

**Univerzita Karlova**

**Filozofická fakulta**

**Ústav anglického jazyka a didaktiky**



**DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE**

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**Adverbial *-ing* Clauses in Newswriting: A Diachronic  
Comparison**

Adverbiální *-ing* věty v registru novinových zpráv: diachronní pohled

Praha 2024

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## Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank PhDr. Naděžda Stašková, Ph.D., my bachelor thesis supervisor, for having been one of the most inspirational and approachable figures I have ever encountered in my life. It was she who, by virtue of indistinguishable zeal of her own, was responsible for igniting the passion for linguistics in me and prompted me to pursue this life path further.

I am immensely grateful and shall be forever indebted to all the professors at ÚAJD for having enriched my knowledge in English linguistics and its many disciplines, piquing my interest countless times.

Metaphorically adhering to the linguistic end-weight principle, the last and the most important thanks I wish to express is to my thesis supervisor PhDr. Pavlína Šaldová, Ph.D. for her erudition, unwavering support and encouragement, endless patience, and enlightening insight and thorough guidance which she has been kindly providing me with throughout the process of researching and writing the present thesis. But for all of her many virtuous qualities and kind, amiable approach, this paper would never have seen its completion. Thank you. I never could have wished for a better supervisor.

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně, že jsem řádně citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

Souhlasím se zapůjčením diplomové práce ke studijním účelům.

I have no objections to the MA thesis being borrowed and used for study purposes.

V Praze 5. 5. 2024

## Abstract

The present diploma thesis deals with the “adverbial *ing*-clause network”, comprising free adjuncts, absolute constructions, and adverbial verbal gerunds, as postulated by Fonteyn and Pol (2016). Taking a diachronic perspective, the study examines adverbial *-ing* clauses and their inherent features (i.e. augmentation, position, punctuation, co-reference, complexity, and semantic interpretation) in two manually compiled corpora of newspaper reports from *The Guardian*, seeking to unveil differences between the two corpora as regards the usage of *-ing* clauses that may have stemmed from the shift in medium over the 70-year time span. While the ‘Old Corpus’ features newspaper reports from 1953 in printed broadsheet format, the ‘New Corpus’ consists of news articles from 2023 in online format. Further, this thesis also aims to detect and elucidate trends in the usage of *-ing* clauses, as well as verify correlations between the inherent features of *-ing* clauses as proposed in previous research.

The empirical analysis has uncovered a number of significant differences in the employment of *-ing* clauses between the two periods. The ‘New Corpus’ was observed to have 2.8 times higher incidence of *-ing* clauses, a fact that was argued to boil down to the shift in the medium and its accompanying structural changes of the news reports. These structural changes also triggered a number of other changes in the inherent *-ing* clause features, such as higher presence of augmentation, higher positional unity, higher preference for overt punctuation, and a marked lack of idiosyncrasy in the *-ing* clauses used in online news. The most notable trends were the preference for *with*-augmentation of absolute constructions in the ‘New Corpus’, the shift in the preference for certain augmentors of adverbial verbal gerunds, the positionally determined (dis)preference for punctuation of adverbial verbal gerunds, and a marked increase in use of free adjuncts in initial position. As for the correlations between the individual features of *-ing* clauses, augmentation was verified to be strongly positively correlated with the more informative semantic relations. Further, it was proven that the lower degree of co-reference between the matrix subject and the implied subject of the *-ing* clause leads to higher likelihood of the *-ing* clause being augmented to facilitate processing.

**key words:** adverbial *-ing* clauses, *ing*-clause network, free adjuncts, absolute constructions, adverbial verbal gerunds, newspaper reports

## Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá „systémem adverbálních *-ing* klauzí“ podle Fonteyn a Pol (2016), který sestává z volných adjunktů, absolutních konstrukcí a adverbálních verbálních gerundií. Diachronní povaha této práce umožňuje analyzovat adverbální *-ingové* klauze a jejich inherentní vlastnosti (tj. augmentace, pozice, interpunkce, koreference, komplexita a sémantická interpretace) ve dvou manuálně sebraných korpusech novinových zpráv z *The Guardian*. Práce si klade za úkol odhalit rozdíly mezi korpusem z hlediska *-ingových* vět, které by se daly připsat změně média v průběhu 70 letého časového období. Zatímco ‚Old Corpus‘ se skládá z novinových zpráv z roku 1953 v tištěném velkoformátu, ‚New Corpus‘ sestává z novinových zpráv z roku 2023 v online formátu. Dalším cílem této studie je zaznamenat a objasnit tendence v používání *-ingových* vedlejších vět a verifikovat korelace mezi jednotlivými inherentními vlastnostmi *-ing* vět, které předchozí výzkum identifikoval.

Empirická analýza ukazuje množství podstatných rozdílů v použití *-ingových* klauzí mezi oběma časovými obdobími. V ‚New Corpus‘ byl výskyt *-ing* vět 2,8 krát vyšší, což je možný důsledek změny média a s ní souvisejícími strukturálními změnami novinových článků. Tyto strukturální obměny jsou doprovázeny množstvím změn v jednotlivých inherentních vlastnostech *-ingových* vět, jako například častější přítomnost augmentace, vyšší jednotnost v rámci pozice, upřednostnění použití interpunkce a zjevná absence stylisticky propracovanějšího projevu autora v *-ing* závislých větách v článcích online. Mezi nejvýznamnější tendence se řadí upřednostnění *with*-augmentace absolutních konstrukcí v ‚New Corpus‘, změna v prioritizaci některých augmentorů adverbálních verbálních gerundií, (ne)preferance interpunkce v závislosti na pozici adverbálních verbálních gerundií a zřetelný nárůst volných adjunktů v počáteční pozici. Co se týče korelací mezi vlastnostmi *-ingových* vět, bylo potvrzeno, že augmentace je preferována u více informativních sémantických vztahů. Dále bylo prokázáno, že nižší míra koreference mezi podmětem věty řídicí a *-ing* věty závislé vede k vyšší pravděpodobnosti augmentace u věty závislé za účelem usnadnění zpracování informací.

**klíčová slova:** adverbální *-ing* klauze, systém adverbálních *-ing* klauzí, volné adjunktů, absolutní konstrukce, adverbální verbální gerundia, novinové zprávy

## Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
I. Theoretical part.....	3
2. Adverbial <i>ing</i> -clause network: preliminary characteristics .....	3
3. Adverbial <i>-ing</i> clauses: inherent aspects.....	6
3.1. Frequency.....	6
3.2. Position .....	7
3.3. Subject control .....	9
3.3.1. Unattached and dangling participles.....	9
3.3.2. Kortmann's theory of control of unrelated free adjuncts.....	10
3.3.2.1. Zero-control .....	11
3.3.2.2. Covert controller .....	11
3.3.2.3. Recoverable controller .....	13
3.3.3. Absolute constructions.....	14
3.4. Augmentation.....	16
3.4.1. Augmentation of free adjuncts.....	16
3.4.2. Augmentation of absolute constructions.....	17
3.4.3. Augmentation of adverbial verbal gerunds.....	18
4. Semantic interpretation of <i>-ing</i> clauses.....	19
4.1. Preliminaries .....	19
4.1.1. Semantic indeterminacy.....	19
4.1.2. Kortmann's scale of informativeness.....	20
4.2. Individual semantic relations .....	21
4.2.1. Relations of temporal simultaneity/overlap.....	21
4.2.1.1. Accompanying Circumstance/Addition.....	22
4.2.1.2. Simultaneity .....	23
4.2.1.3. Exemplification/Specification.....	23
4.2.1.4. Manner .....	24
4.2.2. Relations of temporal anteriority .....	25
4.2.2.1. Anteriority.....	25
4.2.2.2. Cause/Reason.....	26
4.2.2.3. Instrumentality .....	27

4.2.3.	Relations of temporal posteriority .....	27
4.2.3.1.	Posteriority .....	27
4.2.3.2.	Result .....	28
4.2.4.	The ‘CCC’ relations .....	28
4.2.4.1.	Conditionality .....	28
4.2.4.2.	Contrast .....	29
4.2.4.3.	Concessivity .....	29
5.	Newspapers .....	29
5.1.	General overview of newspaper register .....	30
5.2.	Delineation of newspaper language - journalese .....	32
5.3.	Adverbial <i>-ing</i> clauses as means of complex condensation .....	34
5.4.	Printed newspapers vs. online newspapers .....	35
II.	Empirical part .....	38
6.	Material and method .....	38
6.1.	Data extraction .....	41
6.2.	Methods of Analysis .....	43
7.	Results .....	45
7.1.	Absolute Constructions .....	46
7.1.1.	Augmentation .....	46
7.1.2.	Position .....	47
7.1.3.	Punctuation .....	48
7.1.4.	Co-reference .....	49
7.1.5.	Complexity .....	50
7.1.6.	Semantic interpretation .....	50
7.2.	Adverbial Verbal Gerunds .....	52
7.2.1.	Augmentation .....	52
7.2.2.	Position .....	54
7.2.3.	Punctuation .....	55
7.2.4.	Co-reference .....	57
7.2.5.	Complexity .....	58
7.2.6.	Semantic interpretation .....	58
7.3.	Free Adjuncts .....	63

7.3.1.	Augmentation.....	63
7.3.2.	Position .....	64
7.3.3.	Punctuation .....	66
7.3.4.	Co-reference.....	67
7.3.5.	Complexity.....	69
7.3.6.	Semantic interpretation .....	69
8.	Discussion.....	78
8.1.	Frequency of adverbial <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC.....	78
8.2.	Augmentation of <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC .....	79
8.3.	Positions of <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC.....	81
8.4.	Punctuation of <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC .....	82
8.5.	Co-reference of <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC .....	83
8.6.	Complexity of <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC .....	84
8.7.	Semantic interpretation of <i>-ing</i> clauses in the OC and NC.....	85
8.8.	Predicting the ‘Old/New’ typification of <i>-ing</i> clauses .....	87
9.	Conclusion .....	90
10.	References.....	95
11.	Resumé.....	99
12.	Appendices.....	103
	Appendix A – <i>The Guardian</i> .....	103
	Appendix B – 1953 Newspaper Report (A59).....	105
	Appendix C – 2023 Newspaper Report (B13).....	106
	Appendix D – 1953 adverbial <i>-ing</i> clauses .....	109
	Appendix E – 2023 adverbial <i>-ing</i> clauses .....	120



## List of Abbreviations

<b>FA</b>	free adjunct
<b>AVG</b>	adverbial verbal gerund
<b>AC</b>	absolute construction
<b>FA/RR</b>	an <i>-ing</i> clause indeterminate between a free adjunct and reduced non-restrictive relative clause
<b>S<sub>M</sub></b>	subject of the matrix clause
<b>S<sub>FA</sub></b>	subject of the free adjunct
<b>S<sub>AC</sub></b>	subject of the absolute construction
<b>NP</b>	noun phrase
<b>OC</b>	Old Corpus
<b>NC</b>	New Corpus
<b>OCR</b>	optical character recognition
<b>AcC/Add</b>	accompanying circumstance/addition
<b>S</b>	simultaneity
<b>Ex/Sp</b>	exemplification/specification
<b>M</b>	manner
<b>Ant</b>	anteriority (time before)
<b>Post</b>	posteriority (time after)
<b>C/R</b>	cause/reason
<b>Res</b>	result
<b>I</b>	instrument
<b>P</b>	purpose
<b>Cond</b>	condition
<b>Cont</b>	contrast
<b>Conc</b>	concession
<b>ipt</b>	instances per a thousand words
<b>RQ</b>	research question

## List of Tables

<b>Table 1</b>	Descriptive statistics of the OC (72 reports) and NC (36 reports).....	40
<b>Table 2</b>	Frequencies of -ing clause types across corpora .....	45
<b>Table 3</b>	Frequencies of types of co-reference (normalised frequencies are in the brackets) ..	49
<b>Table 4</b>	Semantic roles and positions of ACs across corpora .....	52
<b>Table 5</b>	AVG augmentors in the OC and NC (normalised frequencies in ipt for the totals are adduced in the brackets).....	53
<b>Table 6</b>	Positions of AVGs with respect to their augmentors across corpora.....	55
<b>Table 7</b>	Positional preferences of AVGs for punctuation across corpora.....	56
<b>Table 8</b>	Types of co-reference of AVGs in the OC and NC .....	58
<b>Table 9</b>	Semantic relations of AVGs in the OC and NC.....	59
<b>Table 10</b>	The distribution of positions of FAs in the OC and NC .....	65
<b>Table 11</b>	Types of punctuation in the three positions of FAs in the OC and NC .....	66
<b>Table 12</b>	Types of co-reference of FAs in different positions in the OC and NC .....	69
<b>Table 13</b>	Distribution of semantic relations of FAs in various positions in the OC and NC..	77
<b>Table 14</b>	Correlation between augmentation and more/less informative.....	80
<b>Table 15</b>	Correlation between degrees of co-reference and preference for augmentation.....	84
<b>Table 16</b>	Correlation between complexity and position.....	85
<b>Table 17</b>	Semantic relations across corpora (normalised frequencies in ipt are adduced in brackets).....	86
<b>Table 18</b>	Binomial logistic regression model fit measure.....	87
<b>Table 19</b>	Results of the classification table .....	88
<b>Table 20</b>	The old/new binomial logistic regression model .....	89

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1</b> Frequencies of syntactic forms of circumstance adverbial clauses (Biber et al., 2021, p. 818) .....	6
<b>Figure 2</b> Position of FAs and ACs (taken from Kortmann, 1995, p. 205).....	8
<b>Figure 3</b> A scale of informativeness for semantic relations (from Kortmann, 1991, p. 121).20	
<b>Figure 4</b> AVG augmentor distribution in the OC and NC in normalised frequencies (ipt)....	53
<b>Figure 5</b> Semantics of prepositional augmentors of AVGs .....	60
<b>Figure 6</b> Normalised frequencies of augmentors of FAs in the OC and NC .....	63
<b>Figure 7</b> Normalised frequencies (ipt) of the semantic relations in the OC and NC .....	70
<b>Figure 8</b> Bar chart of the correlation between augmentation and more/less informative semantic relations.....	81
<b>Figure 9</b> Bar chart of the correlation between degrees of co-reference and preference for augmentation.....	83
<b>Figure 10</b> Bar chart of correlation between complexity and position.....	85

# 1. Introduction

The present study deals with the changes in the usage of adverbial *-ing* clauses in British English newswriting over the span of the past seventy years, comparing printed news reports of 1953 to online reports of 2023. The motivation of this comparison is threefold: (1) the reported increase in the use of non-finite clauses in written language over the last century (Malá, 2017), (2) the change of the medium from printed to online format, and (3) the fact that adverbial *-ing* clauses in newspaper reports have not yet been described in detail.

Drawing on the notion of the “adverbial *ing*-clause network” (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016), the study looks at three constructions, namely free adjuncts (FAs), adverbial verbal gerunds (AVGs), and absolute constructions (ACs), comparing their frequencies and the inherent features in two corpora (one comprising newspaper reports from 1953 in the broadsheet format and the other including reports from 2023 in the online format) to ascertain whether or not any changes have taken place, and to what extent they may be accounted for by the change of medium. The diachronic comparison was stimulated by the fact that recent research has suggested that there has been a substantial increase not only in syntactic condensation overall over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but also in the employment of non-finite clauses in adverbial function specifically (i.e. Malá, 2010, p. 81, 2012, pp. 250–251, 2017, pp. 163–164). This increase was observed in registers of fiction, newspapers, and academic prose.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical basis for the adverbial *ing*-clause network, introducing and delineating the individual subtypes of *-ing* clauses. Chapter 3 deals with the inherent aspects of adverbial *-ing* clauses, namely frequency, position, subject control, and augmentation. It is followed by Chapter 4 which covers semantic interpretation, describing criteria for the determination of semantic relations expressed by *-ing* clauses. Chapter 5 delimits the register of newspaper reports, providing an outline of what is typical of newspaper language, how *-ing* clauses are used in newspaper reports, and the key differences between printed and online newspapers.

Material and methods used in the study are described in Chapter 6. The results of the data analysis are presented in the Results section (Chapter 7), where each particular subtype of an *-ing* clause (i.e. a FA, an AC, or an AVG) is presented separately from the diachronic point of view, allowing us to map out the differences in usage of the given type of an *-ing* clause between the two studied points in time. The results are analysed both quantitatively and

qualitatively, leading to possible explanations for the findings. Further, in Discussion (Chapter 8), all *-ing* clause subtypes are treated together and are considered from the points of view of the respective inherent features from the diachronic perspective. Moreover, correlations between the inherent aspects are also suggested in this section.

The primary objective of this thesis is the comparison of adverbial *-ing* clauses in two corpora, consisting of newspaper reports 70 years apart, in terms of their frequency and inherent features, namely augmentation, position, punctuation, co-reference, complexity, and semantic interpretation. By adopting the diachronic perspective, the study seeks to unveil and identify patterns and emergent trends in the usage of *-ing* clauses and shed more light on the development of and differences between the language of newspaper reports in the given time frame. Two main hypotheses are tested:

1. There is an increase in frequency of *-ing* clauses overall.
2. There are differences in the distribution among the *-ing* clause subtypes, reflecting the change of the medium.

More specifically, the thesis seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How do newspaper reports from 1953 differ from the contemporary ones from 2023 in terms of *-ing* clauses and their integral features?
2. What are the trends in usage of *-ing* clauses in the newspaper reports register in the given time span?
3. How are the individual features of *-ing* clauses associated with each other?

# I. Theoretical part

## 2. Adverbial *ing*-clause network: preliminary characteristics

The key phenomenon under scrutiny in this paper is the use of adverbial *-ing* clauses, specifically in newspaper registers. Though closely related, there exist various structural types of adverbial *-ing* clauses, as exemplified in (1) – (4) in italics.

- (1) I checked my diary and rushed off to my 9 am lecture, *managing to skip breakfast*. (Kortmann, 1995, p. 189)
- (2) *When feeling weak*, you should take an aspirin. (Kortmann, 1995, p. 200)
- (3) The Dean turned and went out, *his gown billowing darkly behind him*. (Kortmann, 1995, p. 189)
- (4) *With John driving*, we won't have a lot of fun. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 11)

Examples (1) and (2) are typically labelled a 'free adjunct' (FA). FAs do not have an overt subject of their own; rather, the subject is implicit and is customarily, though not necessarily (see 3.3 for a more detailed discussion), co-referential with the subject of the matrix clause. Furthermore, FAs are infamous for their semantic indeterminacy, as they tend to keep the semantic link to their matrix unexpressed (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1123). However, uncommon though it may be, the introduction of FAs by an overt subordinator (normally a conjunction) is possible and aids substantially in signalling the semantic relationship between subordinate and matrix clauses, as illustrated in (2), a phenomenon universally referred to as augmentation. Syntactically speaking, FAs are subordinate or quasi-coordinate clauses (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186), manifesting loose integration into their matrix clauses.

In contrast to (1) and (2), the adverbial *-ing* clauses under (3) and (4) manifest the presence of an overt subject, as opposed to its absence in the former two. This criterion alone warrants differentiation between FAs in (1) and (2) and absolute constructions (ACs henceforth) in (3) and (4) (Biber et al., 2021, p. 141). As for ACs, or absolutes for short, they are "not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically" due to their subject not being co-referential with that of the matrix clause (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1120). In parallel with FAs, ACs can be augmented, as is the case in (4); this time, however, unlike FAs, by preposition-like items such as *with*, leaving the readers to their own devices in terms of the semantic interpretation that they ascribe to a particular *-ing* clause because *with* does not offer any clues as to its semantic interpretation (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186; Kortmann, 1991, p. 194).

The clauses presented above are not the only structural types of adverbial *-ing* clauses, however. Embracing the notion of the *ing*-clause network and the line of argumentation in its favour as postulated by Fonteyn & Pol (2016), the present study also includes adverbial verbal gerunds (AVGs henceforth), which have largely, despite their striking formal and functional similarities with FAs and ACs, been excluded from the data pools of many studies (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016). Consider examples (5) – (8).

- (5) *On learning of the decision*, his first reaction had been surprise. (Kortmann, 1995, p. 200)
- (6) *After fighting the Vichy French for a bit*, we got sent to Baghdad. (Kortmann, 1995, p. 200)
- (7) I am rather in hopes the magazine article has dropped through, either *from my paper being thought bad*, or *Macmillan repudiating the thing*. (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186)
- (8) ... yet by *its being ruined in the most needful*, it is become impassable. (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186)

Examples (5) – (8) bear a considerable resemblance when compared with the adverbial participial *-ing* clauses under (1) – (4), particularly the augmented FAs and ACs, in that they occur either without (5) – (6) or with (7) – (8) an overt subject (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186). Upon closer inspection, however, they seem to have a nominal rather than participial character, with the key and sole determinant of their gerundial classification being the word class of the augmentor present in all instances of (5) – (8) (Kortmann, 1995, p. 200). To be more specific, “AVGs are augmented (i.e. subordinated) by prepositions instead of conjunctions or conjunctive prepositions” (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186) and, as such, their augmentor is obligatory and cannot be deleted (Van de Pol, 2019, p. 11). Furthermore, AVGs also represent a clause of their own which is separated from their matrix, much like FAs and ACs, by an intonational break and a comma in speech and writing, respectively. Another differentiator is that their overt subject may take the genitive case, as in (8) (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 186). Further discussion on discerning AVGs from FAs is provided in section 3.4.3. This paper follows Fonteyn & Pol (2016) in including AVGs in this study, as we acknowledge them as being a part of the adverbial *ing*-clause network since they “exhibit parallel semantic and pragmatic behaviour” to adverbial participles (Kortmann, 1995, p. 201).

While this thesis is concerned exclusively with the *-ing* structural type of free adjunct, neither FAs nor AVGs and ACs need always be headed by a verb in the present participle form. Other possibilities include past participles, infinitives, or non-verbal heads such as noun phrases, prepositional phrases, adjectival phrases, and adverbial phrases (see, for example,

Kortmann, 1991 for a detailed discussion). Those, however, will be exempt from the present enquiry, as they only account for a small minority (Kortmann, 1995, p. 194).

Returning briefly to the issue of the manifest ‘loose integration’ within the main clause as being typical of adverbial *-ing* clauses, both FAs and ACs are predominantly, though not always consistently, set off from the main clause by punctuation marks, such as commas or, infrequently, dashes, in writing and by an intonational break in speaking, signalling the information carried by the clauses as subordinate (Biber et al., 1999, p. 201; Donaldson, 2021, p. 9; Kortmann, 1995, p. 189). It is indeed the intonational break that may help in discerning a FA from a present participial verbal complement, a construction bearing a close resemblance to FAs; for example, *They sat drinking tea and nibbling biscuits* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 15), or *He stood watching the people in the library* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 15). Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated in section 7.2.3, parallel observations regarding loose integration cannot be made for AVGs with consistency.

Having now briefly introduced the phenomena under study, a few cautionary remarks regarding the use of varying terminology in the linguistic literature seem necessary. Numerous terms have been used to denote ACs and, in particular, FAs: ‘participial adverbial clauses’ (Givón, 1993), ‘supplementive clauses’ (Biber et al., 2021; Quirk et al., 1985), ‘converb clauses’ (Killie & Swan, 2009), ‘detached participial clauses’ (Thompson, 1983) and, finally, ‘free adjuncts’ (Kortmann, 1991; Stump, 1985) to name but a few. In fact, each term proposed in the literature seems to have some deficiency or other, rendering the employment of unified terminology in the field fraught with difficulties (Kortmann, 1991).

Following Kortmann (1991) and Fonteyn & Pol (2016), this study henceforth adopts the terms *free adjunct* (FA), *absolute construction* (AC), and *adverbial verbal gerund* (AVG) so as to circumvent confusing and divergent use of terminology. The proposed terms are deemed both precise and, most importantly, well-established to warrant their use. Moreover, the cover term ‘adverbial *-ing* clauses’ will be used to subsume all three structural types of *-ing* clauses. The rationale behind the choice of this particular cover term is threefold: (i) to exclude heads of FAs, ACs, and AVGs other than the present participle for the former two and a gerund for the latter (i.e. the infinitive, past participle, and other non-verbal heads); (ii) to ensure that both present participial and perfect participial (having V-ed) FAs are included, and (iii) to stress the adverbial function these constructions serve.

The following sections will address the phenomena at hand in more detail.

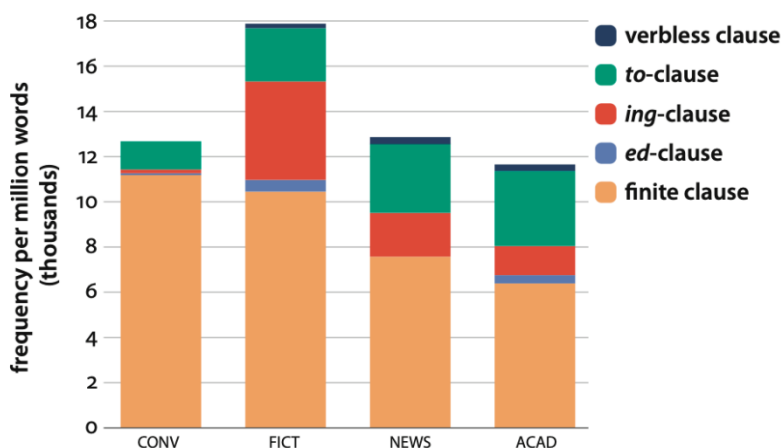


### 3. Adverbial *-ing* clauses: inherent aspects

This section discusses the following inherent aspects of *-ing* clauses: 3.1 Frequency, 3.2 Position, 3.3 Subject control, and 3.4 Augmentation.

#### 3.1. Frequency

Data regarding the distribution of adverbial *-ing* clauses in newspaper register, particularly diachronically comparing two different points in time, have so far been relatively scant. Studies comparing the frequency of the above-adduced phenomena across registers (Biber et al. (2021) and Kortmann (1995)), point out that they are disfavoured in conversation and heavily text-dependent in terms of their frequency of use in written registers (Figure 1 below). Contrary to the popular belief, adverbial *-ing* clauses do not seem to be sensitive to *formal-informal* distinction to such a degree as expected; rather, based on the data presented below as well as on Kortmann (1995), it is the *depictive* versus *non-depictive* nature of the text that has the most significant bearing on their frequency of use, with FAs and ACs being as many as 2-3 times more frequent in depictive writing than in the other two non-depictive written registers, newspapers, and academic prose (Kortmann, 1995, p. 191).



**Figure 1** *Frequencies of syntactic forms of circumstance adverbial clauses*  
(Biber et al., 2021, p. 818)

In light of the above, this study will examine, among other things, the frequency of adverbial *-ing* clauses in newspaper reports. The rationale behind the choice of this sub-register is attributable to its similarity with narrative, in that it serves a more depictive role than other newspaper sub-registers, and as such, can be expected to exhibit a higher frequency of adverbial *-ing* clauses. Further, recent studies have indicated a surge in sentence condensation using non-finite adverbial clauses (i.e. Malá, 2010, p. 81, 2012, pp. 250–251, 2017, pp. 163–

164). This increase over the course of the 20th century was observed in registers of fiction, newspapers, and academic prose. Therefore, a higher employment of adverbial *-ing* clauses may be expected in the 2023 online reports compared to the reports of 1953.

### 3.2. Position

Traditionally, it has been argued that FAs, as well as ACs and AVGs, assume three main positions relative to the superordinate clause in a given sentence: initial, medial, and final (Kortmann, 1991, p. 9; Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1125). According to Fonteyn & Pol (2016, p. 198), initial position, effectively, means that the *-ing* clause occupies a pre-verbal and pre-subject slot. *-Ing* clauses in initial position can occur either at the absolute beginning of a sentence (9a) or after a conjunction connecting two combined clauses (9b).

#### A. Initial position

- (9) (a) *Speaking to journalists on Tuesday*, Vladimir Putin’s spokesperson, Dmitry Peskov, said: “I will say from the start, I will not comment on the story about Kadyrov’s son ... I don’t want to.” (B2a)
- (b) The results of Mr Churchill's conversations with Mr Eisenhower (he was still only President-designate) were reported to the Foreign Office, **but being private conversations with a President who had not yet assumed office**, they could not be divulged. (A7h)

Following the practice of Fuhre (2010, pp. 23–24), we classify any position between the subject and the last obligatory sentence element in a clause as medial position. Typically, the medial position covers slots after the subject of the matrix but before the matrix verb (10a). However, there are also instances when the adjunct separates the matrix verb from its object (10b).

#### B. Medial position

- (10) (a) Attacks on logistics sites, *using long-range missiles or drones*, are considered critical to Ukrainian effort, to degrade Russia’s ability to resist. (B20d)
- (b) General Sir Brian Robertson, Commander-in-Chief Middle East Land Forces, who has been visiting Kenya to obtain a first-hand report on the situation, said *before leaving yesterday* that it would be a mistake to hand over the administration of justice to military authorities in the present emergency. (A6a)

*-Ing* clauses in the final position are adjuncts occupying either the absolute end of a sentence (11a) or a detached clause-final slot of their respective matrix (11b) (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 198). Simply put, the final position refers to positions after the last obligatory clause constituent of the respective matrix.

### C. Final position

- (11) (a) Their party has set about gerrymandering ruthlessly, *deliberately depressing the vote*. (B3c)
- (b) The government hijacked the Electoral Commission, *putting it under its own control*, so it is no longer the independent invigilator of party finances or of fair election administration, or the keeper of key electoral data and issuer of penalties for electoral wrongdoing. (B3f)

Biber et al. (1999, p. 831) assert that the vast majority of *-ing* clauses occupy the final position and thus refer to it as the unmarked position. This may be in line with the findings of Kortmann's (1991) study, where the majority of *-ing* clauses appear in final position (Figure 2 below). However, the position of adverbial *-ing* clauses, after all, always stems from an interplay of various factors, as will be demonstrated later.

	Free adjuncts (n = 1412)	Unaugmented absolutes (n = 147)	Augmented absolutes (n = 122)	Total (n = 1681)
initial	32.2%	8.2%	21.3%	29.3%
medial	6.9%	2.7%	3.3%	6.3%
final	60.9%	89.1%	75.4%	64.4%

**Figure 2** Position of FAs and ACs (taken from Kortmann, 1995, p. 205)

Based on his account of adverbial *-ing* clauses, Kortmann (1995, p. 228) points out that FAs and ACs seem to differ in terms of their distribution in a sentence. While ACs almost exclusively follow their matrix, FAs are considerably more flexible in terms of their positioning, allowing them to be placed in the initial or medial position much more readily than the absolutes. However, these observed disparities in different positional preferences of FAs and ACs are far from haphazard, as suggested by research on position-dependent discourse functions of adverbial clauses, claiming that sentence-initial adverbial clauses serve a frame-setting function for the following propositions as well as providing far-backward-reaching referential and thematic links (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, pp. 196–197; Kortmann, 1991, 1995). On the other hand, sentence-final adverbial clauses have been postulated to serve as afterthoughts on the clauses they immediately follow, thus providing additional information (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, pp. 196–197; Kortmann, 1995).

Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 197) summarise that, in light of the above findings, pre-posed adverbial clauses will express more informative semantic relations (reason, condition, concession, manner, instrument, purpose, and temporal relations), whereas sentence-final

adverbial clauses will have the tendency to express the least informative semantic relations (exemplification, specification, addition, and elaboration). Therefore, the different preferences towards the positioning of FAs and ACs can be traced, as postulated, to their typical functions: while absolutes would qualify for prototypical afterthoughts expressing ‘weaker’ semantic relations and would thus prefer the final position, FAs, typically better suited to conveying more informative and more conventional semantic relations, lend themselves more easily to expressing frame-setting functions and hence occur more frequently in the sentence-initial position (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 197; Kortmann, 1995, p. 229).

Our point in saying this is not to suggest that the majority of FAs occur in the initial position, as can be seen from Kortmann’s (1991, 1995) data. It is merely to state that FAs, as distinct from ACs, have a higher likelihood of occurring in the initial position. Their most frequent positioning is, however, final, where FAs, like ACs, tend to express ‘weaker’ semantic relations with their matrices of which *quasi-coordination* is a typical feature (see 4.2.1.1 for more detail). The data regarding the positional preferences of AVGs can be found in Section 7.2.2 (Afanaseva, 2021). Our analysis will examine the position of adverbial *-ing* clauses in relation to the semantic roles associated with them.

### 3.3. Subject control

In FAs and AVGs, unlike ACs, the subject is commonly left unexpressed; thus, we assume, under the normal attachment rule (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1121), its co-referentiality with the subject of the respective matrix clause. In other words, we may say that “the missing subject is controlled by the subject of the main clause” with which it is identical (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 1266). Such cases are often termed *related adjuncts* and constitute the majority (over 90%) of all cases in Kortmann’s (1991) survey. Consider example (5).

(12) I lay on my bed, *tossing restlessly*. (Dušková et al., 2012, p. 583)

Here, the subject of the FA, although not overtly present, is identical to that of its matrix: it was *I* in the matrix clause who was tossing restlessly.

#### 3.3.1. Unattached and dangling participles

Contrary to what has been asserted above, there are instances in which the unexpressed subject can be neither identified with the subject of the superordinate clause nor ascertained from the context. Such FAs are commonly called *dangling, unattached, or unrelated participles* (Kortmann, 1991) and are either frowned upon or deemed completely unacceptable by

prescriptive grammarians and more conservative usage manuals (Biber et al., 1999, p. 829; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 209; Quirk et al., 1985, pp. 1121–1122). Nevertheless, before passing judgement on whether a certain unattached clause is permissible or not, it is of crucial importance to realise that not all dangling participles are equally (un)acceptable as well as (un)related.

Commenting on unattached participles, Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1123) point out that “the acceptability of unattached clauses perhaps varies according to how easily the particular hearer or reader can perceive the implied subject.” This view is in accordance with that of Kortmann’s (1991, p. 8), who added that there might be an element other than the subject of the matrix providing insights into what the underlying subject of the FA may be. Hence, the (un)acceptability and (un)relatedness of unrelated FAs are not simple binary divisions (i.e. acceptable/unacceptable and related/unrelated); rather, they are a matter of degree. To illustrate this, we consider the following examples.

(13) *Driving to Chicago that night*, a sudden thought struck me. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1121)

(14) \**Reading the evening newspaper*, a dog started barking. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1122)

In (13), the subject is presumably, although not explicitly stated, *I*. However, it is the personal pronoun *me* in the direct object slot that hints at the identity of the subject of the *-ing* clause, rendering the sentence clearly understandable and thus unacceptable and unrelated to a comparably lesser extent than in example (14). Although raising the ire of many prescriptivist manuals, FAs such as those in (13) are relatively common and, more importantly, clearly understandable (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 8–9). Thus, the term *unattached participle* or *unrelated FA* is used (Kortmann, 1991, p. 9; Quirk et al., 1985). On the other hand, in (14), there is no overt marking whatsoever as to who the implied subject of the FA may be. Moreover, taken literally under the normal attachment rule, the sentence would suggest a rather preposterous interpretation: that of the dog’s reading the evening newspaper. Therefore, in comparison with (13), the sentence in (14) would be deemed almost inconceivable and would therefore warrant the employment of the term *dangling participle* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 9).

### 3.3.2. Kortmann’s theory of control of unrelated free adjuncts

Adhering to the approach taken by Kortmann (1991), the analysis of unrelated *-ing* clauses can be carried out based on factors which preclude or permit the search for the controller of the subject of the FA ( $S_{FA}$ ). According to Kortmann (1991, p. 64, 1995, p. 206), three groups of unrelated FAs can be distinguished:

1. FAs with ‘zero control’, i.e. lacking a controller other than the “dummy *it*”
2. FAs with an identifiable, although covert, controller, e.g. indefinite pronouns *one/you*, the speaker/author *I/we* or the hearer/reader *you*
3. FAs with a controller recoverable from the matrix clause or the context

Categories 1. and 2. are traditionally subsumed under examples where the attachment rule is either loosened or does not apply at all, rendering the search for the controller within the matrix or in the immediate co-text fruitless. In other words, some FAs “dangle in a conventionalised way: the hearer expects them to dangle and is not bothered by the dangling” (Donaldson, 2021, p. 99). Meanwhile, category 3. encompasses instances where the  $S_{FA}$  is not identical to the subject of the matrix ( $S_M$ ) but is to be retrieved either from the respective matrix or the co-text, thereby encouraging the reader to pursue in their search. These three categories will now be addressed in turn, paying particular attention to the second one.

### 3.3.2.1. Zero-control

Extremely rare and archaic, the implied  $S_{FA}$  (15) or  $S_{AC}$  (16) manifesting ‘zero control’ may be presumed to be an indefinite pronoun or “dummy” *it* (Quirk et al., 1985). This type of FA exhibits rigid invariability with regard to both its form, that is, *being* + subject complement, and function, which is analogous to *since it is/was* (Malá, 2004, p. 73).

(15) *Being Christmas*, the government offices were closed. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1122)

(16) ... *it being ten o'clock*, the debate soon adjourned. (Malá, 2004, p. 73)

### 3.3.2.2. Covert controller

The first sub-group of covert control comprises disjuncts, subjuncts, and conjuncts, adverbials that manifest a different, more peripheral syntactic degree of integration into the superordinate clause. While typical adjuncts are integrated into the superordinate clause, disjuncts, subjuncts, and conjuncts are “syntactically non-integrated in the sentence structure, expressing the attitude of the speaker” (Malá, 2009, p. 50). In such cases, the implied subject is not co-referential with the  $S_M$  to which it is attached, but is commonly identified with the speaker or writer, the authorial *I/we* (Malá, 2008, p.74; Quirk et al., 1985; Šaldová & Malá, 2009, p. 178).

By employing style disjuncts (17), the speaker seeks to voice comments on the style, content, or form of the utterance (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 615; Šaldová & Malá, 2009, p. 178). Typically, style disjuncts tend to have a conventional form: *-ly* adverb + *speaking*, with the

most common adverbs being *strictly, broadly, generally, roughly*, etc. (Malá, 2004, p. 74; Šaldová & Malá, 2009, p. 178). Other forms may include *putting x (more precisely)* and *judging by (our experience)* (Šaldová & Malá, 2009, p. 178).

(17) *Generally speaking*, cats prefer fish to meat. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 51)

Viewpoint subjuncts (18), on the other hand, comment on the point of view taken by the speaker or writer and can be paraphrased by “if we consider what we are saying from an [adjective] point of view” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 568). Their form is the same as that of style disjuncts, i.e. *-ly* adverb + *speaking*. Therefore, it is not surprising that style disjuncts and viewpoint subjuncts have been described as fixed patterns exhibiting predictable and conventional behaviour.

(18) *But historically speaking*, this reverence for language is deeply ingrained and persistent. (Malá, 2004, p. 74)

Finally, *-ing* clauses may assume the status of (near-)conjuncts (19, 20) which primarily serve a textual function, indicating and facilitating the organisation of the text and navigating the reader (Malá, 2008, p. 55, 2009, p. 51; Šaldová & Malá, 2009, p. 179). Typical of *-ing* conjuncts are specific semantic classes of verbs: “verbs of speaking (*having said that, having talked about, before talking, speaking of*), perception and cognition (*looking (back/at), regarding, thinking*), or verbs of motion used metaphorically (*coming back, going back/to, moving on to/towards, starting (with), skipping, continuing, leaving aside, working down*)” (Malá, 2009, p. 52). This utilisation of *-ing* clauses as conjuncts was likewise observed by Dušková et al. (2012, p. 584), noting that in academic and scientific writing in particular, unattached participles have become highly frequent and recurrent, so much so that they are now ‘tolerated’ and institutionalised in these registers.

(19) *so, um starting starting with epidemiologists* they construct risk in a in a way that seems very solid, to them, they take the data and they analyze it in a particular way. (Malá, 2008, p. 55)

(20) *Dealing firstly with the similarities between this and the student reconstructions*, it is noticeable that [...]. (Šaldová & Malá, 2009, p. 179)

Contributing to the cohesion of the text, lexicalised de-participial secondary prepositions and conjunctions (e.g. *concerning, according to, assuming that, including, regarding, considering, providing*, etc.) are likewise not subject to the attachment rule, as they can be neither considered adverbials nor associated with the S<sub>M</sub> in the first place (Donaldson, 2021;

Malá & Šaldová, 2015). As Kortmann (1991, p. 52) puts it: “[they] can be regarded as overt signals of the fact that the underlying subject need not even be looked for.” In fact, they do not permit a subject at all since, having been recategorized into conjunctions and prepositions, they are not to be understood as predicates of non-finite clauses (Malá, 2004, p. 75). Donaldson (2021, pp. 37–39) provided a comprehensive list of deverbal prepositions, accounting for their most frequent use.

(21) *Considering its cost*, this machine is not worth buying. (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1123)

### 3.3.2.3. Recoverable controller

The factors subsumed in this last group do not impede the search for the controller of the underlying  $S_{FA}$ , and thus entice the reader to search for it. While not co-referential with the  $S_M$ , the controller can still be retrieved from elsewhere in the matrix or from the co-text.

The first type includes the anticipatory *it*, the ‘prop’ *it*, and existential *there* as the overt subject. Importantly, these subjects occur only with *be* as their predicate (Malá, 2004, p. 77), for example, *Driving at a speed of 100 m.p.h., it is not easy to read the road signs.* or *Looking out of the window, there were the flower beds in the front garden.* (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 54–55).

The second type involves incompatibility, or ‘semantic clash’, between the  $S_M$  and the covert  $S_{FA}$ ; the  $S_M$  is simply ruled out as the underlying subject of the *-ing* clause on “inherent semantic grounds” (Kortmann, 1991, p. 58). To illustrate, the following sentence exhibits a clash between an inanimate matrix subject and a head that demands a human agent: *Walking down the boardwalk, a tall building came into view.* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 59).

The third, important, type pertains to the location of the underlying  $S_{FA}$  outside the complex sentence, particularly in the preceding co-text. Consider the following sentence: *Having communicated my wishes to my wife, the next morning the poor girl entered my apartment.* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 61). While rare, such instances serve to remind us that when searching for the subject, it is not sufficient to limit our search to only the matrix clause or entire sentence. Instead, a broader perspective is required (Malá, 2004).

Further, and connected to the previous type, the interpretation of the  $S_{FA}$  as co-referent with the  $S_M$  may be distorted by the knowledge of the world, the nature of things, and perfectly ordinary everyday activities of the interpreter: *Having paid our bill, the waiter brought our hats.* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 62).



Lastly, the position of the *-ing* clause seems to play a role in the preclusion of matrix subject control. If there are more possible controllers, i.e. elements of the matrix which may exert control over the  $S_{FA}$ , the nearest tends to be chosen as the logical one (Kortmann, 1991). Consider the changes in meaning once the word order has been reversed: *After taking an overdose he told his neighbour what he had done...* and *He told his neighbour after taking an overdose what he had done...* (Malá, 2004, p. 79).

### 3.3.3. Absolute constructions

*-Ing* participial adverbial clauses with an overt (i.e. explicit) subject that is non-co-referential with the  $S_M$  (e.g. (22) and (23)) are termed absolute clauses, absolute constructions, or absolutes for short (Dušková et al., 2012, p. 585; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, p. 327; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 1265; Kortmann, 1991, p. 5; Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1120). Consider the constructions below where the noun phrases in bold type function as the explicit subjects of the subordinate *-ing* clauses, therefore not being subjected to the normal attachment rule whereby the subject of the matrix would be presumed identical to that of the *-ing* clause.

(22) He led the way down the slope, **his shadow stretching behind him on the grass** (Dušková et al., 2012, p. 585)

(23) **His hands gripping the door**, he let out a volley of curses. (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 1265).

Absolute clauses are “not explicitly bound to the matrix clause syntactically” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1120), but what marks them as subordinate is their form, which is non-finite. Such constructions, apart from a few stereotypical phrases, are characterised by their relative infrequency and high degree of formality, thus being mainly indicative of formal written language (Dušková et al., 2012, p. 585; Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1120). Similar to FAs, absolutes may also appear with augmentation. Typically introduced by preposition-like items, absolutes, as opposed to FAs as well as AVGs, have far more severely limited options for their augmentors, the most frequent ones being *with*, *without*, marginally in colloquial English *what with*, and *and*, a feature typical of Irish English (Kortmann, 1991, p. 194). More light will be shed on the augmentation of ACs in the next section.

Though ACs whose subject would be fully co-referential with the  $S_M$  occur only sporadically (Malá, 2004, p. 81), Kortmann (1991, p. 91) makes the case that in  $S_{AC}$  there often exists a “referential relation their denotations may bear to the denotations of matrix constituents or, more generally, of constituents in the surrounding linguistic material” (Kortmann, 1991, p.

91). In other words, there may be a degree of attachment between the S<sub>AC</sub> and an element in the matrix clause. Preferring and following Malá's (2004) threefold classification of the degrees of co-reference between the S<sub>AC</sub> and the subject of its matrix, we recognize three main types: no co-reference, partial co-reference, and full co-reference. They will now be considered in turn.

The first type constitutes ACs where the relationship between the S<sub>AC</sub> and the S<sub>M</sub>, or indeed any other element, is completely non-co-referential (24), nor is there any co-reference with the whole sentence or the immediate context (Malá, 2004, p. 84).

(24) This involves combined action by hospital providers, who have fulfilled their contracts *with a quarter of the year remaining*, and general practitioners, ... (Malá, 2004, p. 84)

Moving now to the full co-reference relationship, it typically comprises cases where the S<sub>AC</sub> is fully co-referential with a matrix clause element (commonly other than the subject). Malá (2004, p. 82) notes that full co-reference may be achieved by reiteration, choice of a synonym, or substitution by a pro-form. Further, she goes on to adduce a common type of co-reference, one where "The antecedent of the absolute's subject in the matrix clause denotes a set of referents, and the pronominal subject of the absolute refers either to the set as a whole ... or to its members individually" (Malá, 2004, p. 82). In (25), *both* refers to *two cases of non-Hodgkin lymphoma*, and in (26), *each group* refers back to *six groups of undergraduate students*. There may also be full co-reference between the S<sub>AC</sub> and the preceding or following sentence, as in (27).

(25) In Seascale there were two cases of non-Hodgkin lymphoma, *both occurring at ages 55-64*. (Malá, 2004, p. 82)

(26) The cards were then presented to six groups of undergraduate students, *each group containing four or five members*. (Malá, 2004, p. 82)

(27) 'They' is normally used anaphorically .... That is to say, it usually refers 'backwards', *anaphora being the type of cohesive relation which points to some earlier*, fuller reference in the text. (Malá, 2004, p. 82)

Lastly, instances of partial co-reference comprise instances where paradigmatic sense relations (other than synonymy) hold between the S<sub>AC</sub> and its antecedent (Malá, 2004, p. 83). As the most frequent ones, Malá (2004, p. 83) lists part/individual-whole relations (28), part-whole relations (29), and hyponymy (30).

(28) Jail sentences of eighteen months each were meted out to five of them, *with the sixth (the only woman) receiving twelve months*. (Malá, 2004, p. 83)

(29) Most cutters engage in the behaviour on several occasions, *some cutting themselves hundreds of times altogether*. (Malá, 2004, p. 83)

(30) There is also evidence of slower acquisition of language and, in the school years, a higher frequency of learning difficulties and behavioural disturbance - *hyper activity, anxiety, and poor concentration being prominent features*. (Malá, 2004, p. 83)

### 3.4. Augmentation

#### 3.4.1. Augmentation of free adjuncts

Although FAs predominantly occur without an overt sign of subordination, and they are thus linked to their matrix asyndetically, they may be introduced by a subordinator. Kortmann's (1991) comprehensive analysis concluded that augmented free adjuncts accounted for only a small minority (5.5% of his data). The overt marking of subordination, typically called augmentation, is conducive to the semantic analysis of the adverbial *-ing* clause, as it specifies, or implies, the semantic relation between the particular subordinate clause and its matrix (Kortmann, 1991, p. 196). Quirk et al. (1985) list the following possible subordinators for *-ing* participle clauses as follows: *although, as if, as though, even if, if, once, though, unless, until, when, whenever, whether... or, while, whilst*.

In his monograph, Kortmann (1991, p. 196) suggested that adjuncts with optional augmentation predominantly express four semantic relations: (i) same time or simultaneity (e.g. *when, while*), (ii) anteriority/posteriority (e.g. *after, since, once, before*), (iii) contrast/concession (e.g. *yet, though, whilst*), and (iv) condition (e.g. *if*). Further, the total number of realised augmentation differs substantially across all four categories, particularly the first three. While only about 4.5% of free adjuncts of the 'same time' category were actually augmented, significantly higher percentages of realised augmentation were observed for the 'anteriority/posteriority' and 'contrast/concession' categories, with the percentages amounting to 16.9% and 30.2%, respectively.

This observation led Kortmann to the conclusion that "the more difficult the addresser believes the identification of the intended interpretation to be, the more likely is it that he/she marks it by some lexical item conventionally linked to the expression of the respective relation." (Kortmann, 1991, p. 196). This postulate is corroborated by Fonteyn & Pol (2016, p. 204), who showed that cognitive complexity is positively correlated with an increase in the need for augmentation. Additionally, Bäcklund (1984) suggested that, in Kortmann's terms, the most informative semantic relations, particularly concessive relations, manifest the highest proportion of augmentation in FAs. Put another way, the more informative and the higher the

complexity of a given proposition expressed by a FA, the higher the likelihood of its being introduced by certain means of augmentation, the motivation being the facilitation of the inference of a particular semantic relation in question by the reader.

Consider examples (31) and (32) from Kortmann (1991, p. 197):

(31) But Mr. Mwinyi's reform program, *while showing progress*, is moving slowly, ...

(32) But Mr. Mwinyi's reform program, *showing progress*, is moving slowly, ...

The subordinating conjunction *while* in (31) aids in clarifying the intended contrastive-concessive semantic relation between the subordinate and the matrix clause. By contrast, such a semantic relation would be considerably more troublesome to infer from (32).

### 3.4.2. Augmentation of absolute constructions

Turning now to the augmentation of ACs as introduced in the previous chapter, their most frequent augmentor is *with*, with the others paling into insignificance in terms of their frequency (Kortmann, 1991, p. 199; Malá, 2005c, p. 121). In contrast to FAs and AVGs, for which augmentation was shown to play a vital role in imposing a particular semantic role upon FAs, *with*-augmentation in ACs does not appear to be linked with a particular semantic interpretation (Kortmann, 1991; Malá, 2005c, p. 121; Quirk et al., 1985; Stump, 1985). In fact, Stump (1985, p. 13) goes as far as to say that *with*-augmented ACs “are as semantically variable as ‘unaugmented’ absolutes...” This is consistent with the data obtained by van de Pol & Hoffmann (2016, p. 319), who refer to it as ‘semantic bleaching’ of *with*-augmented ACs, *with* now serving, primarily, as a mere syntactic marker facilitating processing. Should the author indeed wish to specify the intended semantics of the absolute, then, as pointed out by Kortmann (1991, p. 202), they need to resort to other lexical items such as connective adverbs.

The apparent opacity of *with*-ACs notwithstanding, an analysis of *with*-augmented absolutes across registers carried out by Malá (2005c) demonstrated that *with*-absolutes operate, after all, with a certain level of uniformity in terms of their semantics, expressing predominantly (66% of the data) ‘weak’ (i.e. less informative) semantic relations, namely Accompanying Circumstance, Exemplification, Explanation, Manner, and Temporal Simultaneity. Furthermore, Malá concluded that *with*-augmented ACs convey more informative semantic relations only infrequently, with the exception of Reason, which was relatively common in all registers studied.

### 3.4.3. Augmentation of adverbial verbal gerunds

The augmentation of AVGs is an obligatory and integral part of the construction, differentiating them from FAs and ACs (Van de Pol, 2019, p. 12). Note, however, that it seems disputable whether with regard to AVGs, we can talk of their being augmented, which somehow suggests their superiority over the augmentor, or whether the AVGs function essentially as mere complements of their augmentors, that is, prepositions, as they cannot operate without them. Nonetheless, augmented AVGs exhibit behaviour similar to augmented FAs in that the augmentor severely restricts their semantic analysis. In other words, it imposes a particular semantic interpretation on the AVGs. Since AVGs differ from augmented FAs only by the word class of the subordinator, the distinction between these gerundial and participial constructions may sometimes be fraught with difficulties (Stump, 1985). Drawing on Stump (1985, pp. 11–13) and Kortmann (1995, pp. 199–201), let us consider the following examples:

(33) *When fighting in France* he was taken prisoner. (Stump, 1985, p. 11)

(34) *After leaving Interstate 75*, I noticed a sign on a roadside eating place ... (Stump, 1985, p. 11)

(35) *On learning of the decision*, his first reaction had been surprise. (Kortmann, 1995, p. 200)

Judging these *-ing* constructions by (i) their ‘loose integration’ within their matrix, (ii) the fact that their covert subject needs to be recovered from the matrix they precede, and (iii) their obvious adverbial function within the sentences, there is no difference among the individual constructions under (33) – (35) at all (Kortmann, 1995, p. 200). However, a glance at the augmenting element present in all instances suggests manifest differences. If introduced by true subordinating conjunctions, as in (33), the *-ing* head of the construction is considered participial and, correspondingly, a FA (Stump, 1985). Other examples of such subordinators include, e.g., *although*, *as though*, *while*, *if* etc. What qualifies them as true subordinating conjunctions is that they may be complemented by a finite clause but not by non-predicative noun phrases, while the augmenting elements in (34) and (35) can, marking their status as clearly prepositional (Stump, 1985). Thus, sentences (34) and (35) would be classified as AVGs. Kortmann (1995, p. 200), however, points out that augmenting elements such as *after* (34), *before*, and *since* can take both non-predicative noun phrases and finite clauses as complements, leading to their somewhat ambiguous nature. The gerund-participle classification of the constructions introduced by elements whose reading is ambiguous between a conjunction and a preposition is therefore arbitrary and constitutes an intermediate step

between FAs and AVGs (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016; Kortmann, 1991; van de Pol, 2019). This categorisation is rejected by Donaldson (2021, p. 75), making the case that complementation differences do not warrant different categorisation. The present thesis, however, follows Kortmann (1995) in classifying *-ing* clauses of type *after* as AVGs based purely on syntactic grounds. Some other prepositions capable of heading AVGs include: *before*, *after*, *with*, *without*, *in*, *on*, *by*, *as*, and *despite*.

## **4. Semantic interpretation of *-ing* clauses**

A great deal of research on *-ing* clauses has focused on the specifically indicated semantic relations, or on the lack of specificity thereof, between the *-ing* clauses and their matrices. Nonetheless, only a relatively small number of studies have shed light on the relationship between a specific text register and the distribution of typical semantic functions of *-ing* clauses within it; Kortmann (1991) is one of the few exceptions. This thesis seeks to remedy this deficiency, discussing the distribution of interclausal semantic relations within news reports, a register that has not yet been comprehensively characterised from this point of view. This section presents the fundamental issues and assumptions underlying the semantic analysis and interpretation of adverbial *-ing* clauses and the conditions which must be met for them to qualify for a particular semantic reading.

### **4.1. Preliminaries**

#### **4.1.1. Semantic indeterminacy**

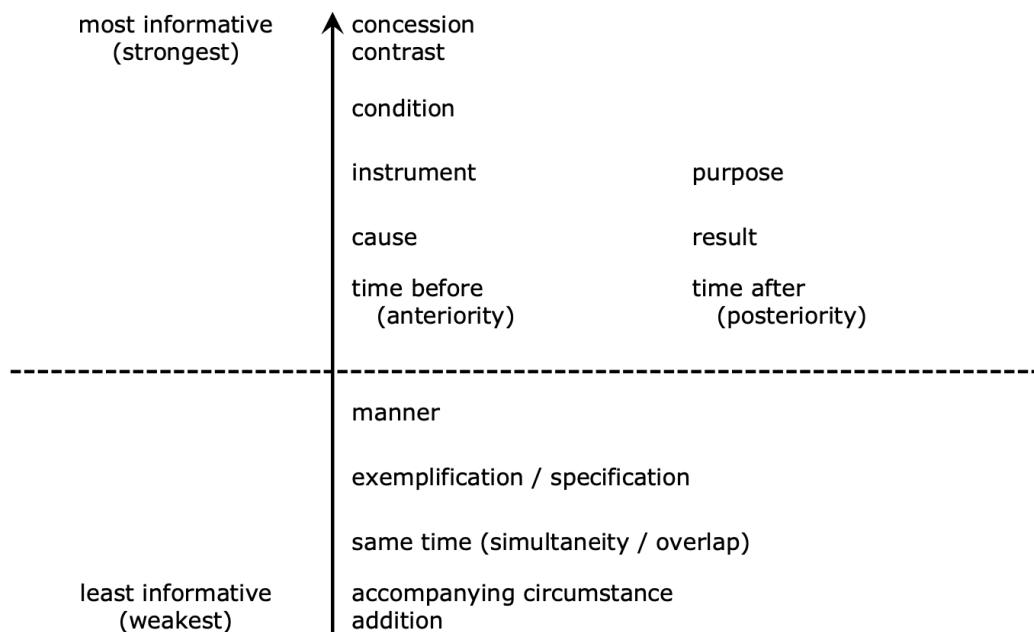
Without any overt marking of a semantic category, non-augmented (i.e. without being introduced by a subordinator) adverbial *-ing* clauses have a somewhat ill-defined relationship with the main clause, resulting in their relative semantic indeterminacy and considerable leeway in terms of interpretation of the interclausal semantic relation by the reader or listener (Biber et al., 1999, p. 201; Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1123). It is this semantic indeterminacy of FAs that leaves it for the reader to infer their particular meaning from the broader context (temporal, conditional, causal, concessive, or circumstantial relationship (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1124)). An element of subjectivity in their semantic analysis is, therefore, to be expected.

Furthermore, their indeterminacy may lend itself readily to misleading conclusions, which may imply that the different readings would be mutually exclusive; however, it is possible for multiple interpretations to be valid simultaneously (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 112–113). Kortmann (1991, p. 113) maintains that it is exactly this indeterminacy of unaugmented

FAs and ACs that translates well into the major reasons for their use, leading to their frequent utilisation not only when the author believes the meaning of the message to be easily recoverable but also to aid them in preserving the relation blurred, either deliberately or out of being oblivious of it themselves.

#### 4.1.2. Kortmann’s scale of informativeness

Arguably, one of Kortmann’s most acclaimed contributions to the problematics of interpretation of FAs and ACs is the inception of his ‘scale of informativeness’. He has proposed an arrangement of semantic roles on a scale from the most informative (the upper end of the spectrum) to the least informative (the lower end) based on the amount of world knowledge or co- or contextual evidence required by the reader to infer a given semantic relation holding between the FA and the matrix. Interestingly, as noted in Section 3.4.1, this has direct implications for the increased demand for augmentation of more informative relations. To illustrate, *-ing* FAs expressing the relation of ‘accompanying circumstance’ require very little additional evidence and information to be identified as such, as they simply



**Figure 3** A scale of informativeness for semantic relations (from Kortmann, 1991, p. 121)

convey the meaning of two situations occurring side by side and concomitantly. Due to these low requirements on the processing and inferencing of the relation, they fall into the ‘less informative’ category and hence occupy the lower end of the scale. By contrast, for the understanding of a FA as concessive, more clues and evidence are required for the reader/hearer

to infer the semantic relation properly; therefore, ‘concession’ is regarded as a ‘the most informative’ relation and sits at the top of the scale. Consider Figure 3 above.

Dividing the scale into more and less informative relations, the dashed horizontal line is of crucial importance; the division is, essentially, one between co-occurrence of events and event succession. Kortmann (1991, p. 121) makes the case that for two propositions (i.e. in this case, the matrix and the dependent *-ing* clause) to be identified as simultaneous, it takes far less knowledge or evidence as opposed to the identification of two events as succeeding each other. Bearing this assumption in mind, it follows that the upper, more informative segment of the scale consists of relations to do with event succession (i.e. anteriority or posteriority), while the lower, less informative section contains semantic relations in which co-occurrence or simultaneity is inherent.

It is vital to note that Kortmann’s scale of informativeness has only been designed to meet the needs of semantic interpretation of present-participial FAs and ACs without the presence of an augmentor or any other lexical hint regarding the nature of the semantic relation holding between the two propositions (Kortmann, 1991, p. 120). As discussed earlier, in augmented FAs, the subordinating conjunction explicates the semantic relation directly, rendering the use of the scale redundant. The same holds true for the AVGs. Conversely, augmented ACs may find this scale helpful because their augmenting elements do not facilitate the interpretation of their semantic role.

## **4.2. Individual semantic relations**

Constituting one of the key points of interest in this thesis, the semantic interpretation of the English *-ing* clause network merits a detailed, in-depth treatment. The semantic relations were grouped into four categories according to their inherent links to time (relations of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority) and their cognitive burden (the ‘CCC’ relations). Such a classification enables us to discern numerous similarities of *-ing* clauses to other relations within the same category, which often impedes their ‘correct’ semantic interpretation, while zeroing in on the defining differences among them. More light will also be thrown on the challenges and pitfalls inherent in their semantic indeterminacy.

### **4.2.1. Relations of temporal simultaneity/overlap**

Let us begin with semantic relations involving the notion of simultaneity or temporal overlap, which are considered to impose by far the least cognitive burden upon the



hearer/reader and are thus classified as the ‘least informative,’ or ‘weakest.’ As will be shortly demonstrated, it may often be a rather laborious process to interpret correctly which particular ‘weak’ semantic relation holds between a matrix and an *-ing* clause as opposed to the other categories presented later. This dilemma may be attributable to the significant overlap of their functions and the subtle, inconspicuous differences in meaning among them, since they only express ‘weak’ relations.

#### 4.2.1.1. Accompanying Circumstance/Addition

In traditional grammars in particular, the semantic relation ‘accompanying circumstance’ (AcC henceforth) often seems to serve as a cover term subsuming all types of semantic relations under its heading. However, in this study, we made a concerted effort to be more precise and specific in our approach. According to Kortmann (1991, p. 169), typical of AcC relation is that “they denote an event/state separate from the event or [...] state in the matrix clause, but do not provide details as to the specific circumstances (i.e. time, causes, conditions etc.) under which the matrix proposition obtains”. The unity of space and, particularly, time plays a key role in the AcC relation (Kortmann, 1991, p. 169). However, as Malá (2005a, p. 93) shrewdly points out, the unity of space and time likewise holds for simultaneity and manner, and, therefore, she suggests that AcC is “more likely to be inferred if the verb in the adjuncts clause is stative” while dynamic verbs, she argues, lend themselves more readily to readings of temporal sequence or simultaneity. Provided by Kortmann (1991, p. 169), the list of states/actions typically expressed by AcC relations is conducive to their identification: postures, facial expressions, thoughts/feelings, details of dressing, states/events relating to perception, sound production, or any kind of movement are all typically expressed by AcC. An additional hint at the semantic analysis of AcC is their position, which is predominately final (Fuhre, 2010; Kortmann, 1991). Consider examples (36) – (38) below, which represent quintessential instances of AcC.

(36) She leaned forward, *widening her pale bright blue give-away impenetrable eyes at him.* (Fuhre, 2010, p. 47)

(37) Next morning I woke at my usual hour, *feeling like a bottle of champagne.* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 170)

(38) The door opened and Skullion came in, *holding his bowler hat in one hand.* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 170)

It is easily observable in all examples above that the matrices and their respective *-ing* clauses do not denote the same event/state. In addition, the *-ing* clauses merely express a state (37) or

an event (36), (38) that simply runs parallel to whatever is happening in the matrix clause, a feature indicative of the AcC relation.

Lacking a conjunction that would overtly signal the AcC relation, English must resort to using paratactic means, i.e. *and*-coordinated or juxtaposed declarative finite clauses, to paraphrase the AcC *-ing* clauses (Kortmann, 1991, p. 169, 1995, p. 217). This often gives rise to the view that the AcC relation, much like Exemplification/Specification, is felt to somewhat defy the standard syntactic and semantic aspects indicative of other semantic relations. More precisely, they do not represent prototypical subordinated clauses; rather, they seem to constitute an intermediate layer between subordination and coordination. Hence, the term *quasi*-coordinated clauses has been used by some authors (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016; Killie & Swan, 2009).

#### 4.2.1.2. Simultaneity

Many situations may arise when one is on the fence as to whether a particular *-ing* clause should receive an AcC reading or that of Simultaneity (S) as the two semantic relations are strikingly similar, especially without the presence of an augmenting element. Both S and AcC have in common the same-time entailment and the fact that the matrix and the *-ing* clause refer to different events; however, what marks AcC off from S is that the former does not provide any hints whatsoever at the temporal reference of the two propositions. In other words, the two propositions are only viewed as coexisting and can thus be paraphrased by means of *and*-coordination or juxtaposition (Kortmann, 1991, p. 169). The latter, on the other hand, can be paraphrased by conjunctions *while* and *when*, clearly indicating their more specific temporal undertone and leading to their classification as S relations (Kortmann, 1991, 1995). Moreover, as Malá (2005a, p. 93) points out, S is typically denoted by dynamic verbs, whereas AcC is denoted by stative verbs. Consider the above account against the example given below:

(39) ... so that I can say, *searching through a tin of needles for a number 9*, either: ... (Malá, 2005a, p. 93)

#### 4.2.1.3. Exemplification/Specification

A clause with the interpretation of Exemplification/Specification (Ex/Sp) serves as a detail-adding device for the proposition expressed by the matrix, resulting in its better understanding, clarification, or refinement (Kortmann, 1991, p. 167) It follows then that the event/state expressed by Ex/Sp has to refer to the same event/state in the matrix, with the Ex/Sp only serving as a further specification of it. This is one of the key dissimilarities between Ex/Sp

and AcC or S. Ex/Sp is typically associated with the final position as well as the preference for expression by unaugmented FAs (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016; Killie & Swan, 2009). Moreover, the distinction between the Manner reading and that of Ex/Sp may sometimes be blurred; nevertheless, more often than not, the Ex/Sp relation may easily be paraphrased by way of expressions such as *for example/e.g., that is/i.e., in that, namely/viz., in particular, more exactly, in fact, indeed* etc. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 167). One further hint at the distinction between the Manner and Ex/Sp reading is that Manner may hold exclusively between propositions denoting events, not states (Kortmann, 1991, p. 124). Consider examples (40) – (42).

(40) ‘So I **wrote** to Cram, **suggesting** a slightly alternative programme ...’ (Kortmann, 1991, p. 167)

(41) ‘..., Mr Nyerere again **attacked** the International Monetary Fund, **calling** it ‘an instrument of the capitalist powers’ ...’ (Kortmann, 1991, p. 167)

(42) On July 4, 1972, a trainer thought he had a sure thing and got a little greedy, *putting an obscure rider on his star 2-year-old colt in the hopes the Aqueduct bettors would be scared off from backing him.* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 168)

All the *-ing* clauses above are in a prototypical Ex/Sp relation with their matrices, referring to the same events as expressed in their matrices (in bold) and elaborating on their meanings further. Remarkably, it can be observed that the verbs in both the matrices and the *-ing* clauses in (40) and (41) seem to be semantically related, an observation made by Malá (2005a, p. 93) as well, saying that “the semantic relation of synonymy and hyponymy is typical also of explanatory adjuncts” which is a term used to refer to Ex/Sp. In (42), Ex/Sp relates to some state in the matrix, effectively ruling out the manner-reading.

#### 4.2.1.4. Manner

One of the most important factors for the semantic interpretation of FAs or ACs as Manner (M henceforth), like in Instrumentality, is that both the dependent clause, i.e. the *-ing* clause, and its matrix, refer to the same event, but not state as opposed to Ex/Sp. Kortmann (1991, p. 166) argues that what marks M off from Instrumentality is that “a manner clause does not identify an instrument or method which is necessary for a successful performance of the activity described in the matrix clause”. In addition, ACs may also receive a M interpretation, whereas the Instrumental relation may only be ascribed to FAs and AVGs (Kortmann, 1991). Furthermore, FAs typically express the manner of going, walking, speaking, changing posture,

or the manner in which a complex operation is to be performed (Kortmann, 1991, p. 166). Consider examples (43) – (45) below which represent prototypical instances of the M relation.

(43) Then **came** the girl ..., *plodding along the pedestrian pathway*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 166)

(44) ... **said** Litvak, *speaking in a voice as soft as his smile*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 166)

(45) This paper began with four questions, which I will now try to answer, *treating them in reverse order*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 166)

The examples above could easily be mistaken for Ex/Sp because they are very similar, particularly in that they also specify the event conveyed by the matrix, making them difficult to distinguish. Malá (2005a, p. 93) points out that “the predicate verbs in the matrix clause and in the manner adjunct are typically in a relation of synonymy or hyponymy”, an observation which we have already noted for the Ex/Sp relation above (cf. ex. 40 and 41). Nevertheless, in contrast to (40) and (41), (43) and (44) manifest a higher degree of synonymy and/or hyponymy between them. On top of that, the latter examples also express the manner of going and speaking, which is typically expressed by M. Still, however, the distinction between M and Ex/Sp continues to pose many challenges since “it is not always possible to draw a sharp dividing line between exemplification/specification and manner” (Kortmann, 1991, p. 124).

#### **4.2.2. Relations of temporal anteriority**

The following section accounts for the relations in which the notion of anteriority is inherent. In contrast to the relations of simultaneity above, identification of the semantic relations presented here do not pose many inconveniences and palavers when it comes to their in-group differentiation because their individual nuances and shades of meaning are more pronounced, enabling easier identification.

##### **4.2.2.1. Anteriority**

Anteriority (Ant) is typically expressed using two constructions: present-participial FAs and perfect-participial FAs. Adhering to the so-called iconicity principle, the vast majority (although not the entirety) of FAs expressing the relation of Ant in Kortmann’s (1991) study were found to occupy the initial position, which is the position preceding their matrix clause, as in (46) and (47). In addition, there is one additional restriction that present-participial FAs need to abide by to qualify for Ant reading: they almost exclusively need to consist of telic predicates, that is, accomplishments or achievements (Kortmann, 1991, p. 146). The ability of

present-participial FAs to express anteriority can be further enhanced when time adverbials are present that would overtly suggest their ‘time-before’ interpretation, as in (47).

(46) *Leaping out of the dark opening at the right*, it ran towards him. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 144)

(47) *Setting sail for the island in the fall of 1740*, he reached his destination in the spring of 1741. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 145)

(48) He went to bed early *having set the alarm clock for seven o'clock* ... (Kortmann, 1991, p. 146)

(49) *With Adam having cleaned the living room*, the family may now resume their evening lounging on the sofa.

Particularly pertinent to the Ant relation is a perfect-participial (having V-ed) construction which almost irrevocably serves this function, giving rise to no ambiguities between simultaneity and anteriority reading whatsoever regardless of whether they occupy the initial position, as in (48) (Kortmann, 1991). Similarly, perfect-participial ACs may express Ant, unlike present-participial ACs which did not express this relation. Consider the constructed example (49). Clearly, such an example may also lend itself readily to causal interpretation. However, as noted by Kortmann (1991), this is true primarily for FAs and ACs in the final position.

#### 4.2.2.2. Cause/Reason

Cause, or Reason, (C/R henceforth) denotes a situation that precedes another situation, which subsequently occurs as a consequence of the earlier situation; that is to say, the resulting situation is (or may be) predicated by an earlier C/R. Owing to this postulate, the C/R relation is treated as one that entails temporal anteriority. Based on Kortmann’s (1991) data, the positions of *-ing* clauses with the C/R reading are primarily initial and, more importantly, final, with the medial position representing an obvious minority. As observed by Fuhre (2010, p. 60) in his thesis enquiring into *-ing* participial clauses in translation, it is predominantly states that express the C/R category, noting that verbs *know*, *feel*, and *see* in particular, as well as copular *being*-adjuncts, exhibit this relation recurrently, as in (50). Furthermore, negated FAs are often, although not exclusively, found to entail causal interpretation (51) (Kortmann, 1991).

(50) *Being very small and very young*, the only power Matilda had over anyone in her family was brain-power. (Fuhre, 2010, p. 61)

(51) Even fiercely competitive hotels aided each other in that kind of crisis, *never knowing when the roles would be reversed*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 175)

#### 4.2.2.3. Instrumentality

The treatment of Instrumentality (I henceforth) as a relation implying temporal anteriority may raise objections. It is believed that an outcome is brought about by having used an instrument prior to its completion, warranting the inherent notion of anteriority, as in (52). Given that the previous assumption was incorrect, I may equally be treated as a relation of simultaneity if the event described in the matrix is ongoing, as in example (53). We shall categorise I as a case of the former, that is, temporal anteriority, and classify it accordingly.

A crucial factor for the interpretation of FAs or ACs as being in a relation of I with their matrix is that both propositions have to refer to the same event. Furthermore, Kortmann (1991, p. 165) adduces three key conditions that must be met in order for the I relation to hold between the matrix and the subordinate clause: (i) same-subject constraint on the propositions involved, effectively brushing aside all ACs from the I interpretation, and (ii) “the predicate in the main clause should not denote an event which is totally determined as to the instrument or method necessary to bring this event about,” for example, chewing and swallowing since it would evidently render the use of the *-ing* clause redundant. Aiding in the semantic analysis of I, a specific semantic class of verbs, such as *use*, *utilise*, or *apply*, is often employed, as in (53).

(52) *Twisting her body sideways*, momentarily she freed herself. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 165)

(53) Now, *using the wire*, he was fashioning a connection between the tube and plastic bag.  
(Kortmann, 1991, p. 165)

Kortmann (1991) also suggests a method to determine whether the I relation holds: the purpose test. If the I relation between the matrix and the dependent clause holds, they may be transformed into sentences with a relation of purpose between the propositions. For instance, sentence (52) may be converted into *She twisted her body sideways (in order) to free herself*.

#### 4.2.3. Relations of temporal posteriority

Similar to the relations discussed prior to this part, the semantics of relations in which the notion of temporal posteriority is an integral part are relatively effortlessly discerned from each other, principally because there are only two such relations.

##### 4.2.3.1. Posteriority

Invariably placed in the end-position, FAs expressing Posteriority (Pos henceforth) are positionally fixed and tend to adhere to the principle of iconicity; that is, the order in which the propositions are presented mirrors the order in which the propositions occurred (Kortmann,

1991). The order in which some events are presented can impact their sequence in some situations. In other words, the word order determines the reader's/hearer's perception of the events as either anterior or posterior (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 152–153). Consider examples (54) and (55). While in the former, the FA follows the matrix and clearly receives a posterior reading, the FA in the latter assumes the initial position, rendering its interpretation one of anteriority. Yet, this is not the case for all FAs. In some cases, the natural order of events is inherent in the propositions themselves; hence, their reversal is either out of question or results in an alternative interpretation, as in (56) (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 152–153).

(54) She uncurled her legs, *reaching for her shoes*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 152)

(55) *Reaching for her shoes*, she uncurled her legs.

(56) Miss Tyrell regarded her for a moment in silence, and then quitted the room, *coming back again from half-way up the stairs to answer a knock at the door*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 152)

#### 4.2.3.2. Result

Habitually placed in the end position, the *-ing* clause of Result (Res) may, additionally, exhibit another hint at its interpretation, namely the particular choice of the head verb, for example, *leading to*, *resulting in*, *causing*, *making*, etc., as well as other causative verbs (Fuhre, 2010, p. 63; Malá, 2005a, p. 94). The Pos and Res readings share more common than divergent features, making them sometimes problematic to distinguish. While the former only expresses a natural follow-up to its matrix, the latter typically denotes a logical consequence (Fuhre, 2010). Therefore, in the Res interpretation is inherently present the Pos reading, taking the relation one step further in terms of its complexity when compared with that of Pos.

(57) Subaxial subluxation is a late development; it often affects several vertebrae, *leading to a "stepladder" deformity*. (Malá, 2005a, p. 94)

#### 4.2.4. The 'CCC' relations

Important for all the 'most informative' semantic relations expressed by FAs is their preference for overt augmentation, given the increased cognitive load they impose upon the readers/hearers to interpret them in the indented way.

##### 4.2.4.1. Conditionality

Despite being a typical semantic relation expressed by FAs, no present-participial FAs were found to express Conditionality (Cond) in Kortmann's (1991) far-reaching study. As noted by Kortmann (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 152–153), the Cond relation is a typical domain

expressed by past-participial and verbless FAs, neither of which is the subject of the present study; however, *speech-act qualifiers* (i.e. disjuncts as discussed in 3.3.2.2) were used frequently.

#### 4.2.4.2. Contrast

The relation of Contrast (Cont) is kindred to that of Concessivity (Conc), to the point where they may pose significant challenges to differentiation. This is, for one thing, attributable to the overlap of conjunctions and connective adverbs which may denote both Cont and Conc (i.e. *whereas, while, whilst, but, or although, or however*). For another, Conc is understood as a more elaborate case of Cont, building upon its foundations and incorporating the notion of contrast inherently (Kortmann, 1991, pp. 161).

(58) Alice, *not giving a damn*, went into the big empty room behind Jasper. (Fuhre, 2010, p. 66)

(59) Forbes published a list of 22 Japanese billionaires, *saying that there were probably many more*. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 126)

#### 4.2.4.3. Concessivity

Kortmann's (1991) rationale for the placement of Concessivity (Conc) at the very top of his scale of informativeness is that it involves an interplay of causality, adversativeness, and negation. Therefore, readers must have a high degree of world knowledge or evidence, which is usually provided by lexical material. Typically, the Conc relation is indicated by (i) expressions standing in an antonymic relationship or (ii) negative operators, as in example (60).

(60) *Never assuming superiority*, he was obliged to yield. (Kortmann, 1991, p. 163)

## 5. Newspapers

As the thesis examines changes over time in the usage of adverbial *-ing* clauses in newswriting, this section delineates the characteristics of the register under study.

As a preliminary observation, there seems to be a considerable overlap and inconsistency in terms of the use of terminology, as numerous and diverse terms have been employed to refer to news variety. Biber & Conrad (2019, p. 2) assert that textual varieties can be studied from various viewpoints, shedding light on the key differences between three such perspectives, namely 'register', 'genre' and 'style'. The notion of newspaper register is the one most in line with the purpose of the present study, as it is a perspective combining an analysis of linguistic features recurring in a certain text variety and a situational analysis of the use of the variety in



question (Biber & Conrad, 2019, p. 2). Furthermore, the pervasive linguistic features are seen as fulfilling certain communicative functions, as they are adapted functionally to the communicative purposes of that given register (Biber & Conrad, 2019, p. 2). Since we are embarking upon the investigation of a particular linguistic feature recurrently found in newspaper registers (Kortmann, 1991, 1995), that of the *-ing* participial clauses in adverbial function, and since these features serve a communicative function determined by the communicative process of the news register (particularly that of complex condensation, but also cohesion and organisation of the text (Malá, 2009; Šaldová & Malá, 2009)), the register approach is deemed to be in full accordance with the aspiration of this thesis and, therefore, shall be used throughout.

### **5.1. General overview of newspaper register**

The following section is a delineation of the category of news register supported by accounts provided by various acclaimed authors in the field.

Newspapers' primary aim is to provide their readership with daily news as well as an analysis of and commentary on it (Reah, 2002, p. 2). Along similar lines, Crystal and Davy (2016, p. 173) maintain that, out of the many ambitions that newspapers aspire to meet, the presentation of 'newsworthy' facts (see for the definition of newsworthiness below) in a captivating, interesting manner is perhaps the most vital one. Further, as noted by Busà (2014, p. 13), "News texts are written to report information on new and current events and are relayed to a mass audience by print, broadcast or the Internet." She also points out that the objectives and agendas of news agencies coupled with the expected reception of news by the target audience shape and mould news texts. In other words, the final product is a direct reflection of the ideologies and beliefs of newsmakers and is driven by the expectations of its audience.

Dijk (2013), in his monograph *News as Discourse*, offers numerous constraints that may be used to characterize newspaper discourse (or, in Biber & Conrad's (2019) terms, newspaper register). Noting the general constraints on written discourse, the author argues that what makes news written discourse particularly distinct is that readers are not addressed directly, as may be the case with textbooks or manuals, for example, resulting in a considerable distance between the writer and the target reader (Dijk, 2013, pp. 74–75). Moreover, news discourse is impersonal since the producers of the texts are not individuals but, rather, institutions aiming not to express personal beliefs and opinions, but facts. Important is also the control exerted by the range of possible topics or themes, with the major categories being national and

international politics, military affairs, social life, violence and disasters, sports, arts, science, etc. (Dijk, 2013, pp. 74–76).

An essential term to discuss in relation to newspaper register is the notion of *newsworthiness*. As pointed out by Busà (2014, p. 25), an event may be considered newsworthy if it proves to be interesting and appealing enough to an audience for it to be worth reporting. Yet, not all potentially newsworthy events are included in the final issue of the paper, as there are a handful of factors, sometimes termed ‘news values’ (see Cotter, 2010, pp. 67–88) that determine the final choice of the most newsworthy events. Different terms tend to be mentioned by different authors; however, they often relate to the same or similar factors, with the most crucial ones being timeliness, location or proximity, topic and familiarity, dramatic potential, prominence, and seasonal and trendy topics (Busà, 2014, pp. 26–33; Cotter, 2010, pp. 68–72). Consequently, it is exactly the degree to which a news item is newsworthy that determines which events will be reported and eventually presented in the press.

Let us now briefly consider and comment on the typical visual features of printed newspaper texts. Constituting one of the defining and distinctive features of newspaper visual style, graphetic and graphological variation, such as large and bold type, that can be found in a single text is particularly noticeable in, although not restricted to, headlines, producing ‘eye-catching’ effects and prompting the curiosity and attention of the reader (Crystal & Davy, 2016, p. 174). Further, owing to limited space, there is a great demand for textual compression, with texts being presented in columns to aid readability (Crystal, 2018, p. 380; Crystal & Davy, 2016, p. 174). Such noticeable graphetic and graphological variation lends the newspaper register a distinctive flair and trademark which makes it virtually unmistakable with other registers. Another significant characteristic of printed newspaper register is the distinct treatment of paragraphing, in which news report narratives are split into numerous smaller units with their own pertinent subheadings (Crystal & Davy, 2016, p. 178).

Turning now to the sociolinguistic approach to the description of newspapers, Reah (2002, pp. 1–2) provides a tripartite classification of newspapers, in the sense of the national British press, and maintains that newspapers can be divided into three main types: (1) broadsheet newspapers (e.g. the *Telegraph*, *The Independent*, *The Times*, *The Guardian*, etc.), (2) middle-range tabloids (e.g. the *Express* and the *Daily Mail*), and (3) tabloids, that is, the *Sun*, the *Mirror* and the *Star*. Further, the author notes that there are newspapers that might not be encompassed by the three proposed categories, such as various local newspapers or newspapers of particular political groups.

Another significant, and perhaps more pervasive, classification is the dichotomy addressed in Jucker (2012, pp. 47–48) who deals with the traditional terms ‘qualities’ and ‘populars’. He uses the former to refer to newspapers like *The Guardian* or *The Times* which enjoy high standards of news reporting, and the latter to describe the likes of *The Sun* or *Daily Mirror*, as they tend to attract a far broader readership. Popular as though these terms may be among the lay population, Jucker (2012, p. 48) argues that this dichotomy is anything but satisfactory as it involves the attachment of a value judgement but completely disregards the different audiences these papers are trying to reach.

## **5.2. Delineation of newspaper language - journalese**

Sometimes referred to as ‘journalese’, the language of the press often tends not to be given any specific linguistic description primarily due to its incredible heterogeneity (Crystal & Davy, 2016, p. 173). This variability comes as a result of the broad range of text types a typical newspaper may contain, for example, articles, news reports, editorials, and advertisings, and disparate types of newspapers, such as broadsheets or tabloids, which have developed their own respective styles of writing as they sought to interest particular, and different, audiences (Crystal, 2018, p. 380).

Should we consider the ‘newspaper language’ as an overarching term encompassing the sheer magnitude of different types of texts found in a typical newspaper as well as the variety in styles belonging to disparate press types, we might not be able to arrive at a satisfactory description of the newspaper language as it is too idiosyncratic and heterogeneous to enable generalisation (Crystal & Davy, 2016, pp. 173–174). So as to circumvent this vast heterogeneity, it is prudent for the purposes of this study to delimit our area of enquiry by selecting newspaper reporting as a representative of ‘typical’ newspaper language, the reason for the choice being that its fundamental and prime function is in keeping with that of newspapers overall: to inform (Busà, 2014, p. 13; Crystal & Davy, 2016, p. 173). Still, however, the variety of language found in different newspaper reports may be noticeable and anything but homogenous, as each newspaper has its own preferred forms of expression and consistency of style (Crystal, 2018, p. 380). Along similar lines, Crystal and Davy (2016, p. 173) argue that “there is not one, but a number of ‘journalese’ that can be found between the pages of the daily and weekly press; and while they do have a certain amount in common, their overall styles are very different.” The large discrepancies notwithstanding, the term *newspaper language*, or *journalese*, will from now on be employed to loosely mean a certain characteristic

language and linguistic features regularly used in news reports. Furthermore, an attempt at its succinct characterisation is provided in the subsequent section.

Several insights into the characteristics of the newspaper language might be gleaned from its comparison with other written registers, namely the academic register (Biber & Conrad, 2019), looking at linguistic features found across the majority of news reports writing, that is, language complexity, passive voice, and use of adverbials.

With regard to the complexity of the language employed in newspapers, there seems to be an apparent inconsistency of opinion, with the bulk of various writing manuals advocating simplicity and conciseness, but descriptive studies highlighting marked complexity. Let us consider both points of view. Indicative of newspaper writing style, fairly complex syntactic patterns seem to be the norm in many newspaper reports (Dijk, 2013, p. 77) much like in academic prose, where the level of complexity is even higher (Biber & Conrad, 2019, pp. 121–127). Further, preferring complexity of syntax with frequent embedding and nominalisations, sentences consisting of a simple clause are rarely found in newspaper discourse (Dijk, 2013, p. 77). In examining a newspaper excerpt, Dijk (2013, pp. 77–78) observed that a single sentence may easily convey at least 10 propositions using embedded nominalisations, relative clauses, and various adverbial clauses and highly complex noun phrases with a plethora of modifications. Similar conclusions regarding noun phrase complexity were drawn by Biber and Conrad (2019, pp. 120–121) and Biber (2003, pp. 169–181). Additionally, Dijk (2013, p. 79) holds the view that this level of sentence complexity is neither typical of ‘quality’ newspapers nor of English exclusively, noting that the average sentence length (generally in newspapers) is about 25 words with an average of 2.5 embedded clauses into each main clause. Despite noting that reporters are often taught to write using simple, straightforward sentences, Cotter (2010) also highlights the frequent and recurrent use of complex sentence structures. A mere glance at the proposed syntactic complexity allows for the extrapolation of a heavy cognitive load being imposed upon the processing of the reader, resulting in difficult understanding of more complex sentences<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, there is an abundance of various manuals on practices of journalism that advocate the opposite trend, claiming that “Good newspaper language is vibrant and

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed analysis of news comprehension, see Dijk (2013, pp. 139–175).

explicit, but, most of all, easily understood by the widest possible audience.” (Pape & Featherstone, 2005, p. 49). In much the same way, Cotter (2010, p. 27) make the case that clear, plain, and succinct writing is highly sought-after in journalism, rendering the language easily comprehensible to the majority of its readers. These discrepancies in complexity in defining news register may boil down to the prescriptivist rules presented in manuals and textbooks for journalists on the one hand and the actual practice, where other issues, apart from communicative and journalistic ones, may be at play on the other.

### **5.3. Adverbial *-ing* clauses as means of complex condensation**

Abundant though the research concerning the use of *-ing* clauses may be, the issue of use of *-ing* clauses coupled with their unique characteristics and the functions they serve in newspaper register has received scant attention. To date, there is only limited data on their distribution in news in comparison with other registers, namely academic texts, that of fiction, and conversation (for further details, cf. for example Kortmann (1991) or Biber et al. (1999)). In addition, no research has been found that surveyed the utilisation of *-ing* clauses in newspaper register and their diachronic change over the greater part of the 20<sup>th</sup> and the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. What follows is an eclectic account of the scarce sources on the use of *-ing* clauses, or constructions with a similar function.

Commenting on the changes that newspaper discourse has undergone over the past few centuries, Biber (2003, p. 170) asserts that newspaper prose used to be more akin to academic prose than modern newspaper language in employing passive verbs, relative clauses, and elaborated noun clauses more prevalently. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century and particularly accelerating over the past few decades, a shift towards more oral-like styles of expression took place, resulting in newspapers’ adoption of more conversational features. One thing it did retain, however, are some of the characteristics it shares with dense, informational prose; for instance, the heavy reliance on the use of highly complex noun phrases due to the influence of the informational purpose and economy of expression (Biber, 2003, p. 171). Dijk (2013, p. 79) made an analogous conclusion regarding density and economy of expression. Considering the spatial limitations of the printed press, the compression of information and compact writing style characterize newspaper writing, with the major means to achieve the end being avoidance of repetition, relative clauses carrying much informational weight, and condensation of full propositions into nominalisations (Dijk, 2013, pp. 77–78).

In a similar vein, Westin's (2002) comprehensive corpus-based diachronic study of the language of newspaper editorials sheds light on numerous important trends, with the most pertinent to our study being the shifts in frequency of detached past participle clauses (for instance, *Built on a steep hillside, the house was difficult to access.*). Two significant and notable changes have been observed: a decrease in usage in the period between 1900 and 1970, and a sharp surge between 1970 and 1993, a trend attributable to the aspiration for information density and compression of information (Westin, 2002). This conclusion is interesting and, notably, recurrent, as it is in accordance with the claims made by Biber (2003) and Dijk (2013), as discussed earlier. Moreover, embarking upon the study of *-ing* clauses in academic prose, Malá (2009, p. 58) concludes that "participial adjuncts alternate with finite adverbial clauses, serving as means of complex condensation whose employment has to be weighed against the increase in cognitive complexity in each individual sentence". Moreover, she notes in the same article that "adverbial participial clauses may be thus seen as indicators of space-pressure in academic prose," an issue likewise faced in newspaper writing.

Such observations and conclusions as those presented above are highly informative for the purposes of the present paper as *-ing* clauses have been demonstrated to serve as a means of the so-called complex condensation, a term first used by Vilém Mathesius (Hladký, 1961), denoting "the introduction into a sentence of a nominal element or phrase enabling the said sentence to do without a subordinate clause the use of which would otherwise be indispensable" (Vachek, 1955, p. 63). This results in greater condensity and cohesion of its elements (Vachek, 1955).

In this chapter, we hope to have clarified the obvious link between the compression of expression observed by various authors using different means, necessitated by the obvious spatial limitations of the given printed register and that of employing *-ing* clauses to serve exactly the same function. *-Ing* clauses can, therefore, be anticipated to occur frequently in newspaper register, with their major function being that of enhancing spatial economy in the printed medium, much like in the register of academic prose (cf. Section 3.1, Figure 1).

#### **5.4. Printed newspapers vs. online newspapers**

Owing to the diachronic and comparative nature of the present study, a brief account is felt necessary to address the differences between the two examined modes of newspapers under examination, i.e. online and printed newspapers, as differences in the usage of *-ing* participial

clauses between the reports from the two periods might be attributable to the differences in the medium of delivery.

A comparison of the final products – printed newspapers and online newspapers – inevitably relies on the comparison of their distinct environments, as they are subject to different constraints. Lewis (2003, p. 96) suggests that while the ‘news story’ format<sup>2</sup> typical of printed newspapers was brought about as a result of the different distribution cycles (daily, weekly etc.) and the physical properties of printed press, the mode and design of online newspaper delivery is determined by small screens of electronic gadgets as well as a vast, unlimited storage capacity. Therefore, the presentation of the latter consists of ‘bite-size’ chunks, which are better accommodated to the spatial constraints, in unlimited numbers rather than a few long texts, leading to a database model (Lewis, 2003, pp. 96–97). As Lewis (2003, p. 97) notes, a database model “is a relational information structure in which each news element can participate, at different levels of relevance, in a range of news structures”.

The database model of online news has several implications. First, news tends to be presented at multiple levels of detail, as opposed to printed news, where background information and various comments need to be attached to the actual article to facilitate readers’ understanding (Lewis, 2003, p. 97). Second, with online news, the basic level of the news story is brushed aside, as various news events embodied by individual autonomous smaller articles are embedded in one another and linked to their wider, hierarchically structured content using hypertext (Lewis, 2003, p. 97). Thus, individual news articles are becoming shorter and more inextricably intertwined with their comparably larger and more complex narratives, a trend called ‘contextualised journalism’ (Pavlik, 2001, p. 4).

Turning now to the more apparent facets indicative of online newspapers as opposed to printed ones, Lewis (2003, p. 99) claims that the online news style is experiencing a state of flux, reacting in terms of its evolution to constraints presented by technology and new emerging audiences. In her account of online news style, Lewis (2003, p. 99) observes a few distinct trends. To account for but a few, paragraphs, for example, often seem to consist of an individual sentence expressing a single idea. Moreover, essential information may be presented by employing bulleted lists instead of sentences or by using various charts and/or graphs. Notable

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<sup>2</sup> “A typical newsworthy event is turned into a narrative ordered by decreasing salience: the so-called ‘inverted pyramid’ of the newspaper article.” (Lewis, 2003, p. 96)

is also the increasing use of visual presentation of information, namely using audio, image, graphics, video, etc. Most important for our examination, however, is the note regarding compression, stating that it is carried even further in online news due to the small window on the huge informational landscape (Lewis, 2003, p. 99).



## II. Empirical part

### 6. Material and method

The diachronic changes in the use of adverbial *-ing* clauses will be investigated by comparing newspaper articles from *The Guardian* (cf. Appendix C for a brief history of the newspaper) from two years, namely 1953 and 2023. To cater to our particular needs for the description of the selected register (newspaper reports), two entirely new corpora were compiled. The two corpora together comprise 108 newspaper reports from *The Guardian*: the Old Corpus (OC henceforth) consists of 72 reports from 1953 in a broadsheet format, and the New Corpus (NC henceforth) includes 36 reports from 2023 in an online format (cf. Table 1 below). Each report received a unique identifier: the OC reports are labelled *A1-A72*, the NC reports *B1-B36* (cf. Appendices D and E).

The reports from 1953 were accessed via a paid subscription to the official archive of *The Guardian* at <https://theguardian.newspapers.com>. To provide a balanced sample, each month of the year was represented by two issues of the newspaper, with one issue always selected at random from the first decade of the month and the other from the second, or, alternatively, third decade of the month. Three newspaper reports from each of the two issues of a given month were selected at random; however the inclusion was subject to the following criteria: (i) page, (ii) topic/theme, (iii) length, and (iv) legibility of the scan.

(i) Only reports from the title or the immediately following page were selected, the simple reason being that the two initial pages tend to comprise the most pressing, “newsworthy” reports on topics such as politics, national or international, and current affairs. (ii) Current affairs primarily concerned events like disasters, social crises, scandals etc., while the national and international politics included events such as governmental issues, wars, treaties etc. (iii) As far as the length of the reports is concerned, we generally aimed at the reports of 600 words on average. Nonetheless, no tool was used to determine the exact length of the article in advance, resulting in the inclusion of some reports of over one thousand words. (iv) Lastly, the legibility of the scan was also considered as some reports were almost completely blurred, rendering them unusable.

The included reports were then “clipped” from the broadsheet and saved individually. Using the optical character recognition (OCR henceforth) function embedded on the website, the printed reports were converted into machine-encoded text, which was subsequently copied

into MS Word files. The texts were then formatted accordingly to facilitate smooth analysis of the material. Occasionally, the OCR did not provide accurate transcriptions; hence, all the texts were manually checked against the original report and corrected to account for any emergent errors.

The gathering of reports from 2023 proved to be much less laborious a task. The articles were excerpted from the official website of *The Guardian* at <https://www.theguardian.com/uk>. Again, an effort was made to achieve a relatively balanced sample; thus, the same method of selection was employed as for the 1953 reports, the only difference being that only six months of 2023 (April-September) were considered due to the higher frequency of the adverbial *-ing* clauses in the ‘new’ reports. The procedure in the selection of the individual reports differed mainly owing to the different organisation of the two media: printed and online. So as to achieve uniformity of the data to be obtained, the following criteria were established: (i) section, (ii) topic/theme, and (iii) length.

(i) Online news cannot be characterised in terms of pages but sections, so the following ones were considered: *Front page*, *Top stories*, *UK news*, and *International*. (ii) The themes criterion remained unchanged for the 2023 news reports. (iii) Lastly, the length of the articles was also controlled for. Notably, the standard average length of an online news article was slightly larger – about 750 words – and it was observed that the 2023 reports were more homogeneous in terms of their length, resulting in a smaller standard deviation of the data (cf. Table 1 below). The selected reports were copied, excluding advertisements interrupting the text and attached photos with captions, and pasted into MS word files. Furthermore, the text also received additional uniform formatting.

All the 108 news reports thus gathered were measured in terms of their length in words and sentences. First, all headlines, sub-headlines, by-lines and, if present, names of the author(s) were excluded from the total count of words and sentences. The number of words was counted using the MS Word built-in Word Count feature. Several tools for counting the number of sentences had been tested, but none of them yielded consistent results, hence necessitating the need to count sentences manually. Using the Find function in MS Word, standard end-of-sentence punctuation (full stops, exclamation marks, and question marks) was searched and counted, excluding all instances where the punctuation marks did not signal the end of sentence (abbreviations, ellipses, quotations, etc.).

The descriptive statistics for the two corpora were calculated using MS Excel's Descriptive Statistics tool under Data Analysis.

Statistic	length in words		length in sentences		n. of adv. <i>-ing</i> clauses	
	Old Corp.	New Corp.	Old Corp.	New Corp.	Old Corp.	New Corp.
<b>Sum</b>	44705	27624	1778	1092	126	192
<b>Mean per article</b>	620.9	767.33	24.69	30.33	1.75	5.36
<b>Median per article</b>	600.5	763	22	28	1	5.50
<b>Standard deviation</b>	202.75	158.44	9.01	7.20	1.65	2.51
<b>Skewness</b>	1.19	-0.27	1.46	0.40	1.96	0.50

**Table 1** Descriptive statistics of the OC (72 reports) and NC (36 reports)

The two corpora are of a different size in terms of number of both words and sentences, with the OC comprising 44,705 words and 1,778 sentences, and the NC consisting of 27,624 words and 1,092 sentences. It needs to be noted again that the discrepancy in the corpora sizes was caused by the higher incidence of adverbial *-ing* clauses in the NC as opposed to its relative scarcity in the OC. The mean length of articles in the OC is 620.9 in words and 24.69 in sentences, while the mean length of articles in the NC is 767.33 in words and 30.33 in sentences, showing a tendency of the articles from 2023 to be 1.3 times longer, with the same ratio applying to average sentence length.

Moreover, the NC exhibits smaller standard deviation as far as length in both words and sentences is concerned, suggesting a more homogenous data set with a smaller dispersion than the data in the OC. A two-sample *t*-test verified that the difference between the two data sets was statistically significant at  $p < .05$ . As regards the difference in length of words, a two-tailed independent *t*-test yielded a statistically significant result,  $t(106) = -3.79$ ,  $p < .001$ , which proved that the reports in the OC ( $M = 620.9$ ,  $SD = 202.75$ ) comprised fewer words than the ones in the NC ( $M = 767.33$ ,  $SD = 158.44$ ). As for the difference in length of sentences, the result of the *t*-test proved that the NC ( $M = 30.33$ ,  $SD = 7.20$ ) featured a significantly higher number of sentences than the OC,  $t(106) = -18.48$ ,  $p < .001$ , suggesting a statistically significant difference.

As Table 1 indicates, the data set contains 318 adverbial *-ing* clauses (126 in the OC and 192 in the NC, with the mean occurrences of 1.75 and 5.36 *-ing* clauses per article respectively). The difference between the corpora in terms of frequencies of *-ing* clauses was corroborated,  $t(106) = -8.95$ ,  $p < .001$ , the difference being highly statistically significant. The procedure of the *-ing* clause identification (Table 1, the rightmost column) is described in the next section.

## 6.1. Data extraction

Due to the fact that the *-ing* clauses cannot be retrieved automatically, and because wider context is needed, we opted for a manual approach to identifying FAs, AVGs, and ACs in news reports.

Using the Find function in MS Word, all *ing* sequences of letters were searched and then sorted manually. The following *-ing* forms (false positives) were excluded and are outside the scope of the present research:

- Words containing non-affixal *ing*, e.g. *thing*, *string*, *nothing*, etc.
- Nouns, e.g. *building*, *meeting*, etc.
- Adjectives, e.g. *surprising*, *interesting*, etc.
- Lexicalised de-participial secondary prepositions and conjunctions (1) (see 3.3.2.2)
  - (1) *According to* the Electoral Commission, more people in Britain are now dissatisfied with how democracy works than people who are satisfied. (B3)
- Present participles and gerunds used in other than adverbial functions, e.g. subject (2), verb (3), object (4), complement (5), and modifier (6)
  - (2) The *beating* of Zhuravel is the latest in a string of human rights abuses in Chechnya, a small, mountain Russian region which Kadyrov has run with an iron fist. (B2)
  - (3) Sahara has been *sofa-surfing* and *sleeping* rough after losing her job; now she organises a woman's group in a temporary accommodation block. (B3)
  - (4) I would make *voting* compulsory, certainly for first-time voters, as a quid pro quo for lowering the voting age to 16: those who vote once get the habit. (B3)
  - (5) Matt Wrack, the general secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, told the Guardian that Starmer was in "danger of *pandering to rightwing Tory rhetoric*" on immigration. (B4)
  - (6) The *shocking* video of the beating led to a rare rebuke from some officials in Moscow. (B2)
- Disjuncts, subjuncts, and conjuncts (see 3.3.2.2)
- Verbal complements

One particularly ambiguous case comprises the present participles that function as verbal complements. According to Kortmann (1991), complementation by *-ing* clauses is favoured by a number of different verb classes, such as verbs of emotion and attitude, perception, existential verbs, and so on. Hence, present-participial constructions, such as (7) or (8), cannot be

considered instances of FAs, because the lack of the intonational break in speech is a direct signal of the absence of detachment (Kortmann, 1991).

(7) I heard them *coming* back (Kortmann, 1991, p. 15)

(8) They sat *drinking tea and nibbling biscuits* (Kortmann, 1991, p. 15)

- Half-gerunds

Instances such as (9) would be typically analysed as gerunds, the reason being the availability of “a stylistically more formal variant [that] can be set up in which the former subject of the nominal clause and its predicate are brought into a possessor-possessed relationship” (Kortmann, 1995, p. 196). Hence, the sentence in (9) could be replaced with *Women’s having the vote reduces man’s political power*, which clearly indicates its gerundial membership. This construction, owing to its nominal way and subject role, lies outside the scope of the present investigation.

(9) *Women having the vote* reduces man’s political power (Kortmann, 1991, p. 13)

- Abbreviated restrictive relative clauses

Restrictive, and, particularly, non-restrictive relative *-ing* clauses immediately following a noun phrase pose a dilemma in that they either considerably resemble FAs or are not distinguishable from them at all. Restrictive relative clauses, such as (10), cannot, despite surface similarities, be considered FAs owing to the absence of the intonational break as a signal of detachment and are, hence, excluded from the present search.

(10) Politicians *visiting their constituency twice every election period* do not do their job properly (Kortmann, 1991, p. 15)

However, rewritten as *Politicians, visiting their constituency twice every election period, do not do their job properly*, the *-ing* clause is almost indistinguishable between two readings: (i) that of a non-restrictive reduced relative clause (RR henceforth) and (ii) that of a FA (Kortmann, 1995). An *-ing* clause such as this one may also assume an initial or final position without altering its semantic interpretation, referred to as the positional mobility test by Šaldová and Malá (2009, p. 183). *-Ing* clauses whose reading is indeterminate between RRs and FAs in medial position will be labelled RR/FAs, and will be included in the category of FAs.

## 6.2. Methods of Analysis

After gathering the data based on the criteria presented above, six properties were determined for each *-ing* clause in the dataset. The categories observed (augmentation, position, punctuation, co-reference, complexity, and semantic interpretation) were based on previous studies, including Fonteyn and Pol (2016), Kortmann (1991, 1995), Malá (2004, 2005a), barring punctuation, and will be briefly delineated in the following paragraphs.

Augmentation and position were thoroughly explained in Sections 3.4 and 3.2 respectively.

Punctuation was a newly introduced category, accommodating primarily to the inclusion of AVGs in this thesis, as prior to the research it had been observed that AVGs do not necessarily abide by the same traditional conventions of punctuation that hold for FAs and ACs. Three types of punctuation were observed: (i) comma, i.e. the most standard punctuation mark, (ii) other, i.e. dashes and brackets, and (iii) no punctuation (FAs or ACs typically contain a punctuation symbol, AVGs, based on our data, tend to occur without it, but a degree of variation is observed in both groups).

Next, the degree of co-reference was also determined. The notion of co-reference was slightly different for each type of *-ing* clauses. Generally, three types of co-reference were observed: (i) *no co-reference*, (ii) *full co-reference*, and (iii) *partial co-reference*. As for ACs, the method and criteria for determination are described in section 3.3.3. For AVGs and FAs, *full co-reference* encompasses only instances where the  $S_M$  is identical with the underlying subject of the AVG or FA. Further, *partial co-reference* refers to instances described in sections 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.3, i.e. FAs with zero control (other than ‘dummy it’) and FAs with a controller recoverable from the matrix clause or context other than the subject. Lastly, the category *no co-reference* referred to instances where the subject of the FA or AVG was found to be identical neither with the  $S_M$ , nor with any other element of the matrix clause or in the co-text, which also includes instances when the AVG has its own overt subject.

Following the practice of Fonteyn and Pol (2016), complexity was established as a binary categorical variable. It was operationalized, essentially, as the length of *-ing* clauses, with the ones of up to five words receiving the label ‘short’ (S) and those comprising more than five words being labelled as ‘long’ (L). This might pose the question as to why observe the length of *-ing* clauses in the first place. The answer is that, as has been pointed out and referenced by

Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 200), the longer the linguistic elements, the more ‘strain’ they exert on the processing of the individual, and the more effort it takes to decode them. It was therefore argued that augmentation is preferred with the more complex *-ing* clauses to facilitate the semantic interpretation, a hypothesis which was, in fact, not corroborated by their findings. We aim to test the same hypothesis on our data.

The last and, arguably, most laborious and intricate area of our research was the semantic interpretation of *-ing* clauses. A few caveats are felt necessary to point out here. Firstly, drawing heavily on the information and ‘guidelines’ found in relevant literature, mainly in Kortmann (1991), Malá (2005a), and Fuhre (2010) (as presented at length in section 4.2), the determination of the semantic relation was still, to a large extent, based on introspection. Secondly, both Kortmann (1991) and Fuhre (2010) openly admit to having opted for the most informative option available in their attempts at unearthing the underlying semantic interpretation of *-ing* clauses. This research does not fully follow their approach because, as conceded by Fuhre (2010, p. 43): “ ... it is reasonable to believe that in choosing an *-ing* adjunct, a writer does so not because he or she wants to specify a particular relation, but precisely because he or she deems it unnecessary to specify it.” We find this claim more than reasonable, so we strove to identify the most likely interpretation of the *-ing* clauses not only based on the content of the sentence but the co-text as well to be able to do so. Semantics that seemed too far-fetched and fanciful, though potentially feasible, were therefore subject to exclusion. By doing so we have, however, created some methodological issues as there is now no direct and clear-cut method to identification except our own intuition, guidelines, and tendencies observed by the previous research.

Once the classification of the data had been completed, the overall tendencies as well as differences between the data in the OC and NC were ascertained. Unless specified otherwise, all the *t*-tests to determine the *p*-value were performed using the built-in Chi-squared test option in the *Calc: Corpus Calculator* (<https://korpus.cz/calc/>) which compared the relative frequencies of the given phenomena under observation. Further, since we are comparing frequencies of *-ing* clauses and their aspects in two corpora of different sizes, the phenomena are, when relevant, also adduced in normalised frequencies, i.e. instances per 1,000 words (ipt henceforth).

## 7. Results

Before proceeding to the comprehensive analysis of the respective *-ing* clause types along with their pertinent aspects, we will briefly summarize the overall quantitative findings (Table 2 below) regarding the subtypes of adverbial *-ing* clauses across the two corpora (i.e. FAs, ACs, AVGs).

The dataset of both corpora yielded 318 adverbial *-ing* clauses. 126 (2.82 ipt) of them were found in the OC and 192 (7.95 ipt) in the NC, displaying a highly statistically significant difference ( $p < .001$ ) in the frequency of *-ing* clauses overall. As regards the morphological form, the perfect participial (*having* + *-ed*) represent 2.4 and 2.6% of all forms in the OC and NC, respectively. The three instances in the OC all function as FAs, the five instances in the NC represent three FAs, one AVG, and one AC.

<i>-ing</i> clause type	absolute freq.		normalised freq.		% of all <i>-ing</i> clauses		total	
	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	#	%
<b>AC</b>	8	13	0.18	0.47	6.3%	6.8%	21	6.6%
<b>AVG</b>	43	38	0.96	1.38	34.1%	19.8%	81	25.5%
<b>FA</b>	66	137	1.48	4.96	52.4%	71.4%	203	63.8%
<b>FA/RR</b>	9	4	0.2	0.14	7.2%	2%	13	4.1%
<b>total</b>	<b>126</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>2.82</b>	<b>7.95</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 2** Frequencies of *-ing* clause types across corpora

FAs are the most represented type (63.8% overall), followed by AVGs (25.5% overall), with ACs (6.6% of all *-ing* clauses found) being the least frequent type (disregarding the construction whose reading is indeterminate between reduced non-restrictive relative clauses and FAs in medial position FA/RR, which are covered alongside FAs).

The OC features 8 (0.18 ipt) ACs (6.3% of all *-ing* clauses found therein). As for the NC, 13 (0.47 ipt) ACs were identified (nearly 7% of all *-ing* clauses therein). The difference in distribution of ACs in the OC and the NC was found to be statistically significant,  $p = .025$ .

81 AVGs (25.5% overall) were identified. While the OC features 43 (0.96 ipt) AVGs (some 34% of *-ing* clauses in the OC), the NC contains 38 (1.38 ipt) AVGs (20% of all *-ing* clauses in the NC). The difference in the relative frequencies of AVGs in both corpora were compared to ascertain whether there are differences in distribution. The difference was found to be statistically insignificant,  $p = .106$ , suggesting that there is only a slight prevalence (1.44 times) in terms of frequency of the AVGs in the NC.



Turning our attention to FAs, both corpora combined yielded 216 (68% of all the *-ing* clauses identified) FAs in total, making it the most frequently occurring type. It has to be noted, however, that FA/RRs were calculated as FAs as well, with 9 (0.2 ipt) FA/RRs in the OC and 4 (0.14 ipt) in the NC.

The OC contained 75 (1.68 ipt) FAs (nearly 60% of all *-ing* clauses therein) while the NC featured 141 (5.1 ipt) FAs (73.4% of all *-ing* clauses therein). A mere glance at the normalised frequencies suggests a striking difference, with the NC containing three times more frequent occurrences of FAs than the OC. This difference in the frequency of FAs is statistically highly significant,  $p < .001$ .

To summarize, all types of *-ing* clauses were more frequent in the NC. The main (statistically significant) differences between the two corpora as regards frequencies were threefold: (i) the overall frequency of *-ing* clauses, which were 2.8 times more abundant in the NC, (ii) the frequency of ACs, observed to be 2.7 times more numerous in the NC as well, and, most importantly, (iii) the frequency of FAs, which are more than three times more abundant in the NC.

The following subsections provide a detailed examination of the gathered data based on the criteria described in section 6.2 for each type of *-ing* clauses identified in this paper separately.

## **7.1. Absolute Constructions**

### **7.1.1. Augmentation**

Studies of Malá (Malá, 2005b, p. 96, 2005a, p. 50) and Kortmann (1995, p. 205) exhibit an approximately equal proportion of non-augmented and augmented ACs in their data, with a slight prevalence of the non-augmented variant. A similar trend is observed for our data in the OC (eight occurrences) as there are four (0.09 ipt) non-augmented ACs and four (0.09 ipt) augmented ACs. However, the NC (13 occurrences) shows a striking difference of 12 (0.44 ipt) *with*-augmented ACs and only one (0.04 ipt) left unaugmented, suggesting that 92% of ACs in the NC were augmented. The Chi-squared test used to determine the difference between the augmented ACs in the OC and NC proved to be statistically significant,  $p < .001$ .

A closer inspection of the data provides interesting insights into the patterns of *with*-augmented ACs. When the subject of ACs depicts an individual (ex. 1 and 2), a country (ex. 3), or a group of people (ex. 4), usually referred to as members of a country or as having some

sort of a national affiliation, *with*-augmentation tends to be preferred to non-augmentation in both datasets. The same tendency was observed for inanimate objects (ex. 5). What is more, if the *with*-augmentation is removed, the sentences seem to be unnatural and reminiscent of run-on sentences even if the intonational break in speaking and comma in writing are left untouched (e.g. \*The most recent switch came last month, **Honduras** severing relations with Taiwan and signing on to Beijing's claim that it is a part of the People's Republic of China.). In fact, this observation is in line with the results of Pol and Hoffmann (2016, p. 339) who suggest that "...*with* becomes obligatory in elaboration ACs that help specify a specific aspect of the matrix. However, this is still only a tendency, even though native speakers of English intuitively feel this preference, ..." Whether or not these tendencies hold for ACs in general is a question that cannot be answered here, as the data of ACs in our datasets do not allow for such generalisations due to a severely limited sample.

- (1) Brexit did not get a direct mention, *with Davey talking instead more broadly – and briefly – of improving the trade deal with the EU – with an even briefer mention of another Lib Dem favourite, electoral reform.* (B1h)
- (2) But the door to associate membership was reopened when the replacement Windsor framework was sealed in March, *with the European Commission chief, Ursula von der Leyen, declaring a deal could be done "swiftly".* (B16a)
- (3) The most recent switch came last month, *with Honduras severing relations with Taiwan and signing on to Beijing's claim that it is a part of the People's Republic of China.* (B36b)
- (4) Kyiv won a concession on Monday, *with Nato members agreeing to eliminate formal requirements for it to sign up to a membership action plan*, a formal pathway to membership that has taken other countries several years to complete. (B13c)
- (5) Areas along the Emilia-Romagna coastlines were also affected by the floods, *with debris washing up on beaches.* (B27g)

### 7.1.2. Position

Kortmann (1995, p. 228) and Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 197) have asserted that the most frequent position ACs assume is the final position due to their discourse-pragmatic function of afterthoughts. Similar conclusions were made by Malá (2005c, p. 121) who found that the majority (84%) of *with*-augmented absolutes in journalistic writing occurred in final position.

The data yielded by this study seem to corroborate their findings strongly, with the vast majority (19 ACs, i.e. 90%) appearing in final position. In the OC, seven (88%, 0.16 ipt) ACs were found in final position and one (0.02 ipt) in initial position, and the NC featured 12 (92%, 0.43 ipt) ACs in final position and one (0.04 ipt) in initial position. The majority of ACs in

final position appeared at the absolute end of the sentence (6), with the remainder occupying the slot after the last obligatory element but not at the absolute end of the sentence (7). The remaining two ACs appeared in initial position after a conjunction connecting two combined clauses (8).

- (6) Bathers were out in strength, *some of them having their first swim of the year*. (A30a)
- (7) In a notably positive set of local election results on 4 May, Labour won control of 22 new councils, *with a further 12 shifting to no overall control*, many having previously been Conservative-run. (B26c)
- (8) Over the last few years, the triple lock has been an area of significant contention **and** *with the next general election looming large* the Conservatives will be reluctant to rock the boat with core voters. (B7e)

### 7.1.3. Punctuation

ACs, much like FAs, are customarily marked off from the main clause by punctuation marks, most commonly by commas, which is an additional signal of subordination (Biber et al., 1999; Donaldson, 2021; Kortmann, 1991). This separation is the direct reflection of the intonational break that speakers employ in speaking. It was observed that 19 (i.e. 90%) ACs in the two datasets combined were set off by commas, with only two ACs not receiving any punctuation whatsoever (examples 9 and 10). Further, no significant differences were found between the OC and the NC as far as the way they are punctuated is concerned.

- (9) Yesterday's vote to discuss the conference was 51 in favour, with the five Soviet and satellite votes against it *with India alone abstaining*. (A52b)
- (10) Over the last few years, the triple lock has been an area of significant contention and *with the next general election looming large* the Conservatives will be reluctant to rock the boat with core voters. (B7e)

The absence of punctuation in the two examples above could be attributable to the short length, in our data called “complexity”, of the ACs. The ACs with punctuation, however, feature both long and short clauses, but important to note is that none of the very long clauses (i.e. over 10 words) lacks an overt punctuation marking whereas the shorter sentences seem to showcase variability in terms of whether or not they are overtly punctuated. It is by no means clear whether this suggestion holds universally due to the low number of instances found in the present study, precluding us from drawing relevant conclusions with a high degree of certainty.

#### 7.1.4. Co-reference

Malá's (2004, pp. 84–85) study on the subject in adverbial participial *-ing* clauses unveiled that the most frequent type of co-reference in absolutes was 'partial coreference' (54% for non-augmented ACs and 72.9% for augmented ACs), with the least frequent type being 'no co-reference' (around 7%). The present data do not corroborate these previous findings. The two most frequent types are 'no co-reference' (52%) and 'partial co-reference' (48%). There are no significant differences between the OC and the NC in this regard. Table 3 below demonstrates the total frequencies.

Co-reference type	Old Corpus		New Corpus		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
no co-reference	4 (0.09)	50%	7 (0.25)	54%	11	52%
partial co-reference	4 (0.09)	50%	6 (0.22)	46%	10	48%
full co-reference	0		0		0	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8 (0.18)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>13 (0.47)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 3** *Frequencies of types of co-reference (normalised frequencies are in the brackets)*

Our data set featured copious examples of clear-cut relations of partial co-reference between the ACs and their respective matrices. Consider, for instance, a prototypical example of a part-whole relation (11), part/individual-whole relations (12), and relations of hyponymy (13).

- (11) Bathers were out in strength, *some of them* having their first swim of the year. (A30a)
- (12) Its research found that 26 out of 31 Nato countries had recast their defence strategies, *with Germany committing to spend an extra €100bn* and Poland lifting spending to 4% of GDP. (B13h)
- (13) The **counteroffensive** is generally considered to have begun nearly a fortnight ago, *with Ukrainian forces attacking at several points along the southern front and also in Bakhmut in the east.* (B20c)

Determining the type of co-reference was not without its predicaments as will be presented in turn. Not a single instance of full co-reference was found in the datasets; however, some examples proved to be potentially disputable, for example (13), where the subject *counteroffensive* in the matrix clause could possibly be considered synonymous to *Ukrainian forces* in the AC, as counteroffensives tend to be carried out by members of the armed forces. Nonetheless, we believe that the example is more akin to the relationship of hyponymy, *counteroffensive* being the superordinate term; hence, it is classified as partial co-reference.

### 7.1.5. Complexity

Following the study of Fonteyn and Pol (2016), complexity of *-ing* clauses in this research was operationalised as length in words. Two types of complexity were observed: short *-ing* clauses, comprising up to five words (including), and long *-ing* clauses, which consist of more than five words. In total, 19 out of total 21 ACs were long, one short in each corpus, rendering the difference in terms of AC complexity between the OC and NC insignificant.

### 7.1.6. Semantic interpretation

The semantic analysis of adverbial *-ing* clauses is an infamously complex task that may pose many challenges. One such predicament holding particularly for ACs is that despite the presence of augmentation, the reader is not provided with any overt clues as to the underlying semantic relationship holding between the AC and its respective matrix due to the semantic bleaching of *with*, the most common augmentor of ACs (van de Pol & Hoffmann, 2016, p. 319).

One of the most contentious, disputable determinations of semantic relationships of *-ing* clauses is the blurred line between AcC/Add and Ex/Sp, as already outlined in the Theoretical part. The key factor in discrimination of the two relationships was the degree of relatedness of the states/events denoted by the matrix and the ones conveyed by the AC. To exemplify, in (14) the event denoted by the AC (i.e. the water lapping over the top) is clearly separate from the event conveyed by the matrix clause (i.e. frantic efforts were made), thus resulting in the determination of the semantic relation as AcC/Add. Conversely, in (13) above or (15) below, the events in the matrices and the *-ing* clauses are not only clearly related but also the *-ing* clauses provide further information and specification on the matrix events; hence, they constitute examples of Ex/Sp.

(14) Frantic efforts were made to-day to reinforce the dikes near the village of Heenvliet, *with the water lapping over the top and across the main road.* (A8a)

(15) The most recent switch came last month, *with Honduras severing relations with Taiwan and signing on to Beijing's claim that it is a part of the People's Republic of China.* (B36b)

Some instances were, however, more disputable than others. Consider for example (16) and (17). In (16), the relationship may be viewed from two standpoints. The first is that the matrix clause communicates the number of voters in favour while the *-ing* clause provides a mere comment as to which voters abstained. In that case, since the two events in the two clauses are viewed as unrelated, the semantic relation would therefore be determined as AcC/Add,

underscoring the mere appending of extra, unrelated information. The other understanding implies that a relationship between the two clauses holds, specifically that the *-ing* clause provides specifying information related to the ‘yesterday’s vote’, clearly suggesting the Ex/Sp semantics. Example (17) highlights the same case. As stipulated earlier, despite not leaning towards the possibility of the stronger relation, we maintain that the semantic relationship between the sentences is more likely to be Ex/Sp than mere AcC/Add.

(16) Yesterday's vote to discuss the conference was 51 in favour, with the five Soviet and satellite votes against it *with India alone abstaining*. (A52b)

(17) In a notably positive set of local election results on 4 May, Labour won control of 22 new councils, *with a further 12 shifting to no overall control*, many having previously been Conservative-run. (B26c)

Table 4 below shows the total number of instances of semantic roles in the two corpora. The OC featured three semantic relations: C/R (2 instances), AcC/Add (1 instance), and Ex/Sp (5 instances). As for the NC, five semantic relations were found: Cont (1 instance), C/R (1 instance), Ant (1 instance), AcC/Add (5 instances), and Ex/Sp (5 instances). One statistically significant difference between the corpora was identified (highlighted in Table 4 by bold orange typeface), namely that the NC features significantly more ACs with AcC/Add relation than the OC,  $p = .022$ . Our findings are in line with Van de Pol (2019, p. 12) and those of Malá (2005c, p. 121), corroborating that the majority (76%) of ACs in our dataset express ‘weak’ semantic roles: AcC/Add (6 instances) and Ex/Sp (10 instances). The fact that the Ex/Sp relation was the most frequent among ACs is also in accordance with Malá’s (2005c, pp. 122–123) observations. The ample data of weaker semantic relations notwithstanding, ACs expressing ‘strong’ semantic relations were also attested, namely C/R (3 instances), Cont (1 instance), and Ant (1 instance).

As regards the relation between the position and the semantic interpretation of ACs, our findings confirm the observations made by Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 197), who were drawing on Kortmann’s (1991) conclusions, that ACs seem to prefer final positions and express ‘weaker’ semantic relationships, which is postulated to boil down to their function as afterthoughts. In contrast, the initial position of *-ing* adverbial clauses seems to lend itself more easily to more informative semantic relations (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 197). The only ACs found in initial position were, indeed, with the stronger semantic roles, namely C/R (18).

(18) Over the last few years, the triple lock has been an area of significant contention and *with the next general election looming large* the Conservatives will be reluctant to rock the boat with core voters. (B7e)

Semantics	initial position		medial position		final position		Total
	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	
Cont						1 (7.7%)	1 (4.8%)
C/R	1 (12.5%)	1 (7.7%)			1 (12.5%)		3 (14.2%)
Ant						1 (7.7%)	1 (4.8%)
Ex/Sp					5 (62.5%)	5 (38.5%)	10 (47.6%)
AcC/Add					1 (12.5%)	5 (38.5%)	6 (28.6%)
Total	1 (12.5%)	1 (7.7%)	0	0	7 (87.5%)	12 (92.3%)	21 (100%)
Norm. freq.	0.02 ipt	0.04 ipt	0 ipt	0 ipt	0.16 ipt	0.43 ipt	-

Table 4 Semantic roles and positions of ACs across corpora (normalised frequencies are adduced for the column totals)

## 7.2. Adverbial Verbal Gerunds

### 7.2.1. Augmentation

Augmentation is an inherent feature of all AVGs. In our sample, AVGs (81 instances) were headed by eight augmentors in total (Table 5 below). The built-in Chi-squared test in *Calc: Corpus Calculator* was used to ascertain whether or not the difference between the usage of each augmentor in both the OC and the NC was different (cf. Table 5 below, with the *p*-value indicating a significantly different usage in bold orange typeface). Further, the bar chart in Figure 4 offers a visual representation of the distribution of AVG augmentors across the two corpora.

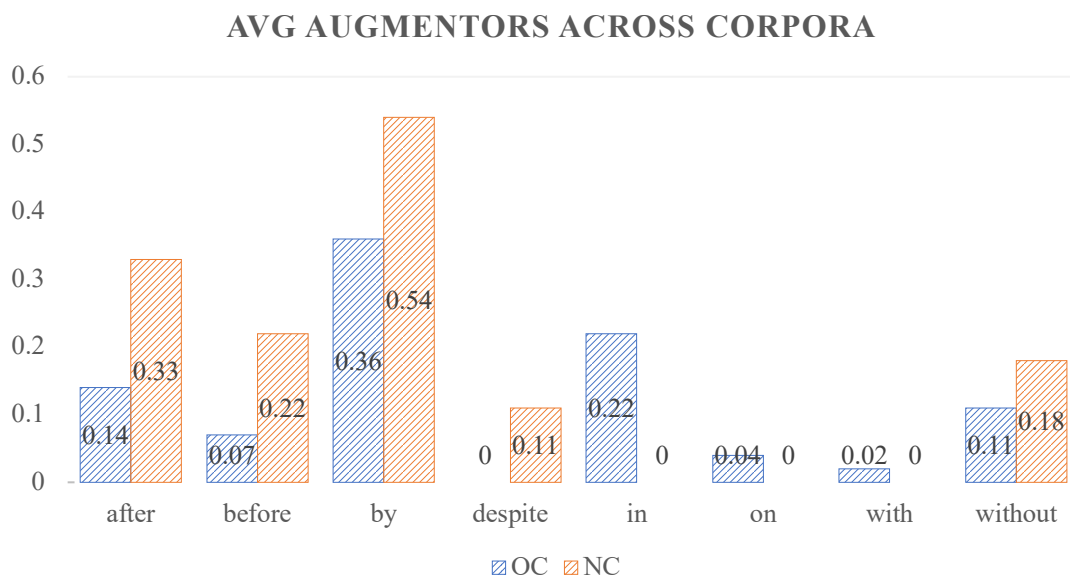
The most frequently occurring augmentor found both in the OC (16, i.e. 37%) and NC (15, i.e. 39%) was the preposition *by*. The second most frequent augmentor (6, i.e. 14%, in the OC and 9, i.e. 24%, in the NC) was *after* (19% of all AVGs). Augmentors *in* (10, i.e. 23%, in the OC) and *without* (5, i.e. 12%, in the OC and 5, i.e. 12%, in the NC) each constituted 12% of the data, making them the shared third in most commonly occurring augmentors of AVGs in our sample.

While there was no significant difference between the usage of *without* in the OC and NC, with five instances in each corpus, *in* was employed exclusively in the OC. The Chi-squared test corroborated a highly statistically significant difference,  $p = .013$ . Whether or not the difference in the distribution of *in* in our data lends itself easily to the interpretation that *in* seems to have fallen out of vogue in the modern press remains unclear even despite the statistically significant difference. More data would be needed to support such a conclusion on strong grounds; however, the tendency seems rather clear.

Another statistically significant difference between the two corpora,  $p = .028$ , was in the usage of the augmentor *despite*; more importantly, the employment of the construction *despite* + *-ing* clause. In total, it occurred three times in the NC and was completely absent in the OC. In addition, what is perhaps even more striking is that the word *despite* did not occur in the OC even a single time, whereas there are 16 instances of the word in the NC, overwhelmingly as a part of the construction *despite* + a noun phrase (13 instances). This difference was also highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ , and seems to be a trend marked by a relatively steep rise in the number of uses of the word *despite* in newspaper reports register in 2023.

augmentors	OC		NC		total		p-value
	Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	%	
after	6 (0.14)	14%	9 (0.33)	24%	15	19%	.082
before	3 (0.07)	7%	6 (0.22)	16%	9	11%	.079
by	16 (0.36)	37%	15 (0.54)	39%	31	38%	.243
despite			3 (0.11)	8%	3	4%	<b>.028</b>
in	10 (0.22)	23%			10	12%	<b>.013</b>
on	2 (0.04)	5%			2	3%	.266
with	1 (0.02)	2%			1	1%	.432
without	5 (0.11)	12%	5 (0.18)	13%	10	12%	.442
<b>total</b>	<b>43 (0.96)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>38 (1.38)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100%</b>	

**Table 5** AVG augmentors in the OC and NC (normalised frequencies in ipt for the totals are adduced in the brackets)



**Figure 4** AVG augmentor distribution in the OC and NC in normalised frequencies (ipt)



### 7.2.2. Position

Like FAs and ACs, AVGs may assume all three positions (initial, medial, and final). In her small-scale inquiry into AVGs headed by temporal augmentors, Afanaseva (2021, p. 44) found that the majority of AVGs (44%, i.e. 23 instances out of 50) appeared in the final position. Our data are, more or less, in accordance with these findings, suggesting even higher an inclination to final position.

All things considered, the final position does indeed seem to be the neutral, standard choice for AVGs (55 instances out of 81 in total, i.e. almost 68%), as it is for ACs, with the initial position being the second most frequent (18.5%) and medial the least common (13.6%). There are, nonetheless, some differences among the individual augmentors. Whereas some augmentors overwhelmingly prefer final position (e.g. *before* and *by*), the positional preferences of others seem less clear-cut. Let us now shed more light onto the individual augmenting elements at hand, the specifics of which might better be outlined by Table 6 below.

As already indicated, the most manifest homogeneity in terms of positional preference is showcased by *by* and *before*. 84% (26 out of 31 total instances) of all *by*-headed AVGs are found in final position, with only 13% (4 instances) in medial position and a single instance in initial position. Also preferring the final position, *before* occurs only once in both initial and medial position. 78% (7 instances out of 9 in total) of instances of *before* assume the final position. The other augmentors with a clear positional preference were *with*, *on*, and *despite*; these three, however, were attested in low numbers only, so no relevant conclusions can be drawn. The only occurrence of *with* is in final position. On the other hand, *on* was found exclusively in the initial position and only in the OC. Further, all the three instances of *despite* found in our corpora took the initial position in the NC.

Consider example (19) below, as this particular instance may raise some objections. Superficially, this resembles AVGs in initial position after a conjunction connecting two combined clauses. However, there is no overt subject in the respective matrix, and, thus, it may not lend itself readily to such an interpretation. We, however, understand that the subject is covert and identical with the subject of the first clause, i.e. *she*. It would therefore warrant the description of this particular AVG as assuming the initial position.

- (19) She has had to take her children out of school due to the lack of support, and *despite being a low earner* has spent thousands of pounds on private doctors, who have prescribed her children SSRIs. (B31d)

The other augmentors do not exhibit such a clear-cut inclination to either one of the three positions as the ones mentioned above. For instance, just over a half (53%) of all instances of *after* in our corpora appeared in the final position, with the initial being the second most common with 40%. *In* typically occurred in the final position (60%), and the medial position was more common (30%) than the initial position (10%). Lastly, *without* seems to lean towards the final position (70%) and, marginally occurs in the medial (20%) and initial (10%) position.

augmentors	initial position		medial position		final position		total
	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	
after	4 (9.3%)	2 (5.3%)		1 (2.6%)	2 (4.6%)	6 (15.8%)	<b>15 (18.5%)</b>
before		1 (2.6%)	1 (2.3%)		2 (4.6%)	5 (13.2%)	<b>9 (11.2%)</b>
by		1 (2.6%)	2 (4.6%)	2 (5.3%)	14 (32.8%)	12 (31.6%)	<b>31 (38.3%)</b>
despite		3 (7.9%)					<b>3 (3.7%)</b>
in	1 (2.3%)		3 (7%)		6 (14%)		<b>10 (12.3%)</b>
on	2 (4.6%)						<b>2 (2.5%)</b>
with					1 (2.3%)		<b>1 (1.2%)</b>
without	1 (2.3%)		1 (2.3%)	1 (2.6%)	3 (7%)	4 (10.5%)	<b>10 (12.3%)</b>
<b>subtotal</b>	<b>8</b> <b>(18.5%)</b>	<b>7</b> <b>(18.4%)</b>	<b>7</b> <b>(16.2%)</b>	<b>4</b> <b>(10.5%)</b>	<b>28</b> <b>(65.3%)</b>	<b>27</b> <b>(71.1%)</b>	<b>81</b> <b>(100%)</b>
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>15</b> <b>(18.5%)</b>		<b>11</b> <b>(13.6%)</b>		<b>55</b> <b>(67.9%)</b>		<b>81</b> <b>(100%)</b>

Table 6 Positions of AVGs with respect to their augmentors across corpora

### 7.2.3. Punctuation

The category ‘punctuation’ is considerably more varied and interest-provoking in AVGs than it is in ACs or FAs, where both tend to be marked off by commas, which corresponds to the intonational break in speech. In contrast to FAs and ACs, our data indicate that AVGs seem to disprefer punctuation, as 70.4% of all AVGs lack any sign of it. This tendency holds for the data in both the OC (32 out of 43 AVGs, i.e. 74%, lacking punctuation) and the NC (25 out of 38, i.e. 66%, of AVGs are unpunctuated), and the difference was not found to be statistically significant, suggesting that AVGs in the OC manifest roughly the same degree of non-punctuation as the ones in the NC.

Table 7 below clearly indicates that the majority (i.e. 80%) of AVGs in initial position are set off by a comma. This tendency is more consistent in the NC, where all seven AVGs in initial position contain commas, whereas AVGs in the OC employed a comma only five times out of eight in total. Consider examples (20) and (21) below.

(20) *After entering his plea of not guilty*, Trump was released on the conditions that he adhere to all federal, state and local laws and avoid discussing the case with any witnesses. (B10d)

(21) *On reaching England* the men will go first to Service hospitals which specialise in their particular ailments and then will be transferred, as soon as possible, to hospitals near their homes. (A24c)

In (20), the overt punctuation mark clearly reflects the intonational break that would be made in speech. By contrast, example (21) lacks a punctuation mark, as the adjunct is short. It seems customary, nevertheless, to include the intonational break after AVGs in initial position, the absence of an overt mark of punctuation notwithstanding.

punctuation	initial		medial		final		total
	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	
comma	5 (11.6%)	7 (18.4%)	4 (9.3%)		2 (4.6%)	5 (13.2%)	23 (28.4%)
other				1 (2.6%)			1 (1.2%)
no	3 (7%)		3 (7%)	3 (7.9%)	26 (60.5%)	22 (57.9%)	57 (70.4%)
<b>total</b>	<b>8 (18.6%)</b>	<b>7 (18.4%)</b>	<b>7 (16.3%)</b>	<b>4 (10.5%)</b>	<b>28 (65.1%)</b>	<b>27 (71.1%)</b>	<b>81 (100%)</b>
<b>Grand total</b>	<b>15 (18.5%)</b>		<b>11 (13.6%)</b>		<b>55 (67.9%)</b>		<b>81 (100%)</b>

Table 7 Positional preferences of AVGs for punctuation across corpora

As for the medial position, a comma, or other type of punctuation, is absent in more than a half (55%) of all AVGs. What is particularly striking is that whether the punctuation mark in medial position is overt or not seems to have a certain bearing on the way the sentence is pronounced. In other words, in case of presence of a comma, as in (22) or (23), the intonational break after (and before) the AVG is rather manifest.

(22) A rabbit shortage, *by raising prices*, might have put up the cost-of-living index by as much as a whole point. (A45a)

(23) Mr Selwyn Llovd, the Minister of State, *in closing the debate*, repudiated this, declaring that the Foreign Secretary stood by his view that the decision ran political risks without compensating military advantages. (A7i)

On the other hand, had the AVGs in (22) and (23) not been off-set by commas, the pause would not be so noticeable and pronounced (cf. A rabbit shortage *by raising prices* might have put up [...]). When there is no punctuation mark, the pause seems not to be too noticeable either, for example (24).

(24) He also called for continuity in US policy towards Ukraine, but said the EU *by strengthening its own defences* had to prepare for the possibility that a Republican administration might be elected. (B24a)

Table 7 above indicates that the absolute majority of all AVGs in final position lack an overt sign of punctuation, and the trend holds true for both the OC and NC. As for pronunciation, when there is no punctuation mark, it seems as if there was no break in intonation whatsoever and the sentence is pronounced as a single unit, for example (25) and (26). It is only when the author includes the comma that they seem to desire to mark the quality of the AVG in final position seem more subordinate, thus hinting at the intonational break. This seems particularly evidenced by examples (27) and (28), whose pronunciation would doubtless lend themselves more readily to the inclusion of the intonational break, making the whole AVG seem subordinate, if not, as it were, merely appended.

(25) His speech gained *by being subdued and temperate and avoiding party claptrap*. (A23a)

(26) They will touch down at Gander *before continuing their journey to Kindley Airport, Bermuda*. (A66a)

(27) The Chancellor may also wish to give some incentives as he did last year, *by trimming expenditure and reducing income tax*. (A20b)

(28) They tend to take their time in confirming battlefield success, *often by releasing a flag-raising video*. (B20a)

To conclude, one of the more pronounced differences between FAs, ACs, and AVGs seems to be the degree of integration in the prosodic contour of the sentence. While FA and ACs are most often situated outside the prosodic contour of their matrix clause regardless of their position (initial, medial, and final), leading to the noticeable intonational break, AVGs retain the contour break most frequently and noticeably when in the initial position, the only position where the intonational break seems to be reflected recurrently in writing by a comma or a dash, regardless of the presence/absence of punctuation. Further, the medial position seems to be affected by the inclusion of a comma, making the pause longer and more pronounced. In contrast, the unmarked option for AVGs in final position is one without the presence of any punctuation marks unless the author explicitly wishes to mark the contents of the AVG as more subordinate, i.e. by hinting to the reader to break the intonation.

#### 7.2.4. Co-reference

Table 8 suggests that, all together, 92%, i.e. 74 out of 81 total instances, of AVGs manifest full co-reference with their matrix clause, as in (29) and (30). The  $S_M$  is identical with the subject of the AVG, and is highlighted in bold print.

(29) *After entering his plea of not guilty, Trump* was released on the conditions that he adhere to all federal, state and local laws and avoid discussing the case with any witnesses. (B10d)

(30) Putin will not break our resolve as he thought he could,” **the US president** told reporters *after meeting with Zelenskiy*. (B25e)

Partial co-reference (31) was found only six times (7%) in total, with three instances in each corpus. In (31), the  $S_M$  (i.e. the Chinese president) is not identical with the implied subject of the AVG (i.e. the west); it was not the Chinese president who was the one blamed for fuelling the conflict by supplying weaponry to Ukraine, but the west, which functions as the object of the *-ing* clause.

(31) Although the Chinese president has not explicitly endorsed the invasion, he has refused to condemn it and has echoed many of Russia’s justifications for the war, [he = the Chinese president] blaming **the west** for fuelling the conflict *by supplying arms to Ukraine*. (B17f)

Table 8 shows the minor differences between the OC and NC in terms of full, partial, or no co-reference, which were not found statistically significant in any of the cases.

type of co-reference	OC		NC		total		p-value
	$\Sigma$	%	$\Sigma$	%	$\Sigma$	%	
full co-reference	40 (0.89)	93%	34 (1.23)	89%	74	92%	.167
partial co-reference	3 (0.07)	7%	3 (0.11)	8%	6	7%	.551
no co-reference			1 (0.04)	3%	1	1%	.203
<b>total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100%</b>	

**Table 8** *Types of co-reference of AVGs in the OC and NC (normalised frequencies in ipt are adduced in the brackets)*

### 7.2.5. Complexity

Regarding the length of *-ing* clauses, 69% (56 out of 81 instances) of all AVGs were long, i.e. more than five words in length. The OC featured 31 (72%) long and 12 (28%) short AVGs while the NC contained 25 long (66%) and 13 (34%) short AVGs. The difference as regards complexity between the OC and NC was far from statistically significant.

### 7.2.6. Semantic interpretation

As mentioned many a time already, the presence of augmentation significantly facilitates, if not directly imposes, the semantic interpretation of the *-ing* clauses, barring augmented ACs, in which the most frequent augmentor *with* is semantically bleached. It can, therefore, be anticipated that the semantic relations found in our data will be largely indicated by the augmentors present. While it is certainly the case that some AVG augmentors convey only a single, easily predictable semantics (i.e. *before*, *after*, or *despite...*), others, i.e. *without*, *in*, and

by, were found to exhibit certain variability in terms of different semantic relations they may communicate.

Table 9 below shows that the most recurrent semantic relations conveyed by AVGs were I (24 instances out of 81 in total, i.e. 29.7%), Ant (18 instances, i.e. 22.2%), and M (16 instances, i.e. 19.8%). There were minor differences between the frequencies of these relations between the two corpora; however, they were not found statistically significant, with the smallest  $p$ -value being that of the I relation ( $p = .107$ ), indicating only a minor declining trend of its use in the OC.

The only two statistically significant differences between the OC and NC with respect to semantics conveyed was in the semantic relation of S, being attested seven times (16% of the relations in the OC) in the OC and entirely absent in the NC,  $p = .038$ , and the relation of Conc, which only occurred in the NC,  $p = .027$ . The former could be directly attributable to the absence of the augmentor *in* in the NC, while the latter boils down to the absence of *despite* in the OC. The least frequent semantic relations were, perhaps unsurprisingly, Conc (3.7%) and Ex/Sp (4.9%). The dearth of Ex/Sp in AVGs may stem from the fact that English has no overt means, i.e. conjunctions/prepositions, to express the relation consistently, and, since AVGs need to have an augmentor, they seem to have no means to convey the relation except for marginal uses of augmentors typically associated with other semantics, for example *without*.

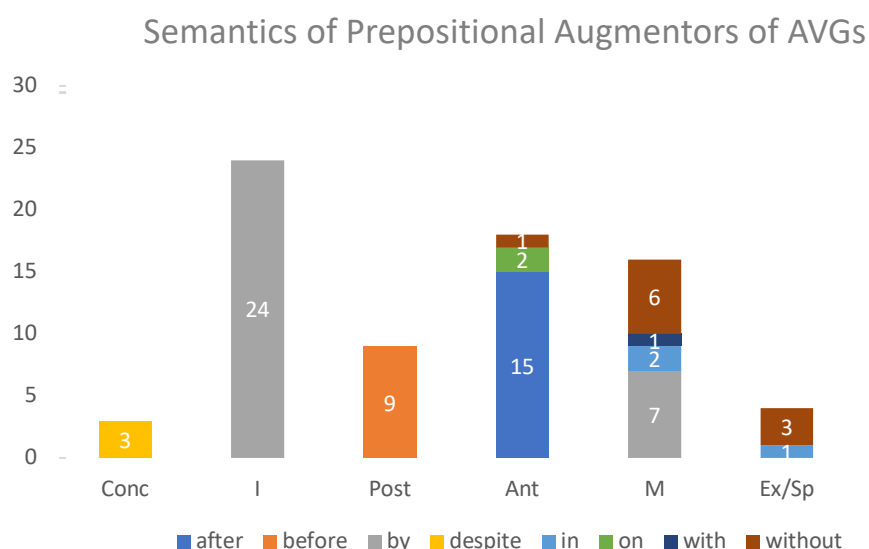
Semantic relations		OC		NC		total		$p$ -value
		$\Sigma$	%	$\Sigma$	%	$\Sigma$	%	
More informative	Conc			3 (0.11)	7.9%	3	3.7%	.027
	I	11 (0.25)	25.6%	13 (0.47)	34.2%	24	29.7%	.107
	Post	3 (0.07)	7%	6 (0.22)	15.8%	9	11.1%	.079
	Ant	8 (0.18)	18.6%	10 (0.36)	26.3%	18	22.2%	.129
Less informative	M	11 (0.25)	25.6%	5 (0.18)	13.2%	16	19.8%	.568
	Ex/Sp	3 (0.07)	7%	1 (0.03)	2.6%	4	4.9%	.587
	S	7 (0.16)	16.2%			7	8.6%	.038
<b>Total</b>		<b>43 (0.96)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>38 (1.36)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>100%</b>	

**Table 9** Semantic relations of AVGs in the OC and NC  
(normalised frequencies in ipt are adduced in the brackets)

We shall now address each semantic relation in turn, starting with the ones which are conveyed consistently by a single augmentor as they tend to pose the least difficulty concerning the determination of the semantic relation. This section draws heavily on Figure 5 below.

Occurring only in the NC, Conc was expressed exclusively by the augmentor *despite* (cf. Figure 5 below), not attested in the OC at all (cf. section 7.2.1.) – hence the complete absence of the relation therein. The difference between the corpora was found highly statistically significant,  $p = .027$ , despite the low number of occurrences.

Post was invariably (nine occurrences) expressed by the augmentor *before* both in the OC and NC, and the statistical difference was only marginal,  $p = .079$ .



**Figure 5** *Semantics of prepositional augmentors of AVGs*

The semantic relation of S was only expressed using the augmentor *in* (seven instances), as in (32). Since *in*-headed AVGs were attested only in the OC, it is not surprising to note that the semantic relationship of S was found exclusively in the OC as well, the NC being entirely bereft of it. This lack of the augmentor therein constitutes the primary reason for the statistically significant difference between the two corpora,  $p = .038$ .

(32) Mr Wilson, *in drawing his depressing picture of our “precarious” economic plight*, spoke of our production as having fallen to a greater extent than that of any other country in Europe save Belgium and the Netherlands. (A23d)

Expressed invariably by *by*, Instrumentality may, at first glance, seem straightforward to determine. Nonetheless, appearances may be deceiving as *by* is also attested to express the semantic relation of M, and the distinction between the two was fraught with challenges and dilemmas. There were two main guidelines to discrimination between M and I that were used for all *by*-headed AVGs: (1) the purpose test (cf. section 4.2.2.3.), and (2) an overt identification of the method/instrument required for the successful completion of the event conveyed by the

matrix (viz. 4.2.1.4.). In case of the former, if the result of the purpose test was found natural and sensible, the relation was identified as I. As for the latter, if the AVG overtly identified/expressed the method employed to carry out the event in the matrix clause, it was not determined as M. However, some instances posed problems despite the stipulated guidelines. Let us consider examples (33 – 36) below.

- (33) They tend to take their time in confirming battlefield success, often *by releasing a flag-raising video*. (B20a)
- (34) A rabbit shortage, *by raising prices*, might have put up the cost-of-living index by as much as a whole point. (A45a)
- (35) There were some people who held that Vyshinsky has been promoted *by being appointed permanent propagandist of the Soviet Union in the place where propaganda counts most*. (A13a)
- (36) Menfi said he wanted the inquiry “to hold accountable everyone who made a mistake or neglected *by abstaining or taking actions that resulted in the collapse of the city’s dams*”. (B6a)

In (33), we see a typical semantic relation of I that passes the purpose test (*They released a flag-raising video in order to confirm battlefield success.*), and that clearly identifies the method employed to achieve the event conveyed by the matrix clause, thereby refuting the M reading of the AVG.

Examples (34) and (35) represent contentious, unclear examples, where their I/M status is on the borderline. In (34), the purpose test theoretically works (*They raised the prices in order to put up the cost-of-living index.*), but seems, to say the least, rather peculiar and far-fetched (i.e. why would anyone want to put up the cost-of-living index?). Further, the AVG in question directly indicates the method by the use of which the cost-of-living index was increased, rendering the M reading out of the question. It is, therefore, the I interpretation of (34) that we lean towards, the unlikely result of the purpose test notwithstanding. In (35), the purpose test seems not to work well either (*They appointed him permanent propagandist ... in order to promote him.*), as had they desired his promotion deeply, they would not have needed to appoint him an important propagandist before but, rather, as a consequence of his newly gained promotion. On the other hand, like in (34), the indication of the method is clear. We therefore refuted the M reading of the AVG in (35) and interpreted it as I.

In example (36), the purpose test does not work at all (*Someone abstained and took action ... in order to make a mistake.*), and the AVG is not felt to identify a method but merely describes how the mistake was made. The example (36) hence received the M interpretation.



The semantic relation of M was the only one expressed, or facilitated, by four different augmentors, namely *by* (7 instances), *without* (6 instances), *in* (2 instances), and *with* (1 instance), making it the most varied, and, by extension, the most troublesome semantic relation in AVGs to determine. The predicaments with the determination of M are primarily twofold: (1) the distinction between M and I, as already discussed in the preceding paragraphs, and (2) the distinction between M and Ex/Sp. In both examples (37) and (38), the content of the *without*-headed AVGs does not express the manner in which the propositions in the matrices are carried out; they merely contribute to the better understanding by adding extra detail. For instance in (37), the AVG does not convey the manner in which the impression was reported, but it only specifies and adds detail to the matrix.

(37) Secondly, *without entering into details about his conversations yesterday with Mr Dulles and Mr Stassen*, he reported his impression that the conversations have registered a clear understanding between [...] (A7b)

(38) An American colonel dictates to them, sentence by sentence, the verbatim shorthand report of the talks, *without omitting a single unpleasant word of Nam Il's or a single sharp retort of Harrison's*. (A27b)

On the other hand, in six instances, M was expressed using the augmentor *without* (as was Ex/Sp in [37] and [38]), e.g. (39) and (40). The former showcases how Patel took issue with being named in a particular way. In other words, the manner of the naming raised the ire of Patel. The latter gives an account of the manner in which the four days happened (i.e. without publicly addressing the disaster). These, therefore, received the M reading.

(39) Patel took issue with being named in the report *without being given any notice or a chance to respond*, saying some comments had been taken out of context. (B15f)

(40) Biden spoke publicly about the wildfires on Tuesday, after going four days *without publicly addressing the disaster*. (B9d)

In (41) below, the AVG is headed by *in*, which typically serves to express S. However, it is viewed here as conveying M, since it directly describes the manner in which the governor of the Bank of England followed tradition.

(41) The Governor of the Bank of England, Mr Cameron Cobbold, followed tradition *in conveying to the Chancellor a warning from the City*. (A59c)

Lastly, Ant is overwhelmingly (83%) signalled by the augmentor *after*, which was not found to indicate any other semantic relation, with the another augmentor invariably used to signal Ant being *on* (2 instances), as in (42). One other interesting example was found, example

(43), where the *without*-headed AVG is in form of perfect participle, providing a direct cue for its Ant interpretation despite the presence of *without*.

(42) *On going out of the office*, he came over and said: “If you are down with the police don’t say I was asking you anything.” (A9d)

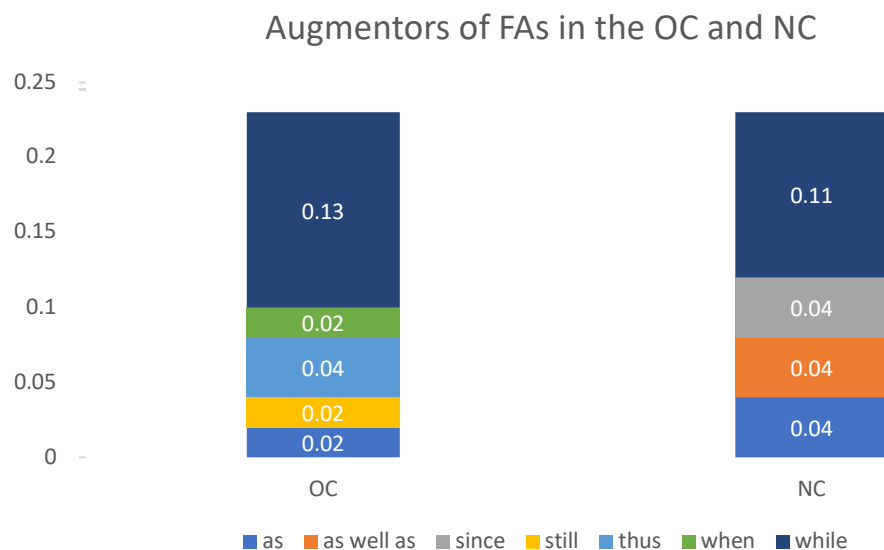
(43) But Labour said the UK was one of the few Nato members heading into the summit *without having revised its defence plans in the light of the Ukraine war*. (B13g)

### 7.3. Free Adjuncts

The largest proportion of *-ing* clauses was represented by FAs, occurring 216 times and hence constituting 68% of all adverbial *-ing* clauses in the data set.

#### 7.3.1. Augmentation

In FAs, as research indicates (Kortmann, 1995, p. 203), the presence of augmentation is the minority option as opposed to ACs. Our data corroborate this finding. While the OC comprises 11 (0.24 ipt) instances of augmented FAs, i.e. almost 15%, the NC features six (0.22 ipt) such instances, accounting for some 4% of all FAs identified therein. The difference between the augmentation of FAs in the OC and NC was shown to be statistically insignificant,  $p = .806$ .



**Figure 6** Normalised frequencies of augmentors of FAs in the OC and NC

Figure 6 above reveals that the most pervasive augmentor of FAs was *while*, attested six times (0.13 ipt) in the OC and three times (0.11 ipt) in the NC, as in example (44). In the present dataset, *while* was observed to be invariably used as an augmentor expressing the semantics of

S. The other most frequent augmenting elements were *thus* (only in the OC, example 45), *since*, *as well as*, and *as*, with all of them having the normalised frequency of 0.04 ipt.

- (44) *While travelling at 50 miles an hour*, the engine and eight of the nine coaches of the 9:28 a.m. Bradford-to-Bristol express with 366 passengers, including 70 children, on board, were derailed four miles from Tamworth (Staffordshire) at 1 20 p.m. yesterday. (A47a)
- (45) One of Mr Gaitskell's strongest passages was about the tendency for more to be distributed in dividends while profits were falling, *thus leaving less to be ploughed back into industry*. (A62a)

### 7.3.2. Position

Table 10, more or less in accordance with Kortmann's (1995) observations (cf. Figure 2, section 3.2), suggests that the most recurrent, and indeed by some authors labelled as standard and unmarked (e.g. Biber et al. 1999, p. 831), position is the final position (147 instances overall, i.e. 68%), with the initial position being the second most frequent one (55 instances, i.e. 25%). Further, instances where FAs occupy the medial position were rather scarce (17 instances, i.e. 7%). What is striking is that, while the distribution of FAs in medial position is indicative of only relatively minor changes in the OC (0.27 ipt) and NC (0.18 ipt), the disparity becomes rather manifest regarding the initial and final position.

The initial position in the OC (0.49 ipt) is significantly,  $p = .004$ , less frequent than in the NC (1.09 ipt). Noteworthy, the FAs in initial position in the OC are slightly more varied in that four (18%) out of 22 are not situated at the absolute beginning of the whole sentence, but they either follow a conjunction connecting two combined clauses (46) or do not follow a conjunction but still are at the beginning of the respective matrix clause (47). In contrast, the NC contains only instances of FAs in the initial position at the absolute beginning of the whole sentence (48). This pattern is particularly recurrent, so much so that it would lend itself easily to the proposition that the sentences seem to be reminiscent of a boilerplate pattern: *-ing* FA + subject + the rest of the sentence.

- (46) The results of Mr Churchill's conversations with Mr Eisenhower (he was still only President-designate) were reported to the Foreign Office, but *being private conversations with a President who had not yet assumed office*, they could not be divulged. (A7h)
- (47) The statement then says that, *having regard to this and to his earlier record as the native ruler of Buganda*, the Government has concluded that the Kabaka could not be relied on to co-operate ... (A71c)
- (48) *Speaking in Japan*, Joe Biden put Russian casualties at 100,000 from the battle for Bakhmut alone. (B25d)

The medial position is predominately represented by FA/RRs (e.g. [49]) both in the OC (nine instances ~ 0.2 ipt) and the NC (four instances ~ 0.14 ipt). We identified only four fully-fledged FAs in medial position (three in the OC and one in the NC), distinguished here from FA/RRs by having a more informative semantic interpretation than mere Ex/Sp, as in (50), which has an I reading. Examining the normalised frequencies in Table 10 below, it is no surprise that the OC manifests no statistically significant difference to the NC regarding the adverbial *-ing* clauses in medial position,  $p = .456$ .

- (49) The Moscow Times, *citing a source close to the Kremlin*, reported that the Russian president was at the Novo-Ogaryovo residence during the drone attacks, and was woken up early in the morning by his security services. (B23c)
- (50) Attacks on logistics sites, *using long-range missiles or drones*, are considered critical to Ukrainian effort, to degrade Russia’s ability to resist. (B20d)

As can be seen from Table 10, the difference regarding the final position of FAs in the OC and NC was also found to be highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ , the inclination towards the final position being much more palpable in the NC. As for the subtypes of final position, the OC featured 36 (88%) FAs at the absolute end of a sentence (51) and five (12%) FAs occupying the detached clause-final slot of their respective matrix (52). Almost the same percentages held for the NC, with 87% (i.e. 93 instances out of 106) of the former type and 13% (13 instances) of the latter.

- (51) Since then broadcasts in all Communist States have announced similar plans, *declaring a day of national mourning*. (A15a)
- (52) Six hundred and sixty-eight more non-Communist North Korean prisoners last night escaped from three camps – at Taegu, Pusan, and Munsan, *bringing the week’s total to 27,092*, of whom only 1,029 have been recaptured; 41 have been killed. (A34a)

position	OC		NC		total		p-value
	Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	%	
<b>initial</b>	<b>22 (0.49)</b>	<b>29.3%</b>	<b>30 (1.09)</b>	<b>21.3%</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>24.1%</b>	<b>.004</b>
<b>medial</b>	12 (0.27)	16%	5 (0.18)	3.5%	<b>17</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	.456
<b>final</b>	<b>41 (0.92)</b>	<b>54.7%</b>	<b>106 (3.84)</b>	<b>75.2%</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>&lt; .001</b>
<b>total</b>	<b>75 (1.68)</b>	<b>34.7%</b>	<b>141 (5.11)</b>	<b>65.3%</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>100%</b>	

**Table 10** The distribution of positions of FAs in the OC and NC (normalised frequencies in ipt are adduced in the brackets)

### 7.3.3. Punctuation

Typically marked off by a comma from the main clause to signal and/or reflect the intonational break in speaking, FAs in our dataset were predominantly found to employ an overt mark of punctuation (recurrently a comma, the other types of punctuation being only marginal). Table 11 demonstrates that while 95% of FAs in the NC received overt punctuation (either a comma [53] or another type, e.g. a dash [54] or brackets [55]), the number of punctuated FAs in the OC was considerably lower (84%). The difference between the OC (81.4%) and NC (93.6%) in terms of punctuation using commas was found to be highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ . Differences between the corpora in terms of employment of other punctuation marks were insignificant.

punctuation	initial		medial		final		total		p-value
	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	
comma	18 (24%)	30 (21.3%)	12 (16%)	4 (2.8%)	31 (41.4%)	98 (69.5%)	61 (81.4%)	132 (93.6%)	< .001
other	1 (1.3%)			1 (0.7%)	1 (1.3%)	1 (0.7%)	2 (2.6%)	2 (1.4%)	.627
no	3 (4%)				9 (12%)	7 (5%)	12 (16%)	7 (5%)	.904
<b>total</b>	<b>22</b> <b>(29.3%)</b>	<b>30</b> <b>(21.3%)</b>	<b>12</b> <b>(16%)</b>	<b>5</b> <b>(3.5%)</b>	<b>41</b> <b>(54.7%)</b>	<b>106</b> <b>(75.2%)</b>	<b>75</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>141</b> <b>(100%)</b>	

**Table 11** Types of punctuation in the three positions of FAs in the OC and NC

Moreover, concerning the preference for punctuation of FAs in the initial position in the NC, it was statistically more significant than in the OC,  $p < .001$ . Along the same lines, FAs in the final position in the NC were punctuated much more often than their counterparts in the OC,  $p < .001$ . As for the absence of punctuation (example 56), no significant differences between the OC and NC were found. The data yielded by this study appear to suggest that, regardless of the position of a FA, the inclination of the NC to include an overt mark of punctuation is evident.

(53) *Speaking to ABC News*, the governor said search-and-rescue efforts were ongoing. (B9e)

(54) Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, is expected to attend on Wednesday at an inaugural meeting of a Nato-Ukraine council designed to foster closer cooperation – *having previously warned he may not attend at all if his membership pathway demands were not met*. (B13e)

(55) In the ordinary way, a married man earning £5,000 a year would have to double his earnings (*making a gross income of rather more than £10,000 a year*) to get an extra £1,000. (A16a)

(56) Mr Pritt had raised an objection last month *claiming that confessions made to a police officer below the rank of superintendent were not admissible in Kenya law.* (A2b)

#### 7.3.4. Co-reference

According to a relatively recent research enquiring into the underlying subjects of *-ing* clauses, more than 90% of underlying subjects of FAs, particularly of the non-augmented type, is fully co-referential with the  $S_M$  (Malá, 2004, p. 85). This finding is more or less evidenced by our data presented in Table 12 below, with 92% of FAs in the OC and 83.7% of FAs in the NC exhibiting full co-reference of their implied subjects with the  $S_M$ . Generally, partial co-reference seems to be rather rare (8% in the OC and 16.3% in the NC) and almost exclusively found in final position. Further, not a single instance of no co-reference was identified. With respect to the differences between the OC and NC, FAs with both full and partial co-reference are more frequent in the NC,  $p < .001$ .

In initial position, the data suggest that FAs in both the OC and NC almost unequivocally prefer a fully co-referential relationship of their underlying subject with the subject of their respective matrix. In the vast majority of cases, the  $S_M$  is to be found directly following the initial FA (57). In other cases, the initially-positioned *-ing* clause is separated from the matrix by dependent clauses (58) or appositions (59).

(57) *Commenting on the video, Vladislav Davankov*, the deputy chairman of the state дума, said the law in Russia “should be applied the same to everyone”. (B2b)

(58) *Announcing the visit*, which will take place on Monday, **the White House press secretary, Karine Jean-Pierre**, said: “In Maui, the president and first lady will be welcomed by state and local leaders to see first-hand the impacts of the wildfires and the devastating loss of life and land that has occurred on the island, as well as discuss the next steps in the recovery effort. (B9a)

(59) *Standing outside her home under moody skies in Ronta*, a hamlet in the Forli-Cesena area of Emilia-Romagna, **Ivana Casadei** considers herself one of the lucky ones.

There was only one instance of partial co-reference in initial position (60). Here, the subject of the FA is not partially co-referent with a single element in the matrix or in the co-text; rather, it is the entirety of the matrix clause.

(60) *Starting July 2024, residents without Russian citizenship will be considered “foreigners” or “stateless”.* (B12c)

Medial position in FAs, primarily constituted by RR/FAs, exhibits unequivocally FAs whose implied subjects are fully co-referential with the  $S_M$  (61). It is almost always the case that medially-placed FAs immediately follow the subject NP of the matrix clause (61). Only

one instance where this does not hold true was found. In (62), the *when*-augmented *-ing* clause interrupts the verb phrase of the matrix clause.

(61) **Mr Herbert Morrison**, *acting as Leader of the Opposition*, welcomed this news which he thought was very wise. (A19a)

(62) This opening is significant: for the first time **a Soviet newspaper** does not, *when referring to the armaments drive*, put the blame squarely on Western shoulders, but admits by implication that Russia, too, has been rearming and that she would welcome a lessening of the burden. (A29c)

Table 11 reveals that finally-positioned FAs seem to be more variable as regards the co-reference of their underlying subjects, the partial co-reference being much more apparent in FAs occupying the final position than in any other position. Still, however, the majority of them in both the OC and NC prefer full co-reference (63).

(63) Since then **broadcasts in all Communist States** have announced similar plans, *declaring a day of national mourning*. (A15a)

In (64) below, the subject of the FA is not merely the  $S_M$ ; it is rather the entirety of the matrix clause (i.e. what fuelled the rumours was the fact that Kadyrov's son met Putin in the meeting). The same holds for (65). Recurrently, sentences like (64) invite resultative reading, and the ones similar to (65) lend themselves readily to the Ex/Sp interpretation. What is striking is that instances where the entirety of the matrix serves as the implied subject of the FA in final position are much more frequent in the NC where, in fact 64% (14 out of 22) finally-placed FAs with partial co-reference were found to refer to the entirety of the matrix clause, suggesting, perhaps, a new pervasive pattern typical of modern newswriting.

(64) **Speculation over Kadyrov's future first emerged after his eldest son Akhmat, 17, met Putin in a highly unusual one-on-one meeting**, *fuelling rumours he was being groomed as Kadyrov's successor*. (B2d)

(65) **Average waiting lists rose by two-thirds over two years in England**, *meaning children are waiting on average 21 weeks for a first appointment in England*, although the figure drops to just three weeks in Wales. (B31c)

The other prevalent sub-type of partial co-reference was the one where the implied subject of the FA is identical with the object of the matrix clause (66).

(66) The Ukrainian interior ministry said on Tuesday it had "fully formed" **the initial "storm" brigades**, *comprising up to 40,000 troops*, but added they would need further training before being ready to take part in fighting.

type of co-reference	initial		medial		final		total		p-value
	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	
full co-reference	22 (29.3%)	29 (20.6%)	12 (16%)	5 (3.5%)	35 (46.7%)	84 (59.6%)	69 (92%)	118 (83.7%)	< .001
partial co-reference		1 (0.7%)			6 (8%)	22 (15.6%)	6 (8%)	23 (16.3%)	< .001
no co-reference									
<b>total</b>	<b>22</b> <b>(29.3%)</b>	<b>30</b> <b>(21.3%)</b>	<b>12</b> <b>(16%)</b>	<b>5</b> <b>(3.5%)</b>	<b>41</b> <b>(54.7%)</b>	<b>106</b> <b>(75.2%)</b>	<b>75</b> <b>(100%)</b>	<b>141</b> <b>(100%)</b>	

**Table 12** *Types of co-reference of FAs in different positions in the OC and NC*

### 7.3.5. Complexity

Taking both the FAs in the OC and NC into consideration, 173 (i.e. 80%) of them were long and only 43 (i.e. 20%) were short. While the OC featured 57 (76%) long and 18 (24%) short FAs, the NC contained 116 (82%) long and 25 (18%) short FAs. The difference concerning complexity of FAs between the OC and NC was found to be highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ .

### 7.3.6. Semantic interpretation

What follows is a comprehensive qualitative account of semantic interpretation of FAs found in the two datasets. Although Kortmann enquires into the augmented type separately, making the case that the semantic interpretation is unequivocally imposed on them by virtue of the augmentor, we will consider non-augmented FAs, augmented FAs, and FA/RRs together here since, as demonstrated in the chapter devoted to AVGs, not every augmentor is inextricably linked to only one inherent semantic interpretation.

Scarce though it may be, previous detailed research on semantic relations of FAs (i.e. Kortmann, 1995; Malá, 2005a) indicates a relative heterogeneity in terms of results obtained. While Kortmann (1995, p. 219) discovered that the most frequent relations in his data were S (16%), AcC/Add (12%), C/R (12%), Ex/Sp (12%), and Ant (11%), Malá (2005a, p. 96) reports that the most commonly occurring semantic relations were S (16%), I (14%), C/R (13%), Ex/Sp (13%) and Res (11%). What is particularly striking is, on the one hand, the lack of AcC/Add relation in Malá's observations, accounting for mere 2%, and, on the other, the apparent abundance of the relation of I, which was attested in 14% of her total data. What the two observations have in common, however, is the evenness of distribution of the semantic interpretations of FAs, as noted by Kortmann (1995, p. 219). These differences in observations



of the different semantic interpretations may be directly attributable to the disparities in compositions of the corpora used, rendering the representation of various registers unevenly distributed. For instance, Malá's (2005a) data consisted to a large extent of texts pertaining to natural, pure, and social sciences; hence, for example, the blatant profusion of the relation of I as opposed to its dearth in Kortmann's (1995) data.

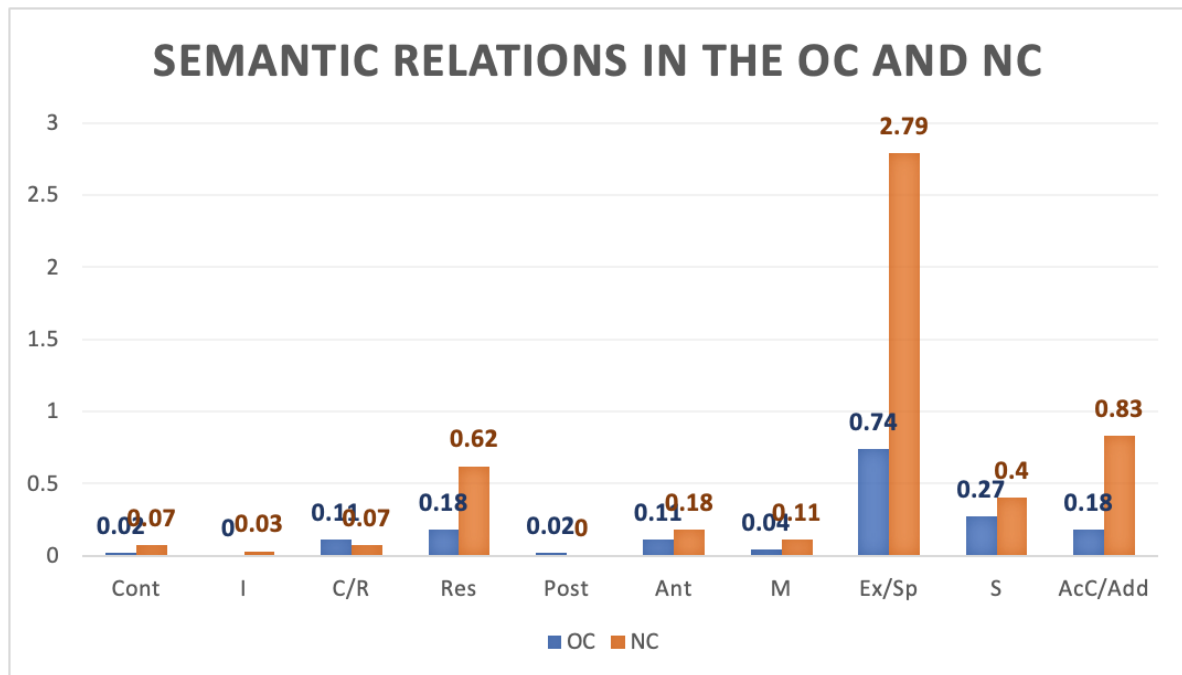


Figure 7 Normalised frequencies (*ipt*) of the semantic relations in the OC and NC

Table 12 (at the end of the section) and Figure 4 (above) show that, overall, the most frequent semantic relations in our data set were Ex/Sp (110 out of 216 instances, i.e. 51%), AcC/Add (31 instances, i.e. 14%), Res (25 instances, i.e. 12%), S (23 instances, i.e. 10%), and Ant (10 instances, i.e. 5%). A mere glance at the statistics suggests that, unlike the findings from the previous research, the distribution of our most frequently occurring semantic relations is not on an equal footing, with just over a half of the total data expressing the relation of Ex/Sp. The proportion of the other semantic interpretations seems to be, more or less, in accordance with the previous findings. The fact that our data set features primarily the given semantics (i.e. Ex/Sp, AcC/Add, and Res) is hardly surprising as we are dealing with the newspaper register, an information-heavy, specifics-oriented, and data-focused register, where the temporal relations seem to play much more minor a role than, for instance, in narrative fiction.

What follows is an account of the most frequently occurring semantic relations expressed by FAs and the differences between the OC and NC. Further, as mentioned many times, given

that the position of a given *-ing* clause has a bearing on its semantics (or the other way around), we have also sought to unveil some patterns of positional preferences of the individual semantic relations, and they will be discussed below as well. Statistical significance between the OC and NC in terms of total frequencies or the distribution in various positions is visualised in Table 12 in bold orange typeface, with the *p*-value adduced in a form of a superscript.

First, let us delve into Ex/Sp, the most frequently occurring semantic relation both in the OC (33 instances ~ 0.74 ipt, i.e. 44%) and NC (77 instances ~ 2.79 ipt, i.e. 55%). Ex/Sp was attested significantly more frequently in the NC,  $p < .001$ . Table 12 below shows that the most typical position of FAs conveying Ex/Sp semantics was the final position (69 instances out of 110 in total). Nonetheless, the dominance of the final position was not as striking in the OC, where 43% of the clauses were attested in the final position, as it was in the NC, where the final position represented 72% of all FAs expressing Ex/Sp. This difference between the two corpora is statistically highly significant,  $p < .001$ . Typical of FAs expressing Ex/Sp in the final position is the relatedness of the verb phrase in the matrix and the head verb in the FA, making it one of the key differentiators between Ex/Sp and AcC/Add, other than the fact that both the matrix and the FA refer to the same event. Consider examples (67) and (68) below.

(67) In other policy areas, Davey **lambasted** Sunak’s “disgraceful” watering down of net zero policies, *calling it “a dismal failure of leadership”*. (B1g)

(68) Although the Chinese president has not explicitly endorsed the invasion, he has refused to condemn it and **has echoed many of Russia’s justifications for the war**, *blaming the west for fuelling the conflict by supplying arms to Ukraine*. (B17e)

(69) The US and other western allies do not estimate Ukrainian casualties publicly, *saying it is sensitive information that could undermine an ally*. (B30d)

(70) In the lobbies and lounges after the vote delegates slapped backs and shook hands, *brimming with goodwill*. (A22a)

In (67), the event of Davey’s lambasting is specified by the FA, and in (68), the echoing of the Chinese president is, likewise, further elaborated on by the FA. By contrast, in (69), the FA cannot elaborate on the event described in the matrix because the FA and the matrix clause express two unrelated events, suggesting the AcC/Add reading of that particular FA. The same holds for (70), where the AcC/Add reading is further reinforced by the stative nature of the head verb in the FA. The latter two can also be paraphrased using an *and*-coordinated finite clause.

Medial position of FAs expressing Ex/Sp was attested solely by FA/RRs, nine in the OC and four in the NC, making it the least frequent position for Ex/Sp. The difference between the NC and OC in terms of frequency of the medial position is statistically insignificant. However, their Ex/Sp status is far from clear-cut. FA/RRs exhibited considerable semantic ambiguity, appearing to be on the borderline between the AcC/Add and Ex/Sp reading. Consider examples (71) and (72) below. The reasons in support of the AcC/Add reading were threefold: (i) the unity of time and space of the FA/RRs with their matrix clauses, (ii) the fact that the events/states communicated by the FA/RRs are different than the ones in their respective matrices, and (iii) that they do not provide specification of the event/state described in the matrix. On the other hand, the arguments for Ex/Sp reading (and, in turn, against AcC/Add) were: (i) that typically, AcC/Add relation allows for the paraphrase using *and*-coordinated declarative finite clauses (Kortmann, 1991, p. 169, 1995, p. 217), which is virtually impossible for FA/RRs, and (ii) the FA/RRs do provide extra information (i.e. specification), but not about the matrix state/event but about the preceding NP. Based on this account, we have decided to adopt the Ex/Sp reading of all the FA/RRs. The rationale is twofold. First, although it is not the event/state in the matrix that the respective FA/RR specifies, it still provides a specification of the preceding NP; hence, it is not a mere attachment of extra, seemingly unrelated information. Moreover, citing Halliday et al. (2014), Killie and Swan (2009, p. 341) write: “... The thing that is elaborated may be the primary clause as a whole, or it may be just some part of it – one or more of its constituents”. This argument in favour of AcC/Add reading is thus considered to be refuted. Second, the preclusion of a viable *and*-coordinated paraphrase corroborates that the FA/RRs are not well-suited to the AcC/Add interpretation.

(71) This was defeated partly because Mr Morgan Phillips, *winding-up for the Executive*, pointed out that similar sentiments were included in the platform statement and partly, perhaps, because of Mr Bing's own vehemence. (A55c)

(72) The Moscow Times, *citing a source close to the Kremlin*, reported that the Russian president was at the Novo-Ogaryovo residence during the drone attacks, and was woken up early in the morning by his security services. (B23c)

The initial position was represented by a significantly higher number of FAs in the NC than the OC,  $p = .004$ . Determining FAs as Ex/Sp was, yet again, fraught with challenges. This time, however, it was not the similarity of Ex/Sp with AcC/Add, but S. Consider examples (73) – (76). In (73) and (74), the events/states expressed by the FA correspond to the same event expressed in the matrix clause. Moreover, the verbs are also semantically related, resulting in their interpretation as Ex/Sp. Conversely, in (75) and (76), the verbs are neither semantically

related nor refer to the same event; thereby precluding the Ex/Sp reading. Moreover, what particularly suggests their S reading is that they can be paraphrased using *while*-clauses (e.g. *While sitting in the courtroom Thursday, Trump was ...*).

- (73) **Commenting on the video**, Vladislav Davankov, the deputy chairman of the state дума, **said** the law in Russia “should be applied the same to everyone”. (B2b)
- (74) **Speaking to ABC News**, the governor **said** search-and-rescue efforts were ongoing. (B9e)
- (75) **Sitting in the courtroom Thursday**, Trump was accompanied by two of his attorneys, John Lauro and Todd Blanche. (B10c)
- (76) **Talking to the strikers to-day** I found many who were not wholeheartedly in support of the action their union had taken. (A11a)

The second most frequent semantic relation conveyed by FAs was AcC/Add, which were attested exclusively in the final position. In total, 31 instances (14%) of AcC/Add were found, with eight (0.18 ipt) occurring in the OC and 23 (0.83 ipt) in the NC. A mere glance at the normalised frequencies suggests that difference between the two corpora in terms of frequencies of FAs expressing AcC/Add was highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ . As for the pitfalls in determining the semantics of AcC/Add in final position, the distinction between AcC/Add and Ex/Sp was already enquired into in the previous paragraphs pertaining to Ex/Sp. There were, however, more semantic ambiguities to be addressed, namely the distinction between AcC/Add on the one hand, and S and M on the other. Consider examples (77) – (79) below.

- (77) Smith’s 45-page indictment asserts that Trump and his associates disseminated lies alleging widespread fraud in the 2020 election, *while convening slates of fake electors in key battleground states*. (B10f)
- (78) These grassroots community organisers, best known for real living wage campaigns, have set up voter registration hubs to reach communities around the country through mosques, churches and temples, *training leaders to register people*. (B3a)
- (79) What is perhaps more interesting even than the potential result is the way the Greens have gone about it, *often placing more focus on sheer energy, local connections and reliability than specific policies*. (B28c)

While the previously mentioned examples (69) and (70) are simply attached to the matrix clause without implying any other potential more informative relations, examples (77) – (79) have some other inherent semantics which must not be glossed over. Both (77) and (78) were found to express the relation of S with their matrices. The vast majority of FAs expressing S in final position was augmented by *while*, much like in (77). In the case of (78), the *while*-

paraphrase appears more plausible than *and*-coordination, ruling out the AcC/Add reading and suggesting the interpretation as S. Example (79) was identified as expressing the M relation as it directly discusses the manner in which the Greens have gone about gaining election success and mustering support of their voters.

Interestingly, we have also unveiled a new, emergent trend prevalent in the NC (10 instances out of 23) but completely absent in the OC, namely the overt explication of the AcC/Add relation by the head verb *add* in the FA, as in (80) and (81).

(80) Russia's defence ministry said on Sunday its forces had repelled attacks across three sections of the frontline, *adding that Ukraine was pressing most actively in the Zaporizhzhia region.* (B20b)

(81) "First there is a judgment of whether they actually meant it," she said, *adding: "the threshold is so high because the system is buckling.* (B31a)

Transitioning to the third most frequently occurring semantic relation of FAs (25 instances in total, i.e. 12%), FAs with the reading of Res appear invariably, and unsurprisingly, in the final position. The OC featured eight (0.18 ipt) such clauses, accounting for 11% of all FAs found therein, and the NC contained 17 (0.62 ipt) FAs with the Res interpretation, constituting 12%. The disparity in distribution between the corpora was found statistically significant,  $p = .002$ , with Res semantics being more prevalent in the NC. In (82), the Res reading is elucidated by the presence of the causative verb *cause*. Such an explication was rare in our data, occurring only twice out of 25 instances, with the only other overt clue being the prepositional verb *result in*. Customarily, the Res reading of the particular FA in final position was simply implied, as illustrated by (83). This example may appear ambiguous between Post and Res, since the Post reading is inherent in any Res interpretation; however, the FA clearly highlights the consequences of the actions conveyed by the matrix, thus unequivocally warranting the Res interpretation.

(82) A period of soaring inflation has seen the cost of the scheme surge since 2022, *causing the government's own spending watchdog to question the long-term viability.* (B7b)

(83) Demonstrators set fire to a police jeep and a grenade was thrown at another jeep, *setting it on fire and injuring a policeman.* (A63c)

The fifth most frequent semantic relation communicated by FAs in our dataset was Ant, accounting for 5% of all FAs, making it quite an infrequent phenomenon. Ant relation appeared five (0.11 ipt) times (i.e. 7%) in the OC, and five (0.18 ipt) times (i.e. 4%) in the NC. Manifesting a relatively high positional variability, the Ant relation was attested in all three

positions, but, overall, the most frequent one is the initial position, respecting the iconicity principle.

Together, there were five instances of Ant signalled by perfect participial constructions, as illustrated in (84). It is noteworthy that perfect participial constructions appear only in FAs with Ant reading in the final position. A possible explanation might be that, owing to the iconicity principle, FAs expressing Ant tend to occupy the initial position, but when Ant occurs in the final position, a further clue in the form of perfect participial needs to be provided for the relation to be interpreted as such.

- (84) Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, is expected to attend on Wednesday at an inaugural meeting of a Nato-Ukraine council designed to foster closer cooperation – *having previously warned he may not attend at all if his membership pathway demands were not met.* (B13e)

Additionally, time adverbials and certain verbs may serve as indicators of the underlying Ant reading. Examples (85) and (86) illustrate this point clearly.

- (85) *Moving in the House of Commons yesterday the second reading of the Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill*, Mr G. R. MITCHISON (Lab. Kettering) said it dealt with “odds and ends” of local government. (A18a)

- (86) It comes after the NEC announced it would appoint the next leader of Birmingham council, *following an internal report that said the Labour group was riven by factions.* (B26b)

In case of (85), the time adverbial *yesterday* directly explicates the ‘time-before’ interpretation. As illustrated by example (86), certain verbs such as *follow* clearly indicate that the content of the FA must have occurred prior to the event communicated by the matrix.

One other semantic relation which was not completely negligible and thus merits discussion was C/R, constituting 3% of the total FAs. While five (0.11 ipt) instances (7%) were attested in the OC, the NC contained only two (0.07 ipt) instances (i.e. 1%). Much like Ant, the data suggest a relative positional variability of FAs expressing C/R, with C/R occurring in each position. The variability notwithstanding, in accordance with the observations of the previous studies, the prototypical position associated with C/R was the initial (87) and final position (88).

- (87) The results of Mr Churchill's conversations with Mr Eisenhower (he was still only President-designate) were reported to the Foreign Office, but *being private conversations with a President who had not yet assumed office*, they could not be divulged. (A7h)

(88) Boos, the Alsatian S.S. sergeant, who was condemned to death at the Oradour trial and whose verdict is untouched by the amnesty since he was a volunteer and not a conscript, was tried again to-day by the same Court on a charge of treason, *having voluntarily borne arms against France*. (A10b)

Example (87) is a prototypical C/R relation due to (i) the inherent Ant semantics, and (ii) the head of the FA being a stative copular verb *be*, which is often associated with C/R interpretation (Fuhre, 2010, p. 60). Featuring a perfect participial head, the FA in (88) may well be interpreted as mere Ant; however, since the FA provides a direct reason as to why the individual was tried in court, and as the relation of Ant is naturally a part of C/R, the relation was determined as C/R.

Semantic relations		initial		medial		final		Total		Grand total
		OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	OC	NC	
More informative	Cont		2 (1.4%)			1 (1.3%)		1 (1.3%)	2 (1.4%)	3 (1.4%)
	I				1 (0.7%)				1 (0.7%)	1 (0.5%)
	C/R	2 (2.7%)	1 (0.7%)	1 (1.3%)		2 (2.7%)	1 (0.7%)	5 (6.7%)	2 (1.4%)	7 (3.2%)
	Res					8 (10.7%)	17 ( <i>p</i> = .002) (12.2%)	8 (10.7%)	17 ( <i>p</i> = .002) (12.2%)	25 (11.6%)
	Post					1 (1.3%)		1 (1.3%)		1 (0.5%)
	Ant	3 (4%)	2 (1.4%)	1 (1.3%)		1 (1.3%)	3 (2.1%)	5 (6.6%)	5 (3.5%)	10 (4.6%)
Less informative	M					2 (2.7%)	3 (2.1%)	2 (2.7%)	3 (2.1%)	5 (2.3%)
	Ex/Sp	10 (13.3%)	18 ( <i>p</i> = .004) (12.8%)	9 (12%)	4 (2.8%)	14 (18.7%)	55 ( <i>p</i> < .001) (39%)	33 (44%)	77 ( <i>p</i> < .001) (54.6%)	110 (50.9%)
	S	7 (9.4%)	7 (5%)	1 (1.3%)		4 (5.3%)	4 (2.8%)	12 (16%)	11 (7.8%)	23 (10.6%)
	AcC/Add					8 (10.7%)	23 ( <i>p</i> < .001) (16.3%)	8 (10.7%)	23 ( <i>p</i> < .001) (16.3%)	31 (14.4%)
<b>Total</b>		<b>22 (29.4%)</b>	<b>30 (21.3%)</b>	<b>12 (15.9%)</b>	<b>5 (3.5%)</b>	<b>41 (54.7%)</b>	<b>106 (75.2%)</b>	<b>75 (100%)</b>	<b>141 (100%)</b>	<b>216 (100%)</b>
<b>Grand total</b>		<b>52 (24.1%)</b>		<b>17 (7.9%)</b>		<b>147 (68%)</b>		<b>216 (100%)</b>		

Table 13 Distribution of semantic relations of FAs in various positions in the OC and NC



## 8. Discussion

### 8.1. Frequency of adverbial *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC

As already demonstrated in Section 7, the difference between the two corpora as regards frequencies of adverbial *-ing* clauses proved to be highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ . The normalised frequencies of the *-ing* clauses (2.82 in the OC and 7.95 in the NC) suggest that they were approximately 2.8 times more frequent in the NC than the OC.

The OC, featuring reports in the printed medium, was expected to be considerably more restricted in terms of space available for a single report. Hence, a higher degree of condensation using *-ing* clauses had been anticipated to occur therein, but our results indicate the exact opposite trend. A tentative explanation is suggested in the following paragraphs.

To account for the observed differences, we also sought to compare paragraph complexity. A random sample of 10 texts from both the OC and NC was taken, and the number of paragraphs they consisted of was counted. Further, a two-tailed independent sample *t*-test was used to determine whether or not there was a significant difference between the number of paragraphs they comprise. The reports in the NC ( $M = 20.2$ ,  $SD = 4.78$ ) compared to the news reports found in the OC ( $M = 8.9$ ,  $SD = 2.13$ ) consisted of a significantly higher number of paragraphs,  $t(18) = -6.83$ ,  $p = < .001$ .

Furthermore, we also explored whether the paragraphs in the NC comprised fewer sentences than the ones in the OC. For this purpose, the same texts were used and the mean number of sentences per a paragraph was calculated. Using a two-tailed independent sample *t*-test, it was discovered that the paragraphs in the OC featured significantly more sentences ( $M = 2.96$ ,  $SD = 0.65$ ) than their NC counterparts ( $M = 1.66$ ,  $SD = 0.5$ ),  $t(18) = 5.05$ ,  $p = < .001$ , confirming the observations that online reports, as distinct from the reports found in regular printed news, consist of more paragraphs which are often composed of a single complex sentence (Lewis, 2003, p. 99).

These findings may directly account for the profusion of *-ing* clauses in the NC as opposed to the OC. Given that single paragraphs can be defined as self-contained units of discourse dealing with a single point or topic, and that the NC manifests a considerably higher number of them, they need to contain specific information on the event(s) they describe, and, in the given register, provide the necessary details. Possibly, the reason might also be the prevention of paragraphs that would be too short. While the reports in the OC most often

appeared to provide the information using a higher number of sentences grouped in longer paragraphs, e.g. (1) where there are three sentences, the reports from the NC appeared to show preference for conveying the information using considerably shorter, fragmented paragraphs, often comprising only a single complex sentence, as in (2). One possible interpretation of this is, therefore, that in order for the paragraphs in the NC to be informative enough, the supplementary and background information was appended using more *-ing* clauses, which would also go hand in hand with Lewis' (2003, p. 99) claim that compression is even more pronounced in the online news genre. Generally speaking, we can therefore conclude that *-ing* clauses seem to play much more prominent a role in the online newspaper reports, and that it may primarily be attributable to the nature of the medium, which appears to create a perfect habitat where *-ing* clauses may thrive due to their function of syntactic condensers.

- (1) This may sound grotesque to those for whom Paris and Prague are both foreign capitals. It must be remembered however that in France Prague is a long way away, whereas measures taken against the Communist party by the French Government do give the Communists one immense advantage. It is they who have the monopoly of slogans calling for the liberation of men under arrest. (A1)
- (2) Other elements of the plan would include easier access to radiotherapy and a so-called cancer survival research act, based on a US example, giving funding for research into cancers with the lowest survival rates. (B1)

Furthermore, the findings of this study corroborate the case that Lewis (2003, p. 97) was making: "Online delivery is based on the combination of a small screen and a vast storage capacity. Presentation is therefore piecemeal, yet unbounded spatially or temporally." The high frequency of very short paragraphs is aligned with the bite-sized presentation, also called atomization (Lewis, 2003, p. 97), while the spatial unboundedness seems to be reflected in our research by the fact that an average report in the NC featured approximately 150 more words ( $M = 767.33$ ,  $SD = 158.44$ ) than the reports in the OC ( $M = 620.9$ ,  $SD = 202.75$ ), leading to a statistically significant difference,  $t(106) = -3.79$ ,  $p < .001$ .

## 8.2. Augmentation of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC

The preference for augmentation is statistically more manifest in the NC,  $p = .016$ , with 29% (56/192, i.e. 2.03 ipt) of all *-ing* clauses therein found to be augmented, while the OC exhibits augmentation in 46% (58/126, i.e. 1.3 ipt) of total instances. One of the possible explanations for this difference is that the NC features slightly (though not at the level of statistical significance) more AVGs (1.38 ipt), which are augmented by default, than the OC

(0.96 ipt), thereby inflating the number of augmented *-ing* clauses in the NC. Alternatively, the NC also features more *with*-augmented ACs (12, i.e. 0.44 ipt) than the OC (4, i.e. 0.09 ipt).

The findings of this study regarding AVGs in particular merit discussion. Firstly, the results suggest that they are undergoing a certain shift as far as their augmentors are concerned: while in the OC, seven different augmentors for AVGs were attested, only five types were attested in the NC, with, for instance, *in* being the second most frequent in the OC but completely absent in the NC (cf. 7.2.1.). However, any conclusions based on such a relatively limited sample must be drawn with caution. It seems, nonetheless, that AVGs in the online news reports register exhibit larger consistency in and smaller range of augmentors available, further evidencing the postulate that the *-ing* clauses in the NC manifest higher structural uniformity and homogeneity.

Regarding the augmentation of ACs, it was demonstrated that ACs in the NC included *with*-augmentation in 92% of all the cases, whereas the ones in the OC featured it 50% of the times, suggesting an increasing trend in the inclusion of *with*-augmentation. A possible motivation for the surge might be the need for easier processing of the construction, given that *with*-ACs were shown to be easier to process than non-augmented ACs (van de Pol & Hoffmann, 2016, p. 339), and an aspiration for uniformity of the modern press, a trend which we have observed for other areas than merely augmentation as well.

Contingency Tables

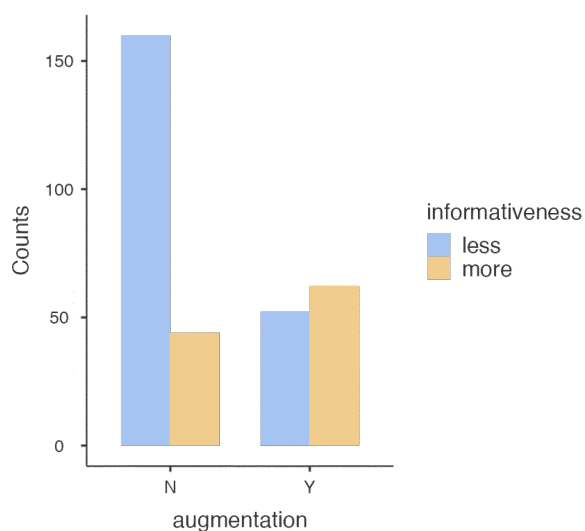
augmentation		informativeness		Total
		less	more	
N	Observed	160	44	204
	% within row	78.4 %	21.6 %	100.0 %
Y	Observed	52	62	114
	% within row	45.6 %	54.4 %	100.0 %
Total	Observed	212	106	318
	% within row	66.7 %	33.3 %	100.0 %

**Table 14** *Correlation between augmentation and more/less informative semantic relations*

Drawing on previous research, our investigation also set out to shed light on whether or not some variables studied in this paper could be said to be related, with one such correlation being the link between augmentation and semantic interpretation. Previous research has

indicated that increased necessity of augmentation was triggered by the increased interpretational complexity (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 204; Kortmann, 1991, pp. 198–199). The Chi-squared test for independence was utilised to check whether or not the (un)augmentation

was correlated with more/less informative semantic interpretations of *-ing* clauses in our data. Combining the OC and NC together, the relationship between the variables was highly



**Figure 8** Bar chart of the correlation between augmentation and more/less informative semantic relations

statistically significant,  $X^2(1, N = 318) = 35.4, p < .001$ . Confirming the findings of Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 204), the results of our observation hence also suggest that, overall, the ‘more informative’ semantic relations, exerting more strain on the reader/listener by virtue of their complexity, are positively correlated with, and give rise to, the increased need for augmentation, thus facilitating processing and interpretation of the given *-ing* clause. Moreover, the correlation was stronger in the NC,  $X^2(1, N = 192) = 33, p < .001$ , than

in the OC,  $X^2(1, N = 126) = 6.4, p < .001$ . Given that this correlation indeed obtains and that a slightly higher number of ‘more informative’ semantic relations is attested in the OC (35%, i.e. 44/126) than in the NC (32%, i.e. 62/192), we may also assume that the higher number of ‘more informative’ relations present in the OC partially contributes to the higher incidence of augmentation therein.

### 8.3. Positions of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC

Statistically significant differences between positional preferences in the OC and NC have been identified only in initial and final positions. Regardless, the final position for all subtypes of *-ing* clauses is still the most frequent one.

The data suggest that the adverbial *-ing* clauses in the NC occupied the initial position significantly more frequently (38 instances, i.e. 1.36 ipt) than the ones in the OC (31 instances, i.e. 0.69 ipt),  $p = .004$ . The likely factor of this discrepancy might be the significantly higher number of FAs in the NC taking the initial position (cf. section 7.3.2), where we observed that the pattern of “*-ing* FA + subject + the rest of the sentence” was gathering momentum in the NC, possibly marking a highly productive pattern used in the news reports in 2023. This observation supports our argument of a more uniform and less diverse patterns observed in using the *-ing* clauses in the NC.

As far as the final position is concerned, the difference between the OC and NC was statistically significant,  $p < .001$ . While the *-ing* clauses in the OC are attested in the final position in 60% of the times (76/126 of *-ing* clauses therein  $\sim 1.7$  ipt), 75% of *-ing* clauses in the NC (145/192  $\sim 5.25$  ipt) were found to occupy the final position. Overall, the OC and NC differ primarily in the higher incidence of *-ing* clauses in the initial and final positions in the NC, with the proportions of medial position remaining practically unchanged.

Moreover, using a Chi-squared test for independence, we aimed to examine the correlation between the position of *-ing* clauses and augmentation of *-ing* clauses in our data, a probe motivated by the indices in previous research that sentence-initial and medial positions are increasingly negatively correlated with preference for augmentation (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016, p. 204). The test showed that there was no significant association between positional preference and augmentation of *-ing* clauses,  $X^2(2, N = 318) = 1.08, p = .58$ , hence not corroborating the previous findings. The correlation was statistically insignificant both in the OC,  $X^2(2, N = 126) = 0.54, p = .76$ , and in the NC,  $X^2(2, N = 192) = 1.59, p = .45$ , when examined separately.

Further, drawing on the extensive summary of Fonteyn and Pol (2016, pp. 196–198) postulating that sentence-initial *-ing* clauses tend to favour temporal and CCC relations, i.e. more informative semantic relations, we have sought to scrutinize whether or not such a relation holds in our data set. In an attempt to examine the correlation between the position of *-ing* clauses and more/less informative semantic interpretations of *-ing* clauses, we employed a Chi-squared test for independence. The test showed that there was no significant association between positional preference and semantic interpretation of *-ing* clauses,  $X^2(2, N = 318) = 0.56, p = .76$ . The correlation was statistically insignificant both in the OC,  $X^2(2, N = 126) = 1.93, p = .38$ , and in the NC,  $X^2(2, N = 192) = 0.78, p = .68$ , when examined separately.

#### **8.4. Punctuation of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC**

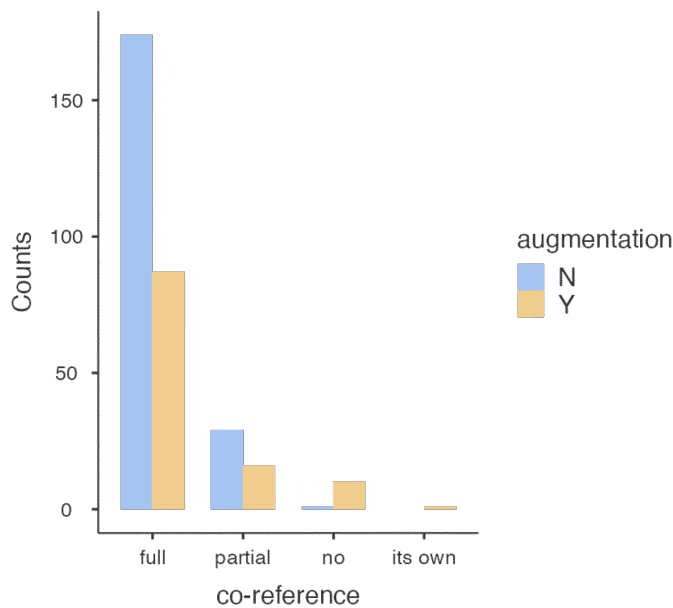
One of the more salient findings of our analysis is how the *-ing* clauses in printed newspaper reports from 1953 differ from the ones in 2023 online reports as far as punctuation is concerned. While 64% of *-ing* clauses in the OC (i.e. 81/126  $\sim 1.81$  ipt) feature an overt punctuation mark, with the rest left unpunctuated, hence not reflecting the intonational break, the vast majority of *-ing* clauses in the NC (83%, i.e. 159/192  $\sim 5.76$  ipt) are punctuated. This difference was found to be highly statistically significant,  $p < .001$ .

So far, we have noted several times the trend of much higher stylistic uniformity which seems strikingly more prominent in the contemporary online newspaper reports, whether it is

regarding report or paragraph length or the positional preference of *-ing* clauses. The same case, we believe, could be made for punctuation, with the *-ing* clauses in the NC demonstrating manifest homogeneity as regards punctuation, reflecting the intonational break in speaking. Online news reports thus display a more unified style, with a decreasing the role of idiosyncrasy of news writers (Crystal, 2018, p. 380) and hence boosting predictability. Furthermore, the longer length of sentences in the NC and their uniformity may also explain this phenomenon.

### 8.5. Co-reference of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC

The most common type of subject co-reference was full co-reference, both in the OC (109/126 ~ 2.44 ipt, i.e. 87%) and NC (152/192 ~ 5.5 ipt, i.e. 79%). The data clearly suggest that full co-reference was significantly more frequent in the NC,  $p < .001$ . Partial co-reference, relative to full co-reference, occurred only marginally, although it was significantly more frequent in the NC (32/192, i.e. 1.16 ipt) than the OC (13/126, i.e. 0.29 ipt),  $p < .001$ . Lastly,



**Figure 9** Bar chart of the correlation between degrees of co-reference and preference for augmentation

the least frequent type was no co-reference, with the OC featuring 4 such instances (0.09 ipt) and 8 (0.29) were found in the NC, indicating that no co-reference was again more frequent in the NC,  $p = .042$ . While FAs and AVGs recurrently exhibited only the former two types of co-reference, with the only exception being the occurrence of no-coreference in case of an AVG which had its own subject, ACs demonstrated a high frequency of no co-reference, primarily in the NC.

Drawing on the study conducted by Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 206), which suggests that the degree of co-reference might affect augmentation only to a limited extent, we executed the Chi-squared test for independence to assess the relationship between the variables co-reference and augmentation. Our analysis revealed that there was a highly significant relationship

Contingency Tables

co-reference		augmentation		Total
		N	Y	
full	Observed	174	87	261
	Expected	167.434	93.566	261.00
partial	Observed	29	16	45
	Expected	28.868	16.132	45.00
no	Observed	1	10	11
	Expected	7.057	3.943	11.00
its own	Observed	0	1	1
	Expected	0.642	0.358	1.00
Total	Observed	204	114	318
	Expected	204.000	114.000	318.00

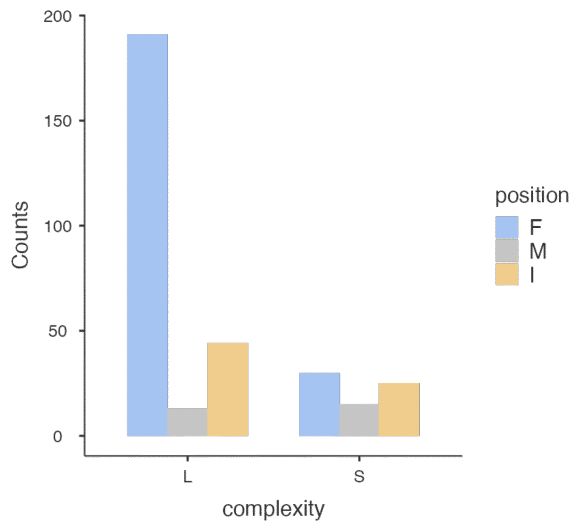
**Table 15** Correlation between degrees of co-reference and preference for augmentation

between the two variables,  $X^2(3, N = 318) = 17, p < .001$ , providing evidence for the case that the decoding of *-ing* clauses with a low degree of co-referentiality might be facilitated by the presence of augmentation. As can be seen from Figure 7 and Table 15, the tendency for including augmentation for *-ing* clauses rises with the decrease in co-referentiality. In other words, the lower the co-referentiality of the  $S_M$  with the subject of the given *-ing* clause, the higher the likelihood of the *-ing* clause being augmented.

## 8.6. Complexity of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC

As far as complexity (i.e. length) of *-ing* clauses is concerned, the OC (95/126 ~ 2.13 ipt, i.e. 75% of *-ing* clauses were *long*) and NC (153/196 ~ 5.54 ipt, i.e. 80% of *-ing* clauses were *long*) exhibited a highly statistically significant difference,  $p < .001$ . As for the rationale behind the inclination for the longer length of *-ing* clauses overall, the need for exemplification, elaboration, and extensive provision of detail, owing to the register of news reports, cannot be disputed (cf. section 5.3.1. for more details), and hence the *-ing* clauses need to be longer to accommodate to this requirement.

The higher complexity of *-ing* clauses in the NC goes hand in hand with the point raised in Section 8.1, namely that the NC features higher number of shorter paragraphs often consisting of only one highly-complex (i.e. *long*) sentence. Given the need to still provide explanations and details, *-ing* clauses in the NC fulfil this role instead of finite clauses, leading to the increased sentence length.



**Figure 10** Bar chart of correlation between complexity and position

Contingency Tables

complexity	position			Total
	F	M	I	
L	191	13	44	248
S	30	15	25	70
Total	221	28	69	318

**Table 16** Correlation between complexity and position

Further, we also sought to account for the reason why complex, in other words long, *-ing* clauses group primarily in the final position and, to a lesser extent, the initial position. There was a reason to corroborate our intuition whether the variable *complexity* is correlated with the variable *position*. In an attempt to do so, a Chi-squared test for independence was carried out. The analysis proved that the relationship between the variables is highly statistically significant,  $X^2(2, N = 318) = 33.5, p < .001$ . As demonstrated by Figure 8 above, the higher the complexity of *-ing* clauses, the more the clause gravitates towards the final position (occasionally even the initial position). In contrast, the shorter *-ing* clauses seem to exhibit much higher positional mobility. This phenomenon might be explained by the higher burden the more complex *-ing* clauses exert on the reader end-weight

principle). On the contrary, when the clause is shorter, the strain on the memory and processing of the reader is not so pronounced.

## 8.7. Semantic interpretation of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC

As far as differences in semantic interpretation of *-ing* clauses in the OC and NC are concerned, the only notable disparities were, as the Table 17 below suggests, in Conc, Res, Ex/Sp, and AcC/Add, all of which are significantly more abundant in the NC. With respect to the proportion of more/less informative relations, they are nearly the same in the OC (35% more informative and 65% less informative) and NC (32.3% more informative and 67.7% less informative).



Semantic relations		OC		NC		total	
		Σ	%	Σ	%	Σ	%
More informative	Conc			3 (0.11) $p = .028$	1.6%	3	0.9%
	Cont	1 (0.02)	0.8%	3 (0.11)	1.6%	4	1.3%
	Cond						
	I	11 (0.25)	8.7%	14 (0.51) $p = .067$	7.3%	25	7.9%
	P						
	C/R	7 (0.16)	5.7%	3 (0.11)	1.6%	10	3.1%
	Res	8 (0.18)	6.3%	17 (0.62) $p = .002$	8.9%	25	7.9%
	Post	4 (0.09)	3.2%	6 (0.22)	3.1%	10	3.1%
Ant	13 (0.29)	10.3%	16 (0.58) $p = .059$	8.2%	29	9.1%	
Less informative	M	13 (0.29)	10.3%	8 (0.29)	4.2%	21	6.7%
	Ex/Sp	41 (0.92)	32.5%	83 (3) $p < .001$	43.2%	124	39%
	S	19 (0.43)	15.1%	11 (0.4)	5.7%	30	9.4%
	AcC/Add	9 (0.2)	7.1%	28 (1.01) $p < .001$	14.6%	37	11.6%
<b>total</b>		<b>126 (2.82)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>192 (6.95)</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 17** *Semantic relations across corpora (normalised frequencies in ipt are adduced in brackets)*

The most notable difference between the OC and NC in terms of the semantic relations attested lies in the frequency of Ex/Sp, which was much more recurrent in the NC (3 ipt compared to 0.92 in the OC),  $p < .001$ . In the NC, it represented 43.2% of all *-ing* clauses found therein, making it nearly three times as frequent as the second most common relation, AcC/Add. This abundance might be attributable to the higher frequency of FAs in the NC, as they were found to express Ex/Sp more often than any other relation (cf. 7.3.6 Figure 5). Arguably, the overall incidence of Ex/Sp in newspaper reports is far from unforeseen, as the register needs to provide its readers with a plethora of descriptive, illustrative details of the main events of the news story. As for its higher attestation in the NC in particular, as we have noted already in Section 8.1, the online news reports tend to feature the descriptive details by means of *-ing* clauses as opposed to the OC, where there are many more shorter finite sentences fulfilling this function. Moreover, its higher markedly incidence in the NC is also attested to by the higher occurrence of finally-positioned *-ing* clauses therein, a position where this semantic relation typically occurs.

The second noteworthy difference between the corpora is the semantic relation of AcC/Add, which is significantly more numerous in the NC (1.01 ipt against 0.2 in the OC),  $p < .001$ . The rationale behind the higher occurrence of AcC/Add in the online news reports may lie in its significantly higher frequency in ACs (cf. 7.1.6) and FAs (cf. 7.3.6) in the NC. Further,

the case of AcC/Add is in a similar vein as the one of Ex/Sp as described in the previous paragraph.

The last major difference of the ‘old’ and ‘new’ reports is in the frequency of the Res semantic relation, with it being considerably more recurrent in the NC (0.62 ipt as opposed to 0.18 ipt in the OC),  $p = .002$ . Further, the OC and NC also differ in the frequency of Conc semantics, which was observed only in the NC,  $p = .028$  (the reasons for its absence in the OC were clarified in Section 7.2.1). Additionally, two marginally significant differences were observed: frequencies of I and Ant, both of them being slightly more frequent in the NC.

### 8.8. Predicting the ‘Old/New’ typification of *-ing* clauses

To put the present research into perspective, we sought to achieve an understanding of the underlying dynamics governing and determining the differences between the news reports from 1953 and the contemporary ones from 2023. In order to be able to predict which variables (i.e. inherent features of *-ing* clauses) may have the largest bearing on the ‘Old-New’ *-ing* clause dichotomy, we have built a binomial logistic regression model in a statistical software called jamovi (Version 2.3.28, retrieved from <https://www.jamovi.org>).

Model Fit Measures					Overall Model Test		
Model	Deviance	AIC	BIC	R <sup>2</sup> <sub>N</sub>	$\chi^2$	df	p
4	379	413	477	0.1886	47.7	16	< .001

**Table 18** Binomial logistic regression model fit measure

In our endeavour to build a model with the highest explanatory power, we have been comparing the fit of different models based on the AIC score (the model with the lowest AIC score is the one with the highest explanatory power) until we have reached the strongest one, with the AIC score of 413. Further, only the variables which exhibited the most pronounced and statistically significant difference between the OC and NC were chosen as the relevant predictors so as to circumvent spurious associations, and they (along with their levels) are as follows:

- Clause type: FA, AVG, AC, FA/RR
- Semantic interpretation: AcC/Add, S, Ex/Sp, M, Ant, Post, C/R, Res, I, Cont, Conc
- Punctuation: no, comma (including other types of punctuation, e.g. bracket or dash)
- Position: I, M, F

Subsequently, the predicting variables were combined and their succession in blocks selected based on the comparison of the particular working models. If the difference between, say, Model 1 and 2 was moderately statistically significant, i.e.  $p < 0.1$ <sup>3</sup>, the variable was included in the model provided that the AIC score was lowered by its inclusion as a consequence as well. Table 18 above demonstrates that the final logistic regression model was highly statistically significant,  $X^2(16) = 47.7$ ,  $p = < .001$ . The model explained nearly 18% (Nagelkerke  $R^2$ ) of the variance in Old/New *-ing* clauses and correctly classified 69% of ‘Old’ *-ing* clauses and 63% of ‘New’ *-ing* clauses (viz. Table 19 below).

Observed	Predicted		% Correct
	old	new	
old	87	39	69.0
new	71	121	63.0

Note. The cut-off value is set to 0.65

**Table 19** Results of the classification table

Table 20 below showcases a number of interesting tendencies, some more statistically significant (the ones below  $p < .05$  are highlighted in the table by bold typeface) than others. The strongest predictor of the ‘New’ *-ing* clause status was, most remarkably, punctuation,  $p = .017$ . According to the odds ratio measure, the *-ing* clauses in the NC were nearly 2.6 times more likely to be overtly punctuated than not, further supporting our argument of the news reports in the NC demonstrating strikingly higher integrity and unity of appearance, which might be directly attributable to the shift in medium from the printed press to online news. As the latter need to reflect the constant flux of things and events in the world in real time in order for it to remain relevant, it leaves the writers with little to no time to spend on editing the individual articles and reports with quite as much care. Consequently, it can be argued, the news writers may well be opting for ‘boilerplate texts’ with a firm, given structure, resulting in a lower impact of idiosyncrasy on the final text. Related to this structural and superficial homogeneity is the predictor *position*, with the final position, though not at the level

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<sup>3</sup> The reason for the higher and more liberal tolerance is the fact that we merely sought to identify potential predictors rather than prove or refute hypotheses.

of statistical significance ( $p < .05$ ), being nearly twice more likely to take place in the NC than the initial position, which is not surprising given the previous research findings (viz. Section 9.3).

Additionally, semantic interpretation of I was found to be a highly statistically significant predictor of the ‘New’ *-ing* clauses,  $p = .048$ , as they are nearly four times more likely to occur, when compared with S, in the NC. As for Ex/Sp, the predictor was determined as moderately statistically significant,  $p = .074$ , being approximately 2.3 times more likely to occur than S. Most surprisingly, considering the fact that the OC and NC differed significantly in the relative number of *-ing* clause types (i.e. FAs, AVGs, ACs, and FA/RRs), none of these predictors were revealed as statistically significant.

Model Coefficients - old/new

Predictor	Estimate	SE	Z	p	Odds ratio	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower	Upper
Intercept	-1.842	0.612	-3.0083	0.003	0.158	0.0477	0.526
clause type:							
FA – AVG	0.620	0.511	1.2147	0.224	1.860	0.6834	5.060
FA/RR – AVG	-0.450	0.968	-0.4646	0.642	0.638	0.0957	4.250
AC – AVG	0.168	0.722	0.2326	0.816	1.183	0.2875	4.866
semantic interpretation:							
Ex/Sp – S	0.853	0.477	1.7867	0.074	2.346	0.9206	5.976
Post – S	1.458	0.869	1.6773	0.093	4.297	0.7822	23.602
C/R – S	-0.651	0.829	-0.7848	0.433	0.522	0.1027	2.649
Ant – S	0.964	0.607	1.5890	0.112	2.622	0.7985	8.607
AcC/Add – S	0.952	0.606	1.5726	0.116	2.592	0.7909	8.495
Cont – S	1.400	1.232	1.1367	0.256	4.056	0.3628	45.348
I – S	1.372	0.695	1.9756	<b>0.048</b>	3.944	1.0109	15.390
M – S	0.396	0.695	0.5694	0.569	1.485	0.3806	5.795
Res – S	0.370	0.645	0.5744	0.566	1.448	0.4092	5.125
Conc – S	16.453	840.274	0.0196	0.984	1.40e+7	0.0000	Inf
punctuation:							
comma – no	0.955	0.401	2.3821	<b>0.017</b>	2.599	1.1844	5.702
position:							
F – I	0.650	0.356	1.8245	0.068	1.916	0.9529	3.852
M – I	-0.327	0.665	-0.4910	0.623	0.721	0.1957	2.658

Note. Estimates represent the log odds of "old/new = new" vs. "old/new = old"

**Table 20** *The old/new binomial logistic regression model*

## 9. Conclusion

The main objective of the present thesis was to identify quantitative and qualitative changes in the usage of adverbial *-ing* clauses in news writing over time and two different media of delivery. The tendencies were tracked by analysing several inherent characteristics of the so-called “adverbial *ing*-clause network”, as postulated by Fonteyn and Pol (2016), comprising three closely related constructions, namely free adjuncts (FAs), absolute constructions (ACs), and adverbial verbal gerunds (AVGs).

The investigation enquires into the register of newspaper reports via a diachronic lens, comparing adverbial *-ing* clauses in two manually compiled corpora of newspaper reports from *The Guardian*, the Old Corpus (OC, articles from 1953 in printed format) and New Corpus (NC, articles from 2023 in online format). Besides allowing for the scrutiny of the developmental changes and patterns of *-ing* clauses over the period of 70 years, the diachronic perspective also enabled us to map the changes (particularly in frequency) to the shift in medium from the printed medium to the one online.

The results lend themselves readily to the characterisation of the newspaper reports, both the ones online and in print, from the point of view of the adverbial *-ing* clause network, as these constructions were proven to be highly abundant (more so in the NC) in this register due to their condensing function, enabling the news writers to express many details by their utilization. Further, drawing on the findings of previous studies (e.g. Fonteyn & Pol, 2016; Kortmann, 1991), the inherent aspects of *-ing* clauses were also examined for potential associations with each other.

### **RQ1: How do newspaper reports from 1953 differ from the contemporary ones from 2023 in terms of *-ing* clauses and their integral features?**

The statistical tests proved that the differences between the newspaper reports in the OC and NC in terms of adverbial *-ing* clauses were manifold. First and foremost, the NC exhibited a sharp increase in their usage, being approximately 2.8 times more frequent than in the OC (2.82 ipt in the OC and 7.95 ipt in the NC). This surge was attributed to the distinct nature of the online medium, featuring many short paragraphs often comprising a single highly complex sentence, which conveys a high number of propositions, as opposed to the printed medium where longer paragraphs that consist of a number of shorter, syntactically simpler sentences prevail. The shorter length of paragraphs in the NC notwithstanding, they still need to convey the required details pertinent to the news events described, thus employing the adverbial *-ing*

clauses, the major function of which is that of sentence condensation, or, owing to the lower spatial constraints, clause addition, to great effect. This fragmentation of 2023 newspaper reports, which goes hand in hand with the higher preference for condensation using, among other means, adverbial *-ing* clauses, along with the spatial unboundedness – reflected by the larger length of the 2023 reports (767 words on average in the NC as opposed to 620.9 in the OC) – constitutes some of the key differences between the 2023 and 1953 newspaper reports.

Furthermore, the markedly higher homogeneity in terms of the *-ing* clauses employed of 2023 news reports was also attributed to the shift in medium. As online newspapers are desperately fighting for gaining more readers, who opt for the online news to be up to date on all the latest issues and events happening all over the world, they need to report on newsworthy events incredibly fast, leaving little to no space for the news writers to craft highly idiosyncratic reports and instead opting for boilerplate sentences, hence contributing to the overall homogeneity of the modern newspaper reports as opposed to the printed ones from 1953.

Secondly, differences between the integral features of *-ing* clauses in the two periods were also identified. Augmentation was found to be more prevalent overall in the NC, although a higher proportion of the identified *-ing* clauses was found in the OC. Further, though the final position was observed to be the preferred option both in the 2023 and 1953 reports, the *-ing* clauses in the NC exhibit a higher positional unity, with the majority of them taking either the final or, less frequently, the initial position, whereas the ones in the OC are more positionally varied and heterogeneous.

Another significant difference was the degree to which *-ing* clauses were punctuated. The 2023 clauses featured a punctuation mark in 83% of the cases, whereas their 1953 counterparts only in 64%, suggesting a markedly higher homogeneity of the former as far as punctuation is concerned. This homogeneity, as was argued, may be the result of the conspicuous lack of idiosyncrasy of the modern reports possibly due to stricter in-house style rules and the use of ‘boilerplate’ sentences, aiding in the acceleration of the process of drafting news reports in the present society, which is increasingly more reliant on and in anticipation of fast news delivery.

Further, as regard co-reference, both full, partial, and no co-reference were found to be more frequent in the NC, with the most frequent one overall, in accordance with the findings reported by previous research, being full co-reference. The attestation of the other types were marginal. Higher complexity was proven to be more prevalent in the 2023 reports, which was to be anticipated given the arguments noted in the previous paragraph. Lastly, notable

differences were also observed in terms of the semantic interpretation of the *-ing* clauses in the two periods, with the relations of Conc, Res, Ex/Sp, and AcC/Add being markedly more frequent in the NC.

**RQ2: What are the trends in usage of *-ing* clauses in the newspaper reports register in the given time span?**

The present study revealed numerous intriguing trends in the usage of adverbial *-ing* clauses, which have been observed to have either newly emerged or disappeared over the course of the 70 years. First, in ACs, there were large differences in augmentation, with the 1953 reports maintaining a balance between the augmented and non-augmented variant while the contemporary reports from 2023 exhibiting an overwhelming preference for *with*-augmentation. What is more our data corroborate the findings of Pol and Hoffmann (2016, p. 339) in that *with*-augmentation may be even perceived as obligatory, particularly when expressing the elaboration semantics (cf. Section 7.1.1). In other words, should the *with*-augmentation be removed, the sentence sounds unnatural and resembling run-on sentences. Intriguing and compelling though the case may be, it has to be noted that the attestation of ACs were rather limited in our probe to allow for reliable, substantiated generalisations.

The second pronounced trend, which differed across the OC and NC, was the choice of augmentors of AVGs. While the majority of them remained unchanged throughout the studied period of 70 years, two augmentors were identified to have undergone certain developments, namely *in* and *despite*. Although the former was the second most frequently employed augmentor in the 1953 reports, it was not attested even a single time in the NC, suggesting that *in* might have fallen out of vogue some time before the present time, and with it, the semantic relation of S ceased to be expressed by AVGs in the 2023 reports. On the other hand, *despite* was not attested at all in the OC, while it was observed three times in the NC as an augmentor of AVGs. Predominately, however, *despite* was used as a part of the construction *despite* + a noun phrase in the NC, but in the OC, the word itself did not occur at all.

Third, it was observed that unlike FAs and ACs, AVGs in both the OC and NC disprefer punctuation in approximately 70% of the cases. In the former two structural types of *-ing* clauses, punctuation directly reflects, and serves as a visual representation of, the intonational break made in speaking, regardless of the position a given FA or AC finds itself in. However, our interpretation suggests that the intonational break is not always made in AVGs, and, more importantly, that the position of the AVG has a direct bearing on the inclusion/exclusion of the

break. When in initial position, AVGs were punctuated the majority of times unless their length in words was very short. Medial position was shown to exclude punctuation in just over 50% of the cases studied. Moreover, the presence/absence of the punctuation mark was observed to affect the way a given AVG was pronounced (i.e. its presence seems to lead the reader to include the intonational break, as opposed to its omission, which discourages the reader from doing so). The norm for AVGs in final position was the non-inclusion of a punctuation mark and, correspondingly, the omission of the intonational break. Nonetheless, it was argued that should the author desire the proposition conveyed by the AVG in final position to be perceived as more subordinate, the punctuation mark is inserted, hinting to the reader that the intonational break should be included as well.

The fourth point comprises two smaller, though interesting, revelations. The first is to do with partial co-reference of FAs in the final position in the NC. It was shown that over a half of them (64%) was co-referent not with the subject of the matrix, but with the entirety of the matrix. This was not at all common in the OC, suggesting a possible emergent trend in the ‘new’ articles. The second trend, which was completely absent in the OC, is the overt explication of the semantic relation of ‘addition’ (which is treated as a part of the relation AcC/Add in this thesis) in the NC by using the present participle of the verb *add* to head the FA. This was noted in 10 out of the total 23 AcC/Add attested in the NC.

The last striking trend, which was not prevalent at all in the OC, was taken notice of in the NC, namely the higher proportion of FAs in the initial position at the absolute beginning of the whole sentence. In fact, its occurrence in the NC – and its complete absence in the OC – was so conspicuous (21.3% of all FAs in the NC) that we were led to postulate that the pattern “-ing FA + S + the rest of the sentence” in fact is a prefabricated grammatical structure utilised to a great effect in 2023 newspaper reports. The fact that not a single instance deviated from this pattern in the NC attests to the fact that it may be considered a “boilerplate” structure, saving time for the news writers in crafting their reports and contributing to the lower idiosyncrasy of the contemporary reports.

### **RQ3: How are the individual features of *-ing* clauses associated with each other?**

As previous research has suggested a number of correlations between the individual features of *-ing* clauses, we sought to corroborate whether or not they obtain for our specific data set too. The associations that were confirmed will be mentioned first, followed by the correlations which our research did not confirm.



First, augmentation was proven to be strongly positively correlated with the more informative semantic relations since their complexity exerts more of a strain on the reader to interpret them correctly, thus triggering the need for elucidation of the target relation overtly by the presence of an augmentor. Turning now to the postulate that the lower co-referentiality of the matrix subject and the corresponding *-ing* clause leads to higher processing demand, which was subsequently linked to a higher likelihood of such an *-ing* clause being augmented to mitigate the high requirements on processing, this association was proven to be strongly correlated, confirming the observations noted by Fonteyn and Pol (2016, p. 206). Lastly, a highly positive correlation was observed between the complexity of an *-ing* clause (i.e. its length in words) and its position relative to its matrix, with the more complex *-ing* clauses preferring the final (occasionally even the initial) position, where they are on the outside boundaries of the matrix clause rather than severing it in half, thus not interfering with the matrix at all and facilitating easier processing of the *-ing* clause.

Previous research (Fonteyn & Pol, 2016) also suggested that there exists a negative correlation between initial and medial positions and augmentation, meaning that the initially and medially positioned *-ing* clauses are unlikely to be augmented. This association, however, was not corroborated by our data. Further, the link between semantic relations of *-ing* clauses and their position was not confirmed either, meaning that the present enquiry was unable to prove that certain semantic relations tend to be more frequent than not in certain positions in the sentence.

To summarize, the first hypothesis has been confirmed (the *-ing* clause frequency has increased). The second hypothesis, concerning the differences in the distribution among the *-ing* clause subtypes, reflecting the change of the medium, has also been confirmed and documented in depth.

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## 11. Resumé

Tato diplomová práce mapuje změny v používání *-ing* vedlejších vět v adverbiální funkci v britských novinových článcích v časovém horizontu 70 let porovnáním tištěných novinových článků z roku 1953 s novinovými články online z roku 2023. Toto porovnání bylo stimulováno třemi faktory: (1) zvýšeným výskytem nefinitních vedlejších vět v psaném jazyce v minulém (tj. 20. století) (Malá, 2017), (2) změnou média z tištěného na online, a (3) absencí charakteristiky adverbiálních *-ing* klauzí v novinovém registru. Konkrétněji se tato diplomová práce zabývá po vzoru Fonteyn & Pol (2016) “systémem adverbiálních *-ing* klauzí” – který sestává z volných adjunktů, absolutních konstrukcí a adverbiálních verbálních gerundií – v registru novinových zpráv excerpovaných z novin *The Guardian*.

Vzhledem k diachronní srovnávací povaze tohoto výzkumu byly manuálně sebrány dva korpusy: ‚Old Corpus‘ (dále jen OC), který tvoří novinové zprávy v tištěném velkoformátu z roku 1953, a ‚New Corpus‘ (dále jen NC), který sestává z novinových zpráv z roku 2023 v online formátu. Toto diachronní hledisko umožňuje srovnání jednak rozdílů v četnosti *-ing* klauzí mezi danými obdobími, jednak případné změny v inherentních vlastnostech těchto závislých přítomně-participiálních vět v adverbiální funkci, tj. augmentace (neboli uvození spojkou, popř. předložkou nebo jiným spojovacím výrazem, který napomáhá sémantické interpretaci), pozice, přítomnosti/absence interpunkce, míra koreference, komplexita (tj. délka *-ing* věty v počtu slov) a sémantická interpretace. Diachronní průzkum byl motivován závěry a zjištěními recentních studií, které jednohlasně poukazují nejen na nápadný nárůst celkové větné a syntaktické kondenzace ve 20. století, ale také na vyšší četnost využití nefinitních vět v adverbiální funkci v registru fikce a novin a ve stylu odborném (Malá, 2010, p. 81, 2012, pp. 250–251, 2017, pp. 163–164).

Dílčím cílem této práce bylo také odhalení a objasnění tendencí, které vyvstaly či zanikly v daném 70 letém časovém horizontu, v používání *-ing* klauzí. Vzhledem k přechodu z média tištěného, který je prostorově limitován více, na médium online se dají paralelní změny v tendencích a strategiích používání *-ing* klauzí očekávat. Posledním a neméně důležitým cílem bylo potvrdit některé z korelací mezi určitými inherentními vlastnostmi *-ing* závislých vět, které byly prokázány předchozími výzkumy. Hlavní hypotézy tohoto výzkumu jsou tyto:

1. Frekvence výskytu adverbiálních *-ing* klauzí v daném časovém horizontu stoupá.
2. Změny v rozložení četnosti mezi jednotlivými podtypy *-ing* klauzí reflektují změnu média.

Konkrétněji, záměrem této práce bylo odpovědět na následující výzkumné otázky:

1. Jak se liší novinové zprávy z roku 1953 a 2023 z hlediska *-ing* klauzí, jejich frekvence a typických znaků?
2. Jaké jsou tendence v užití *-ing* klauzí v novinových zprávách v daném časovém horizontu?
3. Jak jsou jednotlivé vlastnosti *-ing* klauzí spolu vzájemně asociovány?

Úvodní část práce (Kapitola 2) nabízí základní vhled do problematiky systému adverbciálních *-ing* klauzí a nastiňuje hlavní jevy, které lze v rámci jejich studia pozorovat. Kapitola 3 se detailně zabývá jednotlivými inherentními rysy *-ing* klauzí, tj. četnost, pozice, míra koreference podmětu věty řídící s podmětem *-ing* věty závislé a augmentace. Kapitola 4 je syntézou poznatků z dostupných studií a publikací věnující se sémantické interpretaci *-ing*ových vět. V této části jsou detailně popsány všechny sémantické role, které jsou rozděleny podle jejich časové reference do skupin simultánní, předchozí, následující a tzv. „CCC“, která zahrnuje kognitivně nejnáročnější a nejinformativnější sémantické role. Tato část neskýtá pouhý popis, nýbrž se věnuje i kritériím podle kterých lze jednotlivé role sémanticky rozlišit. Kapitola 5 představuje nastínění a popis registru novinových zpráv a jakým způsobem je s *-ing* klauzemi spjat. Jsou popsány jednak jazyk typický pro tento registr, jednak odůvodnění, proč je možné v něm očekávat značnou četnost *-ing* klauzí, jednak rozdíly mezi tištěným a online médiem v poskytování novinových zpráv.

V praktické části je popsán materiál a metody (Kapitola 6), které byly využity pro provedení výzkumu a následné analýzy. Novinové zprávy podobné délky pro OC, které musely splnit určitá kritéria pro jejich zahrnutí do studie, byly manuálně excerpovány z oficiálního webového archivu *The Guardian*. Zprávy z roku 2023 v NC byly excerpovány z oficiálních stránek periodika na základě podobných kritérií. Výsledné korpusy byly poté polomanuálně podrobeny identifikaci *-ing* klauzí, které byly následně kvantitativně a kvalitativně analyzovány.

Ve výzkumné části (Kapitola 7) jsou prezentovány výsledky analýz, přičemž každý podtyp adverbciální *-ing*ové věty (tj. volný adjunkt, absolutní konstrukce a adverbciální verbální gerundium) a výsledná analýza z diachronního hlediska jsou zkoumány a prezentovány zvlášť, což umožňuje větší vhled do užití a vývoje jednotlivých podtypů a zmapování rozdílů v jejich využití mezi dvěma danými časovými úseky.

Analýza absolutních konstrukcí ukázala, že byly čtenější v NC. Na rozdíl od jejich starších protějšků se v NC také vyskytovaly nejčastěji s *with*-augmentací, která byla v jistých případech i obligatorní. Podobných závěrů dosáhly i další studie (např. van de Pol & Hoffmann,

2016, p. 339), které uvádějí, že *with*-augmentace se stává obligatorní v případě významu rozvíjejícího (Elaboration). Dalším podstatným rozdílem byl také výrazně vyšší poměr absolutních konstrukcí vyjadřujících sémantickou roli průvodních okolností v NC.

Z hlediska adverbialních verbálních gerundií byly zpozorovány největší rozdíly ve využití augmentorů. Zatímco v OC byl augmentor *in* nejčetnějším uvozovacím prostředkem, v NC se nevyskytoval ani jednou, a naopak přibyl nový, *despite*, který se naopak v OC nenacházel vůbec, ani jako prostá předložka uvozující substantiva. Dá se tak hovořit o jakési změně v preferenci jistých augmentorů. Další důležitý nález byl, že adverbialní verbální gerundia upřednostňují absenci interpunkce, přesněji řečeno oddělení od věty řídící její pomocí, zhruba v 70 % případů. Zatímco pro volné adjunktivy a absolutní konstrukce je takovéto interpunkční oddělení standardní a reflektuje intonační pomlku, která je obvyklá ve všech pozicích, výsledky ukazují, že různé pozice adverbialních verbálních gerundií ve vztahu k větě řídící mají vliv na její použití/vynechání, potažmo i na intonační rámeček. Nejvíce je interpunkce vynechána v pozici finální, naopak nejhojněji je používána v pozici počáteční, kde reflektuje intonační pomlku nejvíce.

Volné adjunktivy byly, v normalizovaných hodnotách, až na třikrát četnější v NC. Zatímco v OC mají volné adjunktivy vyrovnanější distribuci ve všech pozicích (i když finální převládá), v NC dominuje pozice finální a počáteční. Počáteční pozice volných adjunktiv na samém začátku celé věty byla také tendence v NC, která byla v OC použita zřídka. NC naopak disponuje větným vzorcem „volný adjunkt v iniciální pozici + plně koreferenční podmět + zbytek věty hlavní“, který se objevuje v NC celkem třicetkrát. Značné rozdíly byly pozorovány také v sémantické interpretaci, kdy sémantické role výsledku, exemplifikace/specifikace a průvodních okolností byly značně četnější v NC.

Kapitola 8 (Diskuze) pojednává o rozdílech „nových“ a „starých“ *-ing* vět z hlediska jejich inherentních aspektů a zabývá se ověřováním korelací, které byly zmíněny v předchozích výzkumech. Bylo zjištěno, že adverbialní *-ing* klauze jsou zhruba 2,8 krát četnější v NC oproti OC. Tento rozdíl ve frekvenci byl připsán rozdílu ve struktuře novinových zpráv v online a tištěném formátu. Na straně jedné je online formát, pro který je charakteristický vysoký počet krátkých odstavců, které mnohdy sestávají z pouze jednoho složitěho souvětí, kde *-ing* klauze jsou často použity pro vyjádření nezbytných detailů. Oproti tomu tištěný formát obsahuje zprávy, které čítají nižší počet delších odstavců, které jsou tvořeny vyšším počtem jednodušších souvětí nebo vět jednoduchých, které mohou detaily vyjádřit větou finitní nebo jinými prostředky. V online formátu tak tedy dochází k roztroušené prezentaci informací po



menších částech, což zvyšuje roli větné kondenzace pro vyjádření méně informativních sémantických rolí, a tudíž je četnost adverbálních *-ing* vět vyšší.

Vysoce pozitivní korelace mezi inherentními aspekty *-ing* klauzí byla potvrzena mezi augmentací a více informativními sémantickými rolemi, které kladou vyšší nároky na zpracování informace a dekodování zamýšleného významu čtenářem/posluchačem. Přítomnost augmentace (tj. uvozovací prvek, obvykle spojka nebo předložka) tento informativní významový vztah mezi větami explikuje, čímž významně snižuje kognitivní náročnost zpracování takovéto věty. Dále tento výzkum potvrdil, že nižší míra koreference mezi podmětem věty řídicí a *-ing* věty závislé vede k vyšší pravděpodobnosti augmentace u věty závislé. Pokud podměty věty závislé a řídicí nejsou plně koreferenční, záhodná interpretace věty čtenářem je kognitivně náročnější, a augmentace tak opět slouží jako nástroj jejího usnadnění. Poslední významná koreference byla odhalena mezi komplexitou adverbální *-ing* klauze (tj. délka v počtu slov) a pozicí. Bylo dokázáno, že komplexnější, delší *-ing* klauze byly jejich autory umístovány primárně ve finální, případně počáteční pozici. V mediální pozici, tj. vsunuta primárně mezi podmět a zbytek věty, se vyskytovaly pouze marginálně. Důvodem pro tuto preferenci je vyšší kognitivní zátěž při interpretaci delších vět obecně. Je-li věta umístěna na okraj věty řídicí, ať už přední či zadní, neintervenuje tak do jejího obsahu, a je následně méně náročné celému souvětí porozumět. V případě, že by byla komplexní *-ing* věta zasazena přímo do věty hlavní, kognitivní zátěž pro čtenáře se zvýší.

Poslední částí Diskuze je tvorba a následná analýza modelu binární logistické regrese, která byla použita za účelem zjištění které z vybraných proměnných mají nejvyšší podíl na příslušnosti *-ing* vět buď do OC nebo NC. Výsledný model dokázal správně klasifikovat na 69 % „starých“, a 63 % „nových“ *-ing* klauzí. Nejvýznamnější prediktor příslušnosti *-ing* klauzí ke kategorii „nové“ byla proměnná *interpunkce*. Dle poměru šancí měly „nové“ *-ing* věty (oproti „starým“) 2,6 krát větší pravděpodobnost na oddělení interpunkčním znaménkem. Toto zjištění dále podpořilo jeden z centrálních argumentů této práce, a sice, že u „nových“ *-ing* vět je zřejmá strukturální jednotnost a jednotvárnost a absence svérázného projevu autora. Druhým významným prediktorem byla sémantická role instrumentu (I), který byl u „nových“ *-ing* klauzí až 2,3 krát pravděpodobnější v porovnání se sémantickou rolí simultánnosti (S). Další proměnné v regresivním modelu měly statisticky buď marginálně významný nebo nevýznamný vliv.

## 12. Appendices

### Appendix A – *The Guardian*

Generally considered one of the most influential and pervasive quality newspapers in the UK, *The Guardian*'s history reaches back to 1821 when it was founded as the *Manchester Guardian* in the city of the same name by John Edward Taylor ('History of the Guardian', 2017). Originally a weekly newspaper, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it soon became a daily due to its growing popularity among the masses.

The mission of its inception was the promotion of liberal and social interests, receiving global acclaim for its investigative journalism and balanced discussion of issues particularly under C. P. Scott, the newspaper's chief editor from 1872 to 1929 ('History of the Guardian', 2017). A young MP of 26 years of age, C. P. Scott was one of, if not the most instrumental figure in *The Guardian*'s history. Upon the acquisition of the newspaper in 1907 due to J. E. Taylor's son's death, Scott pledged to secure the independence of the newspaper and laid out the tenets of free press as we know them today, upholding the original owner's last wishes (Mrňová, 2013, p. 38). At this time, the newspaper also gathered momentum on the nation-wide scale, transforming from a regional newspaper into one with global recognition.

Following C. P. Scott's retirement, the leading managerial roles were passed onto his two sons, John Russell Scott and Edward Taylor Scott, who realized that if the newspaper's independence was to be preserved, stranger's hands were not to intervene with the running of the newspapers ('History of the Guardian', 2017). Forced to pass ownership of the paper to the trustees of the Scott Trust following the death of his father and brother, J. R. Scott ensured the continued independence of the newspaper following the tradition of liberal journalism, the financial support and increased circulation and expansion (Mrňová, 2013, p. 38).

The 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a surge in popularity and profitability of *The Guardian*'s competitors, the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Times*, leaving the Manchester-based paper lagging behind. Its status changed over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century due to the implementation of more advertisements, investment in high-quality printing, and the relocation of its offices to London in 1976 (Mrňová, 2013, p. 38). The move led to the papers renaming to the present-day *The Guardian*. With the increased political polarisation in the 70s and 80s, the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* sided with the right-wing agenda and political views, with *The Guardian* emerging as the hub of the left where the future of the Labour Party

unfolded ('History of the Guardian', 2017). Taking the middle ground between the two opposing sides, the newly-established papers by the name of the *Independent* (est. in 1986) soon rose to popularity that matched its predecessors and competitors.

Owing to the rising popularity of tabloids, the turn of the century marked a financial struggle of broadsheet newspapers, who sought to combat it by reductions in cover prices, with the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* being on the verge of bankruptcy ('History of the Guardian', 2017). *The Guardian*, however, refused to engage in the suicidal price reduction race and instead opted to retain the pricing of its covers and invested heavily in its investigative and independent journalism, choosing wise marketing strategies and product development. *The Guardian* cemented its position as a prime newspaper, receiving critical acclaim for its quality journalism and innovation. The newspaper is also known to stand behind the surfacing and investigation of many political scandals, the public revelation of which led to the fall of the Conservative government in 1997 (Mrňová, 2013, p. 39).

*The Guardian's* online journey began in 1994 when an online site featuring jobs, sports, and events sections was being developed. Launched in 1999 and renamed to *theguardian.com* in 2013, *The Guardian* soon became the largest and the most popular freely accessible online newspaper website as we know it today ('History of the Guardian', 2017).

## “PROGRESS REPORT” ON THE BUDGET

### Mr Butler Sees Hope—and Dangers

FROM OUR FINANCIAL EDITOR

LONDON, WEDNESDAY.

Mr R. A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave at the Mansion House to-night what he called “a progress report on the state of the national economy and finances.” Mr Butler was speaking at the annual banquet given by the Lord Mayor to the bankers and merchants of the City of London. He told them that the financial policies had worked out fairly well in the first six months of the Budget year and he agreed that there were “favourable features” in the outlook for the rest of the year.

Revenue had so far come up to expectations, and expenditure had run according to estimates. “Below the line” Exchequer expenditure had been about £50 millions less than in the first six months of last year, partly because local authorities had borrowed funds in the market instead of borrowing from the Treasury.

But looking to the future, Mr Butler recalled that next year the Budget would have to carry a full year’s cost of the tax concessions made in April. The burden of defence would remain heavy, while there would be less American aid. Thus he warned the City audience to be “neither elated nor depressed.”

#### Two Pieces of News

The Chancellor then gave two pieces of news—as is the custom. One was that the Government had granted licences for a programme of reconstruction work in the City of London. The second was the out-turn of the British balance of payments in the first half of this year. There has been a payments surplus on current account of £80 millions, including United States aid of £55 millions, compared with the corresponding surplus of £270 millions in the whole year of 1952. The lower rate, the Chancellor explained, was mainly due to the higher imports in the first half of this year compared with the second half of last year, when we were feeling the full weight of the import cuts and were also producing less.

After pointing to the recovery in the gold and dollar reserves, Mr Butler spoke with grave concern about the deficiency in coal production. Then he gave an assurance to agriculture that the Government wanted a high level of farm production. But, he added:

“There are difficulties in passing from control and scarcity to conditions of greater freedom and plenty. The new arrangements which the Government will make for guaranteeing agricultural prices must vary from case to case. We must carry the taxpayer with us. But whatever the precise arrangements, they will

provide in one way or another for the guarantees which are so persistently sought. To combine stability with freedom—that is a general problem in our home policy.”

The Governor of the Bank of England, Mr Cameron Cobbold, followed tradition in conveying to the Chancellor a warning from the City. The bank has taken over the main weight of the fight against inflation, and it seems to feel that the Chancellor is a good deal too pleased to be relieved of the burden.

“The prominence given to changes in interest rates and to their effect over the last eighteen months,” said Mr Cobbold, “carries a danger with it—that too much may be expected of, or left to, monetary policy. In these days public expenditure, direct and indirect, central and local, is predominant in the economic picture as a whole. Monetary policy can only work effectively if it is supported by and in line with the general financial policy of the Government.”

The level of taxation, added the Governor, was a danger to our industrial and exporting prospects. It was vital that industry should have more profits to plough back into business if it was to meet increasing competition for exports. The Governor also maintained that a high rate of investment in the development of the Commonwealth was essential, even if it meant that this country had to strain itself and to postpone some of its domestic needs.

Looking to the future, Mr Cobbold said that the freer and more flexible economic system that had been allowed to develop in the last two years was “more capable of standing up to whatever strains may develop” than the rigidly controlled war and post-war system. He urged that there should be no hesitation in continuing to get rid of restrictions, and no deflection from the chosen road.

#### The City

Sir John Braithwaite, chairman of the Stock Exchange, spoke up for the City of London. He deplored the fact that its importance and functions were so little known. It was not enough that it should exist and perform its work. It must be known and seen to exist and its value should be understood by all. He appealed to Mr Butler for some help.

“The Prime Minister and yourself, Mr Chancellor,” he said, “have it in your power, by a few appropriate passages in a few appropriate speeches, to do more than we can hope to do in years, to put the City of London on the map of the world and to give it a value and a place in the minds of all the people of this country, and indeed all over the world, that it has never yet enjoyed.”

[Fuller report of Mr Butler’s speech, Page 2; Comment in our Financial Columns, page 9]

## No clear pathway expected for Ukraine Nato bid amid German and US caution

**Ukraine looks likely to be offered closer integration rather than clear pre-conditions as war with Russia continues**



📷 The Lithuanian president, Gitanas Nausėda, (right) welcoming Joe Biden upon his arrival at Vilnius airport on the eve of the Nato summit. Photograph: Toms Kalniņš/EPA

Nato members are not expected to set clear pre-conditions for Ukraine's eventual membership to the military alliance in the face of caution from the US and Germany while the war with Russia continues.

Ukraine wants clarity on when and how it can join the alliance after the war with Russia ends, believing that western military protection is the only way it can remain unthreatened by its neighbour. However, it looks instead likely to be offered closer integration with [Nato](#) and a stronger political declaration in favour of its membership in principle.

As the US president, Joe Biden, met the UK prime minister, Rishi Sunak, in Downing Street on Monday, American and British officials emphasised that setting specific hurdles for Ukraine to clear was unrealistic given the uncertainty of the ongoing conflict.

At the heart of Nato is article 5 of its founding charter, which states each member agrees “that an armed attack against one or more of them in [Europe](#) or North America shall be considered an attack against them all”. It requires member states to join in defending the country under attack.

Colin Kahl, the US undersecretary for defence, visiting London alongside the president, said there was resistance in the White House to any suggestion “that there’s a degree of automaticity or immediacy” to Nato membership.

British sources concurred, although Downing Street said the UK wanted “to support Ukraine on a pathway to joining the alliance” ahead of a critical leaders’ meeting in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius on Tuesday and Wednesday.

Kyiv won a concession on Monday, with Nato members agreeing to eliminate formal requirements for it to sign up to a membership action plan, a formal pathway to membership that has taken other countries several years to complete.

“I welcome this long-awaited decision that shortens our path to Nato” said Dmytro Kuleba, Ukraine’s foreign secretary, but he added the summit would be “the best moment to offer clarity on the invitation to Ukraine to become a member”.

Negotiations on a final summit text were expected to continue into Monday evening, to agree what is expected to be a carefully constructed statement intended to go somewhat further than a previous commitment given to Ukraine in 2008, that the country could become a member at an indefinite point in the future.

Jens Stoltenberg, Nato’s secretary general, emphasised that the summit would reach a consensus. “All allies agree that Ukraine will become a member of the alliance and I’m confident that the summit will make decisions which will be strong and positive on Ukraine,” he said at a press conference.

But it appears that the UK, France and other Nato members in eastern [Europe](#) have found no way to persuade a cautious White House into a more specific membership commitment. On Sunday, Biden said Ukraine was “not yet ready” for Nato, and that the country would “take some time to meet all the qualifications”.

Nato members are also expected to make further bilateral military aid commitments to Ukraine. On Monday, the UK announced it had agreed a £190m contract with BAE Systems to increase the production of 155mm Nato standard shells eightfold, many of which are expected to be given to Kyiv's military.

“We have also seen the Nato alliance come together like never before in support of Ukraine and with firm determination that Russia cannot succeed,” Sunak said as he announced the ammunition boost, adding: “That is work we need to continue this week.”

However, a separate package of security guarantees for Ukraine, from the US, UK, Germany and France, is not now expected to be announced until the end of the summit at the earliest, amid last-minute wrangling. These are intended to commit the countries to providing military aid and economic support to Kyiv in the long term.

Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, is expected to attend on Wednesday at an inaugural meeting of a Nato-Ukraine council designed to foster closer cooperation - having previously warned he may not attend at all if his membership pathway demands were not met.

Downing Street also said that the UK would shortly publish a defence paper outlining further reforms to the armed forces, reflecting lessons learned from the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The document, expected to confirm greater investment in artillery and drones, is anticipated early next week.

But Labour said the UK was one of the few Nato members heading into the summit without having revised its defence plans in the light of the Ukraine war. Its research found that 26 out of 31 Nato countries had recast their defence strategies, with Germany committing to spend an extra €100bn and Poland lifting spending to 4% of GDP.

John Healey, the shadow defence secretary, said: “It's embarrassing for the UK to go to the Nato summit as one of only five Nato nations that has not rebooted defence plans since President Putin invaded Ukraine.”

## Appendix D – 1953 adverbial *-ing* clauses

The following tables in Appendix D and E show all the adverbial *-ing* clauses gathered along with the identification of their pertinent characteristics. The *code* column features the identification of the particular text from which the respective *-ing* clause was excerpted. The capitals *A* and *B* stand for the 1953 and 2023 reports, respectively. The number following the year-identification is the number of the text where the *-ing* clause was found. Lastly, the lower-case letters (*a-z*) show the order of the particular *-ing* clause in the given text. To illustrate, the first *-ing* clause found (code A2a) means that (i) it is a report from 1953 (A), (ii) it was identified in the second text (2), and (iii) that it is the first *-ing* clause found in that particular text (a). The fact that the table does not begin with the first text from 1953 means that no *-ing* clause was found in it.

#	code	adverbial <i>-ing</i> clause	clause type	aug.	pos.	punct.	coref.	compl.	sem. int.
1	A2a	The resident magistrate, Mr Thacker, <u>referred</u> to the Supreme Court action to-day, <b>saying that he had received no communication from the Registrar of the higher court on the result of the case.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
2	A2b	Mr Pritt had <u>raised an objection</u> last month <b>claiming that confessions made to a police officer below the rank of superintendent were not admissible in Kenya law.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	Ex/Sp
3	A2c	Mr Thacker, <b>giving the ruling</b> , said that though he had no doubt that Mr Pedrazza was acting in the capacity of police officer when he arrested Ngei, that did not make Pedrazza a police officer as such, and Ngei's confession was in fact, made to an administrative officer holding magisterial powers.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
4	A4a	<b>Speaking for myself</b> , I would take over all rented agricultural land so that the State could provide for the cultivator those functions which were formerly provided by the best landlords	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	S
5	A5a	In a statement published yesterday in "Al Misri" - <b>commemorating the anniversary of the "liberation battle" of the Suez Canal and in tribute to students who died in clashes with British troops</b> - General Nguib said: "Rest assured we are continuing the struggle you started." British United Press, Reuter, and Associated Press.	FA	N	I	dash	full	L	S
6	A6a	General Sir Brian Robertson, Commander-in-Chief Middle East Land Forces, who has been visiting Kenya to obtain a first-hand report on the situation, said <b>before leaving yesterday</b> that it would be a mistake to hand over the administration of justice to military authorities in the present emergency.	AVG	Y	M	no	full	S	Post
7	A7a	With this went a criticism of the <u>United States Government's failure to consult the British Government before announcing its decision.</u>	AVG	Y	F	no	partial	S	Post



8	A7b	Secondly, <b>without entering into details about his conversations yesterday with Mr Dulles and Mr Stassen</b> , he <u>reported</u> his impression that the conversations have registered a clear understanding between the two Governments that they must work in close co-operation if peace is to be preserved.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
9	A7c	<b>Still believing that the friendship between the two countries is strong enough to bear frank exchanges of views</b> , he went about examining the dangerous implications of the new decision with candour.	FA	Y	I	comma	full	L	C/R
10	A7d	<b>Speculating on the risks now being run</b> , Mr Morrison <u>asked</u> what would happen if Chiang Kai-shek got into trouble or was even defeated, for words had been used across the Atlanta which almost sounded like an incitement to Chiang to attack the mainland.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
11	A7e	<b>Summing up</b> , Mr Morrison <u>declared</u> the United States decision to be full of unpleasant possibilities and fraught with great risks.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
12	A7f	<b>As showing the breadth of the speech</b> , Mr Morrison could confess that the Peking Government had done little to reward the British Government's recognition of it, though he still believed recognition to have been right.	FA	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
13	A7g	Mr Churchill was apprised of this and he left for the States <b>after discussing the problem with Mr Eden and in full agreement with him</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Ant
14	A7h	The results of Mr Churchill's conversations with Mr Eisenhower (he was still only President-designate) were reported to the Foreign Office, <b>but being private conversations with a President who had not yet assumed office</b> , they could not be divulged.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	C/R
15	A7i	Mr Selwvn Llovd, the Minister of State, <b>in closing the debate</b> , repudiated this, declaring that the Foreign Secretary stood by his view that the decision ran political risks without compensating military advantages.	AVG	Y	M	comma	full	S	S
16	A7j	Mr Selwvn Llovd, the Minister of State, in closing the debate, <u>repudiated</u> this, <b>declaring that the Foreign Secretary stood by his view that the decision ran political risks without compensating military advantages</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
17	A8a	Frantic efforts were made to-day to reinforce the dikes near the village of Heenvliet, <b>with the water lapping over the top and across the main road</b> .	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	AcC/Add
18	A8b	The Dutch Army, <b>guessing that this might happen</b> , had ordered the evacuation of the village just in time - a few hours earlier.	FA	N	M	comma	full	S	C/R
19	A9a	The court at Whiteabbey, near Belfast, before which L.A.C. Iain Hay Gordon (21), of East Burnside, Dollar, Clackmannan, is charged with the murder of Miss Patricia Curran, aged 19, at her home at Glen House, Whiteabbey, was cleared yesterday for a constable to give evidence of a conversation he had had with Gordon <b>while acting as his escorting officer during the hearing</b> .	FA	Y	F	no	full	L	S
20	A9b	Mr G. B. Hanna, Q.C, <b>prosecuting</b> , asked permission to call Constable Hurtman. Mr Hanna had told the defence solicitor. Mr A. J. Walmsley, that there had been a conversation between Gordon and the constable during the hearing, and had advised him to see his client.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp

21	A9c	<b>Objecting to the evidence being given in open court</b> , Mr Walmsley said: “I say without hesitation that the publication of the evidence will be prejudicial to the fair trial of the accused at this stage.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
22	A9d	<b>On going out of the office</b> , he came over and said: “If you are down with the police don’t say I was asking you anything.”	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ant
23	A10a	The Justice Commission of the Council of the Republic (the Upper House) to-day recommended its rejection on the grounds that <u>it</u> was improper in the same law <u>to do</u> honour to the murdered <b>while granting an amnesty to men who had been associated with the murders.</b>	FA	Y	F	no	partial	L	Cont
24	A10b	Boos, the Alsatian S.S. sergeant, who was condemned to death at the Oradour trial and whose verdict is untouched by the amnesty since he was a volunteer and not a conscript, was tried again to-day by the same Court on a charge of treason, <b>having voluntarily borne arms against France.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	C/R
25	A11a	<b>Talking to the strikers to-day</b> I found many who were not wholeheartedly in support of the action their union had taken.	FA	N	I	no	full	S	S
26	A11b	The strikers have <u>appealed to</u> Mr Gavin Martin, secretary of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, <b>asking that a special meeting of the executive be called with a view to securing the Confederation support.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
27	A13a	There were some people who held that <u>Vyshinsky</u> has been promoted <b>by being appointed permanent propagandist of the Soviet Union in the place where propaganda counts most.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
28	A15a	Since then broadcasts in all Communist States have <u>announced</u> similar plans, <b>declaring a day of national mourning.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
29	A16a	In the ordinary way, a married man earning £5.000 a year would have to <u>double</u> his earnings ( <b>making a gross income of rather more than £10,000 a year</b> ) to get an extra £1,000.	FA	N	F	bracket	full	L	Ex/Sp
30	A18a	<b>Moving in the House of Commons yesterday the second reading of the Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill</b> , Mr G. R. MITCHISON (Lab. Kettering) said it dealt with “odds and ends” of local government.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ant
31	A18b	It facilitates the task of the local authority <b>by allowing it to save and to keep the savings and its proceeds from capital sales apart</b> , so that if an emergency arises it may draw on them.”	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
32	A18c	Mr T. C. PANWEL, (Lab Leeds W.) <b>seconding</b> said its financial provisions would be welcomed by most local authorities.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
33	A19a	Mr Herbert Morrison, <b>acting as Leader of the Opposition</b> , welcomed this news which he thought was very wise.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
34	A20a	In addition, the Chancellor has already made a modest contribution to the problem <b>by cutting next year's expenditure by £146 millions.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I

35	A20b	The Chancellor may also wish to give some incentives as he did last year, <b>by trimming expenditure and reducing income tax.</b>	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	L	I
36	A21a	But both operators had lost all commercial earnings from the chartered aircraft at the height of the profitable tourist season, and were obliged to provide reserve crews throughout the contract period, <b>thus further curtailing their normal commercial traffic.</b>	FA	Y	F	comma	full	L	Res
37	A21b	Sir Frank ends <b>by noting that other contracts to the value of over £1,1 millions “appear to have been carried out with York aircraft” in 1951-2.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
38	A22a	In the lobbies and lounges after the vote delegates slapped backs and shook hands, <b>brimming with goodwill.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	AcC/Add
39	A22b	Mr Skrzesezewski, of Poland, the next speaker on the list got to his feet and briefly announced that he would drop his resolution on world peace, <b>the Korean paragraph now appearing “superfluous.”</b>	AC	N	F	comma	no	L	C/R
40	A22c	He <u>said</u> that after agreement on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners the next step was to answer a letter sent on April 9 by General Nam Il, the chief North Korean truce negotiator, <b>proposing the exchange of all prisoners who wanted to go home and the transfer of the others to a neutral state.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
41	A23a	His speech gained <b>by being subdued and temperate and avoiding party claptrap.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
42	A23b	Mr Maudling, <b>without warning</b> , professed his admiration for the skill with which Mr Gaitskell had “threaded his way through the Labour party jungle by swinging from olive-branch to olive-branch.”	AVG	Y	M	comma	full	S	M
43	A23c	Mr Maudling, without warning, professed his admiration for the skill with which Mr Gaitskell had “threaded his way through the Labour party jungle <b>by swinging from olive-branch to olive-branch.</b> ”	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
44	A23d	Mr Wilson, <b>in drawing his depressing picture of our “precarious” economic plight</b> , spoke of our production as having fallen to a greater extent than that of any other country in Europe save Belgium and the Netherlands.	AVG	Y	M	comma	full	L	S
45	A24a	<b>“After returning to my country</b> I will do my best to end the war of bloodshed in Korea quickly and to bring about peace in Korea.	AVG	Y	I	no	full	L	Ant
46	A24b	The other members of the group are also reported to <u>have made briefer remarks</u> <b>largely thanking the Koreans for the good treatment they had received.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	Ex/Sp
47	A24c	<b>On reaching England</b> the men will go first to Service hospitals which specialise in their particular ailments and then will be transferred, as soon as possible, to hospitals near their homes.	AVG	Y	I	no	full	S	Ant

48	A26a	Mr Richard Stokes, a boiler-maker, and Mr Tom Brown, <b>speaking for the engineering industry of South Lancashire</b> , supported the demand for more steel-plate.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
49	A26b	Mr F. Lee (Newton) asked whether the Minister <b>in considering the adequacy of supplies</b> had taken into account the fact that production in the engineering industry had not gone up in the last year.	AVG	Y	M	no	full	L	S
50	A26c	Mr Sandys replied that <b>in estimating the demand</b> the Government had assumed an increase of at least 6 per cent in consumption of steel this year.	AVG	Y	I	no	full	S	S
51	A27a	They punctually carry out the instructions which, <b>after receiving their reports</b> , their superiors have sent them on the preceding evening or during the night.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	S	Ant
52	A27b	An American colonel dictates to them, sentence by sentence, the verbatim shorthand report of the talks, <b>without omitting a single unpleasant word of Nam II's or a single sharp retort of Harrison's.</b>	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
53	A27c	But has not Nam II been equally impossible with his refusal to name the Asian neutral of his choice, <b>while demanding that the Americans should accept in advance the removal of tens of thousands of prisoners to this unknown Asian country?</b>	FA	Y	F	comma	full	L	S
54	A28a	Evidently alarmed that the Left-wing groups might hold oil altogether and make any majority impossible, or else impose an extreme Right-wing coalition which would dangerously split the country, the Presidency issued a communique announcing "The President, <b>having failed to persuade M. Mollet to reconsider his refusal</b> , urged him to persuade his party not to prevent any Governmental majority, lest by their votes joining another type of opposition of which everyone knows the purpose, they might render the functioning of democratic government impossible."	FA	N	M	comma	full	L	Ant
55	A29a	It was first broadcast early yesterday when the radio usually puts out its daily review of "Pravda," but the broadcast lasted much longer than usual and was confined to this one article, <b>making no mention of any other matter published in yesterday's paper.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
56	A29b	The article begins <b>by noting the great interest aroused throughout the world by the recent attempts to arrive at a settlement of international problems.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
57	A29c	This opening is significant: for the first time a Soviet newspaper does not, <b>when referring to the armaments drive</b> , put the blame squarely on Western shoulders, but admits by implication that Russia, too, has been rearming and that she would welcome a lessening of the burden.	FA	Y	M	comma	full	L	S
58	A29d	This is an opinion which some of the "peoples" to whom it is ascribed would not really be prepared to defend, all the more so because "Pravda," <b>speaking with the authentic voice of the Soviet Government</b> , refuses for the time being to give effect to those deeds which Malenkov recently said he preferred to "words."	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
59	A29e	<b>Assuming a pose of outraged dignity</b> , "Pravda" <u>professes</u> to regard the Western demand for "deeds" on the part of the Soviet Union as offending the international standing and prestige of Russia, for in peace-time no one country can dictate to another – "and to a country like the Soviet Union, at that" – the preliminary conditions for reaching an agreement on disputed questions.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp

60	A30a	Bathers were out in strength, <b>some of them having their first swim of the year.</b>	AC	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
61	A30b	In the North many Liverpool people changed their usual Whit Sunday habits <b>by coming into the city instead of getting out of it.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
62	A30c	A bee-keeper restored order <b>by removing the jacket, complete with swarm, in a sack.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
63	A31a	Yet early this morning the crowds were back in the Mall <b>waiting to see the changing of the guard and the Queen leave on her afternoon drive.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	AcC/Add
64	A32a	The examination revealed also that Miss Songhurst was criminally assaulted <b>after, it is believed, being stabbed.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Ant
65	A33a	Sir Winston will thus be able to go to Bermuda <b>knowing clearly the mind of the Commonwealth.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	AcC/Add
66	A34a	Six hundred and sixty-eight more non-Communist North Korean prisoners last night escaped from three camps – at Taegu, Pusan, and Munsan, <b>bringing the week's total to 27,092</b> , of whom only 1,029 have been recaptured; 41 have been killed.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
67	A36a	No more was heard about the Senate investigation, but just as the American people clamoured at the end of December 1941, to identify the villain who had been “asleep at the switch,” so the Congress is pretty certain to want to investigate the disastrous humiliation of June 17, when, <b>with four thousand Americans snoring in their beds</b> , the South Korean guards acted on the stroke of four in the morning and either turned their backs or obligingly opened the gates and slashed through the barbed wire of the North Korean stockade.	AC	Y	I	comma	no	L	C/R
68	A38a	The Note itself is the result of lone negotiation in the inner Cabinet during which there was considerable divergence those who wanted to stand firm on the creements of 1949 and the Constitution <b>while making adjustment of details (M. Georges Bidault and M. Coste-Floret' for instance)</b> , and those like M. Reynaud and M. Mitterand who thought that the agreements and legislation of the past should not tie the hands of those seeking to release France from the termle strain of the imbroglío of South-eastern Asia.	FA	Y	F	no	full	L	S
69	A38b	The whole problem has been complicated by the French Government's own use of terms applicable to the British Commonwealth <b>in talking of the relation of the Associated States within the French Union.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	partial	L	S
70	A39a	A small group <u>led an attack</u> against the leader of the party, Mr Straust, <b>coupling criticisms of his leadership with a demand that consultations should be held with the Nationalist Government in order to reach a common understanding on white-black relationships.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp

71	A39b	This development resulted in a good deal of sharp recrimination both in the press and inside the ranks of the United party, <b>the general reaction being hostile to the idea of any compromise with the Nationalist Government.</b>	AC	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
72	A40a	The Western Governments have lost no time after the decisions of the Washington conference <b>in inviting Russia to the conference on Germany and Austria.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	S
73	A41a	An extraordinary amount of the Washington communiqué is taken up <b>with justifying the E.D.C.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	M
74	A43a	The timing of the tests would depend on a number of factors including <u>meteorological conditions</u> , <b>ensuring in particular that the wind was in the right direction from the point of view of any possible contamination.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
75	A43b	<b>Replying to other questions</b> , Mr Sandys <u>said</u> increasing sums of money were being spent on the civil side of atomic energy and the first experimental electric power plant to be driven by atomic energy was started "just the other day."	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
76	A43c	Congressional sources, <b>commenting on Mr Sandys's statement in the House of Commons to-day</b> , said it seemed out of the question for the law to be amended before next spring.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
77	A45a	A rabbit shortage, <b>by raising prices</b> , might have put up the cost-of-living index by as much as a whole point.	AVG	Y	M	comma	full	S	I
78	A47a	<b>While travelling at 50 miles an hour</b> , the engine and eight of the nine coaches of the 9:28 a.m. Bradford-to-Bristol express with 366 passengers, including 70. children, on board, were derailed four miles from Tamworth (Staffordshire) at 1 20 p.m. yesterday.	FA	Y	I	comma	full	L	S
79	A47b	The engine overturned as it left the rails, <b>dragging the first two coaches with it.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
80	A47c	<b>While waiting for the relief train to Birmingham</b> they gave an impromptu concert to the passengers in a nearby brickworks.	FA	Y	I	no	full	L	S
81	A50a	<b>After</b> consideration of all aspects of the matter, and <b>keeping in view that the union's claim for an increase was based on the cost of living</b> , the Scottish employers agreed to intimate to the union that recent trends in the cost-of-living index did not justify any increase in the wage rate presently in operation.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ant
82	A51a	During the ebbing tide the most powerful of the six tugs, the Abeille 15, threw cables aboard and <u>did</u> six hours of <u>work</u> , <b>alternately relaxing and pulling</b> , to prevent the liner from going deeper into sand.	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
83	A51b	<b>Describing the grounding</b> , one of the passengers <u>said</u> : "It wasn't much of a shock, but enough to knock some people down."	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp

84	A51c	Occasional gusts of wind cleared the fog, <b>showing the Liberty's funnels and masts.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
85	A52a	The Netherlands <u>circulated</u> all the members of the United Nations <b>asking them for ideas about amendments.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	Ex/Sp
86	A52b	Yesterday's vote to discuss the conference was 51 in favour, with the five Soviet and satellite votes against it <b>with India alone abstaining.</b>	AC	Y	F	no	partial	S	Ex/Sp
87	A53a	It went through the wall and plunged on, <b>showering bricks, glass, and wood all over the station.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
88	A54a	Recently a solicitor acting for Mr Williams was <u>stated</u> to have served a High Court writ on Superintendent Reginald Spooner of Scotland Yard, <b>claiming the return of the horses and also claiming damages and costs for alleged loss caused by their detention.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
89	A55a	<b>Wondering</b> , like his audience, <b>what had become of the Premier's suggestion for a four-Power conference at the highest level</b> , he said "it was high time we had another statement from the Government about what really happened at Washington" when the Foreign Ministers met there in the summer.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
90	A55b	He was obviously talking to people he regarded as his equals, reasonable men and women who would see his point and listen to his explanations carefully, which is what <u>the conference</u> did, <b>having first paid him the unusual and spontaneous compliment of "For he's a jolly good fellow" at 9 30 in the morning.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ant
91	A55c	This was defeated partly because Mr Morgan Phillips, <b>winding-up for the Executive</b> , pointed out that similar sentiments were included in the platform statement and partly, perhaps, because of Mr Bing's own vehemence.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
92	A56a	There will, however, <u>be a penalty</u> of one penny a pound on heavyweight carcasses of beef, <b>beginning on January 1, 1954.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
93	A58a	"The witness gave as his excuse for removing the secret documents that it was common practice for anyone to get possession of them <b>by signing for them.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	I
94	A58b	He said he got them <b>by signing papers himself and through someone else signing papers</b> , but the records do not show that this was true.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
95	A59a	<b>But looking to the future</b> , Mr Butler recalled that next year the Budget would have to carry a full year's cost of the tax concessions made in April.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	S
96	A59b	<b>After pointing to the recovery in the cold and dollar reserves</b> , Mr Butler spoke with grave concern about the deficiency in coal production.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ant

97	A59c	The Governor of the Bank of England, Mr Cameron Cobbold, followed tradition <b>in conveying to the Chancellor a warning from the City.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
98	A59d	<b>Looking to the future</b> , Mr Cobbold said that the freer and more flexible economic system that had been allowed to develop in the last two years was “more capable of standing up to what ever strains may develop “than the rigidly controlled war and post-war system.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	S
99	A60a	This would make the bomb more efficient <b>by achieving the maximum yield of energy.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	partial	L	I
100	A60b	The sky was lit up by a terrific glare which an enormous white-topped, cloud emerged, <b>varying from peach colour to dirty brown.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
101	A60c	A few minutes later the base of the cloud cleared and we circled the charred, blackened centre of the explosion by air, <b>viewing the tormented, semi-molten remnants of "guinea pig" vehicles, tanks, and aircraft.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
102	A61a	Two people were killed and fifteen wounded by the police on Thursday, <b>making a total of six dead and 48 wounded in the two days' rioting.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
103	A61b	The aim of the demonstrations is presumably to force the British and Americans to implement their decision of October 8 and withdraw from Zone A, <b>handing its administration over to the Italians.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	AcC/Add
104	A62a	One of Mr Gaitskell's strongest passages was about the tendency for more to be distributed in dividends while profits were falling, <b>thus leaving less to be ploughed back into industry.</b>	FA	Y	F	comma	partial	L	Res
105	A62b	The Chancellor contented himself <b>in saying that the utmost moderation should be used by all.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
106	A63a	The city resembled a battlefield, <b>with bands of demonstrators roaming the streets, wading through broken glass and wreckage</b> , while British and American troops were drawn up at all trouble points.	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	Ex/Sp
107	A63b	The city resembled a battlefield, with bands of demonstrators roaming the streets, <b>wading through broken glass and wreckage</b> , while British and American troops were drawn up at all trouble points.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
108	A63c	Demonstrators set fire to a police jeep and a grenade was thrown at another jeep, <b>setting it on fire and injuring a policeman.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
109	A63d	They crouched in the gutter and behind cars <b>waiting for intervals in the gunfire when they could run for shelter round corners.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	S
110	A63e	He said a British major, with drawn pistol, entered the town hall at the head of 24 constables, <b>ordering him to haul down the flag immediately.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Post



111	A64a	It cannot be excluded that the Moscow announcement this evening is designed to influence this vote <b>without sacrificing any Soviet position</b> ; in other words, that Moscow has asserted that she is willing to attend a four-Power conference but that when the text of her Note is made public, after the French Parliament has take its vote, it will be found to be no simple acceptance of the conference of the four Foreign Ministers at Lugano proposed by the Western Powers but an acceptance ringed round by the same old unacceptable conditions.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	M
112	A65a	On this early, empty morning it is not hard to imagine that classic American ritual of retribution which was abandoned in the memory of Kansans no older than Ike: that picture of Main Street deserted at noon, the good people locked in their homes, the gamblers and girls safe behind the swinging door of the saloon, and <b>the marshal and his prey coming slowly toward each other from the two ends of the street that lead into treeless prairie.</b>	AC	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
113	A65b	He cannot hide behind the shadows, he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind <b>without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will inflict</b> ... If we are going to continue to be proud that we are Americans there must be no weakening of the codes by which we have lived; of the right to meet your accuser face to face, if you have one."	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
114	A66a	They will touch down at Gander <b>before continuing their journey to Kindley Airport, Bermuda.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Post
115	A67a	When asked if there would be a discussion about the future of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain, Mr Dulles brushed the question aside <b>by saying that he thought it unwise at this stage to anticipate in detail any of the discussions which might conceivably take place with the Soviet representative.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
116	A67b	He declined also to comment on possible terms for a settlement of the war in Indo-China, <b>observing that this was a matter primarily for the French Government and the three Associated States.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	C/R
117	A67c	<b>Speaking to the parliamentary section of his Christian Democratic party</b> Dr Adenauer <u>said</u> the policy of his Government was the opposite that a lessening of world tension must begin in Germany, which was at present its central point.	FA	N	I	no	full	L	Ex/Sp
118	A68a	Last night's "London Gazette" announced the posthumous award of the Victoria Cross to a lieutenant attached to the Gloucestershire Regiment who, although severely wounded, charged the enemy during the Battle of the Imjin River, <b>hurling grenades as he went.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	M
119	A68b	Several of his men crawled out and pulled him back under cover but, <b>recovering himself</b> , Lieutenant Curtis insisted on making a second attempt.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ant
120	A68c	<b>Breaking free from the men who wished to restrain him</b> , he made another desperate charge, burling grenades as he went, but was killed by a burst of fire when within a few yards of his objective.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ant
121	A68d	Breaking free from the men who wished to restrain him, he made another desperate charge, <b>burling grenades as he went</b> , but was killed by a burst of fire when within a few yards of his objective.	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	M

122	A71a	The statement says that the Government has had to bear in mind that after an interval of only a few months the Kabaka completely went back on a joint declaration by himself and the Governor issued last March on the future of Buganda <b>by pressing for the exact opposite</b> that he maintained this attitude through six long interviews with the Governor in the course of which the serious consequences of his persistence were made plain to him and that he remained intransigent until after the Government had been obliged to take the extreme step of withdrawing recognition.	AVG	Y	M	no	full	L	M
123	A71b	“His offer to retract, <b>coming only after withdrawal of recognition</b> , cannot in any way be regarded as having the same worth as an acceptance by him of Her Majesty's Government's decision before that happened.”	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
124	A71c	The statement then says that, <b>having regard to this and to his earlier record as the native ruler of Buganda</b> , the Government has concluded that the Kabaka could not be relied on to co-operate loyally with it as required by the agreement of 1900, and that in view of this and in the light of advice tendered by the Governor it would be contrary to the best interests of Buganda and of the Protectorate for the Kabaka to be permitted to return.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
125	A72a	The Gaullists and the Independents are at one <b>in wanting someone new</b> , and not a veteran such as M. Auriol, M. Queuille or M. Herriot, the names which have been put forward by either the Socialists or the Radicals.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	Ex/Sp
126	A72b	M. Herriot is not unnaturally unwilling to accept so grave a responsibility in his present state of health, especially as the present deadlock has grimly stressed the difficulty that will be met with <b>in forming another Government when M. Laniel has resigned</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	S

## Appendix E – 2023 adverbial *-ing* clauses

#	code	adverbial <i>-ing</i> clause	clause type	aug.	pos.	punct.	coref.	compl.	sem. int.
1	B1a	Ed Davey has closed the Liberal Democrats’ conference with a pledge to guarantee in law that anyone referred for cancer treatment will be seen in two months, <b>reinforcing his party’s focus on the NHS before the general election.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
2	B1b	Other elements of the plan would include easier access to radiotherapy and a so-called cancer survival research act, based on a US example, <b>giving funding for research into cancers with the lowest survival rates.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
3	B1c	Elsewhere in his speech, Davey <u>reiterated</u> his attacks on recent Tory prime ministers, <b>beginning by recalling how after July’s byelection win in Somerton and Frome he had posed with a mock circus cannon and compared the Conservatives to clowns.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
4	B1d	<b>Castigating what he termed “the corruption of Boris Johnson, the chaos of Liz Truss, the carelessness of Rishi Sunak”</b> , Davey <u>argued</u> that recent years had damaged faith in the entire political system.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
5	B1e	<b>Targeting Labour</b> , Davey <u>said</u> Keir Starmer’s party had opted to “give up on really changing things”, describing their approach as: “Make your pitch nothing more than: ‘Not as bad as the Tories.’”	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
6	B1f	Targeting Labour, Davey <u>said</u> Keir Starmer’s party had opted to “give up on really changing things”, <b>describing their approach as: “Make your pitch nothing more than: ‘Not as bad as the Tories.’”</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
7	B1g	In other policy areas, Davey <u>lambasted</u> Sunak’s “disgraceful” watering down of net zero policies, <b>calling it “a dismal failure of leadership”.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
8	B1h	Brexit did not get a direct mention, <b>with Davey talking instead more broadly – and briefly – of improving the trade deal with the EU – with an even briefer mention of another Lib Dem favourite, electoral reform.</b>	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	Cont
9	B2a	<b>Speaking to journalists on Tuesday</b> , Vladimir Putin’s spokesperson, Dmitry Peskov, <u>said</u> : “I will say from the start, I will not comment on the story about Kadyrov’s son ... I don’t want to.”	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
10	B2b	<b>Commenting on the video</b> , Vladislav Davankov, the deputy chairman of the state дума, <u>said</u> the law in Russia “should be applied the same to everyone”.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
11	B2c	Last week, Kadyrov <u>attempted to dismiss the speculations</u> , <b>writing on the Telegram messaging app that he was “healthy and living”.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
12	B2d	Speculation over Kadyrov’s future first emerged after his eldest son Akhmat, 17, met Putin in a highly unusual one-on-one meeting, <b>fuelling rumours he was being groomed as Kadyrov’s successor.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
13	B3a	These grassroots community organisers, best known for real living wage campaigns, have set up voter registration hubs to reach communities around the country through mosques, churches and temples, <b>training leaders to register people.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	S

14	B3b	Sahara has been sofa-surfing and sleeping rough <b>after losing her job</b> ; now she organises a woman’s group in a temporary accommodation block.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	Ant
15	B3c	Their party has set about gerrymandering ruthlessly, <b>deliberately depressing the vote</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Res
16	B3d	Last year’s Elections Act imposed voter ID, <b>pretending to cure vanishingly rare voter impersonation</b> , erecting a deliberate barrier to those without a passport, a driving licence or the voting enthusiasm to apply for ID from their council.	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Res
17	B3e	Last year’s Elections Act imposed voter ID, pretending to cure vanishingly rare voter impersonation, <b>erecting a deliberate barrier to those without a passport, a driving licence or the voting enthusiasm to apply for ID from their council</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
18	B3f	The government hijacked the Electoral Commission, <b>putting it under its own control</b> , so it is no longer the independent invigilator of party finances or of fair election administration, or the keeper of key electoral data and issuer of penalties for electoral wrongdoing.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	M
19	B3g	The act also <u>changed</u> the voting system for mayors and police and crime commissioners, <b>switching from the supplementary vote to first-past-the-post</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
20	B4a	<b>Fleshing out his party’s proposals</b> , the Labour leader <u>promised</u> to ditch the use of barges, hotels and military sites to house asylum seekers.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
21	B4b	Sunak seized on the proposal, <b>claiming it could result in 100,000 EU migrants coming to the UK every year</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
22	B4c	The party has also promised to strengthen powers to restrict the movement of people smugglers <b>by making it quicker and easier to obtain serious crime prevention orders</b> , which are used to target offenders such as terrorists and drug traffickers.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
23	B5a	<b>Commenting on moves by Latymer upper school in London and Bedales school in Hampshire to curb pupils taking GCSEs other than English and maths</b> , Birbalsingh <u>accused</u> the schools of trying to hide their failures to achieve consistently high grades.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
24	B5b	And they will then get the jobs and get the positions of authority out there, <b>having not achieved any kind of national standard</b> ,” Birbalsingh claimed.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ant
25	B5c	Bedales, which charges £33,000 a year for day pupils, has since 2006 <u>cut back on</u> the number of GCSEs taken by its pupils, <b>replacing them with its own assessed courses</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
26	B6a	Menfi said he wanted the inquiry “to hold accountable everyone who made a mistake or neglected <b>by abstaining or taking actions that resulted in the collapse of the city’s dams</b> ”.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
27	B6b	Turkey is sending a ship carrying equipment to set up two field hospitals, while Egypt has assembled a near army of rescue vehicles that were paraded in front of the country’s president, Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, <b>before moving across the border</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	partial	S	Post
28	B7a	“Of course the government is committed to its policy on the triple lock,” Sunak <u>told</u> ITV, <b>brushing aside concerns about the affordability of a scheme introduced by the David Cameron-led coalition government in 2010</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp

29	B7b	A period of soaring inflation has seen the cost of the scheme surge since 2022, <b>causing the government’s own spending watchdog to question the long-term viability.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
30	B7c	Paul Johnson, the director of the Institute for Fiscal Studies thinktank, said pensioners had <u>received two years of protection</u> from the UK’s cost of living crisis, <b>benefiting from the triple lock last year when prices were rising faster than incomes and benefiting again this year now that earnings were rising more quickly than prices.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
31	B7d	Labour supports keeping the triple lock, <b>with a senior party source saying it was supported as a policy and the government should maintain it.</b>	AC	Y	F	comma	partial	L	AcC/Add
32	B7e	Over the last few years, the triple lock has been an area of significant contention <b>and with the next general election looming large</b> the Conservatives will be reluctant to rock the boat with core voters.	AC	Y	I	no	no	L	C/R
33	B7f	Sunak said the most important thing the government could do was to “continue to bring inflation down more generally” <b>while being responsible about borrowing and spending.</b>	FA	Y	F	no	partial	L	S
34	B8a	“I think that a solution could be for Ukraine to give up territory and get Nato membership in return,” Jenssen told his audience, <b>noting that discussions about Ukraine’s postwar status were continuing in diplomatic circles.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
35	B8b	Jenssen was careful in his initial comments to stress that he was simply airing an idea and that “it must be up to Ukraine to decide when and on what terms they want to negotiate”, <b>reflecting Nato’s position that no peace settlement with Ukraine should be agreed without Ukraine.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
36	B9a	<b>Announcing the visit</b> , which will take place on Monday, the White House press secretary, Karine Jean-Pierre, <u>said</u> : “In Maui, the president and first lady will be welcomed by state and local leaders to see first-hand the impacts of the wildfires and the devastating loss of life and land that has occurred on the island, as well as discuss the next steps in the recovery effort.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
37	B9b	White House officials have <u>defended</u> Biden, <b>noting that he had been in touch consistently with the Federal Emergency Management Agency and Hawaii leaders including the governor, Josh Green.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
38	B9c	Biden spoke publicly about the wildfires on Tuesday, <b>after going four days</b> without publicly addressing the disaster.	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	S	Ant
39	B9d	Biden spoke publicly about the wildfires on Tuesday, after going four days <b>without publicly addressing the disaster.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	M
40	B9e	<b>Speaking to ABC News</b> , the governor <u>said</u> search-and-rescue efforts were ongoing.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
41	B9f	“When the bodies are smaller, we know it’s a child,” he said, <b>describing some of the sites being searched as “too much to share or see from just a human perspective”.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
42	B10a	Donald Trump pleaded not guilty Thursday to federal charges over his efforts to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election, <b>marking the third time this year the former president has been forced to respond to a criminal indictment.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	AcC/Add

43	B10b	The arraignment came two days after Smith’s office <u>filed its indictment</u> , <b>accusing Trump of executing a “criminal scheme” to remain in office even after it became clear that he had fairly lost the 2020 presidential election to Joe Biden.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
44	B10c	<b>Sitting in the courtroom Thursday</b> , Trump was accompanied by two of his attorneys, John Lauro and Todd Blanche.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	S
45	B10d	<b>After entering his plea of not guilty</b> , Trump was released on the conditions that he adhere to all federal, state and local laws and avoid discussing the case with any witnesses.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ant
46	B10e	<b>Returning to Ronald Reagan Washington national airport after the arraignment</b> , Trump denounced the indictment as “a persecution of a political opponent”, as he remains the frontrunner in the Republican presidential primary.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ant
47	B10f	Smith’s 45-page indictment asserts that Trump and his associates disseminated lies alleging widespread fraud in the 2020 election, <b>while convening slates of fake electors in key battleground states.</b>	FA	Y	F	comma	full	L	S
48	B10g	<b>“Despite having lost</b> , the defendant was determined to remain in power,” the indictment reads.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	S	Conc
49	B10h	Trump’s legal team has already <u>sought to delay</u> the trials in New York and Florida, <b>arguing the cases should not move forward until after the 2024 presidential election.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
50	B10i	<b>Writing on his social media platform Truth Social on Wednesday</b> , Trump <u>claimed</u> it would be “impossible” to receive a fair trial in Washington, which he lost by 87 points in 2020.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
51	B10j	During the arraignment, Lauro <u>expressed concerns</u> about the discovery schedule for the case, <b>raising doubts that Trump will receive a fair trial.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
52	B11a	About 52,000 people crossed the Darién in July alone, <b>prompting concern among regional authorities as the beginning of the rainy season normally brings a fall in migration.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
53	B11b	Most are malnourished and poorly equipped when they set out, <b>meaning relatively minor illnesses like fungal infections can quickly become life-threatening.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
54	B11c	The UN agency is ramping up its operations supporting the Panamanian government’s response, “mainly <b>by providing critical support in areas such as food, shelter and medical care</b> ”, Samaniego said.	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	L	I
55	B11d	The percentage of Venezuelans living on less than \$100 a month rose to 52.6% this year, <b>suggesting the number of people walking the Darién will not drop any time soon.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
56	B12a	“This number has grown since then, <b>with leaders of the so-called Luhansk People’s Republic (LPR) claiming that three-quarters of residents of that oblast [region] had received Russian citizenship</b> ,” the report said.	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	AcC/Add
57	B12b	The report included a timeline of increasingly aggressive measures to pressure or force Ukrainians to become Russian citizens, <b>starting in May 2014</b> , when Russia illegally annexed Crimea.	FA	N	F	comma	partial	S	Ex/Sp
58	B12c	<b>Starting July 2024</b> , residents without Russian citizenship will be considered “foreigners” or “stateless”.	FA	N	I	comma	partial	S	Ex/Sp

59	B12d	Destruction of the Kakhovka dam, <b>resulting in widespread flooding and displacement.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
60	B13a	Ukraine wants clarity on when and how it can join the alliance after the war with Russia ends, <b>believing that western military protection is the only way it can remain unthreatened by its neighbour.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	C/R
61	B13b	Colin Kahl, the US undersecretary for defence, <b>visiting London alongside the president</b> , said there was resistance in the White House to any suggestion “that there’s a degree of automaticity or immediacy” to Nato membership.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
62	B13c	Kyiv won a concession on Monday, <b>with Nato members agreeing to eliminate formal requirements for it to sign up to a membership action plan</b> , a formal pathway to membership that has taken other countries several years to complete.	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	Ex/Sp
63	B13d	“We have also seen the Nato alliance come together like never before in support of Ukraine and with firm determination that Russia cannot succeed,” Sunak said as he announced the ammunition boost, <b>adding: “That is work we need to continue this week.”</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
64	B13e	Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, is expected to attend on Wednesday at an inaugural meeting of a Nato-Ukraine council designed to foster closer cooperation – <b>having previously warned he may not attend at all if his membership pathway demands were not met.</b>	FA	N	F	dash	full	L	Ant
65	B13f	Downing Street also <u>said</u> that the UK would shortly publish a defence paper outlining further reforms to the armed forces, <b>reflecting lessons learned from the Russian invasion of Ukraine.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
66	B13g	But Labour said the UK was one of the few Nato members heading into the summit <b>without having revised its defence plans in the light of the Ukraine war.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Ant
67	B13h	Its research found that 26 out of 31 Nato countries had recast their defence strategies, <b>with Germany committing to spend an extra €100bn and Poland lifting spending to 4% of GDP.</b>	AC	Y	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
68	B14a	The Turkish president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has thrown a surprise obstacle in the way of a plan from Joe Biden for Swedish accession to Nato <b>by announcing he wanted Turkey’s stalled application to join the EU to be included in the package.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
69	B14b	<b>Speaking at the airport</b> before departing for the Nato summit in Vilnius, Lithuania, the Turkish president <u>said</u> : “First, let’s pave the way for Turkey in the European Union and then we will pave the way for Sweden just as we did for Finland.”	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
70	B14c	Speaking at the airport <b>before departing for the Nato summit in Vilnius</b> , Lithuania, the Turkish president said: “First, let’s pave the way for Turkey in the European Union and then we will pave the way for Sweden just as we did for Finland.”	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Post
71	B14d	“Sweden has taken some steps in the right direction,” Erdoğan’s office quoted the Turkish leader as <b>telling Biden in a call on Sunday.</b>	FA	Y	F	no	partial	L	M
72	B14e	Six US lawmakers <u>sent a letter</u> to the US secretary of state, Antony Blinken, <b>asking for a monitoring mechanism to ensure Turkey does not use the new F-16 fighters to violate Greek sovereignty in the Aegean.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp

73	B15a	Harman, who at one point was teary-eyed when a Tory MP came to her defence <b>by reminding colleagues she had lost her husband 14 weeks before taking on the job</b> , spoke of how it had felt like “open season” for attacks on the committee.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
74	B15b	<b>Despite the bloodletting on both sides lasting for three hours</b> , the debate marked what appeared to be the end of formal parliamentary proceedings against Johnson and his supporters.	AVG	Y	I	comma	its own	L	Conc
75	B15c	On Monday they <u>debated</u> a supplementary report by the privileges committee that criticised a “sustained” and “coordinated” attempt to undermine its work, <b>naming seven Tory MPs and three peers</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
76	B15d	An attempt by the Liberal Democrats to prolong the political pain for Sunak <b>by referring the seven MPs to the privileges committee for a new investigation</b> was unsuccessful after the amendment was not selected by Lindsay Hoyle, the Commons speaker.	AVG	Y	M	no	full	L	I
77	B15e	Rees-Mogg said there was no evidence that some MPs’ criticism was coordinated and argued “I don’t think [Harman] was wise” to serve as chair <b>after sending three tweets about Johnson’s conduct</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Ant
78	B15f	Patel took issue with being named in the report <b>without being given any notice or a chance to respond</b> , saying some comments had been taken out of context.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
79	B15g	Patel <u>took issue</u> with being named in the report without being given any notice or a chance to respond, <b>saying some comments had been taken out of context</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
80	B16a	But the door to associate membership was reopened when the replacement Windsor framework was sealed in March, <b>with the European Commission chief, Ursula von der Leyen, declaring a deal could be done “swiftly”</b> .	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	AcC/Add
81	B17a	Peskov <u>said</u> the two countries had issued statements at the time on the content of their talks, <b>calling all other reports about Xi’s state visit to Moscow “fiction”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
82	B17b	Xi reportedly made his nuclear warning to Putin while on his first foreign trip <b>after securing a third term as president</b> , suggesting China was concerned about the possibility that the war in Ukraine would escalate further.	AVG	Y	M	no	full	L	Ant
83	B17c	Xi reportedly <u>made his nuclear warning</u> to Putin while on his first foreign trip after securing a third term as president, <b>suggesting China was concerned about the possibility that the war in Ukraine would escalate further</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
84	B17d	Beijing earlier <u>proposed a 12-point peace plan</u> , <b>urging all parties to avoid nuclear escalation but critically not suggesting Russia withdraw its forces from Ukraine</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
85	B17e	Although the Chinese president has not explicitly endorsed the invasion, he has refused to condemn it and <u>has echoed</u> many of Russia’s justifications for the war, <b>blaming the west for fuelling the conflict</b> by supplying arms to Ukraine.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
86	B17f	Although the Chinese president has not explicitly endorsed the invasion, he has refused to condemn it and <u>has echoed</u> many of Russia’s justifications for the war, <b>blaming the west for fuelling the conflict by supplying arms to Ukraine</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	partial	S	I



87	B17g	Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, is expected to attend on Wednesday at an inaugural meeting of a Nato-Ukraine council designed to foster closer cooperation – <b>having previously warned he may not attend at all if his membership pathway demands were not met.</b>	FA	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ant
88	B17h	Since ordering his troops into Ukraine, Putin has occasionally <u>issued veiled threats</u> of using nuclear weapons against the country, <b>warning the west last September he was not bluffing when he said Moscow would use “all available means to protect Russia and our people”.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
89	B17i	<b>Speaking at a conference in St Petersburg last month</b> , he <u>said</u> there was “no need” to use nuclear weapons because the “existence of the Russia state was not threatened”.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
90	B17j	Kyiv <u>has warned</u> that Russia may be planning to “simulate an attack” on the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant, <b>claiming that Russian troops have placed “objects resembling explosives” on the roofs of buildings at the site.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
91	B17k	<b>Citing Ukrainian intelligence</b> , Ukraine’s president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, <u>said</u> the objects had been positioned on the roof of several power units of the plant that is occupied by Russia.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
92	B18a	Police Scotland said two women aged 20 and 21 were arrested in connection with a breach of the peace <b>after allegedly attempting to climb over a crowd safety barrier on the Royal Mile.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Ant
93	B18b	Nora McGregor, who watched the event near St Giles’ with her 10-year-old daughter, said: “The whole world watches us with curiosity <b>wondering why we still have this tradition.</b> ”	FA	N	F	no	full	L	AcC/Add
94	B18c	“I think most of us really enjoy it,” she added, <b>before gesturing to a group of republican protesters gathered across from the cathedral.</b>	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	L	Post
95	B18d	<b>Holding a handwritten sign affirming her opposition to the ceremony</b> , 69-year-old Lynda Flex said: “This is the height of nonsense.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	S
96	B19a	Civil servants in two London-based teams within the directorate, <b>working on the Home Office’s post-Windrush cleanup exercise</b> have been told their work would be terminated on 1 July, sources said.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
97	B19b	“They asked what advice had been given to ministers, and to stakeholders, and how it left our commitments to implementing the Windrush recommendations,” a source said, <b>adding that the staff had not received a clear response.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
98	B20a	They tend to take their time in confirming battlefield success, <b>often by releasing a flag-raising video.</b>	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	L	I
99	B20b	Russia’s defence ministry said on Sunday its forces had repelled attacks across three sections of the frontline, <b>adding that Ukraine was pressing most actively in the Zaporizhzhia region.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
100	B20c	The counteroffensive is generally considered to have begun nearly a fortnight ago, <b>with Ukrainian forces attacking at several points along the southern front and also in Bakhmut in the east.</b>	AC	Y	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
101	B20d	Attacks on logistics sites, <b>using long-range missiles or drones</b> , are considered critical to Ukrainian effort, to degrade Russia’s ability to resist.	FA	N	M	comma	full	S	I

102	B21a	However, he <u>refused to be drawn on</u> whether he believed the prime minister, Rishi Sunak, should back the report, <b>saying it was a matter for “each individual” MP to decide for themselves.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
103	B21b	<b>Speaking to BBC One’s Sunday with Laura Kuenssberg show</b> , the levelling up secretary <u>said</u> : “I don’t agree with the conclusion, however, personally ... The decision to impose a 90-day penalty is not merited by the evidence that the committee has put forward.”	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
104	B21c	Another <u>said many</u> MPs across the Conservative party <u>held</u> Harriet Harman in “ <u>high regard</u> ”, <b>claiming she was not the reason for their abstention</b> , but that it was the handling of the recommendations by the committee.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
105	B21d	<b>By abstaining</b> , many rightwing Tories feel as though they will be able to silently vote against the motion without being grilled by the media and constituents about why they are backing the former prime minister after the committee concluded he had deliberately misled parliament.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	S	I
106	B21e	By abstaining, many rightwing Tories feel as though they will be able to silently vote against the motion <b>without being grilled by the media and constituents about why they are backing the former prime minister after the committee concluded he had deliberately misled parliament.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
107	B21f	The Tory backbencher Bill Cash wrote in the Sunday Telegraph he would vote against the report, but the former justice secretary Sir Robert Buckland told Times Radio he would endorse it if it came to a division, <b>highlighting the importance of “the overall authority and standing of the House of Commons”.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
108	B22a	Sylvia Lewandowska, 46, an NHS orbital prosthetist at Royal Berkshire hospital in Reading, said her journey to work from London Paddington was delayed by an hour, <b>forcing her to reschedule four appointments.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
109	B22b	“Not content with impacting the hundreds of thousands of people who have looked forward to these events all year round, unions are also targeting their own members’ pockets <b>by forcing them to miss out on pay every time they strike.</b> ”	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
110	B23a	The Kremlin’s comments came after several leading Russian officials and pro-war figures urged the president, Vladimir Putin, to respond to the drone attacks <b>by declaring a state of total war.</b>	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
111	B23b	Russian media close to the security services wrote that as many as 25 drones <u>participated in Tuesday’s attack</u> , <b>flying over some of the wealthy districts of Moscow that house much of Russia’s political elite – and Putin’s Novo-Ogaryovo state residence.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
112	B23c	The Moscow Times, <b>citing a source close to the Kremlin</b> , reported that the Russian president was at the Novo-Ogaryovo residence during the drone attacks, and was woken up early in the morning by his security services.	FA/RR	N	M	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
113	B23d	In a separate incident on Wednesday, drones attacked two oil refineries just 40-50 miles east of Russia’s biggest oil export terminals, <b>sparking a fire at one but causing no damage to the other</b> , Russian officials said.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
114	B23e	Elsewhere, Russia’s former president Dmitry Medvedev – <b>responding to Cleverly’s remarks</b> – said that any British officials who facilitated the war in Ukraine could be considered legitimate military targets, calling the UK an “eternal enemy”.	FA/RR	N	M	dash	full	S	Ex/Sp

115	B23f	Elsewhere, Russia’s former president Dmitry Medvedev – responding to Cleverly’s remarks – <u>said</u> that any British officials who facilitated the war in Ukraine could be considered legitimate military targets, <b>calling the UK an “eternal enemy”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
116	B24a	He also called for continuity in US policy towards Ukraine, but said the EU <b>by strengthening its own defences</b> had to prepare for the possibility that a Republican administration might be elected.	AVG	Y	M	no	full	S	I
117	B24b	<b>Pressing his case for greater European defence spending and coordination</b> , he <u>said</u> “our security and stability should not be delegated and left at the discretion of US voters”.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
118	B24c	<b>Referring back to his claim three years ago that Nato was in the throes of “brain death”</b> , he <u>said</u> Putin’s invasion of Ukraine had been a wake-up call to which Nato had responded well.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
119	B24d	But he pointed out that some Nato members – <b>without directly mentioning Turkey</b> – were not imposing sanctions on Russia.	AVG	Y	M	dash	full	S	Ex/Sp
120	B24e	<b>Referring to the division of Europe enforced in the east in the wake of the second world war</b> , Macron <u>said</u> Europe must not allow eastern Europe to be kidnapped by Russia a second time, adding that the enforced estrangement had weakened the whole European family.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
121	B24f	Referring to the division of Europe enforced in the east in the wake of the second world war, Macron said Europe must not allow eastern Europe to be kidnapped by Russia a second time, <b>adding that the enforced estrangement had weakened the whole European family</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
122	B24g	But he also made an appeal to central and eastern European countries not to see greater European defence cooperation, spending and partnerships as a way of reducing Nato’s influence, <b>insisting a strong European pillar in Nato was of benefit to everyone</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
123	B25a	Ukraine <u>has rejected</u> Russian claims to have captured Bakhmut, <b>insisting its forces still have a foothold in the Donbas city and are steadily encircling the Russian mercenaries holding the ruined town centre</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
124	B25b	Nevertheless, Ukraine’s deputy defence minister, Hanna Maliar, said on the Telegram messaging app that Ukrainian forces were still “holding the defence” in the city’s “airplane area” <b>referring to the destroyed MiG-17 monument at Bakhmut’s western entrance close to a multistorey block Wagner claimed had been the last building held by Ukrainian forces, as well as some infrastructure sites, a residential area and some high ground overlooking the centre</b> .	FA	N	F	no	partial	L	Ex/Sp
125	B25c	While Wagner claimed to have occupied every building in the city itself, heavy fighting appeared to be continuing just beyond the outskirts of the city around Ivanivske, Stupochky and Bila Hora, <b>suggesting the wider Bakhmut sector was still being heavily contested</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
126	B25d	<b>Speaking in Japan</b> , Joe Biden put Russian casualties at 100,000 from the battle for Bakhmut alone.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	S
127	B25e	“Putin will not break our resolve as he thought he could,” the US president told reporters <b>after meeting with Zelenskiy</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	Ant

128	B25f	Beyond Bakhmut, Kyiv has had months to dig miles of new trenches in the open countryside <b>while also heavily fortifying positions in the nearby cities with the higher ground to the west of Bakhmut occupied by Ukrainian artillery positions.</b>	FA	Y	F	no	full	L	S
129	B26a	While it is longstanding Labour policy that local parties need a green light from the national executive committee (NEC) <b>before forming coalitions</b> , some activists say attempts to block deals risk allowing Conservatives to regain control instead.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	Post
130	B26b	It comes after the NEC announced it would appoint the next leader of Birmingham council, <b>following an internal report that said the Labour group was riven by factions.</b>	FA	N	F	no	full	L	Ant
131	B26c	In a notably positive set of local election results on 4 May, Labour won control of 22 new councils, <b>with a further 12 shifting to no overall control</b> , many having previously been Conservative-run.	AC	Y	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
132	B26d	In a notably positive set of local election results on 4 May, Labour won control of 22 new councils, with a further 12 shifting to no overall control, <b>many having previously been Conservative-run.</b>	AC	N	F	comma	partial	S	Ant
133	B27a	<b>Standing outside her home under moody skies in Ronta</b> , a hamlet in the Forlì-Cesena area of Emilia-Romagna, Ivana Casadei considers herself one of the lucky ones.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	S
134	B27b	A helicopter that had been attempting to restore electricity to homes crashed close to the badly affected town of Lugo on Saturday, <b>injuring one of the four people onboard.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
135	B27c	One of her neighbours who died was Marinella Maraldi, whose body was swept 12 miles (19km) down the Savio River <b>before being found in Cesenatico</b> , a beach along the Adriatic coast.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	S	Post
136	B27d	Maraldi’s husband, Sauro Manuzzi, also died, reportedly as they tried to save their farm animals, <b>leaving behind their only daughter.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Res
137	B27e	The floods were preceded by a drought that had dried out the land, <b>reducing its capacity to absorb water.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
138	B27f	<b>Showing a photo of a severely damaged road on his mobile phone</b> , Lattuca said: “I don’t even know if it will be possible to repair it.”	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	S
139	B27g	Areas along the Emilia-Romagna coastlines were also affected by the floods, <b>with debris washing up on beaches.</b>	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	AcC/Add
140	B28a	<b>Opening the door of her Victorian house dressed in a smart jumper and crisp red trousers</b> , Wendy Robbins, 87, hardly resembles a stereotypical Green voter.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Cont
141	B28b	<b>Starting with Stringer’s single seat back in 2003</b> , the party has built up to now claim a dozen of the 34 councillors on Mid Suffolk district council.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	Cont
142	B28c	What is perhaps more interesting even than the potential result is the way the Greens have gone about it, <b>often placing more focus on sheer energy, local connections and reliability than specific policies.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	M
143	B28d	<b>Pausing a leafleting run at a coffee shop on the edge of Stowmarket</b> , James Caston, who combines being a Conservative councillor with running an arable farm and having a young family, insists his party can make new ground.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	S

144	B29a	<b>But starting her job as vice-president for values and transparency in 2019</b> , she realised “passivity might be a fatal mistake”.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	C/R
145	B29b	“We cannot unscramble scrambled eggs,” Jourová <u>said</u> , <b>referring to Kesma</b> , Hungary’s rightwing pro-government media group spanning TV companies, internet portals, newspapers and sports publications that dominates the news agenda.	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
146	B29c	“But I believe that the media freedom act might have an influence on the behaviour of the states including Hungary,” she <u>said</u> , <b>suggesting the possibility of EU legal action would limit future moves to control journalism</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
147	B29d	“Without Voice of America, I only would have known that Václav Havel [dissident and later statesman] and others were enemies of the people,” she <u>said</u> <b>recalling the station’s jaunty Yankee Doodle jingle</b> .	FA	N	F	no	full	L	AcC/Add
148	B30a	The Ukrainian interior ministry said on Tuesday it had “fully formed” the initial “storm” brigades, <b>comprising up to 40,000 troops</b> , but added they would need further training before being ready to take part in fighting.	FA	N	F	comma	partial	S	Ex/Sp
149	B30b	The Ukrainian interior ministry said on Tuesday it had “fully formed” the initial “storm” brigades, comprising up to 40,000 troops, but added they would need further training <b>before being ready to take part in fighting</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	Post
150	B30c	Russia <u>rejected</u> the claim on Tuesday, <b>saying the figure had been “plucked from thin air”</b> , and added that Washington had no way of obtaining the correct data.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
151	B30d	The US and other western allies do not estimate Ukrainian casualties publicly, <b>saying it is sensitive information that could undermine an ally</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
152	B30e	The same leaked documents said that a war game exercise concluded that Ukraine needs 12 fresh brigades to break through, <b>comprising three of its own and nine trained and kitted out with western Leopard and other tanks, armoured vehicles and other Nato-standard equipment</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
153	B30f	Force members are all volunteers, <b>comprising a mixture of raw recruits, police, and some veterans of previous fighting with Russia</b> , although to conduct offensive operations a higher degree of training is generally considered necessary.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
154	B30g	Russia is also preparing for the next phase of the war, <b>hoping it can prevent Ukraine from any meaningful breakthrough and consolidate its hold on the swathe of territory it has seized in the east and the south</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
155	B31a	“First there is a judgment of whether they actually meant it,” she said, <b>adding: “the threshold is so high because the system is buckling</b> .”	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
156	B31b	“In the meantime, young people are self-harming and attempting suicide as they wait months and even years for help <b>after being referred by doctors</b> ,” he said.	AVG	Y	F	comma	full	S	Ant
157	B31c	Average waiting lists rose by two-thirds over two years in England, <b>meaning children are waiting on average 21 weeks for a first appointment in England</b> , although the figure drops to just three weeks in Wales.	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp

158	B31d	She has had to take her children out of school due to the lack of support, <b>and despite being a low earner</b> has spent thousands of pounds on private doctors, who have prescribed her children SSRIs.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Conc
159	B31e	<b>Responding to the FoI findings</b> , a Department of Health and Social Care spokesperson <u>said</u> : “We’re determined to do everything we can to support children and young people with their mental health, no matter their background or location.	FA	N	I	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
160	B31f	“Support in school is vital and that’s why we are increasing the number of school mental health teams to almost 400 by April 2023, <b>providing support to 3 million children and young people</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
161	B31g	“We’re also working closely with NHS England to introduce new access and waiting time standards for mental health services, <b>ensuring quicker access to high-quality care across the country</b> .”	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	Res
162	B32a	Always had a smile on his face,” Allen <u>told</u> the newspaper, <b>calling it “a million-dollar smile”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	S	Ex/Sp
163	B32b	In an ad for her re-election campaign last year, Ivey was shown withdrawing a handgun from her purse as she touted her gun-friendly approach, <b>describing the second amendment as “sacred”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
164	B32c	Associated Press reported that an unidentified suspect fired a gun into a crowd of hundreds in Chickasaw Park in Louisville, <b>killing two people and wounding four others</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Res
165	B33a	Civilians in Sudan <u>have been subjected to</u> a second day of heavy fighting, <b>waking up in the capital, Khartoum, on Sunday to the sound of gunfire and military jets over the city despite a four-hour UN-proposed humanitarian ceasefire between the two main factions of the ruling military regime</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
166	B33b	Several groups of people reported being stranded <b>by fighting near the presidential palace and military headquarters in Khartoum</b> .	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	M
167	B33c	The long-feared violent crisis between the two main factions of the ruling military regime threatens to destabilise not just Sudan but much of the region, <b>as well as exacerbating a battle for influence that involves major Gulf powers, the US, EU and Russia</b> .	FA	Y	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
168	B34a	Donald Trump on Tuesday pleaded not guilty to 34 felony charges of falsifying business records in what prosecutors alleged was a conspiracy to influence the 2016 presidential election <b>by silencing claims of extramarital affairs</b> , marking the first time in American history a former president has been charged with a crime.	AVG	Y	F	no	full	L	I
169	B34b	Donald Trump on Tuesday pleaded not guilty to 34 felony charges of falsifying business records in what prosecutors alleged was a conspiracy to influence the 2016 presidential election by silencing claims of extramarital affairs, <b>marking the first time in American history a former president has been charged with a crime</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	partial	L	AcC/Add
170	B34c	Trump <u>arrived</u> ashen-faced and visibly angry for his arraignment in Manhattan criminal court, <b>stopping to wave to supporters, reporters and onlookers</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
171	B34d	<b>Wearing his signature dark navy suit and red tie</b> , Trump entered the courtroom with two Secret Service agents and two New York courts officers, and proceeded with his jaw tightly locked towards his legal team.	FA	N	I	comma	full	L	S

172	B34e	In his appearance before the New York supreme court justice Juan Merchan, Trump <u>said</u> little, <b>speaking only to say “not guilty” to the 34 charges, and to sigh “I know” when Merchan warned he could be removed for being disruptive.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
173	B34f	In a 13-page statement of facts, the district attorney accused Trump of having “orchestrated a scheme” with the intent “to influence the 2016 presidential election <b>by identifying and purchasing negative information about him to suppress its publication and benefit the defendant’s electoral prospects</b> ”.	AVG	Y	F	no	partial	L	I
174	B34g	Trump has <u>denied</u> the sexual encounters and any wrongdoing, <b>casting himself as the victim of a political “witch-hunt”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
175	B34h	Bragg forcefully <u>defended</u> the case, <b>arguing that falsifying business records was the “bread and butter” of white-collar investigations and that “true and accurate business records” were important in Manhattan, the “financial capital of the world”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
176	B34i	The tabloid <u>reached</u> a \$150,000 <u>agreement</u> with McDougal, <b>purchasing her story to keep it from going public.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
177	B34j	“Today’s unsealing of this indictment shows that the rule of law died in this country,” said Joe Tacopina, <b>adding: “If this man’s name was not Donald J Trump, there is no scenario we’d all be here today.”</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
178	B34k	<b>After arriving at his Florida mansion,</b> Trump gave a speech in front of his family and supporters.	AVG	Y	I	comma	full	L	Ant
179	B35a	Joe Biden warmly <u>welcomed</u> the completion of Finland’s accelerated accession process, <b>saying Nato had shown itself more united than ever after Russia’s invasion of Ukraine.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
180	B35b	He was wrong,” the US president said, <b>adding that he also “looked forward to welcoming Sweden as a Nato member as soon as possible”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
181	B35c	Sweden and Finland – which shares a 1,340km (830 mile) border with Russia – submitted simultaneous membership applications last May, <b>abandoning decades of military nonalignment to seek security as Nato members after the Russian invasion.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
182	B35d	“Amid Russian aggression, the alliance became the only effective guarantee of security in the region,” Volodymyr Zelenskiy said, <b>noting that Finland had joined on the 74th anniversary of Nato’s founding.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
183	B35e	Finland “now has the strongest friends and allies in the world”, Stoltenberg said, <b>adding before the ceremony: “Finland today, and soon also Sweden, will become a full-fledged member of the alliance.”</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
184	B35f	Blinken <u>echoed</u> the sentiment, <b>saying Putin had “once again precipitated something he claims to want to prevent”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
185	B35g	The Kremlin spokesperson, Dmitry Peskov, said on Tuesday that Nato’s embrace of Finland was an “encroachment on our security and on Russia’s national interests”, <b>adding that Moscow would watch closely for any Nato military deployments there.</b>	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add

186	B35h	Stoltenberg <u>played down</u> Putin’s threat last month to station tactical nuclear weapons in Belarus, <b>saying on Tuesday that Nato had “not seen any changes in Russia’s nuclear posture that require any changes in our posture – but we will remain vigilant”</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
187	B36a	McCarthy had previously voiced his intention to visit Taiwan, <b>following the example of his House Speaker predecessor, Democrat Nancy Pelosi</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
188	B36b	The most recent switch came last month, <b>with Honduras severing relations with Taiwan and signing on to Beijing’s claim that it is a part of the People’s Republic of China</b> .	AC	Y	F	comma	partial	L	Ex/Sp
189	B36c	Briceno ticked off some of Taipei’s largesse, <b>thanking it for scholarships, farming programs and a \$16.5m grant to build a hospital in the island town and popular tourist hub of San Pedro</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	Ex/Sp
190	B36d	In her remarks, Tsai spoke of “expansionist threats from authoritarian regimes”, <b>adding that “the people of Taiwan face constant threats from the neighbour on the other side of the Taiwan Straits,”</b> referring to China.	FA	N	F	comma	full	L	AcC/Add
191	B36e	In her remarks, Tsai spoke of “expansionist threats from authoritarian regimes”, adding that “the people of Taiwan face constant threats from the neighbour on the other side of the Taiwan Straits,” <b>referring to China</b> .	FA	N	F	comma	partial	S	Ex/Sp
192	B36f	“There is an instrumental value in Taiwan’s diplomatic relationships in enabling the president to travel internationally as a head of state, <b>with ‘stop-overs’ being used to bend the rules by the US,</b> ” said Dr Mark Harrison, an expert on China and Taiwan from the University of Tasmania in Australia.	AC	Y	F	comma	no	L	AcC/Add



