Putting Something Somewhere in English and Norwegian: A Contrastive Approach

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Abstract
This paper reports on a study of PUT constructions in English and their Norwegian correspondences. It is based on English original texts and English translations in both fictional and non-fictional texts in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus. It includes all examples of English *put* followed by a THEME, encoded as a direct object, and an adverbial, denoting a PATH or GOAL in prototypical examples of the construction coding caused motion events. The study shows that the THEME is a better predictor of Norwegian verb correspondence than PATH or GOAL. An explanation is proposed to explain the marked difference between the number of translations of *put* by its Norwegian cognate *putte* and the number of translations of *putte* by *put*.

Keywords: PUT constructions; agentivity; caused-motion; cognate avoidance; English/Norwegian

1. Introduction

English *put* is a most versatile verb, represented by 56 separate head definitions in the OED. It is the first caused motion verb used by small children (Goldberg 2005: 109), and the second most common one (after *take*) in conversation among adults (Biber et al. 1999: 367). This paper deals with the most common construction containing *put*, namely the *Subject – put – Object – Adverbial* (SVOA) construction (Quirk et al. 1985: 63). The adverbial may take the form of a preposition phrase, or may be realised by a wide variety of particles (intransitive prepositions), some of which are very common, such as *put up* and *put on*.

In this paper I examine all instances of this construction in the English source and target texts and their Norwegian correspondences, both

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fictional and non-fictional, in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC). The relevant semantic roles in the prototypical sense of the SVOA constructions in both languages consist of an AGENT, encoded by the Subject (S) in an active clause, who exerts force on a concrete THEME, that is an 'entity undergoing change or being located' (Jackendoff 2002: 143), encoded by the Direct Object (O), causing it to move along a PATH to a GOAL. In the SVOA construction *put* does not itself denote the PATH along which the THEME is moved. Nor does it denote the MANNER of the force exerted by the AGENT. The GOAL does not have to be coded explicitly, provided it can be inferred from an explicitly coded PATH. Caused motion predications headed by *put* may specify either (part of) the PATH, as in (1), (*put it down*), the GOAL, as in (2), (*put it on a windowsill*), or both PATH and GOAL, as in (3), (*put it down in each corner*).

(1) She *put* down her fork. (AH1)[1]
Så *la* hun gaffelen ned. (AH1T)
'Then lay she the fork down.'

(2) She *put* the bowl on a windowsill (GN1)
Hun *satte* bollen på en vinduskarm. (GN1T)
'She set the bowl on a windowsill.'

(3) If the sun stayed out long enough you could […] just *put* down a stone in each corner. (RDO1)
Hvis solskinnet varte lenge nok, kunne man […] bare *legge* en stein i hvert hjørne. (RDO1T)
'If the sunshine lasted long enough, could one […] just lay a stone in each corner.'

The two Norwegian caused motion verbs *legge* ('make lie', i.e., 'lay') and *sette* ('make sit', i.e., 'set'), which the translators have employed in (1)–(3), are 'causative posture verbs' (Lemmens 2007). They are related to two intransitive posture verbs *ligge* ('lie') and *sitte* ('sit') which occur in SVA

[1] The first part of the code 'AH1' refers to the text in the English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus from which the example has been taken, with 'AH' being the initials of the author. 'AH1T' stands for the translation of the same text. The full titles of the original works and the translations are listed in Johansson (2007: 329–338). An English gloss is provided for Norwegian examples.

constructions. The two verbs *legge* and *sette* resemble *put* in encoding either the PATH, as in the translation in (1), the GOAL, as in the translations of (2) and (3), or both, as in the Norwegian source text in (4).

(4) Varsom *la* ham forsiktig ned igjen på marken. (SH1)
'Careful lay him carefully down again on the ground.'
Good Care gently *put* him down again on the ground. (SH1T)

In this paper I examine all tokens of *put* in SVOA constructions in the ENPC, and address the following two research questions:

(a) (How) do the semantics of the PATH, THEME and GOAL influence the Norwegian translations of *put*?
(b) What, if any, differences are there between verbs used in the Norwegian correspondences of caused motion and more abstract SVOA predications containing *put*?

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 is devoted to a brief overview of the literature on PUT constructions in the two languages. Section 3 presents the corpus, some theoretical background and the methodology employed in the study. Section 4 presents the results of the study of the PUT constructions in English and their correspondences in Norwegian. Section 5 contains a summary and some suggestions for future research.

2. Previous studies

As mentioned at the start of the Introduction, English *put* is a very common verb. Of three large English reference grammars, the index in Quirk et al. (1985) contains 18 page references to *put*, the index in Biber et al. (1999) has 21 page references, and the index in Huddleston and Pullum (2002) has 30. The majority of the references in all three grammars are to SVOA constructions (or SVO if we analyse combinations of *put* plus particle as monotransitive multi-word verbs). The Norwegian counterparts of *put* do not appear to have commanded the same degree of attention in grammatical texts. The index in the main Norwegian reference grammar, Faarlund et al. (1997), does not contain a single reference to the two most common Norwegian correspondences of *put*, the verbs *legge* and *sette*, although there are, in fact, a handful of examples containing both of these

verbs in the pages describing the Norwegian SVOA construction (Faarlund et al. 1997: 777–787).

I am not aware of any studies contrasting English *put* and its Norwegian correspondences. There are, however, two studies by Viberg (1998, 2015), contrasting *put* with its Swedish (and, in the 2015 paper, French, German and Finnish) correspondences. According to Viberg (2015) the three postural placement verbs *sätte* ('set'), *ställe* ('make stand') and *lägge* ('lay') account for 68% of Swedish translations of caused motion *put* predications in his corpus. He mentions the Norwegian caused posture verb *stille* ('make stand') as corresponding to Swedish *ställe*, but states that '*sette* seems to have a strong tendency to replace *stille*'. A similar process of replacement has taken place in Dutch, in which *zetten* ('set') has replaced *stellen* ('make stand') (Lemmens 2007: 262). The distribution of *sette* and *stille* in Norwegian will be presented in section 4.1.1.

In a recent Norwegian grammar targeted at English-speaking learners, Holmes and Enger (2018) mention three Norwegian correspondences of *put*, and the contexts in which they would be likely to be used. These are:

1. Place horizontally, *legge*
   Put the book on the table! Legg boka på bordet!
2. Place upright, *sette*
   Put the bottle on the table! Sett flaska på bordet!
3. Insert into, *putte, legge*
   Put the money in your wallet. Putt/legg pengene i lommeboka. (Holmes and Enger 2018: 292)

These definitions are GOAL-related. The first two indicate the final position of the THEMEs in line with the related posture verbs *ligge* ('lie') and *sitte* ('sit'), in that the book ends up lying, and the bottle standing, on the table. The GOAL of the third example is containment, an 'inside' location resulting from an 'into' action.

Another indication of what are commonly taken to be the main Norwegian correspondences of *put* may be found in bilingual dictionaries. The most comprehensive English-Norwegian dictionary (*Engelsk-norsk Stor Ordbok*: 2008), lists five verbs to begin with: *legge* ('lay'), *sette* ('set'), *stille* ('make stand'), *anbringe* ('bring to') and *plassere* ('place'). Dozens of other verbs are used in the exemplification of more particular

uses of *put*, but these five appear to be understood as the most basic correspondences.

3. Corpus, theory and method

The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC), which provides the data for the present study, was the first purpose-built, machine-readable, bi-directional parallel corpus. It contains extracts from 50 English texts, both fictional and non-fictional, aligned at sentence level with their translations into Norwegian, and extracts from 50 texts in Norwegian with their English translations.[2] These extracts are between 10,000 and 15,000 words in length. The ENPC has provided the data for hundreds of studies, and has proved particularly well-suited to studies of high-frequency items, such as English *put* and its main Norwegian correspondences. A major advantage of the corpus is the fact that there are about 650,000 words of original texts in, and translations into, each language. This means that it is not necessary for the researcher to have recourse to normalized frequencies for comparative purposes, unless the analysis shows that more fine-grained distinctions are called for.

As mentioned in the Introduction, *put* is the second most common verb in caused motion constructions in English. In its prototypical sense, exemplified in examples (1)–(3), it codes actions wherein an AGENT exerts physical force upon a THEME causing it to move to a GOAL.[3] It is illustrated in Figure 1.

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[2] The texts in the ENPC date from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s. One anonymous reviewer writes: 'The time in which the texts were written is highly relevant for the analysis of particularly the Norwegian examples of "putte", which seems to be becoming more frequently used, particularly by younger users.' This may well be the case. However, a diachronic perspective is outside the scope of the present paper.

[3] Viberg (2015), in his paper on Swedish correspondences of *put*, refers to the FrameNet description of *put* as a Placing verb, the definition of which is: 'Generally without overall (translational) motion, an Agent places a Theme at a location, the Goal, which is profiled. In this frame, the Theme is under the control of the Agent/Cause at the time of its arrival at the Goal.' https://framenet2.icsi.berkeley.edu/fnReports/data/frameIndex.xml?frame=Causation

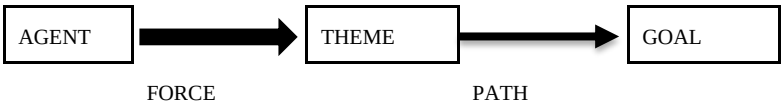

Figure 1: The prototypical sense of *put* in SVOA constructions

This sense may be said to be prototypical, in that it forms the centre of the extended semantic network of the verb.[4] It is also more frequent than the extended senses combined, as shown in Table 4 in section 4. While the prototype of a construction need not be the most frequent sense (see Arppe et al. 2010), the fact that a sense is the most frequent may be taken as further support for it indeed being the prototype.

There are a variety of extended senses clustered around this prototype. One major difference between the prototypical sense, hereafter referred to as the 'core' sense, and the extended senses is the back-grounding of PATH in the latter, which do not involve physical movement. The extended senses fall into four main groups, including examples with an abstract THEME, as in (5), examples with an abstract GOAL, as in (6), examples with both an abstract THEME and GOAL, as in (7), and examples containing both a concrete THEME and a concrete GOAL, but in which no motion is involved, as in (8).

(5) You would *put* shame on her. (RDA1)

(6) The master plan was to *put* everyone at his ease. (JB1)

(7) Menicucci *put* his finger on the problem. (PM1)

(8) The development of farming *puts* schools in the countryside. (LT1)

All four examples, (5)–(8), refer to events which involve causation, but the causation is not necessarily initiated by an AGENT, the causer being abstract in (6) and (8). (Note that I am using the term 'Abstract' to include

[4] Nisbit (2019), in a construction grammar description of the *put* SVOA construction, prefers to use the label LOCATION rather than GOAL for the Adverbial, thus accommodating, in his general schema, extended uses that do not involve agentive causation.

lexemes which may refer to a concrete object or location, but where no clue is given as to its identity.) Moreover, none of the four examples encode caused motion. Thus in (5) the AGENT does not first take hold of *shame*, an abstract concept, and cause it to move to the concrete GOAL, *her*. In (6) the concrete THEME, *everyone*, is not physically moved to a state of ease. (7) contains an example of a fixed metaphor (which is actually lexicalised in both languages), again involving no motion. Finally, in (8) the THEME is effected, rather than affected.

All forms of the English lemma *put* (i.e., *put*, *puts* and *putting*) in the ENPC, in both source and target texts, were retrieved from the corpus, together with sufficient context to determine their meaning. The tokens retrieved were sorted manually to weed out examples of constructions other than SVOA, such as (9), in which *put* means 'express'.

(9) How to *put* this? (AT1)

The tokens that remained were compared to their translations, noting whether the latter contained an explicit translation or a zero correspondence, i.e., a translation in which the putting event is not encoded in the target text, as in (10).

(10) Have I time for me to finish feeding Deirdre and Cathy before we *put* it on? (RDO1)
Rekker jeg å gjøre meg ferdig med å mate Deirdre og Cathy først? (RDO1T)
'Will I manage to get myself finished with to feed Deidre and Cathy first?'

The examples were divided into those that instantiate the core sense of physical caused motion, illustrated in examples (1)–(3), and examples of the various extended senses, illustrated in (5)–(8).

All core examples contain an agentive subject. They were analysed with respect to characteristics of THEME, PATH and GOAL. I began the analysis with a broad range of semantic features, but reduced the total by combining groups that exhibit a degree of similarity, especially when one of these was only instantiated by a handful of examples. To illustrate, there were 21 examples of human THEMEs and just three of animals, so these were combined in the category 'Animates'. The main types of THEME,

PATH and GOAL are listed in Tables 1–3, and illustrated with examples from the corpus. The labels of the various features listed in the tables are self-explanatory, apart perhaps from the PATH category labelled 'Embodied'. This refers to an action such as putting on an item of clothing. The paths involved in putting on a pair of pants, or a jumper, are universal, and may thus be taken to be implicit and understood. Note that instances of zero PATH and GOAL, as in examples (2) and (1) respectively, are not included in Tables 2 and 3, for obvious reasons.

Table 1: Common types of THEME in core examples

THEME types	**Examples**
Animate	the baby, boy, Matilda
Body part	her hands, finger, head
2-dimensional inanimate	the paper, letter, poster
3-dimensional inanimate	the bag, chair, dress
Liquid	the water, oil, fuel

Table 2: Common types of PATH in core examples

PATH types	**Examples**
Upwards	up
Downwards	down
Around X	round, around
Into X	in, into
Embodied	on
Other	through, onto

Table 3: Common types of GOAL in core examples

GOAL types	**Examples**
On person	on him, her, Megan
On body part	on a shoulder, neck, head
On inanimate (support)	on a chair, table, bed
At (contact)	to a nose, to lips, against a wall
Inside X	in a mouth, a pocket, a cage
Other	under the saucer, in front of the door

The examples instantiating extended senses were categorised according to the four types distinguished in section 2, and exemplified by (5)–(8). These are presented and analysed in section 4.2.

4. The English PUT constructions and their Norwegian correspondences

In all, there are 416 examples containing *put* in SVOA constructions in the English source texts and 439 examples in the English target texts (see Table 4). Of these, 286 examples in the source texts and 324 in the target texts code core predications. The core senses are presented and analysed in section 4.1.

Table 4: English *put* in SVOA constructions in the ENPC

	English sources	**English translations**
Core sense	286	324
Extended senses	130	115
Totals	**416**	**439**

4.1 The PUT constructions in core predications

This section is divided into three parts. Section 4.1.1 contains an overview of the Norwegian correspondences of *put*. Sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 address the first research question stated in section 1 in relation to the core predications. Section 4.1.2 deals with the Norwegian translations of *put* and section 4.1.3 with the Norwegian sources of *put* translations, concentrating on differences between these and the translations of the English originals.

4.1.1. Overview of the Norwegian correspondences of put

Table 5 contains details of the PUT construction in both source and target texts, together with their Norwegian correspondences. In the table verbs are listed in order of frequency in translations from English originals, with those occurring in both Norwegian translations and sources being listed before those occurring in just one of these two sub-corpora. (In Table 5 'Hapax' refers to verbs that only occur once across both sub-corpora.)

Table 5: Norwegian verbs corresponding to *put* in core examples in both Norwegian translations and sources

Verb	**Norwegian translations**	**Norwegian sources**	**Totals**
legge (‘lay’)	101	102	203
sette (‘set’)	51	83	134
stikke (‘stick’)	28	10	38
ta (‘take’)	27	25	52
putte (‘put’)	8	19	27
henge (‘hang’)	8	3	11
slå (‘hit’)	4	1	5
plassere (‘place’)	3	4	7
få (‘get’)	2	9	11
holde (‘hold’), *stå* (‘stand’)	4 (2x2)	6 (2x3)	10
bruke (‘use’), *trekke* (‘pull’)	4 (2x2)	4 (2x2)	8
slippe (‘let og’)	2	1	3
kle (‘clothe’)	1	5	6
komme (‘come’)	1	3	4
ha (‘have’)	1	2	3
anbringe (‘place’), *iføre* (‘put on’), *kaste* (‘throw’), *stille* (‘make stand’), *tre* (‘pull’)	5 (5x1)	5 (5x1)	10
helle (‘pour’), *rekke* (‘reach’)	12 (2x6)	0	12
løfte (‘lift’), *sende* (‘send’)	4 (2x2)	0	4
pakke (‘pack’), *rydde* (‘clear’), *spenne* (‘fasten’)	0	9 (3x3)	9
bygge (‘build’), *dra* (‘pull’), *forvare* (‘keep’)	0	6 (3x2)	6
Hapax	17	17	34
Ø	3	10	13
Totals: tokens	286	324	610
Totals: types	43	48	67
Type-token ratio	15.2%	15.3%	11.2%

Two points may be made at once in relation to Table 5. First there are very few zero correspondences, just 1% of English sources and 3% in English

translations, indicating that translators generally perceive it to be necessary to explicitly encode the caused motion action. The second point is the extent to which the same Norwegian verbs appear in translations from and into English. Just over half of the verb types in the Norwegian translations, corresponding to 87% of the source tokens, also occur in the Norwegian sources translated by *put*.

According to Table 5 the two caused posture verbs *legge* ('lay') and *sette* ('set') account for 54% (152 tokens) of the Norwegian translations of *put* and 57% (185) of the Norwegian expressions translated with *put.* These totals correspond closely to Viberg's (2015) total of 55% for Swedish *lägge* ('lay') and *sätte* ('set'). A third caused posture verb *stelle* ('make stand') accounts for a further 13% of the Swedish correspondences. As may be seen in Table 5 there is only one token of its Norwegian cognate *stille* ('make stand'), example (11), in the English original core examples in the ENPC.[5] There are actually more examples of the related posture verb *stå* ('stand'), as in (12).

(11) After enduring three hours of her company he could cheerfully have *put* her up against a wall. (ST1)
Etter å ha holdt ut tre timer i prinsesse Margarets selskap kunne han gladelig ha *stilt* henne opp mot veggen. (ST1T)
'After having survived three hours in Princess Margaret's company he would gladly have stood her up against the wall.'

(12) The big door was *put* leaning against the yard wall. (RDO1)
Den store døra *sto* lent opp mot tunveggen. (RDO1T)
'The big door stood leant up against the farmyard wall.'

Apart from *legge* and *sette*, three verbs stand out as particularly frequent as correspondences of *put*. These are *stikke* ('stick'), especially in the Norwegian translations, *putte*, cognate with *put*, particularly in the Norwegian originals, and *ta* ('take') in both. I will return to *putte* in section 4.1.3, when discussing differences between Norwegian originals and

[5] One might be tempted to categorise (11) as an extended sense predication, since it is undoubtedly meant to be understood figuratively. It is analysed here as a core predication since it codes a caused motion event with an agentive subject and a concrete THEME and GOAL.

translations. *Ta* ('take') is commonly combined with the particle *på* ('on'). This combination accounts for 20 of the 27 source tokens. All but one of these examples contains an explicit or implicit human GOAL (person or body-part), and a THEME in the form of a garment, as in (13), or spectacles or make-up. The distinction between the combination of *put* and *on* as a multi-word verb and as free combination is not salient to the discussion here, since both structures code caused movement of the THEME. Five of the remaining seven examples translating *ta* ('take') are of predications containing a GOAL encoded by a PP headed by *in/into*, as in (14).

(13) She had *put* on her best blue dress. (FW1)
Hun hadde *tatt* på seg den fineste blå kjolen. (FW1T)
'She had taken on herself the finest blue dress.'

(14) Sinbad wouldn't *put* the lighter fuel in his mouth. (RDO1)
Sinbad ville ikke *ta* lighterbensinen i munnen. (RDO1T)
'Sinbad would not take the lighter fuel in the mouth.'

The verb *stikke* ('stick'/'shove') is commonly combined with a PP headed by the preposition *i* ('in'/'into') to translate *put in/into*. It is so used in 14 of the 28 examples in Norwegian translations in the ENPC, as in (15). A further seven examples are translated by *stikke inn* ('stick into'), often in combination with another preposition, such as *under* in (16).

(15) He *put* his hand into his pocket. (RR1)
Han *stakk* hånden i lommen. (RR1T)
'He stuck the hand in the pocket.'

(16) At other times we *put* our fingers under the lenses. (MA1)
Andre ganger *stikker* vi fingrene inn under linsene. (MA1T)
'Other times stick we the fingers under the lenses.'

Other prepositions used with *stikke* to translate PUT expressions include *gjennom* ('through') and *mellom* ('between').

4.1.2 PATH, THEME and GOAL in core put *predications*

The first research question presented in section 1 relates solely to core predications. It inquires about the possible influence of the semantics of the PATH, THEME and GOAL on the choice of the verb used in translations of *put* into Norwegian. Six types of PATH were distinguished in Table 2 in section 3. Figure 2 shows how these correspond to the four most common verbs in the Norwegian translations, with all other verbs combined in the 'other' category.

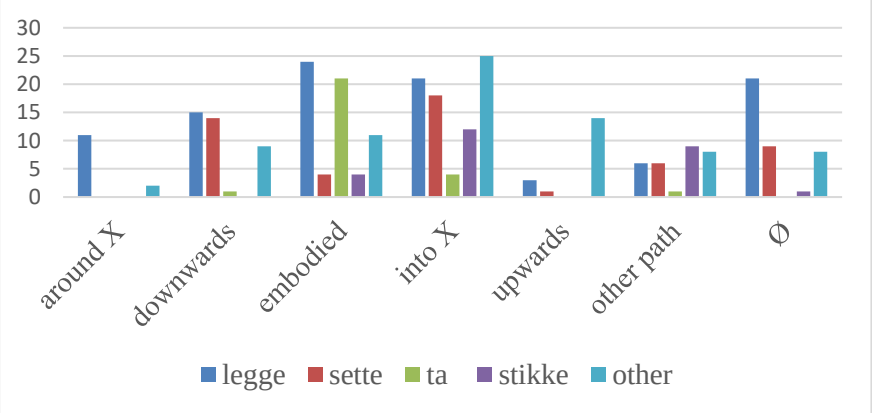

Figure 2: Caused motion translations of *put* according to PATH

Of the six explicit PATHs in Figure 2, one (around x) is largely restricted to the verb *legge* ('lay'), while another (upwards) is mostly coded by a verb other than the most common four. The 'around' predications all contain a body part as THEME, and a person or body part as GOAL, as in (17). As for the 'upwards' PATH, the two most common verbs used in translations are *rekke* ('reach') and *henge* ('hang'), as in (18).

(17) I *put* my arms around Megan. (TH1)
Jeg *la* armene rundt henne. (TH1T)
'I lay the arms around her.'

(18) I mean I can't even manage to *put* up my curtains. (AT1)
Jeg mener bare at jeg klarer ikke engang å *henge* opp gardinene. (AT1T)
'I mean just that I manage not even to hang up the curtains.'

The remaining PATH types are all translated by at least three of the four most common verbs, as well as some other verbs. We may conclude that, apart form the case of PATHs around and upwards, PATH is a poor predictor of the Norwegian correspondences of *put*.

The first research question also asks whether, and if so how, the semantics of the THEME and GOAL influence the choice of verb used in translations of *put* into Norwegian. To begin with GOAL, six types were distinguished in Table 3 in section 3. Figure 3, in which 'b-p' stands for body-part, shows how these correspond to the same five verbal categories as Figure 2.

Figure 3 resembles Figure 2 in that most of the GOAL types consist of locations which are compatible with a variety of Norwegian caused motion verbs. In particular the most common GOAL (inside x), which codes containment, is regularly translated by three of the four common verbs, the exception being *ta* ('take'), as well as by 20 other verbs.

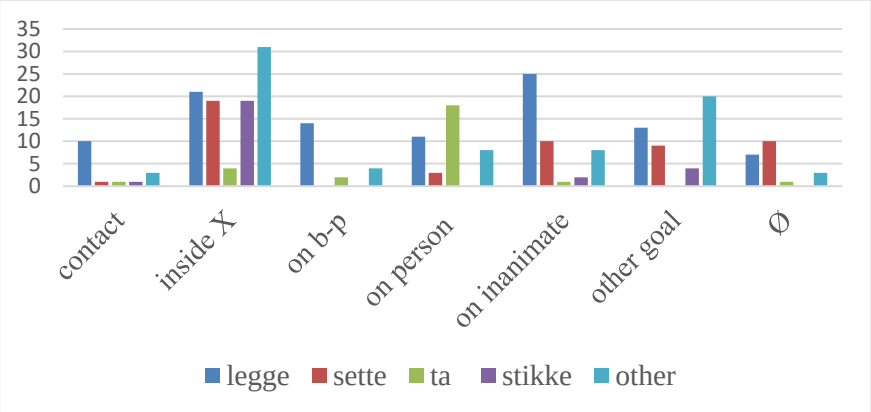

Figure 3: Caused motion translations of *put* according to GOAL

Not surprisingly, the results for the 'inside x' GOAL correspond closely to those for the 'into x' PATH in Figure 1. This is the most common PATH/GOAL combination for translations by *stikke* ('stick'), as in (15). As for *ta* ('take'), it is the most common verb used to translate 'on person' GOALs, as in (13) above. Given the common association of *legge* ('lay') with entrance or horizontal placement (see Holmes and Enger 2018: 292), it is perhaps surprising that this verb is the most common translation of *put* in predications ending in physical contact without an implication of

support. Example (19), in which the *nose* is not supported by the *branch*, illustrates this use of *legge* (‘lay’) with a ‘contact’ GOAL.

(19) He smelt his fingers and then *put* his nose to the fractured branch. (JC1)
Han luktet på fingrene sine og så *la* han nesa mot den avbrukne grenen. (JC1T)
‘He smelt the fingers his and then lay he the nose towards the broken-off branch.’

As was shown to be the case with the PATH types, the GOAL types are poor predictors of the Norwegian correspondences of *put*. Three of the seven types are translated by at least one example of each of the four common verbs as well as by other verbs.

Five types of THEME were distinguished in section 3. Results for these are presented in Figure 4.

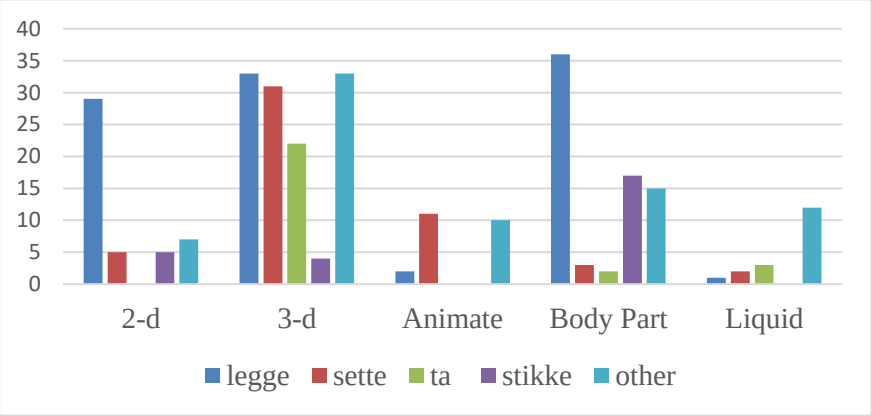

Figure 4: Caused motion translations of *put* according to THEME

Although all five types of THEME are translated by *legge* (‘lay’), *sette* (‘set’) and some other verbs, there is a clear preference for one of the translation options in the case of all apart from three dimensional THEMEs. Thus two-dimensional THEMEs are most likely to be translated by *legge* (‘lay’), as in (20).

(20) Tom folded the letter and *put* it into his pocket. (MM1)
Tom brettet brevet og *la* det i lommen. (MM1T)
'Tom folded the letter and lay it in the pocket.'

As for animate THEMEs, *sette* ('set') is the most common verb, as in (21).

(21) She *put* the baby on the polished tile floor. (GN1)
Hun *satte* ungen ned på det blanke, flislagte gulvet. (GN1T)
'She set the kid down on the shiny tiled floor.'

Example (21) is actually the only one in the English source texts where the animate THEME is a baby. In the Norwegian source texts, which contain many more baby THEMEs, *legge* ('lay'), as in (4), is by far the most common verb.

Liquids are the only THEMEs that are most likely to be translated by verbs other than the most common four. Not surprisingly the verb *helle* ('pour') is used six times, as in (22). There are also three examples of *ta* ('take'), one of which is (14).

(22) I *put* hot water in it. (RDO1)
Jeg *helte* varmt vann i den. (RDO1T)
'I poured hot water in it.''

The movement of body-part THEMEs is most commonly translated by *legge* ('lay'), as in (17). *Stikke* ('stick') is used exclusively with THEMEs in the form of hands, as in (15), and heads, as in (23).

(23) Someone just *put* their head round the door. (JB1)
Noen *stakk* nettopp hodet deres inn av døra. (JB1T)
'Someone stuck just the head theirs in of the door.'

Among the other verbs used to encode movement of body-parts, only two are used more than once, *rekke* ('reach') with five tokens and *løfte* ('lift') with two.

The type of THEME that displays the greatest variation with respect to verbs used in translations is the three-dimensional one, with more than twenty tokens translated by *legge* ('lay'), *sette* ('set') and *ta* ('take'), as

well as by other verbs. The frequency of these translations varies according to the type of GOAL, as illustrated in Figure 5.

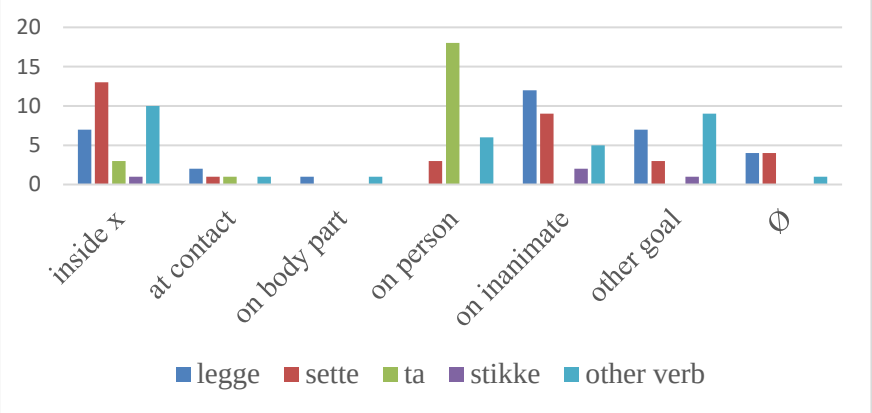

Figure 5: 3-d THEMEs in translations of *put* according to GOAL

We see in Figure 5 that there are very few three-dimensional THEMEs with either a body-part GOAL, or one instantiating (at) contact as opposed to (on) support or (in) containment. When it is persons who are the end-point of the movement, the three-dimensional THEME is almost always a garment, and the default Norwegian verb is *ta*, as in (13). *Ta*, on the other hand, never occurs with 'on' inanimate GOALs, which are mostly coded by *legge* ('lay'), as in (3) and (24), or *sette* ('set'), as in (2) and (25).

(24) She *put* the phone down. (DF1)
Hun *la* på røret. (DF1T)
'She lay on the tube.'

(25) She *put* down the mug. (DF1)
Hun *satte* fra seg kruset. (DF1T)
'She set from herself the mug.'

Example (24) is one of nine containing a phone (or 'receiver') as THEME. 'To lay the tube down' is a fixed phrase in Norwegian. It also occurs four times in the Norwegian source texts.

The 'inside x' (containment) GOAL resembles the 'on inanimate' (support) GOAL in that a variety of Norwegian verbs are commonly

employed to translate the *put* predications. Figure 6 contains a specification of the type of GOALs inside which the three-dimensional THEMEs are contained.

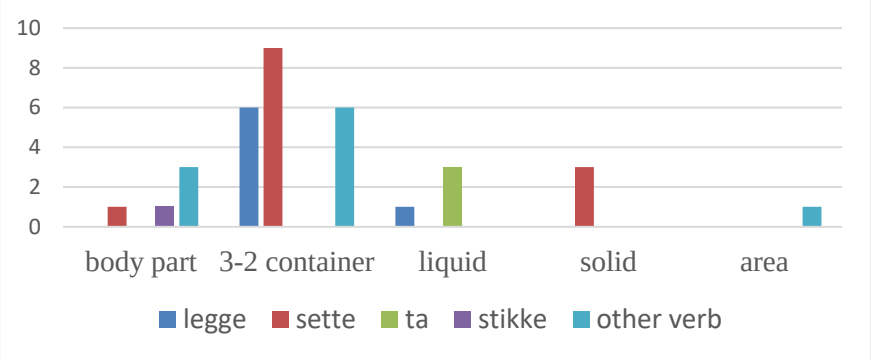

Figure 6: 3-d THEMEs with container GOALs further specified

The data illustrated in Figure 6 consist of very small numbers of examples, so one should be careful about claiming that one can draw firm conclusions on the basis of this evidence. Having said that, there do appear to be some clear distinctions between the Norwegian verbs employed by the translators, at least with respect to some of the GOAL types. For instance, the insertion of all three THEMEs embedded in solid GOALs is coded by *sette* ('set'), as in (26), and the insertion of three of the four THEMEs into a liquid by *ta* as in (27).

(26) I'd best *put* in a low peg. (MM1)
Skal *sette* opp en knagg litt lenger ned. (MM1T)
'Will set up a peg little further down.'

(27) *Put* another spoon of that sugar in, boy. (MM1)
Ta enda en teskje sukker i teen din, gutt. (MM1T)
'Take yet one teaspoon sugar in tea yours, boy.'

There is only one token of an area GOAL, and five of body-parts, three of which are translated by 'other' verbs, like *dytte* ('push') in (28). The other two are *rekke* ('reach') and *slikke* ('lick').

(28) Canst thou *put* an hook into his nose? (HB1)
Kan du *dytte* en krok inn i nesen hans? (HB1T)
'Can you push a hook in to the nose his?'

There remains one GOAL type where three-dimensional THEMEs are translated by a variety of verbs. A closer examination of these THEMEs reveals, however, that all but two of those translated by *sette* ('set') have fixed contours, as in (29), while all but one of those translated by *legge* ('lay') have fluid contours, as in (30). Of the other verbs, there are three tokens of *putte* ('put'), which patterns with *legge* ('lay') in terms of THEME shape.

(29) He had *put* the chair back in the closet with the blankets. (SK1)
Han hadde lagt teppene på stolen og *satt* den inn i skapet igjen. (SK1T)
'He had laid the blankets of the chair and set it in to the closet again.'

(30) I *put* the shoes, socks, handkerchief and jacket back into the bag. (DF1)
Jeg *la* skoene, sokkene, lommetørklet og jakken i posen igjen. (DF1T)
'I lay the shoes, the socks, the hankerchief and the jacket in the bag again.'

This distinction between three-dimensional THEMEs with fixed and fluid contours actually applies across the board to translations by *sette* ('set') and *legge* ('lay'). It is presumably related to the semantics of the posture verbs *ligge* ('lie') and *sitte* ('sit'). It is impossible for something to sit if its contours are fuzzy. The distinction is not hard or fast, and leaks in both directions, particularly when it comes to plurals of items with fixed contours, which may be viewed as more fluid wholes. Another exception is telephones, which, although they have fixed contours, invariably occur with *legge* ('lay'). Notwithstanding these exceptions, the distinction does account for many of the preferences for one of the two verbs over the other.

To round off this section, Table 6 contains details of the types of THEME most often found with the four most common verbs in the Norwegian translations.

Table 6: Main THEMEs of most common Norwegian verbs in translations of core predications in English original texts

Verb	**THEME**	**Percentage**	**Total %**
legge ('lay')	body-parts	36%	
	2-d	31%	
	3-d with fluid contours	20%	
	telephones	9%	96%
sette ('set')	3-d with fixed contours	58%	
	animates	21%	79%
ta ('take')	clothing (with 'on person' GOAL)	81%	81%
stikke ('stick')	body parts	65%	
	2-d	19%	
	3-d with fixed contours	15%	99%

4.1.3 Put *in English translations*

This section is devoted to caused motion predications in Norwegian that are translated by *put*. The types of THEME, PATH and GOAL collocating with the verbs in the original Norwegian texts are no different to those in the Norwegian translations explored in section 4.1.2. The discussion below will therefore concentrate on those cases where there are clear differences in distribution between the verbs in the original texts and the translations, as these are shown in Table 5. I pointed out in section 4.4.1 that verbs accounting for 87% of tokens are identical in source and target texts, and the symmetry between the numbers for verbs such as *legge* ('lay') and *ta* ('take') is eye-catching. In addition, many of the differences in distribution between verbs in the two sets of texts may be attributed to differences in the topics or settings of narratives in which they occur. For example, there are six tokens containing *rekke* ('reach') in the Norwegian translations. Three of these code actions of volunteering by raising a hand, as in (31). Although there are two texts among the Norwegian sources with scenes

set in classrooms, these do not include any action of volunteering by hand-raising.

(31) Matilda *put* up her hand. (RD1)
Matilda *rakte* opp hånden. (RD1T)
'Matilda reached up the hand.'

Another example with a skewed distribution is the verb *henge* ('hang'), of which there are eight examples in the translations into Norwegian, but just three examples in the Norwegian originals. Five of the eight examples occur in translations of one and the same text, which is set in wartime, and three of these code the hanging up of black curtains to ensure that no light escapes from the dwelling.

Two verbs that are both more common than *rekke* and *henge*, and which differ in incidence between originals and translations by more than 100% are *stikke* ('stick') and *putte* ('put'), with the former being more prevalent in the Norwegian translations, and the latter in the Norwegian originals. There are 28 tokens of *put* translated by *stikke* ('stick'), but just 10 tokens of *stikke* translated by *put*. *Stikke* differs from *put* in that it carries overtones of manner of motion (thrusting/shoving) that are absent from the manner-neutral *put*. There are a total of 51 tokens of *stikke* in caused motion constructions in the Norwegian originals. The obvious answer to why more of these are not translated by *put* is the existence of a cognate verb, 'stick', which carries similar implications of pushing/ thrusting. It is employed in 25 translations. Among the other verbs used to translate *stikke*, we find 'push' (twice), 'press', 'poke' and 'stuff', all of which denote forceful actions.

The verb *putte*, which is cognate with English *put*, displays the opposite tendency to *stikke*, in that it is more than twice as common as a source of English *put* than it is as a translation of the latter. There are 26 tokens of *putte* in caused motion constructions in the Norwegian originals, nineteen of which (73%) are translated by *put*, as opposed to just eight tokens (3%) translating its English cognate (see Table 5). The difference may be partly influenced by the fact that, while *put* is used with a wide variety of PATHs and GOALs, *putte* tends to be restricted to entrance PATHs and containment GOALs. 22 of the 26 examples of *putte* contain a GOAL headed by the preposition *i* ('in'/'into'), with a further three headed by the

preposition *under*, which in these three instances also leads to a container GOAL, as in (32).

(32) Glenn *putter* en pappbit opp under genseren til Herman. (LSC1)
'Glenn puts a cardboard-bit up under the jumper of Herman.'
Glenn *puts* a piece of cardboard under Herman's sweater. (LSC1T)

However, even if we restrict the English originals to containment GOALs, only 8% of these are translated by *putte*. Why should the cognate be avoided when it would make for a perfectly suitable translation? Why are *legge* and *sette* so often preferred, as in (33) and (34)?

(33) *Putting* two letters in one envelope was stupid. (RDO1)
Det var dumt å *legge* to brev i samme konvolutt. (RDO1T)
'It was stupid to lay two letters in same envelope.'

(34) I […] took a slice of bread to *put* into the toaster. (TH1)
Jeg tok et stykke brød for å *sette* i brødristeren. (TH1T)
'I took a piece bread for to set in the toaster.'

One might expect translators to choose a cognate verb in syntactic constructions that are found in both languages, in the present case SVOA caused motion constructions, at least when the verbs can convey the same sense. According to the neurolinguist Michel Paradis, a cognate automatically activates its counterpart in the mind of someone with a mastery of the two relevant languages. He writes: 'When a word in a known language is a cognate of a word in another known language, it is recognised by both language subsystems: directly in one, and by immediate "completion" in the other' (Paradis 2004: 218; see also Vandevoorde 2020: 205–209). On the other hand, Vandevoorde and Lefever (2023) point out that researchers in the field of translation studies have asserted that translators may steer clear of cognates because 'the translator feels he risks losing his credibility as a professional translator if he opts for the "easiest", most straightforward/default translation' (Vandevoorde and Lefever 2023: 75). In my own research into cognates

in the ENPC, for example into HELP verbs (Egan 2024a), there is a very clear tendency for the cognate verb to be chosen by translators. However, there are some exceptions to this general tendency. For instance, while all tokens in double object constructions of the Norwegian verb *bringe* are translated by its English counterpart *bring*, just 23% of the tokens of *bring* are translated by *bringe* (Egan 2024b, see also Ebeling 2015). The BRING cognates share with the PUT cognates the fact that there is a wide difference in incidence between the pair in the original texts in the two languages, and presumably in the languages in general. In both cases it is the English cognate that is much more common than the Norwegian one, and it is the English verb that is employed much more often to translate its counterpart. One might therefore formulate the following tentative hypothesis about cognate avoidance:

> The cognate avoidance hypothesis: When a pair of cognates, which share the same basic sense and occur in the same syntactic construction, differ widely in their distribution, translations into the language in which the cognate expression is less common are likely to contain markedly fewer examples of this expression than translations into the language in which it is more common.

Needless to say, a good deal of research would be necessary to disprove (or refine) this hypothesis.

4.2 The put *construction in extended predications*

Table 7 contains details of the Norwegian correspondences of non-core PUT constructions in both source and target texts. The second research question presented in section 1 asked whether there are any differences between Norwegian verbs that correspond to *put* in caused motion and more abstract SVOA predications. Comparing Table 7 with Table 5, which contains the results for core *put* predications, one can see that the type-token ration is considerably higher in the case of the extended examples. Moreover, just 15 verb types in the Norwegian translations, accounting for 51% of the source tokens, are identical with verbs in the Norwegian sources translated by *put*. This may be contrasted with 50% (22 verbs) of the verb types and 87% (250) of the tokens in the case of core predications. *Sette* (‘set’) is twice as common as *legge* (‘lay’) in the Norwegian translations in Table 7, whereas the opposite is the case in Table 5. The difference between the distribution of these two verbs is not as great when

it comes to Norwegian sources translated by *put*, but here too the number of examples of *sette* (‘set’) in Table 7 outnumber those of *legge* (‘lay’).

Table 7: Norwegian verbs corresponding to *put* in extended sense examples in both Norwegian translations and sources

Norwegian form	**Norwegian translations**	**Norwegian sources**	**Totals**
sette (‘set’)	30	16	46
legge (‘lay’)	14	12	26
slå (‘hit’)	5	2	7
skrive (‘write’)	5	0	5
gi (‘give’)	4	3	7
stille (‘advance’)	4	2	6
ta (‘take’)	4	1	5
ringe (‘phone’)	4	0	4
fremsette (‘propose’), *utsette* (‘postpone’ / ‘subject to’)	4 (2x2)	4 (2x2)	8
bringe (‘bring’), *forelegge* (‘tell’), *plassere* (‘place’)	6 (3x2)	3 (3x1)	9
slukke (‘extinguish’)	2	3	5
få (‘get’)	1	5	6
nedlegge (‘invest’), *sende* (‘send’)	2 (2x1)	2 (2x1)	4
bygge (‘build’), *fremlegge* (‘submit’), *føre opp* (‘add’), *miste* (‘lose’), *slappe av* (‘relax’)	10 (5x2)	0	10
gjøre (‘do’)	0	5	5
satse (‘invest’)	0	2	2
Hapax	31	41	72
Ø	4	14	18
Totals: tokens	130	115	245
Totals: types	54	58	112
Type-token ratio	42.9%	57.4%	49.3%

The tendency to have *sette* (‘set’) as a translation (or source) of *put* is particularly evident in constructions with a concrete THEME and abstract GOAL, as shown in Tables 8 and 9.

Table 8: Concrete and abstract THEMEs in tokens of English *put* translated by *sette, legge,* other verbs and zero

	sette	***legge***	**other verbs**	**zero**	**Total**
Concrete THEME + Concrete GOAL	6	4	11	1	22
Concrete THEME + Abstract GOAL	17	1	34	1	53
Abstract THEME + Concrete GOAL	1	2	21	0	24
Abstract THEME + Abstract GOAL	6	7	16	2	31
Total	**30**	**14**	**82**	**4**	**130**

Table 9: Concrete and abstract THEMEs in tokens of English *put* in translations of *sette, legge,* other verbs and zero

	sette	***legge***	**other verbs**	**zero**	**Total**
Concrete THEME + Concrete GOAL	0	0	1	0	1
Concrete THEME + Abstract GOAL	11	5	33	7	56
Abstract THEME + Concrete GOAL	1	1	6	1	9
Abstract THEME + Abstract GOAL	4	6	33	6	49
Total	**16**	**12**	**73**	**14**	**115**

There is a similar total number of examples of the combination concrete THEME and abstract GOAL in the English source texts (53 examples) and the English translations (56). In both directions 'other' Norwegian verbs account for more than half of the correspondences, and in both *sette* ('set') is the second most common correspondence. Example (35) illustrates *sette* ('set') used to translate an example with a concrete THEME and abstract GOAL.

(35) It also *puts* children at the centre of the whole environment/ development debate. (LTLT1)
Den *setter* også barna i sentrum for hele debatten om miljø og utvikling. (LTLT1T)
'It sets also the children in the centre for the whole debate about environment and development.'

When it comes to concrete THEMEs combined with concrete GOALs, there is a very marked difference between the English sources, with 22 examples like (36), and the English translations with just one, (37).

(36) Still, he opened his guidebook and *put* a checkmark next to the Yankee Delight. (AT1)
Likevel åpnet han guideboken og *satte* et merke ved siden av Yankee Delight. (AT1T)
'All the same opened he the guidebook and set a mark at the side of Yankee Delight.'

(37) "It'll *put* some color in your cheeks — brace you up." (EHA1T)
"Det ville *gi* deg farve i kinnene og nytt mot på livet." (EHA1)
'It will give you colour in the cheeks and new courage in life.'

There is no space here to pursue the question of why this combination is so rare in the English translations, but it is certainly worthy of further investigation, especially given that there is a similar, if not quite so marked, disparity when it comes to the combination of abstract themes and concrete goals (24 examples as opposed to nine).

In the discussion of core predications in section 4.1.1, I pointed out that the caused posture verb *stille* ('make stand') is rarely used in present-day Norwegian in caused motion predications, being represented by just two examples in Table 5. It is a more common correspondence of *put* in extended senses, with six examples in Table 7. Among these are (38), a Norwegian translation, and (39), a Norwegian source.

(38) He asked the Senator for permission to *put* the decisive question to Mary-Jacobine. (RDA1)
Han bad om senatorens tillatelse til å *stille* Mary-Jacobine det avgjørende spørsmål. (RDA1T)
'He asked for the senator's permission to ask Mary-Jacobine the decisive question'.

(39) Skipet som marinen *stiller* til disposisjon, heter "Discovery".

(KH1)
'The ship which the navy places at the disposal, is called "Discovery".'
The ship which the Navy *put* at their disposal was called the Discovery. (KH1T)

Three of the four Norwegian translations containing *stille* ('make stand') are of the phrase 'put a question', which corresponds to the Norwegian fixed phrase 'stille et spørsmål' ('stand a question'), as in (38). The fourth is of another English fixed phrase 'put on trial'. In Norwegian an accused is 'stood before the court' ('stilt for retten'); compare English 'stand trial'. Both Norwegian examples translated by *put* are of 'stille til disposisjon' ('place at disposal'), as in (39). Moreover, both core examples of *stille*, one of which was cited as example (11), encode actions of standing someone up against a wall, expressed in Norwegian by another semi-fixed phrase. In other words, the verb *stille* ('(make) stand') is more likely to be used in Present-Day Norwegian when it is fossilised in fixed phrases, and there are more such phrases coding figurative than literal senses.

5. Summary and suggestions for future research

In this paper I examined all occurrences of *put* in the English source and target texts and their Norwegian correspondences in SVOA constructions in the ENPC. Around 70% of the occurrences of *put* in both English original texts and English translations are of the prototypical or core sense of the construction, in which a THEME is acted upon by an AGENT to move it to some intended location, or GOAL. The remaining 30%, most of which are figurative or metaphorical, do not encode caused motion. Two research questions were stated in section 1, the first of which refers exclusively to the core sense. This question asks about the possible influence of the nature of the PATH, THEME, or GOAL on the Norwegian correspondences. The second question asks whether there are any differences between verbs used to translate core and extended sense *put* SVOA predications.

The first question was investigated in section 4.1. Six types of PATH were distinguished in section 3. With respect to the question of their possible influence on the Norwegian correspondences, one PATH (around x), all examples of which have a body part as THEME, and a person or body part as GOAL, is predominantly coded by the verb *legge* ('lay'). Another PATH (upwards) is regularly translated by *rekke* ('reach') and *henge*

('hang'). Apart from these two PATHs, there is no readily perceivable pattern to the translations. PATH must therefore be said to be a poor predictor of the Norwegian translations of *put*. Six goal types are shown in section 4.1.2 to be equally poor predictors of *put*'s Norwegian correspondences.

When it comes to types of THEME, while all five types distinguished in section 3 are translated by *legge* ('lay'), by *sette* ('set') and by some other verbs, there is a clear preference for one of the translation options in the case of all apart from three-dimensional themes. Thus two-dimensional and body-part THEMEs are most likely to be translated by *legge* ('lay'), and animate THEMEs by *sette*. As for three-dimensional THEMEs, there are very few of these with either a body-part GOAL, or one instantiating (at) contact as opposed to (on) support or (in) containment. When it is a person who is the end-point of a movement on(to), the three-dimensional THEME is almost always a garment, and the default Norwegian verb is *ta*. *Ta*, on the other hand, never occurs with 'on' inanimate GOALs, which are mostly coded by *legge* ('lay') or *sette* ('set').

Legge ('lay') and *sette* ('set') are also both commonly used for three-dimensional THEMEs moved to a three-dimensional GOAL. The choice between the two depends largely on the shape of the THEME. All but two of those translated by *sette* ('set') have fixed contours, while all but one of those translated by *legge* ('lay') have fluid contours. This distinction between three-dimensional THEMEs with fixed and fluid contours actually applies across the board to translations by *legge* ('lay') and *sette* ('set').

Translations by *put* were compared to translations of *put* in section 4.1.3. Two verbs which differ in incidence between originals and translations by more than 100% are *stikke* ('stick') and *putte* ('put'). The fact that *stikke* is translated by *put* considerably less often than it occurs in the Norwegian translations is easily explained: half of the tokens of *stikke* being translated by its English cognate 'stick'.

As for the verb *putte*, which is cognate with English *put*, 73% of the 26 tokens of *putte* in caused motion constructions in the Norwegian originals are translated by *put*, as opposed to just eight tokens (3%) in the other direction. In many of these examples *putte* would have made a perfectly suitable translation, so why should the cognate be avoided? A tentative answer to this question was suggested in the form of a cognate avoidance hypothesis, which states that when a pair of semantically similar cognates differ widely in their distribution, translations into the language

in which the cognate expression is less common are likely to contain fewer examples of this expression than translations into the language in which it is more common.

Differences between correspondences of *put* in core and extended sense predications, the subject of the second research question, were addressed in section 4.2. There is a much greater type-token ratio in the case of the extended examples, reflecting a greater range of meanings in these extensions. *Legge* ('lay') and *sette* ('set') are again the two most common verbs, but whereas the former is the more common of the two when it comes to core predications, the latter is more common in extended sense predications. The tendency to prefer *sette* ('set') as a correspondence of *put* is particularly evident in constructions with a concrete THEME and abstract GOAL. Another notable contrast is the greater incidence of the caused posture verb *stille* ('make stand') in the extended sense, where it is used in fixed phrases, corresponding to English 'put a question', for example.

There is no doubt that this paper has left some threads hanging that would be worthy of further investigation. For instance, whereas this paper took as its starting point the English verb *put*, it would certainly be worth examining caused motion SVOA constructions in the two languages, with the most common Norwegian verbs as one's starting point. Another point worthy of further investigation is the paucity of examples in Norwegian of extended sense predications containing a concrete THEME and GOAL. Finally, a third obvious avenue of research would be to investigate the Cognate Avoidance Hypothesis, presented in section 4.2, with data from a broad selection of cognates.

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