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"When top coals are partially covered with ash, pour evenly over grill."

A study of clause-initial adverbials and ellipsis in recipes

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Term: VT19
Subject: English
Level: Advanced
Course code: 4EN31E

Abstract

This paper focuses on two aspects of the recipe minilect: clause-initial adverbials and object and determiner ellipsis in the translation from English into Swedish. The aim of the study is to find general tendencies on how clause-initial adverbials are translated and how this affects information structure. In addition, the occurrence of object and determiner ellipsis in translations is studied, to see if there are differences between English and Swedish.

Based on a theoretical background by Hasselgård (1997) the translation of clause-initial adverbials is identified and structured, according to Hasselgård's (1997) model of word order correspondence. The structures are then studied quantitatively, through different examples in English and Swedish, and with regards to Lindquist's (1989) definition of adverbial placement.

The theoretical background for the study on object and determiner ellipsis is mainly based on the work by Nordman (1994), Hultman (2003) and Biber et al (1999). The occurrence of ellipsis is identified and then studied quantitatively.

The results show that different kinds of word order restrictions govern the translation of clause-initial adverbials and that changes in adverbial placement can affect information structure. The occurrence of object ellipsis is somewhat higher in the present study than in the analyzed parallel texts, possibly due to influence from the ST. Due to Swedish rules on definiteness, there is a low occurrence of determiner ellipsis in the TT.

Key words

Recipe, minilect, clause-initial adverbial, object ellipsis, determiner ellipsis, information structure, word order.

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1 Introduction

The Swedish market for cookbooks exploded sometime in the early 2000's and, even though the boom has somewhat receded, there is still a steady stream of cookbooks produced in Sweden every year. Despite the enormous supply and competition with digital book sales, the market for cookbooks is still thriving in Sweden. Two cookbooks were on the list for the 20 most sold non-fiction books in 2017[1]. In addition, many cookbooks are also translated from other languages, primarily English, into Swedish.

The cookbook language, or *minilect,* has been studied by many scholars throughout the years. There are a number of distinguishing features of the cookbook minilect and the title of this thesis and as seen in example (1) highlights two distinguishing linguistic features that often pose a challenge when translating a cookbook from Swedish into English: *clause-initial adverbials* and *ellipsis*:

(1) [P. 29]	*When* $Ø_D$ *top coals are partially covered with ash*, pour Øobj evenly over $Ø_D$ grill.	Sprid ut briketterna över halva grillen *när de översta briketterna är delvis täckta med aska.*

Analysing clause-initial adverbials in translation is interesting, in that they often change positions when translated into Swedish. Previous studies on adverbial placement in general, suggest that there are some differences in the placement of adverbials in Swedish and English, due to general word order restrictions. In (1) above, the clause-initial adverbial has been transferred to the final clause position in the translation.

In *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2019), "ellipsis" is described as "The omission of one or more words in a sentence, which would be needed to complete the grammatical construction or fully to express the sense […]". In the context of this assignment, ellipsis is understood as the omission of a clause element. In popular linguistic research, ellipsis is sometimes called "recipe-drop" and usually concerns omitted objects or determiners. Common transitive verbs used in cooking, such as *place* and *cook,* usually require objects, but in the condensed cookbook

[1] https://www.forlaggare.se/sites/default/files/boken_2018_web.pdf

minilect the omission of objects is accepted. In example (1) above, both determiner ($Ø_D$) and object ellipsis ($Ø_{obj}$) can be found in the ST. However, there is no ellipsis in the translation. One of the objectives of the present study is to examine if object and determiner ellipsis are as common in recipes in Swedish as they seemingly are in their English counterparts.

In the present study, the translation of clause-initial adverbials and object and determiner ellipsis in a cookbook will be analysed, in order to answer the research questions in section 2 below.

2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to examine how two different features belonging to the recipe minilect are mirrored in the translation of a cookbook from English into Swedish. The aspects examined are sentence-initial adverbials and ellipsis, in order to address the following research questions:

- What are the general tendencies of how sentences including clause-initial adverbials are translated – are the adverbials kept intact or have they changed position?
- If the position of the adverbial is changed, in what ways does this affect information structure?
- What is the frequency of ellipsis in a cookbook in English, compared to its translation into Swedish? If there is a general tendency of how ellipsis is translated, how can it be described?

3 Material and Method

In section 3.1, the source text (ST) is presented, together with a brief discussion on the intended target reader. In 3.2 the translation methods are described.

3.1 The Source Text: "The Science of Good Cooking"

The source text (henceforth referred to as ST) chosen for this study is a selection of recipes from the cookbook *The Science of Good Cooking* by the editors at America's Test Kitchen and Guy Crosby. America's Test Kitchen is a media company that employs cooks, editors, food

scientists, tasters and cookware specialists[2] to test recipes. Guy Crosby has a Ph. D. degree in organic chemistry and is the former science editor for America's Test Kitchen[3].

In *The Science of Good Cooking*, over 400 recipes are accompanied with straightforward explanations of the chemical and physical processes that surround everyday cooking. The book contains scientific explanations to a wide range of recipes and cooking methods, and it includes lengthy, yet pedagogical, explanations, along with more information for those interested to learn.

This analysis focuses on the instructional recipe sections, with its compressed language and clear, directive phrasing. The condensed language typically found in the recipe section is full of elliptic features, where objects and determiners are excluded, along with clause-initial adverbials, and should provide interesting material for the upcoming analysis.

The intended target reader for the book is the curious home cook; someone who is not only interested in making the best version of every dish, but also wants to find out more about the mechanisms behind the processes involved. The recipes are designed to be "[…] simple concepts that are guaranteed to make you a better cook." (Crosby (ed.) 2012). The intended readers of the source and target texts should not differ substantially, with regards to interest and skills. However, some cultural differences can be expected. The challenge for the translator is thus to adapt the target text so that the recipes, including ingredients and instructions, are as unambiguous and easy to use as the source text.

The methods used for translating the source text and analysing the chosen linguistic aspects are presented in section 3.2.

3.2 Method

To investigate the phenomena of ellipsis and clause-initial adverbials, quantitative studies are performed. The results of the quantitative studies will then serve as the basis for in-depth qualitative analyses of the findings.

Regarding sentence-initial adverbials, the total number of sentence-initial adverbials in the ST are counted and presented in tables, along with their translations in the TT. The tables

[2] https://www.americastestkitchen.com/
[3] http://www.cookingscienceguy.com/biography/

are structured according to clause type in the ST and placement in the TT. Illustrative examples of the translation of clauses containing sentence-initial adverbials are discussed and contrasted.

In order to examine the occurrence of ellipsis in Swedish recipes in general, a pilot study was performed on two extracts from cookbooks written in Swedish: *Bröd, bröd, bröd: recept, råd och genvägar.* (2014*)* and *Lisas sommarkök: recept och menyer för lata sommardagar*. (2015). The pilot study provided useful insight into the usage of determiners and objects in recipes originally written in Swedish. A comparison was made to examine whether the occurrence of ellipsis in the translated text followed the language norms of Swedish, or if the translation was more influenced by the structure of the source text and the pilot study thus added to the analysis of the TT. The occurrence of ellipsis will be presented in tables, according to the two different types of ellipsis, along with distribution in the ST and the TT.

In addition to previous research (see section 4), dictionaries and grammar books, a number of parallel texts, such as cookbooks in Swedish and English, were consulted, along with websites on ingredients, measurement conversion, etc. The parallel texts provided valuable, in that some general tendencies on the placement of adverbials and the occurrence of object and determiner ellipsis could be studied.

4 Theoretical Background

In chapter 4 previous research on clause-initial adverbials and ellipsis, with special focus on the recipe minilect, is presented and discussed. 4.1 presents an overview of the recipe as a genre, with a general discussion on text type, syntax, and terminology. In section 4.2, the placement of adverbials is discussed. Since word order is an important aspect of the placement of adverbials, the section starts with an account of the different aspects governing word order in English and Swedish, respectively, followed by an account of word order with special attention to adverbials. Previous studies on adverbial placement in different languages and contexts are presented, to place the present study in an academic context, and the section is concluded by a presentation of the theoretical model chosen for the analysis of clause-initial adverbials in the present study. Section 4.3 discusses ellipsis in general and its occurrence in the recipe minilect. Two aspects of ellipsis are studied: object ellipsis and determiner ellipsis. In order to place the discussion in a linguistic context, the aspect of definiteness in English and Swedish is also discussed.

4.1 The Recipe Minilect

Nordman (1994) argues that the language of cookbooks belongs to the *minilect* genre (Swedish: *minilekt*). The minilect is a subgroup of *technolects*, which in turn belongs to the wider concept of *non-fiction texts.* According to Nordman (1994:53), the recipe is a minilect in that it is limited in terms of vocabulary, that the syntax is strictly formalised and that the general structure and layout of cookbooks often follow a pre-defined pattern. Furthermore, the stylistics of cookbook language is, according to Nordman (1994:49), similar beyond language barriers. There are, for example, more similarities between recipes in French and English than other more general text types. Nordman (1994:37) presents a number of characteristics of the minilect, including

- limited semantics, but standardised terms
- short, simple, and schematic texts
- strictly formalised syntax, along with few connectors

Nordman (1994:40) further discusses that the strictly formalised syntax of the minilect can contribute to the text being regarded as ungrammatical. The occurrence of ellipsis in recipes is an example of this, since otherwise obligatory clause elements are deliberately excluded (see section 4.3). Nordman (1994:67) observes that the recipe has an imperative function, in that it is intended to make the reader perform a number of tasks in a pre-determined order. Nordman (ibid) states that verbs are a more common word class in recipes, in comparison to other text types, and that the imperative verb form is dominant (see examples 2 and 3):

(2) *Rensa* den kokta fisken och *befria* den från ben.
[P. 67]

(3) *Smält* matfettet, *rör ner* mjölet och *späd* med mjölken.
[P. 67]

The cookbook language is, according to Nordman (1994:63) uncomplicated and condensed, without unnecessary information. The sender and receiver are expected to share a common knowledgebase and the intent is to give the reader access to all necessary information in the

required order. For a recipe to fill its purpose, the reader needs to be told exactly what to do and when, without being distracted by lengthy descriptions.

The frequently used clause-initial adverbials in English recipes is a well-known constituent in the recipe minilect. However, Nordman (1994:67) states that even though adverbials are a frequent constituent in Swedish recipes as well, they are usually placed after the noun phrase, as opposed to English, where adverbials can be placed in a clause-initial position. This phenomenon is discussed further in section 4.2 below.

4.2 Clause-initial Adverbials

As mentioned in section 4.1 above, one of the distinguishing features of the English cookbook minilect is the clause-initial adverbial. The first aspect of this study is the use of clause-initial adverbials in cookbooks in English, and to what extent the position of the adverbials is changed when the recipes are translated into Swedish. Section 4.2.1 provides a brief overview of the different principles that govern word order in English and Swedish and its subsections, 4.2.1.1–4.2.1.3, further discuss the principles that are considered most important for this study. In 4.2.2, an account of previous research on clause-initial adverbials and adverbial placement is presented. 4.2.3 describes the theoretical model used for analysing sentence-initial adverbials in this translation assignment.

4.2.1 Word Order

Biber et al. (1999:896) describe word order as "[…] the order of the elements in a clause". There are a number of different principles that govern word order in a language. This study focuses on two of them: the basic syntactic rules, hereafter referred to as *basic word order*, and the principles of *information structure*. In section 4.2.1.1 basic word order, what Biber et al. (1999:899) refer to as "normal or unmarked order", is discussed. Section 4.2.1.2 presents the principles of information structure. Similarities and differences between English and Swedish are discussed, in order to give a background to the discussions on adverbial placement in the following sections.

4.2.1.1 Basic Word Order

This section presents the rules governing the grammatical principles of word order in English and Swedish, respectively. Similarities and differences are presented and discussed in the form

of examples. If no page number is indicated, the examples in this section are constructed specifically for use in this study.

According to Biber et al. (1999:899), English is a language with SVO word order, which means that a declarative clause is typically constructed in a preferred order of appearance: subject – verb – object. This structure is relatively inflexible, in that the meaning of a sentence can be completely changed if the word order is altered, as in examples (4) and (5) below:

(4) The dog chased Andy.

(5) Andy chased the dog.

In (4), the dog is the subject, thus chasing Andy. In (5), the situation is reversed, and Andy is now chasing the dog.

Teleman et al. (1999, part 4:6) state that in Swedish, the finite verb is typically placed in the second position in a declarative clause, forming the verb-second (V2) word order, while the word order is reversed in interrogative clauses, so that the finite verb can be placed in the initial position, or "prefield" (*fundament* in Swedish). In embedded or subordinate clauses, the finite verb is often placed further to a final position.

As discussed in section 4.1 above, one of the defining characteristics of the recipe minilect is the use of the imperative clause. Teleman et al. (1999, part 4:705) define the structure of the imperative clause in Swedish as void of the prefield, since the finite verb is always placed in the first position. According to Teleman et al. (1999, part 4:706), the V2 restriction still applies in the imperative clause, which dictates that no clause elements can be placed before the finite verb. Hence, the finite verb is always the first constituent in an imperative clause in Swedish, rendering the placement of a clause-initial adverbial impossible (6):

(6) Ställ *under tiden* grytan på spisen.

**Under tiden*, ställ grytan på spisen.

According to Teleman et al. (1998, part 4:438), there are certain instances where an adverbial could be placed before the actual imperative clause, in an *initial annex* position (ibid), but the adverb can only be in the form of a general comment to the clause, as in (7).

(7) *Från det ena till det andra*, var någonstans har du köpt den hatten?

[P. 438] *Uppriktigt sagt*, Johan var inte så rolig.

The annex in (7) is thus prosodically and semantically closely connected to the clause without changing its inner structure. However, the initial annex is not of interest in this study.

Teleman et al. (1999, part 1:21) state that a typological characteristic of Swedish is that clausal word order is the most common indicator of the communicative intent. In a declarative clause, the finite verb is placed in the second position, regardless of which clausal element precedes it, while most relative clauses often place the finite verb towards the end of the clause. Furthermore, different placements of direct and indirect objects indicate the relation between the participants. Teleman et al. (1999, part 1:22) further discuss that on the basis of these restrictions, Swedish is commonly described as a language where basic word order primarily governs the intended information structure of the clause (Sw: *satsgrammatiskt*), as opposed to a language where topic (theme-rheme) is the primary tool to convey the intent of the author (Sw: *textgrammatiskt*). The functions of topic are discussed further in section 4.2.1.2 below.

Biber et al. (1999:771) distinguish between three main placements of adverbials in written language: *initial*, *medial*, and *final*, as illustrated in examples (8), (9) and (10) below.

(8) *In the nature of things,* a good many somebodies are always in hospital.
[P. 771]

(9) Carrie had *often* dreamed about coming back.
[P. 771]

(10) There was an extensive literature on agriculture in Roman times which
[P. 771] maintained a pre-eminent position *until comparatively recently.*

Initial placement refers to an adverbial occurring before all obligatory clause elements, as in (8). According to Biber et al. (ibid.) *medial* position is a heterogeneous placement category,

since it includes all positions between the obligatory initial and final elements in a clause (9) and the *final* position is found after all obligatory elements in a clause (10).

Lindquist (1989:58) acknowledges that there are several sub-categories of adverbial placement in English. However, in his contrastive study of translations from English into Swedish, Lindquist (1989:140) uses the same definition as Biber et. al (1999), with the addition of *rewritten* and *deleted*, and these are also the definitions used in the present study when analysing adverbial placement.

According to Lindquist (1989:139), the adverbial position in English is generally unchanged between the main and subordinate clauses. In Swedish, where a declarative clause contains an initial adverbial, the basic word order of the core constituents needs to be altered, since the verb must always be placed in the second position, as in (11) below:

(11) Om det regnar ute *tar jag* mitt röda paraply.

*Om det regnar ute *jag tar* mitt röda paraply.

In his contrastive study on adverbial placement in English and Swedish, Lindquist (1989:139) further discusses that the exception from keeping the placement is usually due to the difference in basic word order between English and Swedish, as discussed above, but it is also possible that the translation process in itself instigates a change in adverbial placement. Lindquist's (1989) definition of adverbial placement will be used in the analysis of clause-initial adverbials in section 5.1.

While obliged to consider the restrictions of basic word order, a translator is in addition often presented with the choice to structure information according to topic or theme-rheme, as presented in 4.2.1.2 below.

4.2.1.2 Information Structure

As discussed in the previous section, basic word order is the most common tool used in Swedish to establish communicative intent.

Ekerot (2011:66) argues that word order, in Swedish as well as English, plays an important role in text grammar, where it is used to influence the structure of information. Known information, or *theme*, can be *topicalised*, meaning that it is introduced early in the clause and new or

important information, *rheme*, can be placed at the end of the clause. Word order can thus be used to create more coherent texts or to strategically place different parts of a clause in focus. It is, however, important to note that the primary task of word order is to attend to the clause grammar functions and this is why, according to Ekerot (2011:68) Swedish word order is sometimes described as relatively inflexible. Ekerot (2011:187) claims that topicalisation is one of the most important Swedish word order transformations, where an optional clausal component is moved to the initial position. Since almost any type of clause can be placed in the prefield in Swedish, it is, according to Ekerot (2011:187) the most flexible possibility for word order variation. However, this is somewhat limited by the fact that too long segments in the initial position create a left-heavy clause, which renders the sentence difficult to read and comprehend.

Biber (1999:898) concurs that English word order is often described in the same way as Swedish; as relatively fixed. However, Biber (1999:899) continues, there are still possibilities for a certain amount of flexibility. Biber (1999:896) further discusses information flow, where the *information principle* states that given or *topical* information often precedes new information in a clause. The principle of *end weight* in English is discussed by Biber (1999:898), where there is a tendency to place long and complex clause elements towards the end of the clause. This is often also enhanced by the information principle, since heavy clausal constructions often carry new and important information.

According to Lindquist (1989:53), the placement of adverbials has the same two main purposes as word order in general: "[…] to signal grammatical relations and to realize discourse functions". He (1989:54) further argues that position is an important tool to signal different syntactic functions and to avoid ambiguous texts. Lindquist (1989:55) discusses that some types of adverbials are very mobile, thus allowing the translator more freedom to convey the desired thematic structure. However, Lindquist (1989:139) also claims that the placement of adverbials has a substantial impact on meaning and thus recommends that a translator should try to keep the adverbial in the same position in the target text for two reasons: 1: As many source language properties as possible should be kept in translations and 2: position matters greatly in information structure, and the structure of the original should be kept as to not disrupt the flow of the text. However, Lindquist admits that word order restraints in the different languages limit the possibility to keep the adverbial position.

Jennifer Herriman (2010) has performed a contrastive study on the principles of information and end weight in English and Swedish, with focus on word order changes. Herriman (2010) has concluded that both languages follow said principles and rules, but to a somewhat different extent. Both languages utilise similar strategies in changing word order, such as topicalisation where an adverbial is moved to an earlier position in the clause. Herriman's (2010) findings, however, included the fact that Swedish follows the principles of information and end-weight more strictly than English. These findings are supported by Erman (2000:119), who concurs that the Swedish V2 constraint, where only one element can be placed before the finite verb, also prohibits the clustering of several clause elements in the initial position. Erman's (2000) research is, among others, discussed further in section 4.2.2 below.

4.2.2 Previous Research on the Placement of Adverbials

Finding academic studies on the narrow subject of clause-initial adverbials in cookbooks in a contrastive context proved to be a difficult task, save for short mentions in texts that focus on adverbials in general, such as Lindquist (1989) and Virtanen (1992). Some studies have already been mentioned in section 4.2.1 above.

Virtanen (1992) discusses procedural discourse and experiential iconicity in instructional texts, such as cookbooks, written in English. In order for the instructions to be followed correctly, they need to be presented in a certain order – sometimes in direct opposition to grammatical rules. In example (12) below, Virtanen (1992:1) illustrates a sentence-initial adverbial whose placement in the sentence is not correct in a strictly grammatical sense.

(12) *Into a separate pot*, put half the butter.
[P. 1]

The placement in (12), Virtanen argues, is only possible when the discourse function of the sentence is considered. To minimalize the risk of the instructions to be interpreted in the wrong order, the adverbial *into a separate pot* is placed in a sentence-initial position. Furthermore, Virtanen (1992) argues that clause-initial temporal adverbials, such as *first* and *then*, can be used as substitutes for (or complements to) numbered instructions, which are also frequently used in cookbooks. This phenomenon can be found in the present study, as shown in section 5.1.

Lindquist's (1989) contrastive study of adverbials in English and Swedish has been discussed in the previous section. It is however important to note, that Lindquist's (1989) contrastive study on adverbial placement is performed on fiction translated into Swedish. The findings in Lindquist's study could thus be expected to differ somewhat from the ST in this study, in that Lindquist's material is not taken from non-fiction texts or, more specifically, texts within the recipe minilect.

Erman (2000) has conducted a contrastive study on information structure in translations between English and Swedish, where she has studied thematic structure in a contrastive perspective. The results show that there are apparent differences in the structuring of the clausal elements, in part due to differences in word order. Erman (2000:118) discusses that the V2 constraint in Swedish is the most powerful influent on word order. In English, the corresponding important factor is the SV rule, stating that the subject must precede the verb. These two constraints are, according to Erman (ibid.) cause for important differences in thematic structure in separate sentences as well as in entire texts. One of the most important consequences of the SV rule in English is, according to Erman (2000:119), that adverbials are basically the only clausal element that can be placed before the subject. This is in direct contrast to Swedish, where the fronting of selected clausal elements is one of the most common strategies to alter the information structure, as long as the V2 rule is followed, placing the finite verb in the second position.

The foundation for Erman's study was a contrastive study on translations between English and Norwegian, performed by Hasselgård (1997). Since Norwegian and Swedish are very closely related, the choice of Hasselgård's model as theoretical framework for the present study seemed relevant and Hasselgård's model is presented below, thus forming the basis for the analysis of clause-initial adverbials in this study. Hasselgård's (1997) model for *word order correspondence* is presented in 4.2.3 below.

4.2.3 Word Order Correspondence

In her contrastive study on sentence openings in English and Norwegian, Hasselgård (1997) analysed 600 sentence openings in Norwegian and English respectively, to investigate whether clause elements in the initial position in English and Norwegian sentences, taken from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, changed positions during translation. Hasselgård (1997:3) defines the "sentence opening" as the first 3 sentence elements. The study was performed on

declarative main clauses only, thus excluding imperative clauses. The effect this distinction could have on the results in the present study is discussed further in section 5.1.

Hasselgård's (1997:4) model consists of four types of word order correspondence: *full match, moved, replaced,* and *restructured*:

4.2.3.1 Full Match

According to Hasselgård (1997:5), the word order correspondence is regarded as a full match if the order of the constituents is an exact match in the translation. The semantics should also match. However, it is not necessary that the realisation of the elements is exactly matching, as shown in (13) below, where "in" is translated as "on" and "my desk" as "the desk":

(13)	I put them *in* the shelf under *my desk*;	Jag la dem *på* hylla under *pulten*;
[P. 5]	banana, ham, cheese, jam.	banan, skinke, ost, syltetøy.

In Hasselgård's (1997) study, as well as Erman's (2000), full match was the most common word order correspondence, covering approximately 50% of the material. This is contrasted with the results of the present study and discussed further in section 5.1.

4.2.3.2 Moved

Hasselgård (1997:5) defines moved as a correspondence where all constituents from the source text sentence are found in the translation, but in a different order. In (14), the adverbial and the verb have switched positions:

(14)	They ***never*** *got* salad.	De *fikk* ***aldri*** salat.
[P. 5]		

Hasselgård (1997:7) found that the most common word order change within this word order correspondence category was that of the order of the subject and the finite verb. Hasselgård (ibid.) ascribes this to the V2 constraint in Norwegian. As discussed in section 4.2.1.1 above, the same verb second constraint applies to Swedish as well, which will be of interest for the results in the present study.

4.2.3.3 Replaced

Sentences where one or more of the constituents are given a different rendering in the target text are defined by Hasselgård (1997:6) as replaced word order correspondence. The constituents can be either added or left out, as illustrated in (15) and (16).

(15) [P. 6]	Hun sitter med syltetøyglasset i en pose og ser på fars munn […].	She sits *there* with the jar of jam in a bag and looks at father's mouth […].
(16) [P. 6]	We'd draw a man on the paper […].	*Noen ganger* tegnet vi en mann på arket […].

In (15), a space adverbial is added and in (16), a time adverbial has been added, thus rendering the verb in the target sentence a repetitive function.

4.2.3.4 Restructured

According to Hasselgård (1997:6), a restructured translation is characterised by rephrasing or a free interpretation of the source text. This could for example entail a change of voice from active to passive or a cleft sentence. However, the meaning of the target sentence should be very closely connected to the that in the source text. In (17) and (18), the syntactic differences between Norwegian and English are apparent.

(17) [P. 6]	*Liam's auntie's* house was in Raheny.	*Tanta ti Liam* bode i Raheny.
(18) [P. 6]	*No member of* his family attended the wedding […].	*Det var ingen fra* hans familie som var til stede ved bryllupet […].

In (17), Norwegian prohibits the use of two consecutive genitives and in (18), indefinite noun phrases are typically not placed in initial position in Norwegian.

Hasselgård (1997:17) cautions that this category is very heterogeneous and that it can be difficult to distinguish between the nature of the word order changes and, consequently, draw general conclusions regarding the material. However, Hasselgård (ibid.) remarks that the results

show that the meaning is kept intact in most of these relatively free translations. There are a few exceptions to this, as seen in (19) and (20) below:

(19) [P. 17]	*Furniture filled* every room.	All the rooms *were full of furniture*.
(20) [P. 17]	His accent *combined the flattened vowels of the north with the crispier intonation of the south*.	Dialekten hans *var avslepen och sjarmerende*.

In (19), Hasselgård (1997:17) remarks that there are clear differences in the sentence topicalisation between the source and target text. However, Hasselgård (ibid.) remarks that this does perhaps not severely alter the information structure in such a short sentence. In (20), Hasselgård (ibid.) discusses that cultural differences between the source and target text readers probably demands a more general description of the accent.

Hasselgård (1997:18) concludes that in her study, the word order in the translations seems to be kept very close to the word order in the originals. Hasselgård (ibid.) also remarks that this is typically only the case where the syntactic rules of the analysed languages so permit. However, there is also evidence in Hasselgård's (1997:18) study that some syntactic constructions are used more frequently in the translations than they would have been in an original text. Hasselgård (ibid.) thus argues that the source text language influences the syntax of the target text, in what is popularly called "translationese". Gellerstam (1989) is acclaimed to be the first person to discuss the phenomenon referred to as translationese, where a translation is in some way evidently influenced by the original text, albeit not necessarily with an inferior outcome. Hasselgård's findings are important to the present study, in that the constraints of basic word order will be discussed in relation to translation choices made on the basis of information structure (see section 4.2.1.1–4.2.1.2).

The model for word order correspondence, together with Lindquist's (1989) definition of adverbial placement, will be used in the analysis of the translation of clause-initial adverbials in section 5.1 below.

4.3 Ellipsis

The second aspect of this study is the occurrence of ellipsis in a cookbook in English, and to what extent ellipsis occurs in the translation into Swedish. According to Norrick (1983:177), and as discussed in section 4.1 above, ellipsis is one of the defining criteria of the cookbook language; the recipe minilect. Nordman (1994:66) observes that the frequent use of ellipsis in Swedish recipes contributes to the condensed textual character. Ellipsis is defined in the OED (2018) as the omission of a word, rendering the sentence grammatically incorrect or difficult to comprehend. Biber et al (1999:156) describe ellipsis as "[…] the omission of objects which are precisely recoverable from the linguistic or situational context.". Biber et al (ibid.) define ellipsis, that can be recovered linguistically, as *textual ellipsis*. According to Teleman et. al. (1999:945), there are three main forms of ellipsis: *anaphoric, deictic,* and *redundant ellipsis.* Regarding object ellipsis, this study focuses on the anaphoric ellipsis, where the omitted expression/word is identical to another, previously mentioned expression/word.

It could be argued that subject ellipsis is a very common form of ellipsis in the recipe minilect. However, as discussed in previous sections, one of the defining criteria of the imperative verb form commonly used in the instructive part of recipes, is the omitted subject. The present study thus considers subject ellipsis as implied and focuses on object ($Ø_{obj}$) and determiner ($Ø_{D}$) ellipsis.

Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2 present the two forms of ellipsis chosen for this study: object ellipsis ($Ø_{obj}$) and determiner ellipsis ($Ø_{D}$). Since definiteness is marked differently in English and Swedish, a brief overview is included in the section on determiner ellipsis. In section 4.3.3, previous research on ellipsis is presented.

4.3.1 Object Ellipsis ($Ø_{obj}$)

According to Teleman (1999, part 4:962), the omission of the definite object is very common in Swedish recipes, as in (21) below:

(21) Vispa *grädden* lätt och vänd ner $Ø_{obj}$ i den heta soppan.
[P. 962]

After being presented for the first time in a sentence, the object is usually omitted, as in (21).

Kittredge (1982:114) concurs that the same phenomenon, the anaphoric ellipsis, can be found in English recipes, where the object noun phrase is typically deleted after its first occurrence, as in (22).

(22) Crack **eggs**; beat $Ø_{obj}$ well; pour $Ø_{obj}$ into pan; stir $Ø_{obj}$ vigorously over high heat.
[P. 33]

McShane (2005:33) claims that in the English language, object ellipsis is in fact only possible in narrowly defined registers, such as recipes.

The occurrence of object ellipsis in the source and target texts will be examined further in section 5.2.

4.3.2 Determiner Ellipsis ($Ø_D$)

According to Biber (1999:240), head and determiner are generally both required in a noun phrase in English. The types of nouns that Biber (1999:245) claims do not require determiners, for example many proper nouns, are not included in this study, since nouns in recipes are usually common nouns combined with the preposed standalone definite article *the* (or, sometimes, the indefinite articles *a* or *an*), as in "the carrots".

Teleman et al (1999, part 2:96) discuss that in Swedish, the indefinite article is marked by the preposed standalone determiner "en" or "ett", while the definite article is marked by the suffix "-en" or "-et". According to Hultman (2003:67), it is difficult to find a difference in meaning between definite and indefinite form, regarding uncountable nouns such as flour, sugar or baking powder, indicating that both uses are acceptable. Hultman (2003:218) further discusses that so-called *bare nominals* or *bare nouns*, with an overt article, are possible in Swedish when the noun is uncountable as in example (23):

(23) Blanda *mjöl*, *socker*, *bakpulver*, *vaniljsocker* och *salt*.
[P. 218]

Furthermore, many countable nouns connected to food can, argues Hultman (2003:47) be used as uncountable when they represent the substance or food group as in (24), rather than the countable entity in example (25) below:

(24) Han skalade *potatis*.
[P. 47]

(25) Han skalade *en potatis*.
[P. 47]

The above definitions give at hand that Swedish rules on definiteness are less strict than those in English, which could be of interest in the coming analysis. The subject of determiner ellipsis seems to be less frequently studied than object ellipsis and there are, as seen in section 4.3.4 below, few previous studies on determiner ellipsis.

4.3.3 Previous Research on Ellipsis

There are many studies performed on ellipsis in the wider sense of the word, such as ellipsis in speech and its social and psychological reasons. There are a number of studies on different kinds of ellipsis in written language and, more specifically, on ellipsis in specialised registers such as recipes, as seen below in this section.

Swedish studies on determiner ellipsis are yet to be found, but this could of course be argued to be connected to the liberal rules on the usage of determiners in Swedish, as discussed by Hultman (2003:67, 218) and mentioned in section 4.3.2 above.

According to Nordman (1994:63), the condensed language of recipes has the purpose of removing all unnecessary information, so that nothing interferes with the instructions. Furthermore, Nordman (1994:63) argues that the shared knowledge base of the sender and the receiver of information (i.e. the author and the reader of the recipe) minimises the need for thorough instructions. Ellipsis is, according to Nordman (1994:66) an important part of the recipe syntax and a reason for the relatively short sentences and clauses. However, Nordman (ibid.) argues, not all elements are possible to omit. Action verbs, measurements and ingredients are necessary elements that cannot be excluded. Nordman (1994:66) argues that the semantic structure of the clauses is extremely stereotypical; starting with a complete sentence the first time an ingredient (the object) is mentioned. In the following clause, the noun is often replaced with a pronoun, to be completely omitted in the consequent clauses, thus creating the object ellipsis ($Ø_{obj}$).

Kittredge (2005) attempts to describe the variation and homogeneity of sublanguages, such as technical manuals and recipes. Kittredge (2005:109) discusses that results of contrastive

studies between English and French show that sublanguages from the same disciplines share more common linguistic denominators than English and French in general and that this extends to ellipsis as well. However, Kittredge (2005:114), concurs that English seems to apply object and determiner ellipsis to a larger extent than French.

The findings of previous research on object and determiner ellipsis are used in the analysis in section 5.2 below, where they are compared and contrasted with the results from the present study.

5 Analysis

In section 5.1, the clause initial adverbials found in the ST are presented and the translation strategies are analysed according to Hasselgård's (1997) model for word order correspondence, as described in section 4.2.3. In section 5.3, the occurrence of object and determiner ellipsis in the ST and TT are presented, along with the results from the pilot study on two parallel texts. The results are contrasted and discussed in relation to previous research.

5.1 Clause-initial adverbials

Based on previous studies, such as Lindquist (1989) and Nordman (1994), the assumption is that the cookbook minilect allows exceptions from the general linguistic rules on word order, in English even more than in Swedish.

As discussed in section 4.2.3, Lindquist (1989) argues that adverbial placement can (and, sometimes, due to grammatical rules of the studied language, *must*) differ between English and Swedish. However, Lindquist (1989:139) also claims that translated texts tend to (or even should) strive to keep the adverbial placement intact. Since the language of cookbooks is an acknowledged minilect with its own set of rules, the expected results of this study might contradict the results of previous research on adverbial placement in general. Since the present study focuses solely on clause-initial adverbials in the recipe minilect, somewhat different results than Hasselgård's (1997) were expected. Hasselgård (1997) has studied all types of sentence openings, but exclusively on declarative clauses, while the source material in the present study is taken from the recipe minilect and is thus expected to contain many imperative constructions. Furthermore, only sentences with clause-initial adverbials are analysed in the present study, thus limiting the scope of the study.

In the quantitative part of the study, the clause-initial adverbials in the source text are counted and presented according to verb form; declarative or imperative. In the target text, the clauses are divided into Hasselgård's (1997) four different aspects of word order correspondence, as presented in section 4.2.3. For the analysis, the first 3 clause elements are regarded, in accordance with Hasselgård's (1997) study. The placement of adverbials in the ST and TT, according to Lindquist's (1989) definitions are presented in a separate table.

In cases where the exact same sentences appear more than once in the ST, as in (26) and (27) below, the translation is repeated word for word.

(26) [P. 29]	*When top coals are partially covered with ash*, pour evenly over half of grill.	Sprid ut briketterna över halva grillen *när de översta briketterna är delvis täckta med aska.*
(27) [p. 30]	*When top coals are partially covered with ash*, pour evenly over half of grill.	Sprid ut briketterna över halva grillen *när de översta briketterna är delvis täckta med aska.*

A common strategy in translating other types of texts is often to create a varied language use. However, the choice to translate these sentences in exactly the same way on several occasions was made in accordance with Nordman's (1994:63) claim that avoiding ambiguity is one of the most important aspects of writing (or translating) a recipe, in order for the instructions to be interpreted correctly. These identical sentence-initial adverbial clauses are only counted the first time they appear. The results of the quantitative study are presented in tables 1 and 2 below:

Table 1. Word order correspondence between the ST and TT.

Initial adverbials in the ST	**Correspondence in the TT**							
	Full match		**Moved**		**Replaced**		**Restructured**	
N	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
39	1	3	11	28	0	0	27	69

As seen in table 1 above, the total number of clause-initial adverbials in the ST are 39 The *restructured* word order constitutes 69% of the total. This is expected, since the Swedish V2

rule dictates that all imperative constructions either need to be converted into declaratives or kept in imperative form, but with the adverbial moved to another position in the clause.

There are no observed occurrences of *replaced* word order in the TT. A reason for this could be that that the precise, instructional language, as described by Nordman (1994:63) should, as far as possible be kept intact. It is also possible that the language in the ST is already very efficiently used, thus rendering an increase of omissions of clause constituents unnecessary or even adverse to information structure. In section 5.2 below, the discussion on the extensive use of ellipsis in the ST suggests that this assumption could be valid.

Table 2. Word order correspondence between the ST and TT: declarative and imperative clauses.

Initial adverbials in the ST			**Correspondence in the TT**					
			Full match		**Moved**		**Replaced**		**Restructured**	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Declarative	8	21	1	12.5	5	62.5	0		2	25
Imperative	31	79	0	0	6	19	0		25	81
Total:	**39**		**1**		**11**		**0**		**27**	

As seen in table 2 above, 8 (21%) of the ST clauses are declarative clauses and 31 (79%) are imperative clauses. As discussed in section 4.2.1.1, the imperative verb form is very common in modern-day recipes and this distribution is thus expected. Of the declarative clauses, 62,5% are moved, while 25% are restructured. The distribution among TT word order correspondence in the imperative clauses is reversed, in that the majority (81%) of the imperative clauses are restructured.

Table 3. Adverbial placement.

Initial adverbials in the ST	**Placement in the TT**									
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
	Initial		**Medial**		**Final**		**Rewritten**		**Deleted**	
39	**12**	**30**	**7**	**18**	**8**	**20**	**12**	**30**	**1**	**2**

As seen in table 3 above, approximately 30% of the adverbials are kept in initial position, while 30% are rewritten. 20% are moved to a final position, 18% to medial position and 2% of the adverbials are completely omitted in the translations.

Further discussions of these findings are presented in 5.1.1–5.1.3 below, where the different aspects of word order correspondence will be discussed in relation to Lindquist's (1989) definitions of adverbial placement. The constraints of basic word order will be examined in relation to translation choices made on the basis of information structure.

5.1.1 Full Match

Hasselgård (1997:5) describes the *full match* as a correspondence type where the constituents should be in the same order in the TT as in the ST, albeit not necessarily with the exact same realization of the constituents. As seen in table 1 and 2 above, there is only one rendition of the aspect of full match in the ST. This result is expected, since the majority of the clauses in the source text are imperial clauses. According to Teleman et al. (1999, part 4:706), and as discussed in section 4.2.1.1 above, the V2 restriction in Swedish dictates that there can be no clause elements before the finite verb in an imperative clause. For a full match to be considered, the adverbial needs to be placed in initial position in the TT, which is only possible in a declarative clause, as in (28).

(28)	*As an egg ages*, the cordlike strands	*När ett ägg åldras* försvagas de trådiga
[P. 21]	that center the yolk weaken.	fibrer som finns i äggulans mitt.

In (28), the constituents of the ST are all recognizable in the TT. The adverbial in the declarative clause is kept in initial position and the first three elements in the clause are in the exact same

position in the TT as in the ST. If the clause-initial adverbial had consisted of only one word, for example *firstly*, the example would have belonged in the category moved, since the verb and the noun phrase has switched positions in the TT. However, Hasselgård's model only considers the first three elements of the sentence and (28) is thus an example of full match correspondence.

The result can be compared with Hasselgård's (1997) study, where over 50% of the 600 translated sentences consisted of full matches. However, Hasselgård's study was performed exclusively on declarative clauses and, in addition, on all types of sentence openings, which renders the renders comparisons difficult.

5.1.2 Moved

As discussed in section 4.2.3.2 above, Hasselgård (1997:5) defines moved as a correspondence where all constituents from the source text sentence are found in the translation, but in a different order, as in (29) below:

(29) [P. 38]	*While steak rests*, place onion rounds and peppers […].	Placera, *under tiden som steken vilar*, lökringar och paprikaklyftor […].

In (29), the imperative function, as discussed by Nordman (1994:67) is kept and the adverbial is moved to the medial position. The V2 constraints dictate that the adverbial needs to be moved from the initial position. However, if the adverbial would have been moved to the final position, the change in information structure could render the instructions difficult to interpret.

In the imperative clause in (30) below, the adverbial is placed in the final position, while the other constituents remain in the same position as in the ST.

(30) [P. 34]	*Using tongs*, flip scallops […].	Vänd musslorna *med hjälp av en tång* […].

In (30), the instrumental adverbial "med hjälp av en tång" is positioned so close to the imperative verb phrase, that the instruction is still easily interpreted.

The alternative translation as in (31) below was considered, in order to utilise the same information structure in the ST as the TT.

(31) [P. 34]	*Using tongs,* flip scallops […].	*Använd en tång* för att vända musslorna […].

However, as Hasselgård (1997:17) discusses in section 4.2.3.4, it is often less important to keep the same topicalisation when the clause is relatively short.

5.1.3 Restructured

As seen in table 1 above, the clauses that are restructured constitute 69% of the total in the TT. According to Hasselgård (1997:7), the restructured clause should still keep the information value of the ST, even though a rather free translation is permitted.
In example (32) below, the ST sentence is restructured, so that the imperative clause is transformed into two imperative clauses in the TT, coordinated with "och".

(32) [P. 19]	*Using 2 large wads of paper towels*, turn turkey breast skin side up.	*Ta två stora bitar hushållspapper och* vänd på kalkonbröstet så att skinnsidan hamnar uppåt.

The initial adverbial has been rewritten into two active coordinated main clauses. Thus, the imperative form is contained and the operational aspect of the usage of the wads of paper from the TT instruction is kept intact. This is in accordance with Hasselgård (1997:6), who decrees that, even though the structure of the sentence is altered, the information structure of the ST needs to be kept.

An alternative solution would be to keep the clause-initial adverbial in the initial position and restructure the sentence as a declarative verb clause, as in (33).

(33) [P. 19]	*Using 2 large wads of paper towels*, turn turkey breast skin side up.	*Med hjälp av två stora bitar hushållspapper* kan du vända på kalkonbröstet så att skinnsidan hamnar uppåt.

However, this construction transforms the sentence into a suggestion, rather than an instruction, something that Nordman (1994:63) strongly discourages. The construction in (33) is thus a support for Nordman's (1994:63) and Virtanen's (1992:1) claim that the instructions need to be unambiguous as to what needs to be done and when.

There are a number of translation choices that were difficult to make. Example (34) below shows the initial choice for the translation of the ST sentence.

(34) [P. 21]	*For a nicer presentation,* use a pastry bag fitted with a large star tip to pipe the filling into the egg whites.	Använd en spritspåse med en stor stjärnformad tyll för att fylla äggvitorna, *så blir äggen mer dekorativa.*

The TT sentence is kept in its imperative form, thus placing the adverbial in the end of the sentence. However, as Hasselgård (1997:6) argues, the meaning needs to be kept close to that of the ST, even if the sentence is restructured. In (34), the ST sentence suggests that a pastry bag *could* be used, but it is not a demand. In the TT, the imperative form clearly states that the reader *should* use a pastry bag. After careful consideration, the translation in (35) was thus chosen.

(35) [P. 21]	*For a nicer presentation,* use a pastry bag fitted with a large star tip to pipe the filling into the egg whites.	*För att göra äggen mer dekorativa* kan man använda en spritspåse med en stor stjärnformad tyll för att fylla äggvitorna.

In (35), the ST and the TT convey equivalent messages. Placing the adverbial in initial position in the translation is supported by Lindquist (1989:139), who claims that since the placement of adverbials have an important impact on meaning, it is recommended that the translator strives to keep the ST adverbial placement in the translation.

As discussed in section 4.1, the placement of adverbials is often optional, depending on the information structure and impact desired by the author (or, in this case, translator). There are word order rules, in both English and Swedish, that govern the placement of verbs, subjects and objects, but adverbials are often considered a "freer" syntactic element. Since the language of cookbooks belongs to its own minilect, with set rules, the results of this study could be

expected to differ from other studies, performed on adverbial placement in general. As Virtanen (1992) discusses, the text (and its components) need to be written in a certain order, with careful consideration given to the information structure of the sentence, for the instructions to be clear and unambiguous.

5.2 Ellipsis

In order to examine if the ST and its translation follow any general recipe minilect standards, the results of the pilot studies, where the occurrence of object and determiner ellipsis was examined in extracts from two Swedish cookbooks, are presented alongside the ST and TT. The number of object and determiner ellipsis is presented, along with the rate of occurrence in relation to the total word count in each text. In section 5.2.1 the occurrence of object ellipsis is presented and discussed. Section 5.2.2 presents and discusses determiner ellipsis in the same way. In the examples, the ellipsis markers $Ø_{obj}$ and $Ø_{D}$ are used to highlight the discussed occurrence of ellipsis. The analysis ends with a brief discussion of the different kinds of verbs that are found together with object ellipsis is presented.

5.2.1 Object ellipsis

In table 4 below, the occurrence of object ellipsis in the analysed texts is presented in actual numbers and in normalized frequencies (occurrence per 1000 words).

Table 4. Object ellipsis in ST, TT and parallel texts.

Text	Total word count	Number of Øobj	Øobj/1000 words
ST	6136	124	20.2
TT	5983	166	27.7
Johansson	8382	120	14.3
Lemke	3659	72	19.7

The number of object ellipsis in relation to the total word count in table 4 above shows that there is approximately the same rate of object ellipsis in the TT and the parallel text by Lemke (2015). However, the rate of object ellipsis in the parallel text by Johansson (2017) is almost reduced by half in comparison, while the TT displays a slightly higher rate of object ellipsis

than the ST. One of the reasons for the rather high rate of object ellipsis in the ST, compared to the two parallel texts, could be a tendency by the translator to be influenced by the source text; what is previously in section 4.2.3.4 described as "translationese". The parallel texts are both original texts written in Swedish. However, a more in-depth analysis of this phenomenon is not possible in the scope of this study.

As discussed in previous sections, the language of cookbooks in English, more specifically in the instructions section, is interesting, because of the high level of lexical density. The omission of direct objects is to be expected and are also apparent in the text (see examples (36), (37) and (38)):

(36) [P. 18]	Season $Ø_{obj}$ with salt and pepper.	Salta och peppra $Ø_{obj.}$
(37) [P. 30]	Cover $Ø_{obj}$ and cook $Ø_{obj}$ without moving $Ø_{obj}$ until skin is well browned and crisp, 3 to 5 minutes.	Lägg på locket och tillaga $Ø_{obj}$ tills skinnet är väl brynt och krispigt.
(38) [P. 32]	Cook $Ø_{obj}$ until browned, 1 to 1½ minutes.	*Bryn filéerna* i 1–1½ minut.

In example (37) above, the object ellipsis from the ST after "cook" is directly transferred into the TT. The verb "tillaga" is seemingly often accompanied by object ellipsis in Swedish. A brief discussion of similar verbs can be found in the end of section 5.2.2. In (38), "cook until browned" is replaced with the single verb "bryn" in Swedish, thus avoiding the often used, but more general, "tillaga", that is more appropriately used (37) above. The use of the very specific verb "bryn" is also coherent with Nordman's (1994:63) discussion on the economic language usage of cookbook writing, since it translates as "cook until brown".

5.2.2 Determiner ellipsis

As shown in table 5 below, there are 140 $Ø_D$ in the ST. An initial count of all occurrences of omitted determiners in the TT rendered over 100 occurrences of determiner ellipsis. However,

since the rules on determiners in Swedish, as discussed in section 4.3.1, define that uncountable nouns do not require a determiner, the omission of determiners in the pilot texts and the TT are only defined as ellipsis if the nouns are countable.

Table 5. Determiner ellipsis ST, TT and parallel texts.

Text	**Total word count**	**Number of $Ø_D$**	**$Ø_D$ /1000 words**
ST	6136	140	22.3
TT	5983	21	3.5
Johansson	8382	3	0.4
Lemke	3659	8	2.2

As shown in table 5 above, there are major differences in the occurrence of determiners between the English TT and the Swedish texts. The frequency of determiner ellipsis of the total word count is between approximately seven and fifty times higher in the ST than in the Swedish texts. However, there is still a small number of determiner ellipsis found in the TT. This could, as previously discussed in section 5.2.1, be an example of translationese, where the translation is coloured by the structure of the source text.

In example (39) below, the nouns “lök”, “selleri”, “morötter and “vitlök” could be considered countable.

(39) [P. 19]	Arrange $Ø_D$ onions, $Ø_D$ celery, $Ø_D$ carrots, $Ø_D$ thyme, and $Ø_D$ garlic in even layer on $Ø_D$ rimmed baking sheet.	Sprid ut lök $Ø_D$, selleri $Ø_D$, morötter $Ø_D$, timjan och vitlök $Ø_D$ i ett jämnt lager på en ugnsplåt med kanter.

The decision to keep the bare nouns in the translation in (39) was taken based on the rhythm of the text. The addition of suffixes on all nouns except for “timjan” would render the list less fluent and, additionally, the very economic style of the recipe minilect, as discusses by Nordman (1994:63) would be altered.

As seen in example (40) below, the previously discussed strategies occasionally need to be adjusted.

(40) [P. 26]	Meanwhile, combine 1 teaspoon oil, garlic, and ginger in small bowl.	Blanda under tiden 1 tsk matolja med vitlöken och ingefäran i en liten skål.

The first pronoun is presented, in accordance with the rules on uncountable nouns as described by Hultman (2003:218), in its bare form, whereas the second and third are written in definite form. In addition, the sentence is restructured, so that instead of the comma from the TT, the preposition "med" is used, to further clarify the instruction in Swedish. If translated as in example (41), the reader could easily interpret the amount (1 tsk) to apply to the garlic and the ginger as well.

(41) [P. 26]	Meanwhile, combine 1 teaspoon oil, garlic, and ginger in small bowl.	*Blanda under tiden 1 tsk matolja, vitlök och ingefära i en liten skål.

Another possible translation would be to exclude "med" and simply use the definite form ("vitlöken" and "ingefäran").

Dropping the object or not can also be a question of readability, as seen in examples (42) and (43).

(42) [P. 32]	Roast fillets until centers are just opaque and register 140 degrees, 7 to 10 minutes.	Tillaga filéerna tills de precis blivit ogenomskinliga och innertemperaturen är 60°C. Detta tar 7 till 10 minuter.
(43) [P. 32]	Immediately transfer $Ø_{obj}$ to serving plates and serve with lemon wedges, or relish spooned over each fillet.	Lägg omedelbart upp filéerna på serveringsfat och servera Øobj tillsammans med citronklyftor eller relish, som skedas över varje filé.

In example (43), the object is dropped in the ST. However, in the TT the object *filéerna* is kept. Since the previous sentence (example 42) is split, leaving an instruction (*Detta tar 7 till 10 minuter*) in between the previous mention of the fillets and the current sentence, keeping the object in the ST removes any ambiguity. The object is, however, dropped after the verb

"servera", since it is obvious what it is referring to. This is in accordance with the aspect of the anaphoric ellipsis, as discussed by Teleman et al. (1999:945) in section 4.3 above.

As shown in table 5 above, exceptions from the rules of determinedness in Swedish can be found in the texts from the pilot study as well. There are 8 occurrences of determiner ellipsis in Lemke (2015) and 3 in Johansson (2017).

The sentences in examples (44), (45) and (46) are taken from Lemke (2015).

(44) Blanda äppeltärningarna med kapris, gräslök, dill och olja i en bunke.

(45) Blanda äggulor $Ø_D$ och vatten i den lilla kastrullen.

(46) Hacka tomater $Ø_D$, lök $Ø_D$, vitlök $Ø_D$ och paprika $Ø_D$ grovt.

In (44), "äppeltärningarna" is in definite form, marked with the suffix "-arna", while the rest of the ingredients are presented in their bare form. This is expected, as *kapris, gräslök, dill* and *olja* are all uncountable nouns. In example (45), however, "äggulor" is a countable noun and is, furthermore, already presented in its plural form. It is nevertheless presented in the elliptic form. One reason for this could be the author's wish to coordinate the forms of the two nouns ("äggulor" and "vatten"), where the fluid "vatten" is uncountable, to make the sentence more fluent. The same analysis could be made in example (46), where all nouns could be presented with the definite article as a suffix. However, the noun "vitlök" probably refers to the uncountable type of produce, rather than the specific garlic, since garlic is usually used in smaller amounts than "one". To make the sentence more easily readable and the list more fluent, the author has (more or less consciously) chosen to omit the determiners on all nouns.

In example (47) below, taken from the pilot text by Johansson (2017), the same tendency of presenting two nouns in the same form of determinedness occurs.

(47) Stöt anis och fänkål i en mortel, blanda med *pomeransskalen* och *rågmjölet* i en skål.

"Pomeransskalen" is a countable noun with the corresponding determiner suffix, while "rågmjöl" is generally uncountable, but has received the definite article suffix, matching the

form of the previous noun. In example (48), the usually countable "solroskärnor" has taken on the form of the first, uncountable noun "rågkross" and is thereby presented as determiner ellipsis.

(48) Blanda rågkross och solroskärnor $Ø_D$ med det heta kaffet i en bunke.

It could, however, be argued that sunflower seeds are usually not counted in recipes but measured.

There seems to be a number of verbs that more frequently appear in close proximity to object ellipsis. At a quick glance, there is a tendency towards "låt", "koka", "salta och peppra", but the actual frequency needs to be established before it can be properly discussed. The same verbs can be found in the parallel texts by Johansson (2017) and Lemke (2015) as well. For example, "Salta och peppra" seems to be a standardised phrase in cooking language, along with other examples. Due to space limitations, however, the occurrence of certain verbs in front of object ellipsis can only be briefly mentioned in this study. In order to further examine the possible consequences certain verbs and their occurrences could have on a translation, a more thorough examination is needed, and this could be a topic for further research.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to examine how different features belonging to the recipe minilect were affected by a translation from English into Swedish. The aspects examined were sentence-initial adverbials and ellipsis and the aim was to address the following research questions:

- What are the general tendencies of how sentences including clause-initial adverbials are translated – are the adverbials kept intact or have they changed position?

- If the position of the adverbial is changed, in what ways does this affect information structure?

- What is the frequency of ellipsis in a cookbook in English, compared to its translation into Swedish? If there is a general tendency of how ellipsis is translated, how can it be described?

As seen in the analysis in 5.1, the strategies surrounding the translation of clause-initial adverbials were based on different aspects of word order and adverbial placement. As discussed in section 4.2.1, following the rules of basic word order in both languages was crucial and after that, aspects of information flow, theme-rheme and topic could be considered. The choice of clause-initial adverbials as basis for the analysis proved limiting, in that not many word order choices were possible in the translation.

In cases where the imperative word form was transformed into a declarative clause, it was possible to keep the clause-initial adverbial in its original position. However, the declarative clause conveys a different, less directly instructive information structure, which is in conflict with research on the recipe minilect, performed by Nordman, among others.

Many of the considerations regarding adverbial placement became increasingly complicated due to nature of the specialised recipe minilect. One of the aspects of the minilect is the extended use of the imperative verb form. However, due to the basic word order rules surrounding the V2 principle in Swedish, where the finite verb is always placed in the initial position in an imperative clause, the choice was between restructuring the clause into a declarative clause, thus losing the directive function, or moving the adverbial to a more final place in the clause, and thus altering the information structure of the sentence.

Due to the limited scope of this study, not all interesting examples were discussed, but a selection was needed. For future research, it would be rewarding to do a more in-depth study of the chosen aspects. Suggestions for further research could be an in-depth analysis of clause-initial adverbials and sentence constructions in the TT, based on Ekerot's (2011) model on aspects of *added main clause, deletion* etc. It could also prove fruitful to derive research questions from Lindquist's (1989) extensive research on clause-initial adverbials, based on the aspects of *form, semantic role,* and *realisation*, in addition to position, which was the scope of the present study.

Further contrastive studies on informational structures in English and Swedish would also be interesting. Due to the rather flexible rules surrounding adverbials (compared to other syntactic features) in Swedish, it is possible to alter the positions. Lindquist (1989) has

performed extensive in-depth studies on adverbial positions, that could prove valuable – perhaps in a prescriptive manner, so that Lindquist's (1989:139) claim that the adverbial should be kept in its original position is met as far as possible.

Regarding ellipsis, it would be interesting to study the verbs that surround object ellipsis, to examine if there are certain types of verbs that are more frequent.

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