

Using the ENPC and the ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus: Adverbs of Frequency and Usuality¹

Hilde Hasselgård, University of Oslo

1. Introduction

The topic for the present study is intended to represent a common denominator between my own research and Karin Aijmer's. The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus (ENPC) and the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC) are sister corpora with common objectives, design criteria, and structures; cf. Aijmer *et al* (1996:79 f). Especially their fiction parts also share a good number of texts. One advantage of this is that it is possible not only to compare English to Norwegian and Swedish respectively, but also to compare different translations of the English originals with each other. Adverbs of frequency and usuality were chosen as a test case for the feasibility of using the ENPC and the ESPC as a parallel translation corpus, i.e. one which contains alternative translations of the same text. This was partly because I have worked with time adverbials previously (e.g. Hasselgård 1996) and partly because usuality can be viewed as a category of modality (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004:147), a topic closely associated with the research of Karin Aijmer.

The questions discussed in the present paper are the following: how are adverbs of frequency and usuality translated into Norwegian and Swedish? To what extent can the translations from English in the ENPC and the ESPC be seen as parallel/alternative translations? Are Norwegian and Swedish similar enough to be regarded as alternative translations? In other words: to what extent are the same options available in both languages? And finally, assuming that usuality is a modal category – how

¹ I am grateful to participants in the seminar held in Göteborg on January 27, 2006 for useful comments and ideas, and to Stig Johansson for discussions of the Swedish material and for comments on a draft version.

Hilde Hasselgård

do adverbs of frequency and usuality interact with other expressions of modality?

2. Material

The material for this study consists of the fiction texts that are common to the ENPC and the ESPC: 24 texts in all, i.e. approximately 300,000 words of original English text and their translations into Norwegian and Swedish.² With the tools available, there is no way of searching both corpora at the same time. Some manual work was thus required in order to sift out examples from texts that do not occur in both corpora and to combine the two translations.

3 Adverbs of frequency and usuality

The following adverbs have been investigated: *sometimes, occasionally, frequently, often, usually, normally, rarely, seldom, and hardly ever*. They typically function as adverbials, of a type that can be classified in different ways. Traditionally they are viewed as frequency adjuncts and a subcategory of time adjuncts, as in Quirk *et al* (1985:541) or Hasselgård (1996). In Huddleston and Pullum (2002:713) frequency is a separate category of adjuncts expressing “quantification in the clause”. It is argued that frequency is “conceptually different from time” in that “frequency adjuncts quantify (sub)situations, and that is not the same as

² These texts have the ENPC codes ABR1, AH1, AT1, BO1, DF1, FF1, FW1, GN1, JB1, JC1, JH1, JSM1, MA1, MD1, MW1, NG1, PDJ3, RD1, RDA1, RDO1, RR1, SG1, SK1, and ST1. ABR1 and PDJ3 correspond to BR1 and PDJ1 in the ESPC. (The text code DL1 refers to Doris Lessing in the ENPC and David Lodge in the ESPC.)

See www.hf.uio.no/ilos/OMC/Norsk/Delkorpuser.html for further information on the make-up of the corpora.

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

quantifying times” (2002:716). Halliday and Matthiessen distinguish between frequency and usuality, the former being a type of circumstantial adjunct (extent in time), and the latter belonging to the field of modality: “[frequency] is related to the interpersonal category of usuality [...] but it is not identical to it; usuality is a modal assessment referring to position on a scale between positive and negative (always/never), whereas frequency is the extent of repetition of the occurrence of the process.” (2004: 264). Clearly, the concept of modal usuality is related to Huddleston and Pullum’s idea of frequency adjuncts quantifying a situation.³ But rather than establishing two separate categories, Huddleston and Pullum distinguish between *bounding* and *non-bounding* frequency (2002:714), roughly corresponding to definite and indefinite frequency in Quirk *et al* (1985:542).

In the present, exploratory study, the distinction between usuality and frequency has not been maintained, chiefly because it seems to me less than clear-cut in many cases; for instance many of the same lexical items are used to express both meanings. Furthermore, as pointed out by Huddleston and Pullum, it is sometimes the semantics of the verb rather than the adverb itself that differentiates bounding and non-bounding frequency (2002:714). The adverbs studied here are most apt to express usuality or non-bounding frequency; i.e. they do not normally indicate the number of times an event is repeated. But sometimes the context can indicate a bounding frequency reading, perhaps particularly of *occasionally* and *frequently*.

The adverbs *always* and *never* were not studied, partly because their frequency in the corpora would greatly expand the scope of this paper, and partly because I considered them close enough to *yes* and *no* to be peripheral to modal meaning. However, Halliday and Matthiessen regard *always* as a ‘high value usuality’ marker, and observe that “even a high value modal (‘certainly’, ‘always’) is less determinate than a polar form: [...] *it always rains in summer* is less invariable than *it rains in summer*.”

³ Huddleston and Pullum too note a similarity between frequency and modality: “*Sometimes* can also convey much the same meaning as modal *may* [...]” (2002: 713, fn.).

Hilde Hasselgård

(2004: 147).⁴ Other potential candidates for the study, such as *infrequently* or *regularly*, simply did not occur often enough in the corpus to be included. With regard to modal usuality and degrees of oftenness, *rarely*, *seldom*, and *hardly ever* mark a low degree; *sometimes* and *occasionally* a low/median degree, and *usually*, *normally*, *frequently* and *often* a (relatively) high degree (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 620). Table 1 shows the occurrence of the selected adverbs of frequency and usuality in the fiction texts that are common to ENPC and ESPC.

Table 1. The occurrence of some adverbs of frequency and usuality

Adverb	N	per 100,000 words
<i>sometimes</i>	117	39.0
<i>occasionally</i>	30	10.0
<i>often</i>	69	23.0
<i>frequently</i>	9	3.0
<i>usually</i>	33	11.0
<i>normally</i>	15	5.0
<i>rarely</i>	8	2.7
<i>seldom</i>	10	3.3
<i>hardly ever</i>	6	2.0
	297	

4. Dictionary data vs. corpus data on adverbs of frequency and usuality

To answer the question whether Swedish and Norwegian are similar enough to view translations into these languages as ‘multiple translations’ it is important to establish the extent to which the same options are available in both languages. Table 2 shows the entries for the adverbs studied in two comprehensive bilingual dictionaries. The entries that are common to Norwegian and Swedish have been underlined.

⁴ There is a slight inconsistency in the classification of *always*; it is also depicted as an endpoint on the scale between positive and negative (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004: 264).

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

Table 2. Dictionary data on adverbs of frequency and usuality

	Engelsk Stor ordbok	Stora engelsk-svenska ordboken
sometimes	<i>i blant, <u>innimellom</u>, nå og da, av og til, <u>stundom</u>, somme tider, til (sine) tider, noen ganger, snart, skiftesvis</i>	<i>ibland, emellanåt, då och då, <u>stundom</u></i>
occasionally	<i>nå og da, <u>innimellom</u></i>	<i>någon gång, emellanåt, <u>då och då</u></i>
often	<i><u>ofte, mange ganger</u></i>	<i><u>ofta, många gånger</u></i>
frequently	<i><u>hyppig, ofte</u></i>	<i><u>ofta, titt och tätt</u></i>
usually	<i><u>vanligvis, stort sett, som oftest</u></i>	<i><u>vanligen, vanlig, vanligstvis</u></i>
normally	<i><u>normalt, på vanlig vis, som vanlig, under normale forhold, vanligvis, som regel, i regelen</u></i>	<i><u>normalt [sett], under normala förhållanden, i vanliga fall, i regel, vanligstvis</u></i>
rarely	<i><u>sjelden</u></i>	<i><u>sällan</u></i>
seldom	<i><u>sjelden</u></i>	<i><u>sällan</u></i>
hardly ever	<i><u>nesten aldri</u></i>	<i><u>knappast någonsin, nästan aldrig</u></i>

As expected, many of the same alternatives are available in both languages, allowing for some differences in spelling and realization (e.g. the pairs *nå og da* / *då och då* and *innimellom* / *emellanåt* have been regarded as different realizations of the ‘same’ expression). With one exception, the most frequent correspondences found in the corpus occur among the equivalents given in the dictionaries, cf. examples (1)-(8).

- (1) Sometimes → *noen ganger* / *ibland*
 Sometimes they stayed with her. (RDO1)
Noen ganger bodde de hos henne.
Ibland bodde dom hos henne.
- (2) Occasionally → *av og til* / *ibland*
 Occasionally I can make a raid on certain government offices, [...] (SG1)
Av og til kan jeg gjennomføre et raid mot visse regjeringskontorer, [...]
Ibland kan jag till och med gå på jakt i vissa ämbetsverk [...]
- (3) Often → *ofte* / *ofta*
 Macon often recalled that director. (AT1)
Macon tenkte ofte på den lederen.
Macon kom ofta att tänka på den där föreståndaren.

Hilde Hasselgård

(4) Frequently → ofte / ofta

And the second is: it's a well-known fact that girls whose fathers run off frequently try to compensate by having affairs with older men. (JB1)

For det andre; det er et velkjent faktum at jenter hvis fedre har stukket av, ofte prøver å kompensere ved å ha forhold til eldre menn.

Och den andra är: det är ett välkänt faktum att flickor med förlupna fäder ofta försöker kompensera genom att ha kärlekshistorier med äldre män.

(5) Usually → vanligvis / vanligen

We usually get together on Wednesday nights [...] (SG1)

Vi møtes vanligvis på onsdagskveldene [...]

Vi brukar vanligen samlas på onsdagskvällarna [...]

(6) Normally → vanligvis / i vanliga/normala fall

Normally when he and I were with girls he would be all competitive [...] (JB1)

Vanligvis når han og jeg var sammen med jenter, var han fæl til å rivalisere [...]

Når han och jag var ute med flickor i normala fall höll han sig alltid framme [...]

(7) Rarely, seldom → sjelden / sällan

We rarely deal in rubies. (DF1)

Vi fører sjelden rubiner.

Vi handlar sällan med rubiner.

(8) Hardly ever → nesten aldri / nästan aldrig

"Because there's hardly ever any snow," she said. (RDO1)

Fordi det nesten aldri er snø her, sa hun.

Därför att det nästan aldrig finns någon snö, sa hon.

The most frequent correspondences of *occasionally* (*av og til, ibland*) are not given in the two dictionaries quoted. On the other hand, both *av og til* and *ibland* occur among the alternatives given for sometimes. The dictionaries thus seem to treat *sometimes* and *occasionally* as more different than the translators do. It may also be noted that the Swedish translation in (5) has *bruka* in addition to the frequency adverb. In fact, a paraphrase with *bruka* is the second most frequent correspondence of *usually* in Swedish, and this is the only case of a paraphrase being among the most frequent translations of a usuality/frequency adverb. Such paraphrases are absent from the dictionary translations.

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

Examples (1)-(8) can be deceptive in depicting the Norwegian and Swedish translations as too similar. In fact, the translations differ from each other in most cases, cf. Table 3. However, the fact that the Norwegian and Swedish translators make different lexicogrammatical choices does not in itself mean that the languages are different. The multiple translation corpus of the OMC (consisting of a scientific article and short story with ten different Norwegian translations of each)⁵ shows clearly that translators choose differently even in such a seemingly simple area as single words which all have perfectly straightforward equivalents in the target language.

Table 3: *Similarity of translation choices in Norwegian and Swedish.*

	N	%
“Same” lexicogrammatical choice	106	36
Partly the same choice	16	5
Different choice	175	59
	297	100

Table 4 shows a broader picture of the translation correspondences in the ENPC/ESPC material. Adverbs that are relatively synonymous—as is also indicated by their translations into both Norwegian and Swedish—have been grouped together. The translations that occur in only one of the languages have been placed in the columns for Norwegian and Swedish, respectively, while those that occur in both languages appear in the middle column. As can be seen from Table 4, “common”, rather than signifying full identity between the Norwegian and the Swedish expression, often means ‘cognate’ or ‘equivalent construction’.

⁵ See e.g. Johansson (2004) for a description of this material.

Hilde Hasselgård

Table 4: *Commonality of correspondences in Norwegian and Swedish translations from English.*

English	Norwegian	Common	Swedish
sometimes occasionally	av og til en gang i blant en gang imellom en og annen enkelte et og annet fra tid til annen ikke alltid kunne mange ganger ofte til tider ved flere anledninger	det hender / det h�nder enkelte ganger / enstaka g�nger ett eller annet / en eller annan + head noun iblant / ibland innimellom / emellan�t kan / kan kunne / kunde + adverbial noen ganger / n�gra g�nger n� og da / d� och d� pleide / brukade ibland stundom / stundom	en g�ng ibland kan n�gon g�ng stundtals understundom
frequently often	det hendte ofte for ofte gjentatte ganger hyppig ikke sjelden pleie rett som det var stadig	for mye / f�r mycket mange ganger / m�nga g�nger ofte / ofta som regel / regelbundet s� ofte / s� ofta	alltid brukade ofta f�r det mesta som oftast
usually	gjerne som oftest som regel stort sett	for det meste / f�r det mesta pleie / bruka vanlig / vanligt vanligvis / vanligen, van- ligtvis	brukade ofta brukar vanli- gen i allm�nhet i vanliga fall ofta
normally	som regel	normalt / normalt vanligvis / vanligen, van- ligtvis pleie / bruka under normale omstendig- heter / under normala f�rh�llanden	f�r det mesta i normala fall i vanliga fall
rarely seldom hardly ever	knapt nok lite nesten bare sjeldent	knapt noensinne / knappast n�gonsin nesten aldri / n�stan aldrig sjelden / s�llan	aldrig knappst mycket s�llan s� gott som aldrig

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

Many of the correspondences listed under Norwegian or Swedish in Table 4 could easily have been used in the other language, but they do not occur in the present material. One example is the Norwegian *av og til*, which has the Swedish cognate *av och till*, attested in *Språkbanken*. However, in contrast to *av og til*, *av och till* is not very frequent (only 2.8 occurrences per million words as against 41.9 in the Oslo Corpus), and does not occur as a translation of either *sometimes* or *occasionally*. Conversely, Norwegian *bruke* can be used just like Swedish *bruka* to indicate usuality, but it does not occur in the present material (but cf. example 19). Furthermore, the expression *for det meste* / *för det mesta*, occurs only in Swedish as a translation of *frequently/often*, but has been used in Norwegian as a translation of *usually*. Yet other translations may occur in only one of the languages because they are not very accurate, such as *aldrig* (Sw.) for *seldom* or *ofte* (No.) for *sometimes*.

5. Grammatical categories used in the translation of frequency/usuality adverbs

If we widen the perspective beyond purely lexical correspondences, we can survey the paradigm of expressions used to convey meanings of frequency and usuality. As expected, adverbs, adverb phrases and other realizations of adverbials (particularly prepositional phrases and noun phrases) are the most common type of translation equivalent used in both Swedish and Norwegian, as shown in Figure 1.

Adverbs and adverb phrases (given together under ‘adverb’ in Figure 1) are used more in Swedish than in Norwegian to translate the English adverbs of frequency and usuality. Norwegian has a higher proportion of other realizations of adverbials and also a slightly more frequent use of other solutions, including zero correspondences.⁶ The following sections

⁶ ‘Zero correspondence’ means that the meaning of the frequency/usuality adverb has not been included in the corresponding translated sentence, while ‘un-

Hilde Hasselgård

will take a closer look at the ‘other solutions’, which *comprise* the following categories: matrix clause (cf. Johansson 2005), modal auxiliary, modal catenative, and integration of the frequency/usuality meaning in a noun phrase.

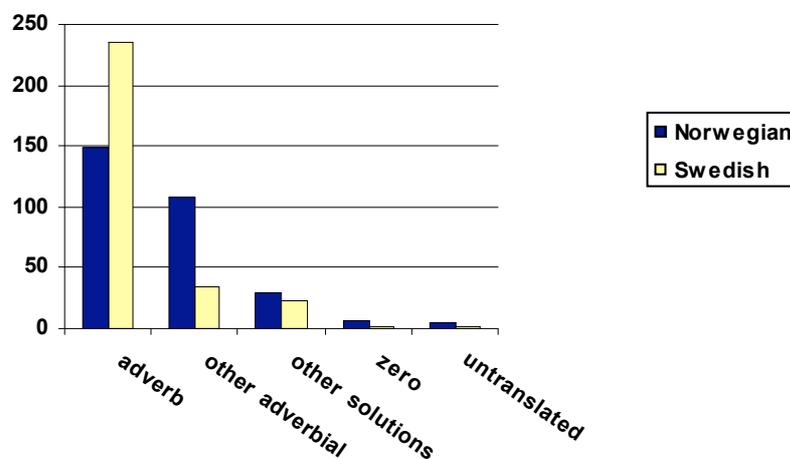


Figure 1: Translation of usuality/frequency adverbs: grammatical categories.

5.1 Matrix clause ‘det hender’/‘det händer’

Det hender/det händer occurs chiefly as a translation of *sometimes/occasionally*. This rendering of usuality meaning is termed ‘matrix clause’ following Johansson (2005), as it places the modal meaning in a separate (matrix) clause and the modalized proposition in a subordinate

translated’ means that the whole clause/sentence where the frequency adverb occurs is left out in the translated text.

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

clause. English does not have a construction equivalent to *det hender/händer*; *it happens* having a different meaning (2005:78 ff). According to Johansson, adverbials are frequent correspondences of *det hender*, but modal auxiliaries also occur (2005:70). Examples of *sometimes* being translated by the Norwegian *det hender* are given in (9) and (10) while the Swedish *det händer* is used in (10).

- (9) *Sometimes* people are surprised that we're friends. (JB1)
Det hender folk blir overrasket over at vi er venner.
Ibland blir folk förvånade över att vi är vänner.
- (10) At school I sometimes used to get better marks than him, but that was when he chose not to exert himself. (JB1)
Det hendte jeg fikk bedre karakterer enn ham, men det var når han ikke anstrengte seg.
I skolan brukade jag ibland få bättre betyg än han, men det var bara när han lät bli att lägga manken till.
- (11) *Occasionally* one comes across parents who take the opposite line, who show no interest at all in their children, and these of course are far worse than the doting ones. (RD1)
Fra tid til annen dukker det opp foreldre som inntar det nøyaktig motsatte standpunktet. De viser ingen som helst interesse for barna sine. Disse er selvfølgelig langt verre enn de som roser barna opp i skyene.
Då och då *händer det* att man stöter på föräldrar som intar den rakt motsatta linjen och inte visar något som helst intresse för sina barn, och dessa föräldrar är förstås långt hemskare än de som är förblindade av beundran.

It is no coincidence that more examples are given here of the Norwegian *det hender* than of its Swedish cognate, as the construction is more common in Norwegian (13 vs. 3 instances). Furthermore, as illustrated by (11), the Swedish construction occurs with a supporting frequency adverbial in two out of the three cases, while the Norwegian *det hender* construction has a supporting adverbial in only two out of 13 cases. The combination of *det hender/händer* and a supporting adverbial is shown in (12), which is the only example where both Norwegian and Swedish have chosen a matrix clause. Note however that *hendte det/hände det* probably corresponds to *would* in the original.

Hilde Hasselgård

- (12) *Sometimes* a woman *would* ask my father to “speak to” her husband.
(NG1)
Ofte hendte det at en kvinne ba min far “snakke med” hennes mann.
Ibland hände det att en kvinna bad min far “tala” med hennes man.

The frequency difference between the Norwegian and Swedish *det hender/händer* construction may be caused by the apparent tendency of Swedish translators to stay closer to the wording of the original; original Swedish and Norwegian, checked in Språkbanken and the Oslo Corpus respectively, show similar frequencies of the construction.

5.2 Modal auxiliary ('kan', 'kunne'/'kunde')

Usuality being a category of modality, it was expected that modal auxiliaries would show up as translations of usuality adverbs. The modal auxiliaries found in the translations are *kan* and *kunne/kunde* occurring as translations of *sometimes* and *occasionally*. Examples (13) and (14) show *kan* and *kunne* in the Norwegian translation, while (15) shows *kan* in Swedish.

- (13) If she's busy in another room he's *sometimes* home for half an hour or so before she knows he's there. (NG1)
Hvis hun er opptatt et annet sted i huset *kan* det ta en halvtime før hun er klar over at han er kommet.
Om hon sysslar med något i ett annat rum *händer det* att han är hemma en halvtimme eller så innan hon vet att han har kommit.
- (14) Your obituary of my friend Francis Cornish (Sept. 13) is correct in all its facts, but gives a dour impression of a man who was *sometimes* crusty and difficult, but also generous and kind in countless personal relationships. (RDA1)
Professor, pastor Simon Darcourt skriver: Deres nekrolog over min venn Francis Cornish (13. sept.) er korrekt i alle faktiske detaljer, men gir et litt forbeholdent inntrykk av en mann som riktignok *kunne være* grinete og vanskelig, men også generøs og vennlig i utallige personlige forhold.
Er nekrolog över min vän Francis Cornish (13 sept.) är korrekt i alla fakta, men den ger bilden av en man som ibland var vresig och besvärlig. Otaliga människor som kom i kontakt med Francis Cornish kan intyga att han också var en vänlig och generös person.

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

- (15) His mommy explained how shadows could *sometimes* look like the bad things they *sometimes* showed on TV or in the comic books, ... (SK1)
Hans mor forklarte hvordan skygger *noen ganger* kunne se ut som de fæle tingene han *av og til* så på TV, eller i tegneseriebladene. ...
Hans mamma förklarade hur skuggorna *ibland* liknar de hemska saker som man *kan* se på TV och i serietidningar ...

It is interesting to note that both the Norwegian and the Swedish translators of (15) have given two different translations of the word *sometimes*, which is used twice in the same sentence by the original author (Stephen King). Possibly, this is an effect of translators being more cautious about breaking the rules for good writing than authors are, and thus avoiding the repetition of the same word within a sentence.⁷

The use of modal auxiliaries as a correspondence of frequency/usuality adverbs highlights the function of both these types of expressions of placing a proposition on the “region of uncertainty that lies between yes and no” (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: 147), i.e. “sometimes yes, sometimes no, with different degrees of oftenness attached” (ibid.). It seems that *kan* and *kunne/kunde* generally express a median degree of oftenness; they are found exclusively as translations of *sometimes* and *occasionally*. It may be noted that *kan/kunne* are also the only Norwegian modal auxiliaries found to express usuality in Løken (forthcoming).

Like matrix clause correspondences, modal auxiliary translations may occur with a supporting adverbial, as shown in (16). Again, supporting adverbials seem to be more frequent in Swedish than in Norwegian; two out of three instances vs. one out of five.

- (16) *Sometimes* it's weeks before they're found. (MW1)
Av og til tar det uker før de blir funnet.
Ibland kan det gå veckor innan de blir hittade.

⁷ This may of course also be the work of language consultants going over the translated text without knowing the original, as is common practice in many publishing houses.

Hilde Hasselgård

5.3 Modal catenative: 'pleie'/'bruka'

Some lexical verbs convey modal meaning. English has the expression *used to* which is often listed in grammars as a marginal modal auxiliary (e.g. Quirk *et al* 1985: 138). The corresponding Norwegian and Swedish expressions (*pleie/bruka*) do not seem to have been grammaticalized to the same extent to approach auxiliary status. On the other hand, they are more flexible than *used to* in that they can be used in all tenses. Swedish *bruka* seems closer to auxiliary status than *pleie* in that it is followed by a bare infinitive, while *pleie* is followed by the infinitive marker *å*. Examples of *pleie* and *bruka* are shown in (17) and (18).

- (17) "And see," Macon said, "there's this place I *usually* board him but they suddenly claim he bites. (AT1)
"Du skjønner," sa Macon, "det stedet han *pleier* å være sier plutselig at han biter.
"Jag *brukar* faktisk inackordera honom på ett annat ställe", sade Macon, "men där påstår dom plötsligt att han bits.
- (18) In the ease of the family presence we *often* didn't actually greet each other at meals; it would have been like talking to oneself. (NG1)
Innen familien *pleide* vi ikke å hilse på hverandre før måltidene, det ville ha vært som å snakke med seg selv.
När vi bara var familjen *brukade* vi *ofta* inte säga någon hälsning när vi satte oss till bords; det skulle ha varit som att tala med sig själv.

In Swedish, *bruka* is the second most common correspondence of *usually*. It also occurs as a correspondence of *normally*, *often* and *sometimes*. The Norwegian *pleie* occurs as a translation of the same words. However, *pleie* is less frequent; while *bruka* occurs 15 times, *pleie* occurs only five times. Of the 15 Swedish examples with *bruka*, six occur with a supporting adverbial, but none of the Norwegian *pleie*-examples do. Thus we recognize the pattern found for both matrix clauses and modal auxiliaries; supporting adverbials are used more often in Swedish.

As mentioned above, the verb *bruke* can be used in this construction in Norwegian too, but it does not occur in the present material. However, ENPC non-fiction gave one example in the original Norwegian texts, cf. (19). Here the degree of oftenness has been increased to *always* in the

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

translation, probably with minimal consequences for the overall meaning since the predicate conveys a punctual event.

- (19) Det var der Lauritz brukte å hente ny forsyning. (PEJ1)
It was there that Lauritz *always* got a new supply.

5.4 Adverbial → part of NP

In a few examples, the usuality meaning of an English adverb has been incorporated in a noun phrase in the translation. Examples are given in (20) and (21). In all these cases it is the adverb *occasionally* that has been rendered by *en og annen* and the like. It is perhaps doubtful whether *en eller annen* in (21) conveys usuality meaning, but *en og annen* in (20) seems to convey the same meaning as *occasionally*, which in this case is close to non-bounding frequency, although the extent of repetition is left unspecified.

- (20) Ted fierce and expository, Kate pink and excited, the Swede *occasionally* offering corrections, Hugo contributing a description of cholera in the Congo (which both Ted and the Swede disputed, though they hadn't been there and Hugo had), they continued cheerfully until the cheese. (MD1)
De fortsatte muntert helt til osten, Ted voldsom og forklarende, Kate lyserød og opphisset, svensken med *en og annen* beriktigelse, Hugo bidro med en beskrivelse av kolera i Kongo (som både Ted og svensken trakk i tvil, skjønt Hugo hadde vært der og de ikke).
Ted var häftig och vidlyftig, Kate skär om kinderna och lycklig; svensken ingrep *då och då* med någon rättelse, Hugo gav sig in på en beskrivning av kolera i Kongo (både Ted och svensken sade emot honom fastän de inte hade varit där vilket Hugo hade), och de fortsatte i god stämning fram till osten.
- (21) Much of it is coniferous, man-made woods of Scots pine and larch, Norway spruce and *occasionally* a towering Douglas fir. (RR1)
En stor del av den er nåleskog, plantet skog med vanlig furu og lerk, rødgran, og *innimellom* en kneisende douglasgran.
En stor del av den upptas av barrträdsodlingar med tall och lärkträd, vanlig gran och *en eller annan* reslig douglasgran.

Hilde Hasselgård

5.5 Zero correspondence

In some cases, the frequency adverb has left no trace of its meaning in the translation or in the surrounding sentences. The Swedish rendering of (22) is an example of this. As a result of the zero translation, the proposition is no longer situated in the ‘region of uncertainty between yes and no’, but has positive polarity; i.e. panic seems invariably to be imminent. Interestingly, the Norwegian translation *ofte* also represents an increase in the degree of oftenness from the original *sometimes*. A similar increase in degree of oftenness is found in the Norwegian rendering of (23), which is another example of zero correspondence. There may, however, be a trace of usuality in the main verb *foretrakk* (‘preferred’), which may imply that ‘he’ sometimes wore ties of dispreferred colours.

- (22) The trouble was that they felt so powerfully it utterly overset them and brought them *sometimes* near to panic. (RDA1)
Vanskeligheten var at de hadde så sterke følelser at de ble fullstendig overmannet, noe som *ofte* brakte dem nesten til panikkens rand.
Problemet var att känslorna var så kraftiga att de blev dem övermäktiga och att paniken [Ø] låg på lur.
- (23) He liked to wear jackets with large brightly-coloured checks and he sported ties that were *usually* yellow or pale green. (RD1)
Han likte å gå med storrutede jakker i glørete farger og foretrakk slips som [Ø] enten var signalgule eller blekgrønne.
Han tyckte om att gå klädd i storrutiga kavajer i grälla färger och han ståtade med slipsar som *vanligst* var gula eller ljusgröna.

Like most of the other ‘non-adverbial’ correspondences of English frequency/usuality adverbs, zero correspondence is also more frequent in Norwegian than in Swedish (cf. Figure 1). This may suggest that translators in the two countries have different ideas about good translation practice; it seems that Swedish translators stay more closely to the wording of the original text while Norwegian translators choose a wider variety of solutions—often for no apparent reason. An investigation of translation ideologies in Norway and Sweden would be very interesting, but must remain outside the scope of the present study.

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

5.6 Differences between corpus and dictionary data

The comparison of the dictionary data and the range of translations found in the ENPC and the ESPC shows that dictionaries only give lexical, congruent translations, while the corpora offer various paraphrases, e.g. in terms of matrix clause (*det hender, det händer*) and modal expressions (*pleie, bruka*). These may be given in examples in the dictionaries, but are not really suggested as translation equivalents. In other words, the dictionaries show only the lexical part of the lexicogrammatical paradigm for expressing usuality and frequency.

Moreover, there seems to be a greater degree of overlapping translations across the frequency adverbs in corpus data than in dictionaries. A case in point is *sometimes* and *occasionally*, which share few of the dictionary alternatives, but overlap to a relatively great extent in the ways they are translated in the corpus. The translations thus show 'degrees of oftenness' as a continuum. It is probably important that translations can rely on context for the correct interpretation, while dictionaries must attempt to distinguish the different degrees of oftenness conveyed by the adverbs more or less out of context.

6 How do usuality adverbs correspond with other expressions of modality?

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:147) usuality, like other types of modality, can be expressed (in English) in three different ways: by a finite modal auxiliary, by an adjunct of usuality, or by both together. As the present study takes usuality adjuncts as its starting point, it is not surprising that the most frequent correspondence type in the translations is usuality adjuncts. However, as the present material shows, there is some correspondence with modal auxiliaries (*kan/kunne*), as well as with modal catenatives (*pleie/bruka*). In addition, the expression *det hender / det händer* may be seen as a grammatical metaphor for thematizing modal usuality (Johansson 2005:84). As we have seen there are also combinations of adverbs and other modal expressions. As reported in section 5, combinations of modal adverbs and other expressions of modality seems to be more frequent in Swedish than in Norwegian.

However, the present study cannot purport to give a fair picture of modal usuality in English, Norwegian and Swedish. First, only a limited

Hilde Hasselgård

set of frequency/usuality adverbs have been studied. More expressions of usuality (e.g. *used to*, *would* and *may*) and their correspondences need to be included to explore the whole paradigm. It would also be interesting to study the outer-value modality markers *always* and *never* and their correspondences. Furthermore, all the Norwegian and Swedish expressions of usuality discussed in this study occur in translations from English. Clearly a study of usuality expressions in original Norwegian and Swedish is needed to check the validity of the findings presented here. Finally, a future cross-linguistic study of expressions of usuality in English, Norwegian and Swedish should also include English translations of Norwegian and Swedish expressions. Only in this way is it possible to shed more light on the interaction of adverbials and other expressions of usuality in all three languages.

7 How similar are Norwegian and Swedish?

The question whether the ENPC and the ESPC can be seen as a parallel translation corpus cannot be addressed without saying something about the extent of similarity between Norwegian and Swedish. Torp (1982:155 and 1998:106) estimates that between 85% and 90% of the 1000 most frequent words in Swedish and Norwegian are shared between the languages, allowing for certain differences in orthography and morphology. Although the frequency adverbs may not all be among the 1000 most frequent words, Torp's estimate gives an indication that much of the same vocabulary is available to translators into both Swedish and Norwegian. However, as was shown in Table 3 above, translators make the same lexicogrammatical choice in only 36% of the cases.

In order to find out to what extent the translations could have been more similar in the remaining 64% of the sentences I conducted the following, admittedly rather doubtful, experiment: I went through all the cases where the Swedish and the Norwegian translations differed and tried to decide if the Swedish solution would have been possible in Nor-

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

wegian too. In 74% of the cases it probably was, and in only 15% it clearly was not.⁸ Although Tables 2 and 4 above show that some lexical items occur only in one of the languages, these are mainly infrequent options in the material. Thus one may claim that Norwegian and Swedish are to a great extent equivalent when it comes to the translation of frequency and usuality adverbs. But there are some provisos, such as the following:

- Swedish *ibland* is vastly more frequent than Norwegian *iblant* (120 vs. 22 occurrences). Thus a frequency of *iblant* in the Norwegian translations corresponding to that of *ibland* in the Swedish translations would seem odd, even if *iblant* can be used in many of the same sentences in isolation. It also seems that Norwegian *iblant* cannot be focused (**bare iblant*), as illustrated by (24) below. Furthermore, *ibland*, but not *iblant*, is used in front of another adverb that restricts its scope (Sw. *ibland på nätterna*, No. **iblant om natten*). It is possible that *iblant* cannot be used about a restricted number of occurrences, as in (25).
- Swedish *bruka* occurs more frequently than the Norwegian *pleie*, and often in combination with a frequency adverb. It seems that *pleie* cannot be used felicitously in all the same contexts where *bruka* occurs (e.g. in example 10 above).
- Swedish *då och då* is more frequent than Norwegian *nå og da* (8 vs. 2 occurrences). This tendency is even stronger in the data from Språkbanken and the Oslo Corpus; 30 vs. 2.3 times per million words, respectively.
- No. *av og til* is frequent (e.g. example 2), while *av och till* does not occur in material and is also infrequent in original Swedish.
- Swedish *i vanliga/normala fall* occurs as a correspondence of *normally* and *usually*, but does not have an equivalent Norwegian expression that can be used in the same way.

⁸ In the remaining cases, part of the translation could have been used, or the same translation choice would have been possible but slightly unidiomatic.

Hilde Hasselgård

- (24) Late at night, in his back garden; not every night, *only sometimes*.
(RDO1)
Sent om kvelden i bakhagen; ikke hver kveld, *bare en gang iblant*.
Sent om natten, på sin bakgård; inte varje kväll, *bara ibland*.
- (25) *Sometimes* this comes to the surface, sometimes that, sometimes nothing. (MA1)
Noen ganger stiger visse ting til overflaten, noen ganger andre, noen ganger ingenting.
Ibland är det ett som kommer upp till ytan, ibland något annat, ibland ingenting.

Clearly, the differences in frequency between members of such pairs as *iblant/ibland*, *av og til/av och till* and *nå og da/då och då* have implications for translation choices. While *ibland* is totally unmarked in Swedish, and may be said to be *the* translation alternative for both *sometimes* and *occasionally*, the cognate *iblant* has a much more restricted distribution and use. Similarly I expect that frequent use of *av och till* would seem odd to a Swedish reader, while it is frequent and unmarked in Norwegian as a translation of *sometimes/occasionally*.

8 *Concluding remarks*

One of the questions asked at the outset of this paper was whether the translations in the ENPC and the ESPC can be seen as parallel/alternative translations so that the two corpora can be used as a multiple translation corpus. The answer, it seems, lies truly within the realm of modality: possibly yes, possibly no.

The answer is ‘no’ if we are mainly looking for lexical alternatives, expecting the translations used in the ENPC to be automatically usable in Swedish or those in the ESPC to work in Norwegian. Clearly, the inventory of translations found in Norwegian cannot be used as a thesaurus for a Swedish translator, and vice versa. Or rather, the answer may be *almost* no, since many of the lexical alternatives are shared between Norwegian and Swedish, and many of the shared alternatives are common in both languages. However, as pointed out above there are important differences in the frequency and distribution of some lexical items. In addition,

Using the ENPC and ESPC as a Parallel Translation Corpus

there are of course some alternatives that are unique to one of the languages, although most of these are relatively infrequent. We should also keep in mind that Norwegian and Swedish – despite the great similarity between the two languages – also differ in their ‘preferred ways of putting things’.

To end on a more positive note, the answer is ‘yes’ if we generalize the lexicogrammar and look for equivalent constructions as categories of translations. While the constructions may have different realizations in the two languages (e.g. *pleie* vs. *bruka*), the patterns and constructions available in the two languages are to a very great extent the same. The main difference is that Swedish seems to have a greater preference for adverbs to translate the frequency and usuality adverbs studied in this paper, while Norwegian employs a range of other adverbial realizations, such as prepositional phrases and noun phrases.

It is very clear—and nowhere in the region of uncertainty that lies between yes and no—that the present study could not have been carried out without the co-operation that has existed between the universities of Oslo, Lund and Göteborg for many years. If the ENPC and the ESPC can be used as a parallel translation corpus it is due not only to the similarity between our languages, but to the common research interests and the good working relations across the border that resulted in the parallel preparation of our parallel corpora.

References

- Aijmer, Karin, Bengt Altenberg and Mats Johansson. 1996. “Text-based contrastive studies in English: Presentation of a project.” In Aijmer, Karin, Bengt Altenberg and Mats Johansson (eds), *Languages in Contrast: Papers from a Symposium on Text-based Cross-linguistic Studies*, 73-86. Lund University Press.
- Engelsk Stor Ordbok*. Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget, 2001.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and Christian Matthiessen. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd edition. London: Arnold.
- Hasselgård, Hilde. 1996. *Where and When: Positional and Functional Conventions for Sequences of Time and Space Adverbials in Present-Day English*. Acta Humaniora. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.

Hilde Hasselgård

- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johansson, Stig. 2004. "Why change the subject? On changes in subject selection in translation from English to Norwegian". *Target* 16:1, 29-52.
- Johansson, Stig. 2005. "Some aspects of usuality in English and Norwegian". In Berge, Kjell-Lars and Eva Maagerø (eds.) *Semiotics from the North: Nordic Approaches to Systemic Functional Linguistics*, 69-86. Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Løken, Berit. Forthcoming. *Beyond modals: A corpus-based study of English and Norwegian expressions of possibility*. PhD thesis, University of Oslo.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Stora engelsk-svenska ordboken*. Stockholm : Esselte Studium, 1980.
- Torp, Arne. 1982. *Norsk og nordisk før og nå*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Torp, Arne. 1998. *Nordiske språk i nordisk og germansk perspektiv*. Oslo: Novus.

Corpora used

- Språkbanken (Database SVD 00).
<http://spraakbanken.gu.se/konk/>
- The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus.
www.hf.uio.no/ilos/OMC/Norsk/Delkorpuser.html
- The English-Swedish Parallel Corpus.
www.englund.lu.se/content/view/66/127/
- The Oslo Corpus of Tagged Texts.
www.tekstlab.uio.no/norsk/bokmaal/