TRANSLATING MULTIFUNCTIONAL STANCE ADVERBS: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE SPANISH TRANSLATIONS OF *CERTAINLY**

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This paper presents a corpus-based analysis of the translations of the espistemic adverb *certainly* into Spanish as found in the English-Spanish parallel corpus P-ACTRES 1.0. From a cross-linguistic perspective, *certainly* may pose difficulties in translation derived from its status as a multifunctional unit. The aim of this study is to analyse the distribution of the translational options of *certainly* according to their discourse functions, which, in turn, shed light on the multiple senses developed by the adverb. Thus the findings of the descriptive translation study become a "valuable complement" for the analysis of monolingual data (Noël 2003; Simon-Vanderbergen and Aijmer 2007: 83). The results, which might find applications in the field of translation training and practice, have confirmed the multifunctionality of *certainly* and revealed associations between its various discourse functions in the source text and the distribution of translational options in Spanish.

Key Words: *translation, epistemic adverbs, grammaticalization, English-Spanish, corpus linguistics*

Este artículo presenta un estudio de corpus de las traducciones al español del adverbio epistémico *certainly* halladas en el corpus paralelo P-ACTRES 1.0. Desde un punto de vista interlingüístico, la traducción de la forma inglesa *certainly* pudiera plantear problemas en su traducción al español derivados de su multifuncionalidad. El objetivo del presente estudio es analizar la distribución de las diversas opciones de

traducción para las distintas funciones discursivas de *certainly*, lo cual a su vez redunda en una mejor comprensión de sus múltiples usos. De este modo, se observa cómo el estudio descriptivo de las traducciones complementa los datos del análisis intralingüístico (Noël 2003; Simon-Vanderbergen and Aijmer 2007: 83). Los resultados, los cuales pudieran resultar de interés en el ámbito del estudio y la práctica de la traducción, han confirmado la naturaleza multifuncional de *certainly* y revelado correspondencias entre sus usos en el texto origen y sus traducciones al español.

Palabras Clave: *traducción, adverbios epistémicos, gramaticalización, inglés-español, lingüística de corpus*

1. INTRODUCTION

Epistemic stance adverbs have received a great deal of attention in numerous studies recently, which have proved their status as multifunctional units (Aijmer 2002; 2005; Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007). Besides the expression of epistemic modal meanings (Biber and Finegan 1988; 1989), stance adverbials usually indicate other related textual and pragmatic meanings, which reflect a tendency towards semantic erosion or grammaticalization (Aijmer 2005).

In line with previous studies focusing on the analysis of the multifunctionality of stance adverbs (Aijmer 2002, 2005; Byloo et al. 2007), this paper explores the different functions of the epistemic adverb *certainly* and the distribution of its tranlational options into Spanish. In consonance with those former studies, my hypothesis is that each of the major uses of the multifunctional particle *certainly* will favour different translational trends. Raising awareness of the multifunctionality of the adverb and the distribution of its translational options for each of the various functions of *certainly* in the source text (ST) may be of use in actual translation training and practice. The study also provides a better understanding of the semantic functions of this multifunctional unit in English native discourse.

This paper subscribes a usage-based empirical approach that relies on corpus linguistics methodology to describe the uses of *certainly* in English and its translation equivalents into Spanish. The English-Spanish parallel corpus P-ACTRES[1] (actres.unileon.es) is used in order to describe real translations, which, in turn, highlight the versatile and multifunctional nature of *certainly*.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

As an epistemic adverb, *certainly* indicates a high degree of authorial commitment to the truth of a proposition. Expressing conviction without appealing to perception (e.g. *clearly*) or shared knowledge (e.g. *of course*), *certainly* is considered a prototypical certainty adverb in modern adverbial classifications (Quirk et al. 1985: 620; Biber et al. 1999: 869). However, *certainly* has also developed other additional non-factual meanings belonging to the complex field of writer stance or evaluation (Thompson and Hunston 2000).

The multifunctionality of *certainly* has received a lot of attention as of late, being addressed by many studies in the field (Barbaresi 1987; Aijmer 2002; Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007; Byloo et al. 2007). Loosely based on those previous works, I will distinguish six major uses of *certainly*. In all of its uses, *certainly* keeps its core epistemic meaning but it acquires different "overtones" in different contexts (Simon-Vanderbergen and Aijmer 2007: 93).

(i) Purely epistemic marker: truth

As a pure marker of epistemic modality, *certainly* expresses authorial commitment to the truth of the proposition.

(1) *What comes out at the end will* **certainly** *not be another Caesar. (PATG21E.s58)*

(ii) Emphasizer: strengthening or intensifying function

Some epistemic adverbs, such as *certainly* in English, also function as emphasizers (Quirk et al. 1985: 53). As a consequence of

a process of grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 2003; Aijmer 2005), they have developed non-epistemic emphatic meanings, usually ascribed to a pre-verbal position, in contexts where "content proper is backgrounded and the configuration of DEGREE is in the foreground" (Paradis 2008: 339; small caps not mine). Thus, rather than assessing a statement in terms of its truth, the function of *certainly* is to intensify the meaning of an attitudinal verb or add strength to the illocutionary act.

> *(2) A few years later, number 19 adored the racket made by those county people, and they **certainly** adored him. (FGJ2E.s73)*

(iii) Discourse marker: interpersonal and/or textual function

As a discourse marker, loosely connected to the rest of the sentence, the adverb is usually found in sentence-initial position as a "coordinate(s) for ongoing talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 41). *Certainly* may also occur in sentence-medial position, establishing a relationship with the addressee and negotiating shared agreement.

> *(3) Bolivia would have suffered years of further anguish from external debt had Goni and I not pushed relentlessly for a cancellation of Bolivia's debts. (ESJ1E.s329) The IMF, **certainly**, was not coming to Bolivia's rescue. (ESJ1E.s330)*

(iv) Concessive marker: heteroglossic function

The statement containing the adverb is followed by a *but* clause. This structure is used as a heteroglossic rhetorical strategy, allowing the inclusion of different or alternative voices in argumentative discourse (White 2000; 2003; Martin and White 2005).

> *(4) This **certainly** makes cultural revolution sound more exciting. (EHP1E.s806) But we must keep in mind that the goal of all this is not to provide entertainment for intellectuals, it is to effect some kind of an improvement in society. (EHP1E.s807)*

(v) Focalizer

As a focalizer, the scope of *certainly* is restricted to the element immediately following the adverb. *Certainly* still keeps its core epistemic meaning of truth, but it has developed what Byloo et al. (2007) refer to as a 'scalar use' in contexts where it can be replaced by *particularly*.

*(5) The sort of citizen warriors among whom Bill served did not want to fight, and **certainly** did not want to die. (PHM1E.s39)*

(vi) Response marker: emphatic agreement

Certainly may indicate an affirmative response to a direct or indirect question or emphasize a negative response. Byloo et al. (2007) refer to this use as 'absolutive', since the adverb usually displays an autonomous usage occurring as an independent utterance answering a question or remark.

*(6) The princess (…) went to her father and asked him to hold another tournament. (FBT1E.s398) "No!" said the king. (FBT1E.s399) "**Certainly** not!" (FBT1E.s400)*

3. METHOD AND DATA

This case study analyses the uses and translations of *certainly* as they are found in the English-Spanish translation corpus P-ACTRES 1.0 (actres.unileon.es). P-ACTRES 1.0 is an aligned parallel corpus compiled at the University of León (Spain), which contains original English texts and their corresponding Spanish translations. P-ACTRES is an open corpus representative of present day general English and includes a wide variety of topics and textual genres. The version of P-ACTRES used for this study[2] consisted of 238 pairs of texts and a total volumen of 2,453,453 words distributed among five different sub-corpora: popular science (43%), fiction texts (34%), press editorials (10%), magazine articles (10%) and miscellaneous texts (3%).

The integrated search engine of P-ACTRES allows the automatic retrieval of all instances of the selected node, i.e., *certainly*. After manually excluding non-adverbial uses, the total number of instances of *certainly* was 98. The translation solutions of *certainly* have

been sorted according to function in order to identify recurring patterns of translational behaviour, which is one of the main aims of this application-oriented study.

The inductive method of analysis has attested the multifunctionality of the English adverb *certainly* as found in P-ACTRES 1.0. As can be observed in Figure 1, *certainly* occurs as a modal disjunct, or purely epistemic sentence adverb, in fewer than 20% of the instances in the corpus. The rest of its uses represent different non-modal and post-modal meanings (Simon-Vanderbergen and Aijmer 2007) as a consequence of a process of desemanticization or erosion of its ideational meaning.
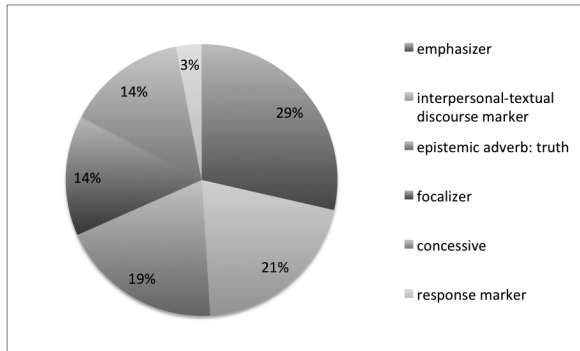

Figure 1. Distribution of the semantic functions of *certainly*

In nearly 30% of the instances analysed, *certainly* has an emphasizing function. Its meaning is not 'it is certain that', but it is closer to 'truly'. A bit over 20% of the instances of *certainly* in P-ACTRES show adverb development from epistemic adverb to discourse marker. *Certainly* is also quite frequently used as focalizer (14%). The epistemic sense is weakened and overriden by that of 'particularly' or 'at least'. Other post-modal developments include the use of *certainly* as a heteroglossic strategy (14%). *Certainly* indicates agreement but only as a precursor of disagreement (Simon-Vanderbergen and Aijmer 2007: 314). Finally, a few instances of *certainly* occur in P-ACTRES as an emphatic response in an adjacency pair (3%).

4. THE TRANSLATIONS OF *CERTAINLY*

Table 1 shows the distribution of the different translational options of *certainly* as found in P-ACTRES 1.0:

Resource	Number of cases	Percentage
desde luego	23	23.47%
sin duda	14	14.29%
ciertamente	12	12.24%
omission	11	11.22%
modulation	10	10.2%
no hay/cabe duda de que	3	3.06%
por supuesto	3	3.06%
es obvio que	2	2.04%
de ningún modo	2	2.04%
ni mucho menos	2	2.04%
verdaderamente	1	1.02%
de hecho	1	1.02%
es cierto que	1	1.02%
evidentemente	1	1.02%
por lo menos	1	1.02%
tampoco	1	1.02%
está claro que	1	1.02%
es evidente que	1	1.02%
ningún-o/a (modifier)	1	1.02%
en absoluto	1	1.02%
por cierto que	1	1.02%
seguro que	1	1.02%
con toda seguridad	1	1.02%
con certeza	1	1.02%
cierto (predicative adj)	1	1.02%
positivamente	1	1.02%
Total	98	100%

Table 1. Translations of *certainly* in Spanish

Altogether, prepositional phrases (*desde luego*, *sin duda*, *por supuesto*, *con seguridad*, *con certeza*, *de hecho*, *de ningún modo*, *en absoluto*) account for nearly half of the translation solutions of *certainly*, thus confirming the Spanish trend to use PPs for adverbial meanings (Hoye 1997; Ramón 2008). The two most frequent translation options of *certainly* into Spanish are *desde luego* (23.5%) and *sin duda* (14.3%), whereas the cognate adverb *ciertamente* (12.2%) comes in third position. On the whole, only 15% of the translations of *certainly* correspond to *–mente* adverbs (*evidentemente*, *verdaderamente* and *positivamente*), which validates the conclusion that *-mente* adverbs are felt as cumbersome and stylistically marked in Spanish and, thus, tend to be avoided by professional translators (Ramón and Labrador 2008). Finally, omission (11.2%) and

modulation (10.2%) of the meaning of the adverb in the target text (TT) also play an important role in the translation of *certainly*.

The rest of translation equivalents comprise resources of different nature: epistemic adjectives which function in complement-taking predicates (CTPs; Thompson 2002), referred to as "*paráfrasis atributivas* [attributive paraphrases]" (Gutiérrez Ordóñez 1997) in the Spanish literature (*es evidente que*, *está claro que*, *es obvio que*); constructions including the epistemic noun *duda* but indicating absence of doubt (*no hay*/*cabe duda de que*); and other adverbial locutions which have the function of focalizers (*por lo menos*), also in negative contexts (*ni mucho menos*).

Next, the study engages in the functional-based distribution of the translation options presented in Table 1.

4.1. Translations of *certainly* as a proper epistemic adverb

Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of the translation options into Spanish of *certainly* when it occurs as an epistemic modal disjunct expresing high degree of certainty.
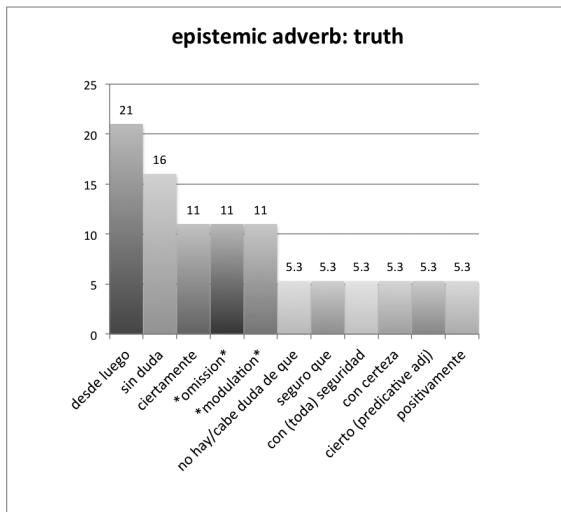

Figure 2. Translations of *certainly* as an epistemic adverb

Not surprisingly, given the analytic nature of the Spanish language, the two most outstanding translation options are the PPs *desde luego* (21%) and *sin duda* (16%) as in examples (7) and (8).

> *(7) He will **certainly** not be a Bohemian, that is to say, a drunk and a sponger and a layabout. (FCJM1E.s51)*

> ***Desde luego** no será ningún bohemio, es decir, un borracho gorrón y haragán. (FCJM1S.s52)*

The epistemic adverb *certainly* in co-occurrence with the modal *will* indicates a high degree of authorial commitment to a prediction (7). As a disjunct, the PP *desde luego* occupies sentence-initial position in the Spanish translation.

> *(8) He or she **certainly** had a complex brain - and a mind capable of passionate romantic love. (EHF1E.s350)*

> *Él o ella tenía **sin duda** un cerebro complejo y una mente capaz de sentir un amor romántico apasionado. (EHF1S.s338)*

In example (8), *sin duda*, the most frequent adverbial expressing certainty in Spanish according to C-OPRES[4] (Pérez Blanco 2013), occurs in post-verbal position as is more common of epistemic adverbs in Spanish. In general, PPs (*desde luego*, *sin duda*, *con certeza*, *con seguridad*) are highly idiomatic ways in Spanish to express authorial commitment, accounting for approximately 50% of the total of cases.

Instances of *ciertamente* represent only about 10% of the translations of *certainly* with a meaning of truth and might be explained in relation to the influence of the source text. Because of its cumbersome and somehow disruptive nature, *ciertamente* tends to occupy sentence-initial position (9), thus representing a shift in clausal position with respect to the ST.

> *(9) It is **certainly** the case that if we withdraw energy as heat from the hot source, then we get a reduction in entropy, as before. (EAP1E.s647)*

Ciertamente sucede que si sacamos energía en forma de calor desde la fuente caliente obtenemos una reducción de la entropía, como antes. (EAP1S.s705)

Equally frequent are cases of modulation (11%) or omission (11%) of the meaning of the adverb from the TT, as in examples (10) and (11).

*(10) Of course, this is something that requires long practice, but with training it can **certainly** become a perfectly natural response. (EGD1E.s807)*

*Obviamente, esto exige una práctica sostenida pero, con el debido entrenamiento, **acaba convirtiéndose** en una respuesta perfectamente natural. (EGD1S.s704)*

The expression "*it can certainly become*" is rendered in the translation by the verbal periphrasis *acabar* (*end up*) + *gerund* ("*acaba convirtiéndose*"), which expresses actual achievement of the action described by the verb, thus, indicating absolute certainty.

*(11) What is **certainly** true, as far as we can tell, is that a little change in the Earth's dynamics can have repercussions beyond our imagining. (EBB1E.s432)*

Lo que es seguro, en la medida en que podemos saberlo, es que un pequeño cambio en la dinámica de la Tierra puede tener repercusiones que desbordan nuestra imaginación. (EBB1S.s448)

In example (11) above, the translator has opted for omitting the meaning of *certainly,* whose use is somehow redundant, since it is already expressed by the adjective *seguro* ('true'), and difficult to transfer. Stance adverbs (mainly *–ly* adverbs) are highly idiomatic in English, but not so in Spanish where adverbial epistemic modalization is, in general, less frequent (Pérez Blanco 2013).

4.2. Translations of *certainly* as an emphasizer

Figure 3 summarizes the translation options of *certainly* when its function is that of an emphasizer. Here the epistemic meaning of the adverb is doubtful or, at least, very weak.
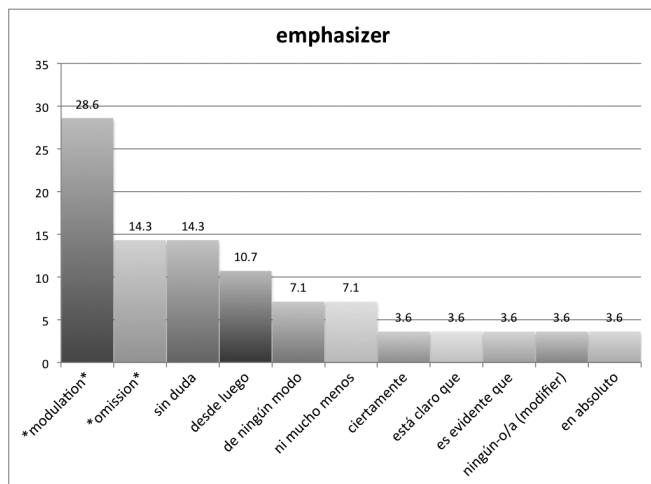
Figure 3. Translations of *certainly* as an emphasizer

According to the data in P-ACTRES, clearly the most frequent solution (28.6%) is the modulation of the meaning of the adverb in the TT, as in example (12).

> *(12) They **certainly** looked official - dark suits, black shoes, short hair, long overcoats, clipped speech, efficient manners. (FGJ3E.s690)*

> *Su aspecto era **de lo más** oficial: traje oscuro, zapatos negros, cabello corto, abrigo largo, lenguaje lacónico y pinta de personas competentes. (FGJ3S.s685)*

The translation involves a change of perspective without altering the sense of the original text. In the ST, *certainly* occurs in pre-verbal position modifying the strength of the verb; whereas, in the TT, it is the meaning of the adjective that is intensified by means of an adverbial locution ('*de lo más*'). The frequency of modulation as a translation strategy may be explained by the fact that stance adverbs in Spanish have hardly developed an emphasizing function (Pérez Blanco 2013). The same reason may be alleged for the instances of omission (14.3%) found in P-ACTRES, as illustrated in example (13).

*(13) I'll take care of the money, and I'll **certainly** keep the country frightened. (FGJ3E.s527)*

Yo me encargaré del dinero y de mantener al país en vilo. (FGJ3S.s519)

The function of *certainly* in the ST is to emphasize the speaker's commitment not to the truth of the proposition, as in the case of epistemic markers, but to a future course of behaviour ("*keep the country frightened*"). In the TT, this meaning of personal commitment is already conveyed by the intrinsic meaning of the verb (*encargarse*, 'take charge of') in future form, accompanied by a first person marker ("*me encargaré*"). Therefore, the presence of an adverb would be felt by native speakers as redundant and even disruptive.

The PPs *sin duda* (14%) and *desde luego* (11%) are also found in the Spanish translations of emphasizer *certainly* as illustrated in (14) and (15). However, there seems to be an alteration in the function of the adverb between the source and target text.

*(14) We **certainly** agree that random heritable changes, or gene mutations, occur. (EMLSD1E.s117)*

***Sin duda** estamos de acuerdo en que los cambios aleatorios heredables, o mutaciones genéticas, ocurren. (EMLSD1S.s112)*

*(15) Even when I'd stood in front of her boarded-up house in the months following her death, her ghost had never troubled me, and I **certainly** didn't expect to be bothered by it now. (FWM1E.s34)*

*Muchas veces, en los meses que siguieron a su muerte, me detuve delante de su casa tapada con tablones, y su fantasma jamás me importunó, y **desde luego** no esperaba que lo hiciera ahora. (FWM1S.s34)*

In both examples, *certainly* occurs in pre-verbal position emphasizing the process stated by the verb. However, this nuance of

intensification seems to be partially lost in the TTs, where the PPs *sin duda* and *desde luego*, respectively, seem to function rather as textual or pragmatic discourse markers in sentence-initial position.

Finally, it is interesting to see the number of cases in which *certainly* is rendered as *de ningún modo* or *ni mucho menos*, both accounting for 7.1% of the total. These translation solutions, together with less frequent translations equivalents in Spanish such as '*en absoluto*' or the indefinite adjective '*ninguno-a*', clearly reveal the erosion of the proper epistemic meaning of *certainly* and confirm its emphasizing function in the ST.

4.3. Translations of *certainly* as a textual and/or interpersonal discourse marker

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the various translational options taken for the English adverb *certainly* in instances where the epistemic adverb has developed into a discourse marker with a textual or interpersonal function.

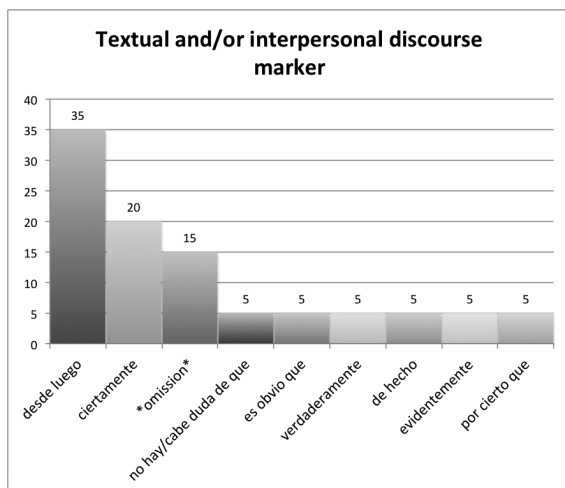
Textual and/or interpersonal discourse marker

Figure 4. Translations of *certainly* as a textual and/or interpersonal discourse marker

The most outstanding translation solution is the prepositional phrase *desde luego*, with 35% of the total, as in example (16). *Desde luego* has also developed post-modal meanings in original Spanish, being frequently found as a discourse marker (Pérez Blanco 2013). The function of both *certainly* and *desde luego* is that of linking words introducing supporting information.

> *(16) In fact it was more likely she had been a victim of it and had suffered in silence while her life was made a misery. (FWM1E.s56)* **Certainly** *Michael Percy and Alan Slater had taken great pleasure from teasing her in public, and I couldn't believe they hadn't continued the sport in private by shouting insults at her through the party walls. (FWM1E.s57)*

> *De hecho, es más probable que, ella hubiera sido la víctima y lo hubiera sufrido en silencio mientras le amargaban la vida. (FWM1S.s57)* **Desde luego**, *Michael Percy y Alan Slater disfrutaban metiéndose con ella en público, y estaba segura de que en casa seguían con esa distracción gritándole insultos desde el otro lado de la medianera. (FWM1S.s58)*

The next most frequent translation is the cognate *ciertamente*, with 20% of cases, as exemplified in (17).

> *(17) Moreover, if the rejected person has produced babies during this bankrupt partnership, abandonment rage may give them the energy to fight for the welfare of their children. (EHF1E.s737) You* **certainly** *see this behavior in contemporary divorce proceedings. (EHF1E.s738)*

> *Por otra parte, si la persona rechazada ha tenido hijos durante la existencia de esta sociedad ahora en quiebra, la furia del abandono puede proporcionarle energía para luchar por el bienestar de ellos. (EHF1S.s717)* **Ciertamente**, *podemos observar esta conducta en los trámites de divorcio actuales. (EHF1S.s718)*

In the ST, *certainly* operates at the interpersonal level negotiating a common ground with the reader ("*you can see this behaviour*

in…"). In the TT, the translational option *ciertamente*, as a pragmatic marker with a clear interpersonal function, occupies sentence-initial position and is typographically separated from the rest of the clause. This seems to be a recurring pattern whenever *certainly* has a discourse marker function in the ST and is rendered as *ciertamente* in the TT, which probably might be explained in terms of the felt lengthiness of *ciertamente* and its disruptive nature.

Omission, which accounts for 15% of the total of translations, is another common strategy when *certainly* functions as a textual or interpersonal discourse marker, as in example (18).

> *(18) He supposed Marise might have cut the wood, but could not see why she might have done so. (FHJ1E.s563) **Certainly** she hardly seemed the neighbourly type. (FHJ1E.s564)*
>
> *Supuso que Marise habría preparado la leña, pero no entendía por qué lo habría hecho. (FHJ1S.s541) No le había parecido la típica mujer dispuesta a echar una mano. (FHJ1S.s542)*

The adverb has an interpersonal and textual discourse function in the ST, but it is otherwise void of ideational meaning, which might explain its omission from the TT.

Figure 4 also shows other translational options such as *verdaderamente* ('truly, really') and *de hecho* ('in fact'), originally markers of actuality rather than certainty, which, again, prove the erosion of the epistemic meaning of *certainly* and its development into a discourse marker.

4.4. Translations of *certainly* as a focalizer

Figure 5 reveals that the two most recurrent translation options of *certainly* into Spanish when it has a focalizing function in the ST are *desde luego* (28.6%) and *ciertamente* (28.6), as exemplified in (19) and (20).
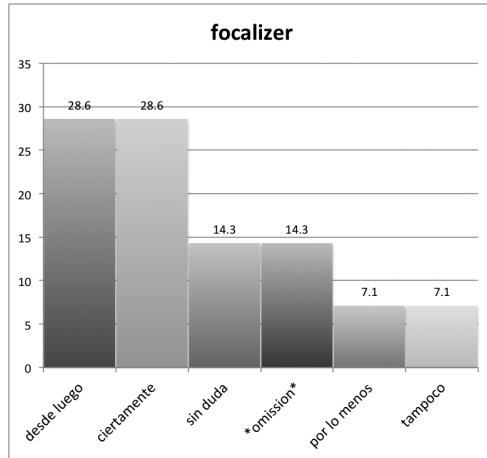
Figure 5. Translations of *certainly* as a focalizer

  *(19) It wasn't at all clear to me that she knew where in the world England was, but she **certainly** knew, as all Americans do, that the weather there should be referred to. (FDJ1E.s40)*

  *No me hubiera sido posible asegurar con certeza que la mujer supiera en qué lugar del planeta se hallaba Inglaterra, pero **desde luego** sabía, como todos los norteamericanos, que se trataba de un lugar cuyo clima convenía sacar a relucir. (FDJ1S.s45)*

What is stated applies *particularly* to the scoped element. Maybe the assertion is not true of 'X', but *at least* it is certain in the case of 'Y'.

  *(20) Yes, a violent, bitter, warped intimacy, but intimacy, because only they and we, not the Jordanians and not the Egyptians and **certainly** not the Swiss, know exactly what a roadblock looks like and what a car-bomb sounds like and exactly what the extremists on both sides will say about us. (POA1E.s36)*

  *Sí, una intimidad violenta, amarga y perversa, pero intimidad, porque sólo ellos y nosotros, no los jordanos ni los egipcios, y **ciertamente** no los suizos, sabemos exactamente cómo es un control de carreteras y cómo suena un coche bomba, y exactamente qué dirán de nosotros los extremistas de ambos bandos. (POA1S.s35)*

In example (20) above, *certainly* (*ciertamente* in the translation) does not occur in a context of contrast, but in a context of listing. Its meaning may be paraphased as 'particularly'. All the elements listed are taken to be the case, but, especially or to a larger extent, the one preceded by *certainly*.

Other translational options are the prepositional phrase *sin duda* (14.3%) and the omission of the focalizer (14.3%). Finally, *por lo menos* ('at least') and *tampoco* ('neither'), though less frequent, confirm the post-modal development of *certainly* which is rendered by non-epistemic expressions in Spanish.

4.5. Translations of *certainly* as a concessive marker

Figure 6 shows the distribution of the translations of *certainly* when the adverb has developed into a rhetorical device accounting for the heteroglossia or multivoicedness of discourse (White 2000, 2003). The function of *certainly* in these contexts is both to align, first, and, later, disalign the speaker from a point of view.
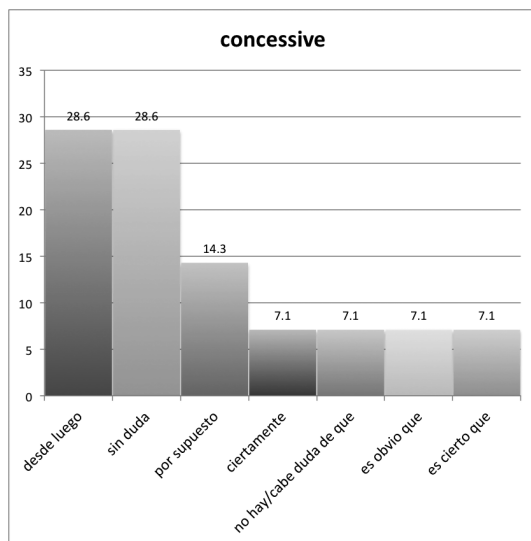

Figure 6. Translations of *certainly* with a concessive meaning

Figure 6 illustrates that, once more, PPs prove to be highly idiomatic means in Spanish for the expression of meanings conveyed by adverbs in English. *Desde luego* and *sin duda*, both representing around 30% of the total, stand out as the two most frequent translation equivalents, as exemplified in (21) and (22). Another prepositional phrase, *por supuesto*, comes next with about 15% of the total.

> (21) "He's **certainly** a bit tweaked at an angle," Len said when he called my father, "but I have nothing on him." (FSA1E.s386)

> Le falta un tornillo, **desde luego** - dijo Len cuando llamó mi padre-, pero no tengo nada contra él. (FSA1S.s367)

> (22) **Certainly** Jay had enjoyed the right to move the bulldozer up over the sea cliff because it constituted a danger to anyone below. (FHC1E.s1079) (…) <u>But</u> moving the body farther from its absolute point of true death was loaded with problems. (FHC1E.s1083)

> **Sin duda** Jay había tenido derecho a sacar el bulldozer del acantilado porque constituía un grave peligro para cualquiera que pasa por debajo. (FHC1S.s1038) (…) <u>Pero</u> trasladar el cadáver del lugar donde se había producido la muerte entrañaba muchos problemas. (FHC1S.s1042)

In both examples, *certainly* expresses agreement but only as a precursor of disagreement or concession. The rest of translation equivalents include the cognate *ciertamente* and complement-taking predicates involving epistemic adjectives (*es cierto/obvio que*) or epistemic nouns (*no hay/cabe duda de que*). These translation options reveal that the concessive function of *certainly* neither precludes nor is incompatible with its epistemic meaning and that, in some concessive contexts, the adverb is more than a mere discourse marker.

4.6. Translations of *certainly* as a response marker

Finally, the very few instances of *certainly* as a response marker in P-ACTRES 1.0 seem to pinpoint a tendency to turn to the PPs *por*

supuesto, *sin duda* and *desde luego* in Spanish. Particularly, the translation into *por supuesto* is congruent with the idiomatic uses of this adverbial in Spanish, frequently used as a response marker in a dialogic environment (Fuentes and Alcaide 1996: 191).

5. CONCLUSIONS

This paper has presented a linguistic analysis of a translation corpus in order to achieve the double aim of providing 1) a thorough account of the function-based distribution of the translational options of *certainly* into Spanish and 2) a fine-grained picture of the different senses of this multifunctional particle in native English.

The cross-linguistic analysis of translation options has revealed conspicuous differences in their distribution in relation to the discourse values or senses of *certainly* in the ST. In general, four translations options, PPs, modulation, omission and the cognate *ciertamente*, stand out from the rest. However, their distribution across functions is uneven and reflects interesting trends. In the first place, confirming the findings of previous studies (Ramón 2009), PPs prove to be a highly idiomatic resource in Spanish, not only for the expression of epistemic modal meanings, but also in the case of the different post-modal developments of *certainly*. This fact also confirms the process of grammaticalization (or post-modal developments) of these adverbial locutions from epistemic sentence adverbs to discourse makers in Spanish (Pérez Blanco 2013; Fuentes and Alcaide 1996). The only exception where PPs do not score at the top of the translational options in Spanish is when *certainly* functions as emphasizer. In fact, interestingly enough, instances of PPs in the TT in these cases correspond to a change in function from emphasizer in the ST to a dialogic or textual discourse marker in the TT. Alternatively, the emphasizing meaning of *certainly* in the ST is often modulated, involving a change of perspective in rendering the content of the adverb in the TT, or also omitted in contexts where an adverbial translational equivalent would be felt superflous or redundant in Spanish. The unfrequent use of adverbial units as emphasizers in native Spanish underlies this translational behaviour. The same

reasons of superflousness or redundancy, together with the non-idomaticity of adverbials in some contexts in Spanish, explain cases of omission also when *certainly* functions as a pragmatic maker or even as a proper epistemic adverb.

Finally, the occurrence of the cognate *ciertamente* as a translational option for various functions of the adverb may be attributed to the influence of the ST, due to its formal similarity to *certainly*. However, a trend has been observed which implies a contrast between source and target text and reflects accommodation to the target language. The change in the position of the adverb from medial *certainly* (either as epistemic adverb or discourse marker) to initial *ciertamente* is congruent with the perceived cumbersome and disruptive nature of *-mente* adverbs in Spanish. Similarly, instances of *ciertamente* as focalizer in the TT might be explained along the same lines, as the adverb seems to contribute to interrupt the flow of discourse drawing attention over the scoped element.

From an intralinguistic perspective, the monolingual data in P-ACTRES gives ample proof of the multifunctionality of *certainly* which stems from a process of grammaticalization or erosion of its epistemic meaning and its development of new post-modal meanings. Those post-modal developments involve the extended use of *certainly* as emphasizer and its semantic and functional shift into a pragmatic or discourse marker. According to P-ACTRES, both post-modal uses together account for 50% of the instances of *certainly*, while the pure epistemic meaning of the adverb is only present in 20% of its occurrences. The rest of the post-modal developments of the adverb are distributed mainly between its focalizing use and its concessive function.

These results, which increase awareness of the multifunctionality of *certainly* and reveal the distribution of its translational options into Spanish, might be found useful both in the field of translation practice and translation training. At the same time, the study enriches the understanding of the various discourse functions of *certainly*, highlighting the value of translation studies as a complementary tool for descriptive linguistic analysis.

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NOTES

[1]ACTRES is the Spanish acronym for "Contrastive Analysis and Translation English-Spanish". 'P' stands for 'parallel' to indicate the type of corpus: a parallel or translation corpus.

[2]Nowadays P-ACTRES (P-ACTRES 2.0) is a bidirectional English-Spanish corpus and contains over 4 million words considering both directions together, i.e. EN-SP and SP-EN. The repository of textual pairs SP-EN is still under construction. The repository of EN-SP pairs has also been enlarged since the date of access for the present case study.

[3]OPRES is the English acronym for "Opinion Press English-Spanish". OPRES (contraste2.unileon.es) is a comparable corpus made up of two monolingual corpora of opinion texts in English and Spanish containing approximately 1 million words in each language and compiled as part of a large contrastive study of the linguistic expression of evaluation (Pérez Blanco 2013).

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