



Pretty complete or completely pretty?

Investigating degree modifiers in English and Norwegian
original and translated text

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Abstract

This thesis examines the use of degree modifiers in a corpus of English and Norwegian original and translated fiction. Degree modifiers have in the past been described comprehensively in monolingual research but only in recent years been given attention in corpus-based contrastive analysis and translation studies. The aim of the thesis is to describe the behavior of English and Norwegian degree modifiers by combining insights from contrastive linguistics and translation studies. Through a bidirectional analysis of data from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, the thesis answers 1) to what extent degree modifiers correspond cross-linguistically, 2) how degree modifiers are rendered by translators, and 3) whether the use of degree modifiers in translated text differs from the use in original text. In order to answer these questions, all instances of a set of four English degree modifiers and four Norwegian degree modifiers were collected from the corpus, annotated for contextual information and analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. The thesis found moderately high mutual correspondence for many of the items and confirmed that their function as either a maximizer or a moderator largely corresponded across languages. It was also found that degree modifiers were often omitted in translation in either direction. Yet, the same items were also systematically added in translation where there was no degree modifier in the source text. The discussion suggests a particular tendency for the Norwegian maximizer *helt* to be added from a zero-correspondence or translated from a weaker English degree modifier. Finally, the thesis establishes that English degree modifiers are more frequent in translated language than in original language, but the same was not found for Norwegian.

Abstrait

Ce mémoire étudie l'utilisation des modificateurs de degré dans un corpus bilingue anglais et norvégien de littérature de fiction, originale et traduite. Les modificateurs de degré ont déjà été entièrement décrits par la recherche monolingue, mais ce n'est que depuis quelques années que de l'attention y a été accordée du côté des études contrastives sur corpus et des études de traduction. Le but de ce mémoire est de décrire le comportement des modificateurs de degré de l'anglais et du norvégien en combinant les points de vue de la linguistique contrastive et des études de traduction. A partir d'une analyse bidirectionnelle des données du corpus parallèle anglais-norvégien (ENPC), la thèse répond 1) à quelle étendue les modificateurs de degré correspondent d'une langue à l'autre, 2) comment les modificateurs de degré sont exprimés par les traducteurs, et 3) si l'utilisation des modificateurs de degré dans les textes traduits diverge de leur utilisation dans les textes originaux. Afin de répondre à ces questions, toutes les occurrences d'une série de quatre modificateurs de degré anglais et de quatre modificateurs de degré norvégiens ont été récoltés dans le corpus, annotés pour avoir l'information contextuelle et analysés quantitativement et qualitativement. Le mémoire a découvert une correspondance mutuelle modérément élevée pour un grand nombre des éléments, et a confirmé que leur fonction autant comme amplificateur que comme modérateur correspondait largement d'une langue à l'autre. Il a également été découvert que les modificateurs de degré étaient souvent omis dans la traduction, peu importe la direction. Néanmoins, les mêmes éléments étaient aussi systématiquement ajoutés dans une traduction pour laquelle il n'y avait pas de modificateur de degré dans le texte source. La discussion suggère une tendance particulière pour l'amplificateur norvégien *helt* à être ajouté à partir d'une correspondance zéro ou à être traduit d'un plus faible modificateur de degré anglais. Finalement, le mémoire établit que les modificateurs de degré anglais sont plus fréquents dans la langue traduite que dans l'originale, cependant pour le norvégien la même chose n'a pas été trouvée.

Preface

If there is one thing the field of linguistics teaches us, it is the seemingly infinite complexity of human language. Oftentimes what may on the surface seem well structured and straightforward is in fact exceedingly complicated and puzzling. Like a rabbit hole, the further we dig, the more intricate it reveals itself to be. One such hole I and others have found ourselves in concerns the feature of degree modification. This thesis is the culmination of many, long hours of digging.

The project would not have been the same without the help of a number of people over the past year. I am grateful to Hilde Hasselgård at the University of Oslo for her help in shaping the project in its infancy and for always sharing of her vast knowledge and grammatical insight, and to Marie-Aude Lefer at the Université catholique de Louvain for her constructive feedback and invaluable guidance throughout the process.

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1 Introduction

Degree modification is a ubiquitous feature of language. On the face of it, degree modifiers appear to simply increase or decrease properties of the item they modify. However, this description does not capture their grammatically versatile, lexically diverse and semantically elusive nature. The multifaceted grammatical realizations and semantic background of degree modifiers have in particular been described comprehensively by, among others, Quirk et al. (1985), Paradis (1997) and Hendrikx et al. (2017).

In previous research, degree modifiers have typically been described monolingually in a diachronic perspective (Mustanoja 1960; Ito and Tagliamonte 2003; Davidse 2009) and in terms of semantics (Paradis 1997, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007; Athanasiadou 2007). Others have remarked on the diversity and range of degree expressions: Spitzbardt (1965: 353) found ca. 700 adverbs of degree through his dissertation research (Spitzbardt 1954) and noted that when combining his findings with material from other research, “we arrive at a sum total of about 1,000 intensive and restrictive adverbs of degree in English” (Spitzbardt 1965: 353). Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) found evidence of rapid diachronic change in the use of degree modifiers, both in frequency and lexical preference, even between generations, and that “it appears that old intensifiers do not fade away; they stick around for a very long time” (ibid.: 277). The variety of degree expressions has also been studied in other Germanic languages, including Claudi (2006) for German, and Westervoll (2015) for Norwegian, providing an overview of the sources of degree adverbs.

Degree modifiers have only sporadically been studied from a cross-linguistic perspective. Hendrikx et al. (2017) compared intensifying expressions in Dutch and French gave an account of morphological and syntactic differences between the languages. A corpus-based study by Ebeling & Ebeling (2015) examined the correspondence between the English and Norwegian cognate multi-word pair *more or less* and *mer eller mindre* in a bidirectional translation corpus. They found a somewhat lower cross-linguistic correspondence between the two units than what was expected. Yet, the cross-linguistic correspondence of the more frequent adverbs of degree that exist in English and Norwegian has not previously been studied.

The present thesis takes aim at investigating the extent of cross-linguistic correspondence of a set of frequent degree modifiers in a bidirectional translation corpus of English and Norwegian. It also describes translation procedures commonly utilized by

translators when dealing with degree modifiers and reports on some observed differences in use of degree modifiers in original and translated language.

1.1 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 presents the study of degree modifiers in general with particular weight on the various theoretical frameworks that have been proposed to systematize degree modifiers. The chapter then gives an account of the role of corpus linguistics in contrastive analysis and translation studies, building toward the research questions for the present thesis. The data and methods applied for conducting the study are described in Chapter 3. All the results are presented in Chapter 4 in order of research question, where the first research question concerning cross-linguistic correspondence is dealt with in Section 4.2, results pertaining to the question of the translators' choices are presented in Section 4.3, and a comparison of degree modifiers in original and translated language is found in Section 4.4. The results are contextualized, interpreted and discussed more thoroughly in Section 4.6. Finally, Chapter 5 goes through the principal conclusions of the study.

2 Literature review

This chapter outlines research relevant for the thesis. In the first section, core terms relating to degree modifiers will be explored and defined. Degree modification is described in terms of grammar, semantics and use, and their place in various theoretical frameworks. The chapter will also cover literature on contrastive linguistics and translation studies and the application of corpora in these fields, with a particular focus on parallel corpora, providing a theoretical background for the investigation of the research questions.

2.1 Principal classification of degree modifiers

Quirk et al. use the term ‘intensifiers’ as an umbrella term for all adverbial degree modifiers (Quirk et al. 1985: 589–590), including both strengthening and softening modifiers.

Intensifiers are in their taxonomy divided into the two subgroups amplifiers and downtoners, where the principal difference is that amplifiers “scale upwards from an assumed norm”, whereas downtoners “have a lowering effect, usually scaling downwards from an assumed norm” (ibid.: 590). Amplifiers can further be split into two categories: maximizers and boosters. Maximizers denote an upper extreme point, e.g. *totally*, *entirely* and *fully*, and boosters denote a high point on the scale, e.g. *very*, *highly* and *severely*. The downtoners are divided into four subtypes: approximators, compromisers, diminishers, and minimizers.

Approximators, such as *almost*, *nearly* and *virtually*, are quite special in that “they imply a denial of the truth value” of what is denoted by the modified item. For example, “he was almost dead” implies that he was, in fact, not dead. Compromisers (e.g. *kind of*, *sort of*, *rather* and *more or less*) “have only a slight lowering effect” and serve to call into question the appropriateness of the modified item. Diminishers and minimizers are somewhat analogous to the two subtypes of amplifiers, where the minimizers are ‘negative maximizers’ such as *at all*, *in the least*, as well as *hardly* and *scarcely* when used to mean ‘not to any extent’, whereas the diminishers scale downwards and roughly mean ‘to a small extent’, often realized by adverbs such as *slightly*, *somewhat* and *partially*. The group of diminishers also includes words that express attitude in such a way as to “imply that the force of the item concerned is limited” (Quirk et al. 1999: 598), such as *only*, *merely* and *simply*.

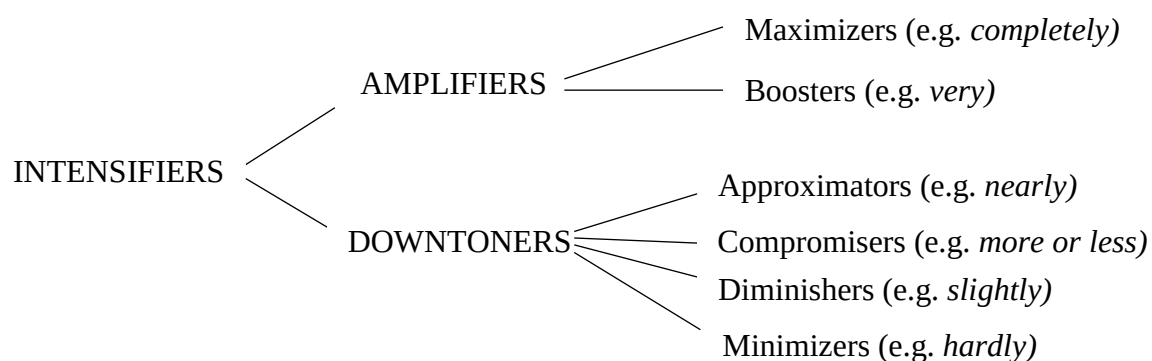


Figure 1: Quirk et al.'s (1985) taxonomy of degree modifiers; illustration based on Paradis (1997: 24)

It is noted that the distinction between the different subtypes can only serve as a rough guide to semantic distinctions. In real language use, and especially in writing, a clear separation between the types of intensifiers is often elusive “because (i) the varying effects of intensifiers represent a semantic gradient, which is obscured by a clear-cut division into classes; (ii) some intensifiers are sometimes used for different effects; and (iii) speakers vary in their use intensifiers” (Quirk et al. 1985.: 590). It is, for example, noted by Biber et al. (1999: 556) that while the degree modifier *quite* in *quite nice* means ‘to some extent’ (i.e., a compromiser according to Quirk et al.’s classification) and in *quite motionless* means ‘completely’ (a maximizer), when it occurs in the sentence *I was quite confident*, it could be interpreted as either a compromiser or a maximizer, and making the distinction would likely require access to intonation data.

Perhaps the most concise definition of the construct of degree modification can be found in Biber et al. (1999: 554): “Adverbs of degree describe the extent to which a characteristic holds.” They are essentially items that impose some attenuating or intensifying aspect on other items. Literature on the topic has used a variety of terms, such as *degree modifiers*, *adverbs of degree*, *intensifiers*, and *degree adjuncts* (Lorenz 1999; Hendrikx et al. 2017). Degree adverbs may be seen as the prototypical degree modifiers, though degree modification can be realized through other means as well. Biber et al. divide adverbs of degree into two categories: *amplifiers/intensifiers* and *diminishers/downtoners*. They remark that some intensifiers “modify gradable adjectives and indicate degrees on a scale” (1999: 554), such as *more*, *very*, *so* and *extremely*, whereas other amplifiers “indicate an endpoint on a scale” (ibid.: 555), such as *totally*, *absolutely* and *completely*. The category of diminishers/downtoners contains words that “scale down the effect of the modified items”. Downtoners can indicate degrees on a scale when modifying gradable adjectives, but they can

- (2) “Rather touchingly, she was set to reading La Princesse de Clèves” (AB1)
- (3) “The tweed cape was quite in fashion” (AB1)
- (4) “After the first time one never fully comes to know a new place from the inside.” (ABR1)
- (5) “Their response was not entirely what he had foreseen.” (RDA1)

Degree modification of noun phrases is typically realized by adjectives:

- (6) “Gradually he collapsed into utter stillness.” (RR1)

Adverbs can, however, also occur as modifiers of noun phrases in certain constructions:

- (7) “Natalie went into Arthur's shop in quite a state.” (FW1)

For the purposes of this dissertation, the use in (7) is not classified as a degree modifier but as an emphasizing predeterminer. Lorenz (2002: 158) claims that *very* can act as an intensifying adjective “in contexts such as *the very moment* or *this very question*”, though this use appears to be more about focusing or framing rather than intensifying. In any case, these uses are outside the scope of the current investigation.

The same degree modifying used listed for English are generally possible for Norwegian as well. Example (8) shows a degree adverb modifying an adjective (literal translation provided in parenthesis):

- (8) “Det så nokså ensomt ut.” (KA1)
(Lit.: ‘It looked quite lonely’)

Degree adverb modifying an adverb:

- (9) “Du har helt rett, Alice!” (DL2T)
(Lit.: ‘You have completely correct, Alice’)

Degree adverb modifying a verb:

- (10) “En filosof har aldri riktig klart å venne seg til verden.” (JG1)
(Lit.: ‘A philosopher has never quite managed to get accustomed to the world’)

Degree adverb modifying a prepositional phrase:

- (11) “Heleren ville være fullt i stand til å bytte informasjon om et kommende storvarp mot en mildere dom for seg selv.” (FF1T)
 (Lit.: “The fencer would be fully in condition to exchange information about a coming big haul against a more lenient sentence for himself.”)

Adjective modifying a noun:

- (12) “Jeg ser draget hans har fått en ekstra luthet” (CL1)
 (Lit.: I see his movements have gained an extra hunched-ness’)
- (13) Han er på mange vis den fullkomne mann, så lenge han i all sin ufullkommenhet er under kommando av andre. (KH1)
 (Lit.: ‘He is in many ways the complete man, as long as he in all his incompleteness is under the command of others’)

Hendriks et al. (2017: 401) reported that degree modification in Dutch and French can also be expressed through morphological means, such as with intensifying prefixes and compounds. This is also possible in both English and Norwegian, e.g. the prefixes *ultra-/kjempe-* and the compound *ice-cold/iskaldt*. They also listed reduplication, i.e., repeating of the adjective for intensification (Dutch: *mooi, mooi*; and French: *un monde fou fou fou*), and simile constructions (e.g. *as white as snow / hvit som snø*). Schlücker (2019: 83–84) described simile constructions in the German language as partially fixed multi-word expressions, adding that some of these also can be expressed with a compound. This holds true for English and Norwegian as well, e.g. *white as snow* → *snow-white*; and *hvit som snø* → *snøhvit*).

2.2 The cognitive-semantic approach

The perhaps most developed and principally arranged taxonomy is that developed by Carita Paradis in a series of papers. Paradis has published extensively on the topic of degree in language and the boundedness of adjectives. Her approach incorporates corpus methods and experimental methods and builds on elements from cognitive semantics. That cognitive framework is inspired by, among else, Lakoff’s (1987) cognitive model for semantics and Langacker’s (1987) foundations of cognitive grammar. Paradis’ dissertation *Degree modifiers of adjectives in spoken British English* (1997) builds on the assumption that there are two domains that give rise to semantic concepts, namely a content domain and a schematic domain, and that expressions of degree are part of the schematic domain. These assumptions

are further elaborated on in Paradis (2003): “Content domains involve knowledge of the world, while schematic domains provide the representations for configurative frames. Both these domains are conceptual and mirror our perception of the world” (Paradis 2003: 4). In her subsequent articles on the topic, the framework remains the same, but the wording is slightly updated, first from content/schematic domains to content/schematic structures: “Conceptual space is structured relative to two types of knowledge structures: content structures and schematic structures” (Paradis 2005: 542). In her last article on degree modifiers, at the moment of writing, schematic structures are referred to as configurational structures (Paradis 2007: 319):

The content structures involve meaning structures pertaining to THINGS, EVENTS and STATES, and configurations are structures that combine with content structures, such as BOUNDARIES and SCALES. Both these ontological types are conceptual in nature and mirror our perception of the world. In addition to the conceptual realm, there is an operating system consisting of different types of CONSTRUALS which are imposed on the domains by speakers and addressees on the occasion of use.” (Paradis 2007: 319–320)

In her view, degree modification is a ubiquitous feature that permeates language. Paradis notes that degree modification can map onto a wider range of elements than traditionally described. Pointing to a Swedish Volvo commercial asking the question “How WE are you? The new V70. Very WE”, Paradis (2007: 317–318) finds that even personal pronouns can accept degree modification in certain cases. While this is a marked example, it demonstrates how degree structures can be imposed on a wide range of content structures.

Paradis (1997) merged elements of the scale model, Quirk et al.’s (1985) classification and Allerton’s (1987) taxonomy to create a typology supported by cognitive semantics. Central to Paradis’ classification is (1) whether the item expresses a *totality* (i.e., bounded) or *scalar* (i.e., unbounded) configuration, and (2) whether it *attenuates* or *reinforces* the modified item. The category that Quirk et al. call *compromisers* has in Paradis (2007) been dubbed *moderators*, and the *minimizer* category from Quirk et al. is absorbed in the *diminisher* category. Using the approach from cognitive semantics, Paradis looks to the adjective modified by the degree modifier to support the distinction between degree modifiers:

“All adjectives are predisposed for certain properties both in the content domain and the schematic domain. Although the content domain dominates our interpretation of adjectives, the relative importance of the schematic domains becomes obvious in expressions such as *completely dead* and *very long*. [...] The existence of constraints is clearly drawn out in phrases where the degree modifier and the adjective are construed according to different types of gradability, as in ?*very dead* and ?*completely long*.” (Paradis 2001: 50)

The taxonomy of degree modifiers from Paradis (2007) is laid out in Figure 3.

TOTALITY MODIFIERS		SCALAR MODIFIERS		
Maximizers	Approximators	Boosters	Moderators	Diminishers
<i>absolutely</i>	<i>almost</i>	<i>extremely</i>	<i>fairly</i>	<i>a bit</i>
<i>completely</i>	<i>nearly</i>	<i>highly</i>	<i>pretty</i>	<i>a little</i>
<i>perfectly</i>	<i>virtually</i>	<i>terribly</i>	<i>quite</i>	<i>slightly</i>
<i>totally</i>	<i>practically</i>	<i>very</i>	<i>rather</i>	<i>somewhat</i>
...	...	...	...	...

Figure 3: The typology of grading functions used by Paradis (figure taken from Paradis 2007: 321)

The two principal categories are totality modifiers, which “are associated with a definite BOUNDARY” (Paradis 2007: 321), and scalar modifiers, which are UNBOUNDED. The two types of totality modifiers relate to that boundary in different ways: Maximizers “highlight the perfect match with a maximum or a BOUNDARY, e.g. *absolutely brilliant* and *completely full*” (ibid.), whereas approximators “indicate that a gradable property falls short of that maximum or that BOUNDARY” (ibid.), e.g., *almost full* and *virtually unknown*. The scalar modifiers scale the degree on a mental scale from the strong boosters *extremely*, *highly* and *terribly* to the medium strength moderators *fairly*, *pretty* and *rather*, and all the way down to the diminishers *a bit*, *slightly* and *somewhat*.

The present thesis uses the taxonomy from Paradis (2007) with the categories *maximizers*, *approximators*, *boosters*, *moderators* and *diminishers* to describe degree modifiers in English and Norwegian.

2.3 Other diachronic and semantic research on degree modifiers

Some research on degree modifiers has focused on diachronic developments. Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) investigated shifts in use of intensifiers across three generations and reported significant intergenerational differences in their most frequent intensifiers and evidence of constant change “not only in terms of frequency but also of lexical preference” (Ito & Tagliamonte 2003: 276). A study by Davidse (2009) found that the intensifying adjectives *complete* and *sort of* developed their intensifying meanings from descriptive uses. More recently, Hendrikx et al. (2017: 390) have noted that “[p]opular intensifiers [are] used frequently for a short period of time before being replaced by others”.

This idea of constantly changing intensifiers had previously been remarked upon by Quirk et al. (1985: 590), who reported that intensifiers, and especially boosters, form open classes wherein “new expressions are frequently created to replace older ones whose impact follows the trend of hyperbole in rapidly growing ineffectual”. This view is also supported by Peters (1994) who goes further in saying that maximizers and boosters display “the most rapid rate of change and the most interesting semantic developments” (Peters 1994: 269). This metaphorical revolving door of intensifiers bears a resemblance to Bolinger’s ‘domino theory’ of euphemisms (Bolinger 1980: 73–74). However, where the domino theory of euphemisms relies on each euphemism taking on a too strong evaluative meaning to continue to be used as a downplaying item, intensifiers go through the opposite process of losing their strong intensifying meaning. Similarly, Robertson (1954) writes of hyperbolic adjectives that while they “serve admirably for exceptional occasions”, they are “by no means reserved for these exceptional occasions, with the result that their distinctive qualities are inevitably weakened” (Robertson 1954: 251). It is through this process of overuse, Robertson remarks, that *very* has lost its distinctively intensifying meaning and “may easily convey less of a praise than an obviously sincere *good*” (ibid.).

Lorenz (2002) adds more nuance by dividing intensifiers into closed-class items (such as *much*, *rather*, *quite*, *well* and *very*) and open-class items (*highly*, *fairly*, *terribly*, *horrifically*, *absolutely*, etc.). These two categories are distinguished by grammaticalization, delexicalization and conceptual meaning: the closed-class intensifying adverbs have been completely grammaticalized, delexicalized and have lost their conceptual meaning, as only their configurational intensifying meaning remains. The open-class items are either

comparative (e.g. *relatively, especially, particularly*), evaluative (*awfully, disgustingly, fabulously*) or modal (*clearly, certainly, seemingly*) (ibid.: 148), and it is these conceptual meanings that separate them from the delexicalized closed-class items. However, as discussed by Bolinger (1980), Robertson (1954) and others, these open-class items may also become delexicalized through overuse. Lorenz writes that “all intensifying items over time tend to shed their conceptual meaning” (Lorenz 2002: 147). An exception is made for the semantic category Lorenz names ‘semantic feature copying’ wherein “the adverb achieves its intensifying effect by copying a substantial part of the adjective’s denotation” or by contradicting the meaning of the adjective, such as in *acutely aware, clearly visible* and *loosely structured* (ibid.: 148). These collocations, according to Lorenz, are not delexicalized in the same manner (ibid.: 149).

2.4 Norwegian degree modifiers

Very little has been written about degree modifiers in Norwegian. A master’s thesis by Westervoll from 2015 examined the grammaticalization of degree adverbs in Norwegian and attempted to map the extent to which different Norwegian degree adverbs have become delexicalized, investigate the semantic background of the degree modifiers, and explain the variety and richness that exists within the domain of degree modifiers. Westervoll’s thesis relied largely on terms and distinctions developed for English language research, such as the classification by Quirk et al. (1985), the grammaticalization discussion from Lorenz’ (2002), as well as his *intensifier* definition, which encompasses both strengthening and softening (Westervoll 2015: 7–8). In addition, Westervoll’s investigation used the semantic perspective of degree modifiers in German introduced by Claudi (2006), which distinguishes German degree modifiers as belonging to one of eleven groups: (1) quantity and size, (2) irreality, (3) fright and disgust, (4) power and violence, (5) value and truth, (6) mental diseases, (7) uniqueness, (8) upper and outer location, (9) religion, (10) animal terms, or (11) various sources (Claudi 2006: 354–361; Westervoll 2015: 8).

2.5 Corpora in contrastive linguistics and translation studies

The impact of corpora on contrastive linguistics and translation studies cannot be overstated. Baker’s (1993) seminal paper on the implications and applications of corpus linguistics in

translation studies put forth a multitude of ways in which the use of corpora could assist and guide research within the field as well as a number of avenues of research. Some of the ideas formulated by Baker, especially concerning the status of translated text as “genuine communicative events” that are not inferior to other communicative events (1993: 234), and the proposed agenda shaped the decades of research that have followed (Granger 2003: 20).

Johansson (2007) writes of corpora in translation studies that “bilingual and multilingual corpora, with a variety of texts and a range of translators represented, increases the validity and reliability of the comparison” (2007: 5). Using such corpora, it is possible to identify differing choices between original and translated texts in one language. In many cases this difference manifests itself as underuse or overuse where a form is used more often in translated text than original text or vice versa (ibid.: 32), to which corpora give easy access.

Parallel corpora have become treasured sources of information on semantic relations. Dyvik (2004) employed a method of ‘semantic mirrors’ to discern meanings and establish semantic fields for English and Norwegian items. With the semantic mirrors method, the researcher searches the parallel corpus for a particular item they are interested in placing in a semantic field, identifies the corresponding translation items in the other language, then searches each of the found translation items to map their correspondences. The correspondences found in the final step and their relation to one another based on the items that they were found to be the correspondences of, can be evaluated to determine other items with which the original item overlaps or from which it is separated in meaning. In Dyvik’s terminology, the correspondences found in the final step constitute “the inverse *t*-image” of the original item.

The method of semantic mirrors has later been adopted in more recent research by, among others, Vandevoorde et al. (2017) who investigated to what degree the semantic field of inchoativity differs between original and translated Dutch, using a parallel corpus of Dutch, French, and English. The method is summarized in Figure 4 from Vandevoorde et al. (2017: 392):

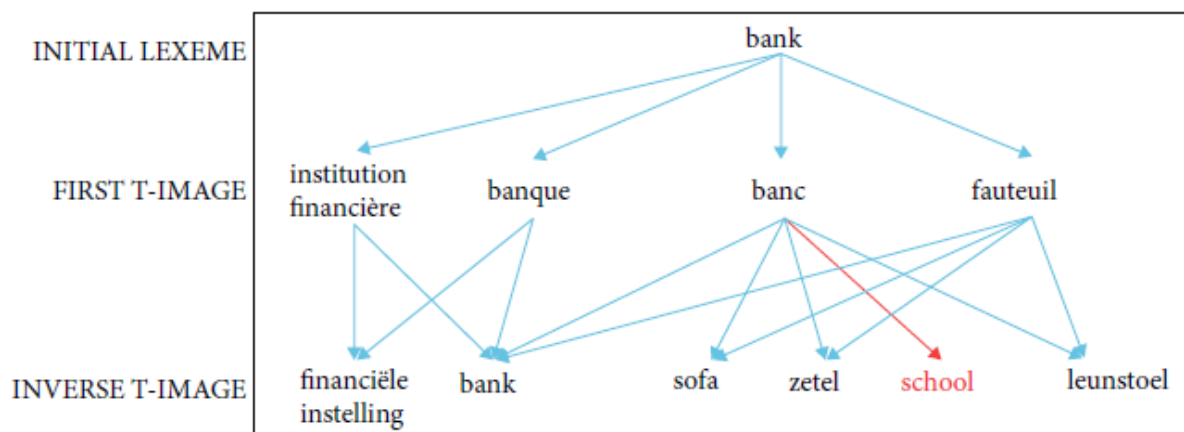


Figure 4: Example of the semantic mirrors method, from Vandevoorde et al. (2017: 392)

Vandevoorde et al. (2017: 392) accurately described this as “a network of translational relationships”. In Figure 4, the initial lexeme is the Dutch word *bank*. The first *t*-image contains the set of French lexemes that *bank* was translated into, and the inverse *t*-image shows the Dutch set of words that the French items from the first *t*-image were translated into.

Noël (2003) argues the case for using translation corpora for studying semantics. While a monolingual corpus can provide some context and hint at semantic potential for specific items, “meaning is not directly observable”, and it “can only provide circumstantial evidence” for that semantic potential. Rather, it is through performative tasks that semantics becomes observable. One such task is the act of translating. Noël argues that the choices made by translators can provide insights not only into the language they are producing, but also into “their interpretation of the language they are receiving” (ibid.: 767). The translations can thus be treated as “a collection of informants’ judgements about the meaning of the linguistic forms in the source texts”. This collection of judgements constitutes an empirical foundation for testing hypotheses about semantics. In this 2003 paper, Noël utilized this method to investigate whether the grammatical pattern *be Ved to* (e.g. *be said to*) qualifies as a grammatically evidential item. Using data from a monolingual corpus, he found some circumstantial evidence, and so he complemented this perspective with data from a translation corpus. In an English-French translation corpus, he found more direct evidence that the *be Ved to* pattern is an auxiliary-like element, and that the pattern is often rendered in French using adverbs, verbs and the French conditional that express evidentiality.

Altenberg and Granger (2002) remark that the advantages of translation corpora include “keeping meaning and function constant across the compared languages” and making it “possible to discover paradigms of cross-linguistic correspondence” (2002: 9). The

disadvantage of translation corpora, on the other hand, is their tendency to “retain traces of the source language”, what has previously been dubbed ‘translationese’ but now more often referred to as ‘interference’. Among other issues that affect translation corpora is their limitations in genre diversity (ibid.), which is largely a product of the typical scope and procedure for corpus compilation. Many translation corpora are specific to only one or very few genres due to the particular access to texts in that genre, e.g. the Europarl Corpus containing proceedings of the European Parliament and the original and translated texts are published to the web by the European Parliament (Koehn 2005).

Granger (2003) gives an account of contrastive linguistics and translation studies, remarking that both fields “have come to rely on corpora to verify, refine or clarify theories that hitherto had little or no empirical support and to achieve a higher degree of descriptive adequacy” (2003: 20). Commenting on the benefits of combining insights from contrastive linguistics and translation studies, Granger asserts that “there is a great deal to be gained from joining forces” (ibid.: 26). This echoes the sentiment of Chesterman (1998): “Although these are neighbouring disciplines, it nevertheless often appears that theoretical developments in one field are overlooked in the other, and that both would benefit from each other’s insights” (Chesterman 1998: 6).

In summary, it is clear that large, well-designed translation corpora are extremely useful tools for semantic studies. They provide an empirical foundation for observing complex correspondences and allow more delicate descriptions of correspondences between languages (Aijmer & Altenberg 2002: 21). Dyvik (2004) demonstrated the use of parallel corpora to uncover semantic relations cross-linguistically and further used that to establish semantic relations between items within a language. Ebeling & Ebeling (2015) showed how a similar method could be used to investigate the cross-linguistic relationships of one degree-modifying phrase, which will be described further in Section 3.2.4.

Based on the literature and theoretical frameworks discussed, it is the aim of this thesis to shed further light on the use of degree modifiers in original text, the strategies utilized by translators when faced with degree modifiers in source texts, the repertoire of degree modifiers used by translators in their target texts, and how their use of degree modifiers in target texts compare to the use in original text in the same language. I have formulated these aims in the following three research questions:

1. To what extent do degree modifiers correspond cross-linguistically?
2. How are degree modifiers rendered by translators?

3. Does the use of degree modifiers in translated text differ from the use in original text?

The thesis is structured according to the three research questions, which are answered in order in Chapter 4.

3 Method and data

The present chapter first introduces the data that was used to obtain the results, then explains the process of retrieving the data. Section 3.2.2 gives an account of the lexical items that the thesis will focus on, and Section 3.2.4 details the methodological framework that will be used.

3.1 Data

3.1.1 The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus

The data used for this investigation have been extracted from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC). This is a bidirectional translation corpus consisting of English original texts, Norwegian original texts and their translations (English to Norwegian and Norwegian to English), compiled between 1994 and 1997. The ENPC includes original and translated written texts from the 1970s, 80s and 90s. The corpus material contains two parts separated by genre: fiction and non-fiction. For each language, there are 30 original texts of fiction and 20 original texts of non-fiction, together adding up to roughly 650,000 English original words and just over 623,000 Norwegian original words. The ENPC Manual reports certain challenges in the compilation of the non-fiction part due to among else “Norwegian writers of non-fiction who want to reach an international audience often [preferring] to publish in English, rather than having their text published first in Norwegian and then translated” (see *the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus: Manual*, Section 1.3). The fiction portion may therefore be seen as more systematically put together and more representative and comparable across languages (ibid.). There are three categories of fiction in the corpus: children’s fiction, detective fiction and general fiction.

The fiction portion contains approximately 400,000 words of original texts per language. Source language texts plus translated texts adds up to a total of 1.6 million words to investigate for this thesis. As the corpus manual points out, the structure of the corpus makes it versatile for linguistic research, as “it can be used both as a *translation corpus* and as a *comparable corpus*” (ENPC manual, Section 1.3). The structure of the ENPC and its potential avenues for comparative research are visualized in Figure 5:

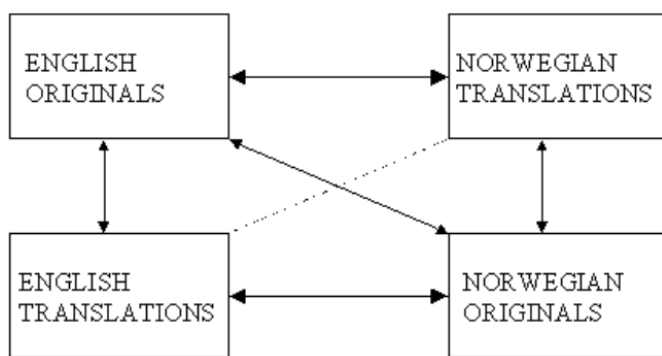


Figure 5: The structure of the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus

As stated, there are 30 original English texts and 30 original Norwegian texts. Five of the Norwegian authors are represented with two texts each, and the same is true for one of the English-language authors. Each text extract in the corpus is between 10,000 and 15,000 words. A slight majority of the original English-language texts are written by British authors, but also represented are seven American authors, two Canadian authors, two South African authors, one Nigerian author and one Irish author, as well as the British-Zimbabwean Doris Lessing. The English-language portion of the corpus is in other words quite world-English influenced, including different language varieties. However, it is to be expected that with a group of only 30 writers for each language, idiosyncratic writing styles could influence the results. With this in mind, the results will also be checked for dispersion across the writers.

Parts of the ENPC contain Part-of-Speech tagging, but only the original texts in each language are PoS-tagged and the translated texts are not.

Each of the original texts in the corpus is associated with a reference code for identification of each text, which in the current thesis accompanies each example for reference. The reference code consists of two or three letters followed by a one-digit number and is in most cases quoted first followed by its translation. The translation of each text has the same code as its original but with the letter ‘T’ added at the end. E.g., the English original text *The Accidental Tourist* by Anne Tyler has the reference code AT1, and its Norwegian translation is identified by the code AT1T¹.

3.2 Method

¹ A complete list of ENPC texts and their text codes can be found at the following URL: <https://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/services/knowledge-resources/omc/enpc/ENPCfiction.html>

3.2.1 Data collection

As a first step, a list of frequent degree modifiers would be useful to serve as a basis for further inquiry. However, no recent comprehensive list was found for either English or Norwegian, so I instead conducted a brief corpus investigation to compile such a list for each of the languages. I searched the British National Corpus for any adverb followed by any adjective (*_AV? _AJ?*) in written fiction component from 1985-1993, and exported the 2,500 most frequent occurrences, then manually identified all cases of degree modifiers. This list became the starting point for the selection of the lexical items to be investigated on the English-language side. The first 16 DEGREE ADVERB + ADJECTIVE combinations are listed in Table 1.

Table 1: The most frequent DEGREE ADVERB + ADJECTIVE combinations in the written fiction BNC 1985-1993

Rank	Lexical item	No. of occurrences
1	<i>very good</i>	674
2	<i>too late</i>	503
3	<i>all right</i>	423
4	<i>as good</i>	259
5	<i>very nice</i>	250
6	<i>quite sure</i>	229
7	<i>too busy</i>	211
8	<i>so close</i>	211
9	<i>more important</i>	198
10	<i>very different</i>	193
11	<i>so good</i>	191
12	<i>much better</i>	186
13	<i>how old</i>	183
14	<i>so sure</i>	182
15	<i>so sorry</i>	174
16	<i>still alive</i>	169

These frequent degree modifiers were then cross-checked in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus, using the PoS-tagged version to search for each of the 50 most frequent degree modifiers directly followed by an adjective.

For the Norwegian words, I searched the fiction portion of the Norwegian corpus Leksikografisk Bokmålskorpus, following the same procedure as in the BNC, and gathered a

list of the 2,500 most frequent ADVERB + ADJECTIVE constructions. The list of the most frequent Norwegian combinations was dominated by the adverbs *så* and *for*. A quick manual scan indicates that many of the Norwegian *for* + ADJ combinations may be false positives where the extremely versatile word *for* has different functions, e.g. as a preposition, conjunction or as both time and place adverb meaning ‘before’ and ‘in front of’. Similarly, *så* frequently acts as a conjunction, time adverbial, interjection and past tense of the verb *se* (‘see’) and results in inflated numbers in corpus searches. For illustration, a selection of some of the most frequent ADVERB + ADJECTIVE combinations are listed in Table 2:

Table 2: A selection of the most frequent ADVERB + ADJECTIVE constructions in the fiction portion of the corpus Leksikografisk Bokmålskorpus, excluding the negator and repeated instances of ‘så’ and ‘for’

Rank	Lexical item	No. of occurrences
1	<i>så mye</i>	7507
9	<i>for mye</i>	2796
11	<i>enda mer</i>	2195
12	<i>hvor mye</i>	1995
13	<i>hvor mange</i>	1872
27	<i>aldri mer</i>	867
37	<i>ganske enkelt</i>	722
31	<i>like mye</i>	769
66	<i>hvor langt</i>	461
67	<i>enda verre</i>	460
68	<i>like fullt</i>	454
72	<i>nesten helt</i>	431
73	<i>hvor gammel</i>	426
78	<i>kanskje litt</i>	378
83	<i>hvor lang</i>	354
87	<i>enda større</i>	346

A list of the 16 most frequent constructions would only include *så* and *for* with various adjectives, so Table 2 instead excludes all but one instance each (the most frequent) of *så* and *for* occurring with an adjective to attempt to show some degree of variation. The real frequency rank is reported in the leftmost column. The table also excludes the negator *ikke*, which the LBK tagset classifies as an adverb, and obviously erroneously tagged cases (e.g. *hvor lenge* was tagged as ADVERB+ADJECTIVE 1607 times despite *lenge* being an adverb).

Some time spent with the corpus revealed that the automatic Part-of-Speech tagging of the LBK corpus is severely lacking in certain aspects. In particular, the words *veldig* and *helt* are exclusively tagged as adjectives although both frequently occur as degree adverbs. Westervoll points out that *veldig* is so grammaticalized as a degree adverb that it can no longer stand alone as a predicate and has lost much of its semantic content (2015: 6), thus it is therefore primarily a degree adverb, despite its PoS tagging in LBK.

This method highlights some of the issues of relying on PoS-tagged data when searching in large amounts of corpus data and underscores points raised by among others Sinclair (1992) that annotations may impose an analysis on the users of the corpus and that the annotations may be incorrect or inconsistent.

As a result of the issues described, many of the items in the list of 2,500, and indeed in Table 2, are something else than degree modifiers modifying an adjective. Instead it came down to manual labor to identify the adverbs in the list that acted as of degree modifiers. In the list of the 2,500 most frequent patterns, I found 63 different Norwegian degree modifiers. I then searched for each in the ENPC to establish their frequencies relevant for this project.

The sixteen most frequent degree-modifying words directly preceding an adjective in original texts in the ENPC are shown in Table 3:

Table 3: Most frequent degree modifier + adjective combinations in original English and Norwegian fiction (ENPC)

Rank	English construction	Abs. freq.	Norwegian construction	Abs. freq.
1	<i>very + ADJ</i>	237	<i>så + ADJ*</i>	788
2	<i>so + ADJ*</i>	205	<i>for + ADJ*</i>	305
3	<i>too + ADJ*</i>	184	<i>helt + ADJ</i>	105
4	<i>more + ADJ*</i>	162	<i>litt + ADJ</i>	74
5	<i>most + ADJ*</i>	77	<i>nesten + ADJ</i>	72
6	<i>quite + ADJ</i>	55	<i>ganske + ADJ</i>	67
7	<i>rather + ADJ</i>	50	<i>mer + ADJ*</i>	52
8	<i>almost + ADJ</i>	41	<i>altfor + ADJ</i>	50
9	<i>pretty + ADJ</i>	34	<i>mest + ADJ*</i>	48
10	<i>really + ADJ</i>	32	<i>meget + ADJ</i>	31
11	<i>a little + ADJ</i>	25	<i>svært + ADJ</i>	24
12	<i>less + ADJ</i>	25	<i>temmelig + ADJ</i>	23
13	<i>much + ADJ</i>	24	<i>mindre + ADJ</i>	17

14	<i>perfectly</i> + ADJ	18	<i>særlig</i> + ADJ	17
15	<i>particularly</i> + ADJ	16	<i>riktig</i> + ADJ	14
16	<i>bloody</i> + ADJ	11	<i>veldig</i> + ADJ	12

It must first be noted that not all of these occurrences have been manually checked, and there are some constructions that returned a high number of false positives, particularly in the cases of *so*, *too* (English) as well as *så* and *for* (Norwegian), and lack of recall in other cases. The cross-linguistic pair *so* and *så*, which are cognates, have been included in the list but were ruled out of consideration because of their versatility and frequency in a number of other functions, including as a conjunction, time adverbial and interjection. Additionally, the items *more* and *most* in English as well as their Norwegian counterparts *mer* and *mest* are strictly speaking quantifying determiners and not degree modifiers and are only included in the list for comparison. The rest of the words on the list function exclusively, or almost exclusively, as degree modifiers, and the frequencies are therefore close to accurate, barring errors in the PoS tagging or other minor inaccuracies.

Disclaimers aside, Table 3 provides some interesting observations. The scalar intensifier *very* is by far the most frequent in the English data. *Very* is, as Paradis (2007) reported, a scalar booster and clearly dominates in terms of frequency. Meanwhile, the most frequent booster in the Norwegian portion is *meget*, followed by *svært* and *veldig*. These appear as the first three translation suggestions of *very* in the bilingual online dictionary Ordnett, based on the bilingual dictionary *Engelsk-norsk stor ordbok* (2008) from the leading publisher of dictionaries in Norway, Kunnskapsforlaget. Yet, even combined, the three Norwegian boosters do not constitute even a third of the occurrences of *very*.

The third most frequent intensifier in the Norwegian data (after *så* and *for*, which were disregarded for the reasons stated above) is *helt*, which is a totality modifier, i.e., similar to English *completely*. Of the fifteen most frequent English constructions, only *quite*, *most* and *perfectly* are totality modifiers. *Quite* is in many cases a scalar modifier (a moderator according to Paradis' (2007) framework).

While the list suggests many avenues of investigation, I settled on examining in more detail a set of degree modifiers, namely the English items *quite*, *rather*, *pretty* and *completely* and the Norwegian items *ganske*, *temmelig*, *helt* and *nokså*. These choices were made with the aim of covering delexicalized and grammaticalized degree modifiers, including some

common scalar modifiers and some totality modifiers, choosing some expected cross-linguistic correspondences, and at the same time including some of the most frequent items. This decision was made both because the frequent items are more interesting for the purpose of investigating expressions of degree modification as a general phenomenon, and in order to compile a sufficient amount of data. Of the English items, only *completely* was not among the 15 most frequent modifiers; it was ranked 33rd in English original data. However, it was selected for two reasons: first of all, to include an item that is primarily a totality modifier that semantically corresponds to the much more frequent Norwegian item *helt*, and also because a quick scan of frequencies in ENPC translations revealed that *completely* is much more frequent in the translated data than in original data. In fact, there were almost ten times as many occurrences of *completely* in the translated texts as in the original texts, which in itself presents an interesting contrast that will be further explored in Chapter 4. Of the Norwegian items, *nokså* was not on the list of the 16 most frequent items, instead reaching place number 17, with 12 occurrences in original data, but was selected because of its potential correspondence with the moderators *quite*, *rather*, and *pretty*.

3.2.2 Description of the selected degree modifiers

From the selected set, *quite* appears to be the most frequent in original text in the ENPC. *Quite* is an interesting item to study due to its versatility and sometimes ambiguous meaning. The Oxford English Dictionary lists ten distinct senses for the adverb *quite*, though some of these are now obsolete or rare.

Quirk et al. discuss the ambiguity of *quite* in a comprehensive footnote, showing that *quite* can function as an amplifier or as a downtoner, using the examples *she's quite right* (that is, as a maximizer: completely right) and *that's quite good* (that is, as a moderator: *fairly good*).

Paradis (2000: 6) describes *quite* as an item that since the beginning of the 18th century has allowed for both a bounded and an unbounded reading. While it was previously only used in the sense 'entirely', she concludes based on corpus data from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC), the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) and the British National Corpus (BNC) that its maximizing use has declined in recent decades. Its unbounded reading has developed from a booster (as 'really') to a moderator (as 'a moderate degree'), according to Paradis' classification.

Biber et al. (1999: 567) report that *quite* was roughly seven times more common in British English conversation than in American conversation, suggesting that there is significant difference between the varieties. They elaborate on this difference in the following:

“[British English] favors the more intensifying use of *quite*, which can be used with adjectives which indicate the end-point of a scale, such as *right*, *true*, and *sure*. Thus in *quite right*, *quite sure*, and *quite true*, *quite* has a force similar to ‘entirely’ or ‘absolutely’ and is not close in meaning to *pretty sure*. This use is relatively rare in AmE, except when a negative precedes *quite*. (Biber et al. 1999: 568)

This is reflected in the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary (henceforth ‘COBUILD’) where there are six entries of use listed for British English while only three for American English.

Rather can also boast a multitude of senses. The OED lists ten, though five of these are marked as rare or obsolete. Its non-degree modifying senses include as a contrastive reformulatory conjunct (Quirk et al. 1985: 639), a quasi-coordinator (ibid.: 982) and as “an old-fashioned response item expressing agreement” (Paradis 1997: 13). Its degree-modifying senses are given in the Cobuild as (1) ‘relatively or fairly’; (2) ‘to a significant or noticeable extent; quite’; and (3) ‘to a limited extent or degree’. All of these senses fall within what Paradis (2007) and the present thesis classify as a moderating function.

The use of *rather* is further elaborated upon by Quirk et al. (1985):

“[R]ather differs from *pretty* and *fairly* in that it alone can intensify (i) a comparative or too-construction, (ii) certain noun phrases denoting adjectival qualities, (iii) certain verbs, and (iv) with other nouns, *rather* alone has variable position in relation to the indefinite article” (Quirk et al. 1985: 446).

Pretty as an adverb, when excluding the sense synonymous with ‘prettily’, is both in Cobuild and the OED defined with two senses: ‘to a considerable extent; fairly; moderately; rather, quite’ (i.e., a moderator); and the sense ‘very’ (a booster), which the OED specifies is of more recent use. Cobuild marks both these uses as informal.

Paradis (1997) found some evidence that some of the scalar moderators form a scale from high to low: *rather* > *pretty* > *fairly*, while *quite* was found to be an unstable moderator without a fixed position in relation to the others (1997: 154).

Completely is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as *in a complete manner* with the synonyms *fully*, *perfectly*, *entirely*, *wholly* and *thoroughly* and includes examples going back to the 16th century. *Completely* is only described as having a maximizing function.

As for the Norwegian items, the most frequent appears to be *helt*. *Helt* is the degree adverb derived from the adjective *hel* (‘whole’) and is thus the cognate of the English degree adverb ‘wholly’. Both the Norwegian academic dictionary *Det norske akademis ordbok* (2017) and the general Norwegian online dictionary *Bokmålsordboka* (2018) list only one degree-modifying sense for *helt*, providing synonyms such as *fullstendig* (‘fully’), and gives examples back to plays by Ibsen from the 1870s. Thus, *helt* is a pure maximizer.

The second item, *ganske* is of Germanic descent, related to the German ‘ganz’. However, while ‘ganz’ is purely a maximizer, *ganske* is described by Westervoll (2015: 43) as more recently having developed a sense we classify as a moderator in the current framework, which now appears to be more frequent than its original meaning as a maximizer. *Det norske akademis ordbok* (2017) lists three senses: one maximizing function synonymous with *helt* (‘wholly’), one boosting function synonymous with *meget* (‘very’), and one moderating function synonymous with *temmelig* (‘quite’/‘rather’).

Nokså is a grammaticalized compound of *nok* (‘enough’) and *så* (‘so’) and is only listed with one sense in both *Bokmålsordboka* (2018) and *Det norske akademis ordbok* (2017), namely one expressing a certain degree, synonymous with *ganske* (described above) and *temmelig* (described below). Thus, this item is a moderator.

The final item, *temmelig*, is also only listed with one sense in its dictionary entries, with the explanatory definition *ikke i liten grad* (‘not to a small degree’) and the synonyms *ganske* and *nokså*. It is, in other words, a moderator.

All the items are summarized in Table 4 below:

Table 4: Expected function and correspondences of each item; expected cross-linguistic correspondences from the bilingual dictionaries *Ordbnett.no* (2004–2019) and *Norsk-engelsk stor ordbok* (2006)

Item	Function	Expected cross-linguistic correspondences
<i>completely</i>	Maximizer	<i>fullstendig, komplett, helt, fullt</i>
<i>pretty</i>	Moderator	<i>nokså, ganske, temmelig</i>

<i>quite</i>	Maximizer	(1) <i>helt, absolutt</i> ; (2) <i>svært, temmelig</i> ; (3) <i>ganske, nokså</i>
<i>rather</i>	Moderator	<i>ganske, nokså, temmelig, nesten, nærmest</i>
<i>ganske</i>	Moderator, booster, maximizer	(1) <i>quite, pretty, fairly</i> ; (2) <i>quite, wholly, entirely</i>
<i>helt</i>	Maximizer	<i>completely, entirely, totally, wholly</i>
<i>nokså</i>	Moderator	<i>quite, rather, fairly, moderately</i>
<i>temmelig</i>	Moderator	<i>quite, rather, pretty, fairly</i>

The expected correspondences provided in Table 4 are gathered from their entries in the printed Norwegian-English dictionary *Norsk-engelsk stor ordbok* (2006), and in the English-Norwegian bilingual dictionary Ordnett.no, which is based on the printed 2008 dictionary *Engelsk-norsk stor ordbok* from Kunnskapsforlaget, a leading Norwegian publisher of dictionaries.

Table 4 indicates a potentially high degree of cross-linguistic correspondence and a mostly compact semantic field of items with shared translations. Among the English items, the moderators *pretty* and *rather* appear the most similar in function and expected correspondences and share properties with the moderating function of *quite*. These moderators are expected to correspond to the Norwegian moderators *nokså*, *temmelig* and the moderating function of *ganske*. *Completely* is the most dissimilar item, only sharing one expected translation, *helt*, with the item *quite* in its maximizing function. While *ganske* may have a maximizing sense, the dictionary does not suggest *completely* as a translation. *Helt* is described as the item most similar to the English *completely*, but might also have some semantic overlap with *quite*. Interestingly, while *helt* is listed as the translation of the first sense of *quite*, *quite* does not even appear in the entry for *helt*.

3.2.3 Compilation and annotation of dataset

Having selected the set of items, I began to extract all the data from the ENPC. For purposes of limiting the number of data points to a manageable size, the research was focused on the DEGREE MODIFIER + ADJECTIVE pattern. This includes all translation pairs where this pattern was present in either the source or the translation. Thus, the research not only includes the lexical translations of the degree modifiers and the adjectives they complement, but also cover divergent translation strategies where, for instance, the adjective modified by a degree

modifier in the source text is rendered as a noun modified by an adjective in translation. Moreover, it includes the reverse process wherein all source correspondences that led to the DEGREE MODIFIER + ADJECTIVE pattern in translation can be investigated.

As mentioned in Section 3.1, only the original text in the ENPC is Part-of-Speech (PoS) tagged, whereas the translated text is not. This presents a problem when investigating grammatical constructions cross-linguistically in the corpus. The investigation had to focus on selected lexical items rather than colligations in order to utilize the translated portion of the corpus in a purposeful manner. Moreover, the precision and recall of the automatic PoS tagging is far from perfect when it comes to the ADVERB+ADJECTIVE combinations that is the subject of this thesis. The nature of the automatic PoS tagging is such that certain constructions are more systematically tagged erroneously in certain constructions that tend to confound the PoS tagger. In particular, the automatic tagger cannot always distinguish when a participle is used as a verb, and when it is used as an adjective, often leading to adjectival uses not being included in the results. When searching for the degree modifier *completely* modifying an adjective in the tagged original English subcorpus of the ENPC, only 4 cases are returned. However, when searching for only the word form *completely* and manually sifting through the instances, I found 9 relevant instances. The PoS tagger easily misses adjectives derived from verbs, such as example (14).

- (14) Rose had a kitchen that was so completely alphabetized, you 'd find the allspice next to the ant poison. (AT1)

The participle *alphabetized* is used as an adjective in this sentence and is a type of case that I wished to include in my data. This more labor-intensive method also has the benefit of allowing the inclusion of cases where there are other words between the degree adverb and the adjective, as in example (15):

- (15) It was a completely, irreversibly and unalterably alien society. (FF1)

The adjective/adverb distinction was in some cases difficult to determine. In fact, the task of manually classifying the degree-modified items in both source and translation proved to be a challenge.

- (16) His hair was thick and cut quite short, with no sign of grey. (AB1)

A considerable amount of manual analysis was needed to determine with certainty that e.g. *short* in example (16) is in fact an adjectival predicate. Classification issues were a larger

problem overall in the Norwegian material for a couple of reasons: Unlike English with its *-ly* suffix to denote adverbs, Norwegian adverbs formed by adjectives do not take an adverb form that is distinct from adjectives but are instead conjugated in the neuter by adding *-t*, making the adverb form indistinguishable from an adjective modifying a neuter noun. This makes them orthographically indistinguishable from adjectives ending with the letter *t*, and there are also adjectives that do not take the *-t* conjugation neither in the neuter nor as adverbs (e.g. adjectives ending in *-lig* or *-ete*). This type of difficulty could also arise in English with adverbs that are used in their adjective form in certain contexts (e.g. *slow* can occasionally function as an adverb without the *-ly* suffix), but the issue was primarily found in Norwegian.

While almost all cases were eventually satisfactorily distinguished, a smaller number of homogenous cases remained ambiguous in function in at least one language, in particular a fairly homogenous group of Norwegian adjectives and adverbs that coordinated with a posture verb, such as “Hun satt helt stille og hvit og tenkte” (lit.: ‘She sat there very still and white and thought’), “hun sto helt stille og alene” (lit.: ‘she stood completely still and alone’), “hun sitter ganske urørlig” (lit.: ‘she sits quite motionless’). These are cases where the adjective/adverb divide is so fine-grained and depending on subjective contextual interpretation. In order to keep the project focused, I chose to exclude these ambiguous cases and direct my attention toward the numerous non-ambiguous cases.

Another issue that arose was the problem of handling certain diverging grammatical structures that are inherent in the two languages investigated. For instance, in the English sentence “It doesn’t taste very **good**” the verb *taste* is a copula and **good** is therefore an adjective. The Norwegian translation, “Det smaker ikke helt **prima**”, is a word-for-word translation, and the verb *smake* is the obvious equivalent translation of *taste*. But unlike *taste*, *smake* is not a copula, which means *prima* becomes an adverb. Thus, strictly speaking, *good* → *prima* is a word-for-word divergent translation. Similar issues exist for a case such as ENG “they are **gone**” (*gone* being an adjective) → NOR “de er **borte**” (*borte* is always a place adverb). These and similar cases have therefore been labeled as divergent translations, but by using a framework from Vinay & Darbelnet (1995: 36), I have labeled them as obligatory transpositions.

While the PoS-tagger is a useful tool for surveying possible avenues of investigation in the early part of the process, it was determined that the most precise way of conducting this investigation was manually analyzing every instance of the selected degree modifiers and extracting the concordance lines in which the degree modifier was followed by an adjective.

Therefore, the results of the thesis rely on data that have been manually selected and analyzed without the assistance of PoS-tagging information.

The database compiled for this project comprises 952 data points and up to 22 variables. The variables central to the analysis are the following:

- the source language and target language
- the degree modifier in source and target
- the adjective modified by the degree modifier, or, in the case of no degree modifier, the adjective corresponding to the modified adjective found in the other language
- whether the phrase is part of narration or dialogue in the text: recent studies (e.g. Ebeling & Ebeling 2018) have found evidence that the fiction genre should be considered two genres (narration and dialogue) that behave systematically differently
- congruence of translation of the degree modifier, i.e., whether the formal realization type is the same in both source and target (e.g. cases where the modified adjective has been transposed to a noun (also called divergent translations), and the degree modifier has consequently been transposed from an adverb to an adjective)
- congruence of the translation of the modified adjective: whether the modified adjective has remained an adjective in the translation (congruent translation) or been transposed to a different realization type (divergent translation)
- whether transposition of the adjective was obligatory or optional
- position of the adjective for each language: whether the adjective is predicative or attributive; and whether the position has been changed in translation
- what grammatical functions the previously adverbial degree modifier and the adjectival item have been transposed into (e.g. noun phrase, prepositional phrase, etc.)

3.2.4 Methods of analysis

The initial analysis of the data will be frequency-based and descriptive. One of the goals of this frequency analysis is to shed light on differences between original text and translated text in the two languages in terms of degree modifier use by comparing frequency data. The intention of this thesis is thus not to evaluate equivalence in translation, which was an approach Baker (1993) criticized as “[implying] that a translation is merely a text striving to meet the standards of another text” (1993: 236), but rather to investigate the ways in which original text and translated text are similar and different in terms of the occurrence of degree

modifiers, and what this reveals about translation strategies as well as differences between English and Norwegian.

The frequency data will combine to reveal the composition of the semantic field of degree modifiers. Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg (2002) and Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer (2004) outlined and developed a methodology for investigating semantic fields with the use of translation corpora, as did Dyvik's (2004) semantic mirror method. The methodology relies on the assumption that "words which are semantically close and belong to the same lexical set share a number of translations", whereas words that do not share translations "do not belong to the same lexical field" (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg 2004: 1786). By looking at translations and sources as well as back translations, a clearer picture of both the cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic lexical field appears. In the case of degree modifiers, this method allows us to see to what extent the meanings overlap and may give an indication of equivalence of items both intra- and cross-linguistically.

The cross-linguistic equivalence will be investigated using the mutual correspondence (MC) measure, first introduced in Altenberg (1999). The measure calculates "the frequency with which different (grammatical, semantic and lexical) expressions are translated into each other" (Altenberg 1999: 254), based on data from a bidirectional translation corpus. Specifically, it uses the number of times a specific item in source texts is translated into its specific corresponding item in the translation language, as a proportion of all occurrences of the source item. The same calculation is then done for the corresponding item but this time in source texts in the other language and the other direction. The two calculations are combined to arrive at a mutual correspondence score.

Ebeling & Ebeling (2015) further developed this idea, introducing the measure reverse mutual correspondence (rMC) (2015: 79). The reverse mutual correspondence calculates a correspondence percentage in the reverse direction of Altenberg's MC. The calculation of the rMC is based on the number of occurrences in which an item in the translated portion of the corpus is a translation of the corresponding source item being investigated, as a proportion of the total number of times the item occurs in translations. The same calculation is performed for each item in each language in order to arrive at a complete rMC profile reflecting the bond between the two items. Complementing the MC measure with the rMC measure provides a better understanding of the lexical field, as "it adds another dimension to the contrastive analysis" (Ebeling & Ebeling 2015: 81).

In order to confirm or reject differences between original and translated text, the data will also be tested statistically. Differences in frequency are tested with a Pearson's chi-square test of independence using the R programming language in the RStudio software. This was carried out easily as the dataset compiled was already structured in an Excel document with the purpose of potentially being imported into RStudio for analysis.

4 Results

This chapter will investigate the use of the eight degree modifiers in the ENPC, addressing the three research questions in order. First, it is useful to provide some general information on the frequencies of each degree modifier in each of the subcorpora.

4.1 General frequencies: An overview

The initial classification and frequency analysis yield some interesting observations. In this first step, the overall frequencies of the degree modifiers are described and compared, and some of the cross-linguistic correspondences are reported on. Figure 6 presents the frequency of each of the Norwegian degree modifiers investigated in an adjective-modifying position in original text and in translations.

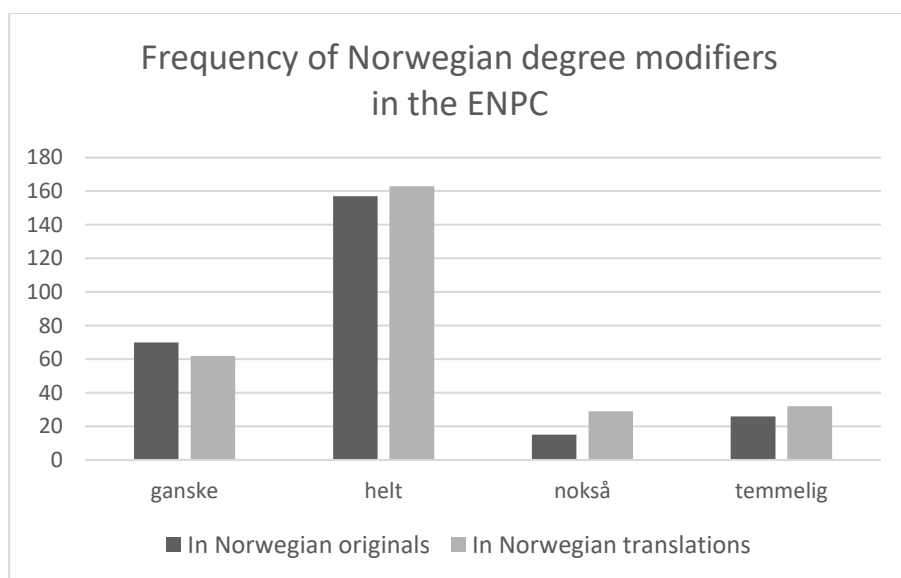


Figure 6: Frequencies of Norwegian degree modifiers modifying an adjective

The modifier *helt* is by far the most frequent item in both originals and translations, occurring roughly 160 times in each. The item *ganske* is moderately frequent at 70 and 62 occurrences in originals and translations, respectively, whereas *nokså* and *temmelig* are less frequent, ranging from 32 (*temmelig* in translations) to 15 (*nokså* in originals) occurrences in the corpus.

The frequency of each degree modifier is for the most part very similar across the two ontologies: original text and translated text. The only exception is *nokså*, which occurs almost twice as frequent in translated text as in original text, but the frequencies are rather low.

Compare this to the corresponding graph for the English items below:

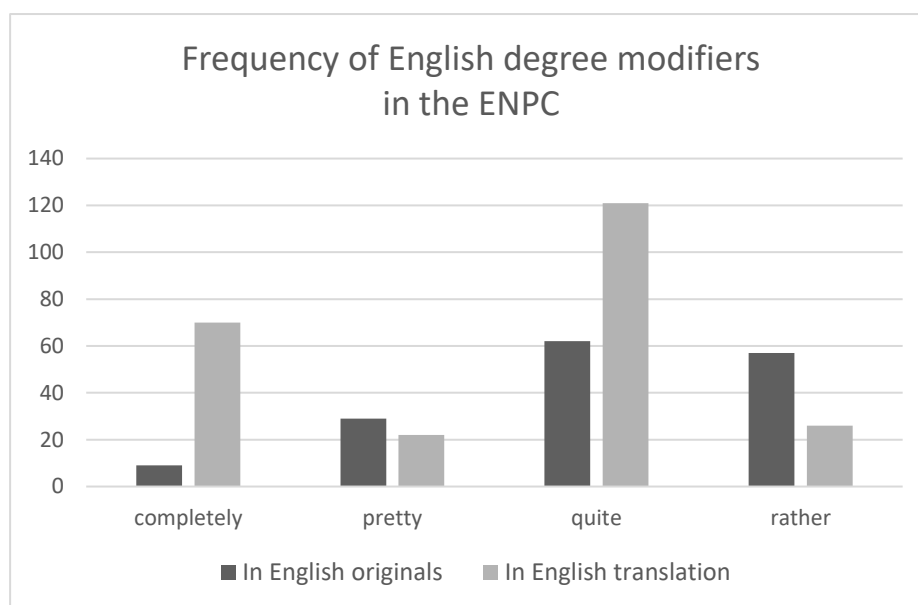


Figure 7: Frequencies of English degree modifiers modifying an adjective

The most striking observation is the large discrepancy between English original and translated text. In original text, *quite* is the most frequent degree modifier among the four with just north of 60 occurrences, though only marginally more frequent than *rather* at 57 occurrences, while *pretty* occurs 29 times. The most infrequent degree modifier in English original text is *completely*, occurring only 9 times. By contrast, it occurs 70 times in English translated text where it is the second most frequent degree modifier, after *quite*. The same trend is found for *quite* which has almost double the frequency in translated text compared to in original text. On the other hand, *rather* is more than twice as frequent in original text compared to in translated text. Only *pretty* is found to have roughly the same frequency in both original and translated text.

Another finding gleaned from Figure 6 and Figure 7 is the difference in frequency of degree modifiers between the languages. In Norwegian original text, there were a total of 268 instances of the investigated items, whereas English originals contained a total of 157. This difference is not necessarily due to more widespread use of degree modifiers in Norwegian and could be the case specifically for the selected set of items.

4.2 RQ1: Cross-linguistic correspondence

The present section reports on the cross-linguistic relationships of the selected set of degree modifiers. The aim of this is to present results that help describe the extent to which the English and Norwegian degree modifiers correspond cross-linguistically.

4.2.1 Mutual correspondence

The strength of cross-linguistic correspondences can be assessed using the mutual correspondence measure (as outlined in Section 3.2.4 herein; cf. Altenberg 1999). The mutual correspondence with correspondence score for each direction has been calculated for each item pair in Table 5:

Table 5: Mutual correspondence (MC) between all investigated items

		<i>ganske</i>	<i>helt</i>	<i>nokså</i>	<i>temmelig</i>
<i>completely</i>	NO → EN	3%	22%	0%	0%
	EN → NO	0%	56%	0%	0%
	MC	3%	24%	0%	0%
<i>quite</i>	NO → EN	39%	20%	13%	15%
	EN → NO	18%	35%	5%	2%
	MC	29%	24%	6%	6%
<i>pretty</i>	NO → EN	4%	0%	7%	12%
	EN → NO	14%	0%	14%	17%
	MC	7%	0%	11%	15%
<i>rather</i>	NO → EN	7%	1%	13%	15%
	EN → NO	23%	2%	13%	18%
	MC	14%	1%	13%	17%

Table 5 shows the cross-linguistic mutual correspondence between each of degree modifiers. Perhaps the most striking observation is how low the MC scores are for items that bilingual dictionaries suggest are close to equivalent. The strongest mutual correspondence is that of *quite* and *ganske*, where overall 29% of either word is translated into the other. See examples (17)–4.2.1(20) for examples of this translation correspondence.

- (17) "She was quite generous sometimes when he caught her in a good mood.
(MW1)

"Hun var ganske sjenerøs av og til, når han traff henne i godt humør. (MW1T)

- (18) In the early years Mum was quite proud of me. (BO1)

De første årene var mamma ganske stolt av meg. (BO1T)

- (19) Og han kan høre hjertet banke, og det er egentlig ganske skummelt, akkurat som den svære klokken hos bestefaren. (LSC1)

And he can hear his heart beating, and it 's actually quite eerie, just like the clock at Grandfather's. (LSC1T)

(20) Ved siden av den vanlige med papirene fulgte en kartong med tre flasker vin av et ganske spesielt merke. (JW1)

Besides the usual one containing manuscripts, there was a box with three bottles of wine in it, of a quite exceptional quality. (JW1T)

In (17), *quite generous* has been translated straightforward and literally as *ganske sjenerøs*, and in (18), *quite proud* similarly literally as *ganske stolt*. The same is true for *ganske skummelt* which was rendered as *quite eerie* and *ganske spesielt* as *quite exceptional* in (19) and (20), respectively. These correspondences are expected to function as moderators, though as both *quite* and *ganske* can take on both maximizing and moderating functions, drawing a firm distinction may in some cases require intonation patterns.

The second strongest corresponding pair is *quite* and *helt* at 24% MC, tied with *completely* and *helt*.

(21) Miss Honey was feeling quite quivery. (RD1)

Frøken Honey følte seg helt skjelven. (RD1T)

(22) It hung on the horizon, not quite full, but big as a house. (TH1)

Den hang over horisonten ikke helt full, men likevel diger som et hus. (TH1T)

(23) Han hadde på ingen måte gjort seg opp noen bevisste tanker om hva han ville foreta seg, men da han sto ved disken var det plutselig helt naturlig for ham å si at han egentlig var fra politiet, og at han enda en gang ønsket å se leiligheten til den drepte. (FC1)

He had made no conscious decision what he would do, but when he stood at the counter it suddenly felt quite natural for him to say that he was actually from the police, and that he wanted to see the murdered woman's apartment once more. (FC1T)

(24) Reber var ikke helt sikker på hva som hadde innhentet ham, men han var fanget. (OEL1)

Reber was not quite sure what had overtaken him, but he was caught. (OEL1T)

Examples (21)–(24) show some *quite* ↔ *helt* correspondences; two from English into Norwegian and two in the opposite direction.

Table 5 further reveals some imbalance in the direction of translation. While 39% of the occurrences of *ganske* in original Norwegian text are rendered as *quite* in translation, only 18% of *quite* in English original texts are translated as *ganske*. Instead, translators more often opt for the explicit maximizer *helt*.

The strength of the correspondences may also vary according to other contextual features. Following the Ebeling & Ebeling (2018), the dataset has been annotated according to whether the phrase appears as part of narration or dialogue. It was therefore easy to check the items with the highest MC scores, i.e., above 20%, for their individual MC scores in narration and dialogue. The results are shown in Table 6:

Table 6: Selected mutual correspondence scores in narration and fiction

	MC in narration	MC in dialogue
<i>helt</i> ↔ <i>completely</i>	26%	17%
<i>ganske</i> ↔ <i>quite</i>	31%	20%
<i>helt</i> ↔ <i>quite</i>	22%	31%

Table 6 shows that the correspondence between *helt* and *completely* is higher in narration than in dialogue in three of the four cases. Only the pair *helt* and *quite* has a higher mutual correspondence in dialogue than in narration. Since *quite* had a higher correspondence with *ganske* in narration, this genre variability when used as a correspondence of *quite* may shed some light on differences in use between *ganske* and *helt*. Specifically, it demonstrates that *helt* and *quite* have a stronger correspondence in dialogue, whereas *ganske* and *quite* and *helt* and *completely* are the stronger correspondences in narration. This is evidence that both *ganske* and *helt* have *quite* as their closest English equivalent, indicating that Norwegian has two items sharing or dividing the semantic range that *quite* takes up in English. The findings in Table 5 suggest that this divide also to some extent follows the genre divide.

4.2.2 Reverse mutual correspondence

To further explore the correspondence of the items, the reverse mutual correspondence measure introduced by Ebeling & Ebeling (2015) was utilized, providing another perspective on the correspondence data. The results are presented in Table 7:

Table 7: Reverse mutual correspondence (rMC) between all investigated items

		<i>ganske</i>	<i>helt</i>	<i>nokså</i>	<i>temmelig</i>
<i>completely</i>	EN $\leftarrow$ NO	3%	60%	0%	0%
	NO $\leftarrow$ EN	0%	2%	0%	0%
	rMC	2%	20%	0%	0%
<i>quite</i>	EN $\leftarrow$ NO	24%	26%	2%	3%
	NO $\leftarrow$ EN	16%	12%	10%	3%
	rMC	21%	19%	4%	3%
<i>pretty</i>	EN $\leftarrow$ NO	14%	0%	5%	14%
	NO $\leftarrow$ EN	6%	0%	14%	16%
	rMC	8%	0%	10%	15%
<i>rather</i>	EN $\leftarrow$ NO	19%	4%	15%	15%
	NO $\leftarrow$ EN	24%	0%	24%	28%
	rMC	23%	1%	20%	22%

Table 7 shows that the strongest reverse mutual correspondence is that of *rather* and *ganske* at 23%, whereas *rather* and *temmelig* have an rMC score of 22%. The rMC of *quite* and *ganske* is markedly lower than the MC, and particularly the extent to which *quite* occurs as the source correspondence of *ganske* is remarkably low at only 16%. Also surprising is the discrepancy between the 35% of occurrences of *quite* translated into *helt* from Table 5 and the merely 12% of occurrences of *helt* in translation translated from *quite*. The MC and rMC scores in tables Table 5 and Table 7 suggest an imbalance in the source and target correspondences of *ganske* and *rather*. While the percentage of the occurrences of *ganske* in original text that are translated into *rather* is very low at only 7%, the percentage of *ganske* in translated text that has *rather* as its source correspondence is as high as 24%. These are details that will be further examined in Section 4.4.2. In addition, *rather* also has higher rMC scores than MC scores with most of the Norwegian items. Altogether, the three Norwegian items *ganske*, *nokså* and *temmelig* constitute the source correspondences of 65% of all occurrences of *rather* in translated English text. Examples of some of these reverse mutual correspondences are presented below:

(25) Then you 'll be able to tell me how much money your rather brilliant father made altogether today." (RD1)

Da skulle du kunne fortelle meg hvor mye den ganske geniale faren din har tjent i alt i dag. (RD1)

(26) "Enda hun er enebarn og nærmest famieløs og ganske asosial i grunnen. (EHA1)

"Even though she 's an only child with almost no family and is rather anti-social at heart.
(EHA1T)

(27) We 're rather different, Oliver and me, as you might have noticed. (JB1)

Vi er temmelig forskjellige, Oliver og jeg, som du kanskje har forstått.

(28) Det passet godt med hennes barduse, impulsive og temmelig egoistiske vesen
som jeg ikke har savnet en dag under disse måneders fravær. (KF1)

It agreed well with her abrupt, impulsive and rather selfish character, which I have n't
missed a single day during these several months' absence. (KF1T)

(29) Jeg våknet, var iallfall våken nok til å fornemme at det måtte være ganske
tidlig. (KF2)

I woke up, or was at least awake enough to realize that it must be quite early. (KF2T)

(30) It 's quite decent, really, all things considered." (RDA1)

Den er sant å si ganske anstendig, alt tatt i betraktning." (RDA1T)

(31) Now the room was quite dark, it looked vast, like a black cave that had no end.
(DL1)

Nå var værelset blitt helt mørkt. Det virket veldig, som en sort hule uten bunn. (DL1T)

Overall, the rMC exhibits a similar pattern to the MC. However, some interesting observations can be made from the finer details in the two correspondence tables. The tables demonstrate the expected versatility of *quite* and, to a lesser extent, *ganske*, both occurring as correspondences of all the items in the other language, including both maximizers and moderators. The English item *quite* has the stronger correspondence with *ganske* and *helt* and a quite low correspondence with the moderators *nokså* and *temmelig*. The tables show that the two moderators *nokså* and *temmelig* never correspond with the maximizer *completely*. Perhaps more unexpected is the full versatility of *rather*, which corresponds to some degree with all the Norwegian items. However, the mutual correspondence of *rather* with the maximizer *helt* is extremely low. The very low MC of *ganske* and *completely* is notable as well given the maximizing function of *ganske*, as was established in Section 3.2.2. The only cases of *ganske* and *completely* corresponding to one another, are two examples where *ganske* is translated into *completely*, both of which are shown in examples (32) and (33):

(32) Hun stod der og lot som det var et ganske vanlig tre uten en uvanlig fot og legg
og rød skjorte. (THA1)

She stood there and pretended that it was a completely normal tree without a foot or a leg or a red shirt. (THA1T)

(33) Ikke barnet, det var en ganske alminnelig baby, rund og lyserød i kinnene.
(EHA1)

Not the baby; it was a completely ordinary baby, plump and pink-cheeked. (EHA1T)

In both examples, the maximizer emphasizes the degree to which something is *ordinary* or *normal*. Such adjectival patterns will be further examined in Section 4.2.3.

Taking both directions into account, the strongest relation of correspondence is that between *ganske* and *quite*, closely followed by *temmelig* and *rather*, *helt* and *completely*, and *helt* and *quite*.

4.2.3 Collocations

So far, this thesis has looked at degree modifiers as insular words. Yet, as was briefly discussed in Chapter 2, the modified constituent, i.e. the adjective, is central to the choice of appropriate degree modifier. In his discussion of the idiom principle, Sinclair (1991) crystallizes this, writing “the principle of idiom is that a language user has available to him or her a large number of semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments” (Sinclair 1991: 110). In the context of degree modifiers, a degree modifier’s systematic collocation with an item it modifies may add up to one such semi-preconstructed phrase.

Multi-word expressions must be considered in the context of cross-linguistic correspondence. The MC and rMC scores provided in this chapter should be further nuanced by taking into account potential frequent collocations that may be particular to one language or common to both, as well as collocational differences between original and translated text.

The adjective that most often occurs with one of the degree modifiers in English original text is *different*, which is found four times together with *quite* and three times with *rather*. There are, in other words, no DEGREE MODIFIER + ADJECTIVE collocations with high frequencies in English original text.

(34) "Schloss Judenau," sier han og trekker seg inn i seg selv, som om han stirrer gjennom henne mot noe helt annet. (ABR1)

"The Schloss Judenau," he says, drawing himself into himself, as if he 's staring through her towards something quite different. (ABR1T)

The most frequent correspondence of *quite/rather different* is the DEGREE MODIFIER + DETERMINER combination *helt annen/annet* ('completely other'), which occurs in three of the seven instances. Here, *annen/annet* is a demonstrative pronoun or determiner, making such translations divergent.

In Norwegian original text, the most frequently modified adjective is *sikker/sikre* ('certain', 'sure', 'safe'), which occurs as many as 21 times, in 13 of which it is modified by *helt* and another 6 times by *temmelig*.

(35) "De er helt sikker på at han sa at han skulle komme i dag?" (EG2)

"You 're quite sure he said he 'd come today?" (EG2T)

(36) Han var temmelig sikker på at det ville blitt formulert på en annen måte for fem år siden. (OEL1)

He was certain that it would have been put differently five years ago. (OEL1T)

Furthermore, 5 of the 13 occurrences of *helt sikker/sikre* are immediately preceded by the negator *ikke*.

(37) Sofie var ikke helt sikker på om hun var enig. (JG1)

Sophie was not certain she agreed. (JG1T)

(38) Han er ikke helt sikker, men skriver den likevel: Og man var enige om at det hadde vært en fin dag. (LSC1)

He is not completely sure, but writes anyway: And one was agreed that it had been a nice day. (LSC1T)

(39) Da smilte hun, men jeg er ikke helt sikker på om jeg likte det smilet, og fortalte om hvordan hun, mens broren fremdeles sov, hadde gått ned og hentet en revolver i bibliotekets våpensamling. (FC1)

Then she smiled but I 'm not entirely certain if I liked that smile — and told me how, while her brother was still asleep, she had gone down and fetched a revolver from the guncase in the library. (FC1T)

The English translation correspondences are varied and less fixed. In 8 of the 21 instances, the pattern is DEGREE MODIFIER + *sure*, and in 7 DEGREE MODIFIER + *certain*. In two cases, [copula] + *helt sikker* ('be completely sure') corresponds to the verb *know*.

Other somewhat frequent collocations occurring between 5 and 10 times are *ganske alminnelig* ('quite ordinary'), *helt stille* ('completely silent'), *ganske liten* ('quite small'), *helt alene* ('completely alone'), and *helt annerledes* ('completely different').

(40) Jeg er en ganske alminnelig mann på vei til mitt arbeid. (KF1)

I 'm a quite ordinary man on my way to work. (KF1T)

(41) Et øyeblikk ble det helt stille i gaten, som om alle holdt pusten. (KA1)

For a moment the street was perfectly quiet, as though nobody dared breathe. (KA1T)

(42) Etter at dalen ble leverandør av vin til Vatikanet, tilfaller en ganske liten del av salgssummen stedets kirke. (JW1)

Since the valley became a supplier of wine to the Vatican, a tiny proportion of the revenue comes to the village church. (JW1T)

(43) Men hun var ikke helt alene, for på slottet bodde også hennes ett år yngre bror. (FC1)

But she was n't entirely alone, for her brother, who was one year younger, was also staying in the lodge. (FC1T)

(44) Hennes autoritet var ikke til å fatte, fordi den var så helt annerledes enn den ungene fikk i form av øre-tevinger og huting hos far sin når det skortet på folkeskikken. (HW1)

It was hard to understand her authority because it was so wholly different from the angry scoldings and smacks they got from their fathers when they did n't behave. (HW1T)

In the reverse direction, some of the collocations found in English translated text display stronger and more fixed correspondence patterns than what was apparent from the translated original data. A large share of the instances of *helt* collocating with *annerledes/forskjellig*, as well as the (non-adjective) determiner *annen/annet/andre*, were in translation rendered as *completely different* or *quite different*. Thus, there are 9 cases of *completely different* and 7 *quite different* found in translated English text.

(45) Men da Gro sa det, virket det på en helt annen måte. (EHA1)

But when Gro said it, it sounded completely different. (EHA1T)

(46) Men langt under ham hører han noe helt annet: En dame som gråter, og etter den spinkle lyden å dømme er det en svært vakker dame som sitter innesperret her, nøyaktig som trofaste Bernardo sa. (LSC1)

But far below he hears something completely different: A woman crying, and judging by the fragile sound, it is a very pretty lady who is imprisoned here, exactly as Bernardo said. (LSC1T)

In 6 out of the 62 cases of *quite*, the degree modifier is preceded by a negator, i.e. *not quite*. In this phrase, *quite* is always a maximizer, which is reflected in its Norwegian translations: 2 times rendered as *ikke helt* ('not wholly'), 2 times as *ikke riktig* ('not exactly') and 2 times as [negator] + ZERO-correspondence.

(47) So, the wages of sin and the pleasures of adultery now discussed if not quite settled, let 's get on with the story. (FW1)

Så, når syndens lønn og fornøyelsen ved utroskap nå er diskutert om ikke helt avgjort, la oss komme oss videre med historien. (FW1T)

(48) Digging them up would make me want to try again, and I was n't quite ready. (JSM1)

Hvis jeg gravde dem opp, ville jeg få lyst til å gjøre et nytt forsøk, og det var jeg ikke riktig moden for. (JSM1T)

(49) She was not quite tall enough to reach things around the kitchen, but she kept a small box in the outhouse which she brought in and stood on in order to get whatever she wanted.

Hun var ikke høy nok til å nå de forskjellige tingene på kjøkkenet, men hun hadde en liten kasse i uthuset som hun tok med seg inn, og når hun klatret opp på den nådde hun alt det hun ville ha tak i.

In the Norwegian translations, the phrase *helt sikker* occurs eight times from a range of sources, six of which had no degree modification.

(50) "Frankly, I 'm assuming somebody killed him." (SG1)

"Jeg er helt sikker på at han ble drept." (SG1T)

(Lit.: 'I am fully sure that he was killed')

(51) The only thing she was certain of was that she would n't be at home to visitors at 3 pm. (ST1)

Det eneste hun var helt sikker på, var at hun ikke kom til å være tilgjengelig for besøk i tretiden. (ST1T)

(‘Lit.: ‘The only thing she was fully certain of, was that she would not come to be available for visits around three’)

(52) "You 're sure you do n't want them to come?" asked David, who had been begged by the children to make her change her mind. (DL1)

"Er du helt sikker på at du ikke vil de skal komme?" spurte David. (DL1T)

(Lit.: ‘Are you fully certain that you don’t want them to come? asked David’)

The use of the maximizer *helt* in these cases strengthens or emphasizes the degree to which the person is certain compared to the source text. It is also striking that six out of the eight cases of *helt sikker* are found in dialogue.

The investigation into collocations was not able to uncover prominent lexical or semantic pattern in original English text. There was some evidence of patterns in original Norwegian text, especially *helt/temmelig sikker* (‘completely/fairly sure’), but this did not consistently trigger a specific corresponding English pattern in translation. Similarly, Johansson’s (1993) investigation of ADVERB + ADJECTIVE combinations in the LOB Corpus found “no single semantic pattern” for adverbs combining with *different* (ibid.: 40) and emphasized instead the variety of patterns that were used.

4.2.4 Summary of the 1st research question

This first part of the investigation has found a moderate degree of cross-linguistic correspondence between certain items. The items with the highest cross-linguistic correspondence were *helt* and *completely*, *helt* and *quite*, and *ganske* and *quite*, which were shown to have mutual correspondence scores between 20% and 30%. From these, a look at genre differences along the narration/dialogue divide, revealed that *ganske* and *quite* had a higher mutual correspondence of 31% in narration, whereas *helt* and *quite* had a higher MC in dialogue, and *helt* and *completely* corresponded more often in narration. The reverse mutual correspondence showed overall similar tendencies, but with slightly different scores.

The bidirectional correspondences between the selected degree modifiers are summarized in Figure 8 below:

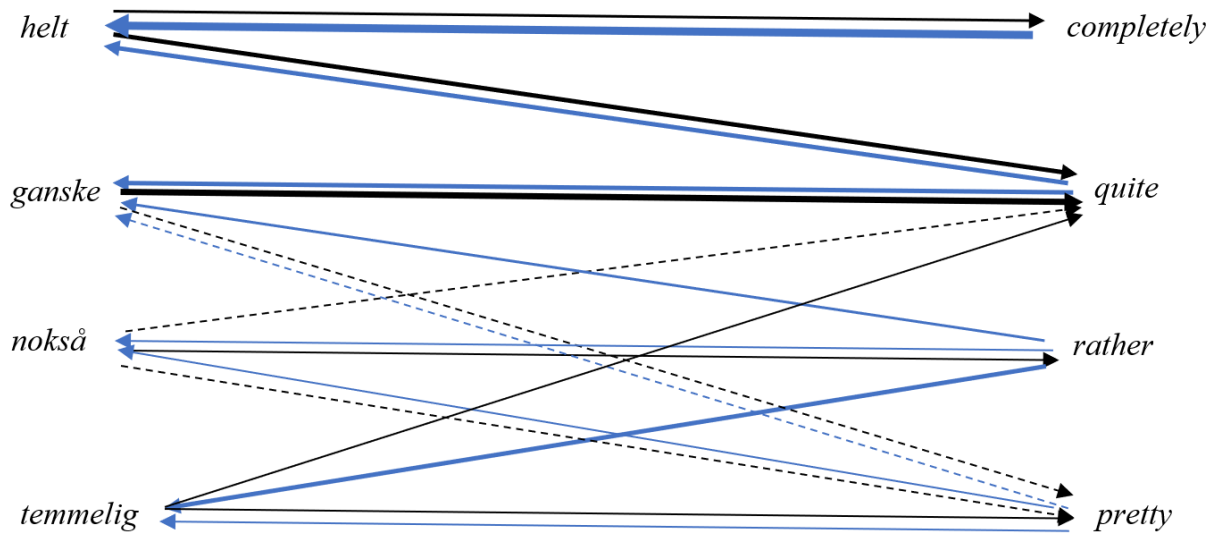


Figure 8: Illustration of directional cross-linguistic correspondence

Figure 8 presents the strength of correspondences between each of the items, where the thicker lines indicate stronger correspondence and the dashed line indicates the weakest level of correspondence.

The reverse mutual correspondence provided a different perspective where the correspondence between *ganske* and *quite*, *helt* and *completely* as well as *helt* and *quite* were slightly lower. Meanwhile, *rather*, which in Section 4.1 was reported to be less frequent in translation than in original language, had a higher reverse mutual correspondence with *ganske*, *nokså* and *temmelig*.

It was found that zero-correspondence plays a major role when describing the strength of lexical correspondence among degree modifiers. Zero-correspondence will be further discussed when examining the translation of degree modifiers in Section 4.3.

Finally, an investigation into the modified adjectives suggested some common patterns in Norwegian. Yet, similar frequent patterns were not found in English, neither in original nor in translated text.

4.3 RQ2: How are degree modifiers rendered by translators?

This section reports on the output of and procedures used by translators when faced with degree modifiers in source texts and attempts to answer the second research question on how degree modifiers are rendered by translators. First, the lexical translations will be presented

and discussed, followed by an account of grammatical translation patterns and ZERO-translations.

4.3.1 Lexical correspondences

Figure 9 below provides an introductory glance at the Norwegian correspondences of the four English degree modifiers found in the dataset and their frequencies:

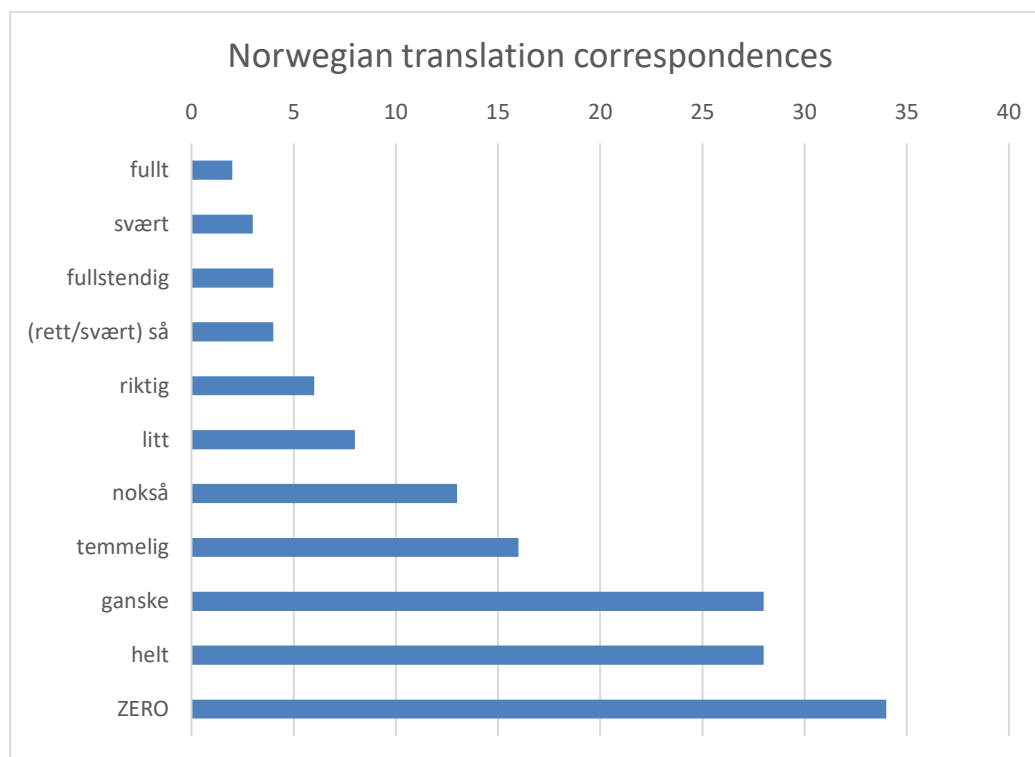


Figure 9: Frequencies of translation correspondences of the four English degree modifiers. Items that occur only once have been excluded.

In addition to the items in Figure 9, there were ten correspondences that only occurred once in the dataset: *aldeles*, *delvis*, *heller*, *jo*, *kjempe-*, *lut*, *meget*, *mye*, *noe* and a divergent (transposed) correspondence. This overall view of the correspondences of *completely*, *quite*, *pretty* and *rather* suggest that the selected Norwegian items *ganske*, *helt*, *nokså* and *temmelig* are indeed the most frequent lexical correspondences and share a semantic field, which will be explored further. *Helt* and *ganske* are quite similarly frequent translations, followed by *temmelig* and *nokså*, and further by *litt* and *riktig*, while the rest occur fewer than 5 times.

Some of the items suggested in the bilingual dictionary are not present at all, namely *komplett*, *absolutt*, *nesten* and *nærmest*. Meanwhile, a few of the frequent items in Figure 9 were not suggested by the dictionary: *litt*, *riktig* and *så* (*så* was sometimes preceded by another modifier such as *svært* or *rett*).

The very high overall frequency of zero-correspondence, 34 out of 156, in translation is also very interesting and could potentially indicate that some of these degree modifiers do not always have a natural cross-linguistic equivalent or that they are items that can be omitted, e.g. for the sake of simplification.

The corresponding frequency information for English translations of the four Norwegian degree modifiers is provided in Figure 10:

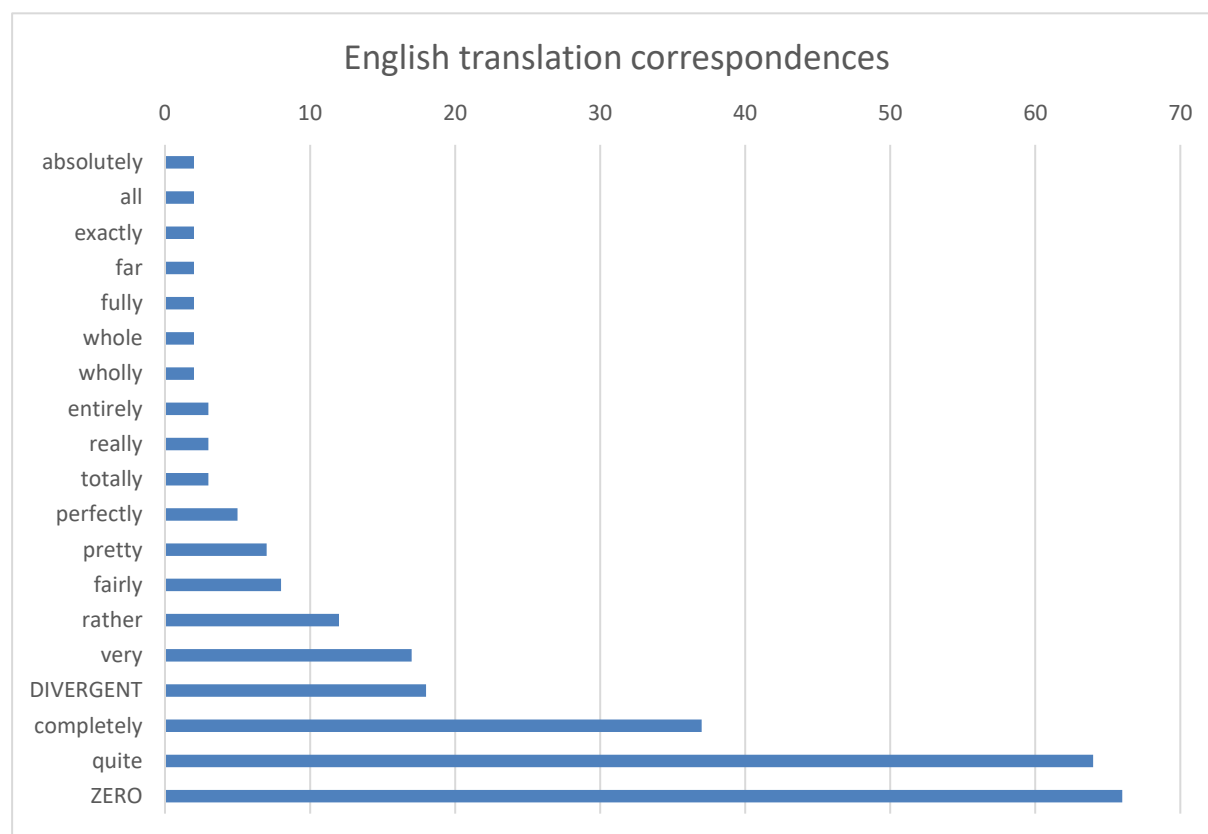


Figure 10: Frequencies of translation correspondences of the four Norwegian degree modifiers. Items that occur only once have been excluded.

Among the English items that were selected for investigation in the present thesis, all four are among the six most frequent lexical translations of the four Norwegian items. In addition, Figure 10 suggests that the items *very* and *fairly* have a presence in this cross-linguistic lexical field. In addition to the 16 lexical correspondences in Figure 10, the translations also included the items *blissfully*, *brand*, *bright*, *definitely*, *even*, *a good*, *more or less*, *more than*, *somewhat*, *stark* and *utterly*, all of which occurred once each.

As in the other direction, zero-correspondences constitute the most frequent translations overall of the four Norwegian degree modifiers, altogether making up 66 out of the 268 instances. This topic will be further dealt with in Section 4.3.3.

Another noteworthy aspect is the high extent to which the Norwegian degree modifiers are translated divergently into English. As seen in Figure 10, 18 out of the 268 instances have been translated divergently. In contrast, this occurred only once from the English source texts into a Norwegian translation. These translations will be discussed in Section 4.3.2.

Next, the translations of each of the eight degree modifiers will be explored in order to better understand and differentiate the items. The translation correspondences of *completely* are provided below in Figure 11:

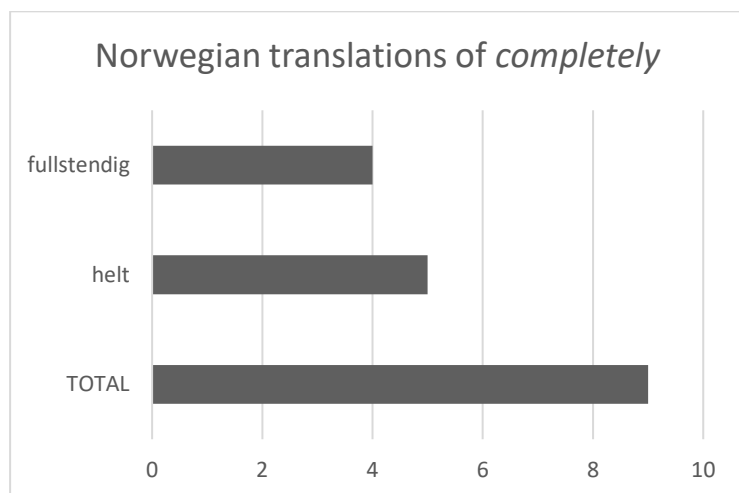


Figure 11: Frequencies of Norwegian translation correspondences of *completely*

As was found in Section 4.1, *completely* occurred very infrequently in original English text. Of the 9 instances, 5 were translated as *helt* and 4 as *fullstendig*, as exemplified here:

(53) "And it's completely free, do n't forget. (MW1)

"Og det er helt gratis, glem ikke det. (MW1T)

(54) He was still completely gone on her, had never so much as considered an extramarital fling, and he could forgive her much. (SK1)

Fremdeles var han fullstendig betatt av henne, hadde ikke så mye som tenkt på å gjøre noe sidesprang, og han kunne tilgi henne mye. (SK1T)

These are straightforward maximizers in essentially equivalent contexts. This is largely in line with the bilingual dictionary which suggested both *fullstendig* and *helt*, as well as *komplett* and *fullt*.

The item *helt* is also one of the items that this thesis investigates from the starting point of the Norwegian subcorpus. Taking advantage of the bidirectional nature of the data, the semantic field started by *completely* is naturally expanded through an examination of *helt* and its correspondences, presented in Figure 12:

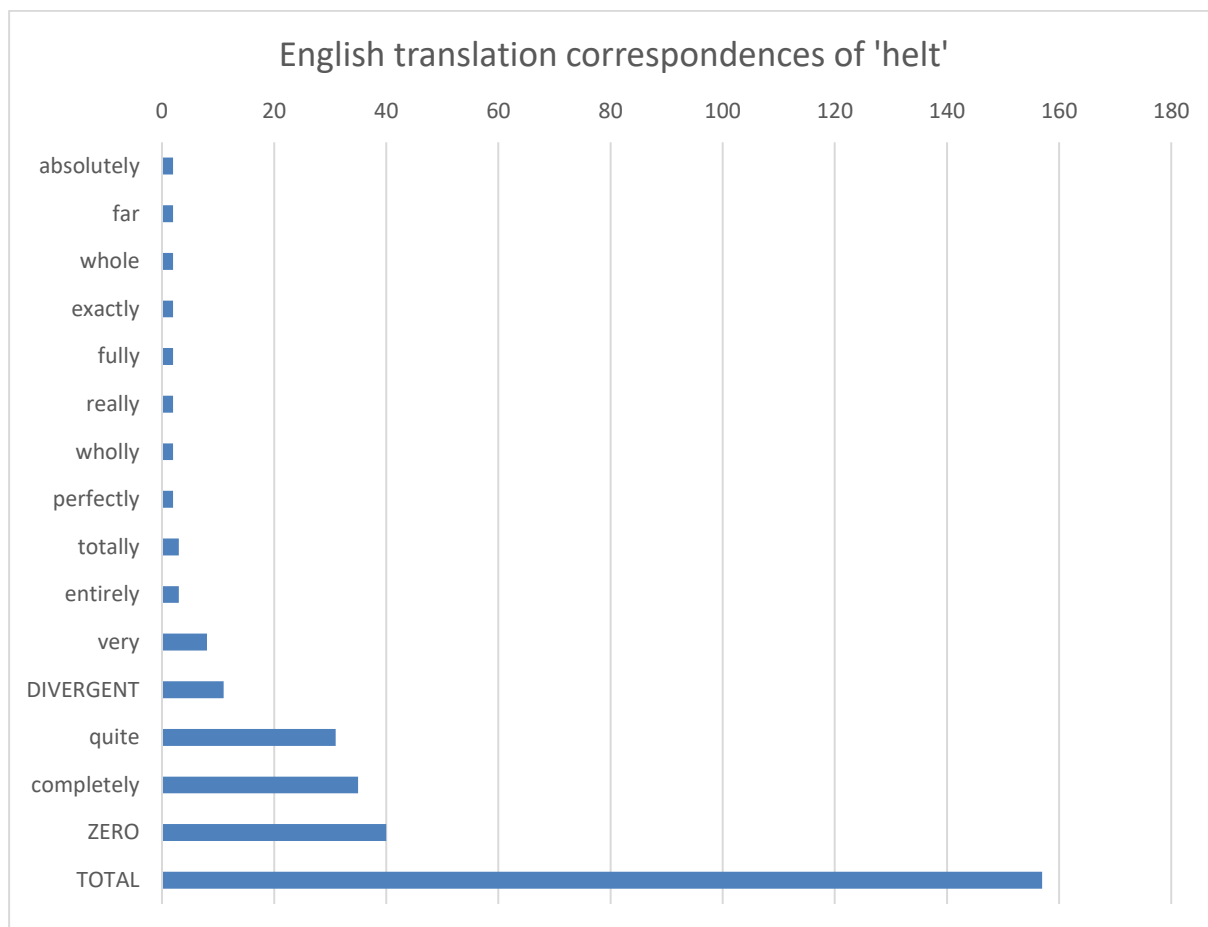


Figure 12: Frequencies of correspondences of *helt* in translated text. For brevity, correspondences that do not occur at least 2 times have been excluded

Figure 12 shows the translation correspondences of *helt*, including only correspondences that occurred at least 2 times. Altogether, there were 23 distinct lexical translation correspondences. The correspondences in the graph illustrate some of the range of meanings *helt* takes on, usually as a maximizer (e.g. *completely*, *quite*, *perfectly*, *fully*, *totally*), but also in eight cases as *very*, e.g.:

(55) Det hadde ikke vært helt bra. (LSC1)

That would n't have been very good. (LSC1T)

The most frequent lexical translations are *completely* and *quite*, but even more frequent is the zero-correspondence, i.e., where the degree modifier is dropped in translation. It is worth including a reminder that the figures above include instances where the corresponding text, i.e., either the original or the translation, depending on the direction of the search, does not include an adjective but is transposed to or from a different word class or phrase type, but the divergent translation has also been left unmodified in degree. This finding will be further investigated in Section 4.3.3.

Figure 12 also reports a number of divergent translations, where the degree modification is realized differently, or the phrase is otherwise changed in the target text.

- (56) "Du ser jo helt forskremt ut, tror du vi er røvere?" (KAL1)
(Lit.: 'You look completely frightened, do you think we are robbers?')
"You look as if you 're scared to death. Do you think we are robbers?" (KAL1T)
- (57) Una sang med høy, men ikke helt ren stemme. (TTH1)
(Lit.: 'Una sang with high but not completely on-pitch voice')
Una sang with a high voice, just a bit-off key. (TTH1T)

In (56), the degree modification in the English target text is realized by the prepositional phrase "to death", intensifying the scared-ness similar to an adverb (compare *deathly afraid*). In example (57), the sentence has been slightly juggled around in translation and the negation ('not completely on pitch') in the source text has been replaced with a positive statement (a bit off key).

When compared to the suggestions from the bilingual dictionary, the corpus findings comprise a few more items. The repeated occurrence of *very* is one that the dictionary did not predict. The occurrence of *quite* as a translation of *helt* despite not occurring as a suggested translation in the bilingual dictionary was also commented on in Section 4.2.

Further exploring the lexical field of *completely* and *helt*, the next interesting lexical item is *quite*. The degree modifier *quite* was in Figure 6 found to be the second most frequent lexical translation correspondence of *helt*.

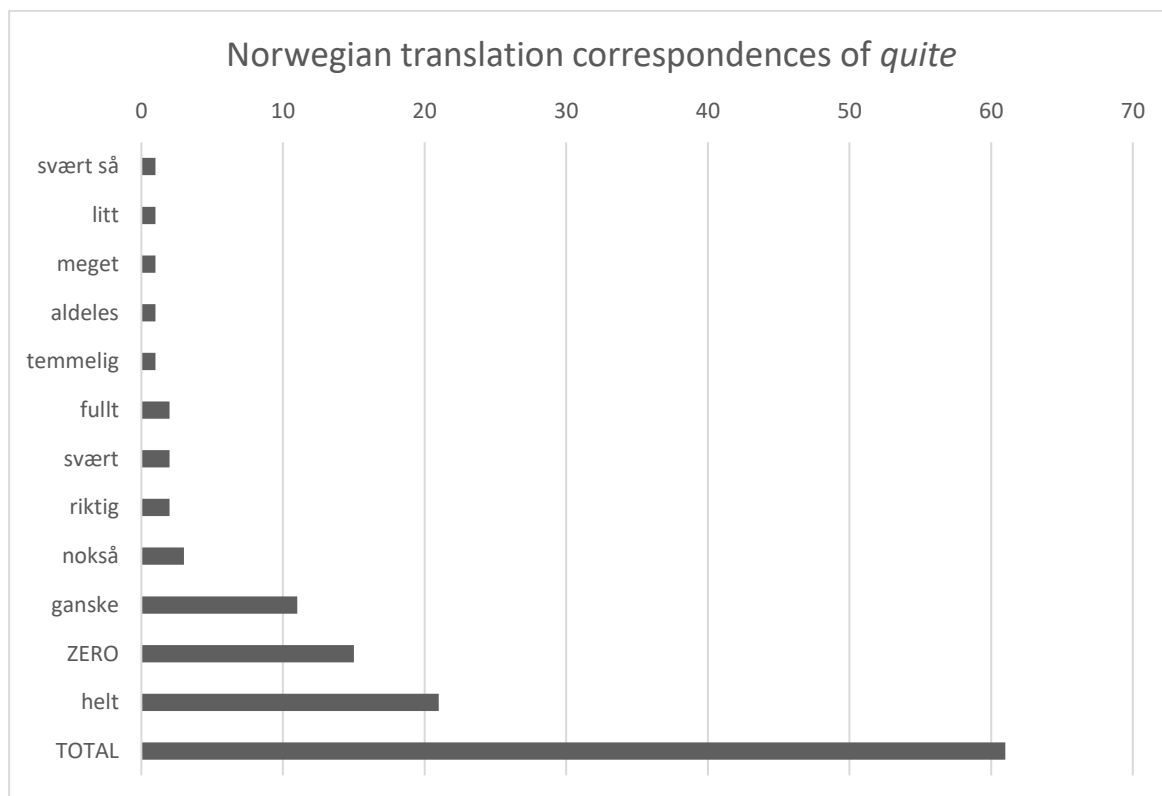


Figure 13: Frequencies of Norwegian translation correspondences of *quite* in the ENPC.

Figure 13 presents the Norwegian translation correspondences of *quite*. The most frequent lexical translation correspondence is *helt*, with *ganske* as the second most frequent item and *nokså* as the third. Only three more items, *fullt*, *svært* and *riktig* occur more than once as translations of *quite*. Of the dictionary suggestions, only *absolutt* was not found in the data. Conversely, *fullt*, *riktig*, *aldeles*, *meget*, *litt* occurred in the data, but was not suggested in the dictionary. However, their low frequency indicates that this is not a fault of the dictionary.

The item *ganske* was in the previous section found to have the strongest correspondence with *quite* and *rather*. A more detailed presentation of the correspondences of *ganske* can be seen in Figure 14:

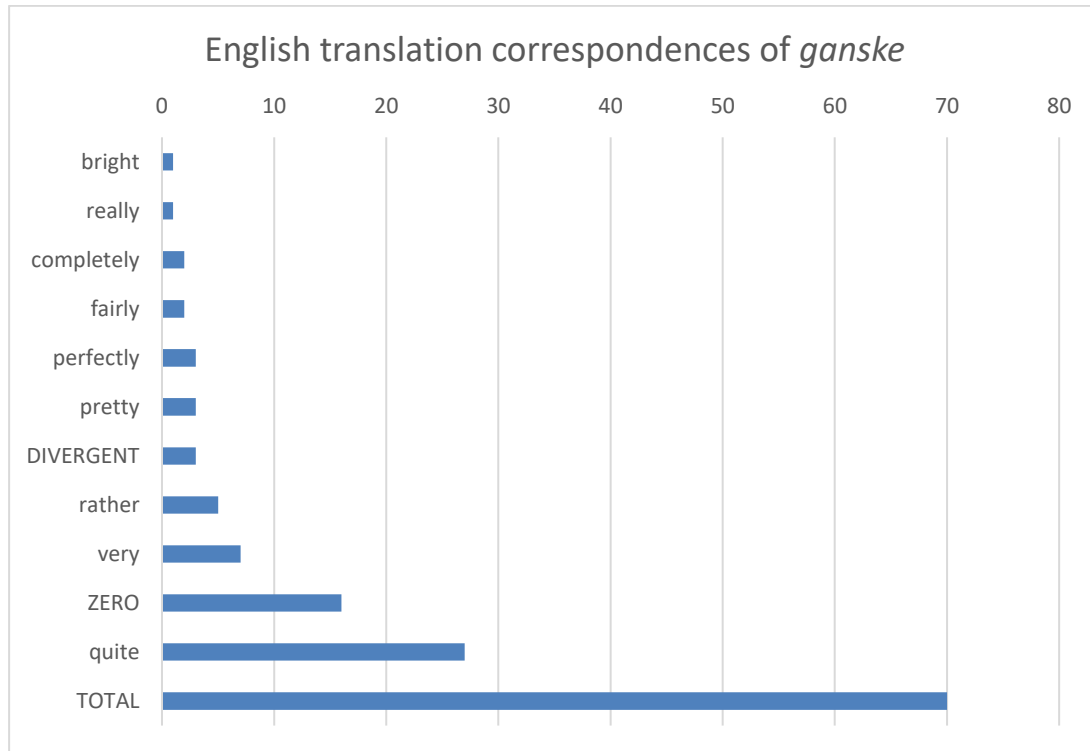


Figure 14: Frequencies of English translation correspondences of *ganske*

The item occurs with roughly the same frequency in both original and translated text: 69 and 62 times, respectively. Its most frequent translation correspondence is *quite*, followed by zero-correspondences, *very*, *rather* and then divergent, i.e., transposed translations:

- (58) Da kunne ikke urstoffet være ganske alminnelig vann, men altså noe "ubestemt". (JG1)
 (Lit.: 'Then could not the basic stuff be quite ordinary water, but rather something "indeterminable"')
 It is clear that this basic stuff could not be anything as ordinary as water. (JG1T)
- (59) I vår tid er tyveri en ganske lukrativ levevei, og slett ikke uvanlig. (KF1)
 (Lit.: 'In our time, theft is a quite lucrative way of life, and not at all uncommon')
 Theft is quite a lucrative profession today, and not at all uncommon. (KF1T)
- (60) Hagbart'en kjøpte seg en part i en båt, en ganske stor part." (GS1)
 (Lit.: The Hagbarth bought himself a share in a ship, a quite large share')
 Hagbart bought himself a share in a ship, quite a large share." (GS1T)

In example (58), the degree modification is realized by a simile construction ('anything as ordinary as water'), whereas (59) and (60) are cases where *quite* modifies a noun phrase and the meaning is arguably more akin to emphasizing the description, similar to *truly*.

Figure 14 sheds light on the relation between *ganske*, *quite* and *rather*, specifically how *ganske* is frequently rendered as *quite* in translation and less frequently rendered as *rather*, whereas as Figure 12 and Figure 15, further below, show, *ganske* is the most frequent translation correspondence of *rather* but not the most frequent translation correspondence of *quite*.

- (61) En gang, da han var ganske liten, hadde han spurt moren hvorfor han hadde fått det navnet. (TTH1)

Once, when he was quite little, he had asked his mother why he had that name.
(TTH1T)

- (62) Vanligvis spiser jeg lunsj på restauranten Bel Ami, et ganske rimelig og pregløst sted nær Majorstuen. (KF1)

Usually I have lunch in the restaurant Bel Ami, a quite reasonable but nondescript place near Majorstua. (KF1T)

- (63) "Jeg er allerede ganske dystre," kommenterer jeg, men han er ikke interessert i min sjel og snakker heller om mat. (SL1)

"I 'm quite depressed already," I comment, but he 's not interested in my soul, prefers to talk about food. (SL1T)

- (64) Dermed kan jeg også lettere fremstille det hele på et leselig italiensk, den gamle latinen var ganske stiv og delvis vanskelig i tyde. (JW1)

I can also more easily present the whole thing in a readable Italian; the old Latin was rather stilted and in parts difficult to interpret. (JW1T)

- (65) Fiskepuddingen er ganske svidd og potetene er nesten mos. (LSC1)

The fish pudding is rather scorched and the potatoes are almost sauce. (LSC1T)

In these cases, *quite* and *rather* appear interchangeable, except in example (61) where *quite* seems to be the only felicitous option to collocate with *little* in the predicative position. Yet, the translators show a very clear preference to *quite*, while *rather* only occurs as the translation of 5 out of the 70 instances of *ganske*.

The other repeated correspondences are *very*, *pretty*, *perfectly*, *fairly* and *completely*. This list underscores that *ganske* is used to indicate a wide range of points on the scale, including maximizers, boosters and moderators, as exemplified in (66)–(69):

(66) Selv er jeg stille av natur, ganske taus, men til gjengjeld en god lytter.

I 'm very quiet by nature myself, fairly taciturn, but on the other hand a good listener.

(67) "En ganske fredelig og forståelsesfull fyr giftet seg med en dame som var så vrang at selv om han tok seg av huset og matlagingen, ble han plaget og utskjelt av henne hver gang han satt til bords i godt lag. (SL1)

"A perfectly peaceful and amicable fellow married a lady who was so contrary that even though he looked after the house and the cooking she tormented and scolded him every time he sat down to dine in good company. (SL1T)

(68) "Tønne var ganske sinna." (LSC1)

"Barrel was pretty mad." (LSC1T)

(69) Slik var det fra han var ganske liten. (EFH1)

It had been like that since he was very small. (EFH1T)

This versatility was also reported by the bilingual dictionary, where *ganske* was described as a moderator, booster and maximizer with a range of suggested translations.

One of the peculiar observations in the overall frequencies in Section 4.1 was the underrepresentation of *rather* in translated text compared to original. The flexible use of *rather* in original text is illustrated through its translation correspondences in Figure 15 below:

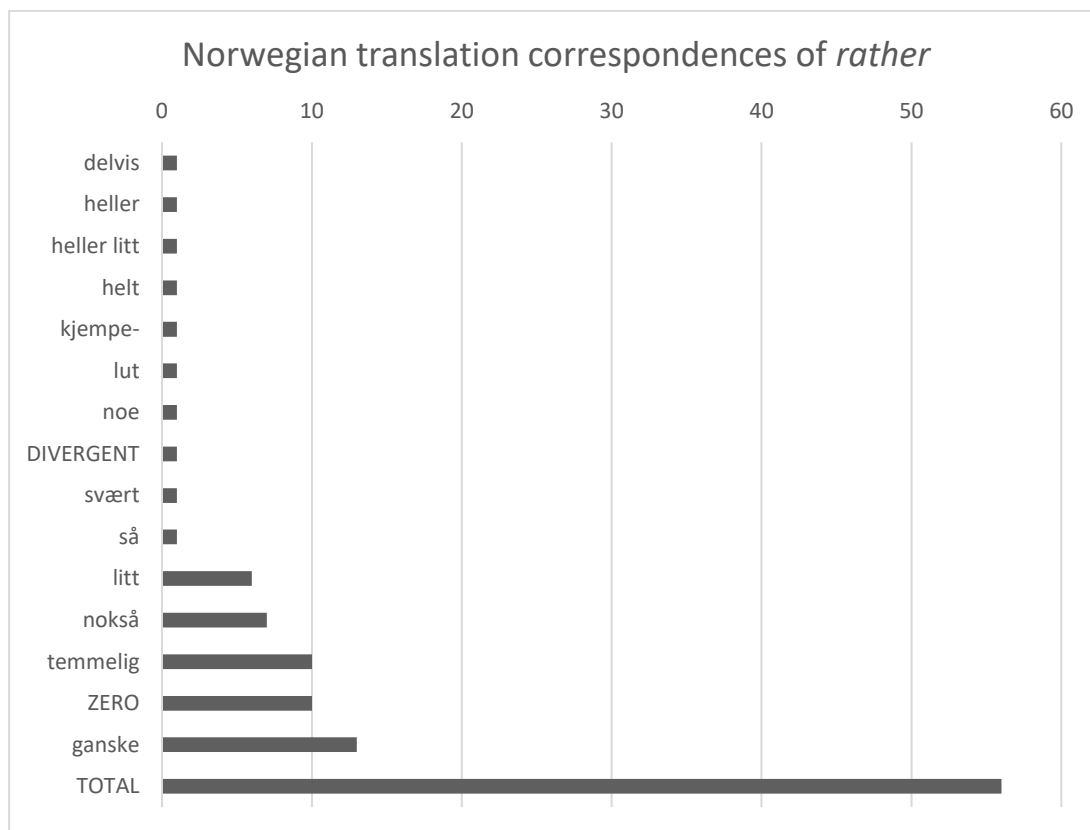


Figure 15: Frequencies of Norwegian correspondences of *rather* in the ENPC

The most frequent translation item of *rather* is *ganske*, closely followed by zero-correspondences and *temmelig*, and then *nokså* and *litt*. These different translations are relatively similar in frequency. Also worth noting is the infrequent correspondence between *rather* and *heller*. By dictionary definitions, the two are fairly common words that share a very similar range of meanings, including to express a contrary notion (i.e., as a synonym of *instead*), encompassing fixed phrases *rather [...] than* (*heller [...] enn*) and as a degree modifier meaning ‘to a certain degree’. The English-Norwegian bilingual dictionary Ordnett.no also lists *heller* as the first translation entry for *rather*. Yet, when rendering its degree-modifying meaning, translators most frequently opt for more frequent, delexicalized degree modifiers, such as *ganske*, *temmelig*, *nokså* and *litt*.

(70) Yvette remembered her parents, or rather her mother and stepfather, of whom she became rather fond, as a passive, rather silent couple, with a high and steady colour, drinking down the good wine at every meal, and flushing further in grateful response to its unfailling benefits. (AB1)

Yvette husket sine foreldre, eller retttere sagt sin mor og sin stefar, som hun ble svært glad i, som et passivt, ganske stille par, alltid med god farge i ansiktet, som drakk god vin til

hvert måltid og ble enda mer blussende i ansiktet, som et takknemlig svar på vinens aldri sviktende effekt. (AB1T)

(71) He ran a worried hand across his wide, rather pleasant face. (MW1)

Han strøk med en bekymret hånd over det brede, ganske elskverdige ansiktet. (MW1T)

(72) The solid uncooperative bundle was surprisingly heavy; it was like trying to manoeuvre a firm and rather smelly poultice. (PDJ3)

Den lite samarbeidsvillige bylten var forbausende tung; det var omtrent som å prøve å manøvrere en fast og litt illeluktende pudding. (PDJ3T)

(73) It was simply that their childhood friend looked rather foolish to their male, non-nonsense eyes: one suited arm weighed down by foliage; the fingers of the other hand entwined in the fussy, dainty packaging of cakes. (JC1)

Det var bare det at denne barndomsvennen deres så nokså dum ut etter deres mannlige, nøkterne vurdering: en dresskledt arm holdt i en bunt med grønt; fingrene på den andre handa var viklet inn i den omsorgsfulle, nusselige kakeinnpakningen. (JC1T)

(74) This home of his was a large bedroom at the back of the house overlooking a neglected garden; a shabby room, full of his boyhood, and rather chilly, in the English manner. (DL1)

Dette hjemmet hans var et stort soverom på baksiden av huset. Der så han ut over en forsømt have. Det var et lurvete rom, fullt av barndomsminner og temmelig kaldt, som vanlig i England. (DL1T)

This range of moderators cover a relatively narrow semantic range. This range is also close to what was predicted by the bilingual dictionary, which suggested *ganske*, *nokså*, *temmelig*, *nesten* and *nærmest*. The first three are well represented, though the latter two were not found to occur in this dataset.

The next item to explore is *temmelig*. The English correspondences of *temmelig* in source and target texts are summarized in Figure 16:

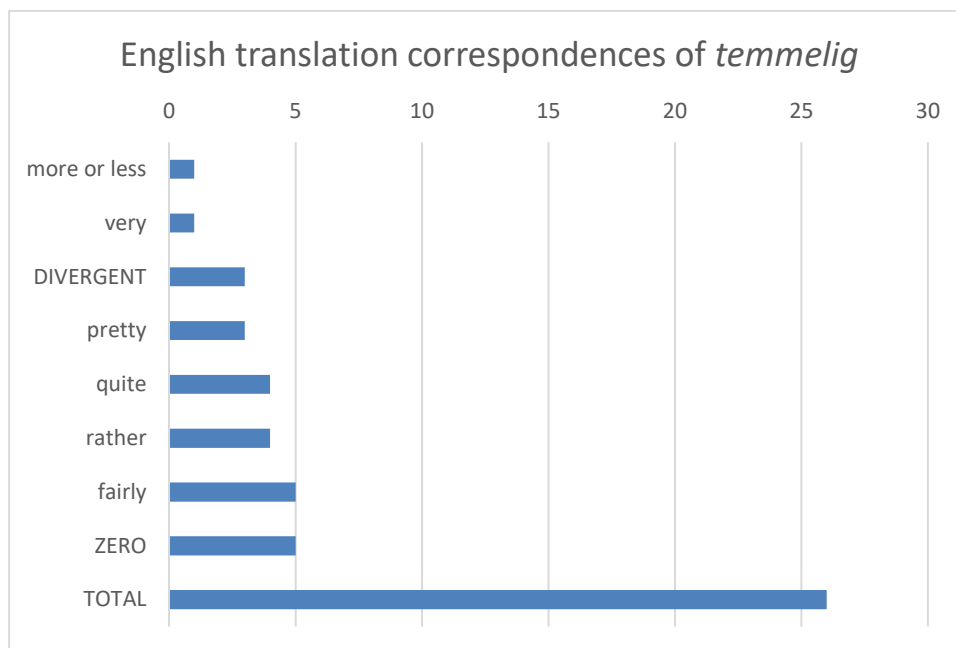


Figure 16: Frequencies of Norwegian correspondences of *temmelig* in the ENPC

When *temmelig* occurs in the source text, its most frequent translations are the ZERO-correspondence (5 times) and *fairly* (5), followed by *rather* (4) and *quite* (4), *pretty* (3) and divergent translations (3).

The most frequent correspondences of the investigated items have so far been largely self-contained, as each item has almost exclusively corresponded frequently with the other items that are investigated in this thesis. As such, *fairly* is something of a departure as the most frequent lexical translation correspondence of *temmelig*. A brief look at the use of *fairly* in the ENPC immediately reveals that this is another item that is overrepresented in translated text, occurring as a degree modifier 18 times in translations against only 5 times in original English text and therefore seems to be an item that is particularly attractive to translators, more so than to the authors of the original texts.

The translation correspondences of *temmelig* are also very much in accordance with the suggestions in the bilingual dictionary, which provided *quite*, *rather*, *pretty* and *fairly* as translation options, which were the only lexical items to occur more than once as a translation of *temmelig*.

Pretty was in Section 4.1 found to be the least frequent English degree modifier. The correspondences are detailed below in Figure 17:

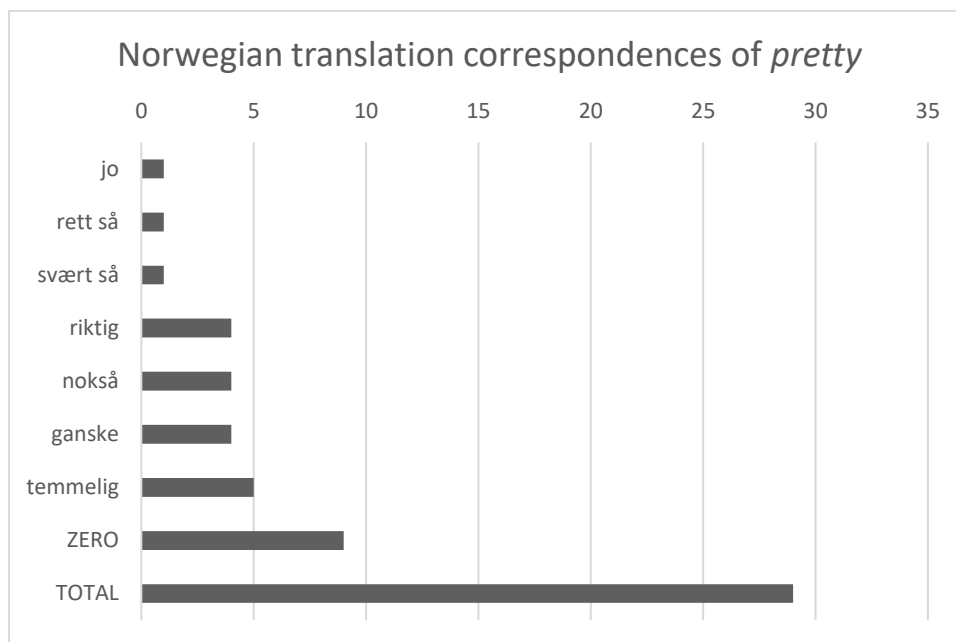


Figure 17: Frequencies of Norwegian correspondences of *pretty* in the ENPC

The most common correspondence of *pretty* is nothing, i.e., a ZERO-correspondence. The lexical correspondences are all rather infrequent and somewhat evenly dispersed. On the translation side, the items are *temmelig*, *ganske*, *nokså* and *riktig*. *Riktig* is described in the Norwegian monolingual dictionary *Det norske akademis ordbok* as having a booster function (denoting a relatively high degree, with the listed synonyms *kraftig*, *ordentlig* and *temmelig*) and a maximizer function (with the synonyms *fullstendig*, *helt ut* and *til gagns* listed).

This is largely in accordance with its entry in the bilingual dictionary which listed *nokså*, *ganske* and *temmelig*, but not *riktig*.

The final degree modifier to be explored in detail is *nokså*, which is the rarest item among the eight investigated in this thesis. It occurs only a total of 44 times within the set criteria, 15 of which are in original text and 29 in translated text. Its English translation correspondences with frequencies are given in Figure 18:

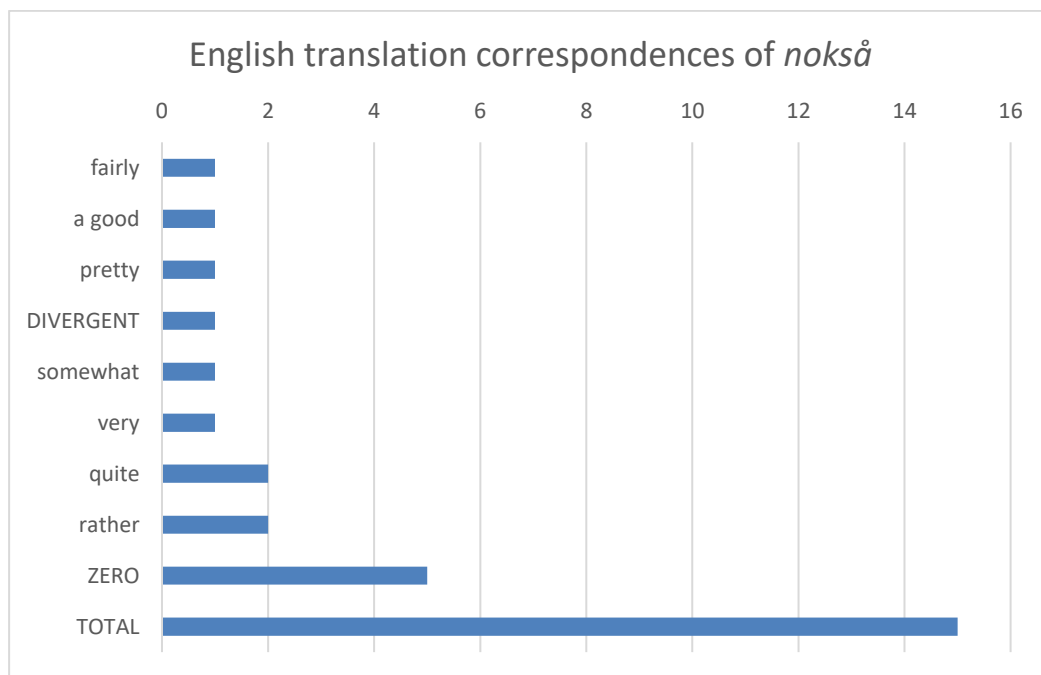


Figure 18: Frequencies of English translation correspondences of *nokså* in the ENPC

As has been the case with several other items, the most frequent correspondence is a ZERO. Following that, *rather* and *quite* occur only twice each. It is particularly similar to *temmelig*, with which it shares several of its translation correspondences.

4.3.2 Grammatical transposition

The DIVERGENT category covers cases where the degree-modifying meaning is conveyed using another expression than a degree adverb. The extent to which a degree-modifying meaning is expressed using a different word class in translation is another aspect that may provide further insight into relevant translation procedures. Vinay & Darbelnet (1995) describe the method of “replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning” (1995: 36) and name this ‘grammatical transposition’. They divide it into obligatory and optional transpositions: Obligatory transpositions are cases where the source text and the nature of the target language are such that the natural literal translation necessitates changing the word class for the target text. Vinay & Darbelnet use the example from French “Dès son lever...” into English “As soon as he gets up...” (ibid.) to illustrate an obligatory transposition. While there are no instances of an English degree adverb being obligatorily transposed in translation into Norwegian in the dataset, example (75) from the ENPC illustrates this method with an adjective:

- (75) “[He] would be quite able to trade information on a coming heist against a let-off for himself.” (FF1)
 “[Han] ville være fullt i stand til å bytte informasjon om et kommende storvarp mot en mildere dom for seg selv.” (FF1T)
 (Lit.: ‘[He] would be fully in condition to exchange information...’)

In example (75) the adjective *able* is rendered as a prepositional phrase, *i stand til*, in the translation because no Norwegian adjective provides an equivalent meaning and function in this context.

An optional transposition is a case where the meaning has been preserved and the translator has chosen to use a different formal realization although other possible options were available wherein both the meaning and the word class would have remained the same. An example from the dataset from Norwegian into English is given in (76):

- (76) “‘Det er ikke helt sant, mutter,’ sukker han.” (LSC1)
 (Lit.: “‘That’s not completely true, mom,’ he sighs.’”)
 “‘That ’s not the whole truth, Mom,’ he sighs.” (LSC1T)

In example (76), the Norwegian DEGREE MODIFIER + ADJECTIVE construction *helt sant* has been optionally transposed into the noun phrase *the whole truth* in which the degree modifier is rendered as the adjective *whole*.

The use of this translation strategy is illustrated by Figure 19:

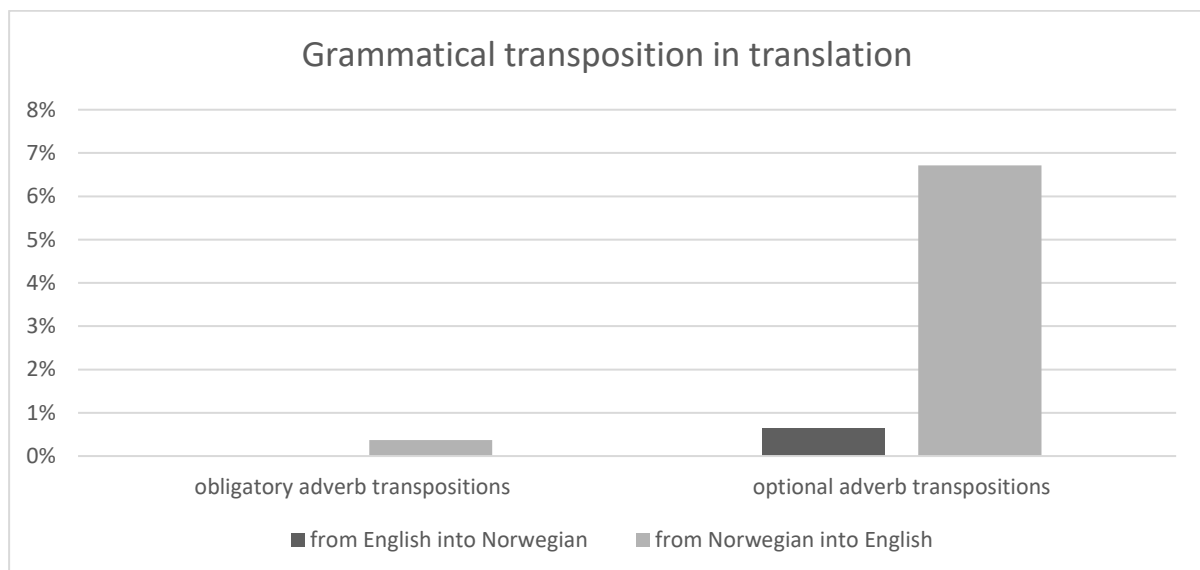


Figure 19: The percentage of cases where one of the selected degree modifiers in the source text has been rendered as a different word class with a degree-modifying function in translation

The extent to which degree modifying adverbs are transposed to another word class is evidently quite small. These figures are calculated on the basis of 157 degree modifiers in English original text and 268 in Norwegian original text and show that transposition occurs to a larger degree from Norwegian into English than in the other direction. The most common transposition is from degree adverb into adjective, as (76) illustrated. Among the repeated transpositions of a Norwegian degree adverb are those into prepositional phrases as well as the noun *a bit*.

- (77) "Det ble helt stille mellom oss, og stillheten sank og sank i meg." (EHA1)
 "There was a complete silence between us, and the silence grew in me." (EHA1T)
- (78) "Hun var helt... kald." (EG1)
 "She was cold, cold as ice." (EG1T)
- (79) "... da blir man temmelig avstumpet etter hvert." (GS1)
 "... you tend to get a bit thick-skinned after a while." (GS1T)

There are no transpositions from an English degree modifier into a different Norwegian word class with a degree-modifying word. The closest that can be found in the data are a small handful of instances where the degree-modifying adverb is optionally transposed into another word class expressing epistemic modality, such as the prepositional phrase in example (80):

- (80) Rather appropriate, as they 're your own initials! (DF1)
 Passer i grunnen bra, siden det er dine egne forbokstaver! (DF1T)

The adverb *rather* modifying the adjective *appropriate* are transposed into the prepositional phrase *i grunnen* ('at the bottom / after all') modifying the verb *passer*.

In another case, the translator opts for larger changes to the sentence:

- (81) "I did a rather naughty thing," Mama said. (TH1)
 "Jeg gjorde noe som egentlig ikke var så pent," sa mamma. (TH1T)
 (lit. 'I did something that really was not so nice')

The English source could conceivably be rendered literally in the Norwegian target text as *jeg gjorde en ganske slem ting*, but the translator chooses a different solution. Instead, the meaning of *naughty* is realized using negation and an antonym of the source adjective: *ikke pent* ('not nice'). The translator uses the degree modifier *så* and, in addition, adds *egentlig* ('really') to further moderate the strength of the proposition. In terms of structure, the

adjective position is changed from attributive, i.e., pre-modifying the noun *thing*, to predicative by moving it to the end of the sentence while the noun *thing* has been translated into the determiner *noe*. The adjective position and changes to the position will be further examined in Section 4.3.4.

12 out of the 18 items that are transposed in translation into English stem from the Norwegian degree modifier *helt* in the source text. Among these, one pattern sticks out, namely the collocation *helt stille* ('completely silent') which occurs three times as a Norwegian source of the noun *silence*. The English noun is modified by the adjectives *complete*, *total* and *dead*. Another repeated collocation is the Norwegian *helt sant* ('completely true') which is both times rendered as the noun phrase *the whole truth*. However, the two cases of *helt sant* → *the whole truth* are from the same text and occur quite close to one another, so the repetition of the collocation may be a parallel functioning as an intra-textual rhetorical device, and they are therefore not independent of one another.

In general, transposition of the degree adverb has in this section not been found to be a strategy frequently chosen by the translators in either direction. A mere 18 out of the 268 degree adverbs in Norwegian source texts were transposed during translation into Norwegian, and only 1 out of the 157 degree adverbs in English source texts was transposed in the other translation direction.

4.3.3 Zero-correspondences

Another translation strategy is simply omitting the degree modifier in translation, with or without contextual compensation. It has already been shown earlier in Section 4.4.2 that this strategy is used in both directions with a variety of items to varying degrees. This section will examine the tendency of omitting the degree modifier in the translation.

Johansson (2007: 26) asserts that zero correspondence tend to occur "when there is no natural match across languages", especially for words "expressing interpersonal and textual (rather than ideational) meaning". As discussed in Chapter 2, degree modifiers are, in the framework used by Paradis (2007), primarily a "configurational meaning structure" rather than a knowledge structure (Paradis 2007: 317), and as pointed out by e.g. Bolinger (1972), they are delexicalized items. Therefore, they may be expected to carry textual meaning resulting in some zero-correspondence, and this aspect is natural to include for the purposes of this thesis.

The propensity for each item to be translated into a zero-correspondence is summarized with a percentage for each of the degree modifiers and a total of all four items in Figure 20:



Figure 20: Percentage of each English item that was translated into a zero

The item that exhibits the strongest tendency to be translated into a zero in Figure 20 is *pretty*. In 9 out of the 29 instances of *pretty* in source texts, degree modification is omitted in translation. *Quite* and *rather* are also routinely translated into a zero, whereas the nine instances of *completely* were not omitted in translation.

Of the few cases of zero-correspondences with *completely*, most also coincide with transpositions of or from the modified item, such as in (82) and (83):

- (82) Jeg kunne trylle frem og gjøre virkelige ting jeg tenkte på, selv om det stred mot sunn fornuft (KF2)

(lit.: 'I could conjure forth and do real things I thought of, even if it conflicted with common sense')

I could conjure forth things I thought up and make them real, even if they were completely irrational. (KF2T)

- (83) Jeg blander sammen og går surr i det. (EHA1)

I mix it up and become completely confused. (EHA1T)

In (82), the phrase *stred mot sunn fornuft* ('conflicted with common sense') would sound somewhat stilted and marked if translated literally into English and the conceptual meaning of the phrase has instead been rendered more idiomatically using the adjective *irrational*. The

translator has further strengthened the adjective with the maximizer *completely*. Similarly, in (83), the Norwegian source text cannot be rendered literally in English and must be approximated in translation. The two verb phrases *blander sammen* and *går surr* could both be literally translated into English as *mix sth up*, but there is seemingly only one phrase covering this meaning in English. This particular example conflicts with the translation universal feature described by Baker as “avoid[ing] repetitions which occur in source texts, either by omitting them or rewording them” (Baker 1993: 244). The translator has arrived at the approximation *become confused*, strengthened by the maximizer *completely*.

In examples (84) and (85) below, the degree-modifying constituent has been omitted in translation.

- (84) It 's a pretty good summing up of what the world thinks, up to now, about your deceased relative, and the source is above suspicion." (RDA1)

Den gir et godt resymé over hva verden, til dags dato, mener om deres avdøde slektning, og kilden er hevet over mistanke." (RDA1T)

- (85) Most of the other one survived, and sometimes he could still get a pretty respectable bone-on. (SK1)

Mesteparten av den andre hadde imidlertid overlevd, og fremdeles kunne han fra tid til annen opparbeide en respektabel reisning. (SK1T)

- (86) "You 're taking on something pretty big. (AH1)

"Du gir deg i kast med svære ting. (AH1T)

In (84) and (85), the degree-modifying moderator has been omitted in the target text while its context has been translated nearly literally. In both cases, the English source adjective is modified by a moderator whereas the Norwegian target adjective is unmodified. As for (86), it is arguable whether the two adjectives have the same semantic value.

The item *quite* is the only one of the four with a larger proportion of zero-correspondences in its translation than in its source, though only by 3 percentage points. Its propensity to correspond to a zero is at between one out of four and one out of five, very similar to its propensity to correspond to each of its most frequent lexical correspondences, *helt* and *ganske*. Examples (87)–(89) are illustrative of some of the types of zero-correspondences that are found in the Norwegian translations:

- (87) "The children in Little Weirwold have been quite spoilt, it seems," commented the Doctor. (MM1)

- Barna i Little Weirwold har visst vært bortskjemt, bemerket legen. (MM1T)
 (Lit.: ‘The children in Little Weirwold have apparently been spoilt, noted the doctor’)
- (88) Everything was quite motionless, windless, giving the impression that not only the air but time itself had been stilled. (RR1)
 Alt var stille, ikke en vind rørte seg. Man fikk inntrykk av at ikke bare luften men også tiden hadde stanset opp. (RR1T)
 (Lit.: ‘Everything was still, not a wind moved. [...]’)
- (89) I know that people are extraordinarily trusting in country districts but it would be quite disastrous if these proofs were lost. (PDJ3)
 Jeg vet at ærligheten er stor blant folk ute på landet, men det ville være en ulykke om denne korrekturen kom på avveier. (PDJ3T)
 (Lit.: ‘... it would be a disaster if these proofs were lost.’)

Examples (87) and (88) are cases where the translation looks close to literal, but the degree modifier is left out. All the other elements are present, and the adjectives appear semantically equivalent. In (89), the source adjective modified by *quite* is rendered as an unmodified noun phrase in the translation. This is an example of a divergent translation where the degree modifier is omitted.

Figure 21 presents the percentage of occurrences of each of the Norwegian that was rendered as a zero-correspondence in the English translation.

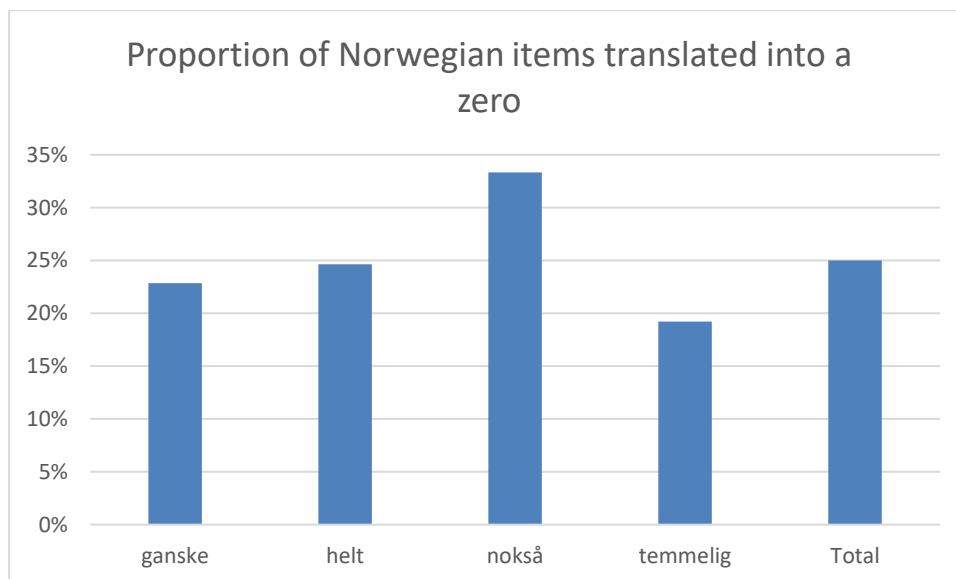


Figure 21: Percentage of each Norwegian item that was translated into a zero or was the translation of a zero

Figure 21 reports the propensity of each of the Norwegian items to be translated into a zero or occur as a translation of a zero-correspondence. The degree modifier *helt* is by far the most often added item in translation: 88 out of 163 instances, i.e., 54% of the occurrences of *helt* in translated text had a zero-correspondence in its source text. On the other hand, only 26% of occurrences of *helt* in Norwegian source texts results in a zero-correspondence in their English translation. The degree modifier that is proportionally most often translated into a zero-correspondence is *nokså* at 33%.

A selection of cases where *helt* is added in translation is shown below in examples (90), (91) and (92):

- (90) He was exhausted after helping to carry the carpets in from the van. (ST1)
 Han var helt utkjørt etter å ha hjulpet til med å bære teppene inn fra bilen. (ST1T)
- (91) He was fine for a couple weeks. (SG1)
 Han var helt fin i et par uker. (SG1T)
- (92) He was a harassed, no longer young man, who, she had heard, had a difficult marriage. (DL1)
 Han var en plaget mann, ikke lenger helt ung, og hun hadde hørt at han hadde et vanskelig ekteskap. (DL1T)

These are cases where everything in the target texts appears to be as identical as possible to the source, except the degree modifier which is added. The adjectives seem to be semantically equivalent, especially in (90) and (92). Yet, the translators still choose to add the maximizer *helt* to modify the translated adjectives.

Out of the 88 instances where *helt* is added to modify an adjective in translation, 19 are cases where the word in the source that corresponded to the target adjective is not an adjective, e.g. in examples (93) and (94):

- (93) It was one of those deaths that make no sense (AT1)
 Det var et av de helt meningsløse dødsfallene (AT1T)
 (Lit.: ‘It was one of the completely meaningless deaths’)
- (94) "But what do they expect you to do every afternoon in an empty house?" (RD1)
 — Men hva synes de at du skal gjøre når du er helt alene? (RD1T)
 (Lit.: ‘But what do they think you should do when you are completely alone?’)

The source text in example (93) describes the *deaths* in a post-modifying relative clause. While the same structure is available in Norwegian (*Det var et av de dødsfallene som ikke gir noen mening*), the translator chooses to realize this meaning with a pre-modifying adjective and further strengthens that adjective using a degree modifier. In example (94), being in *an empty house* is rendered as being *helt alene* (‘completely alone’).

It is perhaps no surprise that a number of the cases where there is no adjective in either the corresponding source text or target text also diverges in the use of a degree modifier. In order to produce a more direct comparison, Figure 22 and Figure 23 present the zero-correspondence percentages for degree modifiers including only cases where there is a corresponding modifiable adjective in both the source text and the target text:

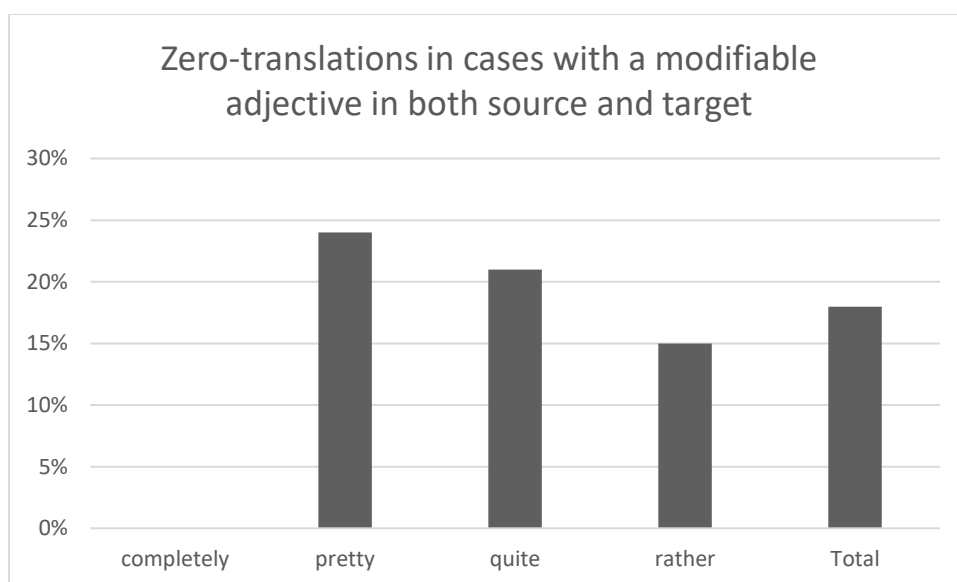


Figure 22: Percentage of each English degree modifier translated into a zero or occurring as a translation of a zero, only including cases where there is a modifiable adjective in both source and target text

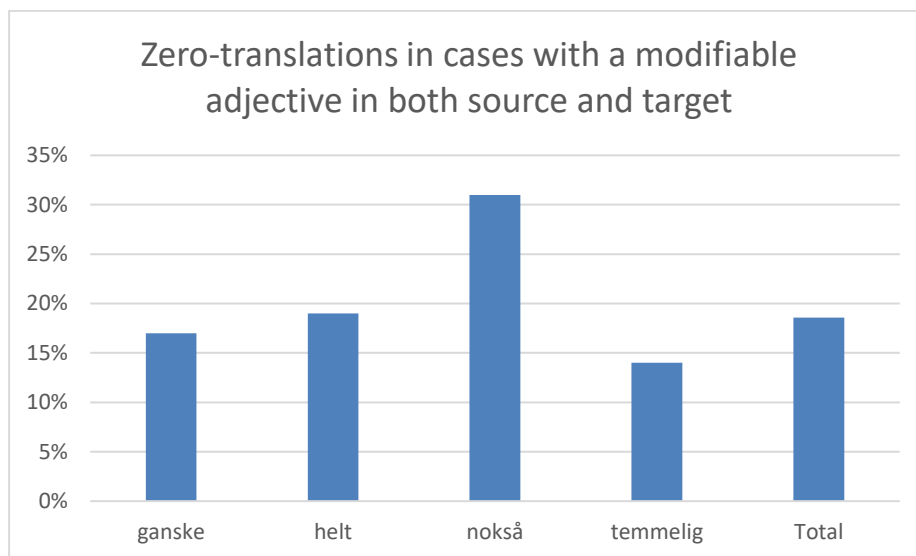


Figure 23: Percentage of each Norwegian degree modifier translated into a zero or occurring as a translation of a zero, only including cases where there is a modifiable adjective in both source and target text

Figure 22 and Figure 23 are overall quite similar to Figure 20 and Figure 21, but in most cases showing slightly lower zero-correspondence. *Pretty* is still the English degree modifier most frequently omitted in translation, followed by *quite* and *rather*. The specification of the contextual grammatical criterion has overall not affected the numbers much, and the principal findings from Figure 20 and Figure 21 largely hold true.

The Norwegian degree modifier with the lowest proportion of zero-correspondence in Figure 23 is *temmelig*, of which 14% are translated into a zero.

Overall, both the English and Norwegian source items show a similarly considerable tendency to be omitted in translation: 22% and 25%, respectively. The items *quite*, *rather*, *ganske*, *nokså* and *temmelig* are all relatively similar in this respect, ranging from 18% of *rather* translated into a zero to 33% of *nokså* translated into a zero.

The generally high degree of zero-correspondence sheds more light on the relatively low mutual correspondences and reverse mutual correspondences found between the lexical items in Section 4.2. A further examination that excluded items without a modifiable adjective in either source or target showed that the general trends found still hold true and were not merely the result of a transposition.

In terms of translation strategies, the zero-correspondences may, in cases where the degree modifier is omitted in translation, be seen as as examples of simplification, and explication in cases where it is added.

4.3.4 Adjective position

Another variable worth exploring is the position of the modified adjective and to what extent the position changes in translation. Adjectives are typically classified as either attributive, i.e., when they pre-modify a noun (*superglue is very powerful stuff* (RD1)), or predicative, i.e., when they follow a verb as a predicate (*potatoes can be quite delicious* (FW1)). In addition, the dataset includes the category ‘exclamations’, described by Biber et al. (1999: 520), which often appear in dialogue. This category covers examples such as the following: *He added to himself, "Unbelievable!"* (AH1). On this topic, Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) found “an overriding constraint such that intensifiers are preferred with predicative adjectives, and this is true regardless of the intensifier” (2003: 276).

In all four portions of the corpora, that is in original and translated text for each language, the predicative position is by far the most common adjectival position. The total frequency and percentages of the positions of the adjectives that are degree-modified by one of the selected degree-modifiers are reported in Table 8:

Table 8: Raw frequencies and percentages of degree-modified adjectives in each position per subcorpus

	English originals		English translations		Norwegian originals		Norwegian translations	
	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%	abs.	%
Predicative	115	73%	198	83%	202	75%	232	81%
Exclamation	4	3%	2	1%	5	2%	5	2%
Attributive	38	24%	39	16%	61	23%	51	18%

The table shows that the predicative position is generally preferred when using degree-modified adjectives, as between 73% and 83% of the degree-modified adjectives are used in this position. It also indicates an even stronger tendency toward the predicative position in translated text in both languages.

The findings so far suggest that some of the adjectives in the attributive position in original texts tend to be shifted to a predicative position in translation, or that adjectives are not typically moved from one position to another but that degree-modified adjectives transposed from another word class are much more often placed in a predicative position. While this suggests potential support of Ito & Tagliamonte’s (2003) findings, this would have to be confirmed by comparing the positional preference to all adjectives, which is not within the scope of the current investigation.

4.3.5 Summary of 2nd research question

This section has reported on the translation patterns observed in the data. The findings confirm that the delexicalized degree modifiers that were selected are quite consistently the most frequent correspondences of one another. While the individual mutual correspondence scores in Section 4.2 were relatively low, the correspondence information uncovered so far in Section 4.3 indicates an interconnected set of items with versatile meanings making up a lexically diverse semantic field. The translators do in most cases keep the degree modification, most often using a similarly delexicalized degree modifier in the target language. Most of the degree modifiers were also frequently found to be omitted in translation.

Comparing the correspondence findings with the bilingual dictionaries, there is a high degree of overlap between the expected correspondences and the observed frequencies, but it was also found in the dictionary that the entry for *ganske* did not include *rather*, while the entry for *rather* lists *ganske* first. Interestingly, this is partly reflected in the observed translation correspondences, as *rather* was an infrequent translation of *ganske*, but *ganske* frequently appeared as a translation of *rather*.

4.4 RQ3: Does degree modifier use in translated text differ from use in original text?

4.4.1 Normalized frequencies

It has already been shown in Figure 6 and Figure 7 that in terms of raw frequencies of degree modifiers that modify adjectives there are clear differences between English original and translated text for three out of the English four items, whereas the differences between ontologies are less marked for the Norwegian items. Section 4.3 focused on translation procedures and touched briefly on areas where the translators' choices differed from the more typical choices in original text. The current section will further examine differences, if any, between original text and translated text in the two languages investigated.

Overall, the difference in degree modifier frequency between Norwegian original and translated text appears rather small. The raw frequencies have already been discussed in Section 4.1, and though the subcorpora are of comparable sizes, it is worth detailing the

relative frequencies. Table 9 details the normalized frequencies for each item per 100,000 words.

Table 9: Frequency of Norwegian degree modifiers in original and translated text as normalized frequencies per 100,000 words

		Original text	Translated text
Norwegian	<i>ganske</i>	17.3	15.6
	<i>helt</i>	39.2	41.5
	<i>nokså</i>	3.7	7.3
	<i>temmelig</i>	6.4	8.0
	Total	66.7	72.1

The four selected degree modifiers occur 66.7 times per 100,000 words in Norwegian original text and 72.1 times per 100,000 words in Norwegian translated text. This small discrepancy is partly due to the item *nokså*, which appears nearly twice as often in translated as in original text, though its overall frequency is still quite low. The overrepresentation of *nokså* in translated text does not appear to be associated with any other variable in particular: There are no repeated collocations, no systematic change in position, congruence or meaning. When investigating the semantic field through its English correspondences, the same range occurs, albeit with a moderately stronger correspondence with *rather*, *pretty* and *very*. The present investigation found no specific patterns of divergent use of *nokså* in translated text, only a general overrepresentation.

Table 10: Frequency of English degree modifiers in original and translated text as normalized frequencies per 100,000 words

		Original text	Translated text
English	<i>completely</i>	2.2	16.5
	<i>pretty</i>	7.2	5.2
	<i>quite</i>	15.4	28.6
	<i>rather</i>	14.2	6.1
	Total	39.0	56.5

One of the main findings in Table 10 is that the four English items occur with a much lower frequency in original text than in translated text. The normalized frequency found in English translated texts is at a level between that of their Norwegian source texts and that of English

original text. In Norwegian translated texts, on the other hand, the use of the degree modifiers is higher than in their source texts and in the comparable original Norwegian texts.

The differences in degree modifier use between original and translated language was also tested statistically using a Pearson's chi-squared test of independence. For English original and translated language, the relation between the English degree modifier and its position as either original or translated language was overall highly significant, $X^2(3, N = 396) = 64.446$, $p = <.001$. For Norwegian, the relation was not significant $X^2(3, N = 545) = 5.0531$, $p = .168$.

4.4.2 Lexical correspondences

Section 4.4.1 established significant differences in the frequency of the English degree modifiers between English original and translated text, and Table 10 showed large differences between ontologies concerning the use of *quite*, *rather* and especially *completely*.

When trying to understand the way by which *completely* is so overrepresented in translated text compared to original text, and thus the potential difference in behavior, it is useful to look at its source correspondences. As reported in Section 4.1, it occurs only 9 times in original English text and is exclusively translated into the Norwegian items *helt* and *fullstendig*. A much fuller picture emerges when looking at the Norwegian source correspondences that triggered the occurrence of *completely* in translation, as illustrated in Figure 24 below:

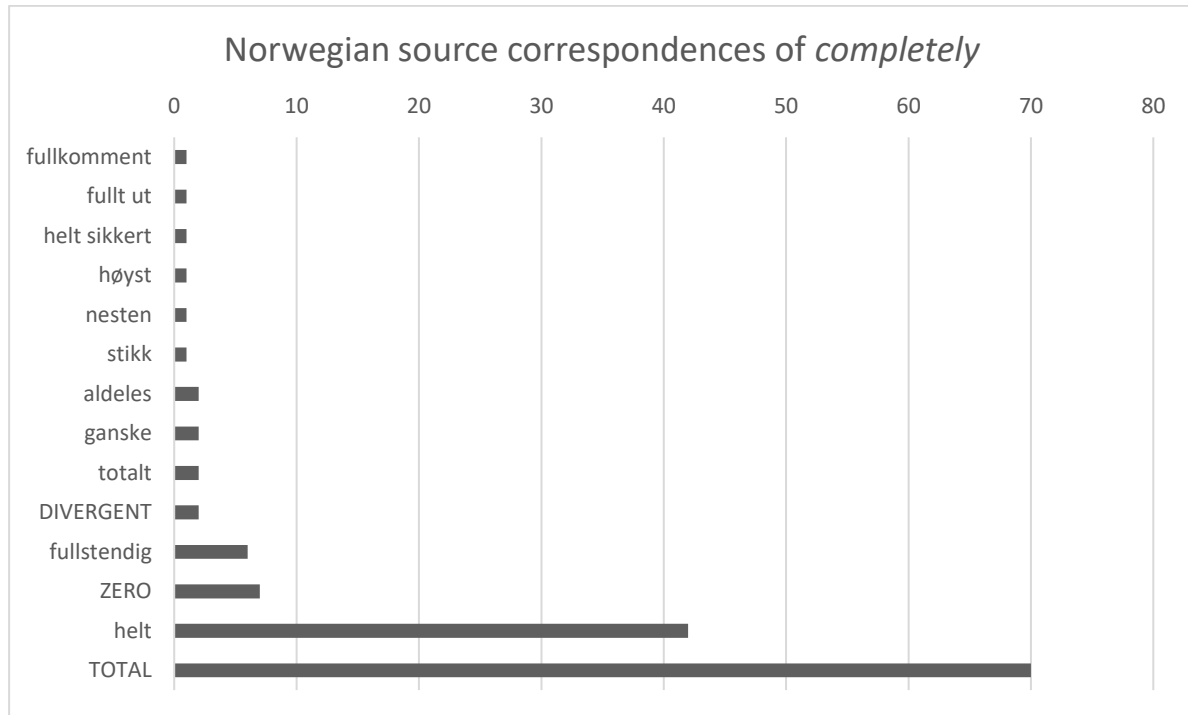


Figure 24: Frequencies of Norwegian source correspondences of *completely*

In accordance with the rMC scores in Table 7, the most frequent source correspondence is *helt*. As in the other direction, the second most frequent lexical correspondence is *fullstendig*, which the Norwegian online dictionary lists as a synonym of *helt* as well as the maximizer *komplett* (cognate of *complete*).

- (95) For meg står det som helt naturlig at nettopp Bente skulle gjøre en slik innsats (EHA1)

To me it seems completely natural that it was Bente who made such a contribution (EHA1T)

- (96) Han var helt rolig inni seg. (KA1)

Deep inside him he felt completely peaceful. (KA1T)

The other items that occur more than once are *ganske*, *aldeles* and *totalt*. The two latter are unambiguously maximizing items, *totalt* being a cognate of *totally*, and *aldeles* derived from old Danish *alleledis* meaning *in every way*. As discussed in Chapter 2, *ganske* is divided between a maximizer function and a moderator function, and though its use as a moderator has been described as a more recent departure from its traditional maximizing function (Westervoll 2015: 43), its correspondence with *completely* on the same level as *aldeles* and *totalt* indicates that the traditional meaning is still alive. Figure 24 indicates that *completely* is

used widespread as a maximizer in English translated text, which is in contrast to its very infrequent use as a maximizer in English original text.

A particularly useful aspect of the bidirectional method applied is the ability to explore not only cases where an item is omitted in translation but also where an item has been added in translation that was not there in the source text. Examples (97) and (98) show the two cases where *completely* was added in the target text without there being any transposition of the involved constituents.

- (97) Legene på sykehuset mannen ble brakt til, slår fast at det eneste øyenvitnet er kommet fra det hele med ødelagt hørsel, men ellers fri for fysiske skader. (JW1)
(lit.: ‘... the sole eyewitness came from it all with destroyed hearing, but otherwise free from physical injuries’)

The doctors at the hospital where the man was taken confirm that this sole eyewitness emerged from the disaster with his hearing completely destroyed, but otherwise free from physical injury. (JW1T)

- (98) Den store produksjonshallen var svartbrent. (GS1)
(lit.: ‘The big production hall was black-charred’)

The big production hall was charred completely black. (GS1T)

In example (97) the translator appears to have chosen to emphasize the severity of the hearing damages. The adjectives *ødelagt* and *destroyed* seem to be otherwise equivalent in this context, yet the translator has strengthened the concept further in the target text with the maximizer *completely* while also placing the degree modifier and adjective postpositively. In example (98), the Norwegian adjective *svartbrent* (literally *black-charred*) has been rendered as *charred completely black*, once again using the maximizer *completely* to strengthen the proposition. In both examples, the addition of *completely* serves to make the adjective stronger in the target text than it was in the source text.

Helt was in Section 4.3 found to be translated most often into zero-correspondences, *completely* and *quite*, but also into divergent correspondences and *very*. Figure 25 presents the English source items for when *helt* occurs in translated text.

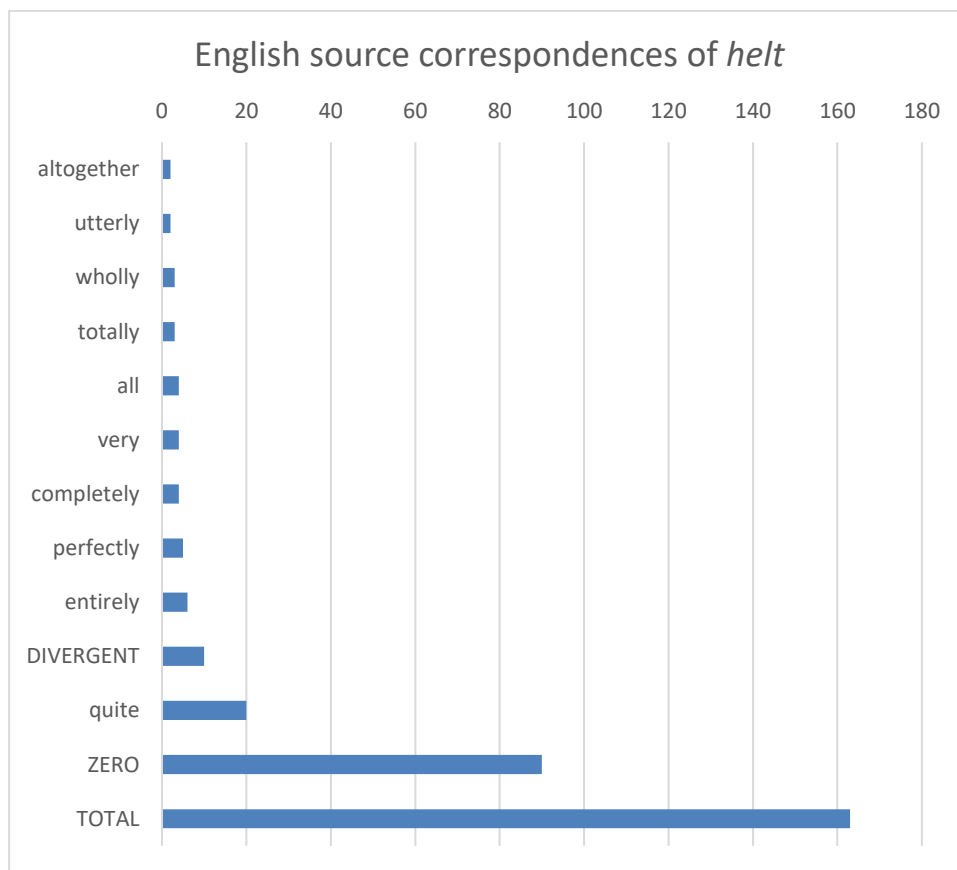


Figure 25: Frequencies of English source correspondences of *helt*

Altogether, there were 21 lexical source correspondences, of which 11 occurred only once each: *bloody*, *clearly*, *enough*, *most*, *no more*, *so far*, *truly*, *brand*, *exactly*, *fully* and *really*.

Where ZERO-translations were found to be marginally more frequent than *quite* in Section 4.3, the frequency of zero-correspondence as a source item of *helt* is striking. In 90 out of the total of 162 occurrences of *helt* in translated text, there was no degree modifier in the English source text. Even when excluding instances where the modified adjective in the translation does not have an adjectival counterpart in the source text, there are still 69 out of 132 instances where *helt* is added as a degree modifier of an adjective when there was no degree modifier modifying the corresponding adjective in the corresponding English source text.

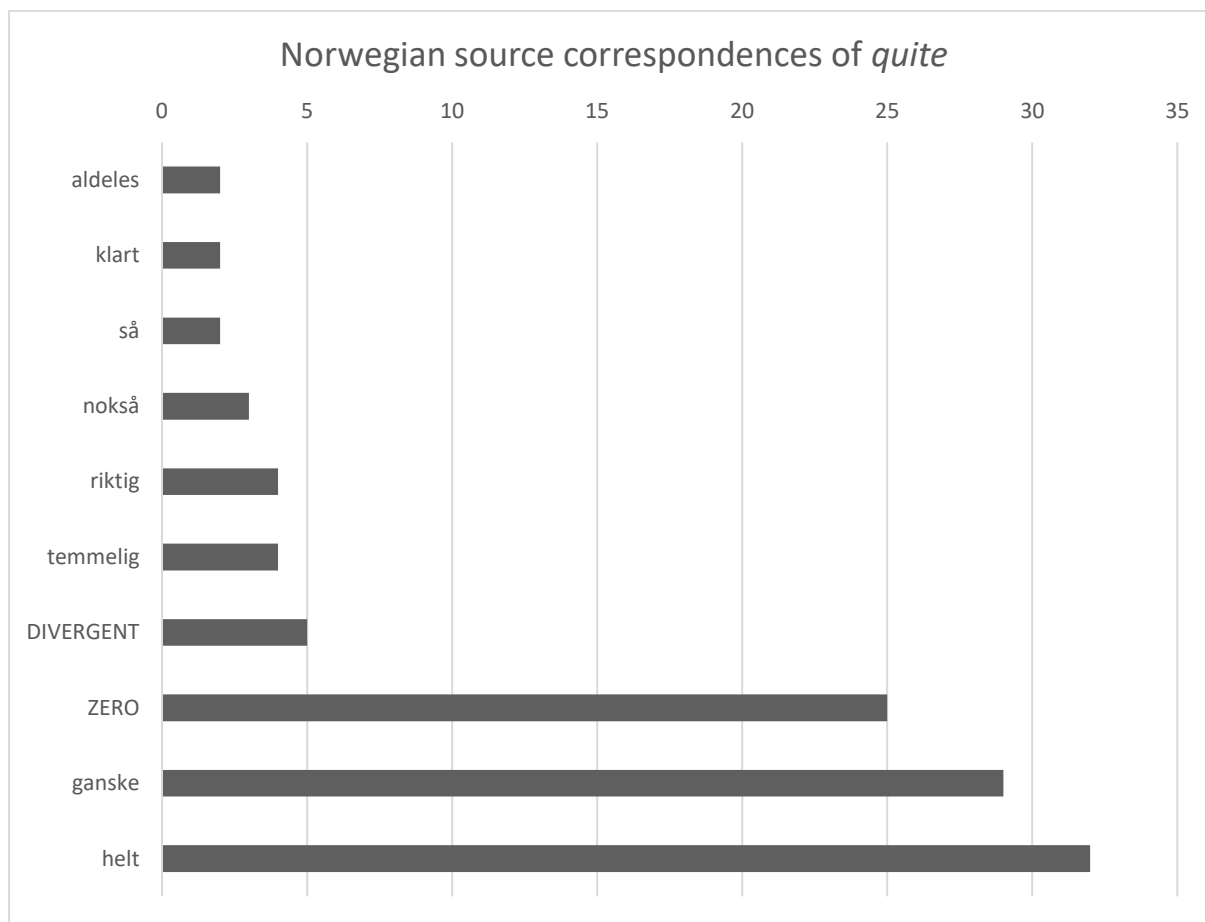


Figure 26: Frequencies of English source correspondences of *quite*

The Norwegian source correspondences of *quite* are relatively evenly distributed between *helt*, *ganske* and zero-correspondences. We can also note that while some of the overrepresentation of *quite* in translated text, as compared to original text, seems to be triggered by the presence of *ganske* in the Norwegian source text, the overall large discrepancy between the ontologies is not easily explained by the corresponding Norwegian lexical items. In fact, a multitude of Norwegian items seem to be associated with the overrepresentation of *quite* in translation.

(99) "Du ser helt utkjørt ut," sa Reber. (OEL1)

"You look quite exhausted," said Reber. (OEL1T)

(100) Det hadde hendt at de ikke var helt støe på foten da de gikk til Storgaten for å ta trikken hjem etterpå, Gustav og Malvin hadde moro av å kikke etter dem fra vinduet på restaurantkjøkkenet som sto åpent om sommeren. (BV1)

It had been known to happen that they were not quite steady on their feet when they walked to Storgata to take the tram home afterwards. (BV1T)

(101) De hadde gitt meg en plass i nattevarmen, men jeg var helt alene da jeg våknet bak dem neste morgen. (SL1)

They had given me a share of nocturnal warmth, but I was quite alone when I woke up behind them next morning. (SL1T)

(102) Han trenger nok en oppmuntring, så Herman holder fram kammen så Tjukken kan se den på nært hold, for han er ganske nysgjerrig også. (LSC1)

He probably needs cheering up, so Herman holds out the comb so Fats can see it up close, because he is quite curious too. (LSC1T)

(103) De eldre pikene i klasser over kunne ikke regnes med, de virket storvokste og ganske fryktinngytende de aller fleste. (KF2)

You could n't count the older girls in the class above; they seemed grown-up and quite intimidating, most of them. (KF2T)

(104) Når jeg tenker over det nå, så var det jo ganske pussig — forbausende mildest talt, at hun skulle kjenne til meg. (EHA1)

When I think about it now, it seems quite odd — astonishing, to say the least — that she should recognize me. (EHA1T)

The uses of *quite* as a translation of *helt* appear to conform to its maximizing function, as one might expect. The fact that a larger proportion of the instances of *quite* in source texts were translated into *helt* (35%) than was the case for the instances of *quite* in translated texts that were translations from *helt* (26%) suggests that *quite* is used more as a maximizer in original English text than in translated text, where it more often functions as a moderator.

In addition to the eight lexical items in Figure 26, there are 13 items that occur only once: *alt*, *dørgende*, *fullt*, *ganske godt*, *godt*, *liksom*, *litt*, *meget*, *nesten*, *rent*, *sannelig*, *sterkt* and *svært*. Some of the source correspondences indicate the maximizing function of *quite*, in particular *helt*, *aldeles*, *alt* and *fullt*.

The zero-correspondences constitute a slightly lower proportion of the total among the source correspondences than they did in the translation correspondences, as was presented in Section 4.3.

(105) "Dette lyder sannsynlig, men det reiser bare et nytt spørsmål, som iallfall ikke lar seg løse," sa jeg. (JW1)

"That sounds quite feasible, but it just poses a new question, which is n't so easy to solve," I said. (JW1T)

(106) "Vi klosterbrødrene er lei av maset ditt om å låne hest i tide og utide." (TTH1)
 "We brothers at the monastery are quite tired of you borrowing our horses all of the time." (TTH1T)

(107) "Jeg syntes du sa urin," svarte jeg som sant var. (KA1)
 "I thought you said urine," I replied, which was quite true. (KA1T)

In examples (105)–(107), *quite* has been added in translation where there was no degree modifier in the source text. In these cases, *quite* appears to function as a maximizer or a totality emphasize, and not as a scalar modifier.

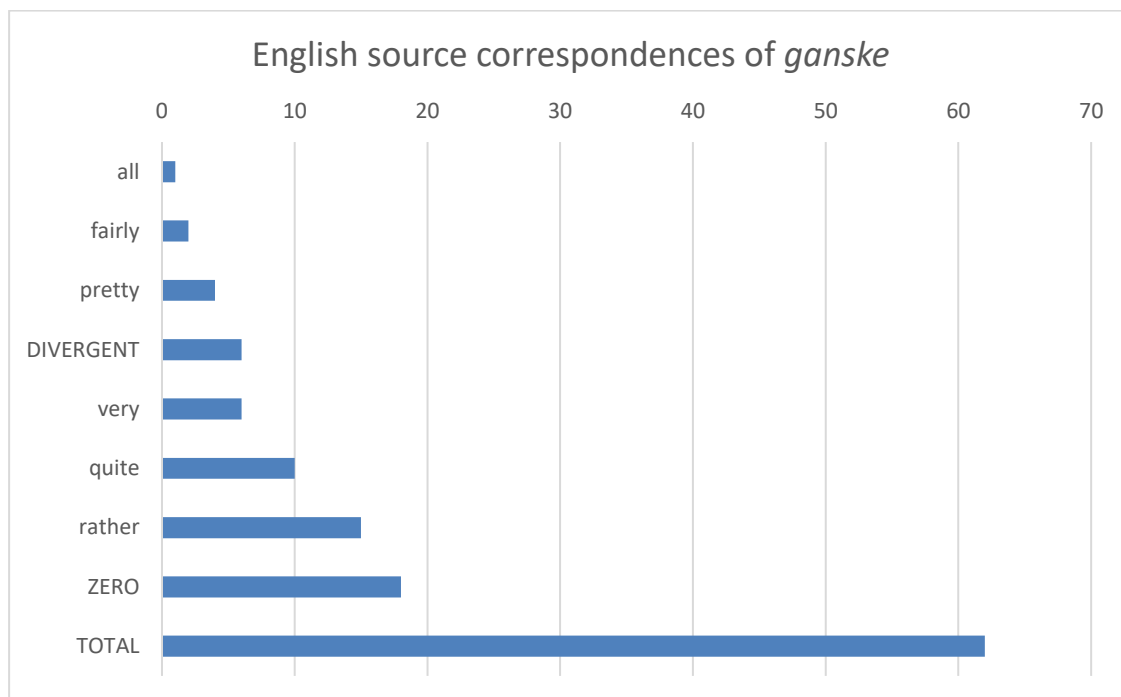


Figure 27: Frequencies of English source correspondences of *ganske*

Ganske is most frequently rendered as *quite* in translation compared and less frequently rendered as *rather*, but that relation is turned on its head in the other direction where *ganske* is most frequently the translation of *rather* and much less frequently the translation of *quite*. At the same time, Figure 27 highlights that both zero-correspondences and *rather* are more frequent source items than *quite*. In fact, 29% of the occurrences of *ganske* in translated text have no corresponding degree modifier in its English source text, as exemplified below.

(108) She was a large woman whose hair was dyed platinum blonde except where you could see the mousy-brown bits growing out from the roots. (RD1)
 Hun var en ganske stor dame, og håret hennes var bleket så det var platinablondt, bortsett fra ved roten der du kunne se at håret egentlig var musebrunt. (RD1T)

(109) That was funny, and he smiled a little. (SK1)

Det var ganske morsomt og han måtte smile litt. (SK1T)

In examples (108) and (109), the moderator *ganske* adds a softening configuration to the adjective, slightly downplaying the extent to which the description holds true. In (108), this addition seems almost polite on the part of the translator.

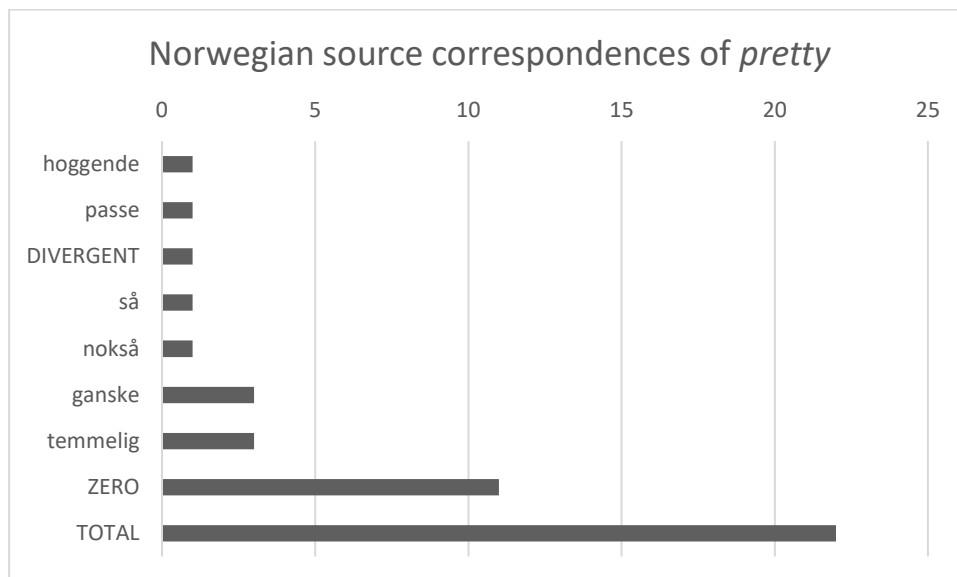


Figure 28: Frequencies of the Norwegian source correspondences of *pretty*

The only source items that occur more than once are *ganske* and *temmelig*. In half of the occurrences, i.e., in 11 cases out of the 22 times, where *pretty* occurred in translation, it had been added where there was no degree modifier in the source text:

(110) Han var jo i en utsatt posisjon. (GS1)

(Lit.: ‘He was after all in an exposed position.’)

Wulff was in a pretty exposed position, after all. (GS1T)

(111) Jeg tror noen av dem er senile. (EG1)

(Lit.: ‘I think some of them are senile.’)

I think some of them are pretty ga-ga. (EG1T)

(112) Heldigvis var Magda like rund som han selv og med samme grådige appetitt på god mat, men de to tingene hang vel sammen. (EG2)

(Lit.: ‘Fortunately, Magda was just as plump as he himself and with the same greedy appetite for good food, but those two things were probably connected.’)

She was pretty plump herself and blessed with a healthy appetite, like her husband.

(EG2T)

(113) Jo, altså, jeg ringte fordi jeg har fått besøk av en kollega fra Tyskland, Vest-Tyskland, en ålreit fyr som du sikkert klarer å komme på talefot med, han snakker engelsk, men han har med seg kona, og hun kan bare tysk, og det er jo ikke akkurat min sterke side. (KA1)

Listen, I called because a colleague from Germany, West Germany, is visiting; he 's an all-right guy and I 'm pretty sure you two would hit it off. (KA1T)

These occurrences of *pretty* translated from zero-correspondences are not readily explained by changes in adjectival semantics or expressions of modality and the addition of the degree modifier does not appear to contribute to source-target equivalence. Moreover, *pretty* is a scalar modifier: Paradis (2007: 312) lists it as a moderator. The addition of a moderator in the translation where there was none in the source text is unexpected. While it must be noted that the 11 cases of addition come from just four different texts, two of which are translated by the same translator, the repeated occurrence across different texts and translators appears to legitimize it as a valid translation strategy.

The translations of the item *temmelig* was in Section 4.3 found to be relatively evenly divided between a range of English degree modifiers as well as zero-correspondences and divergent strategies. The English sources of *temmelig* are provided in Figure 29:

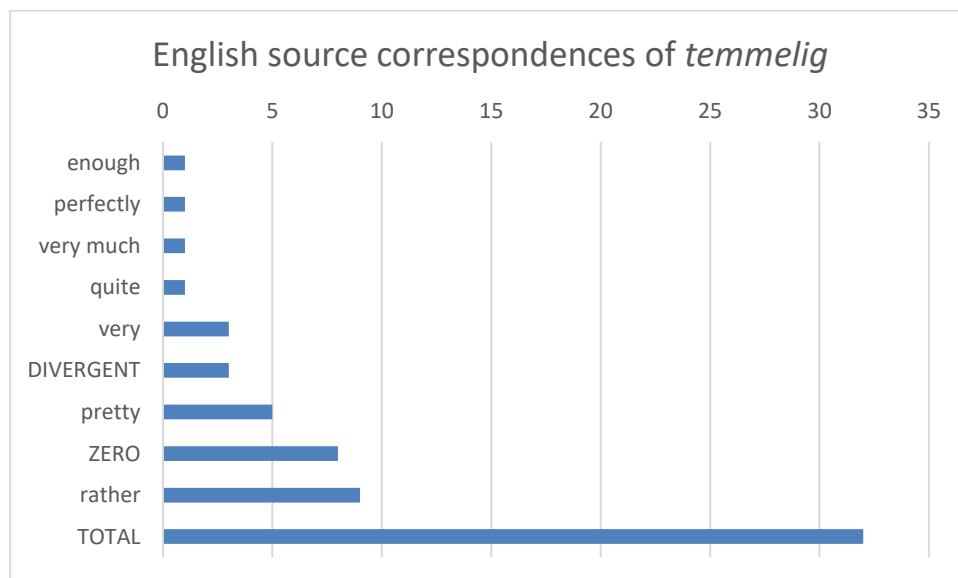


Figure 29: Frequencies of English source correspondences of *temmelig*

The most frequent source of *temmelig* is *rather* (9 times), followed closely by the zero-correspondences (8) and *pretty* (5). The relationship between *temmelig* and *rather* was remarked upon in particular in Section 4.2.2.

In Section 4.3 it was found that *fairly* was among the most frequent translations of *temmelig*. However, as seen here, *fairly* serves as another example of the discrepancy that exists between the translation directions: while it is the most frequent translation correspondence of *temmelig*, it never occurs as a source correspondence.

- (114) Oskar Werner, the short, blond and — dare one say it — quite possibly steatopygous one, Jeanne Moreau, and then the tall, dark, elegant, good-looking one who doubtless had kissable teeth (what was his name?). (JB1)
Oskar Werner, den lille, blonde og — våger jeg å si det — muligens temmelig steatopygiske fyren; Jeanne Moreau, og så den høye, mørke, elegante, pene typen som utvilsomt hadde kyssevennlige tenner (hva het han igjen?). (JB1T)

Example (114) highlights the variety of adjectives that are degree modified. Even though this has been classified as a zero-correspondence, it is also arguable that *temmelig* in some way corresponds to *quite* in the source text, yet they modify different elements. In the source text, *quite* modifies the adverb *possibly*, which expresses uncertainty, whereas the Norwegian adverb of uncertainty, *muligens*, does not accept degree modification (**temmelig muligens*). It is perhaps for this reason that the translator omitted modification of the uncertainty adverb and instead added a degree modifier of the adjective *steatopygiske*.

Rather has so far been found to be underrepresented in texts translated from Norwegian compared to original English texts. The source items that do trigger *rather* in translation are provided in Figure 30:

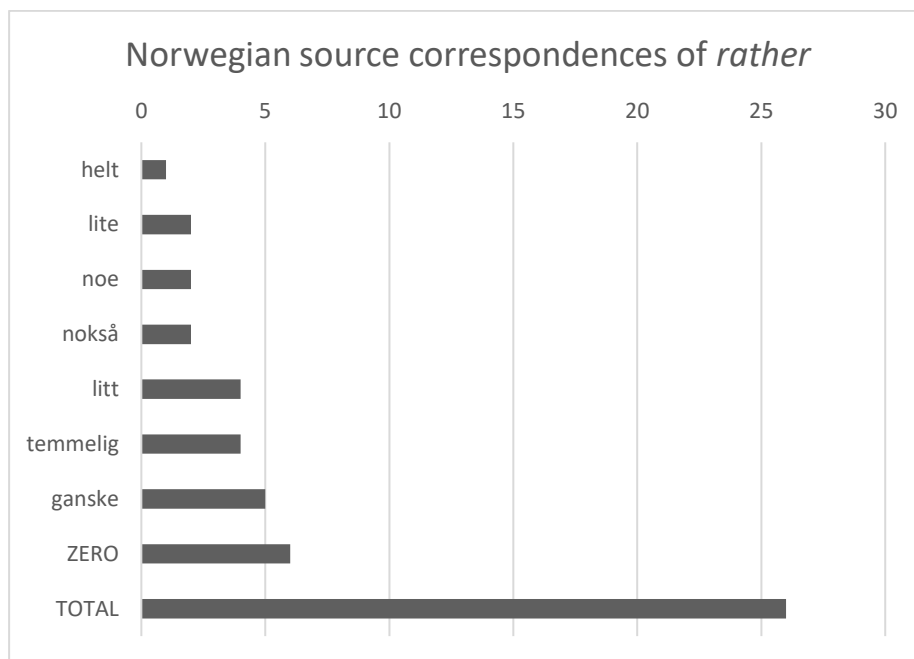


Figure 30: Frequencies of Norwegian source correspondences of *rather*

The most frequent source is the zero-correspondence: In 6 out of the 26 instances of *rather*, the degree modifier was only added in translation. See the following examples:

- (115) Det var skumt her mellom trærne. (KF2)
It was rather dark here between the trees. (KF2T)
- (116) Faren strøk henne klossete over ryggen og sa at det var i orden, selv om han syntes kurset var dyrt. (BV1)
Her father stroked her clumsily on the back, and said that she should have the course, even though it was rather dear. (BV1T)
- (117) Men rytteren var ute i et uskyldig ærend. (KAL1)
As it turned out, the rider had come with rather innocent news. (KAL1T)
- (118) Det ligg eit hus nede ved bryggene på Eikøy, eit eldre trehus, med mørk inngangsdør og det falma skiltet på veggen, posthornet. (EH1)
There 's a house down by the docks on Eik Island, a rather old wooden house, with a dark door and that faded sign of the postal horn on the wall. (EH1T)

These are all cases where the translator has added *rather* to degree modify an adjective that was not degree modified in the source text. No further justification can be surmised from the context.

Ganske, temmelig and *litt* were the other source correspondences that occurred with some frequency:

(119) "Enda hun er enebarn og nærmest familieløs og ganske asosial i grunnen.

(EHA1)

"Even though she 's an only child with almost no family and is rather anti-social at heart. (EHA1T)

(120) Deres historie om denne dessverre temmelig uinteressante kvinnen var jo uventet lang, og derfor kommer hovedretten allerede før smaken av de fortreffelige rekene har forlatt ganen. (FC1)

Your story about this — I 'm sorry to say — rather uninteresting woman was unexpectedly long, you know, and so the main course is already on its way before the taste of those admirable prawns has left one's palate. (FC1T)

(121) Og vær litt diskrete når dere går den trappen. (EFH1)

Be rather discreet as you go up those stairs, wo n't you. (EFH1T)

The lexical correspondence items of *rather* and their proportional representation are similar in both translation directions, yet the frequency of *rather* is less than half as high in translation as in original language.

Finally, *nokså* was in Section 4.3 found to be mainly translated as a ZERO, *rather* and *quite*

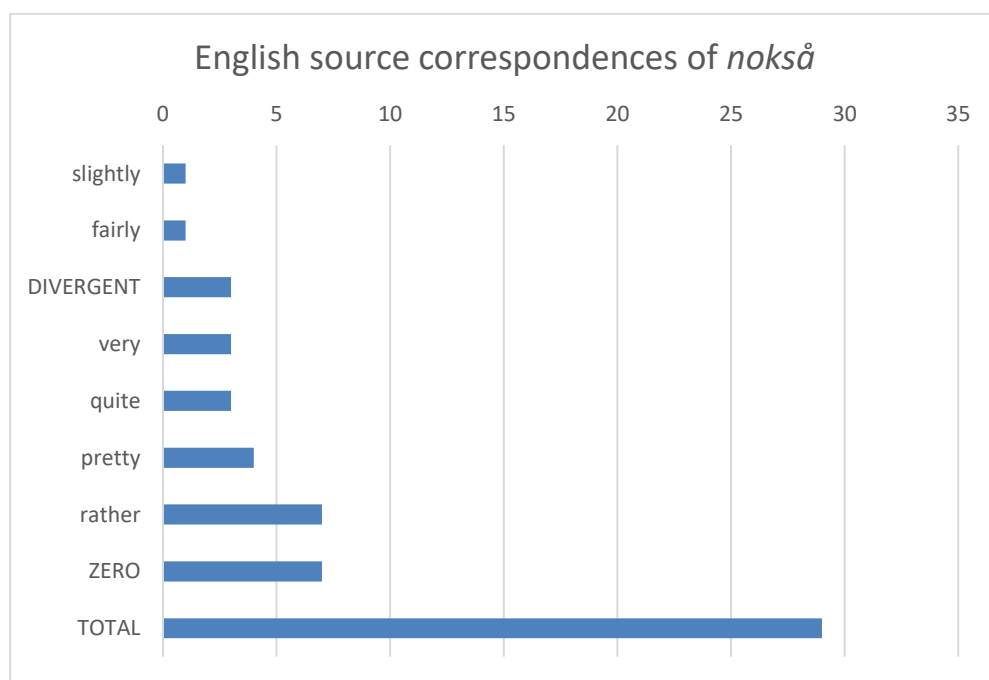


Figure 31: Frequencies of English source correspondences of *nokså*

The lexical items that correspond with notable frequency are *rather*, *quite*, *very* and *pretty*. This paints a picture of its semantic field as encompassing both moderators (*pretty*, *quite*, *rather*) and boosters (*very*). This is a versatility it shares with a number of other items discussed so far, of which *nokså* is among the least frequent.

4.4.3 Summary of the 3rd research question

This section found considerable frequency differences in use of degree modifiers between English original and translated text. The frequencies were higher in translated language than in original language and higher in Norwegian than in English, and the differences between translated and original language were significant and substantial in English and smaller and not significant in Norwegian. The use of the degree modifier *completely* deviated especially in translated English text where the normalized frequency was 7.5 times higher than in original English text. The modifiers *quite* and *rather* were also used roughly twice as often in translated language as in original language.

In terms of syntax, it was reported in Section 4.3.4 that ca. three quarters of the degree modifiers in original text in both languages modified an adjective in the predicative position, and that this tendency was slightly stronger in translated text in both languages. Consequently, degree-modified adjectives in the attributive position were slightly less frequent in translated text than in original text.

4.5 Dispersion

The thesis has so far treated the corpus as a mostly homogeneous entity. In the Norwegian subcorpus, 29 out of the 30 original texts contained one of the four degree modifiers. As Figure 6 in Section 4.1 showed, the frequency of *helt* is very similar across original and translated text. In this section, some attention will be given to the dispersion of these frequencies to give an account of possible idiosyncratic differences influencing the results.

In the Norwegian original texts, the mean frequency of *helt* per text is 5.23, the median is 4, and the standard deviation is 4.47. The Norwegian author with the highest frequency of *helt* is Jostein Gaarder, reaching 19 instances in one text extract.

However, the case of author Lars Saabye Christensen demonstrates that this idiosyncratic feature is not necessarily stable: The Norwegian author has written two of the texts in the corpus. In the corpus extract of his 1981 novel *Jokeren*, there are 2 occurrences of

helt, while in the extract from *Herman* from the following year, there are as many as 14 occurrences.

In the Norwegian translated portion, there is a noticeable overrepresentation of *helt* in one translated text. The Norwegian translation of the Roal Dahl text *The Witches* contains 23 instances of *helt* as a degree modifier of an adjective. This is an outlier in the data material: The mean number of *helt* occurrences per text is 5.5, the median is 4 and the standard deviation is 4.77. Of the 23 instances of *helt* in the translation of *The Witches*, 17 are cases where there is no corresponding degree modifier in the English source text. In 5 of those 17, the adjective in the translation is transposed from a different realization type in the source text, and 12 out of 17 are instances where an adjective without any degree modifier in the English text is rendered as an adjective modified by *helt* in the translation, such as in the following examples:

- (122) “His face had turned grey.” (RD1)
“Han var helt grå i ansiktet.” (RD1T)
(Lit. “He was completely grey in the face”)
- (123) “The human brain is an amazing thing.” (RD1)
“Den menneskelige hjernen er noe helt fantastisk.” (RD1T)
(Lit. “The human brain is something completely fantastic.”)

The original English excerpt of *The Witches* contains only 8 instances of the investigated degree modifiers: 3 cases of *pretty*, 3 cases of *rather* and 2 cases of *quite*. In three of these cases, the degree modifier was rendered as a zero in the Norwegian translation, such as in the example below.

- (124) “They all jumped, including Matilda who was a pretty good actress.” (RD1)
“Alle spratt i været. Matilda også, for hun var en god skuespiller.” (RD1T)
(Lit. ‘Everyone jumped in the air. Matilda too, because she was a good actress.’)

This is an example where the moderator *pretty* in the source text would be equivalent to Norwegian moderators such as *ganske*, *nokså* and *temmelig*. However, the translator has instead opted to omit the degree modifier altogether.

In the English portion of the corpus, 26 out of the 30 original texts contain at least one out of the four degree modifiers. Unlike in the Norwegian portion, no single excerpt is an outlier in terms of frequency in the English original data. The most frequent degree modifier

in the original English data, *quite*, occurs an average of 2.1 times across all original texts, with a median of 2 and a standard deviation of 1.76. This is to say the frequencies are rather low and evenly dispersed.

The same is more or less true for *rather*, which was shown to be the second most frequent degree modifier in the English original data, though the data appears to be less normally distributed and the standard deviation higher: The mean is 1.9, the median is 1, and the standard deviation is 2.1. This item has already been shown to occur merely 26 times in the translated data, significantly less than in original English text. Moreover, it occurs as a degree modifier in only 17 out of the 30 texts and never more than 3 times in any one text.

In the English translated portion, all 30 texts contain at least one of the degree modifiers. The frequency of *quite* ranges from 0 to 14 occurrences per text, though the mean is at 4, the median at 3, and the standard deviation 3.97.

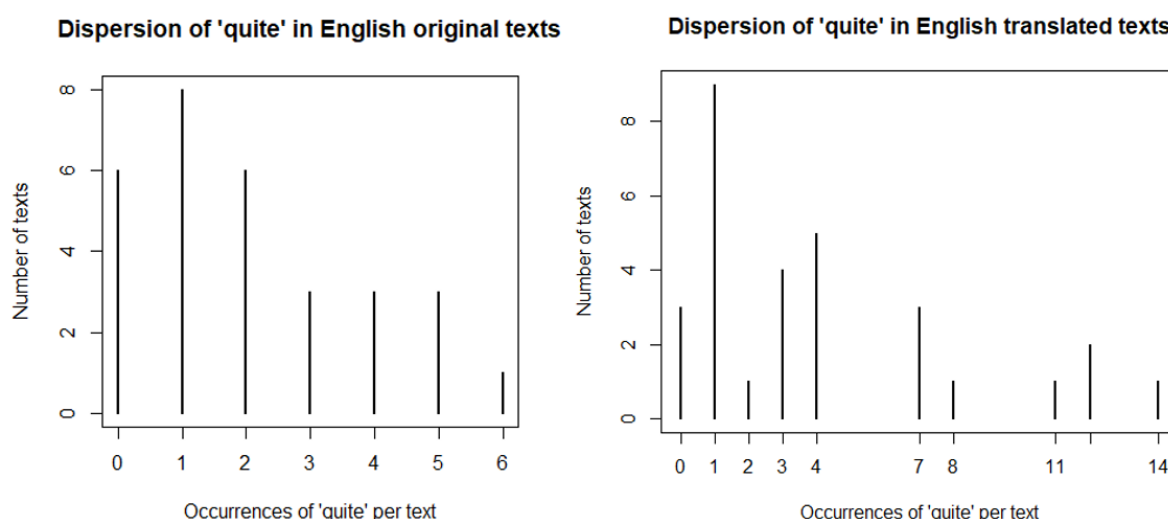


Figure 32: Dispersion of *quite* in English original and translated text

The observed propensity of *pretty* to be added in translation is in the dispersion data found to be a rather idiosyncratic feature and not a systematic choice. Out of the 22 times *pretty* occurred in translated text, 11 were added from a zero-correspondence. Out of those 11 cases, 5 came from one translator across two texts, 4 from another translator and 2 from a third. The *pretty* ↔ zero correspondence did not occur at all in 26 out of the 30 texts.

Overall, most of the degree modifiers investigated for dispersion were found to be relatively widespread and, while some individual variation was obvious, only the use of *helt* in Norwegian translated text was noticeably affected by individual variation. The 17 cases where *helt* was added in translation in one text make up 19.3% of all instances of *helt* added

in translation in the corpus. Yet, even disregarding this particular outlier, 48.6% (71 out of 146) of the instances of *helt* in Norwegian translations were added from a zero-source, pointing to this translation procedure being a ubiquitous feature.

4.6 Discussion

This section discusses the results in more detail, drawing from research from all three research questions, and contextualizes findings with respect to previous research and theory introduced in Chapter 2.

4.6.3 RQ1

Section 4.2 reported that the mutual correspondence scores of the degree modifiers ranged from 0% to 29%, where the items with the highest correspondence ranged from 20% to 30%. Figures of mutual correspondence can range from almost perfect equivalents, which are typically moderately infrequent nouns with a very specific and clearly defined meaning (Aijmer & Altenberg (2002: 21) mention the example of *screwdriver* (English) and *skruvmejsel* (Swedish)) to unrelated words with zero correspondence. Altenberg (2007) provides the following mutual correspondence scores for different resultive connectors in English and Swedish:

Table 11: From Altenberg (2007: 10) – mutual correspondence scores of resultive connectors in English and Swedish

English	Swedish	MC	Eng > Swe	Swe > Eng
that's why	det är därför (som)	76.6	82.2	68.8
so	så	58.5	52.4	74.5
therefore	därför	55.5	76.5	49.6
then	då	51.6	61.0	47.3
consequently	följaktligen	44.8	46.7	53.3
thus	således	17.3	11.0	28.9
thus	sålunda	16.0	9.8	37.5
thus	alltså	13.4	14.6	12.9
so	alltså	12.5	8.4	19.2
so	därför	11.1	11.5	10.7
that's why	därför	8.4	12.5	8.0
then	i så fall	8.4	9.0	6.5
thus	följaktligen	6.3	3.7	21.4
---	---	---	---	---
that's why	följaktligen	0.0	0.0	0.0
so	det är därför (som)	0.0	0.0	0.0
then	därför	0.0	0.0	0.0
thus	i så fall	0.0	0.0	0.0
consequently	så	0.0	0.0	0.0

In this context, the highest mutual correspondences scores found for the degree modifiers in this thesis at between 20% and 30% appear to be somewhat comparable to resultive connectors. These cross-linguistic pairs with the highest mutual correspondences were *helt* and *completely*, *helt* and *quite*, and *ganske* and *quite*. The three pairs also had among the higher rMC scores, though slightly lower than their MC scores. The numbers are also comparable to the findings in Ebeling & Ebeling (2015), which calculated the English-Norwegian degree-modifying pair *more or less* and *mer eller mindre*. They found that the mutual correspondence of these phrases was at 50% and the reverse mutual correspondence at 43% in the ENPC+ (Ebeling & Ebeling 2015: 76, 79), which is an “expanded version of the fiction part of the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus” (ibid.: 65). None of the items in the present thesis achieved a mutual correspondence or reverse mutual correspondence close to 50%, which is not surprising given that *more or less* and *mer eller mindre* are cognates. While there are many possible translation options for all of these, a cognate pair is clearly a more likely candidate. Moreover, the ‘unstable’ meaning of *quite*, as remarked upon by Paradis (1997: 154) means that it takes on a wider range of correspondences, further limiting the strength of correspondence that is possible.

Given the entries in bilingual dictionaries, reported in Section 3.2.2, many of the cross-linguistic correspondences reported in Section 4.2 were expected. The bilingual dictionaries that had been consulted successfully predicted most of the strong correspondences between the selected items. However, while *helt* was indeed most often translated as *completely* in the data, which was in accordance with the Norwegian-English dictionary, it was almost as often translated as *quite*, which was not a suggestion listed in the Norwegian-English dictionary. It is also worth noting that there is a partially one-sided correspondence of *nokså* and *pretty* both in the dictionary and in the data results. The Norwegian item *nokså* appears as the first suggestion in the entry for *pretty*, but *pretty* does not appear as a suggested translation for *nokså*. This is also supported by the ENPC data, where 14% of the occurrences of *pretty* (4 out of 29) was translated as *nokså* but only 7% of the occurrences of *nokså* (1 out of 15) was translated as *pretty*, though the frequencies are too low to draw firm conclusions on this matter.

As reported in Section 3.2.2, *pretty* was described in the Oxford English Dictionary as having developed a maximizing function in more recent years, but the present thesis was not able to establish any evidence of this based on its correspondences in either original or translated text, none of which included unambiguous Norwegian maximizers. This is possibly

due to the ENPC containing written and translated texts from the 1970s to the 1990s, which may not cover this recent trend.

4.6.4 RQ2

The second research question concerned degree modifiers in source texts and the choices made by translators of how, or whether, to express degree modification in their translations. Section 4.3 found that the majority of degree modifiers that occurred in source texts of either language were translated as delexicalized degree adverbs. While the four selected items in one language were very often translated into one of four selected items in the other language, a few other expressions of degree were found to occur with some frequency as translations of the selected items. Translators also very somewhat frequently, specifically a total of 17 times, especially as the translation of *helt* (8 times) or *ganske* (7 times). In the other direction, *rather* was translated as *litt* 6 times out of the 56 source occurrences of *rather*, and *pretty* was similarly translated as *riktig* 4 out of 29 times. The widespread occurrence of ZERO-translations from a degree modifier should be especially highlighted. Three of the Norwegian items, *helt*, *nokså* and *temmelig*, were more commonly rendered as a ZERO-translation than any single lexical translation correspondence. The same was true for *pretty* in translation from English into Norwegian, while for *ganske*, *rather* and *quite*, the ZERO-correspondence was the second most frequent translation correspondence.

Aijmer & Altenberg (2002) pointed out that just like cross-linguistic correspondence does not necessarily equal equivalence, omission in translation is “not always due to the lack of a target language equivalent” (2002: 21). They describe modal particles and discourse particles as language-specific elements the translation of which is governed by target language norms. The degree modifiers in the present thesis are similarly grammaticalized items that need to conform to conventions in the target language. Hence, the omissions and additions are in many cases the translators’ attempt to apply target language norms, which indicate their judgments of inherent cross-linguistic differences, i.e. their contrastive analysis. In particular, the addition of a degree modifier, or the change from one degree modifier type to another, where its context appears otherwise equivalent across ontologies reads as an explicit change to the semantic and phraseological content. From a purely frequency-based perspective, the translators of English texts into Norwegian were successful at conforming to that target language norm by adding degree modifiers where there was none in source, as they

arrived at very similar frequencies of degree modifiers in their translations compared to original Norwegian text.

In Figure 12 in Section 4.3, it was reported that *very* occurs as a translation of *helt* in eight cases. This is perhaps somewhat surprising, as *very* was in Chapter 2 described as a booster according to the classifications of both Quirk et al. (1985) and Paradis (2007). This is particularly interesting as *helt* is not described as a booster in any of the dictionaries consulted. These translations therefore suggest that the maximizing *helt* can be changed into a booster in translation, that *helt* can occur as a booster, or that *very* occurs as a maximizer or with a similar emphasizing function. Some examples are given below:

(125) Det lå i lufta allerede i siktelsen, men det blei helt klart i pressemeldinga fra statsadvokaten fordi han "viste til oppslag i pressen"! (JM1)

It was in the air already, in the charge, but it became very clear in the press release from the State Attorney because he referred to "comments in the press". (JM1T)

(126) Da laget han et helt spesielt pulver som han tok med til kirken der han traff damen." (SL1)

So he concocted a very special powder which he took to church where he knew he would meet the lady." (SL1T)

(127) Selv i de helt nyeste sovebyarealene er sjansene gode, der ingenting ennå er etablert, der store mengder av mennesker nylig har flyttet inn overalt fra, og sitter i nyfabrikkerte omgivelser og overvåker hverandre i angst og skinnsyke, der en ikke går ubemerket forbi et kjøkkenvindu. (KF1)

Your chances are good even in the very newest bedroom-town areas, where nothing is yet established, where large numbers of people have recently moved in from all over and sit in newly fabricated surroundings watching one another in fear and jealousy, where you cannot walk past a kitchen window without being noticed. (KF1T)

(128) Det er ikke helt trygt å ha dem bak seg, når man ikke har øyne i nakken. (LSC1)

It 's not very safe to have them behind you, if you do n't have eyes in the back of your head. (LSC1T)

The modified adjectives appear as equivalent as is possible in all four examples. In example (125), *helt* seems to simply maximize the extent to which the adjective *klart* holds. Similarly, *very* could conceivably be replaced by a maximizer such as *absolutely* or *completely* to reflect

the source text, but *very* in this context appears to have a straight-forward boosting function. The same appears true for example (126), where *helt* maximizes the special-ness in a totality configuration, whereas *very* boosts the degree to which the powder is special on a scale. As reported in Section 3.2.1, the maximizer category appears to be more frequent in Norwegian whereas boosters and zeros appear more frequent in English. As reported in Section 4.1, *completely* is overrepresented in English translated text as compared to original text, and a brief look in the ENPC indicates that the same is true for *absolutely*. 52% of the instances of *helt* in Norwegian translated text were additions from ZERO degree modifier in their source text while the same was true for 47% of the cases of *pretty* in English translated text. On the other hand, only 10% of the instances of *completely* were added from a ZERO. On this basis, it may be suggested that there exist slightly different intensifying configurations for English and Norwegian that lead to more maximizers in Norwegian and more scalar modifiers and zeros in English, making the transposition from maximizer to booster in the above examples a natural translation conforming to the target language norms. However, this is not an absolute rule, as evidenced by the additions of the moderators *ganske*, *temmelig* and *nokså* in Norwegian translations.

In example (126) above, the Norwegian item *helt* modifies the superlative adjective *nyeste* ('newest'), but this pattern appears infelicitous or marked in English (**completely newest*, **absolutely newest*, **utterly newest*, etc.). The same is true for other boosters (e.g. **highly newest*, **terribly newest*). In this context *very* does not appear to function as a typical booster, because the degree to which something can be *newest* is not naturally gradable, but rather as an emphasizer that does not specify a degree (compare: *my very own house* or even the aforementioned Volvo advertisement *How WE are you [...] Very WE* (see Chapter 2). As such, *helt* and *very* in example (126) appear to be similar in function but perhaps not identical. The cross-linguistic semantics are also similar in example (128), where the negation ahead of the booster in *not very safe* gives the whole phrase the meaning *unsafe* and the scalar amplifying meaning of *very* is backgrounded. In all four examples, *very* could easily be replaced with *quite*, in which case these difference would be more difficult to discern lexically.

Some comparable rates of zero translation are found in Aijmer & Altenberg (2002), who looked at zero translations of modal particles and discourse markers in the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus. The Swedish item *nämligen* ('namely') is found to be omitted in translations into English in 60% of the cases, while 50% of English *now* used as a discourse

marker (“Now me, I used to tell my children everything [...]” (ibid.: 26)) are omitted in translation into Swedish. Similarly, *well* as a discourse marker was found to be translated into a zero in Swedish in 21% of the instances. The Swedish modal particle *ju* were in 65% of the cases not translated. However, it is noted in the authors’ discussion that these zero translations also include cases where “the translation contains words which already express a modal value”, e.g., a modal auxiliary. It is worth noting that in the present thesis, instances where another sentence constituent in the translation has some degree-expressing function have been annotated as divergent translations, not zero translations.

It was found that transpositions of degree modifiers were extremely infrequent from English into Norwegian. There were some transpositions from Norwegian into English, in which they were usually transposed to adjectives modifying a noun phrase e.g. *helt stille* (‘wholly silent’) transposed to *completely/dead silence*.

Section 4.3.4 found some circumstantial evidence of changes in the adjective position during translation. The proportion of degree-modified adjective in the predicative position was slightly higher in translation for both languages than in original text, suggesting that translators are more inclined to move degree-modified adjectives from the attributive to the predicative position.

4.6.5 RQ3

Sections 4.1 and 4.4.1 confirmed differences in use of degree modifiers in English original and translated language. A significant overrepresentation of *completely* was found in translated text, especially as triggered by the Norwegian degree modifier *helt*. The findings presented herein indicate that although *completely* appears to be the natural grammaticalized and delexicalized maximizing degree modifier corresponding to *helt*, other translations may in many cases be more appropriate to adhere to the target language norm. This includes translating *helt* as a zero-correspondence, sometimes with but usually without a strengthening of the adjective, or using a different degree modifier. In fact, among the English source correspondences of *helt*, both *entirely* and *perfectly* are more frequent correspondences than *completely*. A brief look at the use of *entirely* and *perfectly* in the ENPC also indicates that they are underrepresented in translation as compared to original text, suggesting that translators generally are not taking full advantage of the rich selection of degree modifiers available to them. The overuse of *completely* may be a case of standardization in translational

behavior, i.e., what Baker suggested as a translation universal, calling it “a general tendency to exaggerate features of the target language” (1993: 244).

The difference between the source correspondences and translation correspondences that the selected degree modifiers are translated from or into does not appear to be tied closely to the lexical correspondences. Instead, the major difference is the extent to which the items correspond to a lexical item or a ZERO-correspondence. The functions that are most frequently added in translation from a ZERO-correspondence, e.g. a maximizer in Norwegian, are less frequently found in the source language.

Section 4.4.2 found that additions from a zero-source are strikingly common for many of the degree modifiers. Overall, 39% of Norwegian degree modifiers found in translation were added from a zero. For English degree modifiers in translations, this number was 19%. The highest percentage of zero-correspondence was found as a source of the addition of *helt* in Norwegian translations from a zero-correspondence. No corresponding degree modifier was found in the source text for 52% of the occurrences of *helt* in translated text where the context was otherwise equivalent across languages in terms of corresponding adjectives. Zero-correspondences are slightly more frequent in cases with a divergent source of the adjective, but the frequent trend of zero-correspondence still holds true in this narrower comparison.

The findings throughout the thesis have shown that several of the items have overlapping senses and uses. Claudi (2006) suggested that such a lexically diverse set of seemingly synonymous items exists because of a “human need for variety, expressiveness, drama, and self-portrayal” (2006: 367). It is also interesting to consider the full range of lexical degree modifiers that was the translation of, or triggered the translation of, one of the eight selected degree modifiers. Figure 6 and Figure 7 provided the range of degree modifiers that occurred as a translation of one of the degree modifiers, indicating the lexical diversity that is the most closely associated with the delexicalized set of degree modifiers. The figures showed a larger field in English than in Norwegian (28 English versus 19 Norwegian different lexical degree modifiers). When taking into account the range of degree modifiers that occurred in source texts, triggering the translation of any of the eight, 32 different lexical degree modifiers were found in Norwegian original text against 26 in English original text. Part of the reason for the observed lower number of different English degree modifiers in original text is that 42% (121 out of 286) of the Norwegian degree modifiers in translated text stem from a zero-correspondence.

The investigation into all three research questions has touched upon the generally high frequency of zero-correspondences. It is difficult to explain the translation strategy behind the choice of omitting the degree modifier in an otherwise literal and equivalent translation. As Baker (1993: 243–244) reported, translations tend to increase the level of explicitness compared to their source text, but they also show a “tendency towards disambiguation and simplification”. From conventional wisdom, this is the dichotomy that may in some cases result in omission and other cases addition of a degree modifier. In the case of degree modifiers, however, there is evidence in the present thesis that this conventional paradigm also comes up against certain inherent language norms that lead to more maximizers in Norwegian and more boosters in English. The zero-correspondences also speak to the degree modifiers’ grammaticalization and configurational meaning structure, making them less explicit and specific than content structures.

5 Conclusion

This thesis has conducted a corpus-driven frequency-based investigation into the use of degree modifiers in English and Norwegian original and translated text. Applying methods developed for semantic inquiries in translation corpora, the thesis has shown that the selected set of delexicalized degree modifiers correspond to a moderate degree to one another and can all be said to belong to the same semantic field. In addition, it found that the choice of translation was largely in accordance with the suggested translations in reputable English-Norwegian and Norwegian-English bilingual dictionaries, with a few exceptions. The investigation into the translation correspondences of each of the degree modifiers further suggested that a number of degree modifiers could be translated into a different function category, e.g. from maximizer to booster. It also revealed that zero-correspondences play a major role for the use or non-use of degree modifiers in translated text, and that some items are more likely to trigger a zero-correspondence in translation whereas others are more likely to be added from a zero-source during translation. The comparison of degree modifiers in original and translated text indicate that degree modifiers are more common in translated language in both languages, but that the difference is much more significant for English and not significant for Norwegian. The difference in degree modifier use in English translated text is possibly due to transfer from Norwegian, which showed a higher frequency of the selected degree modifiers in original text. This finding highlights the benefit of applying a bidirectional method on a bidirectional translation corpus, allowing for the exploration of both omissions and additions.

5.1 Study limitations and suggestions for further research

The nature of this study has been largely frequency-based as, due to the natural scope of the work, the opportunity for further qualitative research has been limited to the discussion of a large number of examples and the investigation of lexical collocations. As was discussed in Chapter 3, degree modifiers are difficult to pin-point semantically and more semantics-oriented paths of investigation were therefore disregarded.

While the issue of intra-genre differences concerning narration and dialogue within the fiction genre was of interest, the collected data was only suitable to investigate one aspect of

this. The thesis found that certain correspondences were more prominent in one genre than the other. Since there is no available information on the proportion of the corpus that is narration versus dialogue, it was not possible to describe the frequency of degree modifiers in one genre compared to the other, and since the starting point of the investigation was the degree modifier and not the adjective, it was also impossible to report on whether adjectives were more often degree-modified in one genre compared to the other.

This thesis has focused on a restrictive set of items. Other items, including the other most frequent adverbs of degree in the ENPC, as found in Chapter 3, are possible avenues of future investigations. The overrepresentation of the English booster *very* in original text contrasted with the apparent lower frequency of boosters in original Norwegian text suggests a possibility of further cross-linguistic difference when it comes to degree modification and could potentially be useful for supporting or nuancing the findings in the present thesis regarding the use of boosters in English and Norwegian.

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