passive bordering to a middle, the EnT is clearly middle in meaning.

Another translation option that omits the agentive referent is *be subject to* (4 instances in this translation category):

(5:70) 27 § Om en arbetstagare **utsätts** för trakasserier som avses i 22 §, skall arbetsgivaren betala skadestånd till arbetstagaren för den kränkning som trakasserierna innebär. (JLIK1/NF)

[if an employee subject-S for harassment]

Section 27. If an employee **is subject to** harassment such as is referred to in Section 22, the employer shall pay compensation to the employee for the moral injury the harassment constitutes. (JLIK1/T)

Although the agentive referent is both unspecified and implicit in the source text of (5:70), the idea of an agentive is completely gone from the translation. Instead, with *be subject to something* meaning 'likely to be affected by something', this translation option clearly stresses the Subject's affected role, sometimes more, it seems, than the source text does.

A recurrent form (15 of 34 instances) which stands out in comparison with the other non-participial instances is the deverbal suffix -able (including three instances of the variant form -ible). This suffix is "fundamentally related to the passive, 'of the kind that can be V-ed" (Quirk et al. 1985:1555), so in contrast to the other adjectival correspondences discussed so far, and in contrast to many other non-congruent translation categories, the -able instances include an implicit or understood agentive entity. It seems that an unexpressed ACTOR is usually generic rather than specific, as in (5:71), which is also what Quirk et al. (ibid.) state. However, an expressed ACTOR/CAUSE may have specific reference, see (5:72):

(5:71) Med järnet fick de en nyttometall som blev allmän egendom, eftersom den **kunde utvinnas** inom landet och därför blev billig. (AA1/NF)

[since it could obtain-S]

Iron became a useful metal, a common property as it was **obtainable** in Sweden, and was therefore inexpensive. (AA1/T)

(5:72) Denna exposition är rimligen beroende av antalet barnkontakter och barngruppernas sammansättning och bör kunna modifieras av andra yttre faktorer som hygienisk standard och inomhusmiljö.(CP1/NF)

[and should can modify-S by]

This exposure is probably due to the number of contacts with other children and the composition of child groups, and it should be modifiable by other external factors such as hygienic standards and indoor environment. (CP1/T)

Both (5:71) and (5:72) express the potential ('can be') modality which was typical of the *-able* instances (Quirk et al. 1985:1556) in both the source text and the translation.

The next main adjectival category consists of participial adjectives. There were 6 occurrences altogether, five of which were *ed*-participles and one *ing*-participle. Participles have dual character, verbal and adjectival, and in contrast to verbal participles, adjectival ones lack the dynamic feature. They are stative and unless the passive is also stative, there will consequently be a decrease in transitivity because of the loss of the agentive referent. (5:73) shows a dynamic passive source and (5:74) gives the only instance that was clearly stative – a *vara*-passive.

(5:73) Barn som **ammas** har sålunda 10 ggr. högre nivåer än barn som flaskuppföds och ligger därmed på samma nivå som vuxna, aktiva rökare (Schulze-Hobein et al. 1992). (CP1/NF)

[children who breast-feed-S have]

Breast-fed children have levels ten times those of bottle-fed children and thus lie on the same level as active adult smokers (Schulze-Hobein et al. 1992). (CP1/T)

(5:74) Peab har under året även förvärvat Ångkraftsområdet i centrala Västerås. Det omfattar 40.000 kvadratmeter mark, bland annat bebyggt med ett ångkraftverk som **är taget** ur bruk. (PEA1/NF)

[built with a steam power station which is taken out use]

During the year, Peab also acquired the Ångkraft area in Västerås, consisting 40,000 square metres of land, including a **disused** steam power station. (PEA1/T)

Five of the six occurrences are premodifiers corresponding to a postmodifying relative clause in the Swedish source text (as in (5:73) and (5:74)).

In contrast to the purely adjectival participles discussed above, the last adjectival group contains instances that are part of an intermediate category on the gradient scale between core passives and adjectival predicative structures - the semi-passive (Quirk et al. 1985:168f.). They display both verbal and adjectival characteristics. A verbal interpretation of (5:75) is supported by the presence of an Agent whereas an active counterpart is questionable (?she admitted they had distressed her). (5:75) also matches one of the criteria often used for testing adjectival status: modification by very or rather (she had been rather distressed by them).

(5:75) Jag berättade om min barndoms lidelse och hon erkände att hon **hade plågats av den**, men inte så som jag hade trott. (IB1/NF)

I told her about my sufferings in childhood and she admitted she **had been distressed by them**, but not in the way I had thought. (IB1/T)

Example (5:76) meets another adjective criterion - that of replacing *be* by a lexical copula, here *seemed*, which conveys the meaning of *som om* ('as if') of the original. Further, what is an Agent in the SwO (*av kärlek* 'by love') becomes a quasi-Agent (*in love*) (Svartvik 1966:102) in the translation.

(5:76) Det är min egen lilla flicka, sa läkaren och lyste upp. Hans stränga ansikte såg ut som om det plötsligt **översköljts av kärlek**. (MS1/F)

'That's my own little daughter,' the doctor said, and his face lit up. His severe features **seemed** suddenly **bathed** in love. (MS1/T)

Both (5:75) and (5:76) happen to be [+Ag] in the SwO, but this is not a typical feature of the sources of this translation group. We can note, however, that both Agents are inanimate and figurative in meaning.

We can conclude that by being partly verbal, partly adjectival, semi-passives form an intermediate category but their indeterminacy is not of the same kind as that in middle constructions where the agentive/causal feature is absent.

5.9.3 Adverb construction

The three adverbs used (all three in non-fiction text) as correspondences of a source text passive are all lexically related to their sources. (5:77) shows shifts in clause organisation:

(5:77) Återkallelse skall dock inte ske, om det **kan antas** att den oriktiga uppgiften inte har inverkat på tillståndsbeslutet eller om andra särskilda skäl talar emot det. (UTL1/NF)

There shall be no revocation, however, if the incorrect particulars **have presumably** had no effect on the decision to award the permit, or if there are other special grounds which argue against revocation. (UTL1/T)

The source in (5:77) has an impersonal expletive *det* as Subject and the clausal Subject is rendered in normal Subject position in the translation. Both source and target texts signal a non-specified and implicit participant making assumptions. In (5:78), on the other hand, passive *avslutats* requires an ACTOR whilst the translation is middle in meaning, with no perceived ACTOR.

(5:78) Konkursen pågick i över ett år men skulderna blev Immanuel inte fri från ens när den **avslutats**. (KF1/NF)

The bankruptcy proceedings went on for more than a year, but Immanuel was not free of debts even when they were over. (KF1/T)

Both adverb renderings appear highly idiomatic in their contexts.

5.10 Translation into Paraphrase

Just as in the Swedish translations, the translation category Paraphrase covers instances whose structures are radically different from their passive sources, and do not fit into other correspondence groups. Some instances are highly (lexically and/or semantically) idiomatic whereas others are on the borderline to omission. For a sequence to be considered a Paraphrase, the propositional content of the passive construction should be kept in the translation, but it is often hard to determine when this is the case. Instances regarded as omissions are not included here since they do not add to a contrastive analysis.

Paraphrase is the fifth most frequent strategy overall (8.4%), so it cannot be regarded as a marginal strategy. However, the only clear pattern that could be identified among the 52 instances in fiction and non-fiction involves leaving out the VP. This was found in 30 instances, many of which seem to be the result of syntactic restructuring. (5:79) and (5:80) illustrate.

(5:79) Om Sverige inte skall ställa egna villkor finns möjligheten att stödja de som **ställs av IMF/Världsbanken**. (CO1/NF)

If Sweden does not set its own conditions it has the opportunity of supporting **those of the IMF and World Bank**, as it has done in most crisis countries. (CO1/T)

The passive is part of the relative clause which is rendered as a non-finite leaving out the passive VP.

(5:80) Hellre hade jag fallit död ner än att tvingas visa min belägenhet. (RJ1/F)

I'd rather have dropped down dead than show her the state I was in. (RJ1/T)

There was one instance of spoken, colloquial language:

(5:81) Bombay vände sitt fårade stenansikte mot Stanley och frågade kort: - Vad **straffas** han för? - Tyst! På ryggen! (LH1/F)

Bombay turned his furrowed stone face to Stanley and asked: "What him **punish** for?" "None of your business! On his back!" (LH1/T)

Lastly, (5:82) is on the borderline to omission since there is no trace of the action denoted by the passive VP.

(5:82) Starka borgar började **byggas** - i Nyköping och Stegeborg, Kalmar och Borgholm, Jönköping och Lödöse, Västerås och Örebro - där kungen bodde under sina resor i landet. (AA1/NF)

[great castles started to build-S]

Great castles date from this time - at Nyköping and Stegeborg, Kalmar and Borgholm, Jönköping and Lödöse, Västerås and Örebro - places where the King resided on his tours through the country. (AA1/T)

5.11 Translation into Non-finite past participle construction

Just as in Swedish translations (see section 4.12), the data contain renderings into a non-finite past participle construction, which is cannot be considered a non-passive translation but is neither, by definition, a passive construction. In the English translations, however, this strategy is much stronger than in the Swedish data. There are 133 instances (14 in fiction, 119 in non-fiction). I will give two typical examples to exemplify the category.

In (5:83), we find an s-passive in a finite relative clause in the SwO whose linear structure is largely retained in the ET.

(5:83) Samtidigt står biståndet sedan flera år för stora delar av driftbudgetens finansiering, dels som lokal valuta som **betalas** av de företag som utnyttjar importstöd och dels andra former av s k motvärdesfonder.. (CO1/NF)

At the same time development assistance had for several years answered for large parts of the operational budget's financing, both as local currency **paid** by the companies that use import support and also in other forms by the so-called equivalent value funds. (CO1/T)

The relative pronoun has been left out in the translation and the VP consists of a non-finite *-ed* participle only. Most of the occurrences following this pattern seem fairly uncomplicated to translate, and although both the relative pronoun/the clausal Subject and the passive auxiliary are missing, the translation normally communicates the same message as its source in a straightforward manner.

Not in all cases is the SwO passive in a subordinate clause. In some cases, the SwO has a passive main clause, and in the case of X, a subsequent relative subclause. To avoid a potential long and heavy Subject (there, an education which could be considered ... was given), the EnT reorganises the first half of the sentence:

(5:84) Domskolan var en betydande utbildningsanstalt, och den fick ett viktigt och högre

komplement i det *studium generale*, som grundades 1438 och var förlagt till franciskanernas, gråbrödernas kloster. Där **gavs** en undervisning, som kunde betraktas som likvärdig med ett samtida universitets ute i Europa. (LI1/NF)

The Cathedral School was an important educational establishment and it was complemented by the *studium generale*, started in 1438, which was in the hands of the Franciscans, at the Greyfriars' monastery. The education **given** there could be considered equal to that given by a European university of the time. (LI1/T)

This not very drastic shift affects the way information is presented. The SwO picks up the end of the rheme of the previous clause and thematises the place Adverbial, giving more prominence to *gråbrödernas kloster* ('the Greyfriar's monastery'). The EnT, on the other hand, thematises *the education* which reflects the main theme of the passage, and downtones the place component by placing it last in the Subject.

5.12 Summary of chapter

This chapter has analysed the non-congruent translation correspondences identified in English translations of Swedish original passives. The aims of the analysis were the same as for Chapter 4, namely to chart what constructions occur in translations, their degree of correspondence with the passive, and what characterises the relations. Table 5.10 presents the translation correspondence groups and their frequencies split by text type and by passive type. The five strongest groups in each text type and total are marked in bold.

Table 5.10 Overview of non-congruent translation correspondence groups in English translations of Swedish source text passives

English translation		Swedish fiction					Swedish non-fiction							
Correspondence group	sources				sources				Total					
	s-passive bli-passive vara-passive s-passive bli-passive vara-passive				passive									
VP/clause change	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
Closest active counterpart	34	26.4	1	0.8	1	0.8	98	20.0	0	-	1	0.2	135	21.8
Generic Subject + active verb	7	5.4	0	1	0	ı	2	0.4	0	1	0	-	9	1.5
Active transitive constr. with thematic structure retained	19	14.7	0	1	0	1	105	21.4	0	1	0	ı	124	20.0
Intransitive construction	29	22.5	0	1	0	-	70	14.3	0	ı	0	-	99	16.0
Reflexive construction	1	0.8	0	-	0	1	2	0.4	0	-	0	-	3	0.5
Copula construction	9	7.0	0	-	0	-	18	3.7	2	0.4	0	-	29	4.7
Lexical verb + past part.	2	1.6	0	-	0	-	4	0.8	0	-	0	-	6	1.0
Part of speech change														
Noun construction	12	9.3	1	0.8	0	-	98	20.0	1	0.2	2	0.4	114	18.4
Adjectival construction	5	3.9	0	-	0	-	38	7.8	0	-	1	0.2	44	7.1
Adverb construction	0	-	0	-	0	-	4	0.8	0	-	0	-	4	0.6
Paraphrase	8	6.2	0	-	0	-	44	9.0	0	-	0	-	52	8.4
Total		129 / 100%			490 / 100%				619 / 1	100%				

A total of 619 instances were analysed.⁸² The analysis shows that English makes use of the same strategies as were found in the Swedish translations. If we compare fiction with non-fiction in Table 5.10, we can see a certain variation in frequencies within text types. For example, Active transitive clause with thematic structure retained and Nominal construction are stronger strategies in non-fiction than in fiction, while Closest active counterpart and Intransitive construction are more frequent in fiction than in non-fiction. The major strategies can be characterised as follows.

Closest active counterpart

The Closest active counterpart is the strongest strategy (21.8% in total) in the English translations. It is particularly strong in fiction where it reaches 27.9%,

⁸² The table excludes 115 instances (fiction 11, non-fiction 104) of zero translation in which the passive construction was considered entirely omitted, and 133 instances (fiction 14, non-ficiton 119) of non-finite past participle construction, which are considered neither congruent nor non-congruent translations (briefly discussed in section 5.11).

which is the highest score among all non-congruent correspondence groups in the study. Since CAC is the strongest process also in Swedish fiction translations, we can conclude that this is the preferred non-congruent option in fiction in both languages. There are several cross-language similarities: the majority (78% in EnT) of CACs originate in [-Ag] passives in source texts and the new active Subjects are either implicit or explicit in the context (but not as passive Agents). This emphasises the importance of taking a wider approach, not looking at the passive clause only, when working with the passive. When the active Subject referent is only implicit in the original text, this regularly makes the translation more explicit than its source text. Hence, an increase in degree of transitivity is characteristic of this strategy. Another similarity is the preference for animate Subjects, possibly a strong reason behind this translation strategy. A systematic characteristic is also the thematic restructuring that follows from the syntactic restructuring in this strategy.

• Active transitive construction with thematic structure retained

An active transitive construction retaining the thematic structure of the source text is the second strongest strategy overall (20%) and the strongest non-fiction strategy (21.4%) in the EnT. Just as in SwT, the syntactic shift is typically enabled by a lexical change to a verb with different argument structure. The syntactic shifts often concern sentence openings and Subjects in that an initial Adverbial in the SwO becomes a Subject in the EnT. This typically gives this Subject a strong causal role, which is rarely found in the Swedish data.

Noun construction

The Noun construction is the third strongest overall (18.4%) and the second strongest in non-fiction (20.6%). This strategy contains a variety of complex clause-structural shifts and typically thematic restructuring. Some of the shifts, e.g. turning a passive construction into a nominalisation in Subject/theme position, was found only in the EnT, not in SwT. The noun constructions in the EnT data were generally more heterogeneous than those found in the SwT material.

Intransitive construction

Being the fourth strongest strategy, the Intransitive construction is less frequent overall in the EnT material than it is in the SwT data, where it is the strongest strategy. It is, however, the second strongest in fiction in EnT (22.5%). The strategy is characterised by fairly weak source text passives with indefinite or vague ACTORS. The is still a clear reduction in agentivity and transitivity, since the EnT data typically use inanimate Subjects and Intransitive middle constructions denoting spontaneous events.

6. Summary and conclusions

This final chapter will conclude the thesis by summarising the main findings, discussing the networks found, and by suggesting some areas of further research. The main aims of the study have been to describe features of the passive construction and its uses in English and Swedish, and to chart the relationship between the passive and related constructions in the form of a network. More specifically, the following questions were asked:

- What is the status of the passive in the registers investigated in English and Swedish? Status was considered primarily in terms of frequencies.
- What differences and similarities exist in the use of the passive in the languages and in the registers studied?
- What constructions, apart from the passive, are included in a (voice) network in English and Swedish, and what is the nature of their relations to the passive?
- What differences and similarities are there in the networks across the languages and across the registers?

I will first summarise the main findings of the quantitative study and then turn to the investigation of translation correspondences outlining and comparing the networks found.

The main findings of the quantitative analysis in Chapter 3 can be summarised as follows. The *be*-passive and the *s*-passive are the dominant and unmarked passive forms in English and Swedish respectively. The *get*-passive, the *bli*-passive, and the *vara*-passive show very low frequencies. The passive was found to be most frequent in Swedish non-fiction data, where it is more than twice as frequent as in the English non-fiction material. English fiction is stronger than Swedish fiction. There is considerable variation in frequency within the text types. More than 80% of the passives are [-Ag], with a slightly higher proportion in Swedish than in English. Inanimate participants were in majority both as Subjects and as Agents.

The contrastive analysis carried out in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of the translation correspondences showed that a variety of constructions are related to the passive. We can thereby conclude that both languages possess a number of constructions that are used as non-passive alternatives in discourse. The analysis of the corresponding constructions showed syntactic, semantic as well as functional connections, which exhibit both cross-language and language-specific differences and commonalities.

The network identified in the Swedish translations are shown in Figure 6.1, which attempts to illustrate the correspondences as a network capturing the strength of connections. The figure shows the same correspondence groups and frequency rates as were shown in Table 4.8. However, in Table 4.8, the frequencies were split across source passive type but in Figure 6.1, they are organised according to their origins in [-Ag] or [+Ag] passives. A thick line indicates a strong relationship, a thin line indicates a medium relationship, and a broken line indicates a weak relationship. The correspondences are given in descending strength from the top.

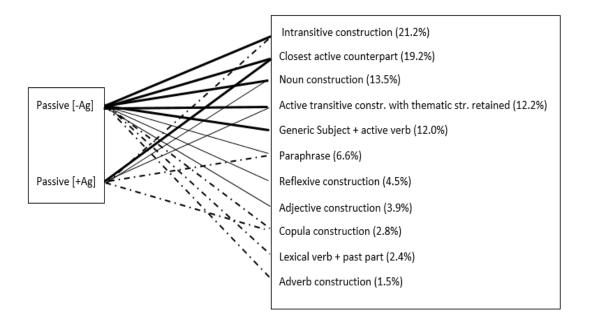


Figure 6.1 Correspondence network for English passives \rightarrow Swedish translations

In Swedish translations, the strongest relations were found between the [-Ag] passive and the Intransitive construction, the Closest active counterpart, the Noun construction, the Activ transitive clause with thematic structure retained, and the Generic Subject + active verb. Most processes are connected only to [-Ag] passives or only have a weak connection to [+Ag] ones. The only process that shows a strong connection to [+Ag] passives is the CAC, which is not unexptected given the typical clausal reorganisation that takes place in this process. However, most of the CACs originate in [-Ag] passives, and the group contains also less prototypical restructuring. Both Noun constructions and Active transitive clauses, which are strong processes, display only medium connections to the [+Ag] passive. However, we know that there are far more [-Ag] passives than [+Ag] passives in the source texts, which is reflected in the

correspondences, and not all correspondences are at all connected to [+Ag] passives.

The pattern in the other direction, from Swedish passives to English translations is slightly different (Figure 6.2). Although, the top processes have their strongest connections to [-Ag] passives, most processes are also related to [+Ag] ones, i.e. there is a wider network in this direction.

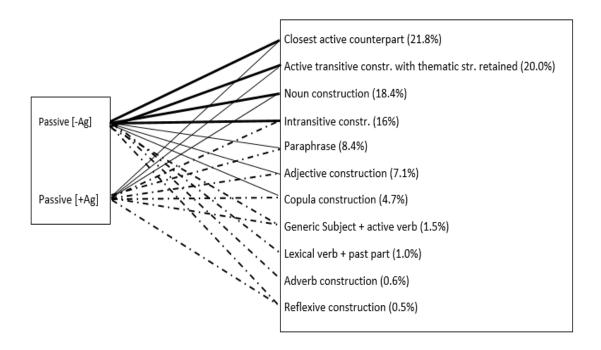


Figure 6.2 Correspondence network for Swedish passives \rightarrow English translations

Comparing the networks (En \rightarrow Sw, Sw \rightarrow En) we find a high degree of symmetry. First, the top four processes are identical and display similarity in frequencies. These major processes are further discussed below (Table 6.1). Moreover, there is a clear gap in both languages after the five or six top processes to those that display lower percentages.

There is also a certain degree of asymmetry. Among the minor processes, Generic Subject + active verb is a far weaker construction in the English translations than in the Swedish ones, which confirms the status of generic *man* as stronger than its English counterparts. The Reflexive construction is hardly used at all in the English translations, but shows medium strength in Swedish. Since we have only very few occurrences of the minor processes, it is hard to establish clear patterns. What we can say is that, in the comparison made here, these processes are weaker. They share some of the properties found with major processes and some of them, e.g. the copula construction, is highly frequent in language in general, but it is not a strong correspondent of the passive.

It is striking that the top four strategies in the two languages are the same. Together, the top five strategies in SwT account for 78% of all the non-congruent Swedish translations, and in the English translations, the top five strategies cover 85% (Table 6.1). Two of them, Closest active counterpart and Noun construction, were expected to be fairly strong. CAC was expected since it is formally the closest counterpart of the passive. By being on a par with the passive on a stylistic level, the Noun construction, and in particular nominalisations, would also be expected as a fairly strong corresponding process. However, the high frequencies of Intransitive constructions and Active transitive clauses with thematic structure retained were more surprising.

Table 6.1 Major processes in SwT and EnT

SwT	%	EnT	%
Intransitive construction	21.2	Closest active counterpart	21.8
Closest active counterpart	19.2	Active trans. clause with thematic structure retained	20.0
Noun construction	13.5	Noun construction	18.4
Active trans. clause with thematic structure retained	12.2	Intransitive construction	16.0
Generic Subject + active verb	12.0	Paraphrase	8.4
Total	78.1		84.6

It was previously hypothesised that frequent use of the passive should correlate with few functionally similar non-passive options, and the opposite, less frequent use of the passive should correlate with greater availability of non-passive alternatives. In the present data, the passive is, overall, a stronger construction in Swedish than in English, which should point to less variation in non-passive usage in Swedish, and the opposite in English. We have seen that there is language-internal variation within the networks and within the individual processes, but on an overall level, the hypothesis cannot be confirmed in this study. The rate of congruent translation is practically identical in both languages (69.3% and 69.6%, see Table 4.1 and Table 5.1), and the languages display rather similar networks of non-passive uses.

The high frequencies of Intransitive constructions and Active transitive clauses with thematic structure retained can be related to one of the strongest features identified in the contrastive analysis, that of keeping the linear organisation of information, i.e. theme-rheme structure constant. Although there was a certain variation within processes, all processes except Closest active

counterpart, Intransitive middle s-forms in Swedish, and Generic Subject + active verb showed overall strong tendencies of keeping the thematic structure of the source text largely constant. A number of different strategies for doing this were found, many of which used very subtle means. At the same time there were sometimes shifts in the prominence of participants and the unfolding of actions because of accompanying shifts in lexis. The study has shown that the discourse organising functions are important, and confirms findings of several previous studies that textual structure often overrides syntactic concerns when the two compete.

Another important finding is to do with degree of transitivity and whether it is reduced, constant, or increased. It was found that the majority of processes exhibit reduced transitivity. Reduction was the typical pattern in Intransitive constructions, except in the subtype Intransitive agentive construction, in Noun constructions, Reflexive constructions, Copula constructions, and Adjective constructions. The Generic Subeject + active verb strategy typically increased transitivity due to the addition of an ACTOR, although generic, active Subject. The two large processes Closest active counterpart and Active transitive clause with thematic structure retained give a more varied picture. They contain a wide variety of sub-strategies, and display all three options (reduced, constant and increased).

Reduced transitivity was achieved by different means. Changes in lexis, for example, from a dynamic to a stative verb or to a verb that reduces the number of arguments, and shifts in participant animacy were highly frequent. Such changes frequently entailed the loss of an ACTOR, sometimes resulting in a new interpretation of the content.

The strength of the Intransitive construction in both languages and in both text types was unexptected. The result gave rise to two interpretations of the nature of the passive-intransitive relation. Recall that the passive construction and the Intransitive middle construction are semantically related through the PATIENT Subject, but they differ in the lack of an ACTOR or CAUSE in the Intransitive middle. First, many instances that use an Intransitive construction, and in particular an Intransitive middle construction do, in fact, have an agentive or causal entity in the context. Hence, with the agentive element given elsewhere in the context, it is fully possible for the writer to use an Intransitive middle construction, which commonly depicts the event as taking place spontaneously or automatically, i.e. without an ACTOR. This means that, at clause level, there is detransitivisation, but looking at the item in its context, it becomes clear that it has a function very similar to the [-Ag] passive.

The second interpretation of the Intransitive construction as it appears in the translated data also strengthens its connection to the [-Ag] passive but in a different way. It was shown that many of the source text passives were 'weak' ones, displaying a low degree of agentivity. They were very similar to middle meaning, which was clearly reflected in Intransitive middle translations. These translations completely defocused the ACTOR, and there was very little difference in meaning. Again, the possibility to use the passive with a very vague idea of an ACTOR or CAUSE might be one of the reasons for the very high passive frequency in the non-fiction data. At the same time, such usage runs counter to the advice often given in style guides of avoiding the passive.

The contrastive research method used in this study has allowed us to study the use of the passive in English and Swedish in a rather detailed manner. It has been shown that the passive has a large family, whose members are related to each other in an intricative way, and we have been able to point to both differences and similarities. We have thus gained insight also into the related constructions, from the point of view of how they are used as correspondeces of the passive. This type of information is valuable for translators, who might be struggling to find suitable translation options. There are pedagogical implications for language teachers and for authors of grammar books. Especially contrastive grammar books rarely treat, for example, the middle construction types in relation to the passive. Greater awareness of both the functions of the passive and of what alternative constructions could be suitable in a given communication situation could help those who are doubtful about using the passive at all.

The results also point to issues that need more research. As was pointed out in the introductory chapter, there are signals that passive use is decreasing in English, perhaps due to an on-going colloqualisation process in the languages. There is a great need for more recent data to study this potential development, and also to investigate the current status of the passive in Swedish. The present study has taken a broad approach to discover the network of the passive, and we have seen that a number of factors come into play. However, the complex relationships between the constructions in the network could also be studied from a narrower perspective. For example, a study of semantic event types of both congruent and non-congruent constructions might give a clearer picture of the relations. Further, a lexical perspective focusing on high frequency verbs in the passive could answer some remaining questions.

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Corpora

The British National Corpus

http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/, http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/

The Corpus of Global Web-based English

http://corpus.byu.edu/glowbe/

The English-Swedish Parallel Corpus

http://www.sol.lu.se/engelska/corpus/corpus/espc.html

The Korp Corpus

https://spraakbanken.gu.se/korp/#?stats_reduce=word&cqp=%5B%5D

Online dictionaries

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English

http://www.ldoceonline.com/about.html

Macmillan Dictionary

http://www.macmillandictionary.com/

Norstedts orböcker

http://www.ord.se/

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary

http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/

Oxford Dictionaries

http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/

Oxford English Dictionary

http://www.oed.com/

Svenska Akademiens ordbok

http://www.saob.se/

Svenska Akademiens ordlista

http://www.svenskaakademien.se/svenska-spraket/svenska-akademiens-ordlista-saol

Websites

The Chronicle of Higher Education

http://chronicle.com/

Institutet för språk och folkminnen

http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se

The Plain Language Association International

http://plainlanguagenetwork.org/plain-language/what-is-plain-language/

The Plain Language Commission

http://www.clearest.co.uk/,

Appendices

Appendix I

The texts from the ESPC used in the study (alphabetically by author; based on Altenberg et al. 2001).

Fiction texts

Author Translator	Title original Title translation	Publisher original Publisher translation	Place/Year orig. Place/Year trans.	Code
English originals:				
Atwood, Margaret	Cat's Eye	McClelland & Stewart	Toronto, 1988	MA1
Maria Ekman	Kattöga	Prisma	Stockholm, 1989	
Barnes, Julian	Talking It Over	Jonathan Cape	London, 1991	JB1
Ingvar Skogsberg	Tala ut	Forum	Stockholm, 1992	
Brink, André	The Wall of the Plague	Fontana Paperbacks	London, 1984	BR1
Nils Olof Lindgren	Pestmuren	Forum	Stockholm, 1984	
Crace, Jim	Arcadia	Jonathan Cape	London, 1992	JC1
Mats Hörmark	Arkadien	Forum	Stockholm, 1994	
Drabble, Margaret Else Lundgren	The Middle Ground Mellanläge	Weidenfeld & Nicholson Trevi	London, 1980 Stockholm, 1981	MD1
Heller, Joseph	Picture This	G.P. Putnam's Sons	New York, 1988	ЈН1
Caj Lundgren	Se bilden	Gedin	Stockholm, 1989	
James, Phyllis Dorothy Elsa Svensson	Devices and Desires Böjelser och begär	Faber & Faber Wahlström & Widstrand	London, 1989 Stockholm, 1991	PDJ1
Lodge, David	Nice Work	Secker & Warburg	London, 1988	DLO1
Annika Preis	Snyggt jobbat	Bonnier Alba	Stockholm, 1990	
Naylor, Gloria Annika Preis	The Women of Brewster Place Kvinnorna på Brewster Place	Hodder & Stoughton Albert Bonniers Förlag	London, 1980 Stockholm, 1984	GN1
Okri, Ben	The Famished Road	Jonathan Cape	London, 1991	BO1
Jan Ristarp	Den omättliga vägen	Wiken	Höganäs, 1993	
Tyler, Anne Sonja Bergvall	The Accidental Tourist Den tillfällige turisten	Alfred A. Knopf Trevi	New York, 1985 Stockholm, 1986	AT1
Weldon, Fay Rose-Marie Nielsen	The Heart of the Country Landets hjärta	Hutchinson Bra Böcker	London, 1987 Höganäs, 1988	FW1

Swedish originals:				
Ekman, Kerstin Joan Tate	Händelser vid vatten Blackwater	Albert Bonniers Förlag Chatto & Windus	Stockholm, 1993 London, 1995	KE1
Enquist, Per Olov Anna Paterson	Nedstörtad ängel Downfall	Norstedts Förlag Quartet Books	Stockholm, 1985 London, 1986	PE1
Gripe, Maria Rika Lesser	Agnes Cecilia Agnes Cecilia	Bonniers Juniorförlag Harper & Row	Stockholm, 1981 New York, 1990	MG1
Guillou, Jan Thomas Keeland	Fiendens fiende Enemy's Enemy	Norstedts Förlag Alfred A. Knopf	Stockholm, 1989 New York, 1992	JG1
Gustafsson, Lars Tom Geddes	En kakelsättares eftermiddag A Tiler's Afternoon	Natur och Kultur Harvill	Stockholm, 1991 London, 1993	LG1
Hagerfors, Lennart Anselm Hollo	Valarna i Tanganyikasjön The Whales in Lake Tanganyika	Norstedts Förlag Penguin Books	Stockholm, 1985 London, 1991	LH1
Jersild, Per Christian Rika Lesser	En levande själ A Living Soul	Albert Bonniers Förlag Norvik Press	Stockholm, 1980 Norwich, 1988	PCJ1
Jönsson, Reidar Eivor Martinus	Mitt liv som hund My Life as a Dog	Norstedts Förlag Faber & Faber	Stockholm, 1983 London, 1989	RJ1
Larsson, Björn Laurie Thompson	Den keltiska ringen The Celtic Ring	Albert Bonniers Förlag Seafarer Books	Stockholm, 1992 Woodbridge, 1997	BL1
Pleijel, Agneta Joan Tate	Hundstjärnan The Dog Star	Norstedts Förlag Peter Owen	Stockholm, 1989 London, 1991	AP1
Scherer, Maria Katherine Talbot & Peter Ford	Kejsarvalsen The Emperor Waltz	Trevi Quartet Books	Stockholm, 1980 London, 1989	MS1
Tunström, Göran Paul Hoover	Juloratoriet The Christmas Oratorio	Albert Bonniers Förlag David R. Godine	Stockholm, 1983 Boston, 1995	GT1

Non-fiction texts

Author Translator	Title original Title translation	Publisher original Publisher translation	Place/Year orig. Place/Year trans.	Code
English originals:				
ABB	ABB Group Annual	ABB Ltd	Zürich, 2000	ABB1

	Report 1999 ABB-koncernens årsredovisning 1999	ABB Ltd	Zürich, 2000	
Andrew, Christopher & Oleg Gordievsky	KGB. The Inside Story.	Hodder & Stoughton Albert Bonniers Förlag	London, 1990 Stockholm, 1991	CAOG 1
Karin Malmsjö	KGB inifrån			
AstraZeneca	Annual Report 1999 Årsredovisning 1999	AstraZeneca AstraZeneca	London, 2000 London, 2000	AZ1
Council of the European Union	Agreement on the European Economic Area Avtalet om europeiska samarbetsområdet	Offce for Offical Publications of the European Communities Utrikesdepartementets handelsavdelning	Luxembourg, 1992 Stockholm, 1992	AEEA1
Council of the European Union Robert Crofts	Treaty on European Union (The Treatry of Maastricht) Fördrag om Europeiska unionen (Maastrichtfördraget)	Office for Official Publications of the European Communities Utrikesdepartementets handelsavdelning	Luxembourg, 1992 Stockholm, 1993	MAAS1
Ferguson, Robert Nille Lindgren	Henry Miller: A Life Henry Miller: Ett liv	Hutchinson Wahlström & Widstrand	London, 1991 Stockholm, 1992	RF1
Grossman, Susan Ragnar Strömberg	Essential London London. Allt du behöver veta	The Automobile Association Norstedts Förlag	Basingstoke, 1994 Stockholm, 1994	SUG1
Lacey, Robert Hans Dahlberg	Ford. The Man and the Machine Ford. En bildynasti	Little, Brown & Co. Legenda	Boston, 1986 Stockholm, 1988	RL1
Mayle, Peter Carla Wiberg	A Year in Provence Ett år i Provence	Hamish Hamilton Richter	London, 1989 Malmö, 1991	PM1
Sagan, Carl Lars Adelskogh	Cosmos Kosmos	Random House Askild & Kärnekull	New York, 1980 Stockholm, 1981	CSA1
Sampson, Anthony Ann Henning	The Money Lenders Bankirernas värld	Hodder & Stoughton Wahlström & Widstrand	London, 1982 Stockholm, 1982	AS1
Sanger, Clyde Ulrich Herz	Safe and Sound: Disarmament and Development in the Eighties Nedrustning,	Zed Press Svenska FN-förbundet	London, 1982 Stockholm, 1982	CS1

	utveckling, säkerhet			
Swedish originals:				
Arbetsmarknads- departementet	Utlänningslag Aliens Act	SFS 1989: 529 Ministry of Labour	Stockholm, 1989 Stockholm, 1990	UTL1
Bergman, Ingmar Joan Tate	Laterna magica The Magic Lantern	Norstedts Förlag Penguin Books	Stockholm, 1987 Harmondsw. 1988	IB1
Cedergren, J, & B. Odén Struan Robertson	I krisens spår. Förändrat bistånd till de fattigaste länderna In the Wake of Crisis. Changes in Development Assistance to the Poorest African Nations	Styrelsen för internationell utveckling (SIDA) Swedish Development Agency (SIDA)	Stockholm, 1991 Stockholm, 1991	CO1
Civildepartementet	Jämställdhetslag Act Concerning Equality Between Men and Women.	SFS 1991: 433 Ministry of Culture	Stockholm, 1991 Stockholm, 1992	JLIK1
Fant, Kenne Marianne Ruuth	Alfred Bernhard Nobel Alfred Nobel. A Biography	Norstedts Förlag Arcade Publishing	Stockholm, 1991 New York, 1993	KF1
Finansdepartementet Patrick Hort	Långtidsutredningen The Medium Term Survey of the Swedish Economy	Allmänna förlaget Allmänna förlaget	Stockholm, 1992 Stockholm, 1992	LU1
Ingvar, Lars (red.) Muriel Spalding Larsson	Lund tusenårsstaden Lund One Thousand Years	Lunds kommun Municipal Council of Lund	Lund, 1990 Lund, 1990	LI1
Lindqvist, Herman Alan Tapsell	En vandring genom den svenska historien A Journey Through Swedish History	Nordiska Museet/Statens historiska museum Nordiska Museet/Statens historiska museum	Stockholm, 1993 Stockholm, 1994	HL1
Peab	Årsredovisning 1998 Annual Report 1998	Peab Peab	Förslöv, 1999 Förslöv, 1999	PEA1
Petersson, Christer Alan Crozier	Förskolebarn. Barnomsorg, sjukdomar och läkemedel.	Author's manuscript Department of Community Health Sciences, Lund Univ.	Lund, 1994 Lund, 1994	CP1

	Preschool Children. Day-care, Diseases, and Drugs.			
Volvo	Årsredovisning 1998 Annual Report 1998	Volvo Volvo	Göteborg, 1999 Göteborg, 1999	VOL1
Åberg, Alf Gordon Elliot	Sveriges historia i fickformat A Concise History of Sweden	Natur och Kultur Natur och Kultur	Stockholm, 1985 Stockholm, 1991	AA1

Appendix II

Regular expression used on part of speech tagged original non-aligned text files for extracting data from the ESPC.

Regular expressions for English periphrastic passives		
No. of words	Regular expression	
between lemma		
and participle		
form		
0 words	lemma="(be get)"[^>]+>[^<]+ <w [^="">]+ pos="EN[\t"]</w>	
1 word	lemma="(be get)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+</w></w>	
	pos="EN[\t"]	
2 words	lemma="(be get)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w< td=""></w<></w>	
	[^>]+>)[^<]+ <w [^="">]+ pos="EN[\t"]</w>	
3 words	lemma="(be get)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w< td=""></w<></w>	
	[^>]+>)([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+ pos="EN[\t"]</w></w>	
4 words	lemma="(be get)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w< td=""></w<></w>	
	[^>]+>)([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+</w></w></w>	
	pos="EN[\t"]	
5 words	lemma="(be get)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w< td=""></w<></w>	
	[^>]+>)([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w< td=""></w<></w>	
	[^>]+>)[^<]+ <w [^="">]+ pos="EN[\t"]</w>	

Regular expression	ons for Swedish periphrastic passives
No. of words between lemma and participle form	Regular expression
0 words	lemma="(vara bli)"[^>]+>[^<]+ <w [^="">]+ pos="[^"]*AD[\t"]</w>
1 word	lemma="(vara bli)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+ pos="[^"]*AD[\t"]</w></w>
2 words	lemma="(vara bli)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+>w [^>]+>pos="[^"]*AD[\t"]</w></w></w>
3 words	l lemma="(vara bli)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+ pos="[^"]*AD[\t"]</w></w></w></w>
4 words	lemma="(vara bli)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+ pos="[^"]*AD[\t"]</w></w></w></w></w>
5 words	lemma="(vara bli)"[^>]+>([^<>]+ <w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)([^<>]+<w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+>)[^<]+<w [^="">]+>0[^*]*AD[\t"]</w></w></w></w></w></w></w></w>

Regular expressions for Swedish morphological passives		
present tense (e.g. betalas) s		