Egentlig, actually.

A corpus-based study of the translation of Norwegian egentlig *and its English correspondences.*

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Abstract

This study looks at how the Norwegian adverb *egentlig* and its closest equivalents in Norwegian and English, i.e. *faktisk*, *actually* and *really*, are translated in the *English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC). The aim is to investigate how adverbs that also can be considered pragmatic markers are translated, and whether and how the markers' functions are preserved in the translation process. The English adverbs *actually* and *really* have in previous research been found to have pragmatic functions in some uses, but no studies have been preformed on the Norwegian adverbs yet. By analysing data from two corpora, this thesis answers 1) whether *egentlig* and *faktisk* can have pragmatic functions as well; 2) how the four adverbs under investigation are translated; 3) whether pragmatic function has been preserved in the translation; and 4) whether there is a correlation between the adverb's function and the translation solution chosen by the translator.

An analysis of material from *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa) shows that *egentlig* and *faktisk* indeed can have pragmatic functions. A quantitative analysis of the material from the ENPC shows that the four adverbs are translated with a wide range of correspondences, both in types, i.e. the different items used, and types of constructions. The findings reveal that although mutual correspondence is generally low, there is a pattern of mutual correspondence between *egentlig* and *really*, and *faktisk* and *actually*. The findings also indicate that translators tend to choose the most obvious translation solutions, such as cognates, while the adverbs are used as translation for forms that are not necessarily considered equivalent when translating them. A qualitative analysis of the instances where the adverbs have pragmatic function suggests that functions are preserved in varying degrees and only in just over half of the occurrences. There are no major patterns, but findings indicate that position is important for preserving function.

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1   Introduction

The adverb *egentlig* has, over the last few years, stirred my interest for two reasons. Firstly, I have listened to my mother at the dinner table almost fishing for compliments on the dinner by humbly stating that "det smakte *egentlig* godt" ('it tasted * good'), as if expecting it not to. This use, along with other uses of *egentlig*, have struck me as not strictly speaking correct, and it seems to me that *egentlig* has become used in increasingly more contexts and with other nuances, perhaps pragmatic, of meaning and function. Secondly, this impression has been combined with that of *egentlig* as a word that can be surprisingly challenging to translate well into English. At first glance, *egentlig* has a set of obvious equivalents that easily covers its uses. For example, the adverb *egentlig* is used in two senses according to the Norwegian–English dictionary *Engelsk Stor Ordbok*: 1) denoting reality, with English translation equivalents being *really*, *actually*, *exactly*, *in reality*, *in actual fact* and *as a matter of fact*; and 2) denoting an original state, English translation equivalents being *originally*, *in origin* and *really* (*Engelsk Stor Ordbok*, s.v. "egentlig"). However, I have found myself in contexts where *egentlig* has been translated into English, and my instinct has told me that the translation does not convey the meaning of *egentlig*. Still, considering the standard set of equivalents, I could not say which translation would be better. For example, in a bilingual context a Norwegian friend of mine asked me, first in Norwegian, then in English:

"Hva gjorde du der, egentlig? What did you do there, actually?"

The context was me telling her and an English-speaking friend about a stay in Honduras, and apparently, she simply translated *egentlig* using *actually*, which in many cases would be the appropriate choice. Here, however, *actually* seems misplaced. Perhaps a better translation would be "what did you do there, *really*" or "what *exactly* did you do there", but do these translations truly convey the original utterance? What function does *egentlig* have in the sentence, and how is this function best communicated?

These are among the questions that I will address in this thesis. To answer the questions, I will preform a corpus investigation into *egentlig* and its equivalents and correspondences in the *English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC). With *egentlig* serving as my point of departure, I take a look at the two most frequent translation equivalents of *egentlig*, namely *actually* and *really*, and then return the favour and look at the two most frequent translation

equivalents of each of these. As I began my corpus investigation, I expected the most frequent equivalent of *egentlig* to be *actually*, but this turned out to be wrong, as *really* is over four times as frequent. My assumption that these two types would be the most frequent correspondences, however, proved correct, as the remaining thirty-six types occurred only five times or less, against *actually's* forty times. I moved on to take a closer look at *actually* and *really*. Again, I approached the task with expectations, this time that *egentlig* would top the list of correspondences of both *actually* and *really*, and again I was wrong: the most frequent correspondence of *actually* is *faktisk*, and accordingly I chose to include *faktisk* among the nodes under investigation.

Pragmatic markers are more or less grammaticalised items with a wide array of meanings and functions, and as a result, they may be difficult to translate. Since they are non-truth-conditional, and thus optional, translators often either rephrase the source text to suit the target language or omit the markers altogether. The question then is whether or not the target text conveys the source text's meaning, and the main aim of this thesis is to answer this question in regard to *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really*.

My hypothesis is as follows: *Egentlig* has started to develop pragmatic functions and can therefore be considered a pragmatic marker. Since pragmatic functions can be difficult to translate and correspondences of pragmatic markers show great diversity, it follows that also *egentlig* will show such diversity in correspondences, despite the fact that it has a fixed set of translation equivalents. If *egentlig* has developed pragmatic functions, it is expected that the same development is happening with its equivalents, and that also these will show a diversity in correspondences. Another characteristic of translation of pragmatic markers is a high frequency of zero correspondence, possibly due to the challenge of translating pragmatic function. This high frequency is also expected for *egentlig* and its equivalents. Considering both the high degree of diversity and high frequency of zero correspondence, I expect to find two main tendencies: 1) that pragmatic function to some degree is conveyed by using a wide variety of forms and structures; but 2) that pragmatic functions are largely neglected and simply not conveyed at all.

Based on this hypothesis, the overall question in this thesis is how and to what extent pragmatic functions are preserved in translation. To answer this question, we must first answer the following research questions:

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Research questions (RQs):

RQ1: Have the Norwegian adverbs *egentlig* and *faktisk* developed pragmatic functions?

RQ2: How are the adverbs/pragmatic markers and their dictionary equivalents – *actually* and *really* – translated?

RQ3: Has the pragmatic function of the markers been conveyed by the translation, and if so, which translation solutions have been employed?

RQ4: How do translation choices and pragmatic functions correlate?

This thesis is organised according to the RQs and answer each of them in turn in chapter 4. Before that, however, it is necessary to give an account of the theoretical background, method and material for the thesis: Chapter 2 reviews the theory and previous research, and presents and discusses *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* based on literature. Throughout the discussions, examples taken from the literature, the ENPC, the *British National Corpus* (BNC) and *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa) are used as illustrations. Chapter 3 presents the method and material. Chapter 4 presents the results of the analyses preformed in order to answer the RQs and discusses any findings. The chapter is divided into sub-chapters that answer each of the RQs, and each sub-chapter treats each of the four adverbs under investigation separately before comparing them. The analyses preformed are based mainly on corpus material from the ENPC, but the analyses of *egentlig* and *faktisk* in section 4.1 draw on material from NoTa. The analyses are mainly qualitative, but particularly section 4.2 discusses some quantitative data as well, and together these analyses will give insight into the translation of the four adverbs. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis by giving a summary of the findings, answering the hypothesis and RQs and making suggestions for further study of the topic. Through this thesis we will see that *egentlig* and *faktisk* indeed can have pragmatic functions, and that to the extant that the adverbs' functions are preserved in translation, they are conveyed through a wide range of correspondences.

2 Background and previous research

Put simply, pragmatics is the study of language in use, and is concerned with communication and how we use language to communicate. As this thesis is a study of what certain adverbs communicate and how we translate them, it is necessary to ground the study in a theoretical framework of pragmatics. Section 2.1 provides an account of pragmatics, Relevance Theory and translation, which will serve as this background.

As the sections below make clear, there seems to be no clear consensus on what exactly pragmatic markers are and how to define them, and there is even less agreement regarding terminology. Terminology is one of the issues that are discussed in this chapter, and a variety of terms is used and reviewed. I will argue that 'pragmatic marker' is the preferable term, and thus that is the term that is used throughout the remainder of this thesis. Section 2.2 takes a closer look at pragmatic markers, and after reviewing them in terms of terminology, classification and development, I will give an account of the translation of pragmatic markers based on previous studies in section 2.2.4. In section 2.3, I will review and discuss *actually* and *really* as adverbs and pragmatic markers based on literature and previous studies, and this discussion will serve as a background and a basis for comparison for the analysis and discussion of the results in chapter 4. After reviewing *actually* and *really*, I will give an account of *egentlig* and *faktisk*, but as there is no previous research to review with respect to these two adverbs, this account is shorter and less detailed than that of *actually* and *really*. *Egentlig* and *faktisk* are discussed further and in more detail in chapter 4.

2.1 Theoretical framework

As stated above, pragmatics is the study of language in use, and in linguistics, it is distinguished from syntax and semantics. Whereas syntax is concerned with linguistic expressions or signs in a system and their relationship to each other, semantics is concerned with the relationship of linguistic expressions to their encoded meaning and pragmatics is concerned with linguistic expressions in relationship to the context in which they occur and the communicators involved in the discourse (Horn and Ward 2004, xii; Levinson 1983, 1). Thus, we also distinguish between semantic meaning (the meaning explicitly encoded or denoted in the linguistic expression) and pragmatic meaning (the meaning implicitly conveyed in the interaction in which the linguistic expression is delivered). Semantic meaning

is also referred to as propositional meaning, i.e. the meaning of the proposition or utterance itself, and 'semantic meaning' and 'propositional meaning' is used more or less interchangeably. 'Lexical meaning' is also used, but then referring to the semantic meaning of a single item rather than an utterance. I give a short account of a theory of pragmatics below, before discussing its implications for the study of pragmatic markers and their translation.

2.1.1 Pragmatics and implicature

Pragmatics, as the field of study we know today, emerged in the 1930s, when it was first presented as a field distinct from that of syntax and semantics (Horn and Ward 2004, xii; Levinson 1983, 1). It has since developed, and one of the major developments came in the 1960s with Grice' theory about implicature. Implicature refers to a speaker's intended meaning of his utterance that is not present in the content of the utterance but must be inferred by the hearer based on context and conversational conventions. By means of implicature, the speaker can express himself and communicate his intentions without them being explicitly stated in his utterance. In example (1) below, for instance, B's answer is seemingly unrelated to A's questions. However, B's answer may implicate that the newsagent will be open and able to sell A some paper tissues (example from Clark 2013, 48).

(1) A: I need a paper tissue
    B: There's a newsagent on the next corner.

Grice formulated what he calls the Co-operative Principle, namely that the speaker intends and attempts to communicate his message successfully, and the hearer likewise intends and attempts to understand the message correctly for the communication to be successful. This is done following Grice' four maxims: the maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relevance and Manner. To secure successful communication, the speaker must give the required and appropriate amount of information (Quantity); the information given must be true and valid (Quality); the message must be relevant to the hearer and the current situation (Relevance); and the message must be delivered in a manner that is precise and understandable to the hearer (Manner) (Baker 2011, 235–237; Clark 2013, 57). In the example above – assuming that the newsagent is indeed open and able to sell paper tissues – B has given enough information for A to get hold of a paper tissue; he has given information that is true and relevant; and B gave the information in a manner that enabled A to understand him (Clark 2013, 49).

Grice's ideas have since inspired further developments in the field, and during the 1980s, Sperber and Wilson developed Relevance Theory (Wilson and Sperber 2004, 607–608; see e.g. Sperber and Wilson 1995). Relevance Theory is built upon Grice's implicature theory and his maxims but redefines Relevance and claims that, with the new, broader definition, Relevance alone is sufficient to explain how we communicate (Clark 2013, 43, 89). This theory is based on two principles: The Cognitive Principle of Relevance and the Communicative Principle of Relevance. Together these explain that in communication, we strive to convey a message that is as relevant as possible with as little effort as possible, and that the message must be relevant enough to justify the effort involved in delivering and processing the message (Clark 2013, 121; Wilson and Sperber 607–610). A key element of this communication is our ability to make inferences and understand implicatures, and because of this ability, we naturally and automatically look to the context for a clue to an underlying meaning and the speaker's intention (Gutt 2000, 24). However, for the hearer to be able infer correctly, the speaker must convey the message in an appropriate context and in such a manner that inferring the speaker's intention does not demand too much effort from the hearer. Otherwise, a misunderstanding will arise, and the message is lost to the hearer. Conversely, the hearer expects and assumes that the meaning and intention he must infer is the meaning and intention that demands the least effort (Gutt 2000, 27–28). Hence, B in example (2) may infer from A's statement that A believes there may be an animal in the bush, even though nothing in A's statement denotes that A thinks that 'something' is an animal, nor even that A heard that 'something' at the present time, and not at some previous time (Gutt 2000, 25–26, his example).

    (2) [on a walk in the woods]
        A: I heard something in that bush.
        B: No, it was only the wind.

Context is key to communicating implicatures and making inferences, and several aspects of context are important. Along with contextual knowledge about for example time and place, we learn to interpret communicative elements such as prosody and body language, and also linguistic expressions such as pragmatic markers. Pragmatic markers are linguistic items that operate outside of and beyond the semantic meaning of an utterance by providing the audience with clues about how to interpret the utterance (Brinton 2017, 5). These clues can be clues as to how the discourse is organised, such as whose turn it is to speak or how the topic progresses throughout the discourse, or clues as to how the participants in the conversation

relate to each other or to the content of the utterance or discourse. In other words, they are clues that operate either on the textual level or the interpersonal level (2017, 11). In example (3), the clue in form of the pragmatic marker *well* in B1 implies that B has a negative attitude towards A's message, for example that he disagrees with Brian's decision to go back to school. This is in no way coded in the semantic meaning of *well*, but A can infer an underlying, pragmatic meaning in B's utterance from the context, the use of *well*, and perhaps body language and prosody. In B2, however, the adverb *well* is an adverb of manner post-modifying *do*, and here, *well* retains its semantic meaning ('satisfactorily') and does not have any pragmatic function.[1]

>   (3) A: Brian say's he'll be going back to school next year.
>   B1: **Well**, I'm sure he will.
>   B2: I'm sure he'll do **well**.

2.1.2 Translation and equivalence

Translation is the process of conveying the meaning of linguistic expressions of one language in another. Implicatures and inferences involving pragmatic markers may sometimes be complicated in regular communication, and it is not easier when a translator must ensure that the same implicatures arise from the translation in another language. As mentioned above, we distinguish between semantic and pragmatic meaning, and this distinction is very important in translation. The process requires the translator to both process and understand the text in the source language; identify the meaning and purpose of the text in its context; and convey the text in the target language in a manner that allows the text to serve its purpose while being as close to the original text as possible (Baker 2011, 60–61, 240). Often, translators are presented with dilemmas where they need to make choices that involve forsaking one aspect of translation for the benefit of another, for example choosing either to forsake the pragmatic meaning in order to keep the form in the target text or convey the pragmatic meaning and sacrifice the form of the source text to preserve its underlying meaning and purpose. This may also be the case in the translation of pragmatic markers, whose function is to convey the pragmatic meaning of an utterance.

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[1] It could be argued that B2's answer, which is not logically connected to A's question, implies that Brian is not likely to do well and B2 is not confident that his statement is true, but as this has less to do with the adverb *well* than the utterance as a whole, discussing this example and potential meanings further is beyond the point made by the example and the scope of this paper.

In translation we speak of equivalence, i.e. that the source text is appropriately, adequately and correctly translated so that the target text is as close to the source text as possible. Equivalence is necessary on all levels of the text – from the word and its meaning (semantic equivalence) to the text as discourse with implicatures in a cultural context (pragmatic equivalence). Non-equivalence can result in misunderstandings and communication breakdown, and, to avoid this, there are a number of strategies that can be used for different equivalence problems depending on the context (Baker 2011, 15). Which strategy to use depends entirely on the context of the problem, and similar problems are not necessarily solved using the same strategy. For example, a common problem in translation is that an expression in the source language is not lexicalised in the target language. In this hypothetical case, the translator needs to decide whether to paraphrase – maybe in length – to explain the phenomenon as accurately as possible, or to simply use a more general term, which may not be as specific as the source text term but makes sure that the text is easy to read (pp. 18–44); the translator must decide whether it is more important that the text is well-structured and easy to read than that the reader is made aware of the exact meaning and the nuances involved.

Pragmatic equivalence is concerned with how the contextual meaning conveyed by a speaker is translated and preserved in the target text, and as such, it depends on the translator's success in ensuring that the same implicatures arise in the target text as in the source text (Baker 2011, 230, 240–242). It is suggested that there is a common tendency among translators to explicitate, i.e. make what is implicit in the source text explicit in the target text (Blum-Kulka 1986, 18–19). Researchers have also found that there seem to be a general tendency of translations being simplified and less marked than the source texts; elements that are ambiguous in the source texts are made unambiguous, and the grammar is more conventional in target texts than in source texts (Malmkjær 2011, 84). Whether or not this also is true regarding the translation of pragmatic markers, and to what degree we can expect to find such tendencies in the present study, will be discussed further in 2.2.4 on the translation of pragmatic markers.

2.2 Pragmatic markers

Definitions and classifications of pragmatic markers vary immensely. Pragmatic markers make up a large, heterogenous group of linguistic items with different pragmatic functions, and while the majority of pragmatic markers are adverbs, adjectives, conjunctions and interjections, such as *like*, *so*, *well, oh* and *yes*, pragmatic markers also typically include clauses such as *you know* and *I mean*, and non-lexical items such as *ehm* and *mhm*. In the literature, they range from not being mentioned at all (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985; Tognini-Bonelli 1993) or being defined very narrowly (e.g. Aijmer 2002) to include any linguistic item expressing the speaker's communicative intention (e.g. Fraser 1996). Both the terminology regarding and the classification of pragmatic markers vary immensely, but there is some agreement about their general characteristics: a pragmatic marker is often a short, multifunctional and optional item that has lost at least some of its lexical/semantic meaning. It is primarily used in oral communication, usually positioned peripherally to the clause (i.e. initially, finally or parenthetically) and often in a separate tone unit (cf. Brinton 1996, 33–35). These characteristics will serve as a basis for comparison as the different works and studies are presented and discussed. Pragmatic markers and pragmatic function and meaning will be contrasted with the items in propositional use and their propositional or semantic meaning.

In this sub-chapter, definitions of and theoretical issues regarding pragmatic markers will be addressed and, hopefully, to some degree disentangled. I will discuss pragmatic markers and previous research in terms of terminology and classification. Then, the topic of translation will be picked up again and I will briefly review previous studies of the translation of pragmatic markers. To start with, however, I will give a short account of a theory about the development of some pragmatic markers. This theory explains the loss of semantic meaning that is presupposed in the remainder of the chapter.

2.2.1 Development of pragmatic markers

The development of some pragmatic markers, e.g. those that in propositional use are adjectives, adverbs or prepositions such as *well*, *actually* and *like*, is typically explained in terms of grammaticalisation. Through this process, the markers have developed grammatical, or more grammatical, properties from originally non-grammatical or less grammatical items (Brinton 1996, 50, 60; Hopper and Traugott 2003, 2). Traugott describes the

grammaticalisation process in terms of semantic and pragmatic tendencies of meaning moving from being externally situated towards being situated internally, textually or interpersonally, in other words a movement from the situation itself to the speaker's subjective attitude towards the situation (Brinton 1996, 57). The grammaticalisation process explains how the markers lose their semantic content and propositional meaning and gain their pragmatic functions (1996, 59). Romaine and Lange (1991, 261) uses *like* as an example: in propositional use, *like* functions as a preposition (4), but it has developed a textual meaning where *like* has a conjunct function (5 i) or has a quotative function (5 ii), and furthermore an interpersonal meaning where *like* functions as a 'focuser' (6) (Romaine and Lange's examples, 1991, 244).

> (4) She looks **like** her father.

> (5)
>> i. Winston tastes good **like** a cigarette should.
>> ii. Maya's **like**, "Kim come over here and be with me and Brett."

> (6) And there were **like** people blocking, you know?

As meaning moves from an internal to an external situation, the item in question also moves into the periphery, and thus it is argued that position in the clause and function correlate (Brinton 2017, 15). Aijmer (2002, 254–255) classifies *actually* as a pragmatic marker with position, such as initial or final, as a main criterion and claims that the pragmatic functions occur as the marker moves into the periphery and the item has scope beyond a single element. She refers to this move from the centre to the periphery as a cline in subjectivity, as the adverb goes from having scope over the verb phrase and being least subjective to becoming a discourse marker with scope over the entire clause and new pragmatic functions, being most subjective (Aijmer 2002, 255). Grammaticalisation is a process whereby an item develops over time, and pragmatic markers do not lose semantic meaning and obtain pragmatic functions over night. Thus, it is likely that not all occurrences of adverbs-cum-pragmatic markers fit into clear-cut categories as either an adverb in propositional use or a non-propositional pragmatic marker with pragmatic function, and it may be beneficial to think of occurrences of pragmatic markers as on a scale, from completely propositional to completely non-propositional, with a grey area where the markers are in the process of losing semantic meaning and in the process of gaining new functions.

2.2.2 Pragmatic markers and terminology

It was not until the 1970s and 80s that research on pragmatic markers gained ground. Although early works, such as Denniston (1934), are mentioned in discussions about the research tradition, pragmatic markers did not receive much attention until German linguists began writing about modal particles (e.g. Weydt 1969), and British linguists described the different pragmatic functions of adverbs (e.g. Greenbaum 1969; see Watts 1988, 236, Lenk 1998, 37 and Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2009, 223–224). During the 1980s interest in pragmatic markers boomed, resulting in works such as Östman (1981), Schiffrin (1987), Lenk (1998) and Aijmer (2002).

Although, or perhaps because, the phenomenon of pragmatic markers has been studied and discussed by linguists for only about five decades, terminology, definitions and classification vary to a great extent. They are often referred to as 'discourse markers' (Schiffrin 1987; Lenk 1998; Blakemore 2004; Fraser 1988), 'discourse particles' (Fischer 1998; Aijmer 2002; Johansson 2006), 'pragmatic markers' (Fraser 1996; Watts 1988; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2009), or 'pragmatic particles' (Östman 1995), but well over twenty terms have been identified (Brinton 1996, 29–30). 'Discourse marker' and 'discourse particle' tend to be used when the item in question has a distinct discourse-organising or textual function, such as marking turns, marking a shift in topic or signalling how utterances relate to each other. 'Pragmatic particle' and 'pragmatic marker', on the other hand, are often used when the items have other pragmatic functions, i.e. interpersonal functions, in addition to the textual ones (Östman 1995, 98), such as marking illocutionary force, conveying attitudes or signalling face-saving strategies. 'Discourse' is thus considered more narrow and restrictive than 'pragmatic', being concerned with the discourse itself only, not the context and participants. Similarly, the term 'particle' is often used more narrowly than 'marker' and imposes more grammatical restrictions, as 'particle' traditionally is a part-of-speech and it is mainly associated with short, single-word items (Brinton 1996, 29–30). Östman (1995, 98–99) uses the term 'pragmatic particle' and argues that the discourse-organising function is only one of several functions that a pragmatic particle may have, and therefore discourse markers can be seen as a sub-category of pragmatic particles. As 'pragmatic' may be used more broadly than 'discourse', and 'marker' is used more broadly than 'particle', 'pragmatic marker' is sometimes used as an umbrella term, covering all items and functions with

disregard to the level of discourse, whether textual or interpersonal (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2009, 227; Fraser 1988, 21).

An example of a very wide definition of 'pragmatic markers' is Fraser's approach and his system of classification, where they are broadly defined as "linguistically encoded clues which signal the speaker's potential communicative function" that are "separate and distinct from the propositional content of the sentence" (1996, 167). According to Fraser, pragmatic markers can be divided into four types, namely 'basic pragmatic markers', 'commentary pragmatic markers', 'parallel pragmatic markers' and 'discourse markers'. Although Fraser asserts that "pragmatic markers are not part of the propositional content of the sentence. They are separate and distinct" (1996, 168), he includes linguistic items that seem to retain their lexical – and thus propositional – meaning. Examples include vocatives (John, Mr. President, doctor, ladies and gentlemen etc., see sub-categories and examples in Fraser 1996, 185), which he refers to as parallel pragmatic markers, and phrases/clauses such as "I regret" in "I regret that he is still here", referred to as basic pragmatic markers (1996, 168). This, as Lenk points out, does not "display a difference between […] lexical meaning and pragmatic function" (1998, 45), which is a main criterion for other definitions of pragmatic markers (Lenk 1998, see Brinton 2017, 5–6).

While using 'pragmatic marker' as a very broad umbrella term, Fraser defines 'discourse marker' more narrowly as an "expression which signals the relationship of the basic message to the foregoing discourse" (1996, 186). From this definition and his examples, it seems that Fraser's discourse markers are initially positioned conjuncts, which are sub-divided into four categories, that is 'topic change markers', such as "speaking of" in (7); 'contrastive markers', such as *but* in (8); 'elaborative markers', such as "in other words" in (9); and 'inferential markers', such as "after all" in (10) (Fraser 1996, 186–188; Fraser's examples). Although this group is very exclusive with regard to syntactic position, only including initially positioned items, it is very inclusive with respect to meaning and function; Also here, items with their propositional meaning are included, and again Fraser appear to disregard key criteria commonly accepted by other researchers.

(7) **Speaking of Marsha**, where is she these days?

(8) A: We can go now, children. B: **But** we haven't finished our game yet.

(9) I think you should cool off a little. **In other words**, sit down and wait a little bit.

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(10) Mary went home. **After all**, she was sick.

This definition of discourse markers does, however, resemble other definitions, such as Schiffrin's widely quoted definition of a discourse marker as "sequentially dependent" elements which "bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1987, 31). When comparing different researchers'' definitions, it becomes clear that most of them are variations upon Shiffrin's, or at least include it as an aspect of their own; the markers or particles have a textual function, in some way signalling how an utterance is relevant to the prior discourse and conveying how the participants should understand the connections between utterances (Brinton 1996, 30–31).

As mentioned earlier, the term 'pragmatic marker' may be used for items that also have interpersonal functions, and pragmatic functions are often referred to as being either textual or interpersonal. Terminology and definitions vary also here, but there seem to be some agreement that there are at least these two types of functions (cf. Östman 1995, 99; Brinton 1996, 38). There is disagreement about whether these functions co-occur, that is whether the markers are limited to having one function at a time or are multifunctional (cf. Östman 1995 and Brinton 1996/2017).[2] Brinton argues that functions can be overlapping, and that this overlap should not be overlooked (1996, 35). For example, an item that marks its utterance as an objection to the previous utterance signals a contrastive connection between the utterances but may also preface a personal opinion or be a face-saving strategy signalling politeness, in other words have interpersonal functions. Something similar is the case in example (8), where *actually* marks a contrast to negative attributes (e.g. lack of smoothness and sweetness) in the previous discourse and introduces the speaker's personal opinion. In this example, *actually* also seem to indicate that the statement is a conclusion following a line of reasoning, as the utterance sums up the positive (good looks) and negative (unsympathetic traits) observations. Due to this possibility for overlap and multifunctionality, the term 'pragmatic' appears less restrictive than 'discourse' and is thus preferable.

(11) His face wasn't smooth like Loren's, though. There's where he had aged. […] He had Loren's blue eyes, but there was no sweetness in them, and Loren's dark brown ringlets, but they were cut close. Nicely cut. He was wearing fancy sneakers, too, and a light blue shirt with the sleeves rolled up. **Actually**, he looked good, but not like he was going to quickly ease any neighborhood suspicions. (ENPC-JSM1)

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[2] There is an ongoing discussion about multifunctionality, polysemy and homonymy with respect to pragmatic markers (cf. Östman 1995, 102; Aijmer and Vandenbergen 2009, 228–229), but this discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be reviewed further.

Furthermore, when speaking of 'discourse' and 'discourse markers', it is argued that a marker's scope must go beyond a clause or a sentence, and its function must be on discourse level, not only modifying an element within a clause (Brinton 2017, 8–10). In speaking of 'pragmatic markers', this limitation is not as apparent, and the term more easily includes functions other than textual ones. This does not, however, mean that the scope of pragmatic markers is limited to the clause or sentence; both interpersonal and textual functions per definition go beyond the clause, as interpersonal functions operate on the interpersonal level, and textual functions signal how the clause related to the previous discourse on the textual level.

When more narrowly defined and referring to specific functions, the same items may for example be called 'fillers', 'hesitation markers' or 'hedges' (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2009, 226). In many cases these groups of items are presented as sub-categories of a larger group of discourse/pragmatic markers/particles, describing a pragmatic marker in terms of a limited set of functions, sometimes corresponding to e.g. position or collocation with other pragmatic markers (cf. Lenk 1998 and Aijmer 2002). This thesis follows a similar path: I use 'pragmatic marker' as a general term for the items in order not to place unnecessary restrictions upon the items under discussion, and then in more specific terms identify and describe their individual functions. In the following section I advance further into the classification and categorisation of pragmatic markers and how to distinguish between propositional and pragmatic use of the items.

2.2.3 Identification and classification

As mentioned earlier, pragmatic markers are a large heterogenous group of items that formally belong to a number of different parts-of-speech, such as adverbs, adjectives, interjections etc., but have developed pragmatic functions and lost propositional meaning. Since a pragmatic marker usually has a propositional counterpart it may be difficult to distinguish between the two, and identifying a pragmatic marker often requires careful analysis of the context. Once identified, the classification of pragmatic markers and the categorisation of them according to function is no simple task, either. In an area of study as diverse as that of pragmatic markers it is difficult, if not impossible, to construct a system of classification that can account for every use of every item. As indicated in 2.1.1, Fraser (1988/96) has constructed such a system that may seem sufficiently detailed and exhaustive,

but the inconsistencies pointed out above, i.e. that he defines pragmatic markers as separate from the propositional content, but still includes items that retain their propositional meaning, not separating lexical meaning and pragmatic function, makes it difficult to make use of it when discussing pragmatic markers. System or no system, identification and classification is necessary for performing an analysis, and in the following paragraphs, different definitions and systems for classification will be reviewed and discussed.

Works such as Greenbaum (1969) and Quirk et al. (1985) are considered pillars in the British tradition of English linguistic research, and although these and other contemporary works do not mention the term 'pragmatic markers', they describe many of the same functions of the same items, only in terms of 'adverbs', 'adjuncts', 'subjuncts', 'disjuncts' and 'intensifiers'. For example, Greenbaum describes *actually* as a disjunct which "conveys explicitly the speaker's view that what he is saying is true" (1969, 141), but also adds that *actually* conveys surprise and can have an intensifying effect. The latter are functions which in later studies are described as functions of *actually* as a pragmatic marker (e.g. Aijmer 2002, 269–271).

Later and more specialized works discuss pragmatic markers as separate from their propositional counterparts and formal parts-of-speech, and Brinton has made an attempt to unify individual studies of pragmatic markers and find common characteristics, definitions and functions in their descriptions (2017, 2–11). She has made a list of definitions of pragmatic markers, and especially one definition seems to be repeated, although in variations. As mentioned in the previous section, the majority of the definitions listed resemble Schiffrin's, i.e. that a pragmatic marker has a discourse-organising or textual function and expresses how the utterance is related to the previous discourse. In addition to these textual functions, we find definitions including more interpersonal functions, such as expressing attitudes or establishing intimacy between participants. This division is also reflected in Brinton's list of functions of pragmatic markers, where the majority of functions listed are considered textual, and the rest interpersonal (Brinton 1996, 37–38; Brinton 2017, 11). The textual functions include marking boundaries in discourse, such as topic-shift, information structure or initiation or conclusion of discourse; indicating relevance or otherwise indicating how an utterance is related to the previous discourse; serving as floor-holder, filler or hesitation marker, or aiding the speaker to claim his turn; and making repairs, either in one's own or others' discourse. The interpersonal functions include expressing attitudes, evaluations or reactions towards the content of an utterance; back-channeling (i.e. giving feedback or

otherwise expressing support and understanding towards the speaker's utterance during his turn); expressing tentativeness to soften an utterance, perhaps as a politeness strategy or a face-saving strategy; and establishing intimacy between interlocutors, marking something shared or requesting confirmation.

This dual description of functions as either textual or interpersonal is also supported by Östman (104) and Schiffrin (1987, 322–326), who, although in somewhat different terms, both refer to two types of functions of pragmatic markers, one of which relates directly to the text itself, whereas the other relates to the interlocutors. Following their works and Brinton's descriptions of definitions and functions, I will classify uses of pragmatic markers as either textual or interpersonal, and further describe them in terms of their more specific function as for example marker of topic-shift, elaborative marker, expressing disbelief or as a back-channeling marker.

As we saw in the previous section, a key criterion for pragmatic markers is that the marker does not carry its full semantic or propositional meaning but has acquired a pragmatic meaning and/or a pragmatic function that is not encoded in the marker itself but arises via implicature. Section 2.1.1 explained that implicature is the speaker's intended meaning which is not explicitly expressed in the propositional content but must be derived from the context. The understanding of meaning, whether encoded or implied, and implicature in this thesis is somewhat simplified. One of the theories in this framework is Grice's take on meaning and implicature, and according to him, linguistic expressions which are non-truth conditional, such as the adverbs under investigation in this thesis, do not have an encoded meaning, but has a meaning which is agreed upon referred to as Conventional Implicature (Levinson 1983, 127–128). Similarly, Blakemore (1987, 141–144) speaks of a distinction between conceptual meaning, in which the concept (e.g. CAT) is encoded in the linguistic expression (*cat*), and procedural meaning, in which there is not a concept that is encoded in the expression but rather information about how the addressee should interpret the utterance (e.g. *however*). These theories and hypotheses about meaning could be discussed in greater detail, but such a discussion is beyond the purpose of this thesis. Instead, it has a simplified understanding of meaning, where propositional and semantic meaning is the meaning encoded in the expression according to its current original meaning as opposed to pragmatic meaning in which the expression has a textual or interpersonal function. Thus, 'textual pragmatic markers' may include adverbs that functions as conjuncts, such as *well* in (12), since the

original meaning does not include this function. The subordinating conjunction *when* in (13), however, is not included, as this function and the reference to time (paraphrased 'at the time') is included in its propositional meaning.

(12) He wasn't late. Well, not very late.

(13) He came rushing through the doors when the ceremony was about to start.

Deciding which uses and functions to consider pragmatic and which to consider propositional, and therefore not pragmatic, is not always straightforward. Section 2.2.1 discussed how pragmatic markers have been through a grammaticalisation process whereby they have lost their semantic meaning, gained a pragmatic function and often acquired new positions in the clause, having moved from the centre towards the periphery. Because this process takes place over time, individual occurrences of pragmatic markers are likely to fall somewhere in between 'fully propositional' and 'non-propositional', and they may be described as on a scale. Thus, some occurrences may still retain some propositional meaning while having a pragmatic function as well. In (14), *really* has fully retained its propositional meaning and does not have a pragmatic function, as it modifies "is" and can easily be paraphrased 'in reality'. *Really* in (15), on the other hand, is initially positioned, and does no longer simply denote 'in reality', modifying a single element, but rather functions as a textual marker of contrast to the preceding discourse, modifying the entire clause. In example (16), it is less clear-cut. Here, *really* is medially positioned and modifies "know", but the question is to what degree *really* retains its propositional meaning or has acquired a pragmatic function. Although it still refers to reality in terms of the degree to which something is true, *really* may in this context also have a softening function, downtoning the negative statement to lessen offence. Instead of labelling the occurrence as either propositional use or a pragmatic marker, it can be analysed and discussed as a case showing that *really* is developing.

(14) …Amis, so often supposed an enemy of Modernism, is **really** a modernist. (BNC-A05 1161)

(15) **Really**, what we needed to do was to read through… (BNC-F7E 451)

(16) She doesn't **really** know the theatres… (BNC-F7C 233)

The criteria for an item to be called a pragmatic marker is a) that it no longer fully retains its propositional meaning and b) that it has one or more pragmatic functions, and for each pragmatic marker we need to create categories of meanings and functions. The present study is interested in the adverbs *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really*. These four adverbs will be

presented and reviewed in 2.3 below, and hopefully, the analyses and categorisations will help reveal patterns that explain how the adverbs and pragmatic markers in question are translated.

2.2.4 Translation of pragmatic markers

Contrastive studies of pragmatic markers show that they are translated using a wide variety of forms, and that there generally is a high frequency of zero-correspondence, i.e. omission instead of translation (Johansson 2007, 296, 299; Hasselgård 2006, 109–110). Johansson and Løken (1997, 164–165) found that the Norwegian pragmatic markers *nok*, *vel*, *visst* and *sikkert* are more frequent in original texts than in translations, mostly due to a lack of equivalents, and also that they are translated using a much wider range of forms than suggested by bilingual dictionaries. Correspondences were found on different levels, not only in the form of an adverb, but also in form of a verb construction with modal auxiliaries or a clause, such as tag-questions. However, they found that the form depended on the translation direction; while adverbs were frequent in English translations from Norwegian, there was a higher frequency of verb constructions as correspondences in English original texts. They also found that while the discourse particles were often added in Norwegian translations where there was no obvious source, there was a high frequency of zero correspondence in English translations.

Some of the same findings are expected for this study. The hypothesis states that the corpus investigation is likely to show a high frequency of zero correspondence and a high degree of diversity among the correspondences. The main differences between the present study and that of Johansson and Løken is that the Norwegian adverbs *egentlig* and *faktisk* have a set of dictionary equivalents, while *nok* and *visst* does not. The existence of dictionary equivalents may lead to a more homogenous range of correspondences, but if the hypothesis is correct in that *egentlig* and *faktisk* have gained pragmatic functions, these occurrences are expected to ensure a high degree of diversity. Johansson and Løken found a wider range of correspondences than was suggested by bilingual dictionaries, and the same is expected here. I believe that this thesis will provide insight into both how *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* is translated and what meanings and functions the Norwegian adverbs can have, and that the findings at least could be used to improve the dictionary entries of *egentlig* and *faktisk*.

Section 2.1.2 mentioned that researchers have found some tendencies within translation, namely that translations are more explicit, simplified and conventional in terms of grammar and less marked and ambiguous than source texts. Whether this thesis will find supporting evidence of these tendencies in unclear. The analyses in chapter four will not, for example,

take into account grammar, but it is expected that the adverbs under investigation will be translated with several different forms and constructions, and to some degree such tendencies may correspond to a kind of explicitation. For instance, if a marker with the function of expressing surprise is translated with surprisingly, this may be considered making the expression explicit. It is not, however, expected that the findings in this thesis will reveal major patterns in which supports these hypotheses.

2.3 The selected token and their features

This is a study of how certain adverbs and pragmatic markers, specifically *egentlig, faktisk*, *actually* and *really*, are translated between Norwegian and English. This thesis preforms an analysis of these adverbs and markers in context, and classifies and categorises them according to their meaning and function. To do so, it is necessary to review each of them and establish a more general, primary description in light of previous research. The following paragraphs give an account of each of the adverbs in question based on literature and previous studies, with some examples taken from either the literature or the ENPC. Because there is little literature on *egentlig* and *faktisk*, I review *actually* and *really* first.

Earlier studies have already established that *actually* and *really* can have pragmatic functions, and thus may be considered pragmatic markers. In the case of *egentlig* and *faktisk*, however, such use and functions have not been discussed and established, and one of the aims of this study (cf. RQ1 in chapter 1) is to show that they indeed may be considered pragmatic markers. Therefore, this chapter only describes *egentlig* and *faktisk* in general terms based on dictionaries, while chapter 4 provides a more detailed analysis in answer to RQ1. The accounts of *actually* in 2.3.1 and *really* in 2.3.2 discuss different classifications and categorisations of the adverbs, and section 2.3.5 gives a summary of the classification and categorisation that is used in this thesis, and an overview of the pragmatic functions that previous studies have identified.

There are many aspects of the adverbs that are interesting for a study within pragmatics, and since pragmatic markers are mainly an oral phenomenon, prosody is of particular interest. However, as this study is based on written translations, prosody is beyond the scope of this thesis and will not be considered here. This restriction limits the study to some degree since analysis and interpretation based on prosody is impossible. Still, it is evident that pragmatic

markers do occur in written texts, and the lack of prosody and possibility of prosodic analysis does not make a study of such occurrences irrelevant. The occurrences of pragmatic markers are subject to the translation process, and this thesis studies them within the restrictions of the medium.

2.3.1 *Actually*

Actually has been thoroughly studied and described both as an adverb and as a pragmatic marker, although with varying terminology and manner of classification. It has a wide variety of meanings and functions, which have been described using different criteria for classification and different terms for more or less the same functions. I attempt to unify at least some of these descriptions in the paragraphs below.

Actually is formally an adverb which in propositional use can be paraphrased "in (actual) fact" or "as a matter of fact". In its propositional meaning, *actually* denotes what is a part of reality, as opposed to what is believed, precepted or previously supposed, and it is used to point out a discrepancy between these two points of view (Quirk et al. 1985, 621; Aijmer 2002, 252). Quirk et al.'s (1985) description does not mention any distinction between propositional use and other uses, and it is challenging to merge their description of *actually* with an understanding of the adverb that presumes a distinction between propositional use and pragmatic use. Comparing Quirk et al. (1985) and their earlier work Quirk et al. (1972), it appears that their descriptions of *actually* allows the adverb to have any position in the sentence. However, since pragmatic function and peripheral position in the sentence have been found to correlate, only occurrences of *actually* in a medial position are likely to be considered propositional in this study. In other words, *actually* in this use, denoting reality in contrast to what is believed, is medially positioned, retains its propositional/semantic meaning and has scope over a single element. This is the case in (17), where *actually* has scope over "is […] due to", emphasising the explicit contrast between what appears to be reality (the natural appearances) and reality proper (human intervention).

> (17) Although heathlands may look natural, their appearance is **actually** due to generations of tree clearance by man. (ENPC-SUG1)

Actually in (17) is an example of what Quirk et al. (1985, 621) refer to as a content disjunct. They define such use of *actually*, along with *really*, as truth-evaluating, emphasising the reality of the statement. Quirk et al.'s content disjunct seems to correspond to what

Greenbaum (1969) refers to as an 'attitudinal disjunct'. Greenbaum and Quirk et al. also describe another function of *actually*, as an adjunct intensifier (Greenbaum 1969, ??) or emphasiser (Quirk et al. 1985, 583),[3] separate from the disjunct function. The two functions are, however, similar, as also the intensifier/emphasiser *actually* is described as having "a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the clause" (1985, 853). Quirk et al. exemplify this function using *really*, providing *actually* as a (partial) synonym (1985, 853; examples adapted):

(18) He **really/actually** may have injured innocent people

(19) He may **really/actually** have injured innocent people

(20) He may have **really/actually** injured innocent people

Here, Quirk et al. claim, *actually* and *really* are emphasisers that reinforce the truth-value, in that (18) it is **really/actually** possible that he…; (19) it is possible that it is **really/actually** true that he…; and (20) it is possible that he **really/actually** injured… Separating this function/meaning completely from the disjunct function, however, may prove difficult. Comparing these examples with (21) below, and comparing (21) to the example of *actually* as a disjunct in (17), the main difference seems to lie in the context: In (21), the added context provides a contrast for *actually* to point to, which gives *actually* the disjunct function described above, indicating a discrepancy between perception (harmlessness) and reality (ability to injure), and emphasising the degree of truth (my example).

(21) He seems so friendly and harmless, but he may **actually** have injured innocent people.

Greenbaum's intensifying and Quirk et al.'s emphasising functions seem to be overlapping, which, together with their description of *actually* as a disjunct, suggests that despite the difference in terms, Greenbaum and Quirk et al. do agree on the meaning and function of *actually*. These two accounts, where *actually* is an adverbial intensifier or emphasiser in addition to a content or attitudinal disjunct, constitute the basis for many later studies and descriptions of *actually*. In these studies, however, the concept of pragmatic markers appears, which distinguishes propositional use from pragmatic function.

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[3] Quirk et al. (1985) refers to the emphasising use of *actually* as a 'subjunct'. This grouping of adverbials, however, is considered adjuncts in their earlier work, Quirk et al. (1972), and it is left out of later works based on Quirk et al. (1985) because the category is unclear and imprecise. Thus, it is also left out of this thesis, but as the function is relevant, it is referred to as an emphasising function.

Aijmer has performed two studies describing the different uses, meanings and functions of *actually*. In both, she divides uses of *actually* into two main classes which are based on the position of *actually* in the clause or sentence. Aijmer (1986) describes *actually* 1) as an adjunct in medial position which functions as an emphasiser, reinforcing truth value, and 2) as a peripherally positioned disjunct with both textual and interpersonal functions, such as marking elaboration, correction or surprise, or establishing intimacy and softening an otherwise abrupt statement. Here, the emphasising adjunct seems to correspond to Greenbaum's (1969) adjunct intensifier and Quirk et al.'s (1985) emphasiser, while the peripheral disjunct corresponds to their attitudinal or content disjuncts in initial position. However, Aijmer's description of the disjunct functions are the same as the ones she later describes as functions of *actually* as a discourse particle. In Aijmer (2002), she describes *actually* as an intensifying or emphasising adverb with functions corresponding to those of her previous adjunct, and as a discourse particle with functions corresponding to those of her previous disjunct. Similarly, Lenk (1998) argues that *actually* in propositional use is best classified as an intensifier, while there are uses of *actually* that qualify as discourse marker, functioning as either an opinion marker, a topic-shift marker or a marker of objection.

Common for all of these descriptions of *actually* is that, in propositional use, *actually* comments on the degree of truth – whether truth-evaluating or truth-emphasising – of the utterance it modifies, such as in (17), where *actually* emphasises the contrast between the natural appearances and human intervention. Both Quirk et al.'s disjunct and their emphasiser are examples of propositional use; the emphasising effect, whether or not an explicit contrast is involved, is an integral part of the semantic meaning of *actually*, and in these cases, *actually* does not necessarily have any pragmatic function, which, as discussed in section 2.2.3, is a requirement for the classification as a pragmatic marker. I argue that, due to the similarities described above, it is unnecessary to treat them separately. This seems to be the conclusion drawn by Aijmer and Lenk, as well; while Greenbaum and Quirk et al. divide *actually* in propositional use into two groups, Aijmer and Lenk only distinguish between propositional use and the discourse particle/marker.

It has been argued that *actually* can express some degree of surprise or disbelief (Greenbaum 1969, ???; Lenk 1998, 158). In (22) below, *actually* underlines the utterance's link to reality and points to the discrepancy between thirty years lived and a lack of accomplishments, but there is no sense of surprise in the statement. In (23), *actually* also links the utterance to

reality, but here it may also express a degree of disbelief – either towards being "on the verge" or of the subject almost "saying, 'It's all right, it's OK, don't worry!'" In (24), the expression of disbelief is more prominent.

(22) Thirty – and what has he **actually** achieved, where has he got to? (ENPC-ABR1)

(23) She found herself **actually** on the verge of saying, "It's all right, it's OK, don't worry!" (ENPC-DL2)

(24) "Isn't it beautiful?" he asked. "I think it's the most beautiful place in the world. […] Give me this any time." I stared out from the creek bed. It was so flat. […] It struck me as novel to think of somebody **actually** loving Kansas. (ENPC-TH1)

The function of expressing surprise or disbelief has largely been attributed to *actually* used propositionally. In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD; s.v. "actually"), *actually* is described, among other things, as pointing out a contrast between what is believed and the truth and expressing surprise at said contrast. Similarly, Greenbaum includes the expression of surprise in his description of *actually* as a disjunct (1969, 142). Lenk (1998) refers to the *Collins-COBUILD Dictionary*, which has described *actually* as truth-emphasising and expressing surprise but maintains that although the dictionary has labelled this use 'pragmatic', it does not fit with Lenk's definition of a discourse marker. Thus, Lenk includes the expression of surprise in the propositional use of *actually*, but also claims that this function is not as common as one would assume based on the dictionary definition (1998, 157). Lenk (1998) and the other studies mentioned seem to agree that used propositionally, *actually* has a truth-evaluating or truth-emphasising function, which is semantically encoded and thus propositional (cf. Quirk et al. 1985, 583, 621; Aijmer 1986, 122; Tognini-Bonelli 1993, 206–207; Lenk 1998, 157). With that definition mind, I argue that the expression of surprise or disbelief is not encoded in *actually*, as it is in e.g. *surprisingly*, and that expressing surprise or disbelief instead is a pragmatic function on the interpersonal level. In (24), the use of *actually* does not only imply a contrast between not loving and loving, emphasising that somebody does love Kansas, but also suggests that the speaker does not, commenting on the speaker's attitude towards both Kansas itself and the other person's preferences.

Actually can also have other interpersonal functions, such as softening a statement to minimize offence; establishing intimacy or common ground; or prefacing face-threatening moves (Aijmer 1986, 125–128; Tognini-Bonelli 1993, 208–209; Aijmer 2002, 268–269). The textual functions of *actually* inform the hearer about how the utterance is related to the

preceding discourse (cf. section 2.2.2 above): whether the relationship is contrastive, where the speaker's utterance contradicts the previous utterance in correction or self-repair (Aijmer 1986), or elaborative, where the speaker uses *actually* to preface a personal opinion (Tognini-Bonelli 1993, 205; Lenk 1998, 160), elaborate on a topic or to clarify something (Aijmer 1986, 123–126; Aijmer 2002, 266, 270–271). *Actually* can also serve as a floor-holder or filler (Aijmer 2002, 259; Aijmer 1986, 127) or introduce a shift in (an aspect of the) topic (Lenk 1998, 174; Aijmer 2002). Here are some examples of these function from the studies mentioned:

Table 2.1: Examples of uses and functions of *actually* adapted from Aijmer (1986), Lenk (1998) and Aijmer (2002)

Softening statement	**Actually**, in a way I suppose perhaps it's a good thing for us and everybody else in Europe (Aijmer 2002, 273)
Establishing intimacy	No, I don't think I was determined to get married, **actually** (Aijmer 1986, 127)
Prefacing face-threatening moves	**Actually**, I hardly like to say this in view of your rude remarks, but could you give me another recommendation (Aijmer 2002, 268)
Marking correction or objection	So I went to the School of Applied Linguistics in Winchester. **Actually**, I applied to the British Council and failed to get in (Aijmer 2002, 265–266)
Prefaceing personal opinion	He had an interesting command of the English language, […] so he was **actually** a lot of fun to talk to (Lenk 1998, 183)
Marking topic-shift	A: I think it's a snotty place, the Academy B: Oh from the point of view of non-smoking I find it marvellous. **Actually**, they've got a film on now that was on at the festival (Lenk 1998, 179–180)
Marking elaboration	We had five courses. **Actually**, I'm quite sure there was bits of cheese as well (Aijmer 2002, 252–253)

As mentioned earlier, previous studies have found that a peripheral position in the sentence is one of the main characteristics of pragmatic markers. This is also true for *actually*, which is extremely flexible in terms of position (Aijmer 1986, 121, Clift 2001, 247). The markers can hold many different positions in a sentence, but they are often narrowed down to four or five positions. In the sentence below, every possible position of *actually* is marked with a square symbol and given a number (example adapted from Aijmer 1986):

(25) □ it □ was □ not □ as fun, □, as □ it □ could □ have □ been, □

    1   2   3   4   5 6 7   8   9   10

In simple terms, positions of pragmatic markers are described as either initial, as in (26 i), medial, as in (ii), final, as in (iii) or parenthetical, as in (iv). In (25) above, initial position corresponds to position 1, final to 10 and parenthetical to 5, while medial position includes positions 2–4 and 6–9. This may be somewhat simplified, and many other terms are used to specify the different positions.[4] In addition to 'initial', 'medial' and 'final', Aijmer (2002) describes the position of *actually* as 'clause-final' and 'post-head'. Clause-final position is a mid-sentence occurrence that succeeds a main clause or a relative clause in complex sentences, such as in (26 iv) below. Post-head position corresponds to position 5 in (25), as *actually* in this position follows the focalised item ('head') of the sentence, *fun*. Together, clause-final and post-head position seem to correspond to parenthetical position.

(26)
    i. **Actually** we'll be lucky if there's any dinner at all (ENPC-FW1, adapted below)
    ii. We'll **actually** be lucky if there's any dinner at all
    iii. We'll be lucky if there's any dinner at all, **actually**
    iv. We'll be lucky, **actually**, if there's any dinner at all

According to the studies mentioned here, there is a correlation between the position of *actually* in the sentence and its meaning and function. For example, Aijmer (2002, 257–258) attributes the propositional meanings to *actually* in medial position, while the contrastive or elaborative functions occur with *actually* in initial position and softening and establishing of intimacy and common ground with *actually* in final position. The claim that there is a correlation between position and function/meaning will be discussed further in the analysis and discussion in chapter 4. The present section has reviewed *actually* in light of previous studies, and chapter 3 gives an outline of how *actually* and the other adverbs have been classified and categorised for the purpose of this study.

2.3.2 *Really*

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD), *really* is an adverb denoting reality as opposed to what is said or believed to be true, and can also function as an emphasiser, either emphasising that the speaker's utterance is true or as an emphasiser of an adjective or adverb. This description corresponds well to the one in Quirk et al. (1985, 620–621, 586), where *really* is described as a truth-evaluating content disjunct, as in (27 i), that

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[4] Some refer to the positions as Initial, initial Medial, Medial, medial Medial, end Medial, initial End and End (see Quirk et al. 1985, 490ff).

can also function as a truth-emphasiser, as in (ii), or an emphasiser or intensifier of gradable objects, as in (iii).

(27)
     i. It is **really** a house more than a cabin
     ii. It **really** is a house more than a cabin
     iii. This cabin is **really** luxurious.

These examples are of *really* in propositional use, but it is not necessarily easy to distinguish between *really* in propositional use and *really* with pragmatic functions. Stenström (1986) refers to Quirk et al.'s (1972) account of *really* and claims that *really* is 1) a medially positioned intensifier and 2) an 'evaluater' in peripheral position that conveys the speaker's attitude towards the entire utterance, not just modifying a sentence element. If by "attitude" it is meant the speaker's evaluation of the content and the degree to which it is true, this account of *really* agrees, at least in part, with that in Quirk et al. (1985), and is a description of *really* in propositional use. However, if the attitude in question goes beyond the mere content and degree of truth or reality, which is encoded in *really* itself, I argue that *really* has a pragmatic function, and thus is a pragmatic marker. That the evaluating *really* only appears in peripheral positions, does not necessarily agree with Quirk et al.'s (1985) description of the truth-evaluating disjunct *really*, and because peripheral position and pragmatic function has been found to correlate, it is likely that such occurrences will have pragmatic functions and can thus be considered pragmatic markers.

Quirk et al.'s (1972) description of *really* as an intensifier shows how the adverb has different meanings in different positions. In (28 i) and (ii), *really* is an intensifier of the adjective "surprising" and tells us to which degree "the question" is surprising. This use stands out from the others in that *really* here modifies an adjective. Since *really* as a modifier of adjectives is not interesting for the present study, such uses are irrelevant and will not be discussed further. In (iii) through (v), *really* has moved away from "surprising", and rather modifies "is"; *really* functions as an emphasiser of the degree of truth, telling us that it is true that "this question is surprising". *Really* in example (iv) could, depending on the context, function as truth-evaluating disjunct, as *really* may point to the reality of the question being surprising as opposed to expected. Examples (vi) and (vii) shows *really* in peripheral positions – initial and final – and here, *really* has moved even further away from surprising, now modifying the entire clause rather than a verb phrase. Quirk et al. (1985) claim that disjuncts, presumably *really* included, generally can occur in initial position, while, as we saw regarding *actually*,

later studies of pragmatic markers have argued that the movement of these adverbs corresponds to a movement of meaning and their gaining pragmatic functions. I argue that *really* in (iv) is a disjunct, and the same argument may apply to initial *really* in (vi) – and perhaps final *really* in (vii) – as well. However, it is also likely that initial and final *really* has some other function, either textual or interpersonal, which would then allow for a classification of *really* as a pragmatic marker.

(28)
  i. This question is **really** surprising
  ii. This is a **really** surprising question
  iii. This question **really** is surprising
  iv. This is **really** a surprising question
  v. This **really** is a surprising question
  vi. **Really**, this is a surprising question
  vii. This is a surprising question, **really**

According to Stenström (1986) *really* has been found to function as a 'planner' – a filler that allows the speaker to (re-)formulate his statement – and be used in interaction as a 're-opener' and 'continuer' (1986, 150). All of these functions are oral phenomena and are not an integral part of the semantic meaning of *really*. As a planner, *really* functions as a hesitation marker, used in pauses or for making a break in discourse that allows for reformulation, and can co-occur with similar markers, such as *ehm* or *well*. As a re-opener or continuer, however, *really* occurs separately, not within or as a part of a clause, and functions as a back-channeling device (Stenström 1986, 160–161; Watts 1988, 252) Using *really* as a re-opener, the speaker expresses surprise or disbelief, and urges the other interlocutor to confirm or elaborate on what he just said, as in (29) below. As a continuer, *really* is not as emphatic as the re-opener, and only urges the other interlocutor to continue speaking, as in (30). All of these functions are textual, as they help organising discourse by eliciting responses and allowing the speaker to formulate his utterance, but they may also have interpersonal functions; this is especially true for *really* as a re-opener, which conveys the speaker's reaction to the interlocutor's utterance, such as expressing surprise (Stenström 1986, 160–161).

(29) A: He told me he is going to France tomorrow. Did you know about that?
  B: **Really**? I had no idea.

(30) A: He is going to France for a conference tomorrow.
  B: **Really**?
  A: Yes, his company is building a software, and they're presenting it to potential buyers.

Stenström (1986) also describes *really* in final or parenthetical position, and these uses of *really* occur in written as well as spoken material. (Stenström 1986, 156–159).

Really is in many cases considered synonymous with *actually*. Not as much research has been performed on *really* as on *actually*, but in most sources where *really* is mentioned it is described as being similar to *actually* in both meaning and function and the two are thus often thought of as interchangeable (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985, Watts 1988, Aijmer 2002, Stenström 1986). This is, however, not the case, according to Grey (2012). He points out more or less subtle differences in meaning and function where the adverbs at first glance may seem completely synonymous. For example, he finds that *really* and *actually* have different functions in preverbal position, such as in (31) and (32) below, as *really* in this position mainly has an intensifying effect, while *actually* rather functions as an opinion marker (Grey 2012, 160–162, 164–165, his examples). The degree of interchangeability between *really* and *actually* is interesting for this study, and based on Grey's findings, it is expected that we will find a diversity in meanings and functions between the two adverbs, and that this also will show in translations.

(31) but I **really** think that they should be doing that
(32) because I **actually** think we need to open up our democracy

This difference is also noted by Quirk et al. (1985, 621, 583, 586–587). Together with *actually*, they describe *really* as a truth-evaluating content disjunct referencing to 'reality' or the lack thereof, and as an emphasiser that reinforces the truth value of the utterance. In addition to these two descriptions, Quirk et al. (1985, 595) also describe *really* as functioning as an intensifier, distinguishing emphasisers from intensifiers claiming that intensifiers denote degree as opposed to force. Using the same examples as we saw in the previous section, Quirk et al. show that while *actually* only claims something as either true or not through emphasis, as in (33 i), *really* can also say something about the degree to which something is true through intensification, as in (33 ii) (1985, 853; examples adapted):

(33) He may have **really/actually** injured innocent people
   i.   I It is possible that he **really/actually/truly** injured innocent people.
   ii.   II It is possible that he **really/seriously/severely** injured innocent people.

This discussion on *really* in literature and previous research shows that the item is an adverb that can have pragmatic functions and thus be referred to as a pragmatic marker. The different

meanings and functions of *really*, and their translation, will be discussed further in chapter 4 as the material from the ENPC is analysed.

2.3.3 *Egentlig*

There are no studies to be found on *egentlig*, and very few definitions to work from. Table 2.2 below presents definitions and meanings of *egentlig* from three dictionaries, i.e. *Engelsk Stor Ordbok* (ESO), *Den Store Norske Bokmålsordboka* (DSNB) and *Den Danske Ordbog* (DDO, accessed).[5]

Table 2.2: Definitions of *egentlig* in three dictionaries.

	Engelsk Stor Ordbok	*Den Store Norske Bokmålsordboka*	*Den Danske Ordbog*
Definition #1	'i virkeligheten' – really, actually, in reality, exactly, in actual fact	'i virkeligheten'	'i virkeligheden'
Definition #2	'opprinnelig' – originally, in origin, really		Of a certain origin or of a basic nature*
Definition #3		'strengt tatt'	
Definition #4		'bestemt' or 'nøyaktig'	
Definition #5		"ikke egentlig", "det er egentlig ikke overraskende"	
Definition #6			Used for downtoning a point of view or making an admission*

*my translation

Egentlig as an adverb has two definitions in ESO[6]: meaning 'i virkeligheten ('in reality'), as in (34), and 'opprinnelig' ('originally'), as in (35), (*Engelsk Stor Ordbok*, s.v. "egentlig"; their examples). Definition #1 seems to be the main meaning of *egentlig* since it is listed as the first definition of *egentlig* in all three dictionaries. Definition #2 also occur in DDO, where it is listed as a sub-definition of Definition #1 (*Den Danske Ordbog*, s.v. "egentlig"). Although they may seem distinct both in meaning and use, as Definition #2 refers to 'origin' instead of 'reality', they are very similar. In both of these definitions and their examples below, *egentlig* refers to the reality as opposed something that is believed, assumed or precepted: in (34), the

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[5] My translation from Danish, from <http://ordnet.dk/ddo/ordbog?select=egentlig,2&query=egentlig> accessed 20.03.18.
[6] All the English translations of the individual meanings of *egentlig* are my translations.

speaker states that although she may seem to like the person to whom she refers the reality is that she cannot stand her, while in (35), the reality that the speaker's neighbour is from Spain is contrasted to the assumption that he is from somewhere else, perhaps where he lives.

(34) **Egentlig** kan jeg ikke fordra henne
('In actual fact, I can't stand her')

(35) Naboen min er **egentlig** fra Spania
('My neighbour is from Spain originally')

DSNB lists four meanings or uses of *egentlig*. The first corresponds to Definition #1 as illustrated in (34) above, meaning 'i virkeligheten' ('in reality'), while none of the remaining three definitions resemble Definition #2 as illustrated in (35), 'opprinnelig' ('originally'). Instead, DSNB lists three other meaning, which are referred to as Definition #3, #4 and #5 in the table. Definition #3, 'strengt tatt' ('strictly speaking'), is illustrated in (36) below, and Definition #4, 'bestemt' or 'nøyaktig' ('precisely'), is illustrated in (37). The fourth listing of *egentlig* in the dictionary, Definition #5, does not give a meaning but two examples of uses, in (38): "ikke egentlig" ('not really') and "det er egentlig ikke overraskende" ('it is not really surprising') (*Den Store Norske Bokmålsordboka,* s.v. "egentlig"; their examples, my translations).

(36) Du skulle **egentlig** ha spurt meg først
('You should, strictly speaking, have asked me first')

(37) Jeg vet ikke **egentlig** hva som skjedde
('I don't know precisely what happened')

(38) Ikke **egentlig**; det er **egentlig** ikke overraskende
('Not really'; 'it is not really surprising')

It difficult to understand exactly what these three definitions mean, how they are distinct from the other definitions and in what contexts each of them is used. Definition #1 and #2 both denote a discrepancy between reality and a counterpart, and this is also the case in (36), where the reality that the addressee should have asked the speaker first is contrasted with the fact that he did not. In (37) and (38) this discrepancy is less defined. For example, the speaker in (37) could be referring to a discrepancy between knowing what happened and guessing, but I argue that *egentlig* in that case would need to be stressed, and that *egentlig* may as well be unstressed in this example. These examples show that *egentlig* can have a wide variety of

meanings, although *egentlig* in its original meaning seems to denote reality in contrast to what is believed, assumed or precepted.

In DDO, *egentlig* is also described as used to soften a personal opinion or for making an admission, a use which occurs especially in spoken language:

(39) Det er **egentlig** synd
    ('It is * a shame', 'It's a shame, really')

This entry, along with the wide variety of meanings presented above, suggest that *egentlig* can have functions and meanings that diverge from its original and propositional meaning. One of the aims of this thesis is to establish whether *egentlig* has pragmatic properties, and this will be discussed further in chapter 4.

2.3.4 *Faktisk*

As with *egentlig*, not much is written about *faktisk* beyond a few entries in dictionaries. According to ESO, *faktisk* is synonymous with *virkelig* ('really'), English equivalents being *actually, in fact* and *as a matter of fact* (*Engelsk Stor Ordbok*, s.v. "faktisk"). In DSNB, *faktisk* is defined as a modifying adverb which can be paraphrased "sant å si" ('truth be told'), and (40) below is given as an example (*Den Store Norske Bokmålsordboka*, s.v. "faktisk"; their example, my translation).

(40) Jeg vet **faktisk** ikke
    ('I know * not', 'I really don't know')

In the DSNB, *virkelig* is listed with two meanings/functions where, and *faktisk* is given as a synonym: 1) denoting that something exists or is true and 2) having an emphasising or amplifying function. This is also reflected in the etymology of *faktisk* and its English cognate *fact*. *Faktisk* originates from the Latin word *factum* ('deed' or 'action'), which in post-classical Latin was used to denote something that has happened or is true. English descendants from *factum* is *fact – in fact*, *the fact is*, *as a matter of fact* – which is used to confirm that something is known to be real or true and emphasise truth value *(Norsk Etymologisk Ordbok,* s.v. "faktum"; *Oxford English Dictionary online,* s.v. "fact").

DDO claims that *faktisk* as an adverb is used to state that something is true, sometimes in contrast to what is believed or expected to be true. Based on the definitions of its equivalents

in both Norwegian and English it seems *faktisk* has two main meanings or functions: 1) denoting that something is true as opposed to what is believed or expected, and 2) emphasising that something is true with no contrast to an opposing point of view. The definition, use and function of *faktisk* is discussed further in section 4.1.2, where I argue that *faktisk* can have pragmatic functions in addition to those in propositional use.

2.3.5 Summary: classification and categorisation

The accounts of *actually* and *really* above discuss the classification and categorisation of the adverbs based on several different works and studies. This thesis does not adhere completely to any of the descriptions above but has instead defined *actually* and *really* based on several definitions from dictionaries and previous studies. The summary in the following paragraphs presents the definitions that will be used in this study, and also provides an overview of the pragmatic functions that previous studies have attributed to *actually* and *really* respectively.

The adverb *actually* in propositional use is 1) a disjunct that comments upon degree of truth by denoting reality in contrast to what is believed or previously known or thought to be true; and 2) an emphasiser of truth value, emphasising that what the speaker says is true. *Actually* is also used in other contexts, where it does not refer to reality, but rather have other, pragmatic functions. These functions can be textual functions on the textual level or interpersonal functions on the interpersonal level:

Table 2.3: Pragmatic functions of *actually*.

Textual functions	Interpersonal functions
Topic-shift marker	Expressing surprise or disbelief
Opinion marker	Establishing intimacy
Marker of correction	Softening
Marker of self-repair	Prefacing a face-threatening move
Marker of objection	
Marking an elaboration	
Marking a clarification	

The adverb *really* in propositional use is 1) a disjunct that comments on the degree of truth by denoting reality in contrast to what is known, thought or believed to be true; 2) an emphasiser of truth-value, emphasising that what the speaker says is true; and 3) an intensifier of a gradable object that states the degree to which something is true. *Really* also has pragmatic functions on both the textual and the interpersonal level:

Table 2.4: Pragmatic functions of *really*.

Textual functions	Interpersonal functions
Re-opener	Expressing surprise or disbelief
Continuer	
Planner	

Distinguishing between textual and interpersonal functions is not necessarily easy, and a pragmatic marker's multifunctionality allows a function to contain elements of both levels. It is conceivable that *actually* marking an elaboration, which is a textual function, also establishes intimacy, which is an interpersonal function. Thus, it is important to keep in mind that these categorisations are not clear-cut, and that it is necessary to consider the context of each use to establish its function.

Egentlig in its original meaning denotes reality in contrast to what is believed, assumed or precepted. *Faktisk* has two main meanings or functions: 1) denoting that something is true as opposed to what is believed or expected, and 2) emphasising that something is true with no contrast to an opposing point of view. These definitions are similar to those of *actually* and *really*, and all four adverbs points a contrast between reality or truth and what is believed to be reality or believed to be true. This section has provided a summary of the different meaning and functions of *actually* and *really*. The different functions of *egentlig* and *faktisk* are discussed further in chapter 4, where I answer RQ1 and establish that the two adverbs can have pragmatic functions. Section 4.1.3 provides a similar summary of *egentlig* and *faktisk*, and both summaries serves as an overview and basis for comparison before the analysis and discussion of the adverbs' translation in section 4.3.

3   Method and material

This study is a corpus-based contrastive analysis of Norwegian and English with respect to the meaning and function of Norwegian *egentlig* and *faktisk* and English *actually* and *really* in translation between the two languages. The material is corpus data from the *English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC), which will be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively in order to answer this thesis' research questions. In addition to data from the ENPC, I will use examples extracted from *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa) for analysis of the function of the Norwegian adverbs. NoTa is not used to the same extent as the ENPC and is not considered a part of the material for the study. The corpus is nevertheless an important source of data for one of the four research questions, and although it is not presented in the same manner as the ENPC, the section on data analysis gives an account of how the data from NoTa are extracted and analysed.

The following chapter will present the material and the methods used for handling it. Section 3.1 will give an account of the approach known as Contrastive Analysis, which forms the basis for the analysis in chapter 4. Section 3.2 will give an account of the corpus and corpus data used for this study and discuss the choice of corpus and the importance of corpus design. Section 3.3 will present the manner in which the data has been handled and give an outline for the analysis and discussion of the data.

3.1   Contrastive Analysis

Contrastive Analysis is an approach in cross-linguistic research where two or more language varieties are compared and contrasted, usually with respect to one or more specific features or aspects of language, to reveal differences and similarities (Johansson 2007, 1). Such an analysis can be performed on different levels of language, such as phonology, morphology, lexis, syntax or pragmatics, and can be either theoretical or applied in purpose. For example, contrastive analyses of learner language have contributed to the field of language acquisition by pointing out differences and problematic aspects of the languages involved that may cause difficulties in the learning process (see e.g. Johansson 1998). Similarly, contrastive analyses can have an applied purpose in translation studies, highlighting problems and offering solutions to aid in the translation process (see e.g. Johansson 2006 on the translation of *well*). Contrastive analyses of lexis can be based on cognates (see e.g. Hasselgård 2006 on *now* and

nå), which constitute a good basis for both comparison and the discovery of interesting differences in meaning and function. However, an analysis can also be based on equivalents, as is the case here, and although there might be more obvious and less interesting differences at first glance, it is interesting to explore how different equivalents are used in similar or different contexts and with similar or different meanings and functions. The present study compares Norwegian and English on the level of both semantics and pragmatics, i.e. how and to what degree *egentlig* and *faktisk* correspond to *actually* or *really* – and vice versa – with respect to both semantic and pragmatic meaning.

Contrastive Analysis has been popular among linguists since the 1950s, and over the last decades, the approach has been combined with corpus linguistics in cross-linguistic research, using corpora as source for material (see Ebeling and Ebeling 2013; Johansson 1998). Computerised corpora have had an enormous influence on the field of research, making huge amounts of data easily available and ready for use in linguistic studies. To compare languages, we need material of the languages to compare, and relevant corpora often serve as an ideal source of the material needed. As mentioned above, the later technological development with computerised corpora has brought many advantages to the field of study and has opened up for many different solutions and approaches to linguistic studies. A contrastive analysis, for instance, can be performed based on material from different but comparable corpora, or from multilingual corpora where the material either comprises translations or comparable texts. There are, however, some potential pitfalls to avoid in order to get valid results and findings. For example, if it turns out that the majority of the data in a study comes from the same source, the results may apply mainly to that source and not be as generalisable as it would be if the data came from many different sources. To ensure valid results, it is important to consider what type of corpus and corpus design that best suits the research questions and aims of the study. In the following section, I discuss corpus design and the choice of corpus for this study, before presenting the corpus in questions – the *English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC) – in more detail.

3.2 Material: corpus data

3.2.1 Corpus design and choice of corpus

Different studies require different types of corpora, and the corpus design is important to
consider in making sure of the validity of the results. Some corpora, known as sample
corpora, are finite, containing texts from within a limited period of time, while others, known
as monitor corpora, are continually expanded to include texts of a newer date. For the present
study, sample corpora are the most interesting. Such a corpus should be balanced, i.e. the
relative size of its subsections should reflect the population sampled; representative, i.e. the
selection of text types should reflect that of the language in question; and comparable, i.e. that
the manner of sampling and content should be equal to that of another corpus if used to
compare across corpora (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 8–9). Monitor corpora, as the name
suggests, are brilliant for monitoring language and its development over time, and one of the
advantages of a monitor corpus is its size as it continues to grow. However, the continuous
supplementation of data can skew the balance of the material, and although any imbalance is
likely to even out in the long run, there is no guarantee of the balance and representativeness
of the corpus at the time of material sampling (McEnery and Hardie 2012, 6–7). Using a
sample corpus, where balance and representativeness are more easily controlled for, is one
way of ensuring the validity of the results. Balance, representativeness and comparability are
dependent on the size of the corpus and the text selection made. Another factor that affects
validity is annotation, such as parsing and POS-tagging, which can influence the precision
and recall, i.e. the data retrieved are relevant, and do not contain false positives due to
erroneous annotation. The perfectly balanced, representative, comparable and annotated
corpus does likely not exist, and there are always variables relating to the corpus design that
need to be considered and taken into account during the research process (pp. 10-11; Ball
1994, 295–296). With regard to the present study, these matters will be discussed further in
3.3 below.

3.2.2 *The English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus*

In cross-linguistic corpus research, two main types of corpora are used: translation corpora and comparable corpora. While comparable corpora consist of original texts in different languages sampled across common criteria, translation corpora consist of original texts and their translation in two or more languages on the basis of translation equivalence as a tertium comparationis. *The English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC) can be said to be both since it is bi-directional, allowing the researchers to compare originals and translations in both directions, and also compare translations with translations, originals with originals, and originals and translations within the same language (Johansson 1998, 3–9).

The corpus contains both fictional and non-fictional texts, and all original fiction in Norwegian and English is marked to distinguish between direct speech or thought and "straightforward narrative" (Johansson et al. 1999/2002, 19). As pragmatic markers are mainly found in spoken, informal language, they are more likely to occur in texts marked for direct speech, but as the hypothesis for this study is that the adverbs are in a process of gaining pragmatic properties they did no have before, they are likely to fall on a scale from non-pragmatic to pragmatic rather than in clear-cut categories. Therefore, it is necessary to include the full material, not only that marked for 'direct speech'.

The ENPC is a corpus comprising published original texts and their published translation to either Norwegian or English. The texts are sampled across several fictional and non-fictional genres, with a slight majority of fictional texts. There are 100 texts in each of the languages – 50 originals and 50 translations. Of these 50 texts, 30 are fictional and 20 non-fictional. Given this even distribution and number of texts between the two languages this corpus is comparable, but not completely unproblematic (Johansson et al. 1999/2002, 3–5). A major problem in compiling the corpus was that there are fewer texts that are translated from Norwegian to English than from English to Norwegian. The compilers had much text to choose from in the latter direction, which enabled them to make a wide selection of texts, but there was much less to choose from among the translations into English. The amount of texts available affected the selection within genres, resulting in an uneven distribution and poor balance. This is most evident in the non-fiction category of Norwegian original texts, where the compilers were unable to achieve balance. Non-fictional texts proved difficult to find, resulting in a lower number than that of fictional text, and only 4 of the 7 non-fictional text

categories were represented among the Norwegian originals. In addition to – and partly as a result of – this, the corpus is relatively small, with a total of 2.6 million words.

The question is then whether the choice of corpus and the corpus's limitations cause problems for the present study. There are weaknesses in the choice of material, perhaps the most prominent being the use of written and processed text for studying pragmatic markers, which is an oral phenomenon. Prosody is an important aspect of the study of pragmatic markers, but studying markers in a written translation corpus makes it impossible to take prosody into consideration. However, pragmatic markers do not only occur in spoken language, and if they do occur and can be studied in written language, written material is needed. The results would then not be applicable to pragmatic markers in general, and it must be noted that the findings are restricted with respect to generalisability. Nevertheless, the findings may be of importance and can contribute to the area of study.

The ENPC was chosen for this study because of its design. The aim of the study is to show how pragmatic markers are translated and how pragmatic meaning is conveyed in translation, and to perform such research, a translation corpus is needed. The corpus is bi-directional, which allows this study to compare translations in both directions and compare original text and translation in the same language, making it possible to discover differences in solutions used in the two languages and translation directions. The difficulty of getting a wide selection of texts has affected the size of the corpus, and compared to corpora such as the *British National Corpus* or the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, comprising 100 million and 450 million respectively, the ENPC is very small. It should, however, be large enough for the present study, which has a qualitative rather than quantitative focus and is thus not dependent on large amounts of data and statistics. The qualitative focus does not involve comparing across genres, and as long as there is balance in the distribution of texts between fiction and non-fiction, the differences in sub-genres are not likely to influence the study.

3.2.3 Abbreviations and codes

This study uses corpus material as examples, and for each example, a reference is given to identify the unit in the corpus. In the ENPC, the texts are given a code with the author's initials and a number. Thus, the reference to an example in the ENPC can for instance be ENPC-RD1, where 'ENPC' identifies the corpus from which the text is taken and RD refers

to the author, Roald Dahl. The number, either 1 or 2, is used to separate two texts where the author's initials are the same.

For text examples from *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa), each informant is given a number, and interviewers are identified by their initials. Because the examples from NoTa typically involve two speakers, I have decided to include these identifying codes in the example itself rather than in the reference. Thus, the reference only identifies the corpus, NoTa. The transcriptions from NoTa also use hashes (#), stars (*) and hyphens (-) to mark pauses, overlapping speech and interrupted speech, respectively. The texts in this corpus is not translated into English, and all translations of NoTa examples are my translations. The purpose of these translations is to make the examples legible for the non-Norwegian reader, and the examples are translated to be as close to the original text as possible while keeping the language idiomatic. As a consequence, not all pragmatic markers are translated.

3.3 Data analysis

The analysis and discussion in chapter 4 aim to answer each of the research questions and answer them in order: Section 4.1 aims to answer RQ1, i.e. whether *egentlig* and *faktisk* can have pragmatic functions, and discusses the adverbs in terms of function and meaning using examples from NoTa. Section 4.2 aims to answer RQ2, i.e. how the four adverbs of this study are translated, and constitute the quantitative part of this thesis, as the adverbs and their translations will be presented in terms of simple statistics. Section 4.3 aims to answer RQ3 and RQ4, i.e. whether and how the adverbs' pragmatic function is preserved in the translation process and whether there is any correlation between pragmatic function and translation choice, respectively. These two RQs will be answered through a qualitative analysis and discussion using examples from the main material used for this study, namely the ENPC occurrences of *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really*.

The data have been extracted from the corpus and analysed using FileMaker[7], a software tool for organising and analysing data. It was sampled using the nodes, i.e. search words, 'egentlig', 'faktisk', 'actually' and 'really' in four separate searches each – among fictional original texts, fictional translations, non-fictional original texts and non-fictional translations. To ease the analysis, some context (four to six s-unit, i.e. sentences) has been included in the

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[7] See Appendix for example of a FileMaker data layout.

samples for most of the occurrences. The material was then compiled in four FileMaker files, one for each of the nodes, and annotated for the translation direction and genre. For each occurrence the correspondent translation (the correspondence) has been identified, and in cases where the node has not been translated at all or the target text is rephrased and thus structurally altered from the source text, the correspondence is marked Ø (zero correspondence) or 'Rephrased' respectively. Because the searches were performed among both original texts and translations for each of the nodes, there is some overlap in the material. Some occurrences of *egentlig* and *faktisk* correspond to *actually* or *really* and vice versa, and these are included in the statistics of both nodes. This overlap is not problematic since the frequencies of the nodes and their correspondences will be considered separately.

The second research question asks how the four adverbs are translated, and to answer this question I have performed a quantitative analysis of their correspondences. To enable this analysis, all correspondences have been identified and categorised according to type of construction or part-of-speech. In this material, *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* correspond to ten different constructions:

Table 3.1: Types of constructions/parts-of-speech represented among correspondences.

Type of construction/part-of-speech	Example
Adverb	Egentlig; virkelig; originally; well
Adverb + adverb/particle	Jo virkelig; actually really;
Prepositional phrase	In reality; in any case; i virkeligheten
Fixed expression	Kjære deg; mon det; to all intents and purposes
Clause	I guess; the fact is that
Adjective	Real; virtual; ordentlige
Auxiliary verb	Might
Interjection	Jaså; eh
Tag	Det; jeg; vi
Verb phrase	To be truthful; ser ut til å

Table 3.1 presents the different types of correspondences found and shows that a wide range of constructions are used in the translation of the four adverbs. To simplify the reading of the statistics, the smaller of these groups have been merged into 'Other', while the most frequent adverbs have been singled out to form separate groups from 'Other adverbs'. Some of the constructions are somewhat ambiguous, such as the verb phrase *rettere sagt*, which may as well be counted among the fixed expressions, and also, to simplify the analysis and presentation, the categories 'clause' and 'verb phrase' have been merged in table 4.5 (on

egentlig) below. This does not have any practical implications because the frequencies are very low, and the smaller categories are not discussed in detail.

The third research question asks whether and how pragmatic function is preserved and conveyed in translation, and to answer this question I have analysed occurrences with such functions. In order to locate and identify pragmatic functions, I have focused on analysing the peripherally positioned occurrences. Thus, in addition to being categorised according to the correspondences' type of construction/part-of-speech, the occurrences of the four adverbs have been annotated for the node's position within its sentence/unit. The adverbs normally have scope over a verb phrase and are placed in medial position. Occurrences in medial position have not been analysed in detail, however, and the discussion in this thesis only distinguished between medial position and peripheral position. In peripheral positions, i.e. initial, final and parenthetical, the adverb's position is described relative to the sentence or the independent clause as a whole since it modifies the entire unit rather than one sentence element. Initial position is defined as the first element of an independent clause except conjunctions; final position is defined as the final element of the sentence, usually outside of the sentence structure and separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma; and parenthetical position is defined as a medially positioned element which is outside of the sentence structure, usually separated from the rest of the sentence by commas (cf. Aijmer 2002). In addition to these three peripheral positions, *really* also appears alone and *egentlig*, *faktisk* and *really* appear in negated sentence fragments, e.g. "egentlig ikke" ('not really'). Such occurrences are here considered peripheral, treated alongside the other peripheral positions, but separated in two position groups: 'single' and 'fragment' respectively.

Although the peripheral positions are partly defined by punctuation, it has not been the deciding factor in the annotation of the occurrences. The seem to be great variation regarding use of comma in the ENPC, and in order to ensure that all peripheral occurrences are included in the analysis, initial, final and parenthetical positions in this thesis are not dependent on the comma use described in the paragraph above.

Earlier research claims that there is a correlation between position and function, and consequently pragmatic functions are more likely to be found among peripheral occurrences than medial ones. Previous studies have often made the distinction between 'pragmatic' and 'propositional' based on position alone. Chapter 2, however, showed that also medially positioned occurrences of *actually* and *really* can have pragmatic functions. Thus, it would be

interesting to analyse for function regardless of position, and ideally, all of the material should be classified and categorised according to the meaning and function, not only the peripheral occurrences. Rather than falling in clear-cut categories, it might be more accurate to view pragmatic markers as falling on a scale, from propositional to pragmatic, where the movement of meaning from centre to periphery is reflected. As grammaticalisation, and thus the development of pragmatic markers, is a process taking place over time, it follows that there may be markers that are no longer fully propositional, nor fully pragmatic, and instead fall somewhere in between. Unfortunately, a complete categorisation has proved difficult and too time consuming for this thesis because of vague nuances of meaning and multiple possible interpretations. Therefore, I have instead isolated and analysed small groups of occurrences that are likely to have pragmatic functions, namely those in peripheral positions. Once the pragmatic markers have been located and analysed, they have been categorised according to their functions. This categorisation allows a systematic discussion of the adverbs' pragmatic function. The frequencies are not high, and although some numbers are mentioned, the discussion is mainly based on examples of occurrences and has a qualitative focus.

Chapter 2 discussed terminology regarding pragmatic markers and showed that a wide range of terms are used to describe a correspondingly wide range of functions. The discussion on the classification of pragmatic markers also concluded that it impossible to make an exhaustive system that can account for the vast diversity that characterises the group of items referred to as pragmatic markers. Section 2.2.3 concluded that pragmatic markers in this thesis will be referred and categorised to according to their function without adhering to a pre-existing system. One aspect of pragmatic markers that make them difficult to categorise is that they are completely context dependent, and as a consequence each occurrence can have many different functions on different levels at the same time and differ from each other in nuances that are difficult to pin-point exactly. This is challenging in the present thesis as well, and such difficulties result in difficulties of being consistent and referring to the same kinds of functions with the same terms. Also, the potential multifunctionality may make it necessary to refer to a primary function and secondary function to allow for a discussion with some basis in frequencies. Figure 3.1 below presents some terms that will be used in the analysis and discussion in chapter 4, and an approximate overview over how they relate to each other.
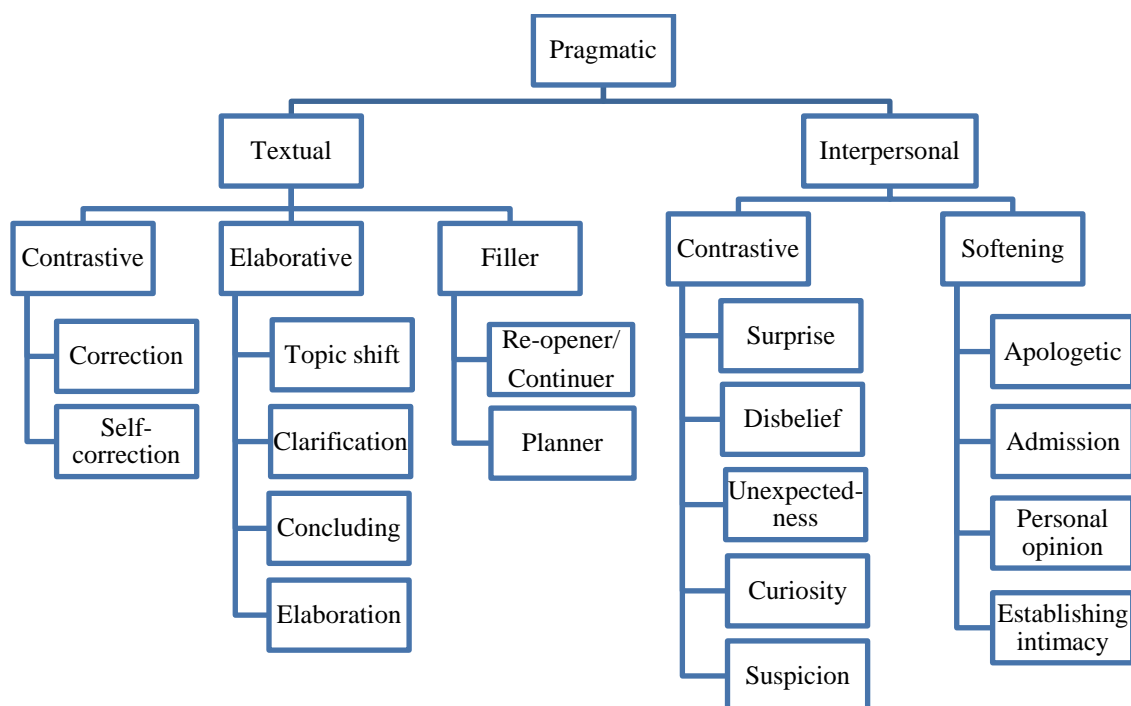
Figure 3.1: Overview of terms used in the categorisation of pragmatic markers according to function.

Most terms and functions are adopted from Aijmer (2002) and Stenström (1986), but there is no clear hierarchy, and the functions are rather described in detail for each occurrence and not for entire groups of occurrences. Similarly, the descriptions and discussion in chapter 4 will use the term 'softener' on the same level as 'expressing surprise', and an elaborative marker may or may not mark topic shift. Also, 'surprise', 'disbelief' and 'unexpectedness' will be used about the same or similar function with different nuances, and sometimes in combination because it is impossible to know which is most appropriate.

The first research question asks whether *egentlig* and *faktisk* have developed pragmatic functions. Chapter two reviewed *actually* and *really* and discussed their meaning and functions, and before analysing the ENPC material, it is necessary to establish that also the Norwegian adverbs are pragmatic markers. Section 4.1 aims to answer this question by analysing the adverbs' meaning and function in different uses. As pragmatic functions mainly occur in spoken language I have chosen to analyse occurrences of *egentlig* and *faktisk* in *Norsk talemålskorpus* (NoTa). NoTa is a corpus of spoken language from the Oslo area in the early 2000s and consists of video files and their transcriptions. As with the ENPC material, I have focused on identifying and analysing peripheral occurrences of the adverbs in order to locate pragmatic functions. The analysis of the NoTa data is almost purely qualitative, and

numbers from the corpus is only mentioned briefly in the comparison and discussion of initial position in Norwegian and English.

4   Results and discussion

This is a study of how the meaning and function of *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* are maintained in translation between English and Norwegian. Previous studies have found that *actually* and *really* have pragmatic functions, and the hypothesis for this thesis states that this is the case also with respect to their Norwegian dictionary equivalents. It also states that pragmatic function may often be lost in the translation process of all of the adverbs. This chapter presents the results from the analyses that have been performed and discusses the findings. It is organised according to the research questions (RQs): Section 4.1 aims to answer RQ1, section 4.2 aims to answer RQ2 and section 4.3 aims to answer RQ3 and RQ4. The RQs were presented in chapter one, but as a reminder, the RQs are as follows:

Research questions:

> **RQ1**: Have the Norwegian adverbs *egentlig* and *faktisk* developed pragmatic
> functions?

> **RQ2**: How are the adverbs and their closest dictionary equivalents, i.e. *actually* and
> *really*, translated?

> **RQ3**: Has the pragmatic function of the markers been conveyed, and if so which
> translation solutions have been employed?

> **RQ4**: How do translation choices and pragmatic function correlate?

The analyses are mainly based on data extracted from the *English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC), but RQ1 is answered based on material from *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa). For this study, only occurrences where *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* are adverbs are interesting, and since they can also belong to other parts-of-speech or otherwise have occurrences that are irrelevant for the study, some occurrences have been deleted. For example, the search for *really* returns 609 hits, but 45 of these are of *really* as a pre-modifier of an adjective, such as in (41). After the removal of any irrelevant occurrences, the material comprises 344 occurrences of *egentlig*, 255 of *faktisk*, 230 of *actually* and 564 of *really*.

(41) I want to write a **really** good book. (ENPC-RDA1)

The occurrences are distributed across translation direction and genre, and table 4.1 presents the frequency of each of the nodes accordingly. It shows that there are differences in frequency between fictional and non-fictional texts. The distinction between fictional and

non-fictional texts is interesting mainly in one respect: A high frequency in fiction and a corresponding low frequency in non-fiction indicates a low degree of formality and may suggest that the node in question is used in informal contexts. Pragmatic markers are considered more common in speech than in written language and thus informal items. A high frequency in fiction and low degree of formality may thus indicate that the occurrences in fiction are not propositional uses and rather have pragmatic functions.

Table 4.1: Raw frequency of the nodes according to translation direction and genre.

Node	Original fiction	Original non-fiction	Translation fiction	Translation non-fiction	Total
EGENTLIG	136	24	157	27	344
FAKTISK	40	33	121	61	255
ACTUALLY	73	39	86	32	230
REALLY	209	36	278	41	564

Table 4.1 shows that there are considerable differences in distribution across genres regarding *egentlig* and *really*. The differences regarding *faktisk* and *actually* are less defined, and especially among original texts, the difference between the genres is very small. That the differences are less defined may suggest that *faktisk* and *actually* are more often used propositionally than *egentlig* and *really* and that the latter two are more likely to have pragmatic functions. Analysing and discussing the material with genre in mind is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis, and will not be discussed further. In the remainder of this thesis, the genres are merged into one category, only distinguishing between translation directions.

4.1 RQ1: *Egentlig* and *faktisk*

The first research question of this thesis (RQ1) asks whether the Norwegian adverbs *egentlig* and *faktisk* have developed pragmatic functions. Chapter 2 discussed the four adverbs under investigation in this thesis based on literature and dictionary entries and found that *actually* and *really* can be considered pragmatic markers. *Egentlig* and *faktisk*, however, have not been studied earlier, and were thus only discussed based on dictionary entries and their definitions. To establish whether they have in fact developed pragmatic functions, I now compare their definitions and the examples given in the dictionaries with examples of authentic uses taken from *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa). Firstly, I compare the definitions and find the core meaning of the adverbs in propositional use. Using this definition as a basis for comparison, I

then discuss some examples of uses and their meaning and function. The definition of a pragmatic marker adopted in this thesis is that the item has lost at least some of its propositional meaning and instead has functions on the textual or interpersonal level (see section 2.2.3). If an item's meaning diverges from its propositional meaning and/or additional functions can be identified, I argue that the item has developed pragmatic function and can be referred to as a pragmatic marker. It is important to keep in mind that pragmatic markers do not fall in clear-cut categories and also that they can be multifunctional.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to perform a complete and exhaustive categorisation of the markers and quantify their functions. I have instead gone through the hits in NoTa and extracted clear cases of different textual and interpersonal functions and discussed the types found in the corpus. These two qualitative analyses will together with the accounts of *actually* and *really* in chapter 2 provide the basis for the analyses preformed in the process of answering the other three RQs.

4.1.1 *Egentlig*

Chapter 2 compared dictionary entries from *Engelsk Stor Ordbok* (ESO), *Den Store Norske Bokmålsordboka* (DSNB) and *Den Danske Ordbog* (DDO) and concluded that *egentlig* denotes reality in contrast with what is believed or assumed. It has two main meanings: firstly, it can be paraphrased with "i virkeligheten" ('in reality') and contrasts reality with what is believed, as in (42), and secondly, it can be paraphrased "opprinnelig" ('originally') and contrasts an origin to a believed origin, as in (43). The latter meaning is in DDO listed as a sub-definition of the former, and although they are distinct in terms of the difference between 'reality' and 'origin', they are very similar and can be considered as belonging to one main meaning.

> (42) På bildet ser det ut som at kjolen er rød, men den er **egentlig** rosa
>   ('In the picture, it looks as if the dress is red, but it is in reality pink')

> (43) Han kommer egentlig fra Spania, men har vokst opp i Norge
>   ('He is originally from Spain, but has grown up in Norway')

Chapter 2 discussed nine definitions or meanings of *egentlig*, and of these nine, four definitions and the examples given do not correspond fully with the definition above. These uses of *egentlig* do not clearly contrast reality to its counterpart, and it is difficult to understand exactly what the adverb uses mean. DDO describes a use of the equivalent Danish

adverb *egentlig* where it has a different function than those described in the other entries. The dictionary illustrates this use in example (44), and claims that *egentlig* here functions as a softener, either softening a personal opinion or marking the statement as an admission (their example, my translation). I argue that such a use is that of *egentlig* as a pragmatic marker, and this chapter aims to establish which pragmatic functions *egentlig* can have in different contexts. If, as in the hypothetical example in (45), the speaker is about to present a potentially controversial point of view, *egentlig* can make the statement less abrupt and less likely to cause offence and give the speaker the room needed to present an argument in support of his statement.

> (44) Det er **egentlig** synd
> ('It is * a shame', 'It's a shame, really')

> (45) Nå er forslaget om fedrekvoten vedtatt. Det er **egentlig** synd. Jeg synes foreldre burde få bestemme fordeling av permisjon selv.
> ('Now the proposal about a paternal quota has passed. It's a shame, really. I think parents should be able to decide how to divide the parental leave themselves.')

In the entry of *egentlig* in *Engelsk Stor ordbok*, another example of *egentlig* meaning 'i virkeligheten' ('in reality') was that in (46 i) below (their example; adapted). Here, *egentlig* is translated with *exactly*, which is listed as an equivalent in the entry. I would argue that *egentlig* – and *exactly* – in this example can, depending on the context, have a pragmatic function. An unstressed *egentlig* in this example does not point to reality, but rather underlines the speaker's curiosity or suspicion. If *egentlig* is moved one position further to the right, as in (46 ii), the adverb no longer expresses any curiosity or surprise, and there is little room for interpretation, as the speaker bluntly presses the addressee for his real, as opposed to the claimed, opinion. Comparing (i) and (ii), it appears that both meanings are possible in (i), and that, if stressed, *egentlig* would have the same function in both examples, as it points to a contrast between reality and what is previously assumed or believed.

> (46)
>   i. Hva er det **egentlig** du mener?
>   ('What exactly do you mean?')
>   ii. Hva er det du **egentlig** mener?
>   ('What do you really mean?')

In (46 ii), *egentlig* is used propositionally, while the use of *egentlig* in (46 i) can, depending on the context, be considered a pragmatic marker. This conclusion depends on the presumption that pragmatic markers can occur in non-peripheral positions, which was discussed in chapter 2. This presumption is supported by comparing (46) to (47), as the unstressed *egentlig* in (46 i) and (47 i) can have the same or similar meaning and function, while the stressed *egentlig* in (46 ii) and (47 ii) have the same or similar meaning and function. In other words, pragmatic function does not only occur in peripheral positions.

(47)
    i. Hva mener du, **egentlig**?
       ('What exactly do you mean?')
   ii. Hva mener du **egentlig**?
       ('What do you really mean?')

Also uses of *egentlig* in NoTa show that it can have pragmatic functions both medially and peripherally. In examples (48) and (49), it serves as a softener of a personal opinion in the speaker's line of argument. Similarly to (45) above, both examples show that the speaker's statement is either somewhat controversial or in disagreement with an interlocutor, and that *egentlig* makes the statement less abrupt and more hesitant, thus softening the statement. In (48), *egentlig* is medially positioned,[8] while in (49), the softening marker occurs in both medial and parenthetical position.

(48) 008 m # men tenker på sånn jeg hadde egentlig bare gitt til en # men når man først er i gang
    så gir man # plutselig til alle […]
    007 det er mye bedre å bare ha sånn julemiddag # og # bare droppe presang
    008 * m * det er **egentlig** litt deilig nå syns jeg fordi før så var det sånn man var ikke helt
    sikker på hvem som egentlig var vennene sine (NoTa)

    '008 m # but thinking like I had originally only given to one # but once you have started you
    give # suddenly to everyone […]
    007 it much better to just have like a Christmas dinner # and # just skip presents
    008 * m * it is really a bit relieving now I think because before it was like you weren't
    completely sure about who really were your friends (my translation)[9]

(49) 019 men det blir jo så- f- jeg følte **egentlig** at filmen var litt sånn # romantisering av # av
    personen da […]
    020 […] det kan jo hende at han var sånn før han ble … for det at jeg ble veldig sånn jeg fikk
    ble veldig glad i Che
    019 ja m # det er det jeg føler blir litt feil # **egentlig** # selv om m …

---

[8] The first and third occurrence of *egentlig* in (48) are propositional uses, and only the second occurrences is relevant for the discussion of pragmatic function. Relevant occurrences are highlighted using boldface.
[9] All the translations of the examples from NoTa in this thesis are my translations.

020 […] men han gjorde jo ikke noe # på den # tiden så gjorde han jo ikke noe som var veldig slemt gjorde han det? (NoTa)

'019 but it becomes so- f- I actually felt like the movie was a bit like # romanticisation of # of the person, you know […]
020 […] it could be that he was like that before he became … because I became like I got became very fond of Che
019 yes b # that's what I feel is kind of wrong # really # even though m …
020 […] but he didn't do anything # at that # time he didn't do anything that was very bad, did he?'

In (50) and (51) below, *egentlig* is in final position and moderates and softens the statements by making the conclusion of the statements less assertive. In (50), the statement is negated with "aldri" ('never'), and adding a softener makes the statement less absolute. Similarly, the statement "jeg hadde ikke mange venner" ('I didn't have many friends') may seem very abrupt and grave, but adding the final *egentlig*, as in (51), softens the statement and removes its edge somewhat.

(50) 007 og det er veldig sånn # sjuendeklassingene er ganske sånn kule og mye intriger og # sånne ting så jeg tror nok det # er m- nok mange som ville funnet det litt vanskelig da # men jeg har aldri hatt noe problem med det selv **egentlig**

'007 and it is very like # seventh graders are pretty like cool and lots of conflicts and # things like that so I guess it # is m- probably many who would find it difficult # but I have never had any problem with it myself **really**'

(51) 008 så jeg skulle være hverdagshelten på skolen. Hadde ikke så veldig mye venner **egentlig**. Hadde sånn to rare # høye jenter, jeg var bitte liten, men e etter hvert da når jeg kom i sjette og sjuende klasse så ## begynte jeg å bli interessert i gutter og fikk meg kjæreste og sånn da ble jeg litt kulere da

'008 so I would be the everyday hero at school. Didn't have that many friends **really**. Had like two wierd # tall girls, I was tiny, but a after a while when I began sixth and seventh grade then ## I started being interested in boys and got a boyfriend and thing like that then I was a bit cooler'

This section briefly mentioned that *egentlig* can express curiosity or suspicion, and this is the case in (52). It could be argued that *egentlig* in this use also is softener which makes the question less direct and less likely to cause offence. However, as the question is neutral and there is no threat involved, *egentlig* is more likely to underline the speaker's curiosity and request for information.

(52) 020 # det er bra # og d- men er det o- Peru er det ganske fattig generelt **egentlig**?

‘020 # that's good # and i- but is it o- Peru is it pretty poor in general?’

The examples discussed so far are of *egentlig* with interpersonal functions, and they show that the adverb often has a softening function. *Egentlig* can, however, also have textual functions. Examples (53) and (54) illustrate uses of *egentlig* that are best described as a kind of filler. The term 'filler', as discussed briefly in chapter 2, is a broad term used for items with a number of different functions. It is more or less interchangeable with the terms 'hesitation marker' or 'hedging device', and as these terms imply, is often used to create pauses or breaks in discourse which signal hesitation or moderation of force. A filler can have the softening function described and discussed above, but here, the filler *egentlig* has a somewhat different function. Stenström (1986) claims that *really* can be described as a planner when the adverb is used by the speaker to create a break in the discourse which allows for planning what to say next or reformulate an argument. This textual function also applies to *egentlig* in these two examples: in (53), the break allows the speaker to formulate her argument further, and in (54), the break provides the speaker with the pause needed to continue or conclude his statement.

(53) 019 og # det er ikke a- det er ikke altfor nærme byen og nærme Marka nærme Bogstadvannet ## veldig mange muligheter **egentlig** samtidig som det ikke er altfor langt unna sånn at du # du kan ta en trikk til # byen

‘019 and # it isn't a- it isn't too close to the city and close to Marka close to Bogstadvannet ## very many opportunities **really** while it isn't too far away so that you # you can take a tram to the # city’

(54) 023 # nei # sikkert spennende hvis du interesserer deg for det da […] jeg har ikke funnet noe jeg interesserer meg for **egentlig** ennå så da er det # syns det er litt tidlig å velge sånn yrke og sånt nå

‘023 # no # probably exciting if you're interested in it […] I haven't found anything that interests me **really** yet so then it is # think it is a bit early to choose like an occupation and things like that now’

The examples and discussion above show that *egentlig* can have pragmatic functions in both medial and peripheral positions, but the peripheral positions discussed hitherto are either final or peripheral, not initial. The discussion of *actually* in chapter 2 illustrates the adverb's high degree of mobility in the sentence "it was not as fun as it might have been", and a similar illustration is possible with *egentlig* (example adapted from Aijmer 1986):

(55)

     i. **Egentlig** var det ikke så morsomt som det kunne vært.
    ii. Det var **egentlig** ikke så morsomt som det kunne vært.
  iii. Det var ikke **egentlig** så morsomt som det kunne vært.
  iv. Det var ikke så morsomt, **egentlig**, som det kunne vært.
   v. Det var ikke så morsomt som det **egentlig** kunne vært.
  vi. Det var ikke så morsomt som det kunne vært, **egentlig**.

This illustration shows that *egentlig* is very flexible and can appear in several different positions both medially and peripherally, but the initial position differs from that of *actually* in English. In Norwegian, *egentlig* is more often an integral part of the sentence structure and not separated out by a comma, while *actually* and other adverbials in English are more loosely attached to the proposition and thus outside the sentence structure (Quirk et al. 1985, 1626; Faarlund et al. 1997, 814–815). If the fact that initial *egentlig* is a part of the sentence also means that it is less loosely attached to the proposition than e.g. initial *actually* or final or parenthetical *egentlig*, the question is whether initial *egentlig* has pragmatic functions to the same extent. In (56), *egentlig* points to the fact that the school day originally and in reality is over while they are still at school doing interviews. It is an objective observation rather than a personal opinion or a part of an argument, and does not have any interpersonal functions, but it does have a textual function of correction, correcting the interlocutor's assumption that they normally would have been in class still. In (57), however, *egentlig* prefaces the speaker's personal opinion and has, along with *litt*, a softening function. These examples show that initial *egentlig* can have pragmatic functions despite the fact that it is integral in the sentence structure.

(56) 034 å så deilig skoledag […] og så hadde vi engelsk i siste time og da kan vi sitte her […] spise godteri og drikke brus og
033 **egentlig** har vi slutta da […] for tjue minutter siden (NoTa)

'034 oh what a nice school day […] and then we had English in the last class and then we can sit here […] eating candy and drinking soda and
033 we have actually finished […] twenty minutes ago'

(57) 040 **egentlig** er det litt kjedelig med kunstløpskøyter # det er litt begrensa (NoTa)

'040 actually it's a bit boring with figure skating skates # it's a bit limited'

Example (58) below illustrates another use of initial *egentlig*. Here, the adverb has a textual function and arguably also an interpersonal function. The speaker is arguing that she ought to be more appreciative of her city and act as a tourist to rediscover it. *Egentlig*, together with both the preceding and following *så* ('so'), prefaces her conclusion on the matter after delivering her argument and signals that the statement is her opinion. It is also conceivable that *egentlig* serves to soften her opinion, which otherwise could sound overbearing as it is an imperative.

> (58) 064 jeg tror kanskje altså # ikke vi setter nok pris på Oslo heller jeg på en måte så trur jeg vi skulle ha lekt tur- skikkelig turister i egen by # jeg tror det […] det er noe med det for ikke sant har du hvis du har besøk enten helst fra utlandet da men i allfall besøk […] da blir det mye til at da tar du med folk og ser på Holmenkollen og Frognerseteren og […] så # så **egentlig** så burde man # prøve # og tenke som så at e nei nå skal jeg være turist i egen by (NoTa)

> '064 I think maybe # we don't appreciate Oslo enough either in a way I think we should pretend to be tour- proper tourists in our own city # I think so […] there's something in that because you know if you have visitors either preferably foreigners though but at least visitors […] then you often end up taking people to see Holmenkollen and Frognerseteren and […] so # so you should # try # to think that e no now I will be a tourist in my own city'

Så is a frequent collocate of *egentlig*, which in this context is what Faarlund et al. (1997, 816–817, 25–26) refers to as abstract use of a semantically bleached 'pro-word' (i.e. a word that does not have a regular referent in the content but do so in the context). In NoTa, a search for *egentlig* + [verb] yields 16 relevant matches, while *egentlig* + *så* + [verb] yields 30. It is possible that the added pro-word serves to distance the adverb from the rest of the sentence and ensures the loose attachment mentioned above. Of the 30 occurrences of *egentlig* collocating with *så*, 23 clearly have pragmatic functions, while the remaining 7 are in propositional use. Of the 16 occurrences without *så*, on the other hand, none were clearly propositional uses. In other words, collocating with *så* does not ensure pragmatic functions, and initial *egentlig* without *så* can have pragmatic functions to the same – if not to a greater – extent as occurrences with the collocate. The high frequency of the collocate *så*, however, does support Faarlund et al.'s description of *så* as common in speech and very versatile, and it might be interesting to study collocational patterns with *så* further.

4.1.2 *Faktisk*

Section 2.3.4 gave an account of *faktisk* based on dictionary entries in *Den Store Norske Bokmålsordboka*, where the adverb is said to be synonymous with 'virkelig' ('really') and is paraphrased with "sant å si" ('truth be told'), as in (59) below (their example, my translation):

> (59) Jeg vet **faktisk** ikke
>
>   (lit. 'I know * not', 'I really don't know')

The review of *faktisk* in chapter 2 concluded that the adverb can have two meanings or functions: 1) denoting that something is true as opposed to what is believed or expected, and 2) emphasising that something is true with no contrast with an opposing point of view. This conclusion is supported by examples from the NoTa: Firstly, *faktisk* is used to denote the existence or reality of something, often by contrasting two parts and highlighting the part reflecting reality, as in (60) and (61). In (60), there is an explicit contrast between a potential reality and the actual reality, and *faktisk* is used to point out the latter. In (61), the contrast (between the group that constitute the potential reality and the group that constitute the outcome) is more implicit, but *faktisk* has the same function, denoting the outcome, i.e. the reality.

> (60) 016 […] det er kanskje hyggelig at andre ikke nødvendigvis dømmer deg sånn med en gang men at de **faktisk** [er] interessert i deg
>
> 016 […] it is perhaps nice that others not necessarily judge you like right away but that they really [are] interested in you

> (61) 094 […] det er mange kjendiser som er på vitnelista da jeg vet ikke hvor mange av dem som **faktisk** skal gjøre det men det er mange kjendiser som er[10] på lista liksom (NoTa)
>
> 094 […] there are many celebrities on the witness list I don't know how many of them actually will do it but there are many celebrities that are on the list, you know

Secondly, *faktisk* is used as an emphasiser to underline the truth of what is being said. This use corresponds to that in (59). Here, *faktisk* underlines the fact that the speaker does not know and can be paraphrased with *rett og slett* (idiomatically translated 'quite simply') or *virkelig* ('really'). There is a potential difference in nuance between *faktisk* and *virkelig*, as *virkelig* can be more purely emphasising while *faktisk* may imply a contrasting relationship between something that is believed to be true and the truth proper. This difference can also be

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[10] The corpus transcription says "ser" intstead of "er", but the corpus provides both video and audio along with a transcription, and after watching the video file, I believe it is "er" ('is') that is correct, and it is also this that makes sense in the context.

seen in comparing *really* and *actually*, where *really*, corresponding to *virkelig*, can be purely emphasising and *actually*, corresponding to *faktisk*, may imply a contrast. This is illustrated in (62) through (65) below:

(62) Jeg tror **virkelig** han forteller sannheten (Jeg tror helt og holdent/absolutt på ham)

(63) I **really** believe he's telling the truth (I truly/absolutely/completely believe him)

(64) Jeg tror **faktisk** han forteller sannheten (Overraskende nok tror jeg på ham)

(65) I **actually** believe he's telling the truth (Surprisingly, I believe him)

If this latter function, including a contrast, is true for (59) above, *faktisk* may express surprise or disbelief, implying that "you wouldn't think so, but I actually don't know", and perhaps also contain a note of apology, implying that "you wouldn't think that I don't know, because I should know this". If such implicatures are conveyed in the utterance, *faktisk* is a pragmatic marker.

Identifying and distinguishing between pragmatic function and propositional use, however, may yet again prove difficult. In example (66) below, both occurrences of *faktisk* are used to imply that the fact that they could afford the apartment was unexpected: Firstly, that they could buy as opposed to rent, and finally that they could afford it. That the speaker describes the apartment as tiny and specifies that the time of purchase preceded the rise in the market supports this interpretation. It could be argued that the same function appears in (67), that is that the speaker expected to know the population figure for her home town and was surprised to find that she did not, but there is no real indication that surprise is indeed involved. Instead, *faktisk* is here more likely used to simply emphasise the statement that "[she's] got no idea", thus confirming her previous statement that "[she doesn't] really know how many people live there".

(66) AMB Så dere kjøpte leilighet først
006 Vi kjøpte den leiligheta på Teisen **faktisk**. Det var en bitteliten ettromsleilighet som den gang i nittiseks tror jeg det var ikke var sånn kjempedyr ennå for det var før prisene begynte å gå så fryktelig opp så det hadde vi råd til **faktisk** (NoTa)

AMB So you bought an apartment first
006 We bought that apartment at Teisen actually. It was a tiny studio apartment which back then in ninety-six I think it was wasn't like super-expensive yet because this was before the prices started rising/going through the roof so that we could afford it actually

(67) 113 … jeg vel ikke hvor mange som bor der jeg # det er vel # nei jeg har **faktisk** ikke peiling (NoTa)

113 … I don't really know how many people live there # I guess it's # no I've actually got no idea

Expressing surprise is considered an interpersonal function, but *faktisk* has textual functions as well. In (68), *faktisk* functions as an elaborative marker, as it is used to signal that the additional information is relevant to the preceding discourse. The speaker includes the statement as an afterthought in what is a digression from the original topic: As the speaker is describing the place where she lives, she digresses and explains that she lives there because of her grandparents, adding that she wants to move, and as an afterthought that she is going to a viewing. This last bit of information is not necessary to the speaker's description of the neighbourhood, her explanations of her living situation or her wish to move, but is thought to be relevant and interesting information. Sharing this piece of personal information might also help to establish intimacy between the speaker and the addressee, which would be a secondary interpersonal function.

(68) AMB er det noen ting som ikke er så bra # med den plassen […]
004 Ja altså det er vel ikke # folk bor ganske langt fra hverandre og i hver sin enebolig og sånn den type
004 jeg jeg bor i et hus sammen med besteforeldrene mine da så det # det er det som er grunnen til at jeg bor i det strøket i det hele tatt
004 jeg tenker på å flytte jeg skal **faktisk** på visning i dag …
AMB det blir spennende da
004 ja # det blir spennende # så
004 men i hvert fall
004 det er vel det at det ikke er så veldig sentralt og at T-banen har sluttet å gå… (NoTa)

AMB are there some things that are not that great # about the place […]
004 Yeah well it's not really # people live quite far apart from each other and each in their own house and like that type
004 I I live in a house with my grandparents so that's # that is the reason that I live in that neighbourhood at all
004 I'm planning on moving I'm actually going on a viewing today.
AMB Well, that'll be exciting
004 Yes # it'll be exciting # so
004 but anyway
004 I guess it's that it's not really very close to the city centre and that the Metro has stopped running…

Example (69) below is another example where *faktisk* can be said to have an elaborative function, but here it provides an apologetic undertone, marking the utterance as an admission. The speaker admits to feeling guilty about not asking her father to help her in practical matters:

(69) 041 […] de har sånn glede av å hjelpe så jeg jeg har ikke lyst til å frata dem den gleden […]
042 ja jeg får **faktisk** litt dårlig samvittighet overfor min far fordi jeg tror at han i noen sammenhenger bare skulle ønske at jeg kunne ringe ham og si pappa nå må du komme og hjelpe meg (NoTa)

041 […] they get such joy out of helping so I I don't want to take that joy away from them […]
042 yeah I do actually feel a bit guilty about my father because I think that on some occasions he would just wish that I would call him and say daddy (now) you have to come and help me (my translation)

4.1.3 Summary

RQ1 asks whether *egentlig* and *faktisk* have developed pragmatic functions. The discussions of the adverbs above include examples where their meaning and function diverge from those in propositional use. In these examples, they have to some degree lost their semantic meaning and gained pragmatic functions and can thus be considered pragmatic markers.

In propositional use, *egentlig* denotes reality in contrast to what is believed to be reality. In addition to this use of the adverb, the discussion shows that *egentlig* occurs in contexts where the use is not propositional, and where the adverb has lost its semantic meaning and instead has gained textual or interpersonal functions. Table 4.2 sums up the different pragmatic functions that were found among the examples from NoTa.

Table 4.2: Pragmatic functions of *egentlig*.

Textual functions	Interpersonal functions
Filler - planner	Softening personal opinion
Marking correction	Marking admission
Concluding/opinion marker	Expressing curiosity or suspicion
	Filler - softener

Faktisk in propositional use denotes truth in contrast to what is believed to be true, and can also be used to emphasise that something is true with no contrasting point of view. As with *egentlig*, the discussion above has showed that *faktisk* displays pragmatic functions on the textual and interpersonal level. These are summed up in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Pragmatic functions of *faktisk*.

Textual functions	Interpersonal functions
Marking elaboration	Expressing surprise or disbelief
	Establishing intimacy
	Marking admission

There are many similarities between the pragmatic functions that have been identified for *egentlig* and *faktisk* and *actually* and *really*. A comparison of the functions of *actually* and *really* summarised in 2.3.5 and the functions of *egentlig* and *faktisk* shows that *faktisk* and *actually* share many functions, such as expressing surprise/disbelief, establishing intimacy and marking an elaboration. *Actually* also shares some functions with *egentlig*, especially the softening functions, but unlike the other three adverbs, *egentlig* is not found to express surprise or disbelief. Instead, *egentlig* may express curiosity or suspicion, which is not found with the other three adverbs. Table 4.4 sums up the overlapping function of the four adverbs.

Table 4.4: The overlapping functions of *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really*.

Egentlig	Faktisk	Actually	Really
Filler – planner			Filler – planner
Marking correction		Marking correction	
	Marking elaboration	Marking elaboration	
Concluding/opinion marker		Opinion marker	
Softening personal opinion			
Filler – softener		Softening	
Expressing curiosity			
Marking admission	Marking admission		
	Expressing surprise	Expressing surprise	Expressing surprise
	Establishing intimacy	Establishing intimacy	

The analysis of *egentlig* and *faktisk* in this section is not exhaustive but has established that the two adverbs can have pragmatic functions. Many different types of functions have been identified, on both the textual and interpersonal level. *Egentlig* and *faktisk* can also have functions that are not found in NoTa, and the analysis of the ENPC material in 4.3 reveals more functions and more differences and similarities between the four adverbs, as well as how they are translated.

4.2 RQ2: The adverbs in translation

Chapter 4.1 has answered RQ1 and established that *egentlig* and *faktisk* have pragmatic functions. This chapter aims to answer RQ2, namely how *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* have been translated in the ENPC. In order to answer this question, all correspondences of the adverbs in both target texts and source texts have been identified and categorised, and the following sections will present and discuss the frequency of the correspondences for each of the four adverbs. Source text correspondences, i.e. items that have been translated into one of the four adverbs, have been included in order to reveal patterns or differences due to translation direction.

In the material, all correspondences have been identified and there are many different translation solutions that have been employed for the four adverbs. The translations of *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* comprise 49, 26, 38 and 66 different types respectively (zero correspondence and reformulations included), and to ease the presentation of these correspondences, the graphs only include the types that occur twice or more in the cases of *egentlig*, *faktisk* and *actually*, and five times or more in the case of *really*. It is evident from table 4.1 that there are substantial differences in the number of occurrences between the nodes, and the cut-off points for frequency correspond to this: Two occurrences amount to 0.58%, 0.78% and 0.87% for *egentlig, faktisk* and *actually* respectively, and in the case of *really*, five occurrences amount to 0.89%.

4.2.1 *Egentlig*

Egentlig occurs a total of 343 times in the ENPC[11], and the distribution of occurrences across translation directions is reasonably even as correspondences in target texts make up just over 45 % of all instances, against approximately 55 % in the other direction. Table 4.5 below presents the most frequent correspondences and types of correspondences of *egentlig* in translations into English and in English source texts translated into Norwegian. In this and the following tables in this section, the correspondences are listed according to their total frequency, from most to least frequent. Since the correspondences are not necessarily evenly distributed across the direction of translation, the frequencies do not always appear in descending order within each of the translation directions. The frequencies are given as raw

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[11] Excluding two occurrences of *egentlig* as an adjective.

numbers and percentages. The frequencies have not been normalised because the corpus is balanced with respect to the sub-corpora, and thus, raw frequencies can be used. The percentages are of each of the correspondences within each of the translation directions, which allows comparison of correspondences in the two directions and correspondences to each other.

Considering the totals in the right-hand column, table 4.5 shows that *really* is by far the most frequent correspondence of *egentlig*, followed by zero correspondence in second place and *actually* only in third place. The correspondence *really* is very evenly distributed across the direction of translation and comprises half of the correspondences in both directions. Zero correspondence and *actually*, on the other hand, show more variation, and *actually* is over three times more frequent as a translation of *egentlig* from Norwegian than as a correspondence in source texts. Such asymmetry exists for the remaining correspondences as well, but as the number of occurrences are low it is difficult to claim that they show more than a mere tendency.

Table 4.5: Correspondences of *egentlig* in the ENPC in raw frequency and percentages.

EGENTLIG	Norwegian > English		English > Norwegian		Total
	#	%	#	%	
Really	79	49.7 %	91	49.5 %	170
Ø	24	15.1 %	43	23.4 %	67
Actually	30	18.9 %	10	5.4 %	40
Other adverbs	10	6.3 %	23	12.5 %	33
Clause/verb phrase	3	1.9 %	8	4.3 %	11
Prepositional phrase	8	5.0 %	2	1.1 %	10
Other	2	1.3 %	7	3.8 %	9
Rephrased	2	1.3 %	0	0.0 %	2
Actually + really	1	0.6 %	0	0.0 %	1
Total	**159**	**100 %**	**184**	**100 %**	**343**

In terms of the total frequencies, zero correspondence is the second most frequent correspondence, but that is the case only in source texts. In target texts, zero correspondence comes in third, after *actually*. Zero correspondence in source texts means that translators have added *egentlig* where it is seemingly not required by the source text. Both the omission and the insertion of *egentlig* may suggest that it is thought of as superfluous and therefore easily omitted or added.

That *actually* is more frequent in target texts than in source texts indicates that *actually* is easily, and perhaps wrongly, accepted as an equivalent of *egentlig*, while *egentlig* is not easily accepted as an equivalent of *actually*, and other correspondences are preferred. That other equivalents are preferred seems to be the case: The correspondence of *actually* is presented and discussed in section 4.2.3 below, and table 4.5 shows that the same pattern appears with respect to *actually* and *faktisk*, as *actually* is more frequently translated with *faktisk* than vice versa.

As in other studies of the translation of pragmatic markers, this material shows a great diversity in correspondence types. *Egentlig* corresponds to 39 different types, 21 of which are adverbs, but only 16 of them occur twice or more. Figure 4.1 presents the correspondences of *egentlig* that occur twice or more, and it shows that the frequency drops quickly. Only *really*, zero correspondence and *actually* can be considered frequent among the correspondences.
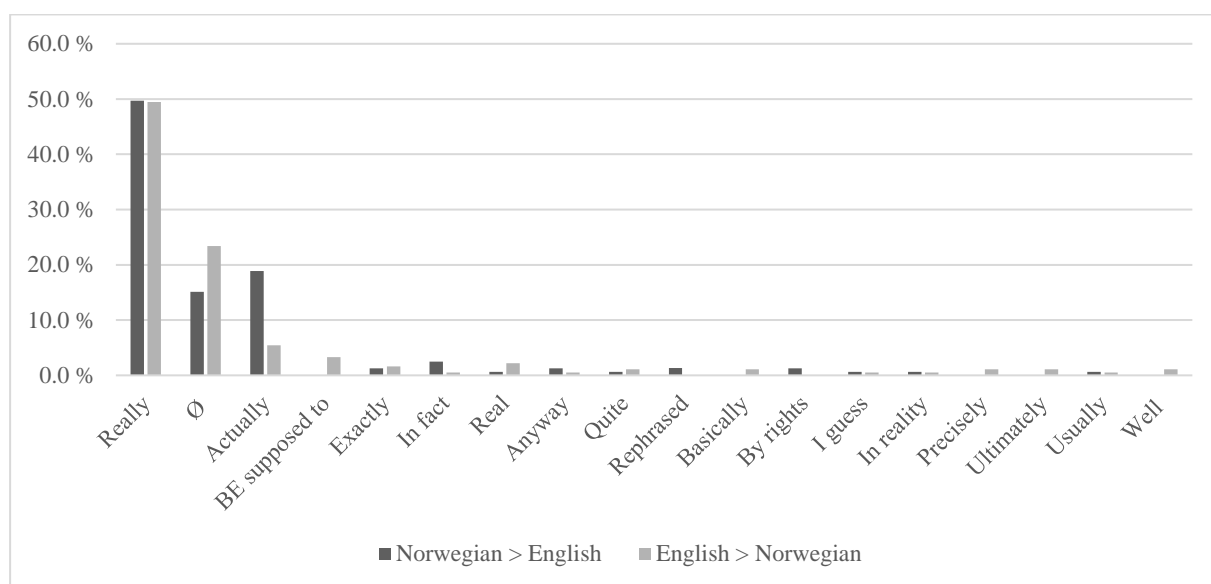
Figure 4.1: Correspondences of *egentlig* in the ENPC occurring twice or more, in percentages.

Despite the low numbers, however, it may be interesting to take note of the frame 'BE supposed to', which occurs five times and is counted under 'clause/verb phrase': It is found in source texts, being translated into *egentlig*, but not in translations of *egentlig* into English. One possible explanation for this difference is that *egentlig* can collocate with *skulle*, and while *skulle + egentlig* is the natural equivalent for 'BE supposed to' when translating into Norwegian, a translator is more likely to use the cognate *should* when translating from Norwegian into English. 'BE supposed to' denotes something that is expected or required in an implicit or explicit contrast to what is. It includes the meaning of both *skulle* and *egentlig*,

as *egentlig* underlines the contrast between the expectation/requirement and the reality. Four of the five occurrences of 'BE supposed to' correspond to *egentlig* collocating with *skulle*, as in (70) and (71) below, while all five occurrences of *skulle + egentlig* in Norwegian source texts are translated using either *should* or *ought*, *should* accounting for four of them, as in (72) and (73).

(70) "Vi skulle **egentlig** hatt den til kaffen, men jeg glemte det helt," unnskyldte hun seg. (ENPC-LSC2)

"We should **really** have had it with coffee, but I completely forgot," she apologized. (ENPC-LSC2T)

(71) Hun skulle **egentlig** være en velsignelse for dem alle, men så lett gikk det ikke. (ENPC-HW2)

She should have been a blessing to them all, but it was not to be that way. (ENPC-HW2T)

(72) De skulle **egentlig** vært på stranden en uke, men ingen av dem hadde lyst til å bli der lenger, så de bestemte seg for å dra hjem tidligere. (ENPC-AT1T)

They **were supposed to** stay at the beach a week, but neither of them had the heart for it and they decided to come back early. (ENPC-AT1)

(73) Var hun imot at du traff en gutt når du **egentlig** ikke skulle?" (ENPC-TH1T)

Did she mind that you were seeing a boy when you **weren't supposed to**?" (ENPC-TH1)

4.2.2 *Faktisk*

The adverb *faktisk* occurs in the ENPC a total of 255 times. Table 4.6 presents the correspondences of *faktisk* in translations into English and English source texts translated into Norwegian. The table shows that *faktisk* is much more frequent as a translation than as a source text item, with 70% versus 30 % of the 255 occurrences. Regarding correspondences, the most striking differences between directions lie with zero correspondence and *indeed*. Zero correspondence is more frequent among the target text correspondences than the source text correspondences. *Indeed* is used as a translation of *faktisk* only once, but is translated by *faktisk* thirty-three times, making *indeed* the third most frequent correspondence of *faktisk* in translation from English to Norwegian. The same pattern is seen in the case of *in fact*, and considering percentages, the opposite in the case of *actually*, although to a lesser degree.

Table 4.6: Correspondences of *faktisk* in the ENPC in raw frequency and percentages.

	Norwegian > English		English > Norwegian		Total
FAKTISK	#	%	#	%	#
Actually	22	30.1 %	44	24.2 %	66
In fact	14	19.2 %	49	26.9 %	63
Ø	20	27.4 %	16	8.8 %	36
Indeed	1	1.4 %	33	18.1 %	34
Other adverbs	7	9.6 %	21	11.5 %	28
Other	5	6.8 %	4	2.2 %	9
DO	1	1.4 %	6	3.3 %	7
Rephrased	3	4.1 %	3	1.6 %	6
Prepositional phrase	0	0.0 %	6	3.3 %	6
Total	**73**	**100 %**	**182**	**100 %**	**255**

The considerable difference in the distribution of *faktisk* across translation directions is worth noticing. It may suggest that *faktisk* is over-used in translations and perhaps thought more frequent or common by translators than it really is in Norwegian. It is also possible that translators use expressions that are less common in the target language in order to stay true to the source text, despite the differences between the languages, or the asymmetries may simply be due to uneven numbers of functions that require or prefer faktisk as a translation.

Figure 4.2 presents the 12 correspondences of *faktisk* that occur twice or more. The correspondences are comprised of 26 types, which is the lowest number among the nodes. Nevertheless, the graph illustrates the high degree of diversity and low frequencies which are common for all four nodes. For example, one of the correspondences is DO-emphasis, which is an equivalent to *faktisk* in that both solutions are truth-emphasising. The graph also illustrates a more even distribution of occurrences across the different types, resulting in a more even decline in this graph compared to that of *egentlig*.
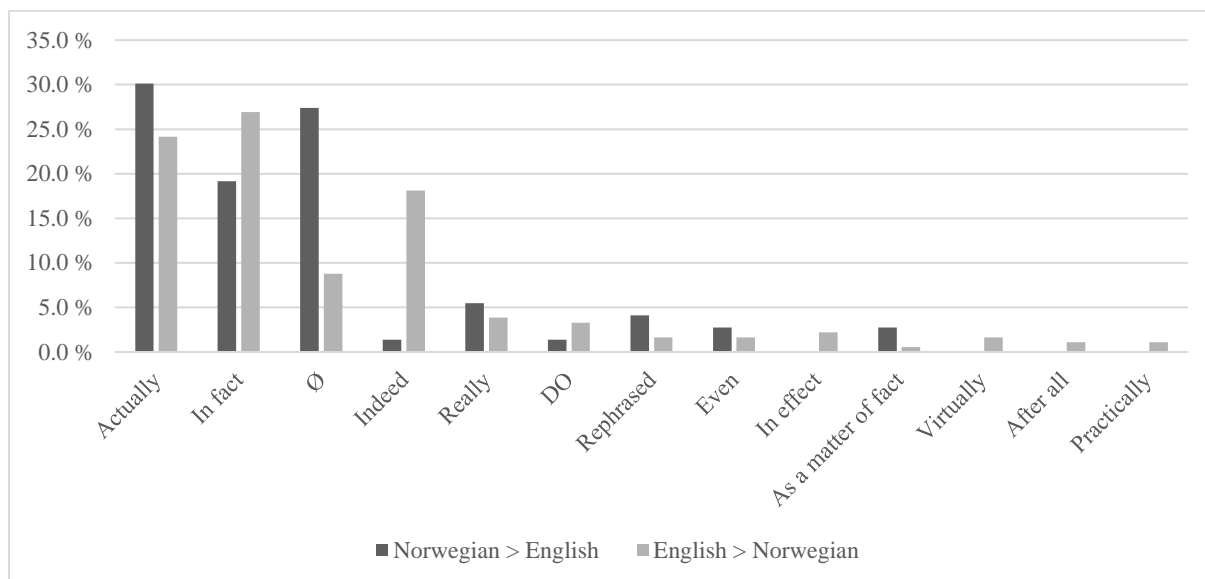
Figure 4.2: Correspondences of *faktisk* in the ENPC occurring twice or more, in percentages.

The differences between *actually*, *in fact*, zero correspondence and *indeed* are also illustrated in the graph, and especially the latter two stand out with extreme asymmetries between translation directions. The high frequency of zero correspondence in target text may suggest either that the item is difficult to translate or that the translator has deemed it superfluous and unnecessary to include in the target text. Looking at the material, it seems that the majority of the zero correspondences are due to the latter reason. In (74) and (75), *faktisk* could easily be translated with e.g. *actually* or *in fact* but is instead omitted.

(74) "Så da er vi vel nærmest en slags eksperter begge to da."
   "Ja. På en måte er vi **faktisk** kolleger." (ENPC-GS1)

   "So we 're probably both experts of a kind, really."
   "Yes. In a sense we 're colleagues." (ENPC-GS1T)

(75) Det svartlagte område [sic.] var **faktisk** betydelig større enn hele Danmark. (ENPC-UD1)

   The scorched earth area was much larger than all of Denmark. (ENPC-UD1T)

The low frequency of *indeed* as a correspondence of *faktisk* in English target texts and the considerable difference between the two directions is probably linked to the fact that *indeed* is generally more frequent in English source texts than target texts: *indeed* occurs a total of 109 times in source texts against only 43 times in target texts, and of the 43 occurrences in target texts only 15 are in non-fiction. *Indeed* is a very versatile pragmatic marker, and although it is in many contexts an excellent equivalent of *faktisk*, its versatility in combination with the lack of a cognate equivalent may make it a less obvious solution to translators.

65

4.2.3 *Actually*

Actually occurs in the ENPC a total of 230 times, and table 4.7 below shows that the occurrences are evenly distributed across the translation directions. The distribution of the correspondences, however, is less even. *Faktisk* and *egentlig* show opposite patterns, as *faktisk* is more frequent as a correspondence of *actually* in Norwegian translations of English than in Norwegian source texts, while *egentlig* is more frequent as a correspondence in Norwegian source texts. The distribution of zero correspondence is in turn more even, in contrast to the other nodes, where *egentlig* and *really* is more frequently added and *faktisk* more often omitted in translation. In the case of *actually*, the frequency of zero correspondence is generally high in both directions, only surpassed by that in English translations of *faktisk* and in Norwegian translations using *egentlig*.

Table 4.7: Correspondences of *actually* in the ENPC in raw frequency and percentages.

ACTUALLY	English > Norwegian		Norwegian > English		
	#	%	#	%	Total
Faktisk	45	40.2 %	22	18.6 %	67
Ø	26	23.2 %	24	20.3 %	50
Egentlig	10	8.9 %	30	25.4 %	40
Other adverbs	9	8.0 %	22	18.6 %	31
Prepositional phrase	14	12.5 %	6	5.1 %	20
Other	5	4.5 %	12	10.2 %	17
Rephrased	3	2.7 %	2	1.7 %	5
Total	**112**	**100 %**	**118**	**100 %**	**230**

The correspondences consist of 38 types, of which only 10 occur twice or more. Figure 4.3 presents these 10 correspondences, illustrating the high degree of diversity. For examples, the correspondences *forresten* and *for øvrig* do not typically refer to reality in any way but rather serve to mark elaborations or corrections. Their presence among the correspondences suggests that there is a diversity in meanings and functions matching the diversity in correspondences.
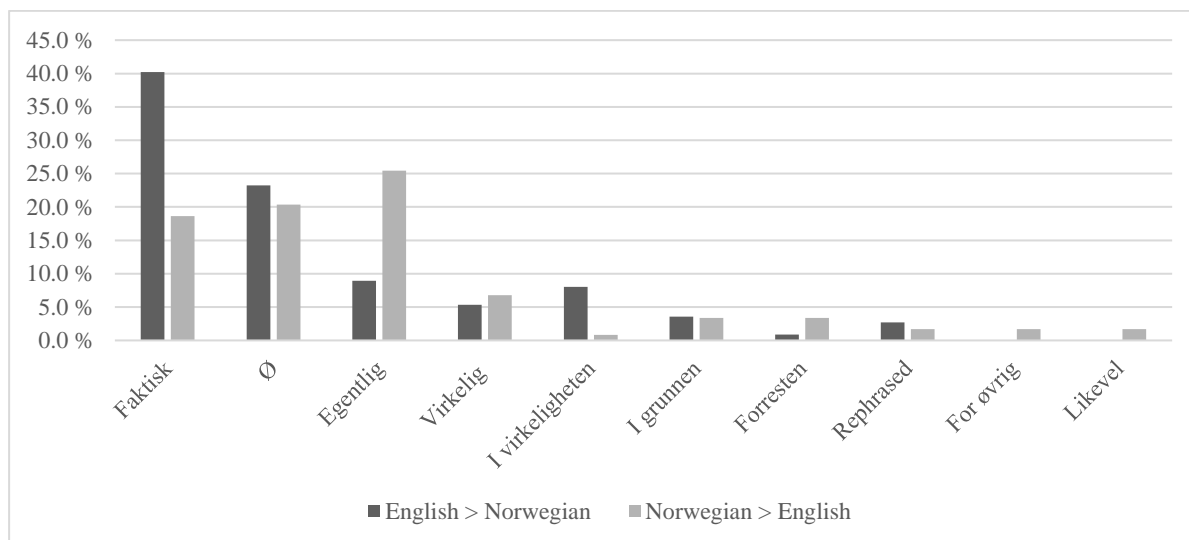
Figure 4.3: Correspondences of *actually* in the ENPC occurring twice or more, in percentages.

The frequencies of *faktisk* and *egentlig* as correspondences show that *faktisk* is much more frequent than *egentlig* in translations of *actually* into Norwegian, while they are more equally frequent as correspondences in source texts. These differences suggest that *faktisk* is more easily considered an equivalent of *actually* than *egentlig* when translating English source texts into Norwegian, while *actually* is more versatile and covers both adverbs' meanings and functions.

The table above shows that in terms of types of constructions, *faktisk*, *egentlig* and other adverbs are very frequent. These are followed by prepositional phrases, which make up just under 9 % of the total number of correspondences and 12.5 % of the correspondences in target texts. The graph shows that these are mainly *i virkeligheten* and *i grunnen*, and that *i virkeligheten* is more common as a translation than as a source text correspondence. The asymmetry with respect to *i virkeligheten* and the corresponding symmetry with respect to *i grunnen* may be due to the fact that the former has an obvious translation equivalent, *in reality*, while the latter does not. Besides adverbs and prepositional phrases, *actually* is translated using adjectives, verb phrases/clauses, fixed expressions, interjections and subject tags, which are all included in 'Other' in the table.

4.2.4 *Really*

Really occurs 564 times in the ENPC, and occurrences are fairly evenly distributed across the translation directions, with source text occurrences making up 45 % of the material against 55 %. We see from table 4.8 that there is some variation in frequency of correspondences

between the two directions, with *egentlig* being used more frequently as a translation of *really* into Norwegian than being translated into English using *really*. The opposite pattern is observed in the case of the category 'Other adverbs', as adverbs other than *egentlig* and *virkelig* are used in translation from English to Norwegian less frequently than *really* is used as a translation of adverbs other than *egentlig* and *virkelig* from Norwegian to English. In other words, *really* is used to translate a wider variety of items than are used to translate *really*. However, there is also slightly more zero correspondence in translation to English.

Table 4.8: Correspondences of *really* in the ENPC in raw frequency and percentages.

	English > Norwegian		Norwegian > English		Total
REALLY	**#**	**%**	**#**	**%**	**#**
Egentlig	87	35.5 %	78	24.5 %	165
Virkelig	66	26.9 %	72	22.6 %	138
Other adverbs	28	11.4 %	69	21.6 %	97
Ø	20	8.2 %	44	13.8 %	64
Rephrased	17	6.9 %	32	10.0 %	49
Prepositional phrase	10	4.1 %	10	3.1 %	20
Other	9	3.7 %	9	2.8 %	18
Adverb constructions	8	3.3 %	5	1.6 %	13
Total	**245**	**100 %**	**319**	**100 %**	**564**

The correspondences of *really* are comprised of 66 types, which confirms the finding that there is great diversity among the correspondences. Of these 66 types, 14 occur five times or more, and again the rapid decline is illustrated in figure 4.4 below. Also illustrated is the variation in *egentlig* and the other correspondences across translation direction, and when compared to that of *egentlig* and *faktisk* in figure 4.3 or zero correspondence in figure 4.2, we see that the variation is less marked in the case of *really*. It may be interesting to note that *riktig* occurs as a correspondence of *really* only in source texts and is not used as a translation of *really*. This difference suggests that *riktig* is easily used in authentic language but forgotten as a translation, but as the data set is quite small and *riktig* only occurs fifteen times, it is impossible to claim that it is a valid and important finding.
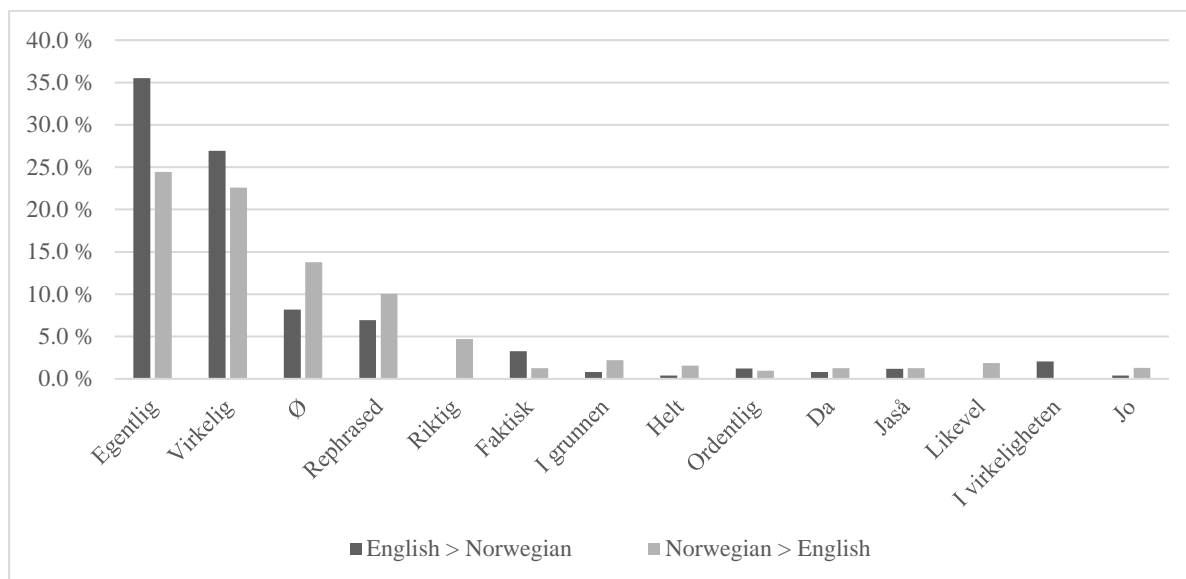
Figure 4.4: Correspondences of *really* in the ENPC occurring twice or more, in percentages.

4.2.5 Summary and comparison of the four adverbs

The analyses of *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* in this section show that the adverbs mainly correspond to other adverbs or constructions including adverbs. There are, however, differences, as *egentlig* and *really* are translated with an adverb or constructions involving adverbs in approximately 75 % of all instances, while *actually* is translated thus in about 55 % of instances and *faktisk* in about 40 % of instances. Table 4.9 sums up the translations of the four adverbs and types of correspondences.

Table 4.9: Translations of *egentlig* according to type of correspondence in percentages.

	Egentlig	Faktisk	Actually	Really
Adverbs + adverb construction	75.5 %	41.1 %	57.1 %	77.1 %
Zero correspondence + rephrased	16.4 %	31.5 %	26.0 %	15.1 %
Prepositional phrase	5.0 %	19.2 %	12.5 %	4.1 %
Other	3.1 %	8.2 %	4.4 %	3.7 %
Total	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

The table shows that the differences are reflected in the other frequencies: The frequency of zero correspondence is also generally high, but the cases of *faktisk* and *really* stand out, with zero correspondence in target texts making up 27.4 % of correspondences of *faktisk* against 8.2 % of correspondences of *really*. These frequencies may suggest that *faktisk* is either difficult or deemed unnecessary to translate, while *really*, with the lowest frequency of all the adverbs, is easier to translate or seen as important to the text. *Really* does, however, have a

relatively high frequency of occurrences where the target text is rephrased, and that the target text is rephrased in 6.9 % of the instances levels out the differences to some degree. The correspondences also comprise other types of constructions, and the third most frequent construction, after those involving adverbs or zero correspondence, is prepositional phrase. *Actually* and *faktisk* stand out with a high frequency of prepositional phrases in target texts of 12.5 % and 19.2 % respectively. The high frequency in the case of *faktisk* is explained by the cognate in fact, which makes up all occurrences of prepositional phrases.

The analyses above show that the four adverbs correspond to each other, but also that some are more equivalent to each other than others. To give a picture of the equivalence of the Norwegian and English adverbs, I have calculated their Mutual Correspondence (MC). Mutual Correspondence is an expression of the degree to which two items (A and B) are used to translate each other. It can be calculated using the formula below, and is given in percentages, where 0% is no correspondence and 100% full correspondence (Johansson 1998, 26).

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

In this formula A_t is the raw frequency of item A used as a translation of item B among B_s, source text occurrences of item B, and B_t is the raw frequency of item B used as a translation of item A among A_s, source text occurrences of item A. The calculations show that *egentlig* and *actually* have an MC of only 14.71%; *egentlig* and *really* have an MC of 41.23%; *actually* and *faktisk* have an MC of 35.68%; and *really* and *faktisk* have an MC of only 3.50%. This confirms that the adverbs have preferences and make up pairs: *egentlig* pairs with *really* and *actually* pairs with *faktisk*. Nevertheless, these values are also fairly low, which suggests that the degree of diversity among the correspondences is high.

A comparison of the correspondences of *egentlig* and *faktisk* reveals that they have very few correspondences in common. Both have adverbs, prepositional phrases, clauses, fixed expressions and adjectives, but aside from the *really* and *actually*, the only correspondences they have in common are *even*, *rather*, *in fact* and 'the fact BE that'. Also, while *egentlig* correspond to the interjection *eh*, *faktisk* is translated by means of DO support. Furthermore, *egentlig* is translated with e.g. *in reality*, *exactly*, *anyway*, *basically*, *precisely*, *well* and

strictly speaking, while *faktisk* is translated with e.g. *in effect*, *after all*, *indeed*, *virtually*, *practically* and *as a matter of fact*.

A corresponding analysis of *actually* and *really* reveals the same tendency, but they have three more correspondences in common, which is probably mainly due to the larger number of correspondences in general. These correspondences are *virkelig*, *helt*, *forresten*, *likevel*, *jo + egentlig*, *i grunnen* and *i virkeligheten*. Otherwise, *actually* is translated with e.g. *for øvrig*, *riktignok*, *jaggu* and *i realiteten*, *really* is translated with *da*, *riktig*, *strengt tatt* and *jaså*. They do, however, have all categories in common, which, as opposed to among the English correspondences, include subject tags. Subject tags are, in other words, exclusive to the Norwegian correspondences, while DO support, which does not exist in Norwegian, is exclusive to the English correspondences. There is no discernable pattern which would explain why for example so many of the adverbs correspond to only one adverb and not the other.

The analyses also show that all four adverbs have correspondences that only or mainly occur in source text material, and there seem to be a tendency for translators to prefer cognates when there are cognate equivalents that are appropriate. It is conceivable that this tendency might cause the translator to choose the more obvious solution rather than focus on translating functions, while when no cognate is available, such as in the case of 'BE supposed to', the translator uses less obvious solutions, which nevertheless are good translations. In other words, it is easier for a translator to use a cognate equivalent than to search for a less obvious alternative, but when there is no cognate, the translator is not biased and have only meaning and function to go on. Since the adverbs in this study all have a set of dictionary equivalents, these common equivalents are most frequently used in target texts, while the adverbs are used to translate a wider range of correspondences, thus perhaps displaying a wider range of meanings and functions.

A look at the distribution of types across translation directions supports this conclusion, as there are more types among the source text correspondences than the target text correspondences. Table 4.10 presents the number of types the correspondences comprise in source texts (ST) and target texts (TT). It shows that there is a wider range of correspondences that have been translated with the adverbs than there is when they are being translated.

Table 4.10: The number of different types the correspondences of each of the adverbs comprised in source texts (ST) and target texts (TT).

Egentlig		Faktisk		Actually		Really	
ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
22	28	13	22	17	29	38	54

In section 4.2, the aim has been to answer RQ2, namely how *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* are translated. This question has been answered during these paragraphs through tables and graphs displaying what types of correspondences each of the adverbs have in the ENPC and how frequent they are. The hypothesis for this thesis states that the correspondences shows a high degree of diversity and high frequency of zero correspondence, and both predictions have proved true.

4.3 RQ3 + RQ4: Pragmatic function in translation

Chapter 4.2 looked at all occurrences of *egentlig*, *faktisk*, *actually* and *really* without distinguishing between propositional uses and uses with pragmatic functions. The aim was to see how each of the adverbs are translated and what types of correspondences translators use. Now that that question has been answered, chapter 4.3 will look at occurrences with pragmatic functions and answer RQ3, namely whether pragmatic functions have been conveyed in the translation and, if so, which solutions have been employed.

Previous studies have claimed that there is a correlation between pragmatic function and position in the sentence, i.e. that peripheral positioned adverbs have pragmatic functions (cf. Aijmer 1986/2002) In addition to the correlation between position and function in general, Aijmer (2002, 257–258) finds that *actually* in initial position mainly has textual functions, while *actually* in final and parenthetical position mainly has interpersonal functions. That does not mean that pragmatic functions never occur in medial positions, which has been established in the previous discussions, but it does indicate that peripheral positioned adverbs are more likely to have pragmatic functions that those in medial position. Based on this presumption, I have focused the analysis on occurrences of the adverbs in peripheral position, i.e. initial, final and parenthetical in addition to in fragments and those appearing alone ('singles'), in order to find clear examples of uses with pragmatic function. For each of the four adverbs under investigation, I have isolated the peripherally positioned occurrences and analysed them for pragmatic functions. The previous chapters have found pragmatic functions also in medial position, and ideally, the entire material should be analyses in terms of function. Such an extensive analysis is, however, beyond the scope of this thesis. Restricting the analysis to peripheral position, ensures that similar occurrences are analysed and compared.

Another strategy for locating pragmatic functions would be to isolate and analyse occurrences with zero correspondence since a high frequency of zero correspondence may indicate that the occurrences have functions that are difficult to translate. Due to time limitations, however, such an analysis has not been preformed. Upon looking through occurrences of *faktisk* in the material, a couple of instances of zero correspondence stood out, and these have been discussed briefly in the discussion of *faktisk* in 4.3.2. Beyond that, zero correspondence has not been discussed in this section.

Due to the assumed correlation between position and function, it is natural to expect that a peripherally positioned *egentlig* is likely to have pragmatic function. However, the discussion of *egentlig* in 4.1.1 mentioned that there seems to be a difference between English and Norwegian with respect to elements in initial position. According to Faarlund et al. (1997, 811), *egentlig* and *faktisk* are sentence adverbials. Position in the sentence is a distinguishing characteristic of sentence adverbials in Norwegian as they appear in medial position or initial position, but not in final position unless they are separated from the rest of the sentence, i.e. by comma in writing or as a separate tone unit in speech (pp. 814–815). This separation from the sentence structure is a key characteristic of peripheral positions, but in initial position, the sentence adverbial is an integral part of the sentence, not separated in terms of punctuation nor intonation. Accordingly, there is a possibility that initial position of adverbials in Norwegian does not correspond to that of adverbials in English, since English grammar usually requires initially positioned adverbials with loose attachment to the proposition to be succeeded by a comma (Faarlund et al. 1997, 874; Quirk et al. 1985, 1626).[12] In other words, when *egentlig* and *faktisk* appear in initial position, they are a part of the sentence in a way which initially positioned *actually* and *really* are not. In final position, however, all four adverbs are placed outside the sentence structure, and final position of adverbials in Norwegian corresponds to that of adverbials in English.

These differences in adverbial placement suggest that the function and meaning of initially positioned *egentlig* and *faktisk* may differ from that of initially positioned *actually* and *really*. All of the four adverbs are highly mobile and can have scope over the entire proposition rather than the verb phrase only, but it is conceivable that initially positioned *egentlig* is less likely to have pragmatic functions or has other functions than its initially positioned English equivalents. The discussion in 4.1.1 did, however, conclude that *egentlig* in initial position also are likely to have pragmatic functions, and since this is mainly a qualitative analysis, this difference is not problematic in this thesis.

The question this section aims to answer is how the adverbs have been translated and how pragmatic function is preserved in translation. Therefore, occurrences of the four adverbs in their source texts are more interesting than target texts, and only these and their translations are analysed. To answer the question, I have looked for patterns between position, function

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[12] Faarlund et al. (1997) refer to this separation as extraposition, but it does not correspond to extraposition as defined in standard English grammar, which involves placing a subject or object in end position by placing an anticipatory *it* in initial position.

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and correspondence, and after discussing how pragmatic function is conveyed, I answer whether there is any correlation between function and correspondence.

4.3.1 *Egentlig*

Chapter 4.1 established that initial *egentlig* can have pragmatic functions. The quantitative analysis of *egentlig* in 4.2 shows that there are 159 source text occurrences of the adverb in the material, and of these, 29, i.e. 18 %, appear in peripheral positions: 24 in initial position, 2 in final position and 3 in fragments, such as "ikke egentlig" ('not really'). Of the two occurrences of *egentlig* in final position, both are translated with *really*. Similarly, all three occurrences of *egentlig* in a negated fragment are translated with *really*. Whether these occurrences have pragmatic functions and the degree to which such functions have been preserved will be discussed after looking at *egentlig* in initial position.

Of the 24 occurrences in initial position, 12 have pragmatic functions, either textual, interpersonal or both, while 8 are clearly propositional and 4 more ambiguous in meaning and function. Out of the 12 occurrences with pragmatic functions, 7 are primarily textual, while 5 have primarily interpersonal functions. In many of the occurrences, it is possible to argue that *egentlig* has both a textual and an interpersonal function, but every occurrence seems to have a primary function and has been categorised accordingly. Table 4.11 presents the functions found and the correspondences of *egentlig* within each function.

Table 4.11: Functions and correspondences of *egentlig* in initial position in the ENPC.

12 occurrences with pragmatic function in initial position			
Textual	**7**	**Interpersonal**	**5**
Topic shift	6	Softening personal opinion	2
- *Actually* (3)		- *To be truthful*	
- *By rights*		- *In fact*	
- *In fact*			
- Ø			
Concluding/dismissive	1	Marking admission	3
- *Actually*		- *Actually*	
		- *I guess*	
		- *Secretly*	

The table shows that *actually* makes up 5 of the correspondences, while *in fact* makes up 2, and the remaining 5 are made up of 5 different correspondences. The correspondences are

varied, including adverbs, clauses, prepositional phrases and zero correspondence, and there is no real pattern. *To be truthful*, *I guess* and *secretly* are correspondences of *egentlig* with interpersonal function, which I would argue is natural as the 2 former explicitly denote a personal point of view while the latter implies it. Of the 5 occurrences with interpersonal function, only *in fact* does not convey the function in the translation, which we will come back to later.

The diversity in both types and type of correspondence reflects those of *egentlig* in general, but the most common equivalent, namely *really*, is not among them. This can probably be explained by the fact that *really*, as will be discussed later in the chapter, appears in initial position less frequently than *actually*. That *actually* is the most frequent correspondence among the occurrences in initial position is not unexpected. The discussion on *actually* later in the chapter will show that all occurrences of the adverb in initial position have textual functions.

It is challenging to analyse the function of initial *egentlig* because virtually all of the occurrences involve a contrast. In (76) below, it is difficult move past the fact that *egentlig* points to reality as opposed to what is assumed: The speaker's wife runs an advertising agency that demands most of her time, and since he is her husband it is natural to assume that he knows a lot about her work, but the truth is that he knows very little. However, *egentlig* introduces a shift in topic, as the speaker goes from describing his wife's work to realising or admitting that he in reality does not know how she works. I would argue that this function is a textual, and thus pragmatic, function, and that while *egentlig* retains some of its propositional meaning, it has moved away from its semantic content and gained another function, qualifying as a pragmatic marker. Similarly, *egentlig* in (77) denotes the contrast between the impression of the contact established as something more than professional contact and the reality that it is simply professional, and yet again, this contrast derives from its semantic meaning. However, *egentlig*, in combination with *vel*, also serves as a hedging device softening the speaker's statement. As with (76), *egentlig* in (77) does retain some of its propositional meaning but has gained a pragmatic function in a move away from its semantic content.

(76) Hun var utvilsomt dyktig og uhyre arbeidsom, og jeg tror hun drev reklamebyrået meget godt. Arbeidet krevde hennes tid både tidlig og sent, stadig var hun på farten, også om kvelden, i møter og mottakelser. […] **Egentlig** visste jeg svært lite om byrået og virksomheten der. Jeg forsøkte å fritte henne ut og skaffe meg en slags oversikt over hennes dager, men hun hadde en egen evne til å vri samtalen over på andre ting, uten at det virket påfallende. (ENPC-JW1)

She was obviously capable and immensely hard-working, and I think she ran the advertising agency very well. She started early and worked late, and she was always out somewhere, even in the evenings, at meetings and receptions. […] I **actually** knew very little about the office and her work there. I tried to ask questions and get some impression of the way she spent her days, but she had the knack of turning the conversation on to other subjects without making it obvious that she was doing so. (ENPC-JW1T)

(77) Det er bare to serveringsdamer, og jeg har, uten å ville det nærmest oppnådd en slags kontakt med den ene. **Egentlig** er det vel bare den slags kontakt som en alltid oppnår med personalet på steder man vanker ofte, men jeg kan ikke annet enn medgi at smilet hun sender meg over den rutete duken idet hun spør om det var noe mer jeg ønsket, både virker oppriktig og sympatisk. (ENPC-KF1)

There are only two waitresses and I have, without really meaning to, established a kind of contact with one of them. **I guess** it 's just the sort of contact you always make with the personnel in places you often go to, but I must admit that the smile she gives me across the checked tablecloth as she asks if I want anything else seems both sincere and pleasant. (ENPC-KF1T)

Of the 12 occurrences where *egentlig* has pragmatic function, there are 7 where the function has been preserved, and 5 where it has not. In (77), *egentlig* + *vel* is translated with *I guess*, which also serves as a hedging device softening the statement, and pragmatic function is thus preserved. In (76), *actually* is placed in medial position, and does convey the contrast that is semantically encoded in both *egentlig* and *actually*. It does not, however, serve as a marker of topic shift. *Actually* is only preceded by "I", and its position towards the beginning of the sentence ensures that it carries some weight in the sentence, but it does not have the full effect it would have had in initial position.

Of the 5 occurrences where functions are not conveyed, 4 are textual, as in (76). All 4 of the correspondences are medially positioned, and therefore do not function as a textual marker. In the fifth occurrence, (78), *in fact* does not convey the interpersonal function of *egentlig*. Here, *egentlig* follows a reference to a conflict between environmentalists and those in favour of industrial progress, and prefaces and softens a potentially controversial. *In fact* is here initially positioned, but does not soften the utterance. The target text is very different from the source text in its structure because the translator has moved the text around, and there is no reference

to environmentalists. Thus, it seems that the sentence has been taken out of its original context, and there is no need for softening the statement. It could be argued that *egentlig* in (78) has a textual function of topic shift, but there is generally a low degree of cohesion in the source text, and it is difficult to argue the point.

(78) Men omdanningen av fossekraft til elektrisitet resulterte i en endeløs kamp mellom naturverntilhengere og tilhengere av industrielt fremskritt. **Egentlig** gjorde Norsk Hydro en fantastisk jobb da de rørla Rjukanfossen, for de løftet den 100 meter høyere opp og lot den renne et kort stykke gjennom rørene for å få kraft til strømproduksjonen. Av og til slippes den løs i sitt naturlige leie til glede for beundrende besøkende. (ENPC-ABJH1)

By the end of the 1960's Norsk Hydro needed more than seven billion kilowatts of electricity a year. This was equal to 13 percent of the electricity consumption for the whole of Norway in 1968. An Industrial Cinderella
JOAN: **In fact** Norsk Hydro did a brilliant job of harnessing the Rjukan waterfall by lifting it 100 meters further up the mountain and letting it run a short way through steel pipelines to make electricity. And still it pours through its natural pathway occasionally, to impress visitors. (ENPC-ABJH1T)

Table 4.12 presents the occurrences of *egentlig* in final position and in negated fragments. There are two occurrences in final position and three occurrences in fragments, all of which are translated with *really*.

Table 4.12: Correspondences of *egentlig* in final position and fragments in the ENPC according to function.

Final position	Fragments
Interpersonal (2)	**Interpersonal (3)**
Curiosity/suspicion	Softening
- *Really*	- *Really*

While *really* is not used to translate *egentlig* in initial position, it is the only correspondence of *egentlig* in final position and in fragments. The latter is expected since *really* is known to appear negated in fragments; in the ENPC, *really* appear in such fragments nine times, and all but one are translated using *egentlig*. In (79), *egentlig* has a softening function that moderates the negative, making it less absolute. Together, *egentlig* and *ikke* is an alternative negative answer to *no*, and as *no* is very absolute, it is moderated, either by replacing it altogether, as in (79), or by attaching a comment clause, as in (80). All three occurrences of the fragment have this function, and their function is conveyed through *really*.

(79) "Husker du henne?"
"Mener du Lene?" Han nikket.
"**Egentlig** ikke," sa hun. "Men jeg husker henne såvidt fra skolen. Fra barneskolen," la hun til. (ENPC-OEL1)

"Do you remember her?"

"Lene, you mean?" He nodded.

"Not **really**," she said. "But I do just remember her from school. Primary school," she added. (ENPC-OEL1T)

(80) "Føler du deg ikke ensom da? […]

Jeg sier: "Tja — nei **egentlig** ikke. Jeg trives alene." (ENPC-KF1)

"Do n't you feel lonely? […]

I say: "Well — no, not **really**. I enjoy being alone." (ENPC-KF1T)

There are two occurrences of *egentlig* in final position, and both are translated with *really,* as in (81). It is possible to interpret both occurrences as both propositional and expressing curiosity. If *egentlig* were stressed, it is used propositionally to contrast reality to its counterpart, but since text does not mark stress, it is up to the reader to make an interpretation. If the instances of *really* also are stressed, they convey the meaning of *egentlig*. If, however, *egentlig* in (81) is unstressed, and thus expresses curiosity, it does not. To compare, *egentlig* in (82) conveys the speaker's suspicion or doubt, which is supported by the description of the speaker as "bending forward […] uneasily". *Egentlig* is translated using *exactly*, which supports this argument, as the adverb *exactly* here emphasises *why* more than the following verb phrase, both demanding a more precise reason than what is known or believed and functioning as a sentence adverb, conveying the speaker's suspicion, doubt or lack of faith in the information hitherto known or believed. In other words, assuming that *egentlig* in (81) expressed curiosity, *really* does not preserve its function in translation, and *exactly* may perhaps be a better option.

(81) "Hvordan skjedde det **egentlig**?" spurte jeg.

"Hva?"

"Da han kastet seg... datt ut av vinduet."

Malvin så seg om etter flasken. Jeg helte i for ham. Den ble tom.

"Jeg visste ikkeno før dem vekte meg. (ENPC-LSC1)

"How did it happen, **really**?" I asked.

"What?"

"When he jumped... fell out the window."

Malvin looked for the bottle. I poured for him. Emptied it.

"I didn't know a thing until they woke me up. (ENPC-LSC1T)

(82) Da Robert M. Turner var blitt ferdig med første porsjon av den herlige suppen og lente seg tilbake for å overveie om han skulle la seg friste til en til, bøyde hans bordfelle seg en tanke urolig frem og spurte: "Hvorfor reiser De **egentlig** mellom disse øyene?" (ENPC-FC1)

When Robert Turner had finished his first helping of that excellent soup and leaned back to consider whether he would let himself be tempted to have another, his table companion bent forward a trifle uneasily and asked: Why **exactly** are you travelling in these islands? (ENPC-FC1T)

The discussion of *egentlig* in 4.1.1 claimed that Norwegian adverbial placement differs from that in English, and that *egentlig*, and Norwegian adverbials in general, are more easily used propositionally when they occupy initial position in the sentence than adverbials are in English. The findings in this section supports this, as only half of the occurrences of *egentlig* in initial position have pragmatic function. This is not the case with respect to *faktisk*, however, and as *egentlig* also have four times as many occurrences in initial position as *faktisk*, it indicates that there are differences between Norwegian adverbials in terms of placement.

The analysis in this section reveals one main pattern, namely that *really* is not used to translate *egentlig* in initial position but is the only item used to translate *egentlig* in final position and in negated fragments. In fragments, *really* conveys the softening function of *egentlig* very well, but in final position, *really* does not fully convey the expression of curiosity/suspicion that *egentlig* communicates.

In initial position *egentlig* is translated with a wider range of items, and *actually* makes up 5 out of 12 correspondences. When it comes to preserving function, it seems that textual markers are largely dependent on remaining in initial position, and if the translation is placed in medial position, its textual function is not conveyed. This is the case in 4 out of 7 occurrences with textual functions. In the 2 instances where textual function has been conveyed, it has been translated with *actually* in initial position. The interpersonal functions are conveyed to a large extent, and among those, only *in fact* in initial position does not preserve the function of *egentlig*. In all, pragmatic function has been preserved in about 70 % of the occurrences of *egentlig* in peripheral position.

4.3.2 *Faktisk*

Table 4.6 in 4.2.2 shows that there are 73 source text occurrences of *faktisk*, and of these, 9, that is 12 %, are in peripheral positions: 7 in initial, 1 in final and 1 in parenthetical position. Of the 7 initially positioned adverbs, 6 have pragmatic functions: 5 are textual and mark an elaboration in a line of argumentation, while the last is interpersonal and expresses surprise. Also the final and parenthetical occurrences express surprise, but all 3 occurrences with this

function are translated differently. The textual markers in initial position, however, correspond to *in fact* and zero correspondence. Table 4.13 presents the correspondences of *faktisk* with pragmatic function in peripheral position and their function.

Table 4.13: The correspondences of *faktisk* with pragmatic function in peripheral position in the ENPC according to function.

8 occurrences with pragmatic functions in peripheral position			
Initial position			
Textual	**5**	**Interpersonal**	**1**
Elaborative marker - *In fact* (3) - Ø (2)		Expressing surprise - *The fact was that*	
Final position			
Textual		**Interpersonal**	**1**
		Expressing surprise - *honestly*	
Parenthetical position			
Textual		**Interpersonal**	**1**
		Expressing surprise - *even*	

The three occurrences of *faktisk* with interpersonal function all express a degree of surprise or mark the statement as unexpected. There is no pattern in correspondences, as all three are different and comprise both adverbs and a clause, except that the translations of all initial occurrences involve the cognate 'fact'. Whether this truly is a pattern is unclear due to the low number of cases. The correspondences do, however, convey the pragmatic function, although perhaps in varying manners. The initial *the fact was that* and final *honestly* are used mainly for emphasis to underline the statement, and especially *honestly* is used emphatically to convince the addressee that the speaker is telling the truth. In (83), both *faktisk* and *honestly* emphasises the truth-value of the utterance, but they do simultaneously mark the statement as unexpected, as the fact that it is unexpected means it requires additional emphasis (cf. Aijmer 2002, 271 on *actually*). The parenthetical *faktisk* in (84) is translated with a medial *even*, which marks the fact that the speaker looks forward to the vacation as unexpected and surprising. Despite the varying degree of emphasis involved in the texts, all three preserves the pragmatic function of *faktisk*.

(83) "Det virket nesten som om hun hadde fått vite for sikkert at sønnen hennes kunne komme når som helst!" sa fru Jørgensen. "Det gjorde det **faktisk**." (ENPC-EG1)

"It was almost as if she'd heard that her son might turn up at any moment," Mrs Larsen chimed in. "It was, **honestly**!" (ENPC-EG1T)

(84) De sa jeg skulle tilbringe ferien på landet, hos tante Linn og onkel Kristen som hadde skrevet og bedt meg komme, og det var helt i orden, jeg gledet meg **faktisk**, selv om jeg ikke kunne fri meg fra en følelse av at det var mor og far som gjerne ville ha det slik, få meg anbrakt for sommeren, og hadde latt det skinne igjennom, fått dem til å invitere meg. (ENPC-KF2)

They said I was to spend the holidays in the country, at Aunt Linn and Uncle Kristen's, who had written with an invitation, and that was fine by me. I was **even** looking forward to it, though I couldn't quite get rid of the feeling that it was Mother's and Dad's idea to send me away for the summer, and they'd probably made it quite plain that they wanted them to invite me. (ENPC-KF2T)

The discussion of *egentlig* above showed that the adverb in initial position often has textual function, but that these were largely not conveyed because the correspondences do not have the same position. *Faktisk* as an elaborative marker correspond to *in fact* three times, of which two are in initial position while the third is in final position. *In fact* in initial position, such as in (85) below, preserves the elaborative function; in both the source text and target text, the speaker discusses the possible reason for Leonardo da Vinci's poor results in school uses *faktisk/in fact* to introduce his argument.

(85) La oss følge denne tankegangen videre. Dårlige skoleresultater hos et særdeles vel begavet og særdeles kunnskapsmotivert barn får vel en klokke til å ringe om at her er det noe som er galt. […] **Faktisk** kan en få mistanke om at Leonardo led av en eller annen form for dysleksi eller ordblindhet. (ENPC-ANR1)

Let us take this line of thought one step further. When a highly gifted child who is eager to learn does poorly in school, the thought occurs to us that something is wrong. […] **In fact**, one might suspect that Leonardo suffered from one or another form of dyslexia or word-blindness. (ENPC-ANR1T)

In fact in final position does not serve as a textual marker to the same degree, and instead, the final position gives it more of an interpersonal function, expressing surprise or marking the statement as unexpected. This correlation between position and function was suggested by Aijmer with respect to *actually* (cf. section 2.3.1; Aijmer 2002, 257–258), and it also seems to be true for *in fact*, *egentlig* in the discussion above and *faktisk*. Although it seems textual markers occur exclusively in initial position, it does not necessary mean that these occurrences are completely void of interpersonal functions. The function of expressing unexpectedness or surprise is to some degree present in the initial occurrences with textual

function as well, such as in (85), where *faktisk* arguably marks the theory of Leonardo da Vinci being dyslexic as surprising.

Upon looking through the data, a couple of occurrences of faktisk stood out. In (86), *faktisk* is not translated, and it has been annotated as zero correspondence. The translator has added *almost* as a pre-modifier of "frightened" downtoning the statement that the good reviews frightened him. The downtoning function is not the same as that of *faktisk*, meaning that the adverb's expression of surprise has not been conveyed in the translation. The same is true the other occurrences with zero correspondence, but there are two examples where the translators have altered the thematical structure of the sentence and thus accentuated the element which *faktisk* emphasises. In (86), the speaker is describing himself and his interest in heathy food as having become fanatic, and *faktisk*, with scope over the verbal "var blitt", emphasises this development. In the translation, the translator has likely identified the development and fanaticalness as the topic for the sentence and chosen "so fanatical" as theme and fronted the predicative for emphasis. Similarly, *faktisk* in (87) emphasises the utterance and its focus on "selv". In the translation, this effect is achieved by including "himself" in the subject in initial position rather than placing in end position. Example (88) illustrates the difference and presents alternate translations with a more neutral thematic structure. The translators' changes in word order conveys the emphasis of *faktisk*, and the functions have been preserved despite the zero correspondence.

> (86) Han var **faktisk** etter hvert blitt en slik fanatiker at han overhodet ikke kunne tenke seg å stikke noe i munnen som ikke var dyrket biologisk. (ENPC-EG1)
>
> So fanatical had he become that he had now reached the stage at which the thought of eating food that had not been organically grown was abhorrent to him. (ENPC-EG1T)

> (87) **Faktisk** beskriver han selv hvordan det kunne gå til.
>
> He himself describes how this could happen.

> (88)
>> i. He had become so fanatical that…
>> ii. He describes how this could happen himself

It is worth noting that none of the instances in peripheral position are translated with *actually*. The analyses in 4.2 showed that *actually* is the most frequent translation of *faktisk*, and as *actually* was the most frequent correspondences of *egentlig* in peripheral position, one might expect that it would be found as a translation of *faktisk* as well. That is nonetheless not the

case, and it is perhaps explained by the generally low number of occurrences of *faktisk* in peripheral position.

The findings so far suggest that 1) initially positioned *faktisk* largely has an elaborative function, with or without expressing surprise; 2) *faktisk* in final and parenthetical position marks unexpectedness and expresses surprise; and 3) *faktisk* in initial position is translated with *in fact* or variations thereupon unless they are omitted. *In fact* in initial position is associated with textual functions, while it in final position rather has interpersonal function, and in these positions, *in fact* conveys the function of *faktisk* well. The interpersonal functions are also conveyed well in this analysis, but as all three of the correspondences are different, it is not possible to point to any pattern. That *in fact* in initial position preserves textual function supports the findings in the analysis of *egentlig*, where items in medial position do not preserve this function. In all, pragmatic function has been preserved in the translations in about 60 % of occurrences of *faktisk* in peripheral position.

4.3.3 *Actually*

The quantitative analysis of *actually* in 4.2 shows that there are 112 source text occurrences of the adverb in the material, and of these, 19, that is 17 %, appeared unambiguously in peripheral positions, all of which can be argued to have pragmatic function. There are no occurrences of *actually* in parenthetical position, but 12 in initial position and 7 in final position. Of the occurrences in final position, 4 have textual function and 3 have interpersonal function, while all occurrences in initial position have textual function. These findings correspond to Aijmer (1986/2002), who attributes the propositional meanings to *actually* in medial position, while the contrastive or elaborative functions occur with *actually* in initial position and softening and establishing of intimacy and common ground with *actually* in final and parenthetical position. Table 4.14 presents the correspondences of *actually* in peripheral position according to their function and shows that all occurrences in initial position and 4 out of 7 in final position have textual function.

Table 4.14: Correspondences of *actually* in peripheral positions and their functions in the ENPC.

19 occurrences with pragmatic functions in peripheral positions			
Initial position – textual functions (12)			
Marking topic shift	Marking correction	Marking elaboration	Marking conclusion
- Ø	- *Faktisk* (5)	- *Faktisk* (2)	- *I grunnen*
- *Forresten*	- *I virkeligheten*	- Ø	
Final position – textual functions (4)			
Marking self-correction	Marking elaboration		
- *Faktisk* (2)	- Ø		
- *I grunnen*			
Final position – interpersonal functions (3)			
Expressing surprise	Softener		
- *I hvert fall*	- *Faktisk*		
- *I grunnen*			

Of the 12 occurrences of *actually* in initial position, only 4 are translated in a manner that preserves the its textual function. The discussion on *faktisk* concluded that position is important in conveying textual functions, and position seems to be a key element also here. 3 of these 4 occurrences are the only ones that have correspondences in initial position, while the correspondences of the 8 occurrences where function is not preserved are either in medial position, final position or zero correspondences. In the fourth occurrence, (89), the function is preserved although the correspondence is not in initial position. Here, *actually* marks a momentary topic shift where the speaker provides an additional piece of information before continuing, in this case the conversation, where he left off. It is translated with *forresten* ('by the way'), which is generally used to signal a change of mind or shift in discourse. Thus, it is not dependent upon initial position and communicates this brief shift of topic well in Norwegian also in medial position.

> (89) Then he asked: "Who is that woman in the portrait?"
> "I hadn't realized that you didn't know. Hilary Robarts. She 's Acting Administrative Officer at the power station. **Actually** you 'll meet her at dinner on Thursday night. She bought Scudder's Cottage when she first arrived here three years ago. (ENPC-PDJ3)
>
> Så spurte han: "Hvem er damen på portrettet?"
> "Å, jeg var ikke klar over at De ikke visste det. Hilary Robarts. Fungerende administrasjonssjef ved kraftverket. De kommer **forresten** til å møte henne i middagsselskapet torsdag. Hun kjøpte Scudder's Cottage da hun kom hit for tre år siden. (ENPC-PDJ3T)

In (90), *actually* has a similar function, but rather than marking a momentary shift, *actually* marks the speaker's elaboration on the existing topic, providing additional information without the shift back to the previous topic. Here, *actually* is translated by *faktisk*, which does

convey the elaborative relationship to the previous utterance but does not signal the topic shift to the same degree as it would have in initial position.

> (90) "I 'm hungry," Angus said […] "You don't think she'll cook cuisine minceur?"
> "Fat hope," she said. "**Actually** we 'll be lucky if there 's any dinner at all." (ENPC-FW1)
>
> "Jeg er sulten," sa Angus […] "Du tror vel ikke hun kommer til å lage mat i ny fransk stil?"
> "Det var for mye å håpe," sa hun. "Vi er **faktisk** heldige om det blir noe til middag i det hele tatt." (ENPC-FW1T)

Of the 7 occurrences of *actually* in final position, 5 are translated with a correspondence that coveys the pragmatic function of the adverb, although in varying degrees. The three occurrences marking a self-correction are translated with *i grunnen* or *faktisk*, and these correspondences have different functions. In (91), *actually* marks the utterance as a self-correction or self-repair and can be paraphrased "come to think of it" as the speaker recalls the correct answer. *Faktisk* in this context is somewhat more emphatic and contrastive than *actually*, and rather than conveying a self-repair, it marks the utterance as surprising or unexpected. Comparing (91) to a similar case of self-correction in (92), I would argue that this correspondence, *i grunnen*, is less contrastive and emphatic and better conveys the repair than *faktisk*. This is, however, matter of interpretation, and although I argue that *faktisk* only poorly preserves the function of *actually*, all three occurrences of self-correction can be considered conveyed through the translation.

> (91) "Has Sarah been in touch since she left?"
> "She's come by once or twice. Once, **actually**," Macon said. (ENPC-AT1)
>
> "Har du snakket med Sarah siden hun dro?"
> "Hun har vært her et par ganger. En, **faktisk**," sa Macon. (ENPC-AT1T)

> (92) This seemed to me a perfectly reasonable statement, but for some reason it set Nigel off laughing. Biff Vokins looked up from his desk — this was meant to be a private study period — and gave an enquiring glance. More than enquiring, **actually**. Which only set Nigel off more, and it was some time before he could attempt an explanation. (ENPC-JB1)
>
> Dette syntes jeg var helt på sin plass å si, men av en eller annen grunn fikk det Nigel til å le. Biff Vokins så opp fra kateteret — det skulle være en time for egenstudier — og sendte Nigel et undersøkende blikk. Mer enn undersøkende, **i grunnen**. Noe som bare fikk Nigel til å le enda høyere, og det tok en god stund før han klarte å prøve seg på en forklaring. (ENPC-JB1T)

In (93) below, a final positioned *actually* marks an elaboration, similarly to that in (90) above. Here, *actually* closes a small piece of information (the subjects place of residence) that the

speaker provides in addition to the previous statement (the different residences of those involved) as an extra and concluding remark before pursuing the original topic (cooking for three households). It is not translated and is annotated as a zero correspondence. The translator has reformulated the sentence and added *nå*, but it is not rephrased sufficiently to justify the lack of a translation, and *nå* does not convey the function of *actually*.

> (93) All through the gloomiest March and April in years, I was cooking for three households —
> for my father, who insisted on living alone in our old farmhouse, for Rose and her husband,
> Pete, in their house across the road from Daddy, and also for my husband, Tyler, and myself.
> We lived where the Ericsons once had, **actually**.
> I 'd been able to consolidate dinner, and sometimes supper, depending on how Rose was
> feeling, but breakfast had to be served in each kitchen. (ENPC-JSM1)
>
> I hele mars og april — de dystreste månedene på mange år — hadde jeg laget mat for tre
> husholdninger: for far min, som insisterte på å bo alene i det gamle våningshuset vårt; for
> Rose og mannen hennes, Pete; og for meg selv og Tyler, mannen min.
> Vi bodde i Ericsons gamle hus nå.
> Middag spiste vi som regel sammen, og av og til kveldsmat, det kom an på hvordan det sto til
> med Rose, men frokosten måtte jeg servere på tre forskjellige steder. (ENPC-JSM1T)

Actually in (94) has a more different function, although it is still in final position. Here, *actually* has a softening function, providing an apologetic tone to the statement as if it was an admission: the speaker is confronted with her wealth, and wishes to soften the statement to make it less abrupt and less likely to cause offence. This function is a face-saving strategy and is similar to that of marking an admission, which chapter 4.1 identified as a function of *faktisk*. There were no occurrences of *faktisk* marking admission or otherwise softening a statement in the discussion above, however, and a comparison of the three adverbs discussed so far indicates that both *faktisk* and *actually* are less likely to have a softening function than *egentlig*. Nevertheless, this occurrence does support Aijmer's (2002) finding that softening functions occur when *actually* is in final or parenthetical position, and it is conceivable that *faktisk* has a similar function. With respect to the instances of self-correction, I argue that *faktisk* only poorly functions to mark repair, and that in that context, *faktisk* is too emphatic and contrastive to properly communicate this function. The same could be argued in the case of the softening function in (94), as *faktisk* can be interpreted to be emphatic and amplifying rather than downtoning and softening. Again, it is a matter of interpretation, and it could be argued that *faktisk* signals some hesitation and serves to make the answer "min mann" less abrupt. Thus, it is also here considered among the cases where function has been preserved in translation.

(94) "Bet that cost a bit," said Mandy.

"Well, about seventy thousand pounds," confessed Diana. The room went quiet.

"An' who paid for that?"

"The Duchy of Cornwall," said Diana.

"Who's that," asked Mandy.

"My husband, **actually**," said Diana.

"Did you say seventeen thousand?" said Violet as she adjusted her pink hearing aid. (ENPC-ST1)

"Kosta nok en pen slant, tenker jeg," sa Mandy.

"Omtrent sytti tusen pund," måtte Diana medgi. Det ble taust i rommet.

"Og hvem var 'e som betalte for kjerra, tru?"

"Hertugdømmet Cornwall," sa Diana.

"Og hvem er det 'a?" spurte Mandy.

"Min mann, **faktisk**," sa Diana.

"Var 'e søtten tusen du sa?" sa Violet og måtte stille på det lyserøde høreapparatet sitt. (ENPC-ST1T)

There are few patterns to speak about, as the correspondences of *actually* in both initial and final position are relatively varied. Table 4.7 in section 4.2 shows that the correspondences of *actually* mainly comprise adverbs and prepositional phrases, and the analysis of the adverb in this section reflects that tendency. It is also worth noting that *egentlig*, the third most frequent correspondence of *actually* after *faktisk* and zero correspondence, do not appear as a correspondence for peripheral positioned occurrences. Table 4.7 shows that *faktisk* is over four times as frequent as a correspondence of *actually* than *egentlig*, which suggests that *actually* is more equivalent with *faktisk* than *egentlig*. The discussion of *faktisk* in 4.3.2 concludes that its truth-emphasising function, which is encoded in the adverb and thus constitute propositional use, often includes the expression of surprise, such as in (66) below, making it a pragmatic marker. A closer look at the ENPC material reveals that only 20 % of the occurrences where *egentlig* is used as a translation includes any kind of interpersonal function. When *faktisk* is used as a translation, however, 80 % of occurrences includes some degree of unexpectedness or surprise. In (95), *egentlig* is not possible as a translation since it does not include the sense of incredulity that *actually* conveys. It is possible to interpret *actually* in (96) in a similar manner, and in addition to a possible expression of surprise or disbelief, *actually* marks the statement as the speaker's personal opinion and softens it to make it less assertive. In the translation, however, *egentlig* cannot convey any sense of surprise or disbelief, and only function as a softener of the speaker's opinion. Comparing (96) with the alternative translation in (97), it is evident that *faktisk* conveys more of the functions of *actually* if the interpretation including surprise is correct.

(95) The toilet **actually** flushes, though it has a yellowish-brown ring around the inside of the bowl and several floating cigarette butts… (ENPC-MA1)

Vannklosettet virker **faktisk**, men det er en gulbrun ring på innsiden av toalettskålen der det skvalper en del sigarettstumper… (ENPC-MA1T)

(96) "Cal loved cows. He had pictures of his favorite milkers in his wallet, along with the kids. I **actually** think he could have gone on with this place, but when the cows went, he didn't care that much any more." (ENPC-JSM1)

"Cal elsket kuer. Han hadde bilder av de beste melkekuene sine i lommeboka, sammen med ungene. Jeg tror **egentlig** han kunne ha fortsatt å drive denne gården, men da det ble slutt med kuene, brydde han seg ikke om det mer." (ENPC-JSM1T)

(97) Jeg tror **faktisk** han kunne ha fortsatt å drive denne gården… (ENPC-JSM1T; example adapted)

As in the discussion of *egentlig* and *faktisk*, textual function is best preserved when the correspondence is in initial position. Only $^1/_3$ of correspondences of *actually* in initial position conveys its function, and these are mainly in initial position while the remaining correspondences are in medial or final position. The correspondences of *actually* on all positions are mainly *faktisk* and prepositional phrases, and initial position, *faktisk* and *i virkeligheten* conveys the function of initially positioned *actually*. *Forresten* also correspond to *actually* marking a topic shift, and although the translation is in medial position, it conveys the topic shift function well. The analysis of *actually* in 4.2 shows that *forresten* occur as a correspondence of *actually* five times in all, four of which are in Norwegian source texts. In these occurrences of *forresten* being translated into *actually*, *forresten* is a kind of elaborative marker, which suggests that *forresten* has an elaborative function which could be taken advantage of in translation into Norwegian to a larger extent.

Actually in final position with interpersonal function is translated with *faktisk*, *i grunnen* and *i hvert fall*, and the discussion above shows that it seems as though *faktisk* largely have contrastive functions and thus do not convey less contrastive functions as well. Section 4.3.2 showed that *faktisk* often expressed surprise or marks something as unexpected and did not occur as a softener. Findings thus indicate that *faktisk* conveys softening functions poorly and a translator should perhaps look into alternative translations for such functions. In all, pragmatic function has been preserved in the translation of *actually* in about 50 % of the occurrences, which is the lowest percentage among the four adverbs. This is probably due to the fact that textual function was conveyed in only 4 out of 12 instances in initial position.

4.3.4 *Really*

Table 4.15 shows that there are 245 source text occurrences of *really* in the ENPC material. Of these, 41, that is 17 %, are unambiguously in peripheral positions, and all but 1 have pragmatic function: 6 in initial, 9 in final, 9 in parenthetical position, 9 as fragments and 7 appearing alone.

Table 4.15: Correspondences of *really* in parenthetical position in the ENPC according to function.

40 occurrences with pragmatic function in peripheral position		
6 in initial position		
Textual (3)		**Interpersonal (3)**
Topic shift	Concluding	Reprimanding
- *Ja*	- *Egentlig*	- *Ærlig talt*
	- *Virkelig*	- *Kjære deg*
		- *Jaså*
9 in final position		
Textual (9)		
Concluding		
- *Egentlig* (7)		
- *I grunnen*		
- *Jo virkelig*		
9 in parenthetical position		
Textual (6)		**Interpersonal (3)**
Concluding		Personal opinion
- *Egentlig* (3)		- *Jo egentlig*
- *Jo*		- *Sant å si*
- Rephrased		- *Virkelig*
- *Faktisk*		
9 in fragments		
Interpersonal		
Softening		
- *Egentlig* (8)		
- *Faktisk*		
7 single		
Textual (7)		
Re-opener	Confirming	
- *Å jaså*	- *Helt sikkert*	
- *Jaså*		
- *Virkelig*		
- *Er det sant*		
- *Helt sikkert*		

All 6 occurrences of initial *really* are translated differently, and the correspondences are *egentlig*, *virkelig*, *ja*, *ærlig talt*, *kjære deg* and *jaså*. The first 2 correspond to *really* where the adverb is a marker that prefaces a resigned or reluctant conclusion, as in (98). In this use, *really* is not completely void of its semantic content, as it is a variant of the reality-emphasising *really* and can be paraphrased "in truth". *Ja* corresponds to *really* as a marker of a momentary topic shift. The last 3 correspondences are translations of *really* when serving as an interjection, expressing the speaker's reproving disbelief or incredulity, as in (99). Although they are very different, all the translations convey the source text function, and the diversity illustrates the wide range of nuances in meaning and function *really* can have in different contexts.

> (98) He knew it the instant he stepped inside the house, when he smelled that stale hot air and heard the muffled denseness of a place with every window shut. **Really** he 'd known it all along. He 'd been fooling himself. (ENPC-AT1)
>
> Han visste det i samme øyeblikk som han trådte inn i huset, da han luktet den kvalme, hete luften og hørte den dumpe tettheten på et sted der alle vinduer er lukket. **Egentlig** hadde han visst det hele tiden. Han hadde narret seg selv. (ENPC-AT1T)

> (99) **Really**, Stuart, I know it 's not everyone who 's descended from King Zog of Albania, but there's no need to blab the whole story." (ENPC-JB1)
>
> **Ærlig talt**, Stuart, jeg vet det ikke er alle som nedstammer fra kong Zog av Albania, men du trengte da ikke å plapre ut om alt sammen." (ENPC-JB1T)

The nine occurrences of *really* in final position have similar functions. In this use, *really* marks a conclusion, and with a varying degree of reference to reality, it has a softening function, conveying a similar sense of resignation, as in (100), or an emphasising function, reassuring or convincing the addressee of the speaker's confidence in his or her utterance, as in (101) and (102).

> (100) Megan squirmed and then relaxed. She expelled a long breath of air and then closed her eyes. "Doesn't matter **really**," she said quietly. "I already knew about it anyway. (ENPC-TH1)
>
> Megan vred på seg en siste gang før hun falt til ro. Hun pustet dypt og lukket øynene. "**Egentlig** spiller det ingen rolle," sa hun stille. "Jeg visste om det fra før allikevel." (ENPC-TH1T)

> (101) And there 's another electronic lock, of course, on the door from the lobby to the showroom, and from the corridor into the showroom..." She paused. "It does seem a lot, I know, but the electronic locks are very simple, **really**. You only have to remember three digits. (ENPC-DF1)

Og så er det enda en elektronisk lås på døren fra resepsjonen til utstillingslokalet, og fra korridoren til utstillingslokalet..." Hun nølte litt. "Det virker sikkert mye, men de elektroniske låsene er **egentlig** veldig enkle. En må bare huske en tresifret kode. (ENPC-DF1T)

(102) "Arrested development," said Anthony firmly, insisting on his right to dislike Alice. "Oh yes, I expect so, but darling Alice, well, she 's a sweet girl — a sweet thing, **really**." (ENPC-DF1)

"Stoppet i veksten," sa Anthony bestemt, og holdt på sin rett til ikke å like Alice. "Ja da, du har vel rett, men stakkars vesle Alice, hun er så søt også — en god jente, **egentlig**." (ENPC-DF1T)

The concluding function resembles that of marking a personal opinion, as the conclusion is the opinion of the speaker and expresses his or her point of view. Of the nine occurrences, seven are translated by *egentlig* in different positions. The last two are translated with *jo virkelig*, which has a stronger emphasis of reality than the other, and *i grunnen*. As all of the occurrences marks a conclusion, there is reason to believe that this textual function correlates with *really* in final position. In (100), *egentlig* is placed in initial position, and the discussion of *egentlig* in 4.3.1 shows that initial *egentlig* mainly has a softening function, marking and softening a personal opinion. This does not correspond completely with *really*'s, and thus *egentlig*'s, function in (100), but the softening function is conveyed, although it does not necessarily mark the translation as a conclusion. In (101), *egentlig* appears medially, and here, no pragmatic functions are conveyed. There is even an explicit contrast in which *egentlig* points to the reality in contrast to what appears to be true, i.e. the simplicity of the locks in contrast to their appearances as complicated. Thus, *egentlig* does not mark the utterance as a conclusion and does not serve to reassure or convince the addressee beyond the propositional meaning of *egentlig*. In (102), however, its final position provides the same functions as those in the source text. The discussion of *egentlig* in 4.3.1 argues that final position of the Norwegian adverbs corresponds to that of the English adverbs, and here, also *egentlig* serves to mark a conclusion, convincing the addressee of the speaker's confidence in his or her utterance. To sum up, final occurrences of really are conveyed in varying degrees, and common for the four instances where function is most clearly preserved in the translation is that they correspond to *egentlig* in final position.

Really in parenthetical position also seems to mark the utterance as a conclusion by emphasising the truth-value of the utterance, convincing the addressee that the statement is reasonable and true. The degree of reference to reality varies, and some of the individual uses also display other functions as well. In (103), *really* marks the utterance as a conclusion with

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a low degree of referencing reality, while in (104), the context involves a contrast and *really* can be interpreted to contrast the reality of what everyone wants to what everyone does or thinks they want. In both examples, *really* is translated with *egentlig*, which is the case in four out of the nine occurrences.

> (103) "She was obsessed with that wretched scold's bridle. It was rather unhealthy **really**, thinking about it. She wanted me to try it on once to see what it felt like." (ENPC-MW1)
>
> "Hun var som besatt av det forbaskede kjerringbisselet. Det var **egentlig** ganske sykelig, når jeg tenker over det. Hun ville at jeg skulle prøve det på meg en gang for å kjenne hvordan det føltes." (ENPC-MW1T)
>
> (104) This is what everyone wants, **really**, but we 've been brainwashed out of it. (ENPC-DL1)
>
> Det er jo det alle **egentlig** ønsker, men vi er blitt hjernevasket bort fra det. (ENPC-DL1T)

In (103), *egentlig* is placed in medial position, and marks the statement as the speaker's opinion, which is a function similar to that of marking a conclusion, and the function of *really* is effectively conveyed. There is a difference in the reference to reality, as the medially positioned *egentlig* more easily denotes a discrepancy between reality and its counterpart than the parenthetical *really*. Nevertheless, the pragmatic function is also conveyed. The same is the case in (104), but here, *egentlig* has scope over "ønsker", making the reference to reality even stronger as *egentlig* refers to what 'everyone truly wants' rather than referring to simply what 'everyone wants'. In addition to *egentlig*, the translator has used *jo*, and together they convey the source text meaning as *egentlig* translates the reality-emphasising meaning and *jo* conveys the concluding function. Of all 9 occurrences, only 2 do not preserve the pragmatic function in translation, but there is no apparent pattern in correspondences.

The discussion of *egentlig* in section 4.3.1 shows that *egentlig* in a negated fragment has a softening function that makes the statement, which is a negative answer akin to "no", less negative and absolute. This is true also for *really* in such fragments, and the nine occurrences where *really* appears as a fragment correspond almost exclusively to *egentlig* in translations, with only one exception. In (105) below, it is instead translated with *faktisk*, which seems like an awkward construction. Here, *faktisk* does not soften a negative answer, but rather serves to mark a correction, as the speaker corrects the interlocutor because he is mistaken in his assumption that there are "dozens of ways out". Although this is a legitimate function of *faktisk* it does not convey the function of *really* in the source text, and thus 8 out of 9 occurrences of *really* in fragments are conveyed.

(105) I think you were right, insofar as it's possible to block all roads. I mean, there must be dozens of ways out."
"Not **really**. What they call the by-road goes to Pomfret Monachorum and Cheriton. (ENPC-RR1)

Jeg mener at du handlet rett, om det da er mulig å sperre alle veiene. Det må jo være dusinvis av veier bort herfra."
"**Faktisk** ikke. Den som de kaller sideveien, går til Pomfret Monachorum og Cheriton. (ENPC-RR1T)

There are no occurrences of *faktisk* in fragments in source texts, while there are three of *egentlig* in fragments. These numbers are not very convincing, but in NoTa, there were twenty-two occurrences of *egentlig* and none of *faktisk* in fragments. These findings suggest that the one occurrences of "faktisk ikke" is the exception to the rule that *egentlig* is used as translation in such fragments.

The discussion in chapter 2 concludes that *really* is a pragmatic marker, either functioning as a filler/planner, continuer or re-opener or expressing surprise or disbelief. The functions of the 'Continuer' and 'Re-opener' are exclusive to *really* appearing alone. In the ENPC, there are 8 occurrences where *really* appears alone, 7 of which have pragmatic function, and four of these occurrences are re-openers, such as in (106) below. The re-opener is the speaker's initial reaction to the interlocutor's utterance, expressing surprise or disbelief, and simultaneously a request for more information. In (106), the speaker acknowledges the message, expresses surprise at it and follows up with a request for an elaboration. In this example, *really* is translated "er det sant", which conveys the surprise and also explicitly requests more information, specifically confirmation. The remaining three re-openers in the material are translated using *jaså* and *egentlig*, and especially *jaså* conveys the re-opener function well, as it both expresses the speaker's attitude and encourages the interlocutor to confirm or elaborate.

(106) I got a date for it." Her eyes widened.
"**Really**. Who with?" (ENPC-TH1)

Jeg er blitt bedt med av en gutt!" Hun gjorde store øyne.
"**Er det sant**? Hvem da?" (ENPC-TH1T)

The remaining three occurrences of *really* appearing alone, in (107), are similar, but instead of expressing surprise and request elaboration, they either serves as definite confirmation, in declaratives, or form a request for confirmation with a note of skepticism, in interrogatives.

They are all from the same text, and the first *really* emphasises certainty to convince the addressee and dispel any doubt/skepticism. The second is used to express skepticism and elicit confirmation, and the third is used, in answer to the second *really*, to confirm and to dispel the doubt/skepticism expressed. They are all linked to an expression of doubt and skepticism, whether expressing it or rejecting it.

> (107) "But it was there, Daddy. I saw it. **Really**."
> "Your mind saw something, Tad," Daddy said, and his big, warm hand stroked Tad's hair.
> "But you didn't see a monster in your closet, not a real one. There are no monsters, Tad. […]
> "**Really**?"
> "**Really**," his mommy said. (ENPC-SK1)
>
> "Men det var der, pappa. **Helt sikkert**. Jeg så det."
> "Det var fantasien din som så noe," sa pappa, og den store, varme hånden hans strøk Tad over håret. "Men du så ikke noe uhyre i skapet, ikke noe virkelig uhyre. Det finnes ikke noe slikt, Tad […]
> "**Helt sikkert**?"
> "**Helt sikkert**," sa moren hans. (ENPC-SK1T)

Here, *really* is translated with *helt sikkert*. A similar expression of skepticism is also present in (108) below, where *really*, translated with *helt*, is used by the speaker to express doubt and skepticism towards her own statement and abilities. *Really* is here medially positioned and does not have the same textual function as *really* does in (106) and (107) but functions as a softener which reinforces the expression of doubt; whereas *really* in (107) is used emphatically to ask for or give confirmation, it has in (108) a more downtoning effect, which perhaps can be explained by the negation.

> (108) "You say you don't find it difficult to multiply one number by another," Miss Honey said.
> "Could you try to explain that a little bit."
> "Oh dear," Matilda said. "I 'm not **really** sure." (ENPC-RD1)
>
> Du sier at du ikke synes det er spesielt vanskelig å gange et tall med et annet, sa frøken Honey. — Kan du forklare det litt nærmere?
> — Å, nei, jeg vet ikke **helt**, sa Matilda. (ENPC-RD1T)

There are few patterns to speak of among the functions and correspondences of *really*. Especially *really* in initial position is translated with a wide range of correspondences, but the same is true both among the occurrences in parenthetical position and where the adverb appears alone. *Egentlig* is, as expected, the most frequent correspondence, and among the translations of *really* in final position, the concluding function of *really* is most clearly preserved when *egentlig* is in final position. *Egentlig* also correspond to the softening function

in fragments, and looking at the analyses of the two adverbs, *egentlig* and *really* are almost fully mutual correspondences. In all, pragmatic function is preserved in 80 % of the translations of *really* in in peripheral positions, which is the highest percentage of function preserved among the four adverbs.

4.3.5 Concluding remarks: translating function

The questions this section aims to answer is whether the function of the adverbs have been conveyed, what translation solutions have been used and whether there is a correlation between pragmatic function and translation. These questions have been answered for each of the adverbs in the sections above. Overall, pragmatic functions have been preserved in about 70 % of instances of *egentlig* in peripheral positions, 60 % of instances of *faktisk*, 50 % of instances of *actually*, and 80 % of instances of *really*. The degree to which function is preserved seems to sometimes depend upon position, and especially occurrences of the adverbs with textual function depend on the translation being in initial position. With respect to correspondences and a possible correlation between function and translation solution, there are few clear patterns, but there are some tendencies worth noting.

The analyses of *egentlig* and *really* showed that both adverbs appear in negated fragments, and they are almost fully mutual correspondences. In these instances, both adverbs have a softening function, and this function is preserved in every time. There is only one exception, where "not really" is translated "faktisk ikke" (cf. example (105) in section 4.3.4) and whether this instance of *really* has the exact same softening function is open to argument. Although *egentlig* and *really* have a mutual correspondence of over 40 %, which is the highest of the four adverbs, *really* is not used to translate *egentlig* in initial position. In final position, *really* is used as a translation, but does not convey *egentlig*'s expression of curiosity or suspicion. Thus, in peripheral positions, *really* seem to only correspond to *egentlig* with a softening function. In the other direction, however, *egentlig* occur as a correspondence of *really* in all positions except when appearing alone, and the concluding function of *really* is most clearly preserved when *egentlig* is in final position.

In addition to *really*, *egentlig* is translated with *actually*, which is the most frequent correspondence of the adverb in peripheral positions. Although *egentlig* is the third most frequent correspondence of *actually* after *faktisk* and zero correspondence, it does not appear as a correspondence for peripheral positioned occurrences. The findings in this thesis indicate

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that *actually* is more equivalent with *faktisk* than *egentlig*, but the lack of *egentlig* as a correspondence of *actually* in peripheral positions may also suggest that *actually* is considered less equivalent with *egentlig* than vice versa.

Forresten corresponds to *actually* marking a topic shift, and although the translation is in medial position, it conveys the topic shift function well. It seems that *forresten* has an elaborative function which could be taken advantage of in translation into Norwegian to a larger extent. This correspondence exemplifies that pragmatic markers not necessarily must be translated with another pragmatic markers but also can be translated with other items which nonetheless preserve the marker's function.

The main finding in this section is that there are few patterns and that the translation of all four adverbs is characterized by a wide range of correspondences in almost all positions. That the four adverbs have a set of overlapping dictionary equivalents does not mean that they are overlapping in translation. The adverbs also have different functions in the different positions, and it is difficult to point out any correlation between function and correspondence.

5   Conclusion and further study

This study has looked at how the Norwegian adverb *egentlig, faktisk*, *actually* and *really* are translated in the *English–Norwegian Parallel Corpus* (ENPC). The aim has been to investigate how adverbs that also can be considered pragmatic markers are translated, and whether and how the markers' functions are preserved in the translation process. This chapter summarises the findings and answers the research questions.

5.1 Summary

This thesis has asked four research question and analysed corpus data from two corpora in order to answer the questions. The thesis is based in a theoretical framework of pragmatics where pragmatic markers are defined as items that have, through a grammaticalisation process, lost at least some of its semantic/propositional meaning and have gained one or more pragmatic functions, either on the textual or the interpersonal level. Previous research has showed that *actually* and *really* can have such functions, and RQ1 asked whether the same is true for their closest equivalents in Norwegian. An analysis of material from *Norsk Talemålskorpus* (NoTa) shows that *egentlig* and *faktisk* indeed can have pragmatic functions, and that the functions to some degree overlap those found of *actually* and *really* in earlier studies.

RQ2 asked how the four adverbs are translated. A quantitative analysis of the material from the ENPC shows that the four adverbs are translated with a wide range of correspondences, both in types, i.e. the different items used, and types of constructions. The findings reveal that although mutual correspondence is generally low, there is a pattern of mutual correspondence between *egentlig* and *really* and *faktisk* and *actually*. The findings also indicate that translators tend to choose the most obvious translation solutions, such as cognates, while the adverbs are used as translation for forms that are not necessarily considered equivalent when translating them.

RQ3 asked whether pragmatic functions have been conveyed in translation, and if so, which translation solution have been employed. A qualitative analysis of instances of the adverbs in peripheral positions suggests that functions are preserved in varying degrees. The functions have been preserved in the translations of between 50 % and 80 % of the occurrences of the

four adverbs in peripheral position. There are no major patterns, but findings indicate that position is important for preserving function.

RQ4 asked whether there is a correlation between functions and correspondence. Although there are a few minor patterns, the main result is that there is no apparent correlation, and that there is much variation in terms of the functions the adverbs can have, their correspondences and the degree to which functions are preserved in translation. There is a correlation between *egentlig* and *really* with softening function in negated fragments, as they are almost mutual correspondences. There may also be a correlation between the adverbs' positions and functions, and especially *actually* and *in fact* seem to mainly have textual functions in initial position. *Forresten* seems to have an elaborative function and conveys the topic shift function of *actually* in one of the instances. It is possible that also other correspondences correspond to an adverb with a specific function and that translators use function specific items to convey said function. A tendency to use more function specific expression rather than the closest equivalents may support the explicitation hypothesis mentioned in chapter two.

The hypothesis stated that the corpus investigation is likely to show a high frequency of zero correspondence and a high degree of diversity among the correspondences. The four adverbs have a set each of dictionary equivalents, which was expected to lead to a partly homogenous group of correspondences. Nonetheless, the many different functions of the adverbs nonetheless were expected to ensure a wide range of translation solutions. Both expectations have been met, as the dictionary equivalents proved to be well represented, and all four adverbs display a very varied selection of correspondences. Johansson and Løken (1997) found a wider range of correspondences that was suggested by bilingual dictionaries, and that is also the case in this thesis. Only a small part of the correspondences was mentioned in the dictionaries, and not all that were mentioned were represented in the material. These findings indicate that dictionary entries could be revised and improved using the insight provided through this study.

Grey's (2012) found that *really* and *actually* are not as interchangeable that often is believed, and based on these findings, it was expected that the analyses would show a great diversity in meanings and functions between the two adverbs. The findings in this thesis have shown that there indeed is much variation in both functions and correspondences between all four adverbs, and these findings support those of Grey.

5.2 Concluding remarks and further study

This thesis has studied four adverbs in the hope of revealing any patterns concerning pragmatic function and meaning. It has done so based on corpus material, and mainly on material consisting of published texts and their translations. It is important to keep in mind that processed written material is not the ideal basis for a study of pragmatic markers, and that the results may be quite different from those of other studies that are based on more authentic material. There are several factors that may have skewed the results. The analyses have, for example, not taken into account which texts the instances in the data come from, and individual differences between translators may affect the result. There is, however, good variation in the representation of texts and translators overall, and although the study cannot account for individual differences, the samples are likely varied enough to avoid any serious bias in the material. Human error is another factor that may affect the results, and it is unfortunately not unlikely that there are errors in the analyses. These should, nevertheless, have been kept at a minimum, and since this primarily is a qualitative analysis, the results are not invalid. Other shortcomings, such as the inability to comment on prosody, have been mentioned. Although this study is not ideal in material or method, it is a study of written translations that nevertheless reveals and discussed points that may be of interest and can be used to improve dictionaries and make definitions and descriptions of the adverbs in questions more nuanced.

There are several things that could have been done differently, and there are equally many aspects that can be studied further and in greater detail. Position has been mentioned as an important deciding factor in the classification of pragmatic markers, but this study has also found that pragmatic function occurs in all positions. It would therefore be interesting to analyse and study all occurrences in all positions, not limiting the study to peripheral positions only. Grey (2012) claims that there are differences between *actually* and *really* when they are placed in pre-verbal position, and it would be interesting to investigate whether there are more differences that depend on the various medial positions and whether these differences are relevant for *egentlig* and *faktisk* as well. In addition to position, things like collocation, negation and differences in syntactic structures may be factors influencing function and equivalence.

Further studies could also analyse some of the other frequent equivalents, such as *virkelig*, and in addition to looking at occurrences in peripheral position, it would be interesting to preform an analysis similar to that in 4.3 on occurrences with zero correspondence. The discussion on *faktisk* mentioned a couple of examples where function has been preserved through changes in the information structure, and it would be interesting to analyse zero correspondences in more detail to see whether and how functions are conveyed when there is no translation, and if they are not conveyed, why that is. There are also many cases where the correspondence has been placed in another position than the source text adverb and modifies a different element in the sentence. It would be interesting to know whether these choices lead to a completely different meaning or function, or if function is preserved in some other way.

This study has focused on investigating the adverbs in their source texts and their correspondences, but it would perhaps be interesting to investigate whether and to which degree the four adverbs preserve pragmatic function when used as translation as well, and to see whether they more easily preserve the function of items that are not obviously equivalent and therefore not considered an option when translating the adverbs. Also, this material consists of both fictional and non-fictional texts, and the numbers in table 4.1 in chapter 4 showed that it might be interesting to examine differences due to genre.

Despite its many shortcomings, this study has found that *egentlig* and *faktisk* can have pragmatic functions, and that these overlap with those of *actually* and *really* to some degree. It has also found that the four adverbs are translated with a wide range of different correspondences, and although they are mutual correspondences to some degree, their translations show great diversity. This diversity reflects a wide variety of functions, and although the adverbs' functions are in many instances not preserved in translation, the wide range of correspondences translates an almost equally wide range of meaning nuances. There is, however, no clear correlation between function and translation solution.

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Appendix: Screenshot of FileMaker layout