

*The Norwegian Verb Holde and the
English Verb Hold*

A Corpus-based Contrastive Study

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Kvinnfolkene holdt seg ikke for god for å snakke om salig Hjertrud. (HW2)

The women did not feel it was beneath them to talk about dear, departed Hjertrud.

A doyley-covered plate held an assortment of biscuits. (ST1)

En asjett prydet med en papirserviett oppbød et utvalg fylte kjeks.

Tre biler bråbremses, og en buss holder på å parkere inni Møllhausens konditori. (LSC1)

Three cars slam on the brakes, and a bus almost parks inside Møllhausen's Bakery.

"We do n't hold with caffeinated beverages, but I'd be happy to pour you some 7-Up, if you like." (SG1)

"Vi bruker ikke koffeinholdige drikker, men du kan få et glass 7-Up hvis du vil."

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Abstract

This study uses occurrences taken from the English Norwegian Parallel Corpus to contrast the most frequent uses of the Norwegian verb *holde* and the English verb *hold*. The objective is to find the degree of similarity (or dissimilarity) between the two lemmas. The first finding is that *holde* and *hold* have a relatively low mutual correspondence rate (the rate at which they correspond to one another in the translation). This low rate indicates that they are often not felt to be translation equivalents.

A semantic analysis of the verbs shows that that Norwegian *holde* is more polysemous than English *hold*. The Norwegian verb has a number of unique meanings that the English verb cannot express as well as meanings that occur much more frequently and with a much wider range of participants. The meaning that represents the most significant difference between the two verbs is the Norwegian 'sustainment' meaning. In these cases, Norwegian *holde* expresses roughly the same meaning as the English verbs *keep*, *remain*, and *stay*.

A similar meaning occurs with English *hold* as well, but in a much more restricted way. The English verb is more limited in the types of meanings it can express, and in the majority of cases, it expresses the meaning 'physical contact' (similar to *carry*), a meaning that is also commonly expressed by the Norwegian verb. There are a few meanings that are unique (or at least more prominent) for the English verb, but these are all infrequent.

In terms of syntactic behavior, it is clear that Norwegian *holde* has developed further in the direction of a function word than its English counterpart. It is more typically part of phrases and it more typically exhibits bleaching of meaning (i.e. reduction or loss of semantic content). In extreme cases, the Norwegian verb has become grammaticalized, meaning that it has lost its basic meaning to adopt a grammatical function. Some findings have indicated that the English verb is felt to have stronger inherent meaning than its Norwegian cognate, even when they are used in similar ways. Norwegian *holde* tends to have more elements around it that help make its meaning clearer.

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Notational Conventions

This thesis will use *italics* to refer to lemmas and phrases in a general sense, and also to refer to meanings (e.g. the lemma *holde* is sometimes used to express the meaning *carry*). ‘Apostrophes’ will be used to refer to a specific instance of a word or phrase, and also to refer to the semantic categories set up in chapter 5 (e.g. the verb ‘held’ in example (0-1) below belongs to the ‘physical contact’ category)

When an occurrence from the ENPC is provided, a reference is given in parenthesis (as in (0-1)). The translation is usually given below. If there is a *T* at the end of the reference, the instance represents a translation, and the source is given below (as in (0-2))

(0-1) David and Dorothy held Harriet's hands. (DL1)

David og Dorothy holdt Harriets hender.

(0-2) David og Dorothy holdt Harriets hender. (DL1T)

David and Dorothy held Harriet's hands.

I will use **bold** writing to refer to patterns (e.g. the **HOLD n with adv** pattern).

List of Abbreviations

ENPC	English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus
CL	Contrastive Linguistics
MC	Mutual correspondence
OED	Oxford English Dictionary

1 Introduction

1.1 Aim and Research Question

The aim of this study is to compare and contrast the Norwegian verb *holde* and the English verb *hold* as they are used in present-day language. The two verbs are closely related. They are cognates, which means that they have a common etymological origin¹ and undoubtedly a connection in meaning. The Norwegian-English dictionary *Engelsk blå ordbok* (2002) gives the cognates as the number one suggested translation of each other.² A natural assumption for those who speak both languages is probably that they are translation equivalents.

On the other hand, a quick look at occurrences in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (the ENPC)³ makes it clear that *holde* and *hold* do not always correspond when comparing original texts with their translations. It is clear that both verbs express meanings that cannot be expressed by the other, and that they often occur in diverging syntactic structures. The purpose of this thesis is to uncover the extent and significance of such differences, and to find out if the two lemmas can be classified as translation equivalents or not. The following research question may be formulated: *to what extent do the Norwegian verb holde and the English verb hold differ in terms of meaning and use in present-day language?* To answer this question, it is not enough to establish diverging uses of each verb; the significance of such diverging uses must also be assessed.

The main source of material for this study will be the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (the ENPC). The main focus of this thesis will be on the meaning that is expressed by the two verbs. Occurrences in the material will be mapped according to the meanings that are expressed, and then compared cross-linguistically. If the meanings predominantly overlap, it may be concluded that the two lemmas are very similar, and that they can be classified as translation equivalents. If, on the other hand, significant meanings are discovered that do not overlap in the two languages, it must be concluded that the verbs are more different than initially assumed.

Another aspect of the analysis is form, i.e. the grammatical context in which *hold(e)*⁴ occurs. As will be argued in section 2.4, there seems to be a strong connection between the meaning that an item expresses and its form. As such, the study of grammatical context

¹ For a closer description of the etymological origin of the lemmas, see section 1.4.

² I.e. *holde* is the first suggested translation for *hold* and vice versa.

³ An overview of the ENPC is given in section 3.1.1.

⁴ The form *hold(e)* will be used to refer to both English *hold* and Norwegian *holde* in this thesis.

could provide valuable insight into the behavior of the two lemmas. The significance of non-overlapping uses of the verbs (both in terms of form and meaning) will be assessed based to how often they occur in the material. The underlying assumption is that frequent uses are more significant than infrequent uses, something that marks this thesis as descriptive in nature (see the discussion on characteristic features of corpus linguistics in section 1.2 below).

A third aspect of the analysis of *hold(e)*, which in a sense encompasses both form and meaning, is the study of translation correspondences between Norwegian and English. The ENPC allows for the study of parallel Norwegian and English texts, i.e. Norwegian translations of English texts and English translations of Norwegian texts. The corpus makes it possible to find out what *hold(e)* has been translated into, and what the source is when *hold(e)* has been used as a translation. How often *holde* and *hold* correspond to each other in translation (as well as the nature of the alternative translations and sources) is valuable information for this study. It is good supplement to first two approaches, but forms an analysis in its own right as well.

A study which analyzes all instances of *hold(e)* in the ENPC in light of these three aspects (meaning, form, and translation correspondences) should be able to assess the degree of similarity between the two lemmas. Before undertaking the analysis, it is constructive to predict, as far as possible, what kind of results can be expected. After a quick look at the occurrences in the ENPC, combined with a study of relevant literature, I have arrived at four hypotheses regarding the cross-linguistic relationship between *holde* and *hold*.

1. Since the two lemmas have the same origin, their most typical and/or frequent meanings will overlap. In these instances, the lemmas will be used to translate one another.
2. *Holde* and *hold* are both highly polysemous lemmas that have developed independently of each other over a long period of time. Diverging meaning extensions will have developed.
3. It is generally agreed that frequent and polysemous lemmas are more likely to showcase bleaching of meaning as well as grammaticalization (see section 1.4 for a discussion of these concepts). There will be examples of both in the material.
4. As mentioned above, meaning and form are related. The instances in which *holde* and *hold* differ semantically will be instances in which they differ syntactically. Likewise, similar meanings will have similar form.

1.2 Corpus Linguistics

The present study is a corpus study. Sinclair (2004) defines a corpus as

a collection of pieces of language text in electronic form, selected according to external criteria to represent, as far as possible, a language or language variety as a source of data for linguistic research.

It is clear from this definition that the way in which the texts of a corpus have been compiled is central. Sinclair's (2004) definition stresses that corpus texts must be selected according to external criteria. Although this is not stressed in other definitions, there seems to be a general understanding that a corpus must be compiled in a principled way and with linguistic analysis in mind (McEnery and Hardie 2012 : 1-2; McEnery and Wilson 1996 : 22; Biber et al. 1998 : 12). Kennedy (1998 : 3-4) disputes the fact that a corpus must be compiled with linguistic analysis in mind, but still stresses that corpus compilation is 'systematic, planned and structured'.

The concept of representativeness is central to corpus compilation. A corpus is only a sample of the total output of a language variety, and will necessarily be skewed in some way (McEnery and Wilson 1996 : 22). A corpus aims to counteract such imbalance by making its sample as representative as possible of the language variety it represents (ibid : 21). As McEnery and Hardie (2012 : 10) note, such representativeness is a matter of degree, and no sample corpus can ever be completely representative. A final point in Sinclair's (2004) definition of a corpus is that the texts are in 'electronic form'. Although exceptions do exist, this is a common feature of almost all modern corpora (McEnery and Wilson 1996 : 23).

A major advantage of working with a corpus is the fact that it allows the researcher to draw more objective conclusions than through introspective analysis alone (Svartvik et al. 1982 : 11). It also allows a linguistic study to achieve 'total accountability of linguistic features' (ibid : 11), i.e. account for all uses of an item, at least if the corpus is sufficiently large and representative.

Corpus Linguistics includes any linguistic study that uses a corpus as a basis for its methodology.⁵ In other words, Corpus Linguistics is, strictly speaking, not a linguistic theory or even a separate branch of linguistics. Rather, it is a methodology and a set of tools that can be used by many types of linguists (cf. Kennedy 1998 : 7). At the same time, Corpus Linguistics is characterized by a number of features. For instance, corpus studies

⁵ Corpus Linguistics also includes other kinds of work related to corpora, for instance the creation and development of a corpus and the development of corpus tools (Kennedy 1998 : 8-9). These aspects will not be discussed in this thesis.

typically look at the frequencies of linguistic items in some way (ibid : 9). This focus on frequencies is natural since a computerized corpus is well suited for this kind of inquiry. As a consequence, many corpus studies also engage in statistics (McEnery and Hardie 2012 : 48-49).

Another characteristic of Corpus Linguistics is related to the use of authentic language material. Generally speaking, Corpus Linguistics is characterized by a greater focus on performance and less on competence (Leech 1992 : 107).⁶ The general tendency is that ‘observation contributes to theory more than theory contributes to observation’ (ibid : 111). As a result, corpus studies are often descriptive in nature. In addition to these features, Corpus Linguistics has had a major impact on language theory. As McEnery and Hardie (2012 : 1) note, it has even enabled the creation of new theories. It is therefore not impossible to see Corpus Linguistics as something in-between theory and methodology.

1.3 Inspirational Work

The present study is heavily influenced by the work that Viberg has done on verbs. In his studies he tends to focus on the study of high-frequency verbs from a cross-linguistic perspective (usually between English and Swedish) with a focus on semantics. This makes the present study similar to many of Viberg’s works. In particular, Viberg’s (2012) article on the Swedish verb *få* has been influential. It maps the most frequent meanings of the verb according to broad semantic categories and also analyzes it cross-linguistically. Additionally, he combines the semantic analysis with an analysis of syntactic frame. This latter aspect is not present in his other articles to the same degree, but has partly influenced the choice to include grammatical context in the present study. Other articles by Viberg that have been read with interest include an analysis of English *go* and Swedish *gå* (Viberg 1996) as well as a study of physical contact words in Swedish (Viberg 1999).

As will become evident in the discussion of polysemy in section 2.2, I also rely heavily on Viberg’s understanding of semantics as a concept.⁷ This includes his understanding of the nature of polysemy, semantic development and extension of meaning. I am also indebted to Viberg’s understanding of cross-linguistic lexicography as a field of linguistics. I should mention that Viberg is highly concerned with the concept of *primary meaning* of the verbs he investigates. This particular concept is discussed in this paper, but

⁶ The distinction between performance and competence is equivalent to Biber et al.’s (1998 :1) distinction between language use and language structure.

⁷ See especially Viberg (1994) and Viberg (1996) for a discussion of meaning.

has proven difficult to apply to *hold(e)* in a constructive way. Another aspect of Viberg's studies that has proven difficult to implement in the present analysis is the classification of verbs into semantic fields based on their primary meaning.⁸ This concept is discussed briefly in the next section.

Among other influential studies, Chatti's (2011) analysis of causative *make* should also be mentioned. Like Viberg, Chatti maps occurrences of causative *make* into broad semantic categories, leading to a comprehensive analysis of the semantic behavior of that particular aspect of the verb. Although Chatti's article is not cross-linguistic, it is still highly relevant for the mapping of meanings in this thesis. I should also mention Ebeling's (2003) study of *bli* and *få*, which has served as model for the general structure of the thesis. The methodological approach of Ebeling's study has not been adopted, however.

1.4 Literature on *Hold(e)*

To my knowledge no previous linguistic studies have looked solely at *holde* and *hold* in a cross-linguistic perspective. On the other hand, there are a number of studies that deal with the verbs in other ways (especially for English *hold*). Firstly, the etymological origin of *hold(e)* is well known. Both lemmas derive from an original gothic form, which, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), had the meaning 'to watch over, keep charge of, keep, herd, pasture (cattle)'.⁹ In other words, the two lemmas have the same origin, and it is natural that they should have overlapping meanings and functions.

Viberg (1994 : 178) mentions English *hold* specifically in his study of semantic fields. He classifies *hold* as a 'concrete verb' under the subgroup 'manipulation' (a group that it shares with no other verbs). This is what Viberg sees as the primary meaning of *hold*. He assigns the same categorization to the Swedish verb *hålla* (Viberg 1999 : 88), and it is likely that the same categorization is applicable to Norwegian *holde*.

Previous studies have noted that English *hold* is a highly frequent lemma. Francis and Kučera (1982 : 466) give *hold* as the 39th most common verb in the English language. A quick look at the ENPC occurrences shows that *hold* is indeed frequent, but suggests that Norwegian *holde* is in fact even more common. It is typical for frequent verbs to have a high degree of polysemy (Viberg 2002:121). Consequently, it is not surprising that dictionaries provide a wide range of meanings for both verbs. *Merriam Webster's Collegiate*

⁸ See Viberg (1994;1996;1999)

⁹ This is corroborated by Falk and Torp (1903-06 [1991]), who give the meaning *vogte kveg* [to watch over cattle] as the original meaning of Norwegian *holde*.

Dictionary (2009) lists nine definitions of English *hold*, in addition to providing a large amount of multi-word phrases featuring the lemma.

Collins COBUILD advanced dictionary (2009) also lists a large amount of phrases, including five main meanings (all of which are divided into several submeanings). In other words, dictionaries indicate that English *hold* is highly polysemous. Norwegian *holde* seems to be even more polysemous, with the Norwegian dictionary *Bokmålsordboka* (1994) providing 12 entries for the verb. Although *Bokmålsordboka* does not list multi-word phrases separately, it is clear from the entries that such phrases are common. The fact that *hold(e)* appears frequently in phrases is potentially significant. First of all, it is related to the high frequency of the verbs. Stubbs (2007, cited in Lindquist and Levin 2008 : 144) suggests that if a lemma is frequent, one significant reason will be that it tends to occur in such constructions.

The concept of phrase is also significant as it says something about the type of meaning that *hold(e)* is likely to express. Sinclair (1998b : 6) states that the meaning of a phrase is sometimes derived primarily from the phrase itself rather than from the individual constituents that make it up. The meaning of the individual constituents that make up the phrase (including words) may be completely irrelevant to the meaning of the utterance. This phenomenon, which Sinclair (ibid : 6) calls *semantic reversal*, is likely to occur with phrasal uses of *hold(e)*. The concept of phrasal meaning will be discussed in greater detail in section 2.4.

A concept that is closely related to the concept of semantic reversal is *bleaching of meaning*. In such instances, the inherent lexical meaning of a lexical item is reduced and may even disappear completely (Hopper and Traugott 2003 : 20-21). In such cases, the lexical item has no semantic content, only a non-semantic function. This bleaching of meaning is again related to the phenomenon of *grammaticalization*. If a lexical item has become grammaticalized, it has come to adopt a grammatical function and become more like a function word (ibid : 4). Studies have shown that grammaticalization leads to bleaching of meaning (Hopper and Traugott 2003 : 94), but whether the opposite is also true (i.e. bleaching of meaning leading to grammaticalization) is less certain (ibid : 94). Instead, early stages of grammaticalization seems to be connected, among other things, to a generalization of meaning (ibid : 101).

Both *holde* and *hold* seem to have general meanings, and so are likely candidates for grammaticalization. It should be mentioned that the concept of grammaticalization is distinct from that of semantic reversal. A grammaticalized item may still have an individual

function in the utterance (albeit a grammatical one). If semantic reversal has occurred, the item only has a phrasal function.

Even if there is no evidence of grammaticalization, dictionary entries, as well as a quick look at occurrences in the ENPC, show that both lemmas are grammatically flexible, and can appear in a wide range of grammatical contexts. It is typical for frequent lemmas to be grammatically irregular and idiosyncratic (Sinclair 1998a : 174), and this seems to be the case for *hold(e)*. To find out more, an analysis of actual use is needed.

1.5 Outline of the Thesis

Chapter 2 will provide a theoretical framework to the thesis. Chapter 3 discusses the methods that will be used and also explains the nature and structure of the analysis. The actual analysis will take place in chapters 4-8 and is divided into three parts: a correspondence analysis (chapter 4), a semantic categorization (chapter 5) and an analysis of grammatical context in chapters 6-8. Chapter 9 will attempt to combine the findings of the three-part analysis and draw as many conclusions about the similarities and differences between *holde* and *hold* as possible before suggesting possible further studies.

2 Theoretical Framework

2.1 The Nature of Cross-linguistic Lexicography

This chapter aims to situate the present study within a theoretical framework and discuss some of the key theoretical concepts that underlie the analysis. The chapter will begin by discussing the field of Contrastive Linguistics (CL) before defining the study as belonging to Cross-linguistic Lexicography (which is seen as a kind of sub-category of CL).

2.1.1 Contrastive Linguistics and the Question of Equivalence

Johansson (2007 : 1) defines CL (in his terms *contrastive analysis*) as ‘the systematic comparison of two or more languages, with the aim of describing their similarities or differences.’ In this context, the term *equivalence* is central. It refers to the fact that two cross-linguistic items (e.g. a lemma, a sentence structure or a whole text) have the same meaning and function. Equivalence is a controversial term that has been the source of much debate, especially in translation studies (Kenny 2009 : 96). There will be no overview of this debate here,¹⁰ but two relevant aspects of this debate should be mentioned.

Firstly, it has been noted that there is no such thing as full equivalence or identity of meaning between cross-linguistic items (cf. Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 16; Kenny 2009 : 97). Therefore, it is more useful to see equivalence as a question of degree. Secondly, there are many types of equivalence (Kenny 2009 : 97). For instance, two linguistic items may be close to identical in meaning (referential equivalence), but differ in the type of association that they trigger (connotative equivalence). Therefore, the question of equivalence is both one of degree and of kind. Despite its problems, equivalence has proven to be a useful term for the present study.

2.1.2 The Question of Tertium Comparationis in CL: Translated Texts

According to Johansson (2007 : 3), a contrastive analysis starts with a concept of perceived similarity between two cross-linguistic items, followed by an analysis of the nature of that similarity (i.e. their degree of equivalence). The fact such a similarity exists between the items compared is central because, as James (1980: 169) notes, ‘it is only against a background of sameness that differences are significant.’ The items must have a *tertium comparationis*, i.e. a common ground from which comparison can be performed. Although this is certainly true, it is not clear exactly how this tertium comparationis should be defined,

¹⁰ For an overview of some of the discussions on equivalence in translation studies, see Kenny (2009).

and attempts at creating a set of clear-cut criteria that provide the basis for comparison have so far proved unsuccessful (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 15-16).

A possible solution to the problem of what to compare is to use translated texts (i.e. translation equivalence). Translations aim to keep ‘meaning and function constant across languages’ (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 9), and thus are suited for providing a basis for comparison. In addition to providing a basis for comparison, the use of translated texts in contrastive studies has a number of additional advantages: it may lead to the discovery of alternative ways of rendering a meaning (or a function) in a given language that would otherwise have gone unnoticed, and also eases the mapping of ‘paradigms of cross-linguistic correspondences’ through the possibility of looking at translations in both directions (ibid : 9).

On the other hand, relying on translation equivalence for *tertium comparationis* is problematic in a number of ways. Two items that are shown to correspond in translation, are not necessarily equivalent (Johansson 2007 : 5). Correspondence is not equivalence, it is merely a tool a researcher can use investigate the level of equivalence. In addition, equivalence between cross-linguistic items is not a yes/no question, and translation is not an exact science. As Johansson (ibid : 9) notes, translation is likely to vary depending on the purpose and type of translation, or due to differences between individual translators. The use of an item in one context may require an entirely different translation in another context. In addition, the translation may deviate significantly from the original, or worse, simply be erroneous (ibid). In other words, a researcher should be careful about placing an absolute trust in translation correspondences.

Another important disadvantage to translated texts is the fact that they tend to retain linguistic traces of the original text. (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 9; Gellerstam 2002 : 61) Many researchers also argue that the translation process itself introduces features that cannot be explained by source language influence (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 9; Baker 1993 : 243). Consequently, translations may not be fully representative of the language that is being investigated. A final problem with translated texts is the fact that they are limited in terms of genre since not all types of texts are translated to the same degree (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 9). This is especially true when one or more of the languages compared are relatively small, as is the case with Norwegian. As a result, translated material may not be a sufficiently representative sample of the language variety that is being studied.

Despite of the problems discussed above, translation equivalence is arguably the most effective and reliable way of establishing a *tertium comparationis* between linguistic items

across languages, as numerous researchers have noted (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 16; James 1980 : 178; Johansson 2007 : 3). A corpus can in fact be used to counteract many of the problems, something that section 2.1.3 will discuss further. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware that translation correspondences should be used with some caution, and that other forms of analysis should be consulted as well.

2.1.3 The Use of Corpora in CL

Corpora tend to play a major role in contrastive studies. The growth of corpora in the latter half of the 20th century (as well as the advent of computerized corpora) has been partly responsible for the revival of contrastive studies (Ebeling 2004 : 212), and in recent years, the two have been closely connected. Cross-linguistic studies are concerned with authentic language use and language variation, something for which a corpus (especially a multilingual or translation corpus) is well suited.

Using a corpus provides possible solutions to some of the problems connected with translation correspondences. It allows the researcher to rely on a very large number of instances, which would reduce the impact of erroneous translations (errors should occur rarely in properly collected material). In addition, the potentially large size of corpora provides the researcher with a better impression of the full range of translation possibilities, especially if there is a wide range of different translators.

Another important advantage of using a corpus of translated texts is that it combines the translation competence of many translators with that of the researcher, which adds ‘an element of empirical inter-subjectivity to the concept of equivalence’ (Altenberg and Granger : 2002 : 17). Some corpora provide additional features that counteract even more of the problems connected with the use of translation correspondences. Section 3.1.1 below discusses the specific advantages of the ENPC.

2.1.4 Cross-linguistic Lexicography

The present study is not only contrastive; it deals specifically with lemmas, and so it is also part of lexicography. Since the study is both contrastive as well as lexicographic in nature, the term *cross-linguistic lexicography*, as used by Viberg (1996 : 151), seems to describe this thesis well.¹¹ Viberg (ibid) states that ‘the vocabularies of two languages are at the same time very diverse and very similar’ and that cross-linguistic lexicography is ‘concerned with this complex relationship of similarity and divergence between languages at the lexical

¹¹ An even more accurate description would probably be *corpus-based* cross-linguistic lexicography.

level'. The concern of this field is the same as within CL, but specialized on lexis. The question of cross-linguistic lexicography is not only whether the uses of two lemmas overlap or not, but what the nature of that overlap is, and to what degree there is equivalence between the two items.

Altenberg and Granger (2002 : 21-22) also note on the complex cross-linguistic relationship between lexical items. They differentiate between three broad types of relationships, based on the polysemy of the items:

- a) *Overlapping polysemy*: items have roughly the same meaning extensions.
- b) *Diverging polysemy*: items in the two languages have different meaning extensions.
- c) *No correspondence*: an item in one language has no obvious equivalent in another language.

They go on to claim that lexical items that are treated as translation equivalents in bilingual dictionaries tend to overlap only partially. Such items tend to exhibit 'complex patterns of partially overlapping polysemy' (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 22). Since polysemy is clearly a central concept in cross-linguistic lexicography, it will be discussed in detail in the next section.

It is important to remember, however, that a distinction that focuses purely on polysemy (i.e. meaning) will provide an incomplete insight into the nature of cross-linguistic items. Syntactic behavior (i.e. form) is equally central, especially with lemmas that appear frequently in phrases. Consequently, grammatical context will also be discussed in a separate section (see section 2.4).

2.2 Polysemy

Polysemy is central to the analysis of any lexical item. In this study, it is an expressed goal to map the (frequent) meanings *hold(e)*. Viberg (2002 : 119-120) defines polysemy as 'the case where the 'same' word (lemma) is used with multiple meanings that are somehow related'. This is in contrast to homonymy, in which the meaning is different and the form the same, but in which the words do not represent the same lemma (ibid). It has already been observed that both *holde* and *hold* are highly polysemous, with a wide range of possible meanings. The nature of polysemy indicates that these various meanings will be related to one another or connected in some way.

According to Viberg (1994 : 172) polysemy is created when the meaning of a lemma

is extended beyond its basic meaning. Viberg (ibid) states that native speakers will instantly recognize which meanings are related, and which meanings belong to separate lemmas. Polysemous meanings will be recognized even if it is difficult to find a conceptual link between them. As an extension of this thought, Viberg (2002 : 120) has found the term *primary meaning* helpful. The concept states that there exists a primary interpretation of a lemma, from which all other meanings can be derived. As Viberg (ibid) notes, it is uncertain whether such a primary meaning should be seen as a prototypical example (found in actual text) or if it represents a general and/or abstract concept that covers all instances of that lemma, but cannot be restricted to only one instance. He goes on to say that the basic meaning from which other meanings have been derived may have disappeared from the language.

Sinclair (1991 : 113) takes a slightly different approach to the same question: he refers instead to the *core meaning* of a lemma, and defines it as the most frequent *independent* meaning, i.e. the meaning that is not only the most frequent, but also the one that is the least dependent on linguistic context.¹² For the analysis of *hold(e)* neither the idea of primary meaning nor core meaning has proved helpful. Rather than including these concepts in the main analysis, the question of primary meaning will be returned to in the concluding chapter.

2.3 Functional Grammar

According to Thompson (2004 : 6), Functional Grammar is an attempt to understand language by using meaning as a starting point for analysis. It understands meaning in terms of function, i.e. the function of an utterance is equal to its meaning (ibid : 7-8). In linguistic theory, Functional Grammar deviates from several traditional branches (most notably Transformational-Generative Linguistics), which tend to have form rather than meaning as a starting point for linguistic analysis. In this respect, this thesis is in accordance with Functional Grammar, since it begins with a semantic analysis in chapter 5 before moving on to an analysis of the grammatical context in chapters 6-7.

Functional Grammar defines three types of *metafunctions*: experiential, interpersonal and textual. These metafunctions represent perspectives from which language use can be analyzed; in other words, they are all simultaneously present in any given utterance. The first function, the experiential function, refers to the *propositional content* of an utterance or

¹² In my terms: the meaning that is the least phrasal. Phrasal meaning will be discussed in detail in section 2.4.

‘ways in which speaker can choose to represent the world’ (Thompson 2004 : 86). The interpersonal function (i.e. the aspects of an utterance that have to do with how speaker and addressee interact) and the textual function (i.e. the aspects of an utterance that have to do with how clauses connect in longer stretches of text) are not helpful to the kind of analysis that will be undertaken in this thesis. The focus will be on the propositional content of utterances. As a result, only the experiential function will be included in the analysis.

The experiential function contains many process types based on the kind of meaning that is expressed by the utterance. There are many types, but only three that can potentially be expressed by *hold(e)*: The first type is *material processes*, i.e. utterances that refer to physical actions (Thompson 2004 : 90). The second type is *mental processes*, i.e. utterances that refer to what goes on inside a someone’s mind (ibid : 92) (examples are verbs such as *hear* and *think*). The third type of process that is relevant to the study of *hold(e)* is a *behavioral processes*, which represent a kind of in-between category between mental and material processes (ibid : 103). It includes utterances that refer to outward signs of mental processes, and examples are verbs such as *listen* and *stare*.

Functional Grammar also has much to say about the participants that take part in the utterance. Rather than defining the participants in terms of their grammatical function (e.g. subject or direct object), it defines each participant based on the kind of function it has in relation to the propositional content of the utterance. Table 2.1 below gives an overview of the types of roles that typically occur with each type of process.

Table 2.1: Functional Grammar: participant roles in the experiential metafunction.

Process	Participant roles			
MATERIAL	Actor	Process: material	Goal	Circumstance
MENTAL	Senser	Process: mental	Phenomenon	-
BEHAVIORAL	Behavior	Process: behavioral	Range	Circumstance

An example will make this clearer. In (2-1) below, the actor (the performer of the action) is clearly ‘A doyley-covered plate’, while the goal (the participant against which the action is directed) is ‘an assortment of biscuits’. The verb expresses the material process. This classification applies even if the example below is changed into the passive (‘An assortment of biscuits was held by a doyley-covered plate’). The focus is on the propositional content, not the grammatical form. The concept of participant roles (especially actor and goal) will be used in extensively in the analysis of *hold(e)*.

(2-1) A doyley-covered plate held an assortment of biscuits. (ST1)

2.4 Grammatical Context and Pattern Grammar

So far, the general focus has been on the meanings that can be expressed by *hold(e)*, but as was briefly mentioned in section 2.2, this way of looking at meaning (separate from the grammatical context and contained by the verb itself) is incomplete. Many factors can complicate our understanding of word meaning, and of the concept of word as well. As Chatti (2011 : 6) states: ‘the meaning of a polysemous word is often contextually-determined’. Sinclair (1991 : 113) similarly observes that very frequent words tend to have less clear and independent meanings, and that that observers of such words are often ‘reduced to talking about uses rather than meanings’ (ibid).

A further complication to the concept of word meaning is the complex relationship between form and meaning. Sinclair (1998b : 12) goes so far as to claim that these two concepts ‘cannot be separated, because they are the same thing.’ According to this view, an utterance cannot be understood in terms of either form or meaning, but must be seen as a simultaneous expression of both. From this perspective, the meaning of a word cannot be analyzed independently of its grammatical context. Levin (1993 : 4-5) does not go as far as Sinclair, but nevertheless claims that syntax is decided by semantics. Although she admits that this is a controversial concept that has yet to be proven, she concludes that the connection between form and meaning (at least in verbs) ‘cannot simply be ignored’ (ibid : 12).

The area of Pattern Grammar (as presented by Hunston and Francis (2000)) provides a very helpful framework when it comes to the analysis of grammatical context. Hunston and Francis (ibid : 3) define a pattern as ‘a phraseology frequently associated with (a sense of) a word, particularly in terms of the prepositions, groups, and clauses that follow the word.’ If an element can occur with almost any word of the same class, it is not part of the pattern (ibid : 49). Also generally not part of the pattern are ‘prepositional phrases or adverb groups that give information about manner, place or time’ (ibid : 49).

One of the advantages of using Pattern Grammar is that it is designed to be ‘flexible, transparent and consistent’ (Hunston and Francis 2000 : 33). The coding system that has been constructed uses only the ‘simplest and most superficial word-class labels’ (ibid : 45). For instance, the coding system does not take into account whether a noun group is a subject or a direct object; it only uses the label *noun group*. This coding system has been used by Francis et al. (1996) in their mapping of verb patterns in the English language, as well as in recent editions of *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*. The specifics of this

coding system, and its usage in this thesis, will be described in more detail in section 3.2 below.

Hunston and Francis (2000: 3) note that lexis and patterns are mutually dependent in that ‘each pattern occurs with a restricted set of lexical items, and each lexical item occurs with a restricted set of patterns.’ In addition to the connection between lexis and patterns, there also seems to be a direct connection between patterns and meaning (ibid : 3). In other words, *hold(e)* is not only likely to appear with a limited set of patterns; these patterns are also likely to be connected to the meanings of the lemma.

Despite the many advantages of Pattern Grammar described above, Hunston and Francis (2000 : 247-248) themselves admit that although the method is practical, it is not exhaustive. It needs to be supplemented by other forms of analysis. For instance, once a pattern has been defined, it is helpful to account for variations in the types of participants that take part in that pattern. To include Functional Grammar (discussed in section 2.3) is a way of complementing this aspect of the pattern analysis. In fact, Hunston and Francis (ibid : 127) suggest using Functional Grammar this way.

The mapping of English verbs according to their patterns in Francis et al. (1996) provides an extensive analysis of English verb patterns and the meanings with which they are typically associated. A large number of these patterns (with adherent meanings) apply to English *hold*. However, once again, this thesis needs to go beyond the framework provided by Pattern Grammar. As Vincent (2013 : 248) remarks, the analysis provided by Francis et al. (1996) does not provide sufficient detail about individual lexical items, and a lexical analysis of such items must go further. However, the study will be drawn upon when relevant.

Another aspect of language use that is insufficiently described by Pattern Grammar is the concept of *phrase* (or *idiom*). As mentioned in section 1.4, *hold(e)* seems to occur frequently as part of phrases. The following will define what is meant by the term phrase, and also say something about what types of phrases there are. A key distinction in this context is Sinclair’s (1991 : 109-110) distinction between the open-choice principle and the idiom principle. If an utterance is constructed in accordance with the open-choice principle, it is only restricted by the general grammatical rules of the language, and any type of constituent may take part in the utterance so long as it is semantically and grammatically appropriate.

If an utterance is constructed according to the idiom principle, however, ‘a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that

constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments' (Sinclair 1991: 110). The phrase *hold out* in example (2-2) below would be an example of an utterance that is constructed according to the idiom principle, because the individual elements cannot be replaced by similar words, and because the phrase represents a single choice in which the basic meaning and function of the individual constituents are irrelevant. The concept of phrase is also connected to bleaching of meaning and grammaticalization, discussed in section 1.4. The terms *phrasal* and *non-phrasal* will be used interchangeably with Sinclair's *idiom principle* and *open-choice principle*, respectively.

- (2-2) Maybe I could have *held out* a little longer. (EHA1T)
 Jeg hadde kanskje *holdt ut* en stund til.

Whether an utterance is phrasal or not is not always clear-cut. As Partington (1998 : 26) notes, even lexical items that appear to be collocationally unrestricted may exhibit a preference for combining with a limited set of other lexical items when studied more closely in a corpus. In fact, the concept of a phrase is often a matter of degree. Melčuk (1995 : 176-177) draws up four types of phrases, based on how much of the meaning is contained by the constituents (individual meaning) and how much of the meaning is contained by the phrase itself (phrasal meaning).¹³ Variations of these four types are drawn up in figure 2.1 below, along with a fifth category for non-phrasal utterances (based on the open-choice principle).

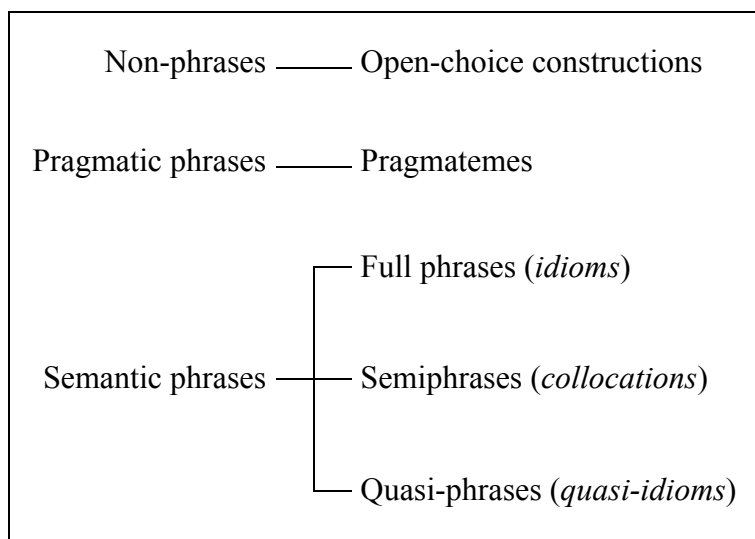


Figure 2.1: Types of phrases and non-phrases (based on Melčuk (1995) and Sinclair (1991))

¹³ Melčuk (1995) uses the term *phraseme*, but I prefer the term *phrase*. This means that the terms in figure 2.1 are slightly different from Melčuk's own terms (for instance, *pragmatic phrases* is used rather than *pragmatic phrasemes*). The main motivation behind this change of terminology is the fact that *phrase* is more similar to the adjectives *phrasal* and *non-phrasal*. It is also allows for adjectives such as *semiphrasal* and *quasi-phrasal*.

Pragmatemes are phrases in which the meaning of the phrase is transparent (in other words, the meaning of the phrase can be arrived at by analyzing the constituents), and yet the constituents that appear in the utterances are fixed and cannot be replaced by similar words (Melčuk 1995 : 176). One example is the phrase *best before*, which can be understood in terms of its constituents, and yet must be used with these particular words in order to sound idiomatic. The meaning is not phrasal, and yet there are phrasal qualities to the utterance.

The next three types of phrases are *semantic phrases*. These three types all add a phrasal meaning to the utterance that is not present in the individual constituents. With *quasi-phrases*, the constituents have independent meaning, but there is an additional phrasal meaning on top of it (Melčuk 1995 : 178). With *semiphrases* (or *collocations*) some of the constituents have independent meanings, while others have no meaning, only a phrasal function (ibid : 177-178). With *full phrases* (or *idioms*), the basic meanings of the constituents are irrelevant to the meaning of the phrase, and the meaning of the utterance is completely phrasal (ibid : 182).

Categorizing every instance of *hold(e)* in the ENPC based on how phrasal or non-phrasal it is would be a tremendous and difficult task, and it is not one that will be attempted in this thesis. Instead, the distinctions described in this section will be used as a supplement to the pattern analysis in chapters 6-8. It will be used in a general way to indicate how some uses of *hold(e)* are more phrasal than others.

3 Material and Method

3.1 Material

3.1.1 The ENPC: a Parallel Corpus

The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC) is a bilingual corpus containing both English and Norwegian texts. There are two main types of multilingual corpora (cf. Johansson 2007 : 9): *translation corpora* (containing original texts and their translations) and *comparable corpora* (containing comparable original texts in two or more languages). The problems of relying on translation for cross-linguistic analysis were discussed in detail in section 2.1.2. Because of these problems, Johansson (ibid : 5) concludes that ‘translation corpora are insufficient as sources of contrastive studies’ and that it is ‘crucial to combine translation corpora with comparable corpora’ (ibid: 10). A comparable corpus has the advantage that it consists of natural language, with no risk of translation effects (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 8).

One problem with using comparable corpora is that it becomes ‘difficult, and in some cases impossible, to know what to compare’ (Altenberb and Granger : ibid). As Johansson (2007 : 10) states, ‘the most difficult problem is (...) relating forms which have similar meanings and pragmatic functions in the languages compared’, i.e. to establish a *tertium comparationis* (see section 2.1.2 above). Equivalent forms that are easily discovered with a translation corpus may go unnoticed with a comparable one. Also, the matching of texts according to external criteria must be precise, otherwise apparent differences between the studied languages may in fact be caused by a variation in text type rather than a feature of the languages themselves (ibid : 10).

The ENPC attempts to solve some of the problems with both types of corpora by combining the two in a parallel corpus. Figure 3.1 below shows the structure of the ENPC. As the figure shows, the ENPC includes translations in both directions, making it possible to compare original texts to their translations, as well as comparing original texts in one language to original texts in the other language. It is also possible to compare original texts and translated texts in the same language.

The structure of the ENPC makes it is possible to take advantage of the positive features of translation correspondence while at the same time not relying solely on translated texts. Findings made in the translation part of the corpus can be checked in the comparable part of the corpus, so that translation effects can be ruled out (Johansson 2007 : 12). This way, the pitfalls of relying on translations in cross-linguistic studies are reduced.

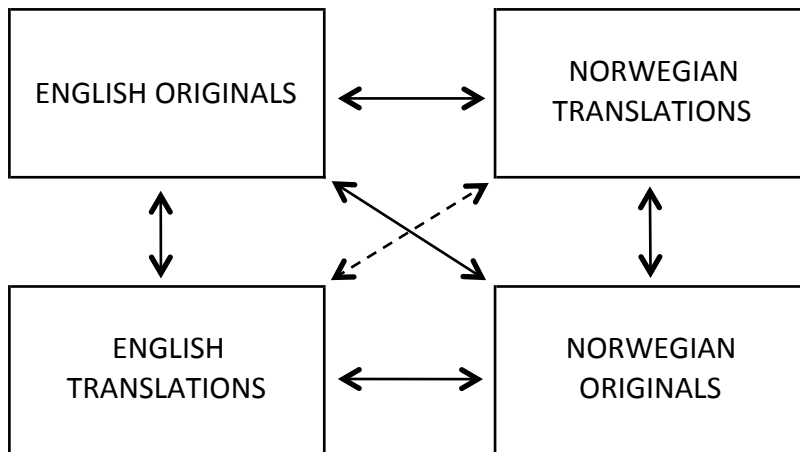


Figure 3.1: The structure of the ENPC (Johansson 2007 : 11)

Of course, the ENPC does not solve one of the major problems of translation corpora: the limitation on text type. One of the advantages of a purely comparable corpus is the fact that it does not rely on translated literature, and that it can be made larger and more balanced than a translation corpus (Altenberg and Granger 2002 : 8). Even though the ENPC contains original texts in both languages, they are as restricted in genre and text type as their translations.

3.1.2 The Texts of the ENPC

Table 3.1 below gives an overview of the number of texts in the ENPC. As the table shows, the corpus contains fifty original texts in each language and their translations. There are no complete texts; instead there are extracts consisting of 10,000 to 15,000 words (Johansson 2007 : 13). Both British and American authors are included (as well as a few authors from other English-speaking nations), and for the Norwegian section the texts are primarily written in *bokmål*, although a few of the texts are in *nynorsk* (ibid).¹⁴

Table 3.1: Distribution of texts in the ENPC (Johansson 2007 : 14).

	Original texts		Translated texts	
	English	Norwegian	English	Norwegian
Fiction	30	30	30	30
Non-fiction	20	20	20	20
Total	50	50	50	50
Total number of words	671 700	629 900	699 400	661 500

¹⁴ *Bokmål* and *nynorsk* are varieties of the Norwegian written language.

In terms of balance, the texts in the ENPC are evenly distributed between English and Norwegian. This feature makes it possible to compare frequencies directly. Original texts and their translations have been aligned, so that the given translation of an utterance is easily found (Johansson 2007 : 15). This alignment has been done by a computer, but was gone through manually afterwards (ibid).

According to Johansson (ibid : 12), there were a few challenges in connection with the compilation of the ENPC. Relatively few texts are translated from Norwegian into English, and it is difficult to get permission to use copyrighted texts (ibid :13). It was a challenge to collect a sufficient amount of texts, especially for non-fiction texts. As a result, the corpus is not balanced between fiction and non-fiction or between varieties within the languages (e.g. British vs. American English).

It was stated in section 1.2 that a corpus is merely a representation of language, and that it will necessarily be skewed in some way. The small size of the ENPC (with only 50 original texts for each language) exacerbates this problem. Even though the compilers have done their best to include a wide variety of authors and text types (Johansson 2007 : 13), the corpus is vulnerable to the particular style of individual authors or individual works. It should also be mentioned that most of the texts in the corpus were published in the late 1980's and early 1990's and as a result are not fully representative of the languages as they are used today.

For all these reasons, the ENPC is unsuited for certain types of inquiries. For instance, the ENPC should not be used to study rare linguistic phenomena or uses that are seen as representing the language use of a specific genre or range. However, both *holde* and *hold* are highly frequent and common lemmas, likely to occur often in all the texts in the corpus. Therefore, the ENPC may serve as a useful tool, so long as one bears its limitations in mind.

3.1.3 Handling the Material

The present study will limit itself to fiction part of the ENPC. The main reason for this limitation is the fact that *hold(e)* is frequent in the material, and that the fiction part provides sufficient occurrences. The fiction part is chosen over the non-fiction part mainly because it is larger. The inclusion of non-fiction texts would prove too time-consuming considering the reliance on manual analysis of the material. A simple search was made for all forms of *holde(e)* in the material (in original and translated texts). After the search, the findings were gone through manually to make sure that all instances were relevant. Instances in which English *hold* acted as a noun (as in (3-1) below) were excluded from the study.

- (3-1) During the few years of domesticity the urge to be alone has already taken *hold* of him. (ABR1)

I løpet av noen få år med familieliv er han allerede blitt grepet av trang til å være alene.

The fact that the material includes some Norwegian original texts written in nynorsk poses a potential problem. Should the nynorsk variant *halde* be included in the analysis or not? Ideally, the study would only contain texts written in bokmål, since there may be differences between the two varieties of Norwegian. Nevertheless, the choice has been made to include *halde* in the analysis. If it were to be excluded, the total number of original Norwegian texts would be reduced, and frequencies would no longer be directly comparable. Although there are solutions to this problem, the added complexity is a good argument for including *halde*.

In addition, *halde* seems to behave very similarly to *holde*. If one compares the entries of *halde* and *holde* in the Norwegian dictionaries *Bokmålsordboka* and *Nynorskordboka* respectively, it is clear that the meanings of *halde* and *holde* overlap significantly. A quick look at the occurrences in the ENPC corroborates this. It should therefore be safe to assume that the two lemmas are highly similar. In any case, there are only 38 instances of the verb *halde* in original Norwegian texts, compared to 485 instances of *holde*. These 38 instances are unlikely to affect the results of the present study significantly, given the apparent similarity of the two lemmas. Any significant deviating uses of *halde* should be picked up by the analysis.

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Outline of the Method

The analysis in this thesis will have a three-part structure. The first part of the analysis (presented in chapter 4), will provide a general overview of translation correspondences, as well as a brief analysis of the frequencies of *hold(e)* in the ENPC. In this section, the focus will be on numbers and frequencies, with no close analysis of the structures or meanings of individual occurrences. The advantage of doing a correspondence analysis first is that it provides a useful overview of the behavior of the two lemmas and their meanings, which gives some indications of what to look for in the more detailed analysis that comes after it. It also gives a good indication of how closely related the two lemmas are. The analytical framework regarding the analysis of correspondences is provided at the start of chapter 4.

The second part of the analysis, presented in chapter 5, is the semantic part of the

analysis, and focuses on the propositional content of all instances of *hold(e)*. The intent is to map every instance of *hold(e)* in the ENPC based on the meaning that is expressed by the lemma. If the occurrence of *hold(e)* is phrasal, i.e. if no independent meaning can be ascribed to the verb, the instance is classified according to the meaning of the phrase in which it occurs. The semantic analysis will use the ENPC mainly as a comparable corpus, analyzing individual instances in Norwegian and English texts. It is difficult to give an overview of the classification scheme here, and it seems more constructive to discuss this scheme as part of the analysis itself.

The third, and final part of the analysis, presented in chapters 6-8, will add grammatical context to the analysis. This section will use the basis provided by the semantic analysis, and try to expand on it by analyzing the context surrounding *hold(e)*. The analysis will first analyze the instances according to the patterns in which they occur. The foundation for this analysis is Pattern Grammar, which will be outlined in more detail in the next section. When the pattern analysis is done, the next step will be to use the participant roles provided by Functional Grammar combined with the phrase-types presented by Melčuk (1995) (outlined in section 2.4 above) to go beyond the patterns. The general purpose of chapters 6-8 is to find out not only what meaning is expressed, but also what type of meaning is expressed and what types of elements (or constituents) are significant to that meaning.

Because the final part of the analysis is quite extensive, it is divided into three chapters. Chapter 6 will focus on the English verb *hold*, not concerning itself with how it relates to its Norwegian cognate. Chapter 7 will perform the same type of analysis of Norwegian *holde*. In chapter 8, the two lemmas and their behaviors will be compared. This chapter will once again discuss correspondences, but this time with the semantic and syntactic analysis in mind. Hopefully, this combination of correspondence analysis with the semantic and syntactic analysis will provide some final insights about the relationship between *holde* and *hold*.

As a note to the analysis as a whole, there will be a general emphasis on frequent uses of *hold(e)*. This emphasis is chosen mainly because frequent uses are considered to be more significant than infrequent uses (as was discussed in section 1.1), but also because the ENPC is small, and not well suited to investigate infrequent uses (see section 3.1.2 above). A close study of highly infrequent uses seems somewhat arbitrary, considering that infrequent uses that do not occur in the corpus are left unexplored.

3.2.2 Pattern Grammar in the Analysis of *Hold(e)*

The basics of Pattern Grammar were discussed in section 2.4. This section will describe the coding system in greater detail, and say something about how the method has been adapted to suit the present analysis. *Hold(e)* combines with a wide range of constituents in various patterns. Table 3.2 lists all the constituent labels that are used in the pattern analysis below. The labels are taken from Hunston and Francis (2000), with some adjustments.¹⁵

Table 3.2: Labels for pattern constituents used in the analysis of *hold(e)*.

Label	Type of pattern constituent
HOLD	Any form of the English verb <i>hold</i>
HOLDE	Any form of the Norwegian verb <i>holde</i>
n	Noun group
prep	Prepositional group
that	That-clause
adv	Adverb group
adj	Adjective group
pron-refl	Reflexive pronoun
p	Particle
to-inf	Infinitive clause beginning with <i>to</i>
å-inf	Infinitive clause beginning with <i>å</i>
n with adv	Noun group combined with adv
n with adj	Noun group combined with adj
pl-n	Plural noun group

As was mentioned in section 2.4, a verb's pattern is typically analyzed in terms of its complementation pattern, i.e. what comes after the verb. This is always the case for *hold(e)*. If an element can occur with almost any word of the same class, it is not part of the pattern (Hunston and Francis 2000 : 49). '[P]repositional phrases or adverb groups that give information about manner, place or time' are also generally not part of the pattern (ibid). Generally, elements that are deemed to play a role in the meaning of the verb itself (i.e. elements that cannot be removed without changing the meaning of the verb) are considered to be part of that verb's pattern.

An example of a pattern analysis will make this clearer. In (3-2) below the verb ('held') is followed by a noun group ('the door') and an adjective group ('open'). The two latter elements are central to the meaning of the verb. The prepositional phrase 'for her', on the other hand, can be removed without altering the verb's propositional content. It is

¹⁵ The **å-inf** is an adjustment of the **to-inf** label to fit the Norwegian verb. Rather than using **v** to refer to *hold(e)*, as Hunston and Francis (2000) would, the verbs will be spelled out for the sake of simplicity

therefore not part of the pattern. The pattern of *hold*, in this case, is **HOLD n with adj**.

(3-2) I *held* the door open for her and we ducked into the foyer. (SG1)

Jeg *holdt* døren åpen for henne, og vi dukket inn i resepsjonen.

Of course, sentences come in many different forms, something that can make it difficult to analyze the use of a verb in terms of its pattern. Verbs occur in relative clauses, passives, as parts of questions etc. In these cases, the pattern analysis analyzes a typical or straightforward version of that utterance (Hunston and Francis 2000 : 59-66). For instance, if the verb appears as part of a relative clause, as in (3-3) below, the pattern analysis is based on what the utterance would look like in a main clause ('I held the program in my hand'). For (3-3), this gives the pattern **HOLD n prep** (see a discussion on why the prepositional phrase is included in the pattern in 6.1.8 above).

(3-3) The program I *held* in my hand was decorated with a cross on the front page, my name and the date. (LSC2T)

Programmet jeg *holdt* i hånden var prydet med et kors på forsiden, navnet mitt og datoen.

A more tricky exception is when *hold(e)* appears as part of a passive (which it does relatively frequently). According to Hunston and Francis (2000 : 46), passives should logically be categorized as a separate pattern if one is to adhere to the principle of analyzing surface structure, but the authors admit that it is more economical to transform passives into actives, especially for lemmas that do not predominantly occur in the passive.

For the present analysis, which focuses on propositional content, it is better to analyze passives in terms of their active counterparts. If a use of *hold(e)* occurs particularly often in the passive, it is easy to make a note of this in the in-depth analysis of the occurrences. In (3-4) below, the active counterpart of the verb and its pattern constituents is 'a man and woman held me' (**HOLD n**). Interestingly, the translation is in the active, using a very different verb (*være* [be]) to express a similar meaning. Correspondingly, the pattern is also different (**v prep**). The translation loses large parts of the meaning of the original utterance (*to be held in captivity*), but it must be assumed that this meaning is clear from the context.

(3-4) The herbalist went on to tell her that I *was being held by a man and a woman* who either wanted to keep me as their own child or sacrifice me for money (...) (BO1)

Urtelegen fortalte henne videre at jeg *var hos et ektepar* som enten ville beholde meg som sitt eget barn, eller ofre meg for penger (...)

4 Correspondence Analysis

4.1 Correspondences: Framework

The ENPC allows for the comparison of original texts with their translations through correspondences (the concept of correspondences was discussed extensively in section 2.1). There are different types of correspondences, and figure 4.1 below provides an overview of the types of correspondences that exist. The table is based on Johansson (2007 : 25), the only difference being that the term *non-congruent* is preferred to Johansson's *divergent*.

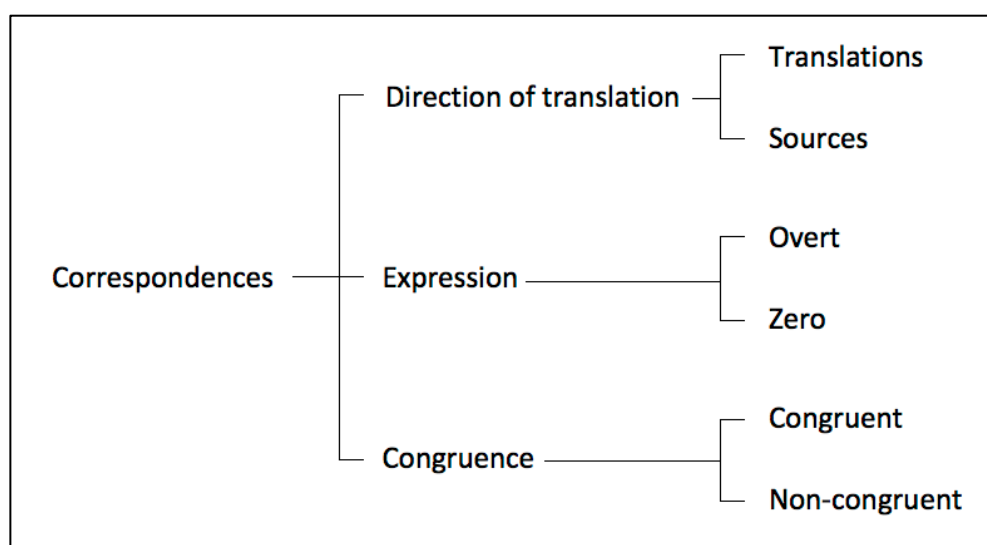


Figure 4.1 Classification of Correspondences (cf. Johansson 2007 :25)

The first distinction in this classification is the direction of the translation: either the correspondences are *translations* of the linguistic item in question, or the correspondences are *sources* and the linguistic item is the translation of the correspondences. The ENPC allows a search in both directions. In other words it is both possible to see what *hold(e)* has been translated into, as well as seeing the sources of *hold(e)* in translated texts.

It is not always possible to locate a directly corresponding element. As Johansson (2007 : 26) states, sometimes there is ‘no natural match across languages’. Cases in which there is no correspondence are termed *zero correspondences*. In such instances, something has been removed or added (depending on the direction of the translation). If the correspondence is *overt*, two comparable elements correspond across the languages compared.

Once an overt correspondence has been established, the distinction between a congruent and a non-congruent correspondence becomes relevant. This distinction is

seemingly simple: if the corresponding element belongs to the same grammatical category as the original, the two are congruent. If, on the other hand, two corresponding elements belong to different grammatical categories, they are non-congruent. In actual language use, this distinction may sometimes be difficult to make, as the analysis below will make clear.

The distinction between a non-congruent and a zero correspondence can be particularly difficult to make. Johansson (2007 : 26) seems to allow for zero correspondences to provide ‘compensation in the linguistic context’, i.e. that part of the content of the original element is conveyed in the utterance as a whole, even though there is no formal correspondence. In my view, this contributes to making the distinction less clear. It can sometimes be difficult to see what is part of the linguistic context and what is a formally comparable element. Therefore, this thesis will define zero correspondences as instances in which nothing (or at least very little) of the original content remains.

Non-congruent correspondences include any correspondence that expresses the same as the original element (in whatever form). From this view, non-congruent becomes a very wide category. I therefore divide this category into two subcategories: *non-congruent verb phrase* and *paraphrasing*. With a non-congruent verb phrase, the verb or verb phrase is comparable in function to *hold(e)*, but the composition of the individual elements may vary. In (4-1), for instance, the verb phrase ‘holde opp’ [hold up] corresponds to the verb ‘stop’. The two verb phrases are directly comparable, but since the Norwegian phrase consists of two elements and the English phrase of only one, the correspondence is non-congruent.

- (4-1) For meg er det også vanskelig å *holde opp* når mørket kommer.
(CL1)

For me, it 's hard to *stop* even when it gets dark.

The third category, paraphrasing, denotes instances in which the general meaning (or function) of the verb (or verb phrase) is found in the correspondence, but not in a verb phrase. In some cases, the meaning of *hold(e)* is rendered by an element belonging to a different grammatical category (for instance an adverbial or an object). In other cases, the entire utterance has been paraphrased, so that the general meaning is retained, but is not attributable to any specific element. I do not find it necessary to distinguish between different types of paraphrases in my analysis. Although such a differentiation might have been useful in some ways, it would probably go beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.2 Mutual Correspondence Rate (MC)

Table 4.1 below provides an overview of how many times *holde* and *hold* correspond to each other in translations. It shows the correspondences for both source and translations for both lemmas. It should be mentioned that this table contains a certain amount of overlap. The 115 instances of English *hold* in original texts are mirrored by the 115 instances of Norwegian *holde* in translated texts (that is, they are the same instances, but one is the translation and one is the source). The same is true in the opposite direction (i.e. Norwegian original texts are mirrored by the English translations). The reason why the numbers are slightly different between English translations and Norwegian originals (169 and 171) is that one instance of *holde* in Norwegian original texts is the source of three instances of *hold* in the English translation (see (4-2) below).

Table 4.1: Occurrences in which *holde* and *hold* correspond (ENPC, fiction).

Verb		Corresponding to <i>holde/hold</i>	Total in the ENPC	Percentage corresponding
Eng. <i>hold</i>	Originals	115	210	54.8 %
	Translations	171	265	64.5 %
Norw. <i>holde</i>	Originals	169	523	32.3 %
	Translations	115	589	19.5 %

- (4-2) En kvinne som i et solfylt rom *holdt* meg, det evig springende og søkende barnet, taust mot brystet. (FC1)

A woman who *held* me in a sun-filled room, *held* me... that eternally leaping, searching child... *held* me silent against her breast.

Table 4.1 includes both instances that are congruent and non-congruent. In (4-3), the translation is congruent, but in (4-4) ‘held’ and ‘holdt’ are non-congruent because the English verb corresponds to the phrase ‘holdt seg for’ [held himself for]. In other words, a single verb in the original corresponds to a phrase in the translation. Still, the two verb phrases express the same meaning using the same verb (even though the translation adds two additional elements). Therefore, table 4.1 should include all such instances as well.

- (4-3) I *hold* her hand. (MA1)
Jeg *holder* hånden hennes.
- (4-4) He *held* his chest. (JC1)
Han *holdt seg for* brystet.

Table 4.1 shows that the two verbs correspond to each other in a many cases (as is expected). Especially English *hold* corresponds to its Norwegian cognate in over half of the instances in the ENPC (54.8 percent in original texts, 64.5 percent in translated texts). However, the figures are much lower for Norwegian *holde*. Only 32.3 percent of instances in original texts correspond to English *hold*, and in translated texts, that rate is even lower at 19.5 percent.

To interpret these numbers, it is useful to turn to the concept of *mutual correspondence* (MC). MC is, according to Altenberg (1999 : 254), ‘the frequency with which different (grammatical, semantic and lexical) expressions are translated into each other’. Altenberg (ibid) provides a formula for this purpose:

$$\frac{(A_t + B_t) \times 100}{A_s + B_s}$$

The formula takes the number of instances in which the two verbs correspond (in both directions, A and B) and divides that number by the total number of occurrences of both items in both languages in original texts. For *holde* and *hold*, the resulting MC rate is 38.7 percent. This number seems low, considering that the two lemmas correspond to one another in less than half the instances.¹⁶ This relatively low MC rate indicates that the verbs are not as closely related as one perhaps would assume.

This formula does not take into account the fact that the correspondence rate between *holde* and *hold* drops in Norwegian translated texts (or that it rises in English translated texts). However, it would not affect the MC rate significantly, and it is nevertheless a good indication of the degree of similarity, and a good starting point for analysis.

4.3 Correspondences of English *Hold*

Table 4.2 shows the most frequent correspondences of English *hold*. By far the most frequent correspondence is *holde*. The second most frequent correspondence is paraphrasing: there are 37 such correspondences when *holde* occurs in original texts and 35 instances when it occurs in translations. A certain amount of paraphrasing in the material is expected. A certain amount of zero correspondences is also to be expected, but with only six and eight correspondences, there is little to suggest that the verb is significantly difficult to translate, or that there is a tendency towards adding it in English translations.

¹⁶ In his study of cross-linguistic conjuncts, Altenberg (1999 : 255) finds that none of the conjuncts have an MC rate of over 80 percent. An MC rate of above 50 percent is considered ‘fairly high’ for these items (ibid : 262).

Table 4.2: The most frequent correspondences of Eng. *hold* (ENPC, fiction)

Correspondence	Originals	Translations
<i>holde</i>	115	171
PARAPHRASING	37	35
<i>rekke</i>	8	8
ZERO CORRESPONDENCE	6	8
<i>ta</i>	5	5
OTHER VERBS (< 3) ¹⁷	38	38
Total	209	265

Hold corresponds to a relatively high number of verbs that occur infrequently. The most prominent of these is *rekke* with eight instances in both directions and *ta* with five correspondences (also in both directions). Interestingly, *rekke* corresponds to the non-congruent verb phrase *hold out* in almost all cases, as in (4-5) below. There is only one exception in which it corresponds to the non-congruent phrase *hold up*. The remaining correspondences are verbs that occur less than three times.

- (4-5) I *held* my hand out. (SG1)
 Jeg *rakte* ham hånden.

In terms of the semantic properties of *hold* based on its correspondences, it seems that the verb is fairly straightforward. The fact that one verb (*holde*) dominates the correspondences in fact suggests that the polysemy of the lemma is somewhat limited. Some deviating instances such as paraphrases and zero correspondences are to be expected. Of course, phrasal instances such as (4-5) above indicate that *hold* is not as straightforward as the correspondences suggest (both with respect to meaning and syntax). The wide variety of verbs that correspond to *hold* also indicates that alternative meanings exist. Finally, the fact that the verb corresponds to *holde* in the majority of instances is not proof that it is not polysemous; it only means that the majority of meanings of *hold* are translatable by *holde*.

Comparing source and translation correspondences of *hold* does to some extent suggest a stable and clear-cut behavior. Disregarding the instances in which the verb corresponds to Norwegian *holde*, all categories have exactly (or almost exactly) the same frequencies in translations as they do in original texts. In other words, the lemma seems to

¹⁷ This footnote provides a list of these verbs (in alphabetical order): *avholde, beholde, bevare, binde bruke, bære, fange, finne, føre, gjemme, gjøre, greie seg, gripe, ha, hefte heve, (ikke) slippe, inneholde, klemme, klore, legge, leie, levere, lime, løfte, låse, mene, nekte, oppbe, oppbevare, oppholde, plassere, regne, sette, sitte, slå, stanse, stikke, stoppe, strekke, stå (med), tale, tilby, trekke, trykke, tviholde, tåle, utsette (for), vente, være*. This list includes verbs that are part of congruent verb phrases as well as non-congruent verb phrases.

behave more or less the same way in both types of text.

There is one difference between original and translated texts however. If we look at the instances in which *hold* corresponds to Norwegian *holde*, the number of instances increases by 56 instances (from 115 to 171) in translated texts. This increase leads to an increased use of English *hold* in translated texts (the total number of occurrences increases from 209 to 265). This is an example of what Johansson (2007 : 32) calls *overuse*, and is a translation effect (see the discussion translation effects in section 2.1.2)

In this particular case, the most probable cause of the overuse is clear: the Norwegian verb *holde* is more than twice as frequent as the English verb, which in turn seems to lead English translators to use the verb *hold* more frequently than authors of original English texts. In other words, the increase in frequency is likely caused by source language influence (the concept was mentioned in section 2.1.2 above as an example of a translation effect). This kind of systematic source language influence results in what Gellerstam (1986 : 88) calls *translationese*. Since the overuse is so easily explained, and because the remaining instances behave in the same way in originals and translations, the correspondence analysis of English *hold* still suggests that the behavior of the verb is stable and relatively predictable.

Although the analysis of correspondences has said much about the behavior of the verb *hold*, the fact that the correspondences are dominated by one verb (*holde*) while the rest of the correspondences occur relatively infrequently means that relatively little has been learned about the semantic content of the lemma itself. To get closer to an understanding of the semantic properties of this lemma it is necessary to study the instances more carefully.

4.4 Correspondences of Norwegian *Holde*

Table 4.3 below gives an overview of the correspondences of Norwegian *holde* in the ENPC. As the table shows, there is an increase in the total frequency of *holde* going from original to translated texts (from 523 to 589). In other words, there is a tendency towards a slight overuse of *holde*, in the same way that English *hold* was overused. The cause of this overuse is not immediately evident, however, and will be discussed further at the end of this section.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this overview is the high frequency of the verb *keep* in the material. It corresponds to *hold* 102 times in original texts, and 129 times in translations. In translated texts, it is an even more frequent correspondence than *hold*. In

Table 4.3: The most frequent correspondences of Norw. *holde* (ENPC, fiction).

Correspondence	Originals	Translations
<i>hold</i>	169	115
PARAPHRASING	108	126
<i>keep</i>	102	129
ZERO CORRESPONDENCE	13	19
<i>stay</i>	10	15
<i>stop</i>	8	27
<i>stick</i>	8	4
<i>be</i>	7	7
<i>live</i>	7	4
<i>do</i>	7	5
<i>stand</i>	7	0
<i>give</i>	8	6
<i>shut (up)</i>	3	11
<i>endure</i>	2	5
<i>bear</i>	2	4
<i>cover</i>	1	5
<i>maintain</i>	1	4
<i>watch</i>	0	6
OTHER VERBS (< 4) ¹⁸	60	97
Total	523	589

other words, the correspondences of the Norwegian verb *holde* are not dominated by a single verb, as was the case with the English verb *hold*, but by two verbs: *hold* and *keep*.

The fact that *keep* is so common indicates a meaning of *holde* that is separate from English *hold*. According to Francis et al. (1996 : 450), the verbs *keep*, *remain*, and *stay* ‘indicate that a person or thing remains something, or continues to have a particular quality.’ Interestingly, *stay* is the third most frequent correspondence of *holde* (see table 4.3 above) while *remain* occurs three times in original texts and twice in translations (it is not listed specifically in table 4.3 due to its low frequency). A closer look at the instances themselves is needed, but there is a strong indication that the meaning suggested by Francis et al. (ibid) is a part of the Norwegian verb *holde*, and that it cannot be expressed by English *hold*.

The remaining correspondences in table 4.3 clearly corroborate the hypothesis that

¹⁸ This footnote provides a list of these verbs (in alphabetical order): *address, adhere, ask, avoid, bear, bind, brief, carry, celebrate, check, clasp, cling, clutch, clock, confine, control, cope, cradle, conceal, consider, continue, cover, deliver, detain, distance, employ, encompass, endure, ensure, eye, extend, feed, fling, fold, grip, go, hand, hang, have, haunt, hide, house, hover, hug, inhabit, insist, issue, know, last, lecture, lift, limit, linger, look, maintain, make, manage, measure, nourish, own, pause, perform, point, preserve, protect, provide, put, raise, rein, rely, remain, reside, resist, retain, rivet, save, screen, settle, share, sit, spend, steady, steer, turn, and work*. This list includes verbs that are part of congruent verb phrases and non-congruent verb phrases.

holde is a highly polysemous lemma, and that it is more polysemous than English *hold* (as was argued in section 1.4). Compared with its English cognate, the verb also corresponds to paraphrases much more frequently: 108 of the instances of *holde* in original texts have been paraphrased, while in translated texts, *holde* corresponds to a paraphrase 126 times.

In addition, there is a wider range of other corresponding verbs, some of which are quite frequent (e.g. *stay* with 10 and 15 instances in original and translated texts respectively and *stop* with 8 and 27 instances). Compared with English *hold*, the number of different corresponding verbs (and their overall frequencies) is much higher. The verb correspondences are not only more frequent; they are also more varied in terms of meaning. For instance, *keep* and *stop* (two verbs which seemingly have opposite meanings) both occur as correspondences of *holde*. Other verbs that seem unrelated to each other are *cover*, *live*, *watch* and *endure*.

Part of the reason why the corresponding verbs in the overview are so varied is that non-congruent verb phrases are included (see a discussion on non-congruent verb phrases in section 4.1 above). For instance, the verb *watch* corresponds to *holde*, but only because it corresponds to the phrase *holde vakt* [hold watch] (as in (4-6) below). The two verb phrases are directly comparable, but the lexical meaning of the verb in the English original does not come primarily from the verb *holde*; it is derived from the phrase *holde vakt* as a whole.

- (4-6) Så han *holdt vakt* og han ventet. (FF1T)
So he *watched* and he waited.

The example with *watch* is not the only type of instance in which a verb phrase containing *holde* corresponds to a single verb in English. The verb *live*, for instance, always corresponds to the phrase *holde til* [hold to] (see (4-7)), and the verb *endure* always corresponds to the phrase *holde ut* [hold out] (see (4-8)). It seems that *holde* easily combines with other elements to form a new kind of meaning (a meaning that is potentially far removed from the meaning that the verb usually expresses on its own).

- (4-7) "Hvor er det du har *holdt til*, da?" spurte jeg. (JSM1T)
I said, "Where 've you been *living*, then?"

- (4-8) Nå og da sovnet hun fordi hun ikke kunne *holde ut* alle øynene.
(HW2)
Now and then she slept, because she could no longer *endure* all the eyes.

The perspective of this section is somewhat limited since it only looks at correspondences and their frequencies. While we have learned that a single verb in English may correspond to a whole phrase in Norwegian, we have learned little about the importance of phrases in other types of instances (i.e. instances in which *holde* corresponds to something other than a non-congruent verb phrase). In addition, we have not touched upon how much individual meaning *holde* carries in phrases such as *holde vakt* [hold watch]. We do not know if there are instances in which the lexical content of *holde* is bleached, or whether it has been grammaticalized. For now, however, it is enough to have established that *holde* is used in phrases. It can also be expected that *holde* is used in this way relatively frequently. The question of phrases and syntactic behavior for Norwegian *holde* is addressed in chapter 7 below.

One very interesting aspect of the correspondences of Norwegian *holde*, is the fact that the number of instances in which the verb corresponds to English *hold* drops from 169 in original texts to 115 in translated texts. The cause behind this drop is somewhat complex, and it is connected to the overuse of English *hold* discussed in section 4.3 above. What we are seeing is a mirror effect of the tendency for English translators to use English *hold* as a translation of Norwegian *holde*. Since the English verb is overused in this way in English translations, table 4.3 exhibits a higher correspondence rate between the two verbs when Norwegian *holde* is used in original texts. In other words, what we are seeing is not a drop in correspondence rate in translated Norwegian texts, but rather an increase in correspondence rate in original Norwegian texts.

Since English *hold* is less than half as frequent as Norwegian *hold*, one might have expected the Norwegian verb to exhibit a certain amount of *underuse*, i.e. the opposite of overuse (Johansson 2007 : 32) in the material. However, the study of the instances in which *holde* corresponds to *hold* has revealed that although the frequencies vary, this is mainly due to the mirror effect discussed above, and not caused by a tendency for Norwegian translators to be influenced by the source language. In other words, little or no underuse is expected.

As mentioned at the start of this section, there is no underuse, but surprisingly there is a clear overuse of *holde* (going from 523 instances in original texts to 589 instances in translated texts). As is clear from the discussion above, this overuse cannot be attributed to influence from the English cognate. In other words, a translation effect is evident, but it does not seem to be a clear case of translationese (i.e. source language influence).

Looking at table 4.3 above, there seems to be no single factor or simple explanation for the overuse. What we see is a general increase in several categories. *Keep* increases from

102 to 129 instances, while *stop* more than triples, increasing from 8 to 27 instances. The verb *watch* has no correspondences in original texts, but six in translations. The frequencies of paraphrases and zero correspondences increase somewhat as well. Perhaps most importantly, the total frequency of verbs that correspond to *holde* less than four times increases from 60 to 97 instances when *holde* is used in translated texts.

These numbers are somewhat difficult to interpret, in large part because of the above-mentioned mirror effect. Since this effect causes *holde* to correspond to *hold* more often in original texts, it is only natural that the number of alternative correspondences drops in original texts. In other words, part of what looks like an increase in the number of alternative correspondences in translations is actually the opposite: a decrease in the number of such correspondences in original texts. Although there is a general increase in the amount of occurrences in translated texts, it is difficult to see how one can distinguish between which parts of the increase are indirectly caused by the mirror effect, and which parts that are caused by an actual translation effect (causing a general overuse of *holde*).

The scope and aim of this thesis does not allow for a further study into the causes behind the overuse of *holde* in translated texts. However, one thing is clear: with English *hold*, original and translated texts behave in much the same way (except for an easily explained increase in the use of *hold* in translated texts). This is not the case with Norwegian *holde*. The frequencies vary greatly between translations and original texts in almost every category. This fluctuation in frequencies suggests that *holde* is a highly flexible lemma, both in terms of meaning and syntax, and that it can be used in a wide range of context. The fact that the writing process itself affects the use of the verb to such a degree suggests that the behavior of the lemma is not always straightforward or predictable.

5 Division into Semantic Categories

5.1 Introduction

The intention of this section is to map every instance of *hold(e)* in the fiction part of the ENPC according to the meaning expressed by the verb (or by the phrase in which the verb occurs). To do this, it is necessary to create semantic categories in some way, into which the occurrences can be grouped. Initially, the intent was to use the classification scheme provided by Functional Grammar as a starting point, making a distinction between material, mental, and behavioral processes.¹⁹ However, even though the division into these categories was feasible, the approach proved problematic in a number of ways.

One problem is that the distinction between these types of processes would separate instances that are closely related in meaning. Consider the two occurrences below. They have different verbal processes, a material one in (5-1) and a mental one in (5-2), and yet the actions described are very similar: they both express holding on to (or gripping) something to keep it from getting away.

(5-1) Han tar moren i hånden og *holder* henne fast. (LSC1)
He takes Mother's hand and *holds* her tight.

(5-2) Han la seg og forsøkte å tenke ut hva han skulle si til Osmundsen dagen etter, men tankene svømte i en slags dis, de var ikke til å *holde* fast. (KA1)
He lay down and tried to figure out what he should tell Osmundsen the following day, but his thoughts were diffused in a kind of haze and he was unable to *hold* on to them.

In addition to separating instances that are clearly similar with respect to meaning, the framework provided by Functional Grammar also does the opposite: grouping together instances that clearly express very different meanings. Consider (5-3) and (5-4) below. Both instances express material processes, and yet the meaning of the verb is clearly very different. In (5-3), no clear action is being taken; the utterance simply states that a circumstance (*good weather*) is being sustained. In (5-4) *hold* expresses the physical act of taking something in your hand and holding it out.

(5-3) "The weather's *holding* now. (JSM1)
"Været *holder* seg nå.

¹⁹ Section 2.3 discussed these concepts. See Thompson (2004 : 30).

(5-4) Then Billy had *held* out his receipt pad and ballpoint pen.
(FF1)

Så hadde Billy *rakt* fram kvitteringsblokken og kulepennen.

The fact that these two instances are grouped together is not in itself a problem; Functional Grammar provides means of separating these two instances, for instance by the distinction between an intentional process (5-4) and an involuntary process (5-3) (Thompson 2004 : 91), or by the distinction between ergative and non-ergative processes (i.e. processes that happen by themselves and processes that are caused to happen) (ibid : 135). However, seen together with instances such as (5-1) and (5-2), the resulting classification scheme would become overly complicated. The goal of this section is to create categories that are as broad as possible, and aim for a simple classification scheme. Therefore, another strategy is needed in the initial phase. Functional Grammar is still relevant to my analysis, but in other, supplementary ways (the role of Functional Grammar in this thesis was discussed in section 2.3).

The solution has been to follow the example of Viberg (as was discussed in section 1.3) and to create new semantic categories based on the general meanings expressed by the instances in the material. The categories are not set up in advance of the analysis, but are created as part of the analysis itself, letting the occurrences decide the nature of the classification scheme. I have gone through the instances and looked for instances of *hold(e)* that are related in meaning, and created a definition of that meaning based on the occurrences themselves. Instances have been reduced to the most basic and general meaning possible, in order to create wide-encompassing categories.

The main motivation behind not creating categories in advance of the analysis is the fact that *hold(e)* has a very complex and polysemous behavior. To predict the full range of behavior for such a polysemous lemma would prove very difficult. It would have been impossible to create a complete set of categories relying on researcher intuition alone. It may have been possible to use dictionary entries to some extent, but there are a number of problems with that approach as well. Firstly, since *holde* and *hold* are from different languages, different dictionaries would have to be used for each lemma. Differences in methodology between dictionaries could prove problematic when the lemmas are compared. Additionally, most dictionaries (at least the Norwegian ones) are not corpus-based, which means that a corpus analysis would probably have to adapt and supplement such entries anyway.

By creating original categories, it is also possible to create categories especially suited

for the material. For example, it is possible to reduce the occurrences to their most basic and general meaning. Table 5.1 lists all the resulting categories and their frequencies. This table may be referred back to throughout this chapter.

Table 5.1: Instances of *hold(e)* categorized according to broad semantic categories. Frequencies based on fiction texts in the ENPC.

Semantic Category		Norw. <i>holde</i>		Eng. <i>hold</i>	
		Orig.	Transl.	Orig.	Transl.
Shared categories	Physical Contact	151	156	138	183
	Sustainment	210	231	27	44
	Restraintment	15	22	10	8
	Action	23	35	8	12
	Possession	8	12	8	-
	Containment	-	2	11	3
	Evaluation	2	-	2	6
	Stop	15	30	1	1
	Endurance	21	17	-	5
Norwegian categories	Limitation	11	11	-	-
	Location	19	13	-	-
	Grammatical	45	46	-	-
	Other	3	14	5	3
Total Frequency		523	589	210	265

For now, no indication of syntactic frame is given, although it will become evident that some of the meanings are restricted to specific syntactic structures (or to specific phrases). However, this is particularly evident in some of the less frequent categories, with the most frequent ones exhibiting a complex syntactic behavior. In other words, it is more constructive to speak of syntactic frame in chapters 6-8. As a result, this section will focus on the general meanings expressed. The remaining sections in this chapter will discuss the semantic categories and their meanings in detail. First however, a discussion of the concept *extension of meaning* is needed.

5.2 Extension of Meaning

Let us look at (5-1) and (5-2) above once more. It was mentioned that the verbal acts that are expressed (i.e. *grip*) are very similar. The difference between them is that (5-1) has a material goal ('henne' [her]) whereas (5-2) has a mental goal ('tankene' [the thoughts]). This difference in goal is what causes them to express different types of verbal processes, even though the meaning of the verb itself is very similar.

One way of looking at this difference is to see it as a case of *meaning extension*, in which the typical material meaning represented by (5-1) has been extended into the mental domain. According to Viberg (1994: 180), this kind of meaning extension is common when it comes to frequent and polysemous verbs. It is also typical that such extensions go in the direction material → mental → grammatical.²⁰ In other words, (5-2) represents a kind of mental extension of the material meaning found in (5-1).

In some cases, however, there is a clear meaning extension without the creation of a mental meaning. In (5-5) below, the typical material meaning *hold something in your grasp* has been used figuratively by introducing a non-concrete actor ('the cold'). The verb no longer has the literal meaning of physically grasping something, but has become figuratively extended into the abstract domain. However, the meaning is still material, since the action described (the cold engulfing the two men) clearly is something which does not happen inside anyone's head. In other words, a distinction must be made between abstract material and abstract mental. I therefore suggest a variant to Viberg's model of meaning extension: concrete material → abstract material/abstract mental → grammatical.

- (5-5) Paul and I talked for so long that the fire fell into embers and the cold *held* us rigid in its grasp. (TH1)
- Paul og jeg snakket og snakket inntil bålet døde ut og kulden *holdt* oss i sin stive hånd.

Viberg (1994 : 172) notes that meaning extension is an important reason why a word develops polysemy in the first place, and that all meanings of a word are likely to be related (as was discussed in section 2.2). From this perspective, meaning extension is not something that can be limited to examples such as (5-5) above, and not something that is distinct from polysemy itself.

Nevertheless, it seems helpful to make a distinction between clear-cut cases of polysemy, and instances in which the meaning extension is still evident in the meaning. In (5-2) and (5-5) above, for instance, the literal meaning is still evident, and forms the basis for our abstract interpretation of the meaning. This is clearly different from uses that function independently, and in which the meaning extension is no longer evident. Instances that are seen as abstract extensions of a concrete material meaning are categorized together with their literal counterparts. Consequently, some of the categories include up to three types of meanings.

²⁰ In Viberg's (1994 : 180) terms: concrete → mental → grammatical

The categories are relatively clear-cut, and no great difficulties have been encountered in the creation of the categories or in the classification of the ENPC occurrences. However, there will always be instances that defy classification, the main reason being that categories connect and overlap (as is expected, given the nature of polysemy), with some instances seemingly belonging to several categories simultaneously. Specific occurrences will be discussed under each individual category.

5.3 Shared Semantic Categories

5.3.1 ‘Physical Contact’

‘Physical contact’ is a highly frequent category for both lemmas, with 138 instances in English original texts and 151 instances in Norwegian original texts. Reduced to its most basic and general meaning, instances in the ‘physical contact’ category denote two physical objects coming into contact with one another. In typical examples, a human actor (i.e. the holder) uses either the hand or some other part of the body to hold an object in a certain position or location, as in (5-6) below. Interestingly, this is probably the meaning that is most similar to what Viberg (1994 : 178) sees as the primary meaning of *hold*, namely *manipulation*.

In a few cases, the location or position does not apply to the held object, but to the holder itself, as in (5-7). The actor can be non-human, as demonstrated by (5-8) below. In some cases, the concept of location or position is not present, as in (5-9) below. In these instances, the focus is on the fact that there is physical contact between objects.

- (5-6) She *held* up the mug of steaming liquid. (TH1)
Så *holdt* hun opp det dampende kruset
- (5-7) Jeg måtte *holde* meg fast i kommoden, og dermed kom jeg til å miste den åpne pengepungen på gulvet. (KA1)
I had to *hold* on to the chest of drawers and lost my open wallet on the floor.
- (5-8) All he wore was a baggy pair of red corduroy shorts *held* up by braces, and a pair of battered leather sandals. (MM1)
Han gikk ikke i annet enn vide, røde kordfløyelsbukser som sluttet ved knærne og ble *holdt* oppe med seler. Og så hadde han et par slitte sandaler.
- (5-9) Jeg hadde Mats å *holde* i hånden. (CL1)
I had Matt's hand to *hold*.

In some cases, this act of physical contact is extended into the abstract domain. One way of doing this is by using an alternative (or abstract) participant rather than a concrete one: In (5-10) the goal (i.e. the held object) is an abstract concept ('øyeblikket' [the moment]). Another way of extending the meaning is the use of non-literal, figurative language, as in (5-11). As noted above, the literal, physical meaning forms the basis for the interpretation of such abstract utterances. Meaning extensions in the physical contact category are relatively rare, and often represent creative use of language.

- (5-10) Men ved nærmere eftertanke forstår man at diktet, det å *holde* fast øyeblikket, ikke er Deres uttrykksform. (FC1)
 But on closer reflection one realizes that the poem — that *holding* fast of the moment — is not your form of expression.
- (5-11) Han vil ikke lenger *holde* sin hånd over menneskene, som han en gang skapte i sitt bilde. (JW1)
 He no longer wants to *hold* His hand over the people that He once created in His own image.

The classification of the occurrences into the 'physical contact' category is usually unproblematic. Exceptions are occurrences that border on the 'sustainment' category. These cases will be discussed in a separate section.

5.3.2 'Sustainment'

This semantic category is very frequent for Norwegian *holde*; in fact, it is more frequent than any other category with 210 instances in original texts. It occurs with English *hold* as well, but only in 27 instances in original texts. One way of understanding this meaning is in terms of *aktionsart*. Faarlund et al. (1997 : 637) define *aktionsart* as the nature of the time span expressed by the a given verb. It is different from *aspect* in that the nature of the time span is a lexical feature of the verb itself, and not a way in which the verb is used (ibid). Although Faarlund et al. (ibid : 638) distinguish between many types of features when it comes to *aktionsarten*, the one that is relevant here is the distinction between durative and non-durative actions. The first expresses an action that spans over either a given or an indefinite amount of time, while a non-durative action does not have a time span to speak of.

The most basic and general meaning of the instances in the 'sustainment' category is that the action or circumstance that takes place is durative as opposed to non-durative. The connection with the English verbs *keep*, *remain*, and *stay* discussed in section 4.4 is related

to this concept. In that section it was said that these three verbs indicate that ‘a person or thing remains something, or continues to have a particular quality’ (Francis et al. 1996 : 450). It is interesting that the category occurs in English as well, since *keep*, *remain*, and *stay* carry this particular meaning. Chapter 8 will have more to say about how the English and Norwegian verbs behave differently when used in this sense.

However, when *hold(e)* is used in this sense, it is not only an expression of the fact that the action is durative; there is also emphasis on the continuation itself, i.e. that something continues to happen as opposed to seizing or stopping. As a result, the term ‘sustainment’ will be used refer to these instances. Typically, *hold(e)* refers to the fact someone or something is sustaining a circumstance or a process, A typical example is (5-12) below.

- (5-12) Han står i en pram som er halvfull av vann og prøver om
 skosmøringen *holder* støvlene tette. (KH1)
 He was standing in a barge half full of water, testing to see if the
 grease *kept* his boots watertight.

This category may be analyzed in terms of the participants that take part in the utterance (inspired by the participant roles of Functional Grammar).²¹ There are four participants in a typical occurrence:

1. The sustainer: the person or object that causes the action to continue or be sustained, similar to the participant role *actor* suggested by functional grammar.
2. The verbal process expressing sustainment: the verb *hold(e)* or a verb phrase containing *hold(e)*
3. The circumstance: the quality or process that is being sustained. *Circumstance* is a term suggested by Functional Grammar.
4. Affected participant: the participant that is affected by the sustained circumstance. In Functional Grammar, this participant is typically the goal.

In (5-12) above, the sustainer is ‘skosmøringen’ [the grease], and the process of sustainment is expressed by the verb ‘holder’ [holds]. The circumstance that is being sustained is found in the adjective ‘tette’ [tight]. The affected participant is the object ‘støvlene’ [the boots]. Not surprisingly, the English translation uses the verb *keep* rather than *hold*. The four elements described above are not always explicitly present in the occurrences, but if they are

²¹ For a discussion on the participant roles of Functional Grammar, see section 2.3 above.

not explicit, they are usually implied. In (5-13) below, the sustainer (i.e. the actor) is not mentioned, but it is evident that a held note must be held by someone or something.

- (5-13) I guess because it was like one perfectly *held* note, one exact and translucent colour. (JB1)
Antagelig fordi den var som en ren og *vedvarende* tone, en klar og gjennomskinnelig farge.

This particular example also shows how the affected participant and the circumstance may overlap: ‘note’ represents the circumstance that is being sustained, but at the same time also represents the participant that is affected by action (i.e. the goal). In Functional Grammar, ‘note’ would probably be analyzed purely as a goal, but in this analysis, bearing in mind the other instances in the material, there is a clear element of a circumstance being expressed as well. For my purposes, it seems constructive to see these participants as expressing *circumstance* and *affected participant* simultaneously.

In other cases, the sustainer and affected participant may overlap. In (5-14) below, the circumstance ‘peace’ refers to the state of being silent, while ‘Daddy’ is in this case the sustainer of that circumstance. However, ‘Daddy’ is also an affected participant, since he is the one that is kept silent. In this particular instance, an alternative interpretation is to see ‘his peace’ as a simultaneous expression of goal and circumstance, seeing ‘his peace’ as a goal that is independent of the actor. However, this is not always possible, especially when Norwegian *holde* combines with the reflexive pronoun, as in (5-15) below.²² Here the circumstance ‘unna’ (away) is an adverb, and cannot be seen as a goal in its own right.

- (5-14) Daddy listened, but *held* his peace. (JSM1)
Far min hørte på, uten å si noe.
- (5-15) Eneboliger *holder* jeg meg klokkelig unna. (KF1)
I carefully *avoid* single-family houses.

The ‘sustainment’ category seems to be able to express a very wide range of meanings. Especially the nature of the circumstance is varied, expressing concrete material as well as abstract material and abstract mental meanings. It can be a thought, a position, a relationship, etc. In that sense, *holde* has a more general meaning than in the ‘physical contact’ category; the amount of abstract meanings is higher, and abstract instances

²² Cf. Thompson (2004 : 91) for a discussion on how the actor often seems like a goal. The overlap between actor and goal when a reflexive pronoun is used will be explored in more detail in section 7.2.6.

typically have no literal meaning they can be traced back to. In (5-16), for instance, the meaning is clearly abstract mental, but no literal, concrete material meaning is evident.

- (5-16) Prøver å *holde* motet oppe når jeg skriver særøppgave om forurensing og leser Merchant of Venice. (BV2)
Try to *keep* my spirits up whilst writing a project on pollution and reading The Merchant of Venice.

The majority of instances have a concrete material meaning, and although abstract meanings occur relatively frequently, they are typically abstract material and not purely mental, such as (5-16) above. In fact, behavioral processes, which are an in-between meaning, are more common. There are instances of clear meaning extensions (i.e. non-literal meanings) in this category as well: in (5-17), the literal meaning *holde seg i solen* [keep oneself in the sun] has been abstractly extended so that the general meaning of the phrase is *to do well*.

- (5-17) "Ellers *holder* han seg i solen?" (GS1)
"But, otherwise, he *stays* in the sunshine?"

5.3.3 Borderline Cases: ‘Sustainment’ vs. ‘Physical Contact’

In a few of the occurrences, it can be difficult to differentiate between the ‘sustainment’ and the ‘physical contact’ categories. After all, the physical act of holding something in place is a kind of sustainment of a circumstance. (5-18) below is a good example of this. It may be seen to belong to the ‘sustainment’ category, firstly because the focus is on the sustainment of a circumstance (a location), and secondly because all four participants are there: there is a sustainer (‘hun’ [she]), a process of sustainment (‘holdt’ [held]), a circumstance (‘i munnhulen’ [in her mouth]) as well as an affected participant (‘vinen’ [the wine]). From that perspective, it is a classic case of sustainment.

On the other hand, the subject is also, in a sense, holding (even ‘gripping’) the object in a certain position through physical contact, which is an argument for grouping it under the ‘physical contact’ category. In this particular case, the focus on the duration of the action is so strong that the example is grouped under the ‘sustainment’ category, although this is by no means a clear-cut decision. (5-19) below is another example of an occurrence that is in-between ‘physical contact’ and ‘sustainment’, but classified as a case of sustainment because of its focus on duration.

- (5-18) Hun drakk forsiktig av glasset, *holdt* vinen i munnhulen og lot den rulle over ganen, et kort øyeblikk var hun taus, før hun så på meg og spurte: (JW1)
- She took a delicate sip from the glass, *held* the wine in her mouth and rolled it around her palate; she was silent for a moment, then she looked at me and asked:
- (5-19) His mommy sat with him; they *held* him between them, soothed him as best they could. (SK1)
- Mamma satte seg på sengen, de *holdt* ham mellom seg og trøstet ham som best de kunne.

In some instances, an occurrence cannot be classified based on one sentence alone. In (5-20) it is impossible to tell if concrete physical action is being taken (in which case it should be grouped under the ‘physical contact’ category), or if the action is of a more abstract nature (in which case it should be grouped under the ‘sustainment’ category). In the case of (5-20), the general meaning is that a boy and his uncle plan to leave the house to go to a cabin in the woods. However, Aunt Linn is holding them back, not through physical contact, but by what she says and the way she cares for them. Therefore, the occurrence should be grouped under the ‘sustainment’ category, the adverb (‘back’) representing the sustained circumstance.²³

- (5-20) Tante Linn *holdt* oss tilbake. (KF2)
- Aunt Linn was *holding* us back.

Examples of cases in which the ‘physical contact’ and the ‘sustainment’ category partly overlap are exceptions, and overall the two groups are fairly easy to distinguish between. The fact that the two meanings seem to overlap in some cases is a clear indication that they are etymologically related in some way. This connection is probably what sometimes makes it difficult to make an absolute distinction between some instances.

5.3.4 ‘Restraintment’

This category has 15 occurrences in Norwegian original texts and 10 in original English texts. It is a relatively straightforward category in which *hold(e)* expresses the act of keeping something in check, i.e. keeping a participant from taking action. In (5-21) the object ‘breaths’ is kept in check (i.e. kept from happening). In some cases, there is no restrained

²³ Another possibility is of course to see (5-20) as a case of abstract extension of the concrete meaning. However, I do not feel that the connection to the literal meaning of ‘physical contact’ is strong enough. The phrase *holde noe tilbake* [hold something back] is an independent phrase not dependent on an inherent physical meaning.

object, but instead a reflexive pronoun that is co-referential with the subject. In these cases, the actor is restraining himself or herself (see (5-22) below).

(5-21) We *held* our breaths. (RDO1)

Vi *holdt* pusten.

(5-22) Prøv å *holde* deg til vi kommer dit. (LSC1)
[lit. 'try to hold yourself until we get there']

"Try to *hold* it until we get there."

One might argue that this category is a kind of subcategory of the 'sustainment' category, since the emphasis is typically on the fact that a negative circumstance (i.e. the absence of a circumstance) is sustained. There is a clear element of ongoingness in this category. In fact, many of the instances in the 'sustainment' category can express a similar kind of meaning, as does (5-23) below.

(5-23) Managing to *hold* back my scream, I found myself staring into the luminous eyes of a white dog. (BO1)

Jeg klarte å la være å skrike og sto og stirret inn i de lysende øynene til en hvit hund.

However, examples such as (5-23) are different because the negative circumstance is expressed by an additional element (in this case the adverb 'back'), and not by the verb *holde(e)*. This distinction requires an independent semantic category. However, it is crucial to recognize the semantic similarity between the two categories. Example (5-24) below shows how similar they are: the original is grouped under the 'restraintment' category, while the translation (expressing the same type of meaning with the same verb) is grouped under the 'sustainment' category.

(5-24) Ruby klarer nesten ikke å *holde* seg nå. (LSC1)

Ruby almost ca n't *hold* back now.

5.3.5 'Action'

In 23 instances in Norwegian original texts and in eight instances in English original texts, *hold(e)* refers broadly to the fact that an action is performed. Typical examples are (5-25) and (5-26) below. The action that is undertaken is expressed in a noun phrase, which typically comes directly after the verb. In (5-25), the noun phrase is 'et kort foredrag' [a short lecture] and in (5-26) it is 'long conversations'. In these instances, *hold(e)* simply states that the action taking place is performed as opposed to not performed. In a few

occurrences, the utterance refers to the arranging of an event in which there is a gathering of people of some kind, as in (5-27) below. In these instances, *hold(e)* is more or less synonymous with the Norwegian verb *arrangere* [arrange] and the English verb *arrange*.

(5-25) Så *holdt* han et kort foredrag om både det ene og det andre. (HW1)

Then he *gave* a short lecture on various matters.

(5-26) The wind *held* long conversations with the gutters. (SK1)

Vinden *førte* lange samtaler med takrennene.

(5-27) Because it was a racing diary, the race-meetings to be *held* on each day of the year were listed under the day's date. (DF1)

Siden dette var en veddeløpskalender, sto hver dags løpsarrangementer oppført under datoen.

5.3.6 'Possession'

'Possession' is expressed in eight instances in each language in original texts. (5-28) and (5-29) are typical examples in English and Norwegian respectively. The English occurrences are relatively straightforward syntactically as well as semantically: the verb *hold* is combined with a participant that is in the possession of the holder (i.e. the actor). In Norwegian, this meaning is typically phrasal, expressing this meaning through the phrase *holde på* (as in (5-29)). However, there are a few examples of *holde* expressing this meaning independently as well, for instance in the phrase *holde varmen* ['keep warm', lit. *hold the heat*], although these instances tend to be very similar to those in the 'sustainment' category. The possessional meaning is somewhat weakened.

(5-28) In just the one year he *held* power, Plato's uncle Critias attained distinction as the bloodiest and most venal tyrant in the history of the city. (JH1)

På bare det ene året han *satt med* makten, skilte Platons onkel Kritias seg ut som den blodigste og mest korruperte tyrann i byens historie.

(5-29) En skal *holde på* navnet sitt hvis en vil. (KF1)

A person should *hang on to* his name, if he wants to.

5.3.7 'Endurance'

There are 21 instances in Norwegian original texts that express *endurance*. Although this does not occur in any of the instances in English original texts, there are five examples of it in English translations. This particular meaning of *hold(e)* is phrasal: the meaning is not

expressed by the verb independently, but by the combination with a particle. Norwegian *holde* always combines with the particle *ut* [out] and English *hold* combines with particles *out* or *on*. The general meaning of the phrase is that the actor keeps something going despite the fact that what he or she is doing is stressful or in some way difficult (see (5-30) and (5-31) for typical examples). The phrase is typically negative, expressing how the subject cannot endure, as in (5-31).

(5-30) Jeg hadde kanskje *holdt ut* en stund til. (EHA1)
Maybe I could have *held out* a little longer.

(5-31) Og nå er jeg reist fra hele greia, fordi jeg ikke *holdt ut*."
(EHA1)
And now I 've left the whole business because I could n't *take it*."

Interestingly, this group presents some difficulties with regard to the distinctions abstract/concrete and mental/material. We may initially classify the verb phrase in (5-30) as a clear case of a material process. *Holde ut*, after all, expresses the act of sustaining a physical action. However, there is a strong mental aspect to the utterance as well: the act of enduring something is also a matter of coping with it in your mind. In (5-31) the subordinate clause 'fordi jeg ikke holdt ut' is a description of the mental processes of the actor, and is offered as an explanation behind the choice made in the main clause (*leaving the business*). A possible solution is to see these instances as expressing a kind of behavioral process.

5.3.8 'Containment'

In 11 instances in English original texts, *hold(e)* expresses how one object is contained by another. This meaning does not occur in Norwegian original texts, but there are two instances of it in translated texts. All instances in the ENPC are concrete material. Typically, the contained object is positioned on and/or within the other object, as in (5-32). Two of the instances describe a person being held captive, as in (5-33). It should be mentioned that instances containing the phrase BE + *held captive* have been grouped in the 'sustainment' category, since *captive* represents a circumstance, and *held* represents the sustainment of that circumstance. In other words, 'containment' is related to the sustainment category in much the same way as the 'restraintment' category.

(5-32) A doyley-covered plate *held* an assortment of biscuits. (ST1)
En asjett prydet med en papirserviett *oppbød* et utvalg fylte

kjeks.

- (5-33) The herbalist went on to tell her that I was being *held* by a man and a woman who either wanted to keep me as their own child or sacrifice me for money, (...) (BO1)

Urtelegen fortalte henne videre at jeg *var* hos et ektepar som enten ville beholde meg som sitt eget barn, eller ofre meg for penger, (...)

5.3.9 ‘Stop’

There are 15 instances of this meaning in original Norwegian texts. This meaning of *hold(e)* is fully phrasal (see section 2.4 for a definition of different types of phrases): in Norwegian, *holde* always combines with the particle *opp* to form the phrasal meaning *stop* or *seize* (see (5-34) below). There is one instance in which *holde* combines with *an* to form the phrase *holde an* (with the same type of phrasal meaning). There are two instances in which English *hold* combines with the particle *on* to form a similar kind of phrasal meaning (one instance in original texts and one in translated texts).

When used in this sense, the English verb seems to be equally similar to the verb *wait* in meaning (more so than the Norwegian verb). However, discontinuation of an action is still present. There are reasons for seeing this meaning as a subgroup of the ‘restraint’ category. However, occurrences grouped under the ‘stop’ category denote the stopping of an on-going action, i.e. a change. In the case of *restraint*, a potential action is kept from happening, something that involves continuation rather than change.

- (5-34) Nå *holder* du *opp* med den spørringen." (BV2)
Now that's enough questions.

- (5-35) "Jo, hey, *hold* on!" (KF2T)
"Jo, hei *vent*!"

5.4 Norwegian Semantic Categories

The following section deals with categories that only occur with Norwegian *holde*. It should be mentioned that an analysis of the instances in the ENPC cannot rule out the existence of any of these categories for English *hold*. The fact that a category is not represented in the corpus is not proof that it does not occur in the English language at all. On the other hand, it is safe to assume that any meaning not registered in the corpus will be rare. The categories discussed in this section are all relatively frequent.

5.4.1 ‘Grammatical’

This category represents the third most frequent category in the Norwegian material with 45 instances in original texts and 46 instances in translated texts. It is the only category that comes close to the ‘physical contact’ and ‘sustainment’ categories in terms of frequency. The meaning is here fully phrasal, always expressed by the phrases *holde på å* [hold on to] and *holde på med å* [hold on with to]. With these instances, it is not accurate to speak of a lexical meaning; instead, *holde* (or rather, the phrase containing *holde*) serves as a kind of auxiliary verb. In order to explain the meaning, we must first make a distinction between the two types of meanings that are expressed: A) *modal* and B) *aspectual*

A) Modal: modal use of *holde* is exemplified by (5-36) below. In such instances, the phrase *holde på* introduces *epistemic modality* (cf. Hasselgård et al. 2012 : 183), in which the factive nature of the subordinate infinitive clause is reduced. The infinitive clause ‘å tørne skuta og returnere til Tromsø’ in (5-36) represents what Quirk et al. (1985 : 232) call an *unreal condition* because the content is non-factual. This behavior of the phrase *holde på* is reminiscent of past tense modal auxiliaries such as *would* or *might*.

(5-36) "Alfred var så lei gnålet til den der sjøsjuke millionæren fra Bologna at han *holdt på å* tørne skuta og returnere til Tromsø."
(JM1)

Alfred was so fed up with the complaints from that seasick millionaire from Bologna that he *almost* turned the ship around and sailed for Tromsø."

Johansson (2008 : 65) has commented on this particular usage of *holde* and draws in Faarlund et al.’s (1997 : 651) concept of the ‘nær ved’ aspect (i.e. the ‘close to’ aspect). According to Faarlund et al. (ibid), two types of information are expressed in such instances: firstly, that the action expressed by the main verb comes close to happening and secondly that this action does not in fact happen. This ‘close to’ aspect makes *holde* semantically more similar to an adverb than a modal auxiliary. In terms of meaning, the closest English equivalent would probably be the adverb *almost*.²⁴ The Norwegian adverb *nesten* [almost] would also be more or less semantically equivalent.

b) Aspectual: the second subgroup is exemplified by (5-37) below. In such instances, the function of the phrase *holde på* is aspectual because it adds ongoingness to the verbal action expressed by the infinitive clause. In (5-37), the hair is in the process of becoming

²⁴ Indeed, *almost* is the most common correspondence to *holde* in these instances. Correspondences will be discussed further in the analysis in chapter 8.

gray. It is an ongoing and incomplete action. As Johansson (2008 : 64) notes, this kind of phrase is very similar in function to the English progressive aspect.

- (5-37) Det brune håret *holdt på å* bli grått uten at hun lot til å gjøre noe for å skjule det. (EG2)
Her dark-brown hair *had started to* grey, something she clearly made no effort to conceal.

In a few instances, the preposition *med* is added to the phrase, as in (5-38). These instances are also instances of aspectual use. However, when the preposition *med* is added, the phrase becomes very similar to a construction in which *holde på med* is combined with a noun phrase, as in (5-39). In (5-39), *holde* is the only verb, which makes it impossible to see it as an auxiliary verb with a grammatical function. Such instances are grouped under the ‘sustainment’ category.

- (5-38) Faren hvilte middag, Moren hysjet på henne straks hun hadde låst seg inn, hun *holdt på med å* henge opp nye kjøkkengardiner. (BV1)
Her father was having his after-dinner rest and her mother, who *was hanging up* new kitchen curtains, hissed at her to be quiet as soon as she let herself in.
- (5-39) Jeg *holder* nemlig *på med* en bok, det vil si... jeg har ikke fått skrevet noe på den ennå. (EG1)
I *'m writing* a book... at least, well, I have n't really started writing it yet.

Comparing (5-38) and (5-39), one may observe that they are very similar in terms of syntactic structure. According to Hasselgård et al. (2012 : 171), these kinds of cases show how some verbs can only partially be classified as auxiliary verbs. Looking at it from the perspective of syntactic substitution, the function of the phrase *holde på med* is closer to that of a main verb since the infinitive clause can be replaced by a noun phrase.

From the perspective of meaning, however, (5-38) is more similar to instances such as (5-37) above, in which *holde på* is clearly a kind of auxiliary verb. Since the focus of this thesis is on meaning, constructions of the type represented by (5-38) are seen as serving an auxiliary function and grouped under the ‘grammatical’ category. It is interesting to note that both examples above are translated into the progressive aspect (although (5-39) must add a main verb, ‘writing’, to do so).

5.4.2 ‘Limitation’

In this particular group, Norwegian *holde* refers to the act of keeping within certain boundaries or limiting yourself in some way. Typically, *holde* combines with a reflexive pronoun. There are 11 such instances in original texts. Below are two typical examples.

- (5-40) Stort sett *holde* seg til de merkede feltene når man krysser en gate. (KF1)
As a rule, *keep* within the marked areas when crossing the street.
- (5-41) "Det *holder*," avbrøt jeg og løp opp trappen. (LSC2)
"That's enough," I interrupted him and ran up the stairs.

5.4.3 ‘Location’

In 19 instances in original texts, *holde* expresses the act of being in a certain location, either for a long period of time or on a regular basis. It always sees *holde* combining with the particle *til* [to], and the meaning is fully phrasal, as in (5-42). It is unlikely that this meaning is possible for English *hold*.

- (5-42) De lekte at de var kongelige bueskyttere som *holdt til* i en stor og forhekset skog. (TTH1)
They pretended that they were the royal archers that *lived* in a huge, enchanted forest.

5.5 On the Groups as a Whole

Although the semantic categories have not been studied in great detail in this section, the classification and the resulting frequencies have provided much information about the two verbs and how they correspond to one another. In the ‘physical contact’ category, the two verbs have very similar frequencies, indicating that this usage is an area in which the two verbs behave similarly (although a closer study of the instances is required).

The frequencies in the ‘sustainment’ category indicates that this is an area in which the two verbs differ substantially: the meaning seems to be much more important for Norwegian *holde*. This difference seems to corroborate the findings in chapter 4, stating that *holde* has a unique meaning that is similar to the meaning expressed by *keep*, *remain*, and *stay*. The fact that the category also occurs with the English verb (albeit infrequently) is somewhat unexpected. It means that a closer study of that category is needed before the true nature of this meaning can be uncovered.

The existence of the ‘grammatical’ category in Norwegian represents another

important difference between the two verbs. Not only is it a category that is unique to the Norwegian verb, it is also the third most frequent category for that verb and clearly an important one. Interestingly, the discovery of this particular usage of *holde* has confirmed the fourth hypothesis presented in section 1.1 above: grammaticalization occurs in the material. Grammaticalization has only been proven to be a feature of the Norwegian verb, and no such instances have been found for English *hold*.

What is clear from the categorization in this section is that Norwegian *holde* is undoubtedly more polysemous than English *hold*, with several unique categories that are relatively frequent. The English verb has no unique meanings frequent enough to be discussed here. In the analysis below, the three most frequent categories ‘physical contact’, ‘sustainment’, and ‘grammatical’ will receive the most emphasis. As was stated in the discussion of the method (see section 3.2.1), the study should be focused on frequent uses of the lemmas. However, an overview of the less frequent categories will be provided as well.

6 Analysis of the Grammatical Context of English *Hold*

It was mentioned in section 2.4 that in terms of the behavior of a lexical item, form and meaning are intrinsically linked, and that some even consider them to be ‘the same thing’ (Sinclair 1998b : 12). Consequently, an analysis of grammatical context not only covers an important aspect of *hold(e)*, but will also lead to a greater understanding of the semantic aspects of the verbs. It must be included if the full range of differences between *holde* and *hold* are to be uncovered.

The purpose of chapters 6-8 is to analyze the semantic categories of *hold(e)* according to the grammatical context surrounding the verbs, and by doing so, to provide a more detailed analysis of the behavior of the lemmas (both syntactic and semantic). The basis for this analysis is the framework provided by Pattern Grammar (see section 2.4), with references to relevant findings by Francis et al. (1996). Once patterns are established, other forms of analysis will supplement it, among them some of the aspects of Functional Grammar (see section 2.3)

This particular chapter focuses on the English verb *hold*. With each semantic category, an overview of the patterns is provided before the actual pattern analysis, even though many of the patterns require explanation. The reader is encouraged to refer back to the overviews as the patterns are analyzed in more detail. The chapter will start with an analysis of the two most frequent semantic categories ‘physical contact’ and ‘sustainment’, before providing an overview of the remaining categories. Since the focus of this section is on the English verb, the Norwegian correspondences of the examples quoted will not be given. Instead, Norwegian correspondences will be discussed in chapter 8.

Before the analysis can begin, however, there is one important question regarding the classification of pattern constituents that must be addressed. It applies to multi-word phrases such *hold on* and *hold out*. Should the element that comes after the verb be categorized as a particle or an adverb? Francis et al. (1996) generally see such words as particles. The phrase *hold on* would be seen as expressing the **V p** pattern.

In my material, it can sometimes be difficult to draw a definitive line between particle and adverb, especially if one looks at several kinds of meanings. Consider the three instances below: in (6-1) from the ‘endurance’ category, *out* is definitely a particle, the main reason being that *out* has no independent meaning, only a phrasal function. In (6-2), from the ‘physical contact’ category, *out* seems to have independent meaning (since the actor is holding the matches away from himself). However, the phrase itself also has meaning

independently of the constituents (i.e. a quasi-phrasal meaning), since the action *to hold out something* is also a kind of offering. Because of this duality, *out* is an in-between case between adverb and particle. In (6-3), also from the ‘physical contact’ category, the constituent *downwards* expresses a clearly independent meaning with no additional phrasal meaning present. In this last instance, *downwards* must be seen as an adverb.

- (6-1) Maybe I could have *held out* a little longer. (EHA1T)
- (6-2) He *held out* matches. (TH1)
- (6-3) He *held* them *downwards* so that he did not share their oxygen. (JC1)

For the sake of consistency and simplicity, all three instances of *hold* above are seen as being complemented by an adverb group rather than a particle (resulting in the pattern **HOLD n with adv** for all instances). The number of fully phrasal instances is rare in the material, and this seems to be the wiser course. Hunston and Francis (2000 : 54) take the same approach when they see the phrase *switch on the television* as having the **V n with adv** pattern. Finer distinctions regarding the nature of the adverb groups can be made later.

6.1 Analysis of the Semantic Category ‘Physical Contact’

6.1.1 Pattern Overview

Table 6.1 provides an overview of the patterns found in the ‘physical contact’ category. These patterns are associated with a typical meaning that is more specific than the general ‘physical contact’ meaning. This added meaning is provided in the table as well. The sections below will explain the behavior of each pattern in detail.

6.1.2 The HOLD n Pattern

This pattern is quite straightforward, and (6-4) is a good example of the kind of instances that typically occur with this pattern.

- (6-4) The other *held* the knife. (JC1)

The basic meaning ‘physical contact’ is always clearly evident in these instances. In that sense, the instances are related to the ‘touch’ group defined by Francis et al. (1996 : 20). The authors claim that *to touch something* is a meaning that is typically associated with *hold* when used in this pattern. Francis et al. (ibid : 23) also list *to carry* as another possible meaning of *holde* when used in this pattern (this is a submeaning of their ‘bring’ group).

Table 6.1: Patterns in the ‘physical contact’ category for Eng. *hold* (ENPC, fiction).

Pattern	Org.	Transl.	Typical Meaning	Example
HOLD n	49	59	Carry	Trembling slightly, he <i>held the image</i> . (BO1)
				We <i>hold hands</i> and play games, the days pass, the wind blows harder, it gets darker earlier. (CL1T)
HOLD n prep	31	41	Location	1) With shaking fingers Willie undid his belt and buttons, peeled off the mackintosh and <i>held it in his arms</i> . (MM1)
				2) Harris came in as she was <i>holding the last match to the recalcitrant gas fire</i> . (ST1)
HOLD n with adv	36	39	Direction	I <i>held it up</i> . (RDO1)
HOLD n with adv prep	6	21	Direction	Now, <i>hold it out towards him</i> and tickle his chest." (MM1)
HOLD n with adj	6	-	Manner	He helped me out, gave me the crutches, and came with me to <i>hold open the heavy glass entrance door</i> . (DF1)
HOLD adv (prep)	6	20	Grip	1) She felt the baby being drawn by the winds, but she <i>held on tightly (...)</i> (GN1)
				2) They <i>held on to the luminous ropes attached to the towering figure</i> . (BO1)
HOLD onto n	3	1	Grip	He squirmed but I <i>held onto</i> him. (RDO1)
Other	1	1	-	
TOTAL	138	183		

In this part of the material, both *touch* and *carry* tend to be expressed by *hold*. *Carry* is not expressed in all instances; in (6-5) below, for instance, the actor does not *carry* the nose, but rather *covers* it. The concept of ‘physical contact’ (related to the concept of *touch*, but in a more general sense) applies to a much larger amount of instances (every instance in the ‘physical contact’ category). This seems to be a common denominator for many of the concrete material instances of *hold* in the ENPC. The *carry* meaning should therefore be seen as a meaning that is typically added to ‘physical contact’ in this pattern (i.e. a kind of submeaning).

- (6-5) Mister O'Connell *held* her nose and she snorted and stopped.
(RDO1)

6.1.3 The HOLD n prep Pattern

The **HOLD n prep** pattern sees the verb combine with a noun group and a prepositional phrase. It is similar in meaning to the **HOLD n** pattern discussed above in that an element of the *carry* meaning is present in many of the instances (see (6-6) below). The main emphasis of these instances, however, is on location (i.e. the location of the held object), as is also clear in (6-6). Francis et al. (1996 : 317) group these kinds of occurrences under their

'hold' group, which includes verbs that are 'concerned with keeping or holding someone in a particular place, state or location' (ibid). This definition seems to fit the instances of *hold* in this pattern in this category quite well.

- (6-6) He then *held it over his head* with his arms fully stretched and hurled it into the courtyard below. (ST1)

6.1.4 The HOLD n with adv and HOLD n with adv prep Patterns

In the **HOLD n with adv** pattern, *hold* combines with an adverb group and a noun group (the order of these two elements varies). The majority of the adverb groups are made up of the words *out* or *up* (which border on particles). Examples are (6-2) above and (6-7) below. In some rare cases, the adverb has a clearer lexical content, as in (6-8). All instances have the meaning 'physical contact' clearly imbedded, but also add the meaning *direction* to the utterance (a meaning which borders on *location* in some cases). This *direction* meaning typically receives a stronger emphasis than the 'physical contact' meaning.

- (6-7) Rook *held his purchase up*, and searched for a few coins. (JC1)

- (6-8) He took strolls through the woods on the estate and *held Dagny's parasol high above her head*. (HW2T)

In some instances, a prepositional phrase is added as well to form the **HOLD n with adv prep** pattern. In these instances, the general meaning of direction becomes even more prominent, as (6-9) shows.

- (6-9) Now, *hold it out towards him* and tickle his chest." (MM1)

6.1.5 The HOLD adv (prep) and HOLD onto n Patterns

With the **HOLD adv (prep)** pattern, *hold* combines with an adverb group and in some cases a prepositional phrase as well. In almost all cases, the adverb group is made up of the word *on*, to form the phrase *hold on*, as in (6-10). If the verb is combined with a prepositional phrase to form the pattern **HOLD adv prep**, the prepositional phrase always starts with *to*, as in (6-11) below. The few instances that have a different adverb group than *on* are all found in translated texts. One example is (6-12), which has the **HOLD adv prep** pattern.

- (6-10) "I had better *hold on* tightly now!" (TTH1T)

- (6-11) They *held on to the luminous ropes attached to the towering figure*. (BO1)

(6-12) He *held tightly to a large rock* and then let his trembling body glide out into the water. (CL1T)

It may well be that the phrase *hold on to*, represented by (6-11), should be viewed as a phrase, and that *to* should be viewed as a particle with a phrasal function. This would give the pattern to **HOLD adv p n**. Comparing (6-10) and (6-11), there are strong arguments against choosing this option: the phrase *hold on* expresses the same general meaning in both these instances (i.e. to take a hold of something in order to keep from falling). The prepositional phrase does not seem to be central to the meaning of the verb phrase.

If we expand our perspective, however, and include an example from the ‘stop’ category, things do not seem as straightforward. In (6-13), the phrase *hold on* has the meaning *wait*. This particular meaning depends on the absence of the preposition *to*. In fact, no prepositional phrase is possible. This shows that the meaning expressed by (6-11) above does have some connection with *to* as well. A further complication is the fact that *on* and *to* are sometimes written as one word to form the phrase *hold onto*.

(6-13) "Jo, hey, *hold on!*" (KF2T)

Whether *on* should be viewed as a preposition or a particle is not a question that has a clear answer. For the purposes of the analysis in this thesis, it is better see *to* as part of a prepositional phrase. In other words, the resulting pattern for such instances is **HOLD adv prep**. This means that the instances of *hold onto* must be given a separate pattern: **HOLD onto n**. Interestingly, all instances with the **HOLD adv (prep)** and **HOLD onto n** patterns have the added meaning *grip*. This shared trait shows that the occurrences are related, and supports the choice of the **HOLD adv prep** pattern for the *hold on to* phrase.

6.1.6 The HOLD n with adj Pattern

The **HOLD n with adj** pattern is a straightforward pattern in terms of classification (see table 6.1 above for an example). In this pattern, the verb combines with a noun group and an adjective group. It is infrequent, and need not be analyzed in detail. Instead, its behavior will be addressed in the overview of the ‘physical contact’ category in section 6.1.10.

6.1.7 Beyond the Pattern: HOLD n

The instances occurring in this pattern are typically non-phrasal (see (6-4) above), and are in that sense simple and straightforward in that the meaning is carried primarily by the verb itself, regardless of the kind of noun group that appears in the pattern. The noun group typically represents the goal in the utterance, while the actor is outside the pattern (usually a

subject).

In the majority of instances, the actor is human. The goal, however, can be either human or non-human, so long as it is concrete. Only two instances have a clearly non-human actor, one of which is (6-14) below. Both these instances are in the passive, but their active alternatives follow the **HOLD n** pattern, and otherwise behave in the same way as the other instances. As the verb is non-phrasal, there is little restriction as to what kind of concrete participants can act as goals, and the general verb meaning remains the same regardless of the kind of constituents that are involved.

- (6-14) It was the kind that came in cash four times a year, slipped to him in a paper bag with a mango or some grapes or handed over at a bar, a cylinder of notes — all used — and *held by rubber bands*. (JC1)

There is one significant exception, however, represented by instances containing the phrase *hold hands*, as in (6-15). There are seven such instances in original texts and two in translated texts. In these instances, the added meaning *carry* is non-existent, and the focus is on the physical contact between the two hands. In addition, the meaning expressed is quasi-phrasal, i.e. there is meaning in the individual constituents and an added phrasal meaning (i.e. to maintain a hold of each other's hands, expressing companionship or comfort).

- (6-15) His thoughts drifted and they continued to *hold hands* as the 747 thrummed westward above the Atlantic far below. (AH1)

The nature of the participants differs somewhat from typical instances of the **HOLD n** pattern: the noun group, *hands*, does not express a typical goal, but is more like a description of the verbal process expressed. The actor usually consists of two objects performing this verbal action together (affecting each other). In this respect, *hold hands* acts as a single verb. Interestingly, the actor must be plural, unless a prepositional phrase including *with* is added, as in (6-16). In other words, the pattern could have been expressed as **pl-n HOLD n/HOLD n with n**.

- (6-16) Baby was a member of the Junior Red Cross (community branch, segregated from that of the town) and went solemnly, *holding hands with a small companion*, from door to door with a collection box. (NG1)

6.1.8 Beyond the Pattern: HOLD n prep

Based on the nature of the prepositional phrase, the instances of the **HOLD n prep** pattern can be divided into two main types:

(6-17) Once more he *held it to his nose*. (JC1)

(6-18) With shaking fingers Willie undid his belt and buttons, peeled off the mackintosh and *held it in his arms*. (MM1)

In (6-17), the prepositional phrase begins with the preposition *to*, and adds the fact that the actor is not only holding the object, he is also moving it towards his nose. Even though some of the meaning is retained if the prepositional phrase is removed, the prepositional phrase is still central to the overall meaning of the verb; the type of action would be different.

In (6-18), the prepositional phrase seems less central. It could seemingly be taken out of the clause without changing the meaning significantly. The number of such instances is striking; in fact, it seems that the combination of the verb *hold* with phrases such as *in his hands*, *with both hands*, *on his lap* is very common. The fact that these types of phrases occur so frequently indicates that they contribute some kind of meaning to the verb phrase, although this is not as evident as with the first type of prepositional phrase, (see (6-17) above). For this reason, I have chosen to see the types of prepositional phrases found in (6-18) as part of the **HOLD n prep** pattern.

In terms of participants, this pattern is very similar to **HOLD n**. The actor is almost always human, and the goal is almost always physical and concrete. The meaning is typically non-phrasal (although the prepositional phrases in the second type of instances arguably introduce a weak phrasal meaning). The only example of this pattern being used with a non-human subject is (6-19), but in this particular case the author is using personification, and so in some respects the actor is human.

(6-19) Paul and I talked for so long that the fire fell into embers and the cold *held us rigid in its grasp*. (TH1)

6.1.9 Beyond the Patterns: HOLD n with adv and HOLD n with adv prep

In terms of participants, the general tendency for these two patterns is the same as with the two most frequent patterns, **HOLD n** and **HOLD n prep**. The actor is typically human, and the goal (i.e. the held object) is typically physical and concrete. The types of participants that can occur are relatively unrestricted, but the goal is typically something concrete and

small that can be lifted or moved by hand (often the hand itself is the goal). In a few cases, the actor is non-human. All such instances are in the passive, as in (6-20).

- (6-20) He wore a crisp white collarless shirt with the sleeves well rolled up and his baggy grey trousers were *held up* with a piece of string. (MM1)

An important difference between this and the **HOLD n** and **HOLD n prep** patterns, however, is the adverb group. In some instances, the combination of verb and adverb group adds a quasi-phrasal meaning to the utterance, (i.e. an added meaning in addition to the independent meanings of the constituents). This phrasal tendency is particularly evident in the **HOLD n with adv** pattern. In (6-21), for instance, the phrase *hold out* clearly has the added phrasal meaning *offer*. If the adverb *up* is used, the phrase *hold up* tends to express the phrasal meaning *examine*.

- (6-21) Jack *held* the papers *out*, but nobody came forward to take them.
(ST1)

The **HOLD n with adv prep** pattern tends to have a much more literal meaning, as in (6-9) above. The *offer* meaning exemplified by (6-21) can be expressed by the **HOLD n with adv prep** pattern, but as a prepositional phrase, not as a quasi-phrasal meaning (see the prepositional phrase ‘to me’ in (6-22) below). It seems that the adding of a prepositional phrase to the **HOLD n with adv** pattern results in a more literal meaning.

- (6-22) He came back tucking a small plastic bag into an envelope which he *held out* to me. (DF1)

6.1.10 Some Thoughts on the Patterns in the ‘Physical Contact’ Category

In terms of meaning, it is clear that patterns play a significant role in this category. With the simple **HOLD n** pattern, *hold* typically expresses the *carry* meaning, with a clear presence of the ‘physical contact’ meaning as well. With the addition of a prepositional phrase, the emphasis of the pattern seems to shift somewhat to the location of the action. With the addition of *up* or *out* in a **HOLD n with adv** pattern, a similar type of shift occurs, this time adding emphasis to the direction of the action, along with an added quasi-phrasal meaning.

The infrequent pattern **HOLD n with adj** should perhaps also be mentioned. It differs from the other patterns in that the instances have much in common with the ‘sustainment’ category. In (6-23) there is an element of sustaining a circumstance (i.e. that the door is open) as well as physical contact between objects. It is telling that *hold* is interchangeable

with *keep* in most of these instances.

- (6-23) He helped me out, gave me the crutches, and came with me to *hold open the heavy glass entrance door*. (DF1)

6.2 Analysis of the ‘Sustainment’ Category

6.2.1 Pattern Overview

In terms of frequency, the dominant semantic category for the English verb *hold* by far is ‘physical contact’. The ‘sustainment’ category is the second most frequent, and should be discussed and analyzed, but with only 27 instances in original texts and 44 in translations, it is still not very frequent. As a result, the patterns in this category will be described in less detail than those in the ‘physical contact’ category.

One important reason for studying this category more closely is the fact that it is extremely common for Norwegian *holde*. For the sake of comparison, it is useful to analyze this category relatively thoroughly in both languages. Table 6.2 below provides an overview of the patterns in this category. It has not been possible to add a description of the typical added meaning associated with each pattern, simply because the question of meaning is much more complex for this category. The meaning is not so simple that it can be listed in the table.

Table 6.2: Patterns in the ‘sustainment’ category for Eng. *hold* (ENPC, fiction).

Pattern	Org.	Transl.	Example
HOLD n with adv	8	17	I like to <i>hold something back</i> . (SG1)
HOLD n	7	5	But what <i>held his attention</i> was a large oil painting propped on a chair and fronting the door. (PDJ3)
HOLD n with adj	5	4	And she stayed like that, not moving an inch, till lightning struck directly over the house of ghosts where <i>I was held captive</i> . (BO1)
HOLD n prep	3	8	The thing is, I do n't think Harriet is anywhere near herself, said David, and <i>held his eyes on Dorothy's</i> , to make her face him. (DL1)
HOLD	3	-	He waited for sixty seconds, just in case Billy's tamp of plasticine and superglue compound had not <i>held</i> inside the door jamb. (FF1)
HOLD adv	1	7	The McRorys <i>held up</i> very well, otherwise. (RDA1)
Other	-	3	-
Total	27	44	

As the discussion below will show, the ‘sustainment’ category contains many of the same patterns as the ‘physical contact’ category. As a result, this section will not give a detailed

overview of the nature of the patterns, as this would only repeat what has been said in section 6.1. The only pattern that is not found in the ‘physical contact’ category is the simple **HOLD** pattern, which does not occur anywhere else in the material. An example is given in table 6.2 above. The meaning of these three instances all have to do with sustaining a circumstance, but without the circumstance being explicitly mentioned. Usually, the actor is keeping something in place (as in the example in table 6.2). Considering that only three instances belong to a unique category, it is clear that a superficial pattern overview does little to separate the ‘sustainment’ category from the ‘physical contact’ category. It is necessary to go beyond the patterns.

6.2.2 Beyond the Patterns

The differences from the ‘physical contact’ category lies in the nature of the constituents that make up the patterns. With the **HOLD n with adverb** pattern, the adverb group is different. Rather than consisting of the words *up* or *out*, the adverb *back* is preferred, as in (6-24), or a less general adverb, such as *afloat* in (6-26). There is little sign of phrasal or non-literal meanings in any of the instances but the fact that the adverb *back* is preferred so strongly at the very least suggests that the phrase *to hold something back* is a kind of pragmateme (see section 2.4).

(6-24) It felt as if I were trying to *hold something back*, or resurrect something that I did n't want to lose. (LSC2T)

(6-25) It felt like her head was swollen up and *held that empty shell afloat* in the room. (HW1T)

With the **HOLD n** pattern, the difference seems to lie mainly in the noun group. While in the ‘physical contact’ category the noun group typically expressed a concrete goal, the ‘sustainment’ category typically uses a noun group that expresses a circumstance or process of some kind. A good example is (6-26). In addition, abstract noun groups having to do with perception or thinking are frequent, especially *attention*, *gaze* or *thoughts*, as in (6-27). The category also consists of some semiphrases, such as *hold one's own* and *hold one's peace*.

(6-26) I guess because it was like one perfectly *held note*, one exact and translucent colour. (JB1)

(6-27) Jess caught my gaze and *held it*. (JSM1)

With the remaining patterns, the tendency to use alternative and abstract participants as parts of the patterns continues, as with the **HOLD n prep** pattern in the examples below.

- (6-28) I went to the jazz ballet class chiefly to *hold despair in check* and partly to keep myself firm and in trim for B. (SL1T)
- (6-29) "If I understand Simon rightly, it 's this very lack of information and creeping suspicion that 's *holding him up*. (RDA1)

For a majority of instances, the connection with the ‘physical contact’ category is evident. These cases border on a kind of abstract extension of a literal, physical meaning. For instance, in the phrase *to hold something back* in the **HOLD n with adv** pattern above, there is a sense of taking a physical hold of something and keeping it back by force. Another example is instances in which the **HOLD n** pattern expresses behavioral processes (as in (6-27) above): the act of taking a hold of something and keeping it in a certain position is evident (in an abstract sense). Although such instances have not been categorized as abstract extensions of the ‘physical contact’ category in my material, the connection is undoubtedly there for all the patterns. The only exception is the **HOLD** pattern, which does not occur in the ‘physical contact’ category (the pattern was discussed in the previous section)

There are some occurrences that express what one might call *pure sustainment*, i.e. meanings that show no trace of the ‘physical contact’ meaning. Every pattern contains such instances. The most clear-cut examples are found in the **HOLD n with adj** pattern, when the adjective group expresses an abstract concept, as in (6-30).²⁵ In these cases, the verb *hold* is almost always interchangeable with *keep*. However, instances of pure sustainment are rare with English *hold*.

- (6-30) (...) Sonny did not go so far as to believe, with Kafka, that the power in which people are *held powerless* exists only in their own submission.

6.3 Analysis of the Remaining Semantic Categories

6.3.1 Pattern Overview

The remaining semantic categories for *hold* are infrequent. It was mentioned in section 3.1.2 that the ENPC is less suited for the close study of infrequent uses due to its relatively small size. However, an overview of the patterns in each category may indicate some general tendencies. Table 6.3 gives an overview of the semantic categories and their patterns.

The patterns in this table are a lot less varied than was the case with the ‘physical contact’ and ‘sustainment’ categories. The four most frequent semantic categories

²⁵ As was noted in section 6.1.10, instances in the ‘physical contact’ category with the pattern **HOLD n with adj** were also the instances that were closest to the ‘sustainment’ category in meaning.

Table 6.3: Patterns in the remaining semantic categories for Eng. *hold* (ENPC, fiction)

Semantic category	Pattern	Org.	Trans.	Example
Restraintment	HOLD n	10	8	We <i>held</i> our breaths. (RDO1)
Containment	HOLD n ²⁶	11	3	They <i>hold</i> eighty thousand gallons of hog slurry. (JSM1)
Action	HOLD n	8	12	The wind <i>held</i> long conversations with the gutters. (SK1)
Possession	HOLD n	8	-	In just the one year he <i>held</i> power, Plato's uncle Critias attained distinction as the bloodiest and most venal tyrant in the history of the city. (JH1)
Evaluation	HOLD that	-	4	Anaxagoras <i>held</i> that nature is built up of an infinite number of minute particles invisible to the eye. (JG1T)
	HOLD n prep	1	1	(...) rid myself of the seamy suspicions about <i>the people I held in esteem</i> and who were fond of me (...) (KF2T)
	HOLD to-inf	1	-	He was one of the top five Flat race trainers in the country, automatically <i>held to be reliable</i> because of his rock-solid success. (DF1)
	HOLD n with adj	-	1	Mrs Brandt gave Rudolf such a severe look as she said this that he felt she was <i>holding him personally responsible</i> . (EG2T)
Endurance	HOLD adv	-	5	Maybe I could have <i>held out</i> a little longer. (EHA1T)
Other	-	6	4	-
TOTAL		45	38	

(‘restraintment’, ‘containment’, ‘action’, and ‘possession’) consistently follow the **HOLD n** pattern. This in itself is significant, since it shows that all these meanings are connected to this particular pattern. Perhaps partly because they represent atypical meanings of the verb

hold, they are also less flexible in syntactic behavior. These instances may to some extent depend on that pattern (or on a construction related to that pattern) to express their meaning.

The two least frequent patterns, ‘evaluation’ and ‘endurance’ have different patterns. The ‘evaluation’ category has very few instances, but four different patterns. Naturally, little can be said about the overall use of this category with so few examples to go by, but a few tentative conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, it is safe to assume that this meaning is strongly connected to its patterns. Two of the patterns (**HOLD that** and **HOLD to-inf**) do not occur anywhere else in the material. This is a strong indication that these unique patterns trigger

²⁶ Some of these instances could probably be classified as having the **V amount** pattern and categorized according to the ‘hold’ group defined by Francis et al. (1996 : 70). However, not all the noun groups in the ‘containment’ category have to do with amount. The distinction between amount and noun group is unnecessary for this analysis.

this particular meaning. The ‘endurance’ category is made up of either the phrase *hold out* or *hold on*. It is an interesting category because it is very different from all the other categories both in terms of pattern and meaning.

6.3.2 Beyond the Patterns

To start with the ‘restraint’ category, *hold* typically combines with the noun groups *breath*, *tongue*, and *your horses*, all of which form semiphrases (or at the very least pragmatemes) typically adding a phrasal meaning to the utterance. The remaining instances in the ‘restraint’ category are made up of the phrase *hold it* (meaning *to refrain from peeing*), which is a fully phrasal (non-literal) usage. It seems that the ‘restraint’ category is generally phrasal in nature; *hold* typically combines with a fixed set of noun groups. The only example of a non-phrasal instance is (6-31).

(6-31) “*Hold the baloney.*” (LSC2T)

The ‘action’ category is not phrasal in the same way that the instances in the ‘restraint’ category are. However, there is still a specific set of criteria that must be met: the pattern must be **HOLD n**, and the noun group must express either an action (e.g. *conversation*) or a meeting or event of some kind (e.g. *a ball*, *a demonstration*). When the noun group expresses a meeting or event, the noun groups seem varied and free. When the noun group expresses an action, the pattern becomes more fixed, with a limited set of noun groups dominating the occurrences. In these cases, the occurrences become pragmatemes, except the phrase *hold watch*, which is semiphrasal.

It is interesting to compare the ‘restraint’ category to the ‘action’ category. In many ways, they represent opposite meanings, the latter talking about making something happen, and the other about keeping something from happening. At the same time, they adhere to the same pattern (**HOLD n**). What sets them apart seems to be firstly that the instances in the ‘restraint’ category are more phrasal and thus easily distinguished (as are some of the instances in the ‘action’ category), and secondly the strict criteria set on the noun group in the ‘action’ category (i.e. that the noun group must express an action or event of some kind).

As for the remaining categories, the ‘containment’ category is characterized by having two concrete objects as actor and goal, and that one potentially can contain the other. It is not phrasal. The ‘possession’ category is not phrasal either, and exhibits a wide range of actors and goals (both concrete and abstract, human and non-animate). The ‘endurance’

category is fully phrasal.

As a concluding remark, there are a number of factors that distinguish these semantic categories and give them their meaning. The pattern is a significant part of the meaning, especially with one of the most atypical categories, ‘evaluation’. Most of the meanings follow the same **HOLD n** pattern. This indicates that the syntactic behavior of *hold* is restricted in these instances, and that it depends on that particular pattern to express these atypical meanings.

Another discovery is the fact that widely different meanings may have the same pattern (see ‘action’ vs. ‘restraint’ above). In these instances, the nature of the constituents that make up the pattern (and in some cases the presence of phrasal structures) is central to the type of meaning that will be expressed. It can also be mentioned that phrasal constructions (for instance the phrase *hold out* in the ‘endurance’ category) are more prominent in these atypical meanings than with most frequent category, ‘physical contact’.

7 Analysis of the Grammatical Context of Norwegian *Holde*

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze each semantic category of the Norwegian verb *holde* according to the grammatical context surrounding the lemma, in the same manner as with English *hold* in the previous chapter. As has been mentioned several times, the Norwegian verb is more polysemous than its English cognate; there are more semantic categories, and they are more frequent. While the English verb is dominated by a single semantic category ('physical contact'), the Norwegian verb has three categories that stand out as particularly frequent: 'physical contact', 'sustainment' and 'grammatical'. Each of these categories will be analyzed in separate sections. The remaining categories will be discussed in a general overview.

Because *holde* is so polysemous, and because its syntactic behavior is complex (as the analysis below will show) chapter 7 will be more extensive than chapter 6. The high frequency of *holde* means that original texts provide a sufficient amount of occurrences for the analysis. Translated texts are therefore not included in this chapter (except in a few instances when deemed relevant).

7.1 The Semantic Category 'Physical Contact'

7.1.1 Pattern Overview

Table 7.1 gives an overview of the patterns that occur in the 'physical contact' category. There will first be an explanation of each pattern (the five most frequent patterns have been given their own sections), and then an effort will be made to go 'beyond' the patterns, and see what other elements affect the meaning and behavior of the pattern. In this part of the analysis, the four most frequent patterns will be discussed in separate sections. The remaining patterns need not (and perhaps should not) be studied too closely due to their low frequency, but a general overview will be given. The sections below will first explain and discuss patterns, and then try to go 'beyond' the patterns with additional forms of analysis.

7.1.2 The HOLDE n prep Pattern

This is by far the most frequent pattern in the 'physical contact' category, with 57 occurrences in original texts. It consists of the verb *holde* combined with a noun group (or a reflexive pronoun) and a prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase is considered to be central to the meaning of the verb phrase. It is usually straightforward to determine whether or not such a phrase should be included in the pattern. An important exception is when the phrase refers to where the object is being held, e.g. *i hånden* [in the hand] and *med begge*

Table 7.1: Patterns in the ‘physical contact’ category for Norw. *holde* (ENPC, fiction, original texts)

Pattern	Freq.	Typical meaning	Example
HOLDE n prep	57	Location	Tordensønnen hadde fått mer å drikke og hun holdt ham i armene sine mens hun løp. (SH1) Son-of-Thunder had had more to drink and she <i>held him in her arms</i> while she ran.
HOLDE n with adv	21	Direction	Bjørnar holder opp stålkammen, Karsten vifter med en femmer og Glenn har funnet lappen. (LSC1) Bjørnar <i>holds up the steel comb</i> , Karsten waves a fiver and Glenn has found the note.
		Grip	Han tar moren i hånden og holder henne fast. (LSC1) He takes Mother's hand and <i>holds her tight</i> .
HOLDE n with adv prep	17	Direction	Tante Linn var kommet ut på trappen, smilte og holdt hånden frem mot meg. (KF2) Aunt Linn had come out on to the doorstep, smiling and <i>holding her hand out</i> to greet me.
HOLDE n	16	Carry	La meg få holde Tordensønnen, sa han. (SH1) Give me Son-of-Thunder to <i>hold</i> , he said.
HOLDE prep	16	Grip	Når en holder i stanga i stedet for i sjøve kikkerten, merkes vibrasjonene mindre. (JM1) When you held the pole instead of the binoculars themselves, it damped the vibration.
HOLDE adv prep*	8	Grip	Hun holdt fast i armen min det siste stykket." (EFH1) She <i>held on to my arm</i> to the very last moment."
HOLDE adv*	3	Grip	Nå er det best å holde fast. (TTH1) I had better <i>hold on tightly</i> now!
HOLDE pron-refl adv (prep)*	3	Grip	Jeg måtte holde meg fast i kommoden, og dermed kom jeg til å miste den åpne pengepungen på gulvet. (KA1) I had to <i>hold on to the chest of drawers</i> and lost my open wallet on the floor.
Other	10	-	-
Total	151		

* Only occurs in the combination *holde + fast* [tight]

hender [with both hands]. A typical example is (7-1).

- (7-1) Programmet jeg *holdt i hånden* var prydet med et kors på forsiden, navnet mitt og datoen. (LSC2)

The program *I held in my hand* was decorated with a cross on the front page, my name and the date.

With the English verb *hold* (see section 6.1.8 above), it was argued that such prepositional phrases are part of the pattern even though they may seem redundant at first glance. The main reason is that they occur very frequently, indicating that a weak phrasal meaning is expressed. For the Norwegian verb, such phrases are even more common, and they must therefore also be included in the pattern. The meaning that is typically associated with this

pattern is *location* (same as with English *hold*, see section 6.1.3).

7.1.3 The HOLDE n with adv **and** HOLDE n with adv prep **Patterns**

With the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern, the verb *holde* combines with a noun group and an adverb group. The order of these two latter elements may vary. Typical examples are (7-2) and (7-3) below. The question of whether to define certain elements as particles or as adverbs was discussed at the start of chapter 6. With Norwegian *holde*, the question arises when the lemma combines with the words *opp* [up], *frem* [forwards], *ut* [out] and *fast* [tight]. Francis et al. (1996) would probably see these words as particles, and as was also discussed in chapter 6, there are good reasons for doing so. For my purposes, however, it is better to see these words as forming an adverb group.

If all such elements are seen as adverbs, instances such as (7-2), in which *holde* combines with *opp* [up] can be grouped together and compared with instances such as (7-3) below, in which *holde* combines with the adverb *opp-ned*. This is good, since they are clearly related in meaning (they both tend to express *location*). In addition, the particle-like elements are not void of meaning in this pattern (as will be seen in section 7.1.8).

(7-2) Bjørnar *holder opp stålkammen*, Karsten vifter med en femmer og Glenn har funnet lappen. (LSC1)

Bjørnar *holds up the steel comb*, Karsten waves a fiver and Glenn has found the note.

(7-3) Som for å forsikre seg om at det ikke var en dråpe igjen, løftet han glasset til munnen og *holdt det opp-ned*. (GS1)

As if to make sure there was n't still a drop of beer left in it, he raised it to his mouth and *turned it upside down*.

The **HOLDE n with adv prep** pattern adds a prepositional phrase, but is otherwise very similar to **HOLDE n with adv**, both in terms of form and meaning. The main difference in terms of pattern structure is the fact that the adverb group in these cases is typically made up of *opp* [up] or *fram/frem* [forwards] and rarely of *ut* [out] and never of *fast* [tight]. The connection with the meaning *location* is clear for this pattern as well.

7.1.4 The HOLDE n **Pattern**

This is the least complex pattern in terms of types of elements that are involved, and is easily distinguished (see an example in table 7.1 above). Surprisingly, it is relatively infrequent in the Norwegian material with only 16 instances. This pattern will be discussed in more detail in section 7.1.9.

7.1.5 The HOLDE prep Pattern

In these instances, the verb pattern consists of the verb *holde* and a prepositional phrase, as in example (7-4). The preposition that introduces the prepositional phrase is either *i* [in], *på* [on], *om* [about] or *rundt* [around]. The pattern is very clear-cut, and not difficult to locate. Its general meaning is almost always that of *grip*. Because it is a very uniform and straightforward pattern, no separate section will be devoted to it below.

- (7-4) Plutselig *holdt* hun *i en stikk*. (THA1)
Suddenly she was *holding a stick*.

7.1.6 The Remaining Patterns

The remaining three patterns, **HOLDE adv**, **HOLDE adv prep**, and **HOLDE pron-refl adv (prep)** all combine with the adverb *fast* [tight] to form fixed phrases. Representative examples are given in table 7.1 above. The occurrences in these three patterns are perhaps better analyzed as phrases than as patterns. Section 7.1.10 will analyze the instances.

7.1.7 Beyond the Pattern: HOLDE n prep

The instances in this category are usually structured in the same way: the noun group represents something that is being held (the goal) and the prepositional phrase says something about the nature of this action (circumstance). The prepositional phrase can be many things, and below are examples of the five different types of prepositional phrases that occur with this pattern.

The prepositional phrase in (7-5) says something about which part of the body that is doing the holding. In (7-6) the focus is on which part of the goal that is being held. (7-7) once again says something about which part of the body that is doing the holding, but by replacing the preposition *i* [in] with *med* [with], the prepositional phrase becomes more instrumental and less locational. The prepositional phrase can also give a more general description of direction, such as in (7-8).

The final example, (7-9), is the one that stands out the most. It consists of the prepositional phrase *i hånden* [in the hand] combined two participants (actor and goal), both of which are human. With this particular construction, the pattern adopts the same type of meaning as the English phrase *to hold hands* (see section 6.1.7 above). In this particular case, the focus is on the fact that there is physical contact between the hands of the participants. In addition, the particular combination of *holde* and *i hånden* adds a phrasal meaning (i.e. to maintain a hold of a person's hand expressing companionship or comfort).

This meaning depends on these particular constituents. At the same time, however, the meaning is also dependent on both participants being human. For instance, (7-5) below has the same pattern and same type of prepositional phrase as (7-9), but since the goal ('programmet' [the program]) is non-human, the meaning is different.

- (7-5) *Programmet jeg holdt i hånden* var prydet med et kors på forsiden, navnet mitt og datoen. (LSC2)
The program I held in my hand was decorated with a cross on the front page, my name and the date.
- (7-6) *Jeg holdt den i håndtaket*, mens jeg løp. (EHA1)
I held it by the handle as I ran.
- (7-7) (...) han *holder pekestokken med begge hender* nå, det er visst like før den brekker. (LSC1)
 (...) He 's *holding the pointer with both hands* now. It must be about to break.
- (7-8) (...) mens han famlet med snorene, trakk hun frem dolken som var skjult i pelsforet i kjoleermet og *holdt den mot strupen hans*. (SL1)
 (...) while he fumbled with the strings she drew out the dagger hidden in the fur lining of her sleeve and *pointed it at his throat*.
- (7-9) Hun gikk stram som en gudinne og *holdt Henry i hånden*. (OEL1)
 She walked as erect as a goddess, *holding Henry's hand*.

If we try to find what these five instances all have in common, a generalization would be to say that they all seem to focus on the location of the verbal action (even in (7-9)). The first four examples could also be related to the simple meaning *carry*. Of course, (7-9) deviates from the other instances in this respect, since the focus is not on the position of any of the participants, but rather on the fact that there is physical contact.

There is one instance, (7-10), that differs from the five types of instances discussed above. In this instance, the noun group is no longer the object of the verbal action (the goal), but instead expresses the meaning *grip* in the utterance. It is part of the description of the type of action that is performed. In addition, the phrase *holde tak i* can be defined as a pragmateme, perhaps even a quasi-phrase with a weak phrasal meaning. In the particular example below, the meaning has been extended, so that it is no longer literal. Arguably, this particular instance represents a separate pattern (**HOLDE n p n**), but for the sake of consistency, it is seen as an expression of the **HOLDE n prep** pattern.

- (7-10) Kirken *holder tak i meg* på en annen måte også. (JW1)
The Church is *keeping a hold on me* in another way too.

7.1.8 Beyond the Patterns: HOLDE n with adv **and** HOLDE n with adv prep

With these patterns, the verb and noun group combines with an adverb group (and sometimes also a prepositional phrase). The adverb group is the most central element in terms of comparison with the other patterns. Based on the type of adverb, the instances in the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern can be classified as belonging to three different types. The first of these types accounts for the majority of the instances of this pattern and applies to instances in which the adverb group consists of the words *opp* [up], *frem* [forwards] or *ut* [out]. The patterns in these instances are typically quasi-phrasal. In (7-11), for instance, the phrase *holde frem* [hold forwards] is a kind of offering, a meaning that comes from the phrase as a whole, and not from the individual meaning of the elements involved. At the same time, however, the adverb *frem* [forwards] is not void of meaning, as the direction *forwards* is still an important part of the meaning of the pattern.²⁷

- (7-11) Hun *holder frem en hånd med sjokoladebetrukne sovepiller*.
(CL1)
She *holds out a hand with chocolate-covered sleeping pills in it*.

In terms of meaning, all instances in which the adverb group is *opp* [up], *frem* [forwards] or *ut* [out], express *direction* in some way. The focus is not on the fact that the goal (the *held* object) is being carried, or on the physical contact between actor and goal. In addition, there is usually an element of offering in the pattern, as is the case in (7-11), or of showing (especially with the combination *holde opp* [hold up]).

When a prepositional phrase is added to form the pattern **HOLDE n with adv prep**, many of the same tendencies continue to be evident. A typical example is (7-12). The focus on *direction* is even more evident, and applies to all the instances in this category. The adverb group is typically made up of *opp* [up] or *fram* [forwards], but can in some instances be made up of the word *ut* [out]. The phrasal meaning is much less prominent in these cases; there is no sense of showing or offering. Instead, the general meaning tends to be that one object is being held in the direction of another object. In that sense, the meaning is more

²⁷ The particle-like adverbs behaved in much the same way in the English **HOLDE n with adv** pattern (see section 6.1.9 above).

literal and concrete.²⁸

(7-12) (...) ho står der og gnir og *held glaset opp mot lyset*, blir aldri ferdig. (EH1)

(...) while she stands there rubbing and *holding the glass up toward the light*, never finishing.

In terms of what kind of participants take part in these two patterns, the tendency is clear: the actor is almost always human, and the goal (the held object) is almost always a physical object, usually an object that is small and light and can be carried by hand.

I have now discussed the first type of occurrences, which accounts for the majority. The second type of occurrence is when *holde* combines with the adverb *fast* [tight] in the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern to form the phrase *holde noe fast* [hold something tight]. In these instances, the meaning has nothing to do with *direction*, but instead expresses *grip* (similar to the English phrase *hold tight*). If one looks at the physical contact category as a whole, the combination of *holde* with *fast* [tight] is something that occurs with several patterns. Because the combination occurs in several patterns (and because it is relatively frequent), section 7.1.10 is devoted to discussing it. For now, it is simply seen as an anomaly within this pattern.

The third type includes occurrences in which the adverb group has stronger lexical meaning (i.e. consisting of words that are not particle-like). There are only three such instances in the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern and two in the **HOLDE n with adv prep** pattern. For this discussion, one example from the **HOLDE n with adv prep** pattern will suffice. In (7-13) the adverb is *borte* [away]. As is evident from this example, these occurrences are not very different from the first type of instances (which had the adverb groups *opp* [up], *frem* [forwards] and *ut* [out]). The meaning *location* is still expressed. The difference lies simply in the fact that the meaning of the adverb group is stronger, and that there is no added phrasal meaning (although the instances border on pragmatemes).

(7-13) Det side, svarte håret hans ble *holdt borte fra ansiktet* med et pannebånd av lyst hjorteskin. (SH1)

His long black hair was *held back from his face* by a head-band of light-coloured deerskin.

As a general comment on the **HOLDE n with adv** and **HOLDE n with adv prep** patterns,

²⁸ The same tendency for a more literal meaning of direction was noted for the English **HOLD n with adv prep** pattern (see section 6.1.9 above).

it is safe to conclude that *holde* typically combines with a restricted set of particle-like adverbs when these patterns are used in the physical contact category. Hardly ever do the adverb groups consist of anything other than *opp* [up], *fram* [forwards], *ut* [out] or *fast* [tight], and it never consists of more than one word. Most of the instances exhibit a quasi-phrasal meaning.

7.1.9 Beyond the Pattern: HOLDE n

In general, the meaning of this pattern is concrete. In fact, there are no examples in the material of abstract extension of meaning or metaphorical use. In terms of the types of participants that are involved, they are surprisingly similar: without exceptions, the actor is human, the goal (i.e. the held object) is concrete, but can be both human and non-human. In this respect, the grammatical context of this pattern is simple and invariable. As to the meaning of the pattern as a whole, the tendency is towards the general meaning *carry*. In some rare cases, the meaning of the pattern is *hold down* or *restrain*, as in (7-14).

The meaning of this pattern meaning is hardly ever phrasal; in other words, no additional meaning is added to the pattern independently of constituents involved, and the type of constituents that can be involved is relatively free. The noun group (as well as the other elements surrounding the pattern) can typically be replaced by a similar element without changing the basic meaning of the verb or rendering the utterance unidiomatic. In that respect, the pattern is syntactically simple.

- (7-14) Hun skrek og fløy på dør selv om de var to til å *holde henne*.
(HW2)
She would scream and escape out the door, even with two people trying to *hold her*.

7.1.10 Beyond the Patterns: Remaining Patterns

As was mentioned above, the adverb *fast* [tight] often combines with *holde* in the ‘physical contact’ category, and in many different patterns. In fact, this applies to all the patterns not discussed above. It also applies to six of the occurrences in the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern. The patterns in which *fast* [tight] occurs as an adverb group are provided up in table 7.2.

What is most notable about all these instances is the fact that they all have to do with gripping and holding on to something. Interestingly, this is very often extended into the abstract realm by using abstract participants. One example is the use of ‘øyeblikket’ [the moment] in the example of the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern. The connection with the physical act of gripping something is less evident in some examples, as in (7-15) in which

Table 7.2: Patterns that occur when Norw. *holde* combines with the adverb *fast* [tight] in the 'physical contact' category (ENPC, fiction, original texts).

Pattern	Freq.	Example	Translation
HOLDE adv prep	8	Hun <i>holdt fast i armen min</i> det siste stykket." (EFH1)	She <i>held on to my arm</i> to the very last moment."
HOLDE n with adv	6	Men ved nærmere eftertanke forstår man at diktet, det å <i>holde fast øyeblikket</i> , ikke er Deres uttrykksform. (FC1)	But on closer reflection one realizes that the poem — that <i>holding fast of the moment</i> — is not your form of expression.
HOLDE adv	3	Nå er det best å <i>holde fast</i> . (TTH1)	I had better <i>hold on tightly</i> now!
HOLDE pron-refl adv (prep)	3	Jeg måtte <i>holde meg fast i kommoden</i> , og dermed kom jeg til å miste den åpne pengepungen på gulvet. (KA1)	I had to <i>hold on to the chest of drawers</i> and lost my open wallet on the floor.
Other	1	-	-

the phrase *holde fast ved* [hold tight by] combines with the abstract concept *tur-ordningen* [the first-come-first-served principle]. However, even in such instances, there is still a sense gripping or holding on to something (albeit in an abstract sense). The conclusion must be that the combination of *holde* with *fast* results in a specific meaning, regardless of the patterns or participants involved.

- (7-15) Tannlegevakten derimot trodde han bestandig *holdt fast ved tur-ordningen*, i og med at samtlige besøkende trengte like hurtig til hjelp. (EG2)

The municipal service, on the other hand, *stuck strictly to the first-come-first-served principle*. People who went there were all urgent cases.

7.2 The Semantic Category ‘Sustainment’

7.2.1 Pattern Overview

The ‘sustainment’ category is a very complex and varied semantic category. The overview of the patterns provided by table 7.3 shows this fact clearly. Six patterns are listed in the overview, all of which have a relatively high frequency. In addition, 28 occurrences are categorized as ‘other’. Based on the overview, it is safe to assume that the instances of *holde* in the ‘sustainment’ category are highly flexible in terms of syntactic behavior.

One interesting aspect of this category is the fact that the three most frequent patterns are often used with a reflexive pronoun instead of a noun group. This is something that separates this category from the ‘physical contact’ category. Apart from this fact, the two categories behave similarly: the two most frequent patterns, **HOLDE n/(pron-refl) prep** and **HOLDE n/(pron-refl) with adv** are the same for both patterns (not counting the

Table 7.3: Patterns in the 'sustainment' category for Norw. *holde* (ENPC, fiction, original texts.)

Sustainment	Freq.	Example
HOLDE n/pron-refl. prep	48	Og jeg kvitterte ved å <i>holde meg</i> mest mulig i bakgrunnen. (EHA1) (...) I repaid her by <i>keeping out of sight</i> as much as possible.
	13	Moren hadde sitt fulle hyre med å <i>holde styr på ham</i> . (TTH1) His mother had her hands full just <i>keeping track of him</i> .
HOLDE n/pron-refl. with adv	40	Det var kanskje like godt å <i>holde seg inne</i> . (GS1) Perhaps it was as well to <i>stay indoors</i> .
HOLDE n/pron-refl. with adj	27	Han står i en pram som er halvfull av vann og prøver om skosmøringen <i>holder støvlene tette</i> . (KH1) He was standing in a barge half full of water, testing to see if the grease <i>kept his boots watertight</i> .
HOLDE n	22	Klegge <i>holdt fred</i> en stund. (TTH1) Klegge <i>kept still</i> for a while.
HOLDE p p n	20	Jeg <i>holdt nettopp på med bullworker'n</i> . (EG2) I was just <i>having a work-out with my chest expander</i> .
HOLDE adv	12	Men for at livet hennes skulle <i>holde sammen</i> , ruslet han. (CL1) But so that her life would <i>hold together</i> , he strolled into town.
Other	28	
Total	210	

reflexive pronoun). The fact that these two patterns account for a large part of the occurrences indicates that the two categories are related.

There are important differences between the 'sustainment' and 'physical contact' categories as well. These will be noted in the discussion of each pattern below. It can be mentioned that the patterns indicate a striking overlap between Norwegian *holde* and English *hold* in the 'sustainment' category (compare with section 6.2 above). Section 8.3 will have more to say about this.

7.2.2 The HOLDE n/pron-refl prep Pattern

This is the most frequent pattern in this category with a total of 61 instances in original texts. The pattern is all but identical to the **HOLDE n prep** pattern found in the 'physical contact' category, the difference being, as already noted, that a reflexive pronoun can be used in place of a noun group. The occurrences can be classified into two categories, as table 7.3 shows. This division is based on the nature of the elements involved, and will be discussed in section 7.2.5 below. Of the 61 occurrences, 21 have a reflexive pronoun as part of the pattern.

7.2.3 The HOLDE n/pron-refl with adv Pattern

This is the second most frequent pattern with 40 instances in original texts. With English *hold*, this was the most frequent category by far, and it is also very frequent in Norwegian. Once again, the Norwegian verb differs from the English one in that the pattern can have a reflexive pronoun in the place of the noun group. Of the 40 instances of this pattern, 16 of them have reflexive pronouns.

This pattern is mirrored by the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern in the ‘physical contact’ category in which the particle-like words *opp* [up], *frem* [forwards], and *ut* [out] made up most of the instances. In the ‘sustainment’ category, none of these adverbs occur, and in their place is a more varied set of adverbs. The most common ones are *tilbake* [back], *unna* [off], and *borte* [away]. The reflexive pronoun seems to be able to combine with any of these adverbs. For instance, in (7-16), the adverb ‘tilbake’ [back] combines with the reflexive pronoun ‘meg’ [myself], while in (7-17), the same adverb combines with the noun group ‘noe’ [something].

- (7-16) Kanskje det rett og slett er fordi jeg holder *meg* litt *tilbake*,
vegrer meg for å slippe dem innpå meg? (KF1)

Is it perhaps simply because *I 'm a bit reserved*, refuse to let them get close to me?

- (7-17) Uten å gjøre forsøke på å *holde noe tilbake*; han bare slapp det
løs i et eneste langvarig anfall. (OEL1)

Without making any attempt to *hold anything back*, he just let it loose in one single prolonged attack.

7.2.4 The HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj Pattern

This pattern is similar to the previous pattern (**HOLDE n/pron-refl with adv**), the difference being that the noun group combines with an adjective group rather than an adverb group. The **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj** pattern hardly occurred at all in the ‘physical contact’ category (it is not listed in table 7.1 above due to its low frequency), but with ‘sustainment’ it is a frequent pattern with 27 instances in original texts. A further analysis of this pattern will show that it behaves in much the same way as the pattern with the adverb group, and it therefore makes sense to analyze them together. This will be done in section 7.2.7.

7.2.5 Remaining Patterns

There are 22 instances of the **HOLDE n** pattern in original texts. It is a fairly

straightforward pattern in which the verb combines with a noun or a noun group. In some instances, the pattern combines with a prepositional phrase (though it is not considered to be part of the pattern since the meaning of the prepositional phrase is not central). In these cases, for instance in (7-18), the occurrences are very similar to the ones in the **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep** pattern.

(7-18) Hun måtte *holde kontakten med en masse mennesker i sitt miljø*
av hensyn til byrået. (JW1)

Because of the agency she had to *keep up a wide range of contacts* in the business.

There are 20 occurrences of the **HOLDE p p n** pattern, which always occurs as the phrase *holde på med* [hold on with]. The classification of these instances differs somewhat from the patterns above, in which words that could be considered particles were typically defined as adverbs. With *holde på med*, the words *på* [on] and *med* [with] are seen as particles because the utterance *holde på med* is fully phrasal with zero syntactic flexibility. Although the preposition *med* [with] could be considered as the first part of a prepositional phrase, it is still seen as a particle because it cannot be removed without changing the meaning of the pattern.

The final pattern frequent enough to be included in the table is the **HOLDE adv** pattern, with 12 instances in original texts. It is a fairly straightforward pattern in which the verb is always combined with a single adverb. Some of the adverbs that occur in this pattern could easily have been defined as particles (a good example is the phrase *holde fram* [hold forwards] with the phrasal meaning *persist*). However, these particle-like adverbs are not devoid of meaning, and should be analyzed alongside other adverbs.

7.2.6 Beyond the Pattern: HOLDE n/pron-refl prep

In the ‘physical contact’ category, this pattern commonly adds the meaning *location* to the pattern, and the affected participant (the goal) is usually concrete as well as small and light. With the ‘sustainment’ category, there are many examples of prepositional phrases that focus on location, such as (7-19), but they are very different in meaning. The affected participant is not typically small and light; instead a wide range of different objects take this role. In fact, if the prepositional phrase has to do with location, it is usually combined with the use of a reflexive pronoun that is co-referential with a human actor. In those cases the actor is simultaneously the affected participant. This is the case with (7-19)

- (7-19) Varsom holdt seg fortsatt i kvisthytten hos Små Ørner og Tordensønnen, men da Raske Hjort kom for å hilse på dem, gikk hun ut og lot de tre være aleine. (SH1)

Good Care stayed with Little Eagle and Son-of-Thunder in the twig cabin, but when Swift Deer came to visit them she went out and left the three of them alone.

The majority of prepositional phrases do not express *location*. Instead, the prepositional phrases in this part of the material refer to a wide range of different circumstances and abstract concepts. Some examples are given in (7-20) to (7-22) below. The majority of utterances are either abstract or have to do with mental or behavioral processes.

- (7-20) Derfor var det så viktig at de gode gudene klarte å holde dem i sjakk. (JG1)

So it was vital to hold these giants in check.

- (7-21) "Fire pund sterling i måneden, som sagt," sa den gamle, "men uniformen må De holde i orden for egen regning. (EFH1)

"Four pounds sterling per month, as I said," said the old man. "But you must *keep the uniform in order* yourself.

- (7-22) Han ville se om politiet holdt ham under oppsikt, og i så fall ville han riste skyggen av seg. (KA1)

He wanted to know if the police were *keeping him under surveillance*, and in case they were he would shake off the shadow.

In terms of participants, the instances in this pattern are extremely varied. The actor is the only thing that is relatively stable: it is almost invariably human (one of the few exceptions is (7-23)). The goal may be to anything: a human object, a non-human object or an abstract concept of some kind.

- (7-23) Vannet holdt seg over jorden i hundre og femti dager. (EFH1)

"And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights."

In terms of syntactic structure, the actor is usually the subject, and outside the pattern. The noun group usually represents the goal (i.e. the affected participant). The prepositional phrase represents the circumstance that is being sustained. A typical example is (7-21) above. The subject 'De' [you] is the actor, the noun group 'uniformen' [the uniform] is the goal, and the prepositional phrase 'i orden' [in order] is the circumstance.

There is some variation in this structure. First of all, there are the 21 instances in which the noun group is realized by a reflexive pronoun. The function of the pronoun is not

the same as that of a noun group (which usually represents the goal). Instead, the pronoun is a repetition of the subject (i.e. the actor). In the material, the reflexive pronoun is always co-referential with the subject. When the reflexive pronoun is used, the actor becomes both the causer of the circumstance as well as the one that is affected by it.²⁹ In (7-24) below, ‘han’ [him] is the actor and ‘i solen’ [in the sun] is the circumstance, and since the reflexive pronoun ‘seg’ [himself] is a repetition of the subject, the actor is also in some sense the goal since he is affected by the circumstance.

- (7-24) "Ellers *holder han seg i solen?*" (GS1)
"But, otherwise, he *stays in the sunshine?*"

The nature of the noun group and the prepositional phrase does not change drastically if a reflexive pronoun is used instead of a noun group. In (7-24), the reflexive pronoun could easily be replaced by a noun group, resulting in a traditional **HOLDE n prep** pattern.

The second and final variant to the **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep** pattern is found in 13 instances in original texts. These are the instances that have been given a separate row in table 7.3 above. They are variants of the typical instances discussed above, because the functions of the noun group and the prepositional phrase are reversed so that the noun group refers to circumstance while the prepositional phrase refers to the goal.

In (7-25) the noun group is ‘liv’ [life], which expresses a circumstance, while the prepositional phrase ‘i deg’ [in you] refers to the participant that is affected by this circumstance (the goal). In some cases, the roles are interchangeable. For instance, ‘holde liv i deg’ [keep life in you] can be paraphrased as ‘holde deg i live’ [keep you in life] while retaining more or less the same meaning. Other instances, such as (7-26), cannot be paraphrased (*‘holder Pelle med øyet’ [keeping Pelle with the eye]). In these instances, the noun group cannot be replaced by a reflexive pronoun.

- (7-25) Vet du hvorfor jeg har *holdt liv i deg?* (LSC2)
Do you know why I 've *kept you alive?*

- (7-26) De *holder øye med Pelle* som mater endene i dammen med
brødskorper. (BV1)
They are *keeping an eye on Pelle* who is feeding crusts of bread
to the ducks on the pond.

²⁹ Thompson (2004 : 91) notes how the actor can sometimes act as a kind of goal, especially if the verbal process is involuntary. In such cases, there is often no goal to speak of.

These 13 instances are also variants in the sense that they are phrasal in nature. There are three types of phrases to be exact: *holde øye med* [hold eye with] (eight instances), *holde orden på* [keep order on]/ *holde styr på* [keep control on] (three instances) and *holde liv i* [hold life in] (two instances). In these cases the verb, noun group and the preposition initiating the prepositional phrase are fixed in that they are never replaced by words with similar meanings. Their meaning is also quasi-phrasal in that they introduce phrasal meaning in addition to the literal meaning of the constituents (for instance, the phrase *holde øye med* expresses the phrasal meaning *watch over/look out for*).

It would be justifiable to see these instances as three-word verb phrases consisting of a verb, a noun, and a particle. This interpretation gives the pattern **HOLDE n p n**. While this is certainly sensible, it is also true that some of the phrases can be reversed to form a **HOLDE n prep** pattern similar to the non-phrasal examples discussed above. Because the instances bordering on the **HOLDE n p n** pattern are so similar in meaning to the 48 instances that clearly have the **HOLDE n prep pattern**, they are grouped alongside them.

As we have seen, the **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep** is a pattern that is incredibly varied in terms of the kind of elements that are involved. Although the actor is usually very similar across the instances, the range of noun groups and the prepositional phrases that occur is wide, seemingly being able to refer to any type of participant and circumstance respectively. This indicates that *holde* has a very general meaning when used in this way. Some of the instances (particularly the 13 instances that border on the **HOLDE n p n** pattern) are phrasal as well, which indicates that the context surrounding *holde* is more significant for the meaning of the verb phrase than the inherent meaning of the verb itself.

7.2.7 Beyond the Patterns: HOLDE n/pron-refl with adv and HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj

A typical example of the **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adv** pattern is (7-27) below. An explanation of the participants involved is a good starting point for an analysis. The actor ‘Leon’ is the subject, and is outside the pattern. The goal ‘noe av sin uvilje’ [some of his aversion] is the noun group in the pattern. The circumstance is expressed by the adverb group ‘tilbake’ [back]. This pattern structure is typical for all the instances in the material. The actor is outside the pattern, the noun group is the goal and the adverb group is the circumstance. The only exceptions are instances in which a reflexive pronoun appears in the place of the noun group (an example was given in section 7.2.3). Because the reflexive pronoun is always co-referential with the actor, the actor becomes a sort of goal himself, in

other words both the causer of the circumstance and the one that is affected by it.

- (7-27) Det kan likevel virke som *Leon holder noe av sin uvilje tilbake*,
Roald, derimot, er nådeløs. (KH1)

Even so, it seems that *Leon was keeping some of his aversion back*, while Roald was merciless in his exposure.

In the **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj** pattern, the types of participants involved are more or less the same as ones involved in the adverb group pattern. Example (7-28) is typical: the actor ('hun' [she]) is outside the pattern, the noun group ('kaffekannen' [the coffee pot]) represents the goal, and the adjective ('varm' [hot]) represents the circumstance. In terms of participant roles, the only difference between this pattern and the one discussed above is the fact that the circumstance is expressed by an adjective group rather than an adverb group.

- (7-28) Jenny Thorn la godt med smør på brødkiven og skavlet noen
flak av den brune osten, *kaffekannen holdt hun varm* på den
minste platen. (BV1)

Jenny Thorn buttered her bread thickly and scraped a few flakes
off the brown cheese. *She kept the coffee pot hot* on the smallest
ring of her stove.

Interestingly, this participant analysis is very similar to the one discussed in relation to the **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep pattern** in section 7.2.6. The prepositional phrase expressed the circumstance while the noun group/reflexive pronoun expressed the goal. From this perspective, the three most frequent patterns in the 'sustainment' category are similar, the main different between them being the grammatical form of the element that expresses the circumstance. A significant exception is the 13 occurrences in the **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep** pattern where noun group and prepositional phrase change functions, something that does not occur to the other two patterns.

Let us return to the patterns that are the subjects of this section, and see how they differ from the 'physical contact' category. To start with the **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adv** pattern, a closer study of the adverb group is helpful. The vast majority of adverb groups consist of a single adverb with a relatively clear lexical content: Examples are *tilbake* [back], *unna* [away], *borte* [away], *ute* [out], *skjult* [hidden], and *her* [here]. Although there are alternative examples, these few, general adverbs dominate. There is a clear tendency for the adverb group to express locational meaning (especially having to do with remaining somewhere, or staying away from something). This is interesting, since the locational meaning was also prominent with the same pattern in the 'physical contact'

category (see section 7.1.8 above).

However, while the adverbs in the ‘physical contact’ category had reduced semantic content (e.g. the phrase *holde ut* [hold out] had the added phrasal meaning *offer*), these adverbs seem to have a stronger independent meaning. In fact, most of these patterns can be seen as expressing a non-phrasal meaning, i.e. the meaning is the sum of the individual constituents. This means that the use of this pattern is less phrasal in the ‘sustainment’ category than was the case in the ‘physical contact’ category, although the fact that the material is dominated by a limited set of general adverbs indicates that there are some restrictions to the adverb group as well. Possibly, the instances border on pragmatemes.

Two types of occurrences differ slightly from the majority of instances, and they are clearly more phrasal in nature. In five instances, the adverb *igjen* [back] is used to form the phrase *holde noe igjen* [hold something back]. The meaning of the phrase is the same as *holde tilbake* [hold back]. However, the adverb *igjen* [back] is not an adverb that is used in this way in open-choice constructions in modern-day Norwegian. The construction is a pragmateme, at least, possibly a quasi-phrase with a weak phrasal meaning (possibly *restrain*).

Another type of phrasal usage is *holde seg godt* [hold oneself well]. In this fixed phrase, the adverb *godt* [well] is more like an amplification of the phrase *holde seg* [hold oneself] (with the meaning *to hold up*) and not so much a circumstance. In this case, it makes little sense to speak of actor and goal within the phrase, and more sense to speak of the meaning of the fixed phrase as a whole. Disregarding these few exceptions, however, the instances in this pattern are less phrasal.

The adjective group in the **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj** group behaves in a similar way to the adverb groups in the pattern discussed above: it always consists of a single adjective, and always has a clear lexical content. However, the adjectives are not a limited set of general words; nor are they restricted to the meaning *location*. Instead, they are extremely varied, and may express any number of different circumstances. Some random examples are ‘lavt’ [low], ‘oppreist’ [standing up], ‘frisk’ [healthy], ‘våken’ [awake], and ‘lukket’ [closed]. Of course, some adjectives are more frequent than others (for instance, the phrase *holde seg skjult* [keep oneself hidden], appears several times), but no adjectives distinguish themselves significantly in terms of frequency. Overall, the **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj** pattern seems to be much more flexible and non-phrasal than the **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adv** pattern.

The nature of the adverb/adjective group is what mainly sets these two patterns apart.

However, they also differ somewhat in the nature of the remaining participants. The **HOLDE n with adv pattern**, for instance, shows a clear preference for human actors (though non-human actors do occur). The pattern **HOLDE n/pron-refl with adj** also tends to have human actors, but exhibits a higher frequency of non-human and abstract actors. This may simply be related to the fact that the meaning of the first pattern is locational and more restricted, and therefore fit to describe the actions of human actors.

It is interesting to once again compare the three most frequent patterns: the analysis has revealed firstly an overall preference for human actors. Secondly, and perhaps even more interestingly, the analysis has revealed that the goal (i.e. the affected participant) is highly varied for all patterns. There seems to be little limitation to the type of noun group it can be. The fact that the goal is so varied could be part of the reason why this semantic category is so frequent (and point to an aspect of the verb *holde* that causes it to be used frequently).

7.2.8 Beyond the Pattern: HOLDE n

A typical example of the **HOLDE n** pattern is example (7-29). Many types of noun groups can occur in this pattern. It is typically a single noun, for instance *kontakten* [the contact], *oversikten* [the overview], or *kursen* [the course]. The noun group may consist of more than one word, for instance ‘det hun lovet’ [that which she promised] in (7-30), but this is rare.

- (7-29) Han går fort, jeg småløper for å *holde følge*, en anelse engstelig for at jeg ikke skal greie å være så djerv som han tror jeg er. (SL1)

He walks fast, I have to trot to *keep up*, half afraid I sha n't be able to be as sexy as he thinks I am.

- (7-30) At hun aldri kunne *holde det hun lovet* [lit. that she could never *keep that which she promised*]. (MN1)

Why could she never *keep a promise*, do what she was asked to do?

In terms of meaning, the noun group expresses a kind of circumstance (similar to what the adverb groups, adjective groups and prepositional phrases did in the three most frequent patterns), but in some instances the noun group also seems to refer to a kind of goal (as in (7-30) above. It was discussed in section 5.3.2 that one element could simultaneously express circumstance and affected participant (goal), and it seems that this applies to some of the noun groups in this pattern.

Even though the noun group may consist of a large number of different nouns, there

are also clear phrasal qualities to this pattern. There are two quasi-phrasal instances (perhaps bordering on semiphrasal): *holde mål* [hold measure] with the phrasal meaning *be good enough* and *holde stand* [hold stand] with the phrasal meaning *withstand resistance*. However, even in the remaining instances, it is clear that there is some limitation to the kind of nouns that can be used. The noun must express a certain kind of circumstance, and the nouns are usually known to commonly appear with this particular meaning. In other words, the instances seem to border on pragmatemes.

It should perhaps be mentioned that the instances in this pattern are sometimes indistinguishable from similar instances in the ‘action’ category. (7-31) is an example of an instance from the ‘action’ category with the **HOLDE n** pattern. Here, the noun group *vakt* [watch] expresses action, i.e. it is in a sense part of the verbal action itself. With the ‘sustainment’ category, the idea is that the noun group expresses circumstance, and that the verbal action implies the sustainment of that circumstance. However, the line between action and circumstance is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to draw, for instance with ‘*holde følge*’ [keep track] in (7-29) above. Is ‘*følge*’ an action or a circumstance? The answer is of course that it is neither: ‘*følge*’ has little individual meaning, rather the meaning is found in the phrase as a whole. Such instances must be classified somewhat arbitrarily.

- (7-31) Soldater med store kanoner *holdt vakt* både dag og natt. (SH1)
Soldiers *kept watch* behind great cannons by day and night.

It was mentioned in section 7.2.5 that the **HOLDE n** pattern could combine with a preposition and resemble instances from the **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep** pattern. This is only true for instances in which both noun groups express circumstance (see section 7.2.6 for a description of how the noun group could change functions with the prepositional phrase to express circumstance).

7.2.9 Beyond the Patterns: Remaining Patterns

The two least frequent patterns remain to be discussed. There are 20 instances of the **HOLDE p p n** pattern with the full phrase *holde på med*. The only part of the pattern that is not phrasal is the noun group, which refers to either an activity of some kind or to an object that implies a certain activity. The type of noun groups that can occur in the pattern appears to be relatively free. In (7-32), the noun group ‘*en bok*’ [a book] implies the activity of writing. In terms of meaning, all the instances focus on the ongoingness of the activity

referred to by the noun group. The similarity of these occurrences to the ‘grammatical’ category has been noted in section 5.4.1.

- (7-32) Jeg *holder* nemlig *på med en bok*, det vil si... jeg har ikke fått skrevet noe på den ennå. (EG1)
I *'m writing a book...* at least, well, I have n't really started writing it yet.

As for the **HOLDE adv** pattern, the 12 instances all contain one of these four adverbs: *sammen* [together], *fram* [forwards], *igjen* [closed], and *inne* [in]. The general meaning of the **HOLDE adv** pattern is always highly phrasal. In (7-33), for instance the general meaning of the pattern (i.e. to be silent) is phrasal, while the words ‘holdt’ [held] and ‘inne’ [in] have very little individual meaning. Although they are hard to classify, the occurrences in the **HOLDE adv** pattern should probably be seen as semiphrases (though some probably border on pragmatemes).

- (7-33) Malvin *holdt inne* en stund. (LSC2)
Malvin *held back* a little while.

7.3 The Semantic Category ‘Grammatical’

The semantic category ‘grammatical’ is the third most frequent category with 45 instances in original texts. In terms of patterns, it is a lot more straightforward than the other two frequent categories, ‘physical contact’ and ‘sustainment’. There are only two patterns, **HOLDE på å-inf** and **HOLDE på med å-inf**. It would have been possible to write this pattern as **HOLDE p å-inf** and **HOLDE p p å inf**, but since every instance in this category has the same phrase, *holde på (med)*, it seems clearer to write the words out in full.

Section 5.4.1 above divided the occurrences in this category into two categories based on the grammatical function of the phrase: aspectual and modal. The distribution of the two patterns across the two functions is given in table 7.4. As the table shows, the most common pattern, by far, is the **HOLDE på å-inf** pattern, which covers the majority of occurrences. With the modal meaning, this pattern accounts for all 14 instances. The second pattern **HOLDE på med å-inf** is much less frequent, with only three instances with an aspectual function. It was mentioned in section 5.4.1 above that a modal function cannot be expressed when the particle *med* is included in the phrase. In other words, nothing new has been learned so far, except for the frequencies of the patterns.

Table 7.4: Patterns in the 'grammatical' category for Norw. *holde* (ENPC, fiction, original texts)

Pattern	Aspectual	Modal
HOLDE på å-inf	28	14
HOLDE på med å-inf	3	-

In comparison with the other categories discussed under *holde*, this is the most phrasal one. In most of the other categories, the phrasal meanings show traces of the independent meaning of the constituents. In the 'grammatical' category, the individual constituents in the phrase *holde på (med)* (particularly *holde* and *på*) have little, if any independent meaning. Instead, the pattern is fully phrasal. Its behavior is more like that of a single lexical unit.

Part of what is most interesting about the 'grammatical' category is the fact that the two sub-meanings tend to follow the same pattern (**HOLDE på å-inf**). There must be something about the elements outside the phrase *holde på* that sets these two functions apart. In many cases, the verbal process expressed by the infinitive phrase indicates the meaning. In (7-34), *å snuble* [to stumble] is the type of activity that is unlikely to be prolonged and ongoing. In addition, it is the kind of action that is usually performed unintentionally. As a result, the most likely interpretation is the modal meaning.

- (7-34) Nå er det helt sikkert at hun gråter, og i Bygdøy allé *holder hun på å snuble i en kastanje* og ser seg verken til høyre eller venstre. (LSC1)

Now it 's certain that she is crying, and on Bygdøy Avenue *she stumbles* on a chestnut and does n't look to the right or the left.

In example (7-35), the infinitive phrase 'å feie bort møkk' [to sweep away manure] is likely to refer to an ongoing process, and the action is unlikely to happen unintentionally. The most likely interpretation is therefore the aspectual function. However, the infinitive clause sometimes allows for both interpretations, as in (7-36): the infinitive phrase 'å tørne skuta og returnere til Tromsø' [to turn the ship and return to Tromsø] can both be something that is ongoing as well as something that is hypothetical. To understand the meaning of the pattern, the full context of the sentence is needed. Reading the whole sentence, the most likely interpretation is that Alfred is so annoyed that he *almost* turns the ship around. The aspectual meaning is less likely, but could still be read out of the sentence. However, an expansion of the context beyond the sentence makes the modal meaning clear. Interestingly, the translation uses *almost* to express the same meaning.

- (7-35) Even gikk bort til en av de andre stallkarene som akkurat *holdt på å feie bort møkk.* (KAL1)
Esen went over to one of the other stablemen, who *was busy sweeping away manure.*
- (7-36) "Alfred var så lei gnålet til den der sjøsjuke millionæren fra Bologna at han *holdt på å tørne skuta og returnere til Tromsø.*" (JM1)
Alfred was so fed up with the complaints from that seasick millionaire from Bologna that he *almost turned the ship around and sailed for Tromsø.*"

It is interesting that this particular pattern is so dependent on the context, not only within the pattern, but outside the pattern as well. I would like to note the connection between the **HOLDE p p å-inf** pattern and the **HOLDE p p n** pattern found in the ‘sustainment’ category (see section 7.2.9). The ‘sustainment’ category also includes occurrences of the phrase *holde på med*, but instead of combining with an infinitive clause, it combines with a noun group that expressed an activity. The connection between these two patterns was also discussed in section 5.4.1 above. The two patterns are different, but share a focus on the ongoingness of the action. In terms of meaning, they are almost identical.

7.4 Remaining Semantic Categories

Table 7.5 gives an overview of the remaining semantic categories and their typical patterns. Most of the categories are dominated by a single pattern. For the sake of simplicity, the table does not list deviant patterns that occur very rarely. Instead, these deviant patterns are discussed below. In this particular section, I have found it useful to spell out many of the words in the patterns rather than and using grammatical labels (for instance, **HOLDE ut** is not written **HOLDE p**). The reason is that almost all the patterns in these remaining semantic categories are phrases (as will be discussed below). Providing the actual words in the pattern makes the overview a lot more helpful. Using only grammatical labels would perhaps suggest similarity between categories that behave differently.

The most frequent category is ‘action’ with 23 instances. All these instances correspond to the pattern **HOLDE n**, except two instances that add a prepositional phrase to the pattern (see (7-37) below). However, these two instances are very similar in meaning to the remaining 21 instances. In general, the instances fall into two types. The first type consists of instances like (7-38), in which the noun group expresses an action or activity. In such instances, the verb *holde* has a function that is fairly similar to that of the verb *do*. In

Table 7.5: Patterns in the remaining semantic categories for Norw. *holde* (ENPC, fiction, original texts).

Category	Freq.	Typical Pattern(s)	Example
Action	23	HOLDE n	Han kommer til Kansas City for å holde foredrag. (KH1) After many years, when Amundsen had become a world-renowned figure, he went to Kansas City to <i>give a lecture</i> .
Endurance	21	HOLDE ut	At du holder ut, var reaksjonene for ett år siden. (OEL1) How do you <i>keep it up</i> , had been the reactions a year ago.
		HOLDE ut n/n ut	Den gode lukten fra gryta var nesten ikke til å holde ut. (TTH1) <i>The tantalizing aroma from the pot was unbearable.</i>
Location	19	HOLDE til adv	Det er mange år siden jeg sluttet å gå til frisør, den nærmeste holder til fem kvartaler unna (...). (KA1) It 's a good many years now since I stopped going to the barber for a haircut; the nearest one <i>is five blocks away (...)</i>
		HOLDE til prep	Vi trodde dere holdt til i Dragoonfjellene, sa kvitøyen. (SH1) <i>We thought you lived in the Dragoon Mountains, said the white eye.</i>
Stop	15	HOLDE opp HOLDE opp å-inf HOLDE opp med å-inf HOLDE opp med n	For meg er det også vanskelig å holde opp når mørket kommer. (CL1) For me, it 's hard to <i>stop</i> even when it gets dark.
Restraintment	15	HOLDE n	I alle år på barnehjemmet ble jeg bedt om å holde munn. (JW1) Throughout all the years of life in the children's home I had been exhorted to <i>keep quiet</i> .
		HOLDE pron-refl	Hvis du greier å holde deg så lenge. (LSC1) If you can <i>hold it</i> that long.
Limitation	11	HOLDE pron-refl til n	Jeg skal prøve å holde meg til det saka gjelder: Til Svalbard og det som kom etterpå. (JM1) I 'll try to <i>stick to the heart of the thing</i> : to Spitsbergen and what happened afterwards.
Possession	8	HOLDE på n	Og at de er flinke til å holde på hemmeligheter." (TB1) And that they 're good at <i>keeping secrets</i> ."
Other	5	-	-
Total	117		

instances that belong to the second category, like (7-39), the noun group refers to an event in which people gather (e.g. a meeting or a wedding). In such instances, the verb *holde* is typically interchangeable with the verb *arrangere* [arrange]. The distinction between these two types was also discussed briefly in section 5.3.5 above.

- (7-37) Jeg skal ikke *holde regnskap over sorgen* (...) (SL1)
I do n't have to *clock up sorrows* (...)
- (7-38) Han *holdt et foredrag* i amatørastonomisk forening, og sa konsekvent konsternasjoner i stedet for konstallasjoner. (EFH1)
He *gave a lecture* to the amateur astronomical society and kept saying consternations instead of constellations.
- (7-39) Hoffet var i Lyon og *holdt ball* for adel og borgere en tid etter Louises hjemkomst. (SL1)
Some time after her homecoming the court was in Lyons. *A ball was held* for nobles and citizens.

What is clear about this particular meaning of *holde* is that it is closely connected to the pattern **HOLDE n (prep)**. In addition, the meaning depends on specific types of noun groups in the pattern. This is especially true for the first category: the semi-phrases *holde vakt* [keep watch] and *holde foredrag/holde tale* [hold a lecture/hold a speech] account for almost all instances. What the independent meaning of *holde* is in any of these cases is difficult to determine. The meaning of the noun group and the phrase as a whole is prominent.

Occurrences in the second type (*arrange*) tend to be much less phrasal, and the verb *holde* has more lexical content. They are restricted in some ways, firstly by the **HOLDE n** pattern and secondly by the fact that the noun group must refer to a specific type of object (an event in which people gather). However, very few of the instances are pragmatemes in the true sense of the word. They are somewhere in-between pragmatemes and free utterances.

The second most frequent category is 'endurance'. What all instances in this category have in common is the fact that every instance sees *holde* combine with the particle *ut* [out] to form the phrase *holde ut* [hold out]. In one instance, the particle *med* [with] is added so that the phrase *holde ut med* [hold out with] is formed. However, even with the added particle, the phrase expresses the same meaning. Both *holde ut* [hold out] and *holde ut med* [hold out with] should be seen as full phrases with no lexical content in any of the individual elements. In that sense, the category is a straightforward one: the phrase *holde ut* [hold out]

is so phrasal that there is never any doubt as to whether an instance expresses ‘endurance’ or not. It is never difficult to distinguish between these occurrences and other occurrences in which *hold* combines with *ut* [out].³⁰

The difference between the instances in this category is the third element that combines with the phrase *holde ut* [hold out] (i.e. that which is being endured). In nine cases, no such object is directly observable in the pattern, but it is implied in the context (this is the **HOLDE *ut*** pattern). In yet nine instances, a noun group expresses what is being endured (this is the **HOLDE *ut n / n ut***). Examples of both these patterns are provided in table 7.5 above. In two instances, what is being endured is expressed as an infinitive clause, as in (7-40) (**HOLDE *ut å-inf***).

- (7-40) *Jeg holdt ikke ut å høre dem.* (MN1)
I could n't stand listening to them.

The ‘location’ category behaves similarly. The particle *til* [to] is always present so that the phrase *holde til* [hold to] is formed. This construction is fully phrasal, with none of the individual elements retaining any meaning that is relevant to the meaning of the phrase. This phrase then combines with an element that provides the actual location. This element can either be an adverb (giving the **HOLDE *til adv*** pattern) or a prepositional phrase (giving the **HOLDE *til prep*** pattern). Examples are provided in table 7.5 above.

The semantic category ‘stop’, with 15 occurrences, is also similar. In this category, *holde* always combines with the particle *opp* [up] to form the fixed phrase *holde opp* [hold up] (once again with a fully phrasal meaning). Like with the ‘endurance’ category, the particle *med* [with] can also be added to form the equally phrasal *holde opp med* [hold up with]. With or without this added particle, the general meaning of the phrase remains the same.

While all instances in the ‘stop’ category are made up of the phrase *holde opp (med)* [hold up with], their pattern structures differ when they refer to the action that is being stopped. In seven instances, this action is implied (the **HOLDE *opp*** pattern), in four instances the element is expressed by an infinitive phrase (the **HOLDE *opp å-inf*** and **HOLDE *opp med å-inf*** patterns), and in two instances, it is expressed by a noun group (**HOLDE *opp med n***). If a noun group is to be used, the phrase must include *med* [with] for the meaning to be clear. In general, the particle *med* [with] makes the pattern clearer and

³⁰ For instance, *ut* [out] is used in the **HOLDE *n/pron-refl with adv*** pattern in the ‘physical contact’ category. In these instances, *ut* [out] retains some of its directional meaning.

more easily distinguished from other patterns.

The semantic category ‘restraint’ includes 15 occurrences and has two patterns. The first is **HOLDE n**, which is the most frequent pattern with 12 instances (see an example in table 7.5 above). The noun group is restricted to three nouns: *pusten* [the breath] (with the meaning *hold one’s breath*) and the words *munn* [mouth] and *kjeft* [mouth] (with the general meaning *be silent*). In these cases, *holde* seems to express ‘restraint’, while the noun group refers to the participant that is being restrained (either the breath or the mouth). Although the individual elements have some lexical content, the fact that only three words occur suggests that the occurrences are phrasal. In addition, there is clearly a phrasal meaning added to the utterances as well. This means that the occurrences should be classified as quasi-phrases.

The second pattern in this category is the **HOLDE pron-refl** (see example (7-41)), which occurs three times in original texts. All three of these occurrences express the general meaning *keep oneself from doing something*. The same pattern is used in the ‘sustainment’ category in a few cases, but with the general meaning *to last* or *to sustain oneself*, as in (7-42). In other words, the meaning does not only depend on the pattern, but also on the context.

(7-41) Ruby klarer nesten ikke å *holde seg* nå. (LSC1)
Ruby almost ca n’t *hold back* now.

(7-42) Den rødmen kunne *holde seg* i ukevis. (HW2)
The blush might *last* for weeks.

‘Limitation’, with its 11 instances in original texts, is typically found as the pattern **HOLDE pron-refl til n** (see the example in table 7.5 above). The concept of ‘limitation’ is expressed by the phrase as a whole, and not by the individual constituents (i.e. a fully phrasal meaning). The same pattern occurs in rare cases in the ‘physical contact’ category (with the general meaning *grip* in an abstract sense), and the two meanings may be connected somehow. In two instances, the pattern is **HOLDE**, and in a third case, the pattern is **HOLDE med n**. These patterns are so infrequent that they will not be explored. As a general comment, they both seem to be phrasal or at least syntactically restricted in nature.

The eight instances of the ‘possession’ category typically combine with the particle *på* [on] in the pattern **HOLDE på n**. The noun group expresses the object that is being possessed, and the type of participant that can appear in this role seems to be more or less limitless. The general meaning ‘possession’ is derived from the combination of *holde* and

på [on], i.e. a fully phrasal meaning. It would be possible to see the instances in this category as abstract extensions of the ‘physical contact’ category, and to group them under the **HOLDE prep** pattern with the general meaning *grip* (see section 7.1.5 above). This would be similar to the instances of *holde fast* [hold tight], which could express both a concrete meaning, and a physical abstraction of that meaning. In this sense, *holde på* [hold on] is similar to the English phrase *hold on to*, which could express a similar kind of abstract *grip* (see section 6.1.5 above). However, since ‘possession’ is also a semantic category with English *hold* it is constructive to try to classify similar meanings in the same way, for the sake of comparison.

Having now gone through all the remaining patterns for Norwegian *holde*, it is safe to conclude that a common denominator is that they are all highly phrasal. Only a few retain much of the literal meaning of the verb *holde*, while most combine with a particle to form a phrasal meaning. In terms of patterns, a couple of categories show some variation (notably, the category ‘stop’, with four types of patterns), however, even in such instances, only part of the pattern varies, while much of the pattern remains fixed. It is clear that all these occurrences depend on specific syntactic and/or phrasal features to express their meanings.

8 *Holde* and *Hold* Compared

8.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the verbs *holde* and *hold* in light of the findings of chapters 6 and 7. The sections below will follow the same type of structure as these chapters, starting with a comparison of the semantic category ‘physical contact’ in section 8.2, before moving on to the ‘sustainment’ category in section 8.3 and the ‘grammatical’ category in section 8.4. The final section, 8.5, will deal with the remaining categories. When patterns are discussed, the spelling **HOLDe** will be used to refer to both lemmas (e.g. **HOLDe n prep**). Because chapters 6 and 7 provided a number of examples, this section will provide only a few examples when needed. Each section will include a discussion of translation correspondences for the respective meanings and patterns.

Chapter 6 included instances of English *hold* in both original and translated texts, while chapter 7 focused on occurrences of Norwegian *holde* in original texts. For the sake of comparison between the verbs, the analysis below will focus on occurrences in original texts for both verbs. Some of the findings in English translated texts are included when it provides information that is helpful to the analysis. The analysis will mainly describe differences and similarities within each semantic category (and within patterns), saving thoughts on the connection between categories and on the overall behavior of the two lemmas for chapter 9.

8.2 Comparison of Instances in the Semantic Category ‘Physical Contact’

At first glance, the instances that express ‘physical contact’ are similar for Norwegian *holde* and English *hold* (see tables 6.1 and 7.1 above for an overview³¹). The total number of instances in this category does not vary much across the languages (151 instances of *holde* in original Norwegian texts and 138 instances of *hold* in original English texts). A quick look at the submeanings that tend to be expressed (*carry*, *direction*, *location*, and *grip*) shows that the same types of meanings are expressed as well. While some overlap in meaning is expected between occurrences that belong to the same semantic category, it is nevertheless interesting that the subtypes of meanings overlap as well. In addition, the four most frequent patterns for both lemmas are the same (**HOLDe n prep**, **HOLDe n with adv**, **HOLDe n with adv prep**, and **HOLDe n**). These four patterns make up the majority of

³¹ Tables 6.1 and 7.1 above are relevant to the whole of section 8.2 as they provide a helpful overview of the patterns in the semantic category ‘physical contact’ and their frequencies for both *holde* and *hold*.

instances for both lemmas.

There are some important differences, however. First of all, the frequencies of the patterns vary greatly: although the four most frequent ones are shared, they do not occur in the same order of frequency. The most frequent pattern for English *hold*, by far, is the **HOLD n** pattern with 49 instances in original texts. For Norwegian *holde* however, the corresponding pattern **HOLDE n** pattern is the fourth most frequent pattern with only 16 instances in original texts.

Disregarding the variations in the number of occurrences, the **HOLDe n** pattern behaves surprisingly similarly across the languages. The tendency is for the meaning to be non-phrasal, i.e. the verb *hold(e)* has a clearly defined lexical meaning (typically *carry*), and there seems to be little restriction as to the types of constituents that can be involved. The only prominent exception is the English quasi-phrase *hold hands* (see section 6.1.7 above), which only occurs rarely. In general, both languages show a tendency towards a human actor and a concrete goal with this pattern. The difference between the instances of *holde* and *hold* in this pattern seems to lie in the frequency with which they occur in it.

The **HOLDe n prep** pattern is the most frequent pattern for Norwegian *holde* in this category, and the second most frequent one for English *hold*. For *holde*, this pattern occurs 57 times in original texts, and for English *hold*, the number of instances is 31. The instances behave similarly in that they all tend to express *location* in some way. The difference is that the Norwegian prepositional phrases express a wider range of meanings (see section 7.1.7 for a discussion of the six types of instances) while English prepositional phrases typically fall into two types (see section 6.1.8).

The **HOLDe n with adv** pattern is the third most frequent pattern in English (with 36 instances in original texts) and the second most frequent one in Norwegian (21 instances in original texts). It makes sense to analyze it together with the **HOLDe n with adv prep** pattern, which behaves in much the same way. The latter pattern is the third most frequent pattern in the Norwegian material (with 17 instances) and the fourth most frequent one in the English one (with six instances).³² The behaviors of *holde* and *hold* are very similar in both of these patterns: instances typically focus on *direction*, and they tend to express a quasi-phrasal meaning in which a phrasal meaning is added to the lexical meaning of the constituents involved in the pattern. The Norwegian verb typically combines with the

³² English translated texts have 21 instances of this pattern. This may be a case of source language influence (i.e. translationese).

adverbs *opp* [up], *fram* [forwards], and *ut* [out], while the English verb combines with similar adverbs, typically *up* and *out*. The instances commonly involve a human actor and a physical object (usually a small one). One important exception is the Norwegian phrase *holde noe fast* [hold something tight], which will be discussed below.

Moving beyond the most frequent patterns, *holde* and *hold* start to behave more differently, not least because some of the patterns are more phrasal. The most frequent unique pattern is the Norwegian **HOLDE prep** pattern, which occurs 16 times in original texts and not once in English texts. In English, the **HOLDe n with adj** pattern occurs six times in original texts, but in Norwegian it does not occur at all in original texts. However, it does occur in Norwegian translated texts (as correspondences of the English pattern). Although it is not used as often in Norwegian texts, it is a fully acceptable construction, expressing the same type of meaning as the English one. In addition, the pattern often occurs with the semantic category ‘sustainment’, which will be discussed further in section 8.3 below. Two more patterns are unique to one language: the Norwegian **HOLDE pron-refl adv (prep)** pattern and the English **HOLD onto n** pattern.

All the patterns that fall outside the four most frequent ones seem to be unique, but they have one prominent shared trait: they express the meaning *grip*. This means that although the pattern structures differ, the meanings of these occurrences are more or less the same. The only exception is the English **HOLD n with adj** pattern, which is not connected to any typical meaning, but which borders on the occurrences in the ‘sustainment’ category (this aspect of the pattern was discussed in section 6.1.10).

Another similarity between the less frequent patterns is the fact that both languages typically use a fixed phrase to express the meaning *grip*. In Norwegian, this phrase is *holde fast*³³ and in English it is typically the phrases *hold on (to)* (i.e. the **HOLD adv (prep)** pattern) and *hold onto* (i.e. the **HOLD onto n** pattern) (see section 6.1.5 above). Once again, the **HOLD n with adj** pattern is the exception. Still, the conclusion is that many of the same tendencies are there for both verbs, but in different syntactic and lexical forms.

It has now been shown that, in terms of meaning, *holde* and *hold* are very similar in the ‘physical contact’ category. What has not been noted is the fact that the instances in which patterns overlap also tend to overlap in meaning. This overlap is especially evident with the four most frequent patterns. A possible exception is the **HOLDe n prep** pattern,

³³ The phrase *holde fast* has many variations, e.g. *holde fast ved* [hold tight by] / *holde noe fast* [hold something tight], which is why there are so many different patterns in the material that express *grip*. Section 7.1.10 discussed this.

which showed a somewhat greater variation in meaning in the Norwegian occurrences. On the other hand, an analysis of the less frequent patterns has revealed that that occurrences may overlap in meaning without sharing pattern structures.

Although the behavior of *holde* and *hold* clearly overlap, there are differences in distribution, which indicate that the lemmas are more different than they appear at first glance. The most dramatic difference in frequency is between Norwegian and English instances of the **HOLDe n** pattern. It is the most frequent English pattern with 49 instances, but only the fourth most frequent pattern in Norwegian with 16 instances. The main feature that sets it apart from the other patterns is the fact that it is typically non-phrasal. When *hold(e)* occurs in this pattern, it typically has a clearly defined and independent meaning. The difference in frequencies indicates that the Norwegian verb is used less frequently in such constructions, and more frequently in constructions that require several elements, and which are more phrasal in nature (especially the **HOLDe n prep** pattern).

Most of the occurrences in the **HOLDe n prep** pattern add a description in the prepositional phrase that makes the simple meaning *carry* clearer.³⁴ It may well be that Norwegian authors feel the need to emphasize this meaning to a greater extent than their English counterparts do. The meaning *carry* is perhaps sometimes felt to be expressed insufficiently by *holde* on its own, so that additional elements are typically added (perhaps even required). The idea that *holde* tends to occur more often in phrases with a reduced lexical meaning is explored further in the sections below (esp. in sections 8.4 and 8.5). This tendency may account, at least in part, not only for the low frequency of the **HOLDe n** pattern in the Norwegian ‘physical contact’ category, but also for the high frequency of the **HOLDe n prep** pattern (57 occurrences in Norwegian texts compared to 31 times in English texts). In any case, the phenomenon represents a difference between *holde* and *hold* that cannot be ignored.

As for the translation correspondences of the ‘physical contact’ category, the similarity between the two categories is evident. 122 of the 151 instances of Norwegian *holde* correspond to English *hold* in the translation. The English verb corresponds to the Norwegian one 93 out of 138 times. If the material only consisted of occurrences from the ‘physical contact’ category, the verbs would have an MC rate of 74.4 percent. The remaining correspondences are mostly paraphrases. The only corresponding verb that is

³⁴ An example of such a phrase would be *i hånden* [in the hand]. See section 7.1.2 for a discussion of such phrases.

relatively frequent is the Norwegian *rekke* [reach], which has been used to translate the phrase *hold out* eight times in this category.

8.3 Comparison of Instances in the Semantic Category ‘Sustainment’

8.3.1 Overview of the Patterns and Overview of Correspondences

The ‘sustainment’ category is an interesting category in that the English verb *hold* occurs with this meaning only 27 times in original texts while the Norwegian verb *holde* occurs 210 times with this meaning.³⁵ It is clear that this meaning is well established in Norwegian, but rarely used in English.

At the same time, the patterns that occur in both languages are surprisingly similar. The four most frequent patterns for both lemmas (**HOLDe n/(pron-refl) prep**, **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) with adv**, **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) with adj**, and **HOLDe n**) are the same, only in a slightly different order of frequency. The difference between them, in terms of superficial pattern structure, is the fact that three of the Norwegian patterns may use a reflexive pronoun in place of the noun group.³⁶ Even the less frequent patterns are shared. In fact, the only pattern that is unique to one of the lemmas (not counting the occurrences in the ‘other’ category for the Norwegian verb) is the **HOLDE p p n** pattern (i.e. the phrase *holde på med n*, see section 7.2.5 above), which occurs 20 times in Norwegian original texts.

Considering that the English instances are so infrequent (none of the patterns have more than 10 occurrences in original texts), it is surprising that only one of the patterns in the Norwegian material is unique. Of course, there may be interesting instances in the ‘other’ category that could complicate this picture somewhat, but, for the majority of instances, *holde* and *hold* behave similarly.

A study of the translation correspondences gives a slightly different impression. Table 8.1 gives an overview of translation correspondences of *hold(e)* in original texts. As is clear, this is a semantic category in which Norwegian *holde* appears to be much more similar to *keep*, corresponding to that verb 86 times as opposed to 27 times to *hold*. The related verb *stay* also accounts for 10 correspondences. The number of paraphrases is also high, at 40

³⁵ Table 6.2 in section 6.2.1 above gives a useful overview of the instances of English *hold* as it appears in the ‘sustainment’ category. Table 7.3 in section 7.2.1 gives the same type of overview for Norwegian *holde*. Both these tables are relevant for the whole of section 8.3.

³⁶ Some of the patterns are considered to be the equivalent even though the English verb cannot use a reflexive pronoun in that pattern. For instance, the **HOLD n prep** pattern is considered to be equivalent to **HOLDE n/pron-refl prep**. When they are referred to simultaneously, the label **pron-refl** is given in parentheses (e.g. **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) prep**).

Table 8.1: Translation correspondences of *hold(e)* in the ‘sustainment’ category (ENPC, fiction)

Verb	Correspondence	Freq.
Norw. <i>holde</i>	<i>keep</i>	86
	<i>hold</i>	27
	PARAPHRASING	40
	<i>stay</i>	10
	<i>do</i>	7
	ZERO	7
	OTHER VERBS	33
	Total	210
Eng. <i>hold</i>	<i>holde</i>	8
	PARAPHRASING	10
	OTHER VERBS	9
	Total	27

correspondences. In terms of percentage, the English verb corresponds more frequently to its cognate, with 8 out of 27 instances corresponding to Norwegian *holde*. However, paraphrases and alternative verbs still account for two thirds of the correspondences.

8.3.2 A Closer Study of the Patterns and their Correspondences

One of the patterns in which *holde* and *hold* behave quite differently in this category is the **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) prep** pattern. It occurs 61 times in Norwegian original texts and only three times in English original texts. Fortunately for the analysis, the pattern occurs about twice as often in English translated texts, which provides a few more occurrences for the analysis. The Norwegian pattern is highly flexible (see section 7.2.6 above), including almost any type of participant in the noun group and seemingly any type of circumstance in the prepositional phrase.

The English instances are much more infrequent, and therefore naturally more limited in range. However, a few tendencies are also clear. First of all, most of the English instances show a clear connection with the ‘physical contact’ category, with most of the prepositional phrases expressing *location* in the same way that the prepositional phrases in the ‘physical contact’ category do (see section 6.1.3 above). The instances that do not express *location* in the prepositional phrase are semiphrases such as *hold time in thrall* and *hold something in check*. In other words, *hold* only expresses ‘sustainment’ in this pattern when specific types of participants are involved or when it is used in a phrase. Correspondences show that Norwegian *holde* rarely corresponds to English *hold* when it is used in this pattern. Instead *keep* is a typical correspondence. When English *hold* does occur in this pattern, however, it typically corresponds to *holde*. In other words, there is some overlap.

Despite the fact that they are about four times as frequent for the Norwegian verb, instances of the **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) with adv** and the **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) with adj** patterns behave very similarly when comparing *holde* and *hold* in this category. To start with the first pattern, the kind of adverb groups that occur are typically a limited set of general adverb groups, which seem to border on pragmatemes (see sections 6.2.2. and 7.2.7 above). In the ‘physical contact’ category, this pattern typically expresses *direction*, and that is still the case with the adverb groups here (for both *holde* and *hold*).

However, the English instances seem to be slightly more restricted (most instances consist of the phrase *hold something back*, which is arguably quasi-phrasal). In addition, the instances in the English material show a much closer connection with the ‘physical contact’ category, with only rare instances of what I have termed *pure sustainment* (see section 6.2.2). Interestingly, however, the rate at which the instances of Norwegian *holde* have been translated by English *hold* is higher in this pattern than anywhere else in the ‘sustainment’ category. In fact, *hold* is almost as frequent a correspondence as *keep*. The English verb also has Norwegian *holde* as its most frequent correspondence.

Instances of the **HOLDe n with adj** pattern also show a similar behavior between *holde* and *hold*. The types of adjective groups that can occur in the pattern are relatively varied, and the occurrences are typically non-phrasal. The Norwegian correspondences seem to be able to take on a wider range of adjective groups, however, and, in the majority of the English instances, the pattern shows clear traces of ‘physical contact’ (as was discussed in section 6.2.2).

In the few remaining instances of this pattern that do not show traces of ‘physical contact’, *holde* and *hold* behave very similarly. Unfortunately, there are so few instances that little can be said about their nature or significance. It can be said that the English occurrences are dominated by the phrases *hold someone captive* and *held powerless by something*. As expected, the English correspondences of Norwegian *holde* in this pattern are typically *keep*, while English *hold* typically corresponds to Norwegian *holde*. The indication is that the English pattern is much more restricted in terms of behavior, and that *hold* only rarely be used as a translation of Norwegian *holde* in this pattern.

With the **HOLDe n** pattern, there seems to be a greater difference between *holde* and *hold*. The Norwegian instances may include a wide variety of noun groups in this pattern, even though there are some restrictions (see section 7.2.8). The English instances, however, typically consist of semiphrases (typically either *hold one’s own* or *hold one’s peace*), or else the noun group has to do with behavioral processes (i.e. perception), and resembles a

kind of abstract extension of the physical meaning *grip* (see section 6.2.2). One example of such a phrase is *to hold someone's attention*. In general, the **HOLDe n** pattern exhibits a much more restricted behavior in the English verb in terms of grammatical context.

In terms of correspondences, Norwegian *holde* typically corresponds to *keep* in these cases, as is expected. In this particular pattern, English *hold* does not tend to correspond to *holde* either (it does so only once). Instead, paraphrases as shown in (8-1) below are typical. The correspondences indicate that although the general meaning ('sustainment') and the pattern are the same for *holde* and *hold* when used in this pattern, they are not considered equivalent.

(8-1) Daddy listened, but *held* his peace. (JSM1)

Far min hørte på, uten å si noe.

The **HOLDe adv** pattern was shown to be semiphrasal for Norwegian *holde* (see section 7.2.9), and that is also the case for English *hold*. For instance, in the phrase *holde sammen* [hold together], the lexical word *sammen* [together] has a clear semantic content while *holde* has a very general, arguably phrasal, meaning. The most frequent correspondence of both verbs is the corresponding cognate, with *keep* only occurring once as a translation of *holde*. It is clear that this pattern is one of the few in this category in which the verbs are close to equivalent. Another pattern that is very similar across the languages is the simple **HOLDe** pattern, which is roughly identical in meaning and syntactic behavior. However, this pattern is rare, and cannot be discussed in any greater detail (the pattern is not listed in table 7.3 due to its low frequency).

The pattern that really stands out in the 'sustainment' category is the Norwegian **HOLDE p p n** pattern, which always consists of the phrase *holde på med* [hold on with]. This pattern is related to the semantic category 'grammatical', which is unique to the Norwegian lemma (this connection was noted in section 7.3 as well). The **HOLDE p p n** pattern is fully phrasal, since none of the constituents in the *holde på med* [hold on with] phrase have any independent meaning relevant to the meaning of the utterance. It is probably the most phrasal usage of *hold(e)* in the 'sustainment' category.

It is interesting to note that the translation correspondences of the **HOLDE p p n** pattern differ from those of the remaining patterns; seven times, the verb *do* has been used as a translation (as in (8-2) below). In all of these instances, one verb acts as a translation of the whole of the phrase *holde på med*, which underlines the fact that the meaning is fully phrasal. The remaining instances have been paraphrased (except for one instance of *keep*

and two instances of zero correspondence).

- (8-2) Hildegun og Brita fulgte ivrig med, Judith *holdt på med*
noe på kjøkkenet. (BV1)
Hildegun and Brita watched intently, whilst Judith *did*
something in the kitchen.

To sum up some of the general tendencies in the ‘sustainment’ category, it can firstly be noted that the underlying pattern structures are in fact surprisingly similar for *holde* and *hold*. In addition, it seems that the typical uses of one verb is mirrored by similar uses of the other one. Consequently, the English verb typically corresponds to its Norwegian cognate. Even if the Norwegian verb is much more frequent, it contains only one relatively frequent pattern that is not found in the English material (the **HOLDE p p n** pattern).

What is clear from a closer study of the patterns is that they do in fact behave differently. It is also clear that some of the patterns behave more differently than others. The distance between the lemmas is greatest when they are used in the **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) prep** and **HOLDe n** patterns. Typically, the English instances here are either semi- or quasi-phrasal or else show clear traces of ‘physical contact’, while the Norwegian instances contain instances that are less phrasal and that have a much wider variety of meanings and participants. Instances of the **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) with adv** and **HOLDe n/(pron-refl) with adj** patterns contain instances of *holde* and *hold* that are more similar in behavior, especially the first pattern. However, the same tendencies were found in these instances: the English instances are more restricted in terms of grammatical context, and have a closer connection with the ‘physical contact’ category).

It seems that the English verb *hold* can express the same type of general meaning (‘sustainment’), mostly occurring in the same patterns. It cannot be denied that ‘sustainment’ is a semantic category that exists for both lemmas, or that the similarity in syntactic behavior between the lemmas in this category is striking. The pattern **HOLDE p p n** represents an important exception to this similarity, as do the 28 instances of ‘other’ Norwegian patterns (see table 7.3 above) that have not been discussed here.

The fact remains that, in terms of pattern structure and general meaning, the two verbs are strikingly similar in the ‘sustainment’ category. The difference between them seems to be mainly that the ‘sustainment’ meaning is an inherent part of Norwegian *holde*, while the English verb is not typically used in this sense. English *hold* can be used in this sense, but its behavior is severely restricted.

It is telling that English *hold* relatively often corresponds to *holde* in the material; there is a general tendency that the English verb does not deviate from *holde* (except when used in the **HOLD n** pattern, in which it seems to have a unique behavior). Rather, the tendency is that Norwegian *holde* deviates from *hold*. Correspondences indicate that the English verb *keep* is much closer to Norwegian *holde* in terms of meaning when it is used in the sense of ‘sustainment’. However, it is clear that *keep* is not fully equivalent to the Norwegian verb as used in this sense either, as some of the patterns have exhibited very few or no correspondences to *keep* (notably the **HOLDE p p n** and the **HOLDE adv** patterns).

8.4 The Semantic Category ‘Grammatical’

Since this is a category that is unique to Norwegian *holde*, it cannot be compared with any of the English categories, and this section will instead devote itself to discuss the significance of this category for the overall behavior of the Norwegian verb, and what it says about the difference between *holde* and *hold*.

It is clear that the behavior of this category is very different from the typical behavior of any other category. All instances consist of two phrases (or rather two variants of the same phrase: *holde på* and *holde på med*), and the meaning is fully phrasal. The verb has no lexical meaning, only a grammatical function (see section 5.4.1 above). As this is the third most frequent semantic category in Norwegian (with 45 instances in original texts and 46 instances in translated texts), this is a significant deviation from English *hold*.

What does the existence of this category say about the nature of Norwegian *holde*? First of all, we know that grammaticalization is more likely to happen to words that have a general meaning.³⁷ In other words, the fact that it appears in this construction so frequently is an indication that *holde* is seen as a very general verb. The fact that the English verb never seems to occur in a similar construction suggests that it is possibly seen as having a less general in meaning.

The fact that the meaning of *holde* has been fully bleached in this category is potentially also significant. Although, as Hopper and Traugott (2003 : 94) say, the early stages of grammaticalization need not necessarily be connected to loss of meaning, but rather to a ‘redistribution or shift’ in meaning. As a result, it is not given that other uses of *holde* will exhibit such a bleaching of its meaning. Nevertheless, the two concepts are undoubtedly related (ibid), and as a result, it should be seen whether the other semantic

³⁷ Cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003 : 101). See also the discussion on grammaticalization in section 1.4 above.

categories exhibit tendencies towards a bleaching of meaning as well, and how these tendencies compare with English *hold*.

In terms of correspondences, there are hardly any verb phrases that correspond to the *holde på (med)* construction, and all but two correspondences have been classified as paraphrases. While no close analysis of each paraphrased correspondence has been made, it can be noted that there is a clear tendency for the aspectual instances to correspond to an English progressive (as in (8-3)), and for the modal instances correspond to the adverbs *almost* or *nearly* (as in (8-4)).

(8-3) Da de kom dit, *holdt hun på* å lage kaffe (...) (EG1)
Karin *was making* coffee (...)

(8-4) Mattie *holdt på* å si ja. (GN1T)
Mattie *almost* agreed.

8.5 Comparison of Instances in the Remaining Semantic Categories

8.5.1 Pattern Analysis

Table 6.3 in section 6.3.1 and table 7.5 in section 7.4 give overviews of *hold* and *holde* in the remaining semantic categories respectively (once again, these tables are relevant for the whole of this section). Norwegian *holde* has a total of 117 instances across seven categories (and an ‘other’ category), while English *hold* has less than half the amount of instances, 45, across six categories (and an ‘other’ category). As discussed in chapter 5, the majority of instances occur in semantic categories that are shared by the two lemmas. The meanings ‘action’, ‘endurance’, ‘restraint’, ‘possession’, ‘stop’, ‘evaluation’, and ‘containment’ occur with both lemmas. In addition, the Norwegian verb occurs with the meanings ‘location’ and ‘limitation’.

If we look at the patterns in the semantic categories as a whole, it is interesting to note that the four most frequent categories for English *hold* have the **HOLD n** pattern. In fact, this pattern accounts for the majority of occurrences of *hold* in these remaining categories (only the two least frequent ones, ‘evaluation’ and ‘endurance’ have diverging patterns).

The Norwegian verb *holde* has a very different behavior; although the most frequent category, ‘action’, has the **HOLDE n** pattern, the general variety of patterns is much greater. The four most frequent categories and their patterns are as follows: ‘action’ (**HOLDE n**), ‘endurance’ (**HOLDE ut** and **HOLDE ut n/n ut**), ‘location’ (**HOLDE til adv** and *holde til prep*), and ‘stop’ (**HOLDE opp**, **HOLDE opp å-inf**, **HOLDE opp med å-inf**,

and **HOLDE *opp med n***). In general, instances of *holde* tend to occur in a variety of patterns, with only a minority occurring in the **HOLDE n** pattern. These findings indicate that the Norwegian verb is more flexible in terms of grammatical context than English *hold*.

Despite the differences between the two verbs, there is still a clear tendency for shared semantic categories to have the same patterns. The ‘action’ category has the **HOLDe n** pattern for both lemmas. The ‘endurance’ category has the **HOLDe adv** pattern for both lemmas, although the Norwegian instances can include a noun group as well to form the **HOLDE n with adv** pattern. Instances in the ‘restraint’ category tend to follow the **HOLDe n** pattern in both languages, although the Norwegian instances can include a reflexive pronoun in place of the noun group (this behavior is similar to the patterns in the ‘sustainment’ category, see section 8.3.1 above).

The exception is the semantic category ‘possession’, which has the **HOLDE på n** pattern in the Norwegian instances and the **HOLD n** pattern in the English instances. However, this difference is due to the fact the Norwegian verb is used in the phrase *holde på*, which is phrasal, and more similar to the English phrase *hold on to*. In this respect, the English **HOLD n** pattern should perhaps be seen as a usage (and meaning) that is somewhat unique to the English verb.

The ‘containment’ category occurs 11 times in English original texts. It does occur in Norwegian texts, but only twice in translated texts. Both verbs occur in the **HOLDe n** pattern when used in this sense. Instances belonging to the ‘evaluation’ category occur very rarely (eight times in English translated and original texts combined, and only two times in Norwegian translated texts), and with so few instances, it is clear that they cannot be compared properly, although it is clear that *holde* and *hold* behave differently in terms of patterns when used in this sense. Despite the differences in the ‘possession’ and ‘evaluation’ categories, the comparison of shared semantic categories shows that the two verbs tend to behave similarly in terms of patterns when expressing the same type of meaning.

The most significant differences between *holde* and *hold*, in terms of pattern behavior, occur when the verbs express different meanings. There are three such categories, all belonging to the Norwegian verb *holde*: ‘location’ occurs with the **HOLDE til adv** and **HOLDE til prep** patterns, ‘stop’ occurs with the **HOLDE opp**, **HOLDE opp å-inf**, **HOLDE opp med å-inf**, and **HOLDE opp med n** patterns, and ‘limitation’ typically occurs with the **HOLDE pron-refl til n** pattern. None of these unique semantic categories occur with the **HOLDe n** pattern. The wide range of patterns in these categories indicates that the Norwegian verb is syntactically more flexible than English *hold*.

8.5.2 Phrasal Analysis

Sections 6.3.2 and 7.4 above revealed many examples of different types of phrases in the remaining semantic categories. These findings will be compared in this section. To start with the shared semantic categories, it is perhaps not too surprising that the Norwegian and English occurrences that belong to the same semantic categories share the same phrasal tendencies. The ‘endurance’ category is the most phrasal one, with the phrase *holde ut* in Norwegian and *hold out* in English. These instances are fully phrasal, with no individual meaning in either *holde* or *hold*.

The ‘restraint’ category is quasi-phrasal in both languages, with the same types of phrases occurring (compare, for instance, the Norwegian phrase *hold kjeft* [hold mouth] to the English phrase *hold your tongue*). The ‘action’ category is the least phrasal of the shared categories, seeing both verbs combining with similar types of noun groups (e.g. *foredrag* [lecture] and *lecture*). The exception is once again ‘possession’, a meaning that in Norwegian only occurs in the full phrase *holde på*, but seems to be a meaning that the English verb can express on its own.

The ‘containment’ category occurs only twice in the whole of the material for Norwegian *holde*, and so it is hard to make any kind of comparison with the English verb. The two instances (one of which is (8-5)) represent rare uses of Norwegian *holde*, and are not very similar in behavior to the English verb. Due to this low frequency and rare behavior, the category should perhaps instead be treated as more or less unique to English *hold*. In that respect, what is significant about it is that it is not phrasal (see section 6.3.2 above), which distinguishes it from many of the other categories.

(8-5) Innenfor E er også Det fjerne østen som *holder* liaison-offiserer i Hongkong, New Delhi, Canberra og Wellington (...)(FF1T)

Also inside "E", Far East *maintains* liaison officers in Hong Kong, New Delhi, Canberra and Wellington, (...)

The question of whether the occurrences in the ‘evaluation’ category are phrasal or not, is a tricky one. The meaning does not seem to depend on a fixed phrase to express this meaning, since it can occur in a wide variety of patterns, and in fact, the general meaning of ‘evaluation’ can actually be seen to stem from the verb *hold* itself. In these respects, the meaning is not phrasal. At the same time, however, the wide range of patterns gives a false impression of flexibility. The use of *hold* is severely restricted when used in this sense. Looking more closely at the patterns, they are highly fixed in nature. The **HOLD to-inf**

pattern must have *be* as the main verb of the infinitive clause, the **HOLD n with adj** pattern must have the adjective *responsible* and the **HOLD n prep** pattern must have the preposition *in* followed by a noun or noun group that expresses evaluation. In other words, *holde* does not occur in free utterances (i.e. open-choice constructions), even though it is possible to analyze the verb as having an independent meaning. Just how phrasal these instances are need not necessarily be determined, but it can be said with certainty that this meaning is not as phrasal as the unique meanings of Norwegian *holde*.

The categories that are unique to the Norwegian verb, on the other hand, tend to be highly phrasal (see section 7.4 above). Both the ‘location’ category and the ‘stop’ category are fully phrasal. The ‘limitation’ category is a bit trickier. Although it does seem to be fully phrasal in most cases (mostly being the full phrase *holde seg til*), there are a three examples in which *holde* seems to have stronger lexical content. One of these examples is (8-6). However, the meaning is slightly skewed in these cases, more similar to *suffice* or *be enough*. These instances are treated as anomalies.

(8-6) Det pleide å *holde* med to, dersom det ikke var kolera på ferde. (EFH1)

Two *were* usually *enough* as long as cholera was n't looming.

8.5.3 Correspondence Analysis

The two previous sections have commented on a number of similarities between *holde* and *hold* when they occur in shared semantic categories. An analysis of translation correspondences complicates the conclusion about the extent of similarity to some degree. Although *holde* and *hold* typically correspond to one another in the ‘action’ and ‘restraint’ categories, the ‘endurance’ and ‘stop’ categories (which occur very rarely in English texts), typically see the Norwegian verb corresponding to something else. With the ‘endurance’ category, *stand* is by far the most common verb correspondence, along with similar verbs such as *endure* and *bear*. A typical example is (8-7). With the ‘stop’ category, the dominant correspondence by far is the verb *stop* (see (8-8) below). The English verb tends to correspond to Norwegian *holde*.

(8-7) Jeg holdt ikke *ut* ensomheten i mørket. (MN1)

I could n't *stand* the loneliness in the dark.

(8-8) For meg er det også vanskelig å *holde opp* når mørket kommer. (CL1)

For me, it 's hard to *stop* even when it gets dark.

The categories ‘possession’ and ‘containment’ are also instances in which *holde* and *hold* do not tend to correspond. The Norwegian instances expressing ‘possession’ do correspond to the phrase *hold on to* in a couple of instances, but typically corresponds to something else. The English instances expressing ‘possession’ tend to be paraphrased in the translation, with only one instance being translated with *holde*. ‘Containment’ is a predominantly English category, and the instances here typically correspond to something other than *holde*, either a paraphrase or a verb expressing the meaning explicitly, as in (8-9).

(8-9) The wooden produce trays, the emptied sacks, the pallets, bins and panniers which had *held* vegetables and fruit were piled and stacked unevenly (...) (JC1)

Varebrettene av tre, og tomsekker, paller, pakkasser og kurver som hadde *inneholdt* grønnsaker og frukt ble dynget på hverandre i uorden (...)

In other words, even though the general meaning and the pattern are the same for *holde* and *hold*, this does not mean that the verbs are seen as equivalent. In fact, translators seem to prefer other types of translations for many of these categories.

The unique Norwegian categories ‘location’ and ‘limitation’ never correspond to English *hold*, which is a further indication that these meanings do not exist for the English verb. Instead *live* is the typical correspondence for the ‘location’ category, while the latter category tends to be paraphrased in the English translation.

8.5.4 Conclusions

In terms of pattern structure and degree of phrasal usage, it is clear that Norwegian *holde* and English *hold* behave very similarly when they occur in the same semantic categories. However, even if individual instances behave similarly, the frequencies with which they occur reveal some important differences. With the Norwegian occurrences, the semantic categories that are more phrasal tend to be more frequent. The ‘endurance’ category, for instance, occurs 21 times in Norwegian original texts, but not once in English originals (only five times in translated texts).

As a result, the English categories are predominantly categorized by the **HOLDe n** pattern, which tends to be less phrasal. The fact that this less phrasal (and in that respect simpler) pattern dominates is an indication that *holde* is not only more phrasal than English

hold; it is also syntactically more flexible. The correspondence analysis adds to the complex picture, showing that even though instances share a general meaning and pattern structure, translators do not necessarily see them as equivalents.

In regard to the semantic categories that are not shared by the two lemmas, the tendencies described above are even clearer. The Norwegian verb exhibits a much greater tendency towards acting in phrases (often full phrases) with little or no lexical meaning (i.e. bleaching of meaning). For English *hold*, the most frequent unique semantic category ‘containment’ is non-phrasal with a clearly defined lexical meaning. The English category ‘evaluation’ is more phrasal, but still not as phrasal as the unique Norwegian categories.

As a final comment to this section, these remaining semantic categories exhibit a deep and seemingly direct connection between pattern and meaning. This connection is clearer in these less frequent categories than was the case particularly in the ‘sustainment’ category, but also in the ‘physical contact’ category. It seems likely that these less frequent and alternative meanings depend on a particular pattern (and/or particular phrasal features) to bring out their meaning.

9 Summary, Conclusions, and Further Study

9.1 The Hypotheses

Section 1.1 listed four hypotheses regarding the behavior of *holde* and *hold*. The first hypothesis stated that since the two verbs share a common origin, their most typical and/or frequent uses would overlap. It also stated that the lemmas would tend to correspond to one another in translated and source texts in these instances. This has partly been proven to be true. The ‘physical contact’ category represents a dominant meaning for both lemmas, and when they are used in this sense, the two lemmas tend to correspond to one another.

The second hypothesis stated that diverging meaning extensions have developed for the two verbs. The discovery of a wide range of semantic categories that are unique to Norwegian *holde* (most notably the ‘grammatical’ category) confirms this hypothesis (see section 5.4). In addition, the ‘sustainment’ category is clearly a lot more established in Norwegian than in English. In this category, the Norwegian verb corresponds most frequently to *keep*, and rarely to *hold*, while English *hold* only occurs with this meaning in rare cases. Considering that this is the most frequent meaning of Norwegian *holde* in the material, these occurrences represent an important difference between the behavior of the two verbs.

Although English *hold* does not have any frequent meanings that are unique, some of the categories (notably ‘containment’ and ‘possession’) seem to be much more established in English. In that sense, they are unique. These do not challenge the validity of the first hypothesis, but the prominence of the Norwegian unique meanings and the prominence of the ‘sustainment’ meaning do. Occurrences belonging to the most frequent semantic category in Norwegian are typically not equivalent to English *hold*.

The third hypothesis predicted that there would be instances of bleaching of meaning and grammaticalization in the material. This prediction was correct. Bleaching of meaning is a common feature of several occurrences of both lemmas (with both partial and complete loss of meaning). Grammaticalization occurs relatively often as well, but only with the Norwegian verb (see the discussion in section 5.5).

The fourth hypothesis stated that instances in which *holde* and *hold* diverge in meaning would be instances in which they diverged in form. This particular part of the hypothesis has been confirmed: section 8.5.4 reviewed the remaining infrequent semantic categories and concluded that the unique Norwegian categories were typically phrasal in nature and syntactically complex, while categories that were more prominent in English

tended to act in non-phrasal **HOLD n** patterns. The ‘grammatical’ category, discussed in section 8.4, is also an example of a diverging meaning exhibiting a diverging pattern.

The fourth hypothesis also predicted that similar meanings would have similar grammatical context. This has to a large extent been confirmed as well, and the analysis has shown a tendency for form and meaning to correlate across languages. However, the connection is not always straightforward, and prominent exceptions do occur (as was discussed in chapter 8). The complex connection between form and meaning will be explored further in section 9.4 below.

9.2 Meaning Comparison

The classification of general semantic categories in chapter 5 has shown that Norwegian *holde* is more polysemous than English *hold*. While the instances of the English verb are dominated by a single category (‘physical contact’), instances of the Norwegian verb are dominated by three categories (‘physical contact’, ‘sustainment’ and ‘grammatical’). In addition, Norwegian *holde* has a wider range of less frequent categories.

The two lemmas enter in a relationship of what Altenberg and Granger (2002 : 21-22) call *diverging polysemy* (the concept was discussed in section 2.1.4), in which some meanings overlap, while some meanings diverge. A lot of the meanings overlap in part, but behave differently and occur with different frequencies. For instance, the ‘sustainment’ category occurs with English *hold* as well, but the behavior of these occurrences is very restricted, and they occur very rarely compared with Norwegian *hold* (see section 8.3).

A number of findings in the analysis have indicated that Norwegian *holde* has a more general meaning than its English cognate. First of all, the dominant category of that lemma, ‘sustainment’, does not really express a specific action, but rather a wide range of general actions depending on the type of circumstance that is being sustained. The emphasis, in terms of meaning, is on the elements surrounding *holde*. Another indication of general meaning is the presence of the ‘grammatical’ category in which *holde* has been reduced to a grammatical function (the assumption being that general verbs are more likely to be grammaticalized).

9.3 Bleaching of Meaning and Phrasal Use

The concept of a general meaning is also related to bleaching of meaning and the degree to which the lemmas appear as parts of phrases. It is clear that both *holde* and *hold* occur often in phrases of various sorts (both full phrases, semi-phrases, quasi-phrases and

pragmatemes). There are numerous examples in all sections (see chapters 6-8 above). In these phrases, the independent meaning of *hold(e)* is bleached. How far this bleaching goes depends on the type of phrase.

In terms of phrasal behavior, it has been shown that *holde* and *hold* behave similarly when used in overlapping meanings. The instances in the ‘physical contact’ category tend to be equally phrasal for both verbs (see section 8.2 above), as does the ‘sustainment’ category (see section 8.3 above). The same tendency is true for the remaining overlapping semantic categories (see section 8.5.2 above).

Despite this fact, several of the findings indicate that Norwegian *holde* is generally more phrasal in nature than the English *hold*. Firstly, the unique Norwegian meanings are phrasal. Secondly, the meanings and constructions that are phrasal tend to be more frequent in Norwegian than in English. A good example of the latter tendency is the fully phrasal ‘endurance’ category, which occurs in both languages, but is far more frequent in Norwegian. The fact that the occurrences are more phrasal also means that they more often exhibit bleaching of meaning, which in turn could indicate that *holde* is felt to have less inherent meaning.

Section 8.2 noted on some interesting findings in relation to inherent meaning. In the ‘physical contact’ category, the most frequent pattern for the Norwegian verb is the **HOLDE n prep** pattern, while for the English verb the most frequent pattern is **HOLD n**. Section 8.2 argued that part of the reason for this difference is the fact that *holde* is felt to have less inherent meaning, and that the authors prefer to add a prepositional phrase to the utterance in order to make the meaning *carry* clearer.

9.4 Comparison of Grammatical Contexts

As mentioned above, the connection between syntactic behavior and meaning is a complex one. This thesis has nevertheless uncovered some clear tendencies for *holde* and *hold*. The general tendency is for form and meaning to correlate between the languages; in the ‘physical contact’ category, instances that overlap in pattern structure tend to be instances that overlap in meaning (see section 8.2). The same tendency was noted for the ‘sustainment’ category (see section 8.3) as well as the remaining shared categories (see section 8.5.4).

On the other hand, section 8.2 also concluded that the less frequent patterns in the ‘physical contact’ category only tended to overlap in meaning (*grip*) and not in pattern. In other words, similar meanings can be expressed differently in each language, even in related

semantic categories. The relationship between *holde* and *hold* in the ‘sustainment’ category is complex: on the one hand, the surface structures of the patterns are the same, but on the other hand the behavior of the constituents is different (see sections 8.3.1 and 8.3.2 above). Also, many of the Norwegian patterns can combine with a reflexive pronoun, a possibility that the English verb does not have.

As was discussed when talking about phrasal uses, meanings that overlap may be more dissimilar than at first glance. First of all, overlapping uses may differ greatly in frequency. One example is the **HOLD n** and **HOLD n prep** patterns in the ‘physical contact’ category. A study of translation correspondences also complicates the perceived similarity between such uses. The fact that one verb has a corresponding use in the other verb with the same pattern and the same general meaning does not mean that it typically corresponds to that verb. In such cases, it is clear that translators do not see the two verbs as equivalent. In other words, there are differences that have not been registered by the present analysis.

9.5 How Similar are the two Lemmas?

Despite some of the initial findings (in particular the low MC rate), *holde* and *hold* have been shown to have many similarities in terms of meanings and functions. Even instances that do not tend to correspond in translations behave similarly in a number of ways. The meaning extensions tend to go in the same directions, but it is clear that similar meaning extensions behave differently, and that they are not always seen as equivalent.

As a general tendency, Norwegian *holde* seems to have developed further in the direction of a function word, while the English verb to a larger extent has remained an independent lexical verb with a stronger semantic content. The Norwegian verb seems to have a more general meaning, and shows a greater tendency towards bleaching of meaning. In extreme cases, the Norwegian verb has become fully grammaticalized.

The cross-linguistic relationship of *holde* and *hold* is asymmetrical. The Norwegian verb seems to cover most of the meanings and functions expressed by English *hold*, and so it can usually be used to translate its English cognate. The other way around, however, English *hold* is usually not a good translation of *holde*.

9.6 Further Study

With lemmas as polysemous and syntactically flexible as *hold(e)*, there are a number of aspects that can be explored further. One such aspect is the discrepancies between translated

texts and original texts in both languages. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 above demonstrated that both verbs exhibited an overuse in translated texts, and several sections seem to exhibit interesting deviations between original and translated texts. It would be particularly interesting to look into the causes behind the overuse of Norwegian *holde*. As was argued in section 4.4, this overuse is not caused by a simple translation effect. If the phenomenon is due to features inherent in the translation process itself (see section 2.1.2 as well as Baker (1993 : 243)) there must be something about the nature of *holde* that causes it to be overused. It has been suggested that the translation process tends to simplify and normalize the language of the original text (Laviosa 2002 : 43-57). If this is true, the fact that *holde* has a very general meaning could be part of the reason why it is overused.

There is also much more to be analyzed in terms of grammatical context. The pattern analysis has provided a lot of insights, but a closer and more systematic study of the types of participants that occur and their exact role in the utterances may contribute to a better understanding of the differences between the various uses of *hold(e)*. It might also be interesting to look at patterns independently of semantic categories.

Perhaps one of the most significant additions that can be made to this analysis would be to study the lemmas in larger, monolingual corpora. It would provide a greater insight into the meaning and behavior of the less frequent categories (and some of the less frequent patterns occurring in the frequent categories). Such an expansion would probably redefine some of the distinctions made in this thesis, and could possibly even find connections between categories that have not been as visible in the ENPC material. Moreover, other uses and meanings would, in all likelihood, be identified as well.

Although many aspects of these lemmas remain to be investigated, the present study has to a large extent succeeded in establishing the nature of the cross-linguistic relationship between the most frequent uses of the verbs *holde* and *hold*. It is unlikely that an expansion of the study would significantly alter the conclusions that have been reached.

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