

# Exploring cross-linguistic congruence: The case of two stance frames in English and Norwegian

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**Abstract:** This paper explores the degree of congruence between two closely related languages – English and Norwegian – in a case study of the two stance frames *it BE \* that* and *det VÆRE \* at*. It is first established that the open slot in the frames is most typically occupied by an adjective, thus steering this investigation towards a more detailed comparison of *it BE ADJ that* and *det VÆRE ADJ at*. The adjective determines the evaluative orientation of the frames, and, following Lemke (1998), the present study operates with seven categories to establish the attitudes and evaluations present in the frames. The study, which draws on material from a bidirectional translation corpus – the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus+, reveals that the degree of congruence between the frames to some extent seems to depend on the attitude/evaluation expressed. Furthermore, the study reveals that there is 45% non-congruence between the languages. The translational correspondence network of the English and Norwegian patterns is broad, showing that there are a number of linguistic resources in the two languages that can be used to express attitudinal/evaluative stance. It is concluded that, while English and Norwegian are shown to have similar means of expressing attitudinal meanings with the frames, the two languages have their preferred ways of doing so both in terms of individual adjectives and attitudinal/evaluative class.

**Keywords:** congruence, non-congruence, English-Norwegian, extraposition, stance frame, projecting clause, evaluation, bidirectional translation corpus

## 1. Introduction

A recent trend in corpus-based contrastive studies is to investigate collocational and colligational frameworks, with the aim to “discover recurrent patterns in the lexical and semantic make-up of such sequences” (Hasselgård 2016: 55). The present paper seeks to do exactly this in an investigation of the cross-linguistically similar patterns *it BE \* that / det VÆRE \* at* in English and Norwegian.<sup>1</sup> Parts of speech typically occurring in the open slot in both languages include ADJ, N and ADV (see examples 1-3, respectively), giving rise to patterns of different grammatical status, notably extraposition (1) and clefts (2)-(3).

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<sup>1</sup> Frame, framework and pattern are used interchangeably in this study to refer to *it BE \* that / det VÆRE \* at*.

- (1) It is *fortunate* that I am the one who took your call.” [MoA11E]<sup>2</sup>
- (2) It was *grief* that filled her, transmuting, but slowly, to rage. [DL2]<sup>3</sup>
- (3) It was *then* that Fibich wept. [AB1]

Preliminary observations of the patterns in the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus+ suggest that ADJ is the main colligate in both languages, and that the adjectives typically express evaluation or judgement (cf. Francis 1993), or attitudinal meaning in Herriman’s (2000; 2013) terms. In a similar vein, and with reference to Francis (1993), Hunston & Sinclair (1999: 84) refer to this pattern as one used for expressing evaluation, and in a more recent paper, Hunston & Su (2017: 3) contend that meanings associated with the *it v-link ADJ that* pattern “relate to the domain variously termed ‘stance’, ‘attitude’, or ‘evaluation’”.

Following an overview of the distribution of colligates in the two patterns in both languages, the focus will be narrowed down to instances containing an ADJ in the slot. The study is set within an analytical framework concerned with linguistic resources for attitudinal/evaluative meaning (Lemke 1998). Interestingly, the correspondences of these seemingly identical patterns in English and Norwegian are fairly equally divided between (semi-)congruent (4) and non-congruent (5) renderings in source vs. translated texts.

- (4) *It is true that* I sought out Trent, Hopkinson and Hurst ... [MiWa1E]  
*Det er sant at* jeg oppsøkte Trent, Hopkinson og Hurst ... [MiWa1TN]
- (5) “*It’s evident that* the artist who designed this label had never seen the church ... [JW1T]  
“...*selvfølgelig* har kunstneren som tegnet denne etiketten aldri sett kirken. [JW1]  
Lit.: ... *obviously* has the artist who drew this label never seen the church

As the two languages have similar patterns to express similar meanings, non-congruence is really an unexpected alternative. Therefore, one of the aims of this investigation is to discover what triggers congruence and non-congruence in each case, based on the lexical and semantic make-up of the cotext (collocates) and context of the frames, including their attitudinal meaning. It is also of importance to identify stance patterns (words, phrases, expressions) of non-congruence in translation in going from English into Norwegian and vice versa. In a bottom-up approach, a bidirectional translation corpus – the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus+ – is investigated to establish the potential of the corpus in uncovering semantic, cross-linguistic networks of attitudinal meaning. Drawing on insights from Herriman (2000, 2013), in particular, it is hypothesised that modal adverbs and modal verbs will feature in such networks.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of the material used for this study as well as an outline of the extraction process before surveying the overall trends in the two languages regarding which element occurs in the open slot. Section 3 offers a survey of some previous studies of extraposition with ADJ, as well as outlining the framework used for categorising the attitudinal meanings expressed by the patterns. In Section 4, the material is analysed in terms of congruence and according to attitudinal class. A discussion and

<sup>2</sup> The code in brackets is the corpus text identifier and stands for author [MoAl = Monica Ali], text number and language [1E]. Identifiers with a capital T in them indicate that the example is from a translation.

<sup>3</sup> Some text identifiers do not specify language, but absence of T means that the text is an original/source text, in this case a text originally written in English, by Doris Lessing [DL]. See further Ebeling & Ebeling (2013) for an overview of texts and text codes in the corpus.

summary of the main findings is offered in Section 5, while Section 6 offers a conclusion and suggests avenues for further research.

## 2. Material and method

### 2.1 The English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus+

The material for this study is extracted from the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus+ (ENPC+), which is a bidirectional translation corpus of contemporary fiction (1980-2012), containing texts originally written in English and Norwegian as well as their respective translations into Norwegian and English. The ENPC+ is made up of four sub-corpora: English originals (EO), English translations from Norwegian (ET), Norwegian originals (NO), and Norwegian translations from English (NT). The sub-corpora are similar in size and content, each containing 39 texts and approximately 1.3 million words, with the exception of ET which contains approx. 1.4 million words.<sup>4</sup> The ENPC+ is not lemmatised nor part-of-speech tagged; thus, the extraction process had to be carefully thought out, and is described in some detail below.

### 2.2 Extraction and delimitation of data

To some degree, the frames in the study have flexible syntax in the sense that they enter into (positive and negative) declarative and interrogative sentences, triggering different word order in both English and Norwegian. The study takes this into account and includes all of these syntactic variants with all possible inflected forms of BE and VÆRE. Multiple searches for the frames had to be carried out. Combinations with simple present and past tense forms resulted in 14 different search strings for each of the English sub-corpora and 12 for the Norwegian sub-corpora, and can be summarized as follows:

- it is/was/'s/is n't/was n't (not) \* that
- is/was/is n't/was n't it (not) \* that
- det er/var (ikke/ikkje) \* at
- er/var det (ikke/ikkje) \* at

Additionally, to get at verb forms other than the simple present and simple past, the following strings were used, although it has to be noted that they yielded very few results:

- it \* be\* \* that
- it be\* \* that
- it \* n't be\* \* that
- it \* not be\* \* that
- det \* (ikke/ikkje) vært/vore \* at
- det (ikke/ikkje) vært/vore \* at

The searches do not allow more than one word in the open slot in the frames, apart from the negator *not/n't/ikke/ikkje*. Thus, compared to Larsson (2016a), who studies variability in the patters, the search criteria applied here are much stricter.

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Ebeling & Ebeling (2013) for a more detailed overview of the structure and contents of the ENPC+.

As shown in Table 1, these searches returned 967 hits altogether, distributed fairly evenly across the four sub-corpora, although the translated texts (ET and NT) display a higher frequency of the frames than the original texts. Table 1 further shows the actual colligates that occur in the open slot of the frames. While there appear to be some differences between the languages in terms of preferred colligate, the top two are the same in the original texts, namely ADJ and ADV. The preference for an adjective in the slot is more prominent in the Norwegian material, whereas there is more of a division of labour between ADJ and ADV in English. Other observations that can be made on the basis of Table 1 include the apparent difference between the two languages in the use of *V-ed*, and the difference between original and translated texts in the use of a noun. However, for the purpose of this study, I have chosen to focus on the most frequent pattern (ADJ), for the sake of homogeneity and delimitation of the study.

**Table 1. Overview of colligate in pattern in English and Norwegian original and translated texts.**

Colligate	EO	ET	NO	NT	Total
ADJ	78 (37.7%)	151 (50.3%)	145 (73.2%)	165 (63%)	539
ADV	80 (38.6%)	66 (22%)	33 (16.7%)	29 (11.1%)	208
<i>V-ed</i>	22	33	5	10	70
NOUN	4	16	5	39	64
PRON	11	28	8	15	62
PREP	9	4			13
Other <sup>5</sup>	3	2	2	4	11
Total	207	300	198	262	967
E/N total	507		460		

The *it* BE ADJ *that* / *det* VÆRE ADJ *at* patterns are homogeneous in the sense that, with the exception of one case in EO and three cases in ET,<sup>6</sup> they represent *that*-extraposition with anticipatory *it* / *det* in both languages (as in example (1) above). Before we move on to the contrastive analysis of the 535 instances of the patterns (i.e. 539 minus the four instances mentioned above), some relevant background will be outlined.

### 3. Previous studies of the patterns

The patterns examined touch on a number of broad topics in linguistics, notably dummy subject constructions, adjectival complementation and stance. It is beyond the scope of this study to offer a survey of these areas in full,<sup>7</sup> but Section 3.1 outlines some relevant publications on stance structures, notably projection clauses that resemble the ones being investigated here. Section 3.1.1 narrows the focus to previous English-Norwegian cross-linguistic studies of similar structures.

<sup>5</sup> CONJ, *V-ing*, NO SOURCE, False hit.

<sup>6</sup> In the four cases that were excluded from the study, *that* does not introduce a *that*-clause; it is instead a demonstrative determiner, as in *It is safest that way*. [ToEg1TE].

<sup>7</sup> So-called dummy subject constructions have received a lot of attention, both from an English and a Norwegian perspective (e.g. Collins 1991, Herriman 2000, Kaltenböck 2003, Leira 1970; 1992, Sjøfteland 2014), as well as from a cross-linguistic perspective (e.g. Ebeling 2000, Gundel 2002, Chocholoušová 2007; 2008, Herriman 2013). Moreover, the anticipatory *it* pattern has been extensively investigated across disciplines and in learner vs. expert data; see Larsson (2016a; 2016b) and references therein.

### 3.1 Expressing stance by means of *that*-clause extraposition

The English and Norwegian frames can be said to be projection clauses belonging to one branch of the projection framework illustrated in Figure 1. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 443), “[t]hrough projection, one clause is set up as a representation of the linguistic ‘content’ of another”, i.e. the projecting clause projects the following proposition. Projecting clauses can thus be seen to carry stance, in the sense that they express the speaker’s/writer’s attitude towards the projected proposition.

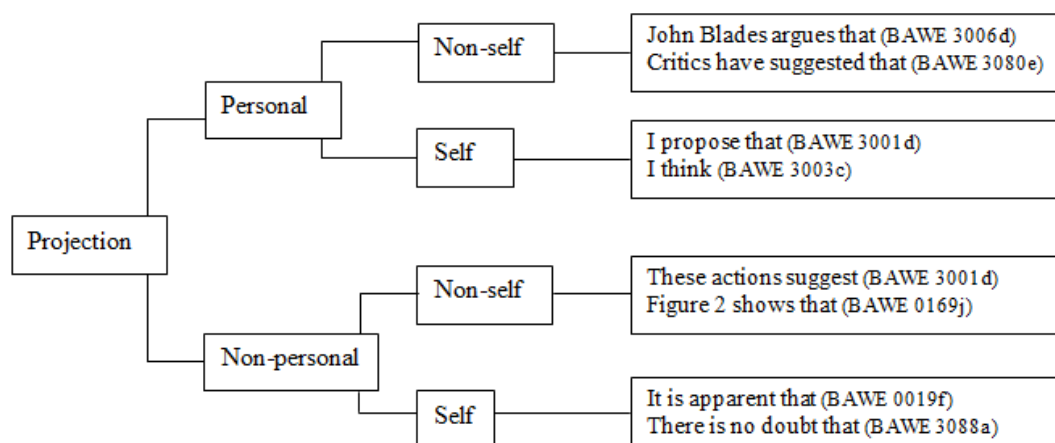


Figure 1. Projection framework (from Ebeling & Wickens 2012: 27, inspired by Hunston 1993; Wickens 2001).

From Figure 1 it becomes clear that the frames investigated in this study are found in the final category of projection, namely that of non-personal self, exemplified by *It is apparent that*. The projection clause serves the purpose of stepping back (non-personal) to disguise the speaker’s/author’s (self) involvement (cf. Hyland 2005: 176). This is in line with Herriman’s (2000: 212) statement that extraposition “allows the writer to omit the source of the attitudinal meaning and to give it an appearance of objectivity and generality”. The framework presented in Figure 1 was set up in the context of analysing undergraduate writing from different disciplines and of how projection can reflect disciplinary differences in the way in which students engage with the literature and the object of study (Ebeling & Wickens 2012). In the present paper the framework serves the function of placing the frames in a larger context of projection and stance.

The overarching purpose of the selected frames, as established above, is in agreement with Herriman’s (2000) view of extraposition in general as “one of many linguistic means of expressing attitudinal meaning” (p. 204). Or, as Lemke puts it, this is one of the “[l]exicogrammatical resources [that] enable us to construct attitudinal stances” (1998: 33). Within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics, Herriman (2000) discusses and analyses the functional properties of extraposition across different text types in relation to the three metafunctions of language: experiential, interpersonal and textual.

Herriman’s (2000) study has a broader scope than the present one in that it is not restricted to extraposition in the form of relational processes (BE/VÆRE) followed by an ADJ and a *that*-clause; thus, not all her findings and observations are directly relevant to the present investigation. However, she draws attention to other ways of expressing attitudinal meaning and how they differ from extraposition. A case in point, and of relevance to this study, is attitudinal meaning expressed by means of modal adverbs or modal verbs such as *probably* and *might*. Herriman, with reference to Halliday (1994), states that “when attitudinal meaning is realised” in this way “it cannot be questioned, negated, or focused in a

pseudocleft [...] and is therefore neither made explicit nor negotiable” (2000: 211), in contrast to attitudinal meaning expressed through extraposition.

Also working within the systemic-functional tradition, Lemke (1998), with reference to Francis (1995),<sup>8</sup> suggests that:

... if we consider occurrences of sentences or clauses of the form:

It is ... that ...

where *that* introduces an embedded (rank-shifted) noun clause, and the extraposed *it* is followed by an adjective, then the adjectives which occur in this frame fall into a small number of semantic classes, all of which are in some basic sense evaluative epithets. (Lemke 1998: 35-36)

Lemke proposes seven semantic dimensions to reflect evaluative orientations in the *it is ... that* frame and beyond; in fact, the dimensions are meant to account for attitudinal meaning in general. As pointed out by Lemke himself there are parallels between his dimensions and other semantic representations of attitudinal/evaluative meaning, e.g. Francis’s categories, which have been coupled with Lemke’s dimensions in Table 2.

**Table 2. Evaluative orientations in the *it is ... that* pattern (adopted from Lemke 1998: 37ff).**

Lemke’s (1998) semantic dimensions <sup>9</sup>	Francis’s (1995) parameters of evaluation <sup>10</sup>
DESIRABILITY / INCLINATION It is simply wonderful that John is coming. It is really horrible that ...	Value and appropriacy
WARRANTABILITY / PROBABILITY It is quite possible that ... It is very doubtful that ...	Modality
NORMATIVITY / APPROPRIATENESS It is quite necessary that ... It is entirely appropriate that ...	Value and appropriacy
USUALITY / EXPECTABILITY It is quite normal that ... It is highly surprising that ...	Predictability
IMPORTANCE / SIGNIFICANCE It is very important that ... It is really quite trivial that ...	Importance
COMPREHENSIBILITY / OBVIOUSNESS It is perfectly understandable that ... It is quite mysterious that ...	Obviousness
HUMOUROUSNESS / SERIOUSNESS It is just hilarious that ... It is ironic that ... It is very serious that ...	

Well-aware of the fact that other semantic classification schemes of the pattern under discussion and related patterns have been proposed (e.g. Herriman 2000, Groom 2005 (with

<sup>8</sup> I have not managed to get hold of this publication by Francis: Francis, G. (1995). *Corpus-driven grammar and its relevance to the learning of English in a cross-cultural situation*. In Pakir A., (ed.), *English in Education: Multicultural Perspectives*. Singapore: Unipress.

<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note that most of Lemke’s examples in Table 2 include a premodifier in the ADJP. As mentioned above, my search strings do not allow for an extra (premodifying) element; however, a quick search in the ENPC+ shows that this is not a frequent expansion of the pattern in the material at hand.

<sup>10</sup> It is unclear how the two remaining categories in Francis (1995) – Ability and Rationality – fit in with Lemke’s dimensions; rationality is said to be mixed, and ability is said to be actional.

reference to Francis *et al.* 1998, Larsson 2016b, Hunston & Su 2017),<sup>11</sup> I will apply Lemke's semantic framework in the classification of the attitudes and evaluations present in the English and Norwegian frames (see Section 4.2), as they seem sufficient and well-suited for the analysis of this specific pattern (with ADJ).

An interesting view on the patterns is proposed by Hunston & Su (2017), who relate them to the concept of a local grammar, i.e. "a grammar of a discourse function [...] closely related to performative speech acts" (Hunston & Su 2017: 5). The local grammar, or discourse function, relevant in the current context is that of evaluation, "expressed by adjectives occurring with complementation patterns" (*ibid.*: 7), i.e. the local grammar of evaluation is performed by the two frames in English and Norwegian. Thus, the patterns studied here are form-meaning pairings in the sense of pattern grammar (*ibid.*), and in the formulation of a local grammar of evaluation in the **it v-link ADJ that** pattern, the following meaning elements are proposed (see Hunston & Su 2017: 16-17):

- Hinge (signals that an evaluation is made), e.g. **it is** awful **that** it should end like this
- Evaluation (the evaluative meaning that is made), e.g. it is **awful** that it should end like this
- Target (the entity that is evaluated), it is awful that **it should end like this**

In the sense of Hunston & Su, then, the current study is mainly interested in what type of evaluation element is present in the local grammar of the English and Norwegian patterns, and whether this element influences cross-linguistic congruence.

### 3.1.1 Previous cross-linguistic studies

In two closely related studies, Chocholoušová (2007, 2008) investigates Norwegian and English dummy subjects and their translations into English and German and into Norwegian and German, respectively. Chocholoušová's studies are both broader and narrower in scope than the current one, as well as having a different cross-linguistic focus. First, their scope is broader in the sense that a range of 'dummy' structures are considered and that German translations are part of both studies. On the other hand, her studies are narrower in that they are restricted to dummy subjects in sentence initial position and that the data set is much smaller than in the current investigation.<sup>12</sup> The studies particularly centre around the degree of congruence of dummy subjects in translation, i.e. to what extent the dummy subjects are retained, and to what extent other solutions are chosen. As mentioned in Section 1, the current study, however, considers one particular kind of dummy subject structure, namely extraposition with ADJ + *that*-clause, focusing on the attitude expressed and the cross-linguistic behaviour of the whole stance structure.

In agreement with other studies (e.g. Ebeling 2000; Gundel 2002), Chocholoušová finds that "constructions with dummy subjects are much more frequently used in Norwegian than in English and German, and appear in a greater variety of construction types" (Chocholoušová 2008: 1). Dummy subjects as a group are said to have three basic functions in that they 1) syntactically act as slot-fillers on the level of grammar; 2) topologically shift

<sup>11</sup> Hunston & Su's (2017: 3) framework, in particular, is very similar to, and highly compatible with, Lemke's, in that they operate with the following eight groups of adjectives that enter into the **it v-link ADJ that** pattern: 'likelihood', 'obviousness', 'desireability', 'undesirability', 'importance and necessity', 'interest and surprise', 'relevance', and 'other'.

<sup>12</sup> Both studies use the English-Norwegian-German part of the Oslo Multilingual Corpus (<http://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/english/services/omc/>). While the 2007 study draws on a sub-corpus of 22 Norwegian original texts, amounting to around 290,000 words, the 2008 study draws on 33 English original texts, amounting to around 430,000 words. In comparison, the ENPC+, on which the present study is based, contains around 1.3 million words in both directions of translation (see Section 2.1).

rhematic expressions away from sentence initial position; 3) semantically avoid thematically weak and peripheral elements to be used as sentence subjects (cf. Chocholoušová 2008: 96). While the frames being studied undoubtedly perform these functions, they will be investigated here from the perspective of attitude and stance, and seen in relation to other attitudinal expressions which exist in the two languages.

Of particular relevance to the current study are Chocholoušová's findings regarding the level of congruent translations of extraposed clauses (see Section 4.1). In the translations from Norwegian into English, congruent translations of dummy *det* + extraposed clause were found in 52.7% of the cases (2007: 49), while they were found to be more frequent when going from English into Norwegian (76.7%) (2008: 44). However, it is not clear whether these percentages are evenly distributed across the different types of extraposed clause, i.e. *to*-infinitive clauses, *that*-clauses, *-ing* clauses, and conditional clauses. Nor is it clear whether a translation of an infinitive clause as a *that*-clause is seen as congruent or not.

In cases where the dummy subject is not retained in the translations, full subjects in combination with evidential adverbs such as *selvsagt* 'obviously' or *clearly*, as in example (6), are commonly inserted (2007: 51; 2008: 45).

- (6) Det var *tydelig* at hun hadde grått. [EG1]  
 Lit.: It was evident that she had cried  
 ... she had *clearly* been crying. [EG1T]

Chocholoušová (2008: 80) notes that in all the dummy constructions she investigated "congruent translations are preferred in a great majority of cases; and if no structural constraints apply, sentence subjects tend to be preserved in the translation". Compared to Chocholoušová's studies, the current investigation offers a narrower, but more detailed look at the cross-linguistic mechanisms at work in constructions with *it/det* BE/VÆRE ADJ + extraposed *that/at*-clause.

The cross-linguistic study that perhaps bears the most resemblance to the present one is Herriman's (2013) on "The extraposition of clausal subjects in English and Swedish". Using a sample from the English-Swedish Parallel Corpus comprising eight source texts in each direction of translation, Herriman includes subject *that/att*-clauses and *to*-infinitival clauses in her study, and starts out by measuring the proportion of extraposed:nonextraposed subject clauses in the two languages. However, more pertinent to the present study is her overview of congruent and non-congruent correspondences of extraposed *that/att*-clauses. Herriman finds that around 72% of the English *that*-clauses have a congruent Swedish translation, while only 53.6% of the Swedish *att*-clauses have a congruent English translation. She examines the non-congruent correspondences in more detail and classifies them into five types "depending on how their constituents correspond to the matrix predicate and subordinate clause of extraposition" (Herriman 2013: 245): clause-external evaluations (7), clause-internal evaluations (8), nominal correspondences, zero correspondences and free correspondences.<sup>13</sup>

- (7) But I'm sorry she's dead. (PDJ3)  
 men det var tråkigt att höra att hon är död. (PDJ3T)  
 'But it was sad to hear that she is dead.'
- (8) Det var vanligt att dom på söndagarna drack kaffe hos Elna. (SC1)  
 'It was usual that they ...'  
 Eriksson and Oman usually had coffee at Elna's on Sunday. (SC1T)

<sup>13</sup> The examples given in Herriman (2013: 247) of the non-congruent categories nominal, zero and free correspondences do not include an adjective, and have therefore been left out here.



In both directions of translation (Swedish to English and English to Swedish), it is the clause-internal evaluations that are most frequently found, and more prominently so in the Swedish-into-English translations. In other words, a larger number of Swedish extrapositions seem to correspond to simple clauses (with clause internal evaluations) in English than vice versa. Herriman suggests several reasons for this, and the one that is accompanied by examples of the type of extraposition examined here has to do with the placement of adverbials in the two languages. Swedish more readily accepts adverbials in initial position followed by extraposition, as in example (9) from Herriman's study (p. 251) where the translator has opted for a single clause in which *offices* "has been made subject by tough movement" (*ibid.*).

- (9) I Drottningholm var det svårt att finna ytterligare kontorsutrymmen... (EGE1)  
 'In Drottningholm was it difficult to find more office space'  
 Offices were hard to find in Drottningholm... (EGE1T)

Herriman sums up this part of her study in the following way:

... though extrapositions are translationally equivalent in English and Swedish, they are often used in Swedish when English may have a simple clause. This is due to a number of differences between the languages. These are formal, e.g. the absence of a Swedish equivalent of the English gerund *-ing* form; syntactic, e.g. different word order constraints in English and Swedish, semantic, e.g. the preference for adverbial functions for inanimate semantic roles in Swedish, and pragmatic, e.g. a tendency for Swedish to follow the information principle more strictly than English. (2013: 253)

Although focusing on slightly different translation mechanisms and categories of non-congruence, the current analysis will be undertaken with Herriman's findings and reasons for non-congruence in mind when identifying stance patterns (words, phrases, expressions) of non-congruence between English and Norwegian.

Finally, based on both Chocholoušová's (2007, 2008) and Herriman's (2013) findings, we can hypothesise that the English frame will have more congruent translations into Norwegian than vice versa. We can also predict that Norwegian translations will have more non-congruent sources than English translations.

## 4. Analysis

### 4.1 Congruence

One of the aims of this study is to investigate to what extent "identical" structures in the two languages correspond to each other in translation. Unlike Herriman, we are interested in all four directions of correspondence. This means that in addition to recording what happens when going from English originals to Norwegian (EO→NT) and from Norwegian originals to English (NO→ET), the elements in the source texts that give rise to the patterns in the translated texts will also be considered, i.e. searches for the patterns are made in the NT and ET sub-corpora to establish their sources in the English and Norwegian original texts (NT←EO and ET←NO, respectively). This will be measured in terms of congruence. A congruent translation or source is understood as an instance where the patterns correspond to each other, i.e. they "formally correspond to each other and are explicitly expressed" (Ebeling 2015: 37), as in example (10), where the Norwegian pattern has a congruent English

translation (NO→ET), and in example (11), where the Norwegian pattern has a congruent English source (NT←EO).

- (10) *Det er ikke viktig at jeg er sjalu på min datters far mens hun står bak ham ...*  
[PeRy1N]  
*It is not important that I am jealous of my daughter's father as she stands behind him ...* [PeRy1TE]
- (11) *Det er mulig at jeg kjente Booth.*" [AnCl1TN]  
*It is possible that I knew him.*" [AnCl1E]

The category "semi-congruent" is less strict in that it does not require full formal correspondence; however the pattern is still recognizable in the other language but the slight formal difference lies in syntactic flexibility, the use of a different verb or verb form, or the presence of an adverb (typically a particle) (in Norwegian). These differences are illustrated, respectively, in (12), where the English translation has a  $\emptyset$ -*that* clause, in (13), where the Norwegian translation of *will be* is the simple present tense *er* 'is', and in (14), where the particle *jo* 'of course' has been added in the Norwegian translation.

- (12) *Det er mulig at jeg er født sjarmløs.* [EHA1]  
It's possible [ $\emptyset$ ] I was born without charm. [EHA1T]
- (13) *It will be* clear that I do not wish to enter upon marriage burdened with debt, ... [RDA1]  
*Det er* innlysende at jeg ikke ønsker å inntre i ektestanden tynget av gjeld, ... [RDA1T]
- (14) *And it was true that this ordinary businessman in his Ford Cortina,...* [FW1]  
*Og det var jo* sant at denne alminnelige forretningsmannen i sin Ford Cortina , ... [FW1T]  
Lit.: *And it was of course true that ...*

The non-congruent category refers to instances where there is an overt translation or source which is formally further from the patterns than in cases involving syntactic flexibility, a change of verb (form), or presence of a particle. An example of a non-congruent correspondence is given in (15), where existential *det* in combination with an indefinite NP is used in the Norwegian translation.

- (15) "It's possible that the victim tried to stop the opening from happening at all.  
[AnCl1E]  
*Det er en mulighet for at offeret prøvde å forpurre hele utstillingsåpningen.*  
[AnCl1TN]  
Lit.: *There is a possibility for that the victim ...*

As can be seen in Table 3 below, there is more non-congruence than full congruence in the material overall (45.6% vs. 35.9%).<sup>14</sup> However, it can also be noted that non-congruence is mostly found in the English translations from Norwegian (NO→ET; 49%) and in Norwegian translations from English originals (NT←EO; 59.4%). In other words, non-congruence seems

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<sup>14</sup> If we collapse the categories congruent and semi-congruent, congruence is predominant in going from original to translated texts, which in accordance with both Chocholoušová's (2007, 2008) and Herriman's (2013) studies. In fact, it is only in the direction NT←EO that this is not the case.

to prevail when starting the search in the Norwegian texts.<sup>15</sup> It is hard to determine why this should be the case, but in what follows I will attempt to give a detailed account of what happens cross-linguistically when comparing English and Norwegian on the basis of translation data.

**Table 3. Degree of congruence in all directions of correspondence between English and Norwegian.**

Congruence	EO → NT	NO → ET	NT ← EO	ET ← NO	Total
Congruent	43 (55.8%)	53 (36.6%)	43 (26.1%)	53 (35.8%)	192 (35.9%)
Semi-congruent	13(16.9%)	21 (14.4%)	24 (14.5%)	41 (27.7%)	99 (18.5%)
Non-congruent	21 (27.3%)	<b>71 (49%)</b>	<b>98 (59.4%)</b>	54 (36.5%)	244 (45.6%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>535</b>

The next step in the analysis will be to classify the patterns according to their attitudinal/evaluative meanings (see Table 2; cf. Lemke, 1998), in order to find out to what extent the meanings expressed have an impact on congruence.

#### 4.2 Attitudinal meanings

The most frequently occurring adjectives in the slots vary slightly across the different sub-corpora. The top three in the two English sub-corpora (EO and ET) are *true*, *clear* and *possible*, while for NO they are *tydelig* ‘clear’, a form of *god* ‘good’ and *rart* ‘strange’, with *mulig* ‘possible’ in fourth place. Finally the top three in NT are *tydelig* ‘clear’, *mulig* ‘possible’ and *sant* ‘true’. *True*, *clear* and *possible* were also found to be among the five most frequent adjectives in Larsson’s (2016a: 71) material, i.e. the Louvain Corpus of Research Articles.

These adjectives do in fact reflect the main tendencies in the sub-corpora with regard to attitudinal class: *clear/tydelig* represent category F (Comprehensibility/Obviousness), which is the favoured category in three of the four sub-corpora. *Possible/mulig* represent category B (Warrantability/Probability), also one of the most prominent categories, while *true/sant* represent category C (Normativity/Appropriateness), which is a favoured category in the two English sub-corpora and NT. *God* ‘good’ and *rart* ‘strange’ are particularly frequent in NO and represent categories A (Desirability/Inclination) and D (Usuality/Expectability), respectively. Table 4 gives an overview of the distribution of attitudinal meanings in the material. For convenience, all but one of the categories (G) are exemplified by congruent correspondences from the ENPC+.

Focusing on the original texts first, it can be seen that, proportionally, both English and Norwegian favour category F (Comprehensibility/Obviousness). However, while English has category B (Warrantability/Probability) in second place and category C (Normativity/Appropriateness) in third place, Norwegian has category D (Usuality/Expectability) in second place and category A (Desirability/Inclination) in third place. The latter two are marginal categories in the English original texts in the ENPC+. In Norwegian there is a slightly more even distribution across the less favoured categories.

<sup>15</sup> In Section 3.1.1, a similar trend was noted by Herriman (2013), who finds more congruent correspondences of extraposed *that*-clauses in the English-Swedish direction of translation than vice versa.

**Table 4. Attitudinal meanings expressed by the patterns in the four sub-corpora, including examples.**<sup>16</sup>

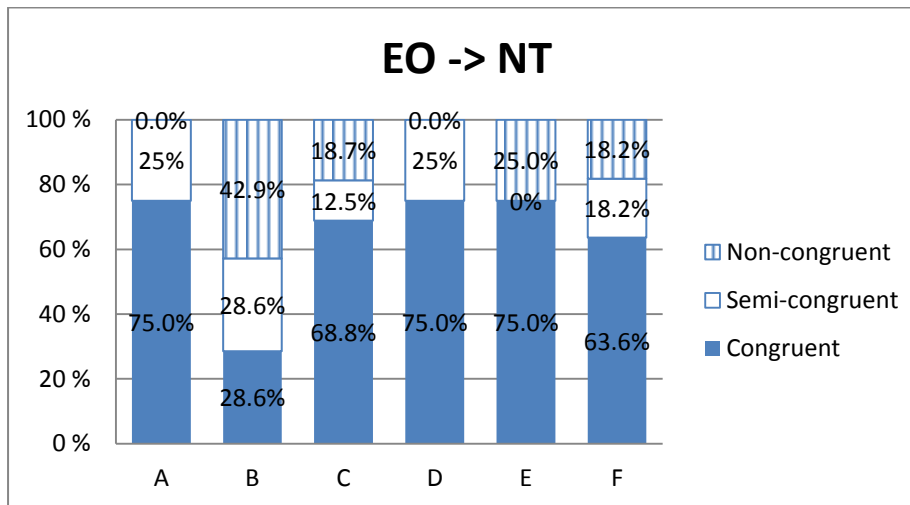
	Meanings	EO	ET	NO	NT	Example from ENPC+
A	DESIRABILITY / INCLINATION	4 (5.2%)	14 (9.5%)	28 (19.3%)	27 (16.4%)	<u>It was terrible that</u> her mother was so young. [MoA11E] <u>Det var grusomt at</u> moren var så ung. [MoA11TN]
B	WARRANTABILITY / PROBABILITY	21 (27.3%)	49 (33.1%)	21 (14.5%)	38 (23%)	“ <u>It’s possible that</u> Jon Moreno took his own life,” Sejer said. [KaFo1TE] - <u>Det er mulig at</u> Jon Moreno tok sitt eget liv, sa Sejer. [KaFo1N]
C	NORMATIVITY / APPROPRIATENESS	16 (20.8%)	28 (18.9%)	18 (12.4%)	21 (12.7%)	<u>It was not right that</u> a young woman from a good family was so uninhibited. [HW2T] <u>Det var ikke riktig at</u> ei ung jente av god familie var så uten hemninger. [HW2]
D	USUALITY / EXPECTABILITY	4 (5.2%)	18 (12.2%)	29 (20%)	17 (10.3%)	In fact, <u>it’s strange that</u> it doesn’t happen more often.” [AnHo1TE] Egentlig <u>er det rart at</u> det ikke skjer oftere. [AnHo1N]
E	IMPORTANCE / SIGNIFICANCE	9 (11.7%)	10 (6.8%)	11 (7.6%)	7 (4.2%)	... <u>it is convenient that</u> one witness to Cill’s murder is dead ... [MiWa1E] ... <u>det er beleilig at</u> et av vitnene til drapet på Cill er død ... [MiWa1TN]
F	COMPREHENSIBILITY / OBVIOUSNESS	22 (28.6%)	29 (19.6%)	37 (25.5%)	55 (33.3%)	“And then, of course,” he said, when <u>it was obvious that</u> I wasn’t going to answer, “we come to last night. [TaFr1E] “Og så,” sa han da <u>det var tydelig at</u> jeg ikke kom til å svare, “kom vi til i går kveld. [TaFr1TN]
G	HUMOUROUSNESS / SERIOUSNESS	1		1		... reflecting that <u>it was ironic that</u> it was he who should meet death by chance ... [DF1] ... tenkte på ironien i at det var han som møtte et slikt tilfeldig endelikt ... Lit: ‘thought of the irony in that it was...’ [DF1T]
		77	148	145	165	

### 4.3 Attitudinal meaning and congruence in EO→NT and NO→ET

On the basis of the different preferences mentioned for English and Norwegian, it may be hypothesised that non-congruence is mainly found within the Usuality/Expectability (D) and Desirability/Inclination (A) categories when going from Norwegian into English. In the other direction of translation (EO→NT), but perhaps to a lesser extent, more instances of non-

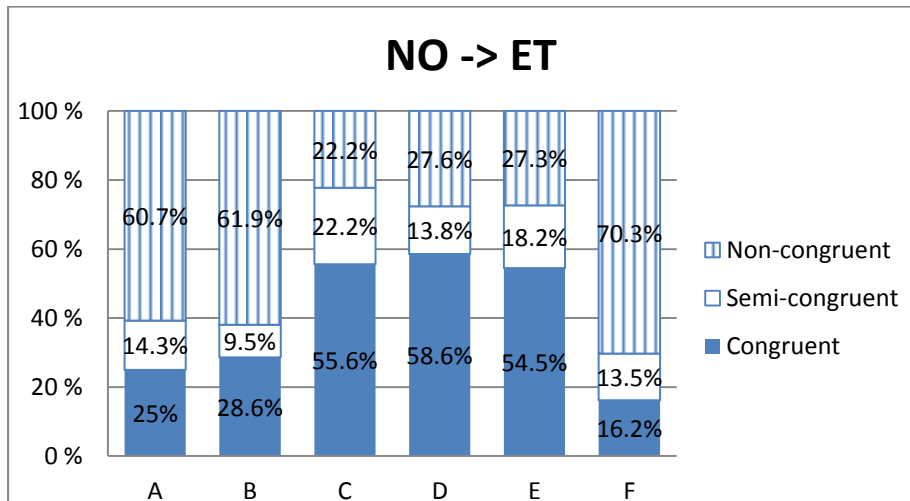
<sup>16</sup> A note on dispersion: Even in the attitudinal classes with fewest attested examples, e.g. A/EO, D/EO and E/NT, the instances are dispersed across different texts. In the case of A/EO, the four instances are found in two different texts, while in the case of D/EO, the four instances are found in four different texts.

congruence in the Warrantability/Probability (B) and Normativity/Appropriateness (C) categories may be expected. The charts in Figures 2 and 3 show this to be partly true.



**Figure 2. Proportions of congruent, semi-congruent and non-congruent correspondences according to semantic category from English into Norwegian (excluding category G, as it only has one occurrence).<sup>17</sup>**

In going from English originals to Norwegian translations the highest proportion of non-congruent correspondences is indeed found in category B, while category C does not behave as expected in this respect; curiously, as shown in Figure 3, category B is one of the categories in which non-congruence is most prominent in going from Norwegian into English as well. I will return to some of these unexpected results below.



**Figure 3. Proportions of congruent, semi-congruent and non-congruent correspondences according to semantic category from Norwegian into English (excluding category G, as it only has one occurrence).**

There is generally a higher proportion of non-congruence in all categories in NO→ET as compared to EO→NT. As was the case in the EO→NT direction of translation, there is a high proportion of non-congruence in only one of the two categories in which it was predicted, viz. category A. Category D, on the other hand, did not yield the expected proportion of non-congruence. In the NO→ET direction of translation Category F (Comprehensibility/Obviousness) contains the largest proportion of non-congruence,

<sup>17</sup> A note on dispersion for Figures 2-5: Instances of congruent, semi-congruent and non-congruent in all attitudinal categories are distributed across several different texts, as attested by the examples cited below.

reaching around 70%. This is contrary to expectations, since the English original texts also make frequent use of this category, and one would expect this to be reflected in the translations.

In the following, I will take a closer look at what happens in the non-congruent cases in category B in both directions of translation and in category D in the NO→ET direction. Moreover, category F will be dealt with in some detail, as it was not expected that non-congruence would feature as prominently as it does, particularly in the NO→ET direction.

#### 4.3.1 Non-congruence in category B (Warrantability/Probability) in EO→NT and NO→ET

Category B is highly interesting in terms of congruence; proportionally it is a more important category for EO than NO, but the percentage of non-congruence for this category is in fact higher (approx. 62%) when going from Norwegian to English, than when going from English to Norwegian (approx. 43%).

Examining the non-congruent cases in both directions of translation, similar patterns of translation can be observed, featuring modal auxiliaries and/or adverbs (+passive), as shown in examples (16), (17) and (18). In (16) the Norwegian pattern is rendered as a single main clause with the modal *may*, while the Norwegian pattern in (17) is translated into the adverb *possibly*. Finally in (18), the English pattern is translated into a similar pattern in Norwegian, but with different elements in it, i.e. the modal *kan*, the modal particle/adverb *jo* and the so-called *s*-passive form *tenkes* ‘be thought’.

- (16) *Da er det ikke sikkert at dere trenger noen profil.* [AnHo1N]  
 Lit.: Then is it not certain that you need any profile  
 Then you *may* not even need a profile. [AnHo1TE]
- (17) *På den annen side var hun gravid i tredje måned, og det var mulig at det kunne ha en slags forbindelse med mordet ...* [FC1]  
 Lit.: ... and it was possible that ...  
 On the other hand, she was three months’ pregnant, and *possibly* that had some connection with the murder ... [FC1T]
- (18) ... “and I suppose *it’s possible that* he knew about the market-square CCTV ... [PeRo1E]  
 ... “og *det kan jo tenkes* at han visste om overvåkingskameraene på markedsplassen ... [PeRo1TN]  
 Lit.: and it could of course be thought that he knew ...

Modals and adverbs are the two main types of non-congruent correspondence patterns in category B. This suggests, not surprisingly perhaps, that the two languages have similar linguistic means at their disposal to express Warrantability/Probability, of which the *it* BE ADJ *that* / *det* VÆRE ADJ *at* is but one of three/four possibilities (see also Herriman 2000; 2013).

#### 4.3.2 Non-congruence in category D (Usuality/Expectability) in NO→ET

Of the 29 instances in the Usuality/Expectability category in NO, eight have a non-congruent correspondence in the English translations. From the numbers in Table 4, more non-congruence would have been expected, as this seems to be a marginal category for the *it* BE ADJ *that* pattern in EO. The relatively low number of non-congruence could be related to the fact that there does not seem to be a clear-cut non-congruent equivalent, i.e. it is not obvious which English expression(s) to choose instead. The non-congruent correspondences include ADJ + (*for* x) *to*-clause (three occurrences), Noun + *that*-clause (two occurrences), and one

occurrence each of a main clause, a main clause with a modal, and an exclamation. Examples of the first and last of these are given in (19) and (20), respectively.

- (19) - *Det er uvanlig at noen føler behov for hjelp når de er maniske.* [AnHo1N]  
 Lit.: It is unusual that someone feels ...  
*“It’s unusual for people to feel the need for help when they’re in a manic phase.*  
 [AnHo1TE]
- (20) *Var det ikke urettferdig at livet en gang tok slutt?* [JG1]  
 Lit.: Wasn’t it unfair that life one time took end  
*How unfair that life had to end!* [JG1T]

#### 4.3.3 Non-congruence in category F (Comprehensibility/Obviousness) in NO→ET

Non-congruence in the Comprehensibility/Obviousness category is particularly prominent in the NO→ET translation direction (26 out of 37 instances). In the other direction (EO→NT) of correspondence only four out of the 22 instances are non-congruent, which is more in line with what would be expected. I will therefore focus on how this non-congruence manifests itself in the English translations.

Typically, and in 15 out of the 26 cases, English has an adverb in the translation of the Norwegian pattern, as shown in example (21).

- (21) *Trass i arsenalet av skumle redskaper, er det tydelig at de er varsomme med treskulpturen.* [ToEg1N]  
 Lit.: ... is it obvious that ...  
 Despite the arsenal of alarming instruments, they have *obviously* treated it with great care. [ToEg1TE]

The only other observable tendency is to have a noun and a *that*-clause, as in example (22), but as four out of the five instances come from the same text, this may not be assumed to be a general trend.

- (22) *“Er det tilfeldig at Cistercienserordenen anla Lysekloster i 1146, ...* [ToEg1N]  
*“And is it a coincidence that the Cistercian Order built Lyse Abbey in 1146, ...*  
 [ToEg1TE]

In the remaining four instances, the translators have opted for four different clause types: *wh*-clause, main clause, existential clause and a *for x to*-clause.

In other words, in going from Norwegian into English, non-congruence in this category partly resembles category B in the preference for using adverb(ial)s as correspondences of the *det VÆRE ADJ at* pattern. It is therefore tempting to conclude that English adverbials have a wider range of attitudinal meaning and use than Norwegian adverbials. In English they seem, in many cases, to be preferred choices and to perform similar functions to both categories B and F.

#### 4.4 Attitudinal meaning and congruence in ET←NO and NT←EO

When looking at the preferred categories in the translated material (see the unshaded columns in Table 4), some discrepancies between EO and ET and between NO and NT can be noted, although the internal ranking of the different categories show some similar tendencies. All sub-corpora, apart from ET, show a preference for category F, while category B is ranked in

first or second position in all but NO. EO and ET have category C in third place, while NO and NT have A. For the less frequently used categories there are some minor differences, but category E is fairly stable, being ranked 6<sup>th</sup> in all but EO.

Although some differences between translated and non-translated English (EO vs. ET) and Norwegian (NO vs. NT) can be observed, it is not obvious that these are due to translation effects (at least not induced by the patterns under study). For example, category B is proportionally more prominent in NT than in NO. It is also a category that is prominent in EO and it is thus tempting to conclude that this must be because of source language influence (i.e. influence of English on the Norwegian translation). However, the number of instances in category B is higher in NT (33) than in EO (21), pointing to the fact that there are more complex relationships at play. A closer look is therefore warranted in order to establish which structures in the source languages give rise to the *it BE ADJ that/det VÆRE ADJ at* patterns in the English and Norwegian translations.

In Table 3, it was shown that the proportion of non-congruent correspondences in the sources is around 59% in the direction NT←EO, while in the direction ET←NO it is around 36%. The next step is to find out what is happening across the attitudinal categories in terms of congruence, when starting from the translated texts. An overview is given in Figures 4 and 5.

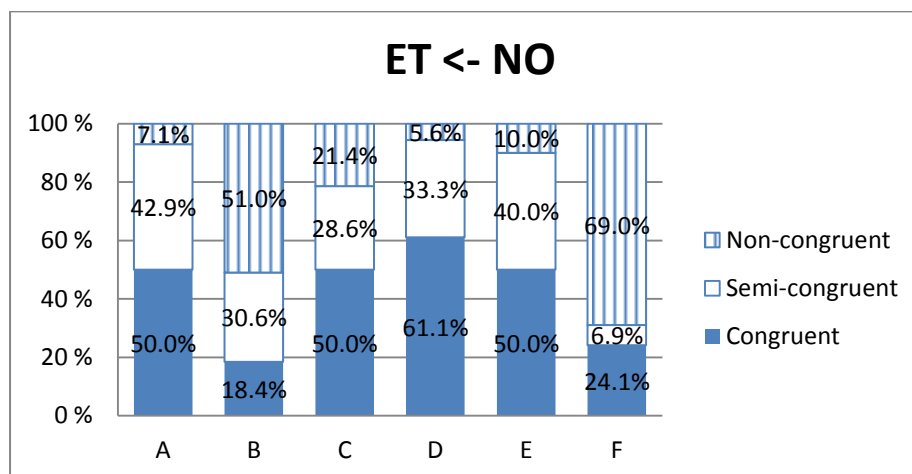


Figure 4. Proportions of congruent, semi-congruent and non-congruent correspondences according to semantic category in English translations from Norwegian sources.

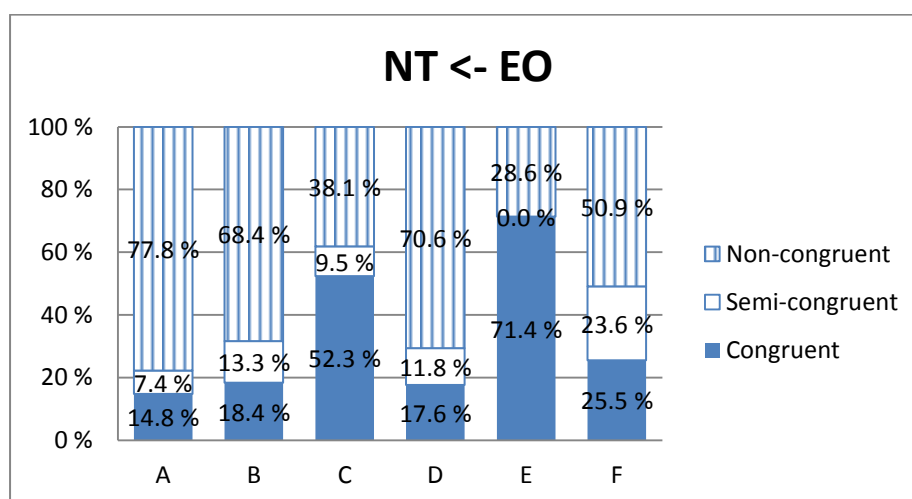


Figure 5. Proportions of congruent, semi-congruent and non-congruent correspondences according to semantic category in Norwegian translations from English sources.



It can be observed from Figures 4 and 5 that in all categories but F, NT from EO proportionally produces more non-congruence than ET from NO. It is also interesting to note that non-congruence also features markedly in category B in both directions, which was also the case when starting from original texts (see Figures 2 and 3 above). Categories A and E are also interesting in the NT←EO direction. I will start by looking at categories B and F in both directions to see whether similar mechanisms are at play between translation and source text.

#### 4.4.1 Non-congruence in category B (Warrantability/Probability) in ET←NO and NT←EO

The two most prominent sources of non-congruence between NT and EO, with eight and six instances, respectively (out of 26, see Table A in the Appendix), are main clause with a modal auxiliary and existential *there* sentences, as shown in examples (23) and (24), respectively.

- (23) “*Det er mulig at sjefen min vil ha et ord med deg om disse to menneskene som kom på besøk.*” [PeRo2TN]  
Lit.: It is possible that ...  
“My boss *might* want to have a word with you about those two people who came to visit.” [PeRo2E]
- (24) Han ville gi oss skylden for hele greia, og *det var utenkelig at* han ville la det ligge. [TaFr1TN]  
Lit.: ... it was unthinkable that ...  
... he would blame the whole thing on us, and *there wasn't a chance in hell* he would let it lie. [TaFr1E]

In example (23), the subject of the *at*-clause in the translation is the subject of the overall structure in the English source text and *might* arguably gives rise to the Norwegian pattern, viz. *det er mulig at* ‘it is possible that’. Similarly in (24), the Norwegian translation *det var utenkelig at* ‘it was unthinkable that’ captures the meaning of the English existential clause *there wasn't a chance in hell*. There are no other non-congruent correspondence types that stand out in particular, perhaps with the exception of what I have called *to*-infinitive, with three occurrences. In example (25), the subject of the *at*-clause in the translation – *Grace* – comes from the subject of the overall structure in English followed by an ADJ and a *to*-infinitive clause. This is a kind of alteration that, according to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1228), is found with certain adjectives, including (*un*)*likely*; the adjectives “occur with a corresponding construction with extraposition of a *that*-clause: Jill is *likely* to attend. ~ It is *likely* that Jill will attend” (*ibid.*).

- (25) Ikke desto mindre *er det usannsynlig at* Grace ville åpne døren etter mørkets frembrudd ... [MiWa1TN]  
Lit.: ... is it unlikely that Grace would open...  
Nevertheless, *Grace was unlikely to open* her door after dark ... [MiWa1E]

When looking at the non-congruent sources of the English translations (ET←NO), there are two other main triggering factors at work, namely a similar pattern with the Norwegian *s*-passive (26) (see also example (18) above), with eight occurrences, and an adverb (27), with seven occurrences.

- (26) *Was it conceivable that* the rumour was true ... [BHH1TE]  
*Kunne det tenkes at* ryktet talte sant ... [BHH1N]  
 Lit.: Could it be thought that ...
- (27) *It's possible that* all the changes in climate were what caused it to disintegrate.  
 [ToEg1TE]  
*Sannsynligvis* ble alle de klimatiske forholdene for mye for den. [ToEg1N]  
 Lit.: Probably became all the climatic conditions ...

The findings for non-congruent correspondences in category B are in fact in line with what was found when going from EO into NT and from NO into ET, with the exception of existential sentences. Existential sentences were, however, found in non-congruent cases of category F.

#### 4.4.2 Non-congruence in category F (Comprehensibility/Obviousness) in ET←NO and NT←EO

Although the Norwegian sources of the non-congruent cases in category F are varied, there is one pattern with a phrasal verb instead of VÆRE + ADJ that gives rise to *it BE ADJ that* in seven out of the 20 cases (see Table A in the Appendix): *det går frem at* ‘it emerges that’ (Lit.: it goes forth that) or *det skinte gjennom at* ‘it shone through that’. Moreover, an adverb is the source of the pattern in the English translations in five cases. The remaining eight cases range from instances of complete rewriting in the translation (28) to one instance of using the non-extraposited version of the pattern with an initial *at*-clause (29).

- (28) Because *it was clear that* neither furnishings nor ornaments came from chain stores.  
 [EG2T]  
 For ingen skulle fortelle ham at møblene var fra Ikea eller at nipsgjenstandene kom fra en eller annen basar på Grønland! [EG2]  
 Lit.: For no one should tell him that the furniture was from IKEA or that the ornaments came from one or other bazaar in Grønland
- (29) It is understandable *that they couldn't find us*. [ToEg1TE]  
*At de ikke har funnet oss, er forståelig*. [ToEg1N]  
 Lit.: That they not have found us, is understandable

When starting from Norwegian translations in category F, there are 29 cases of non-congruent correspondence, of which 19 have an English adverb as source (see Table A in the Appendix). The remaining 10 instances show a variety of correspondences, including modal verbs, Ø correspondence, the passive voice and two instances of the structure *it was/seemed ADJ to X that*, which has been deemed (formally) non-congruent, although it resembles the patterns studied here.

#### 4.4.3 Non-congruence in categories A (Desirability/Inclination) and D (Usuality / Expectability) in NT←EO

When searching in the Norwegian translations for *det VÆRE ADJ at*, it is found, as shown in Figure 5 above, that there is a non-congruent English source in 77.8% of the cases for category A and in 70.6% for category D.

The non-congruent sources in category A vary across many of the types already discussed, including modal auxiliaries, *it BE ADJ for X to* and *to*-infinitive clauses. There are also a couple of correspondence types that, albeit marginal, do not occur elsewhere in the

material, namely two instances of ADJ+Ø-*that*-clause, as in (30), and the use of the verb *mind*, as in example (31).

- (30) Ingen grunn til at de må stå opp allerede - *det er bedre at de får sove videre.* [StGa1TN]  
 Lit.: ... it is better that they get sleep on  
 There's no reason for them to get up yet. *Better* they remain asleep. [StGa1E]
- (31) “*Er det greit at vi snakker her?*” spurte Stuart. [AnCl1TN]  
 Lit.: Is it fine that we talk here  
 “*Do you mind* chatting here?” Stuart said. [AnCl1E]

Category D is comparatively small, with only 17 occurrences altogether (see Table 4), but the fact that 12 out of these have non-congruent English sources makes it interesting in the current context. Again there does not seem to be one major correspondence type accounting for the high proportion of non-congruent cases. The *it* BE ADJ *for X to* and *it* SEEM ADJ *to x that* constructions account for two instances each. In addition, there are two instances of Ø correspondence, one case with an adverb and one with a main clause capturing the content of *it* BE ADJ. There is one case of ADJ + *thing*, as shown in example (32), and finally, there are two cases of other clause types (*wh*- and *-ing* clause) which may be seen as variants of the *it* BE ADJ *that* pattern.

- (32) På mange måter *var det rart at* Lexie hadde klart seg så lenge som hun hadde. [TaFr1TN]  
 In a lot of ways, *the amazing thing was* that Lexie had made it this far. [TaFr1E]

## 5. Discussion and summary of findings

Above, only the most frequent non-congruent correspondences were discussed in detail. They do, however, seem to give a relatively accurate picture of what resources are available in the two languages (in the material at hand) to express attitudinal meanings of the kinds represented by the *it* BE ADJ *that/det* VÆRE ADJ *at* patterns.

The overall tendencies are quite clear when looking at the 244 non-congruent cases together, regardless of direction of correspondence and attitudinal class. As shown in Table 6, ADV is the most common non-congruent correspondence overall. However, the tendency is stronger for an English ADV to correspond to the Norwegian pattern than vice versa (see also Table A in the Appendix).

**Table 6. Distribution of all non-congruent correspondence types in the material.**

Non-congruent correspondence type	English↔Norwegian <sup>18</sup>	Norwegian↔English	No.
ADV	22	45	67
modal	5	25	30
main clause	4	21	25
inf.-clause	8	7	15
<i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for x to</i> (in N↔E only)	--	16	16
NOUN	3	11	14

<sup>18</sup> In the two columns in the middle of Table 6, the directions of correspondence have been collapsed into a two-way correspondence, starting from English (English↔Norwegian includes both EO→NT and ET←NO) and Norwegian (Norwegian↔English includes both NO→ET and NT←EO).

<i>s</i> -passive (in E↔N only)	10	--	10
<i>if</i> -clause	2	7	9
∅	6	8	14
existential (in N↔E only)	--	7	7
phrasal verb (in E↔N only)	7	--	7
other <sup>19</sup>	8	22	30
Total	75	169	244

The most general types that recur in all directions of correspondence are the top four on the list given in Table 6. Interestingly, and as seen above, some of them are preferred choices in a particular attitudinal class, e.g. ADV in category F, modal in category B, the Norwegian *s*-passive in category B and English existentials also in category B.<sup>20</sup> The first of these choices (ADV) may have to do with the ease with which adverbial obviousness markers can be used for category F, and in the case of the three typical means of expressing attitudinal meaning in category B, the modals are self-evident. As for the *s*-passive and why it should feature in this category, this most likely has to do with the fact that the *s*-passive is typically accompanied by a modal verb (conveying the writer's stance), as *kan* 'can' in (33).

- (33) “And now you think *it's conceivable that* he didn't disappear after all?” he said.  
 [JoNe1TE]  
 “Og nå mener du at *det kan tenkes at* han ikke er så forsvunnet likevel?” sa han.  
 [JoNe1N]  
 Lit.: And now mean you that it can be thought that ...

This leaves us with the question why existentials give rise to the Norwegian *det VÆRE ADJ at* pattern. Quite clearly it is connected with the fact that the noun in these existential constructions expresses an attitude, as shown in example (34). Although a congruent Norwegian correspondence could in fact have been used here: *det er en mulighet for at*, the translator opted for the arguably lighter option with an adjective, *mulig* 'possible'.

- (34) *Det er mulig at* hun er sammen med en av dem nå. [MiWa1TN]  
 There's a *possibility* she may be with one of them now. [MiWa1E]

The remaining correspondence types are not tied to a specific attitudinal class to the same extent as the ones mentioned, suggesting that they are more general patterns of expressing a variety of attitudinal meanings.

Although it may be concluded that the different ways of expressing attitudinal meaning work well as each other's correspondences in translation, it should be noted that they may not be considered full equivalents in all contexts and at all levels of interpretation. As pointed out by Herriman (2000: 211):

... when attitudinal meaning is realised by other linguistic means such as modal adverbs and verbs, e.g. *probably* and *might*, it cannot be questioned, negated, or focussed in a pseudocleft clause [...] and is therefore neither made explicit nor negotiable (Halliday 1994: 354f). It would seem, then, that one very significant effect of realising attitudinal meaning as a finite clause is the fact that this enables speakers/writers to negotiate their attitudinal meaning with their addressees in a way which cannot be done by single lexical items. [...] Extraposition thus provides a variety of ways of negotiating attitudinal meaning.

<sup>19</sup> See Table A in the Appendix for items included in the “other” group.

<sup>20</sup> There is one occurrence of a Norwegian existential, also in category B (see example 15).

The fact that a non-congruent correspondence of the patterns is chosen in between 27% and 59% of the cases in the ENPC+ may suggest that translators are not too concerned with, or indeed aware of, such differences between attitudinal expressions.

## 6. Conclusion and further research

Taking the patterns *it* BE \* *that/det* VÆRE \* *at* as its starting point, this study first set out to outline the preferred elements in the open slot in English and Norwegian. ADJ turned out to be the predominant colligate, steering the study towards its main focus on *it/det* extraposition with ADJ + *that*-clause.

One of the purposes of this investigation was to demonstrate the potential of a bidirectional translation corpus in exploring the level of congruence between similar-looking patterns with similar functions in two languages. The structure of the ENPC+ facilitates contrastive studies going from originals to translation in two languages. An added value, offering an even more complete picture in terms of congruence between patterns across languages, is the possibility of looking up the patterns in the translations to find out what the source of the patterns was in the originals. The primary focus was on the unexpected cross-linguistic alternative, namely non-congruence, as this is a good way of establishing linguistic networks of attitudinal meaning across languages.

Overall, 45% non-congruence in the use of the patterns investigated was recorded between the languages. Not only is there a marked difference between the directions of correspondence in this respect, but also between attitudinal classes. The correspondence network, or paradigm, of the English and Norwegian patterns is fairly broad, pointing to the fact that there are a number of linguistic resources in the two languages that can be put to this use. Most notably, perhaps, were the quite stable trends in categories B and F in terms of choice of non-congruent correspondences.

The overall results also imply that there is a lot of similarity between the two languages in the use of these patterns (55% (semi-)congruence). The similarity is further attested in Table 6 and Table A in the Appendix, in which it is shown that similar alternative expressions are found in both languages. In other words, the current study has established that there are both similarities and differences in the “grammar of evaluation” in English and Norwegian.

The findings uncovered in this study suggest that, while English and Norwegian have similar means of expressing attitudinal meanings, the two languages have their preferred ways of doing so both in terms of individual adjectives and attitudinal class. In this context it is also important to stress that the tendencies reported here are only valid for the limited material studied, representing only one broad genre, namely contemporary fiction. A natural extension for future research would therefore be to investigate the various attitudinal expressions on the basis of large monolingual reference corpora of English and Norwegian, in order to establish with more certainty the cross-linguistic relationship between the different expressions. Moreover, a further exploration of potential differences between the different stance expressions within and across the languages would also be a welcome extension of this study.

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## Appendix

**Table A. Distribution of all non-congruent correspondences according to attitudinal class.**

	EO→NT		NO→ET		NT←EO		ET←NO	
A	0		17		21		1	
			(modal +) <i>if</i> - clause <i>to</i> -inf. clause ADJ + <i>thing</i> modal main clause <i>the fact that ...</i> BE ADJ ADJ + <i>that</i> <i>do good to</i>	5 2 2 2 2 2 1 1	<i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for x</i> <i>to</i> modal main clause ADJ + <i>that</i> <i>to</i> -inf. NOUN mind <i>if</i> -clause ADJ + <i>thing</i> <i>it was just as well</i>	4 3 3 2 2 2 2 1 1	ADV	1
B	10		13		26		25	
	(modal+adverb) <i>s</i> - passive <i>at</i> ADV modal existential Ø	4 3 1 1 1	ADV modal <i>it</i> (modal) BE ADJ <i>for x to</i> main clause	5 5 2 1	modal existential main clause ADV <i>to</i> -inf. clause <i>if</i> -clause NP NOUN	8 6 5 2 2 1 1 1	<i>s</i> -passive ADV main clause <i>om</i> -clause inf.-clause modal NOUN <i>bli</i> -passive Ø	8 5 3 2 2 2 1 1 1
C	3		4		8		6	
	ADV Ø	2 1	ADV <i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for x</i> <i>to</i> main clause ADJ + <i>that</i>	1 1 1 1	ADV Ø <i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for x</i> <i>to</i> modal+ <i>if</i> clause emphatic <i>do</i> main clause	2 2 1 1 1 1	ADV <i>det</i> VÆRE ADV <i>at</i> main clause	3 2 1
D	1		8		12		1	
	ADJ x <i>to</i> -inf.	1	<i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for x</i> <i>to</i> NOUN main clause <i>to</i> -inf. ADJ + <i>that</i> modal	2 2 1 1 1 1	main clause <i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for x</i> <i>to</i> <i>it</i> SEEM ADJ <i>to</i> x <i>that</i> <i>-ing</i> clause <i>wh</i> -clause ADV	3 3 2 1 1 1 1	co-ordinated cl.	1

					ADJ+ <i>thing</i>			
E	2		3		2		1	
	cleft <i>det</i> VÆRE ADV <i>at</i>	1 1	<i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>for</i> x <i>to</i> Ø	2 1	modal	2	<i>det</i> HOLDE <i>at</i> 'it HOLD that'	1
F	4		26		29		20	
	ADV inf. clause + <i>at</i>	2 2	ADV NOUN <i>wh</i> -clause main clause existential Ø other extraposed	15 6 1 1 1 1 1	ADV modal <i>it</i> BE ADJ <i>to</i> x <i>that</i> <i>it</i> SEEM ADJ <i>to</i> x <i>that</i> Ø passive SEEM <i>to have</i> NOUN	19 2 2 1 1 2 1 1	<i>det</i> PHRASAL VERB <i>at</i> 7 ADV 5 inf.-clause 2 main clause impersonal S + VERB <i>that</i> initial <i>at</i> -clause PREP + <i>at</i> restructured from source Ø	7 5 2 1 1 1 1 1 1
G	1							
	NOUN	1						
Total		21		71		98		54

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