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THE TRANSFER OF EXPRESSIVE MEANING
IN THE TRANSLATION OF ENGLISH INTENSIFIERS INTO THAI



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for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in English as an International Language
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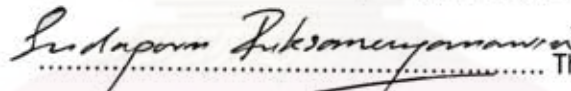
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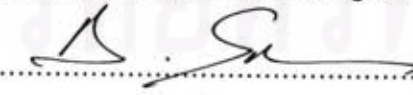
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This research explores how the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* are translated into Thai through the use of parallel corpus. It aims to study the linguistic realizations used in the translations, the translation strategies, and lastly, how the contextual factors play the role in the translation. A parallel corpus was constructed consisting of 12 English fictions and the Thai translations. In the selection of these fictions, stratified sampling method was used with an aim to test whether the context within the story, i.e. the temporal context (dated vs. contemporary), the participants (upper vs. lower classes), and the types of discourse (narration vs. dialogue), play a role in the translators' choice of linguistic forms. Interviews were also carried out with three professional translators to compare to the quantitative study of the relationship between forms and contexts.

It is found that three linguistic processes were used in translating the intensifiers: the lexical processes which include intensifiers, metaphorical expressions, and deictics; the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes which comprise formal and semantic repetition, negative constructions, and combinatory structures; and lastly the phonological processes in the final particles. The translation strategy most opted for was sense-oriented translation. The findings from the statistic quantitative analyses and the interviews supported the hypothesis that the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse were the governing factors in the translators' choices of linguistic forms.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Intensification is mostly described as a linguistic process that involves scaling upward the force of the predicate or the utterance. It is part of the human cognition, and is conspicuous in the language of everyday life (Paradis 1997). A wishful note from a teddy bear which sits in a window display of London's Debenhams one Christmas illustrates the point.

Dear Santa...

I **really, really** want for Christmas the following presents. I **just** hope they **all** fit down the chimneys.

Lots of love,

Your **biggest** fan

(Emphases mine)

Trivial though it may seem, this short, so-called note to Santa Claus, serves as a good example of the language of intensification, and of its role in our daily life. The author makes use of degree adverbs *really* and *just*, quantifiers *all* and *lots of*, the superlative adjective *biggest*, and the repetition of *really* for emphasis. If these items are taken out, the propositional content of the message will somehow remain the same, but the note will sound lifeless and dreary, a lackluster statement of pure informative facts, and the toy bear will lose the characteristics of a wishful child. Indeed, it is this linguistic intensity that adds to the expressive meaning -- the expression of feelings and emotions, which is part and parcel of all human beings.

So to speak, intensification is embedded in the way people describe things, grade their feelings, personalize their speech, and capture the hearer's attention. It is pervasive in our life, from casual conversation and TV commercials to national

addresses by country leaders. In this sense, intensification can be seen as performing the three major functions of language as proposed by Bühler (1934/1990) -- representative function (referring to objects and state of affairs), expressive function (involving feelings and emotions), and appellative function (concerning how language appeals to the hearer and the hearer's interpretation). But it is emotionality and subjectivity that are the most eminent characteristics of intensifying expressions (Jing-Schmidt 2005).

The topic of linguistic intensification has been approached from different perspectives, for example, historical linguistics (e.g. Nevalainen and Rissanen 2002, Mendez-Naya 2003), semantics (e.g. Bolinger 1972, Huang 1975, Quirk and Greenbaum 1980, Lorenz 2002), cognitive semantics (e.g. Cliff 1958, Paradis 2000a, 2001, Athanasiadou 2007), and sociolinguistics (e.g. Stenström 1999, Macaulay 2002, Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005, De Klerk 2005). Most of these works are descriptive, drawing on empirical data from large electronic corpora e.g. the British National Corpus (BNC), the London-Lund Corpus (LLC), and the Translational English Corpus (TEC) (see Olohan 2004). The availability of large corpora facilitates an exploration into collocational tendency and restrictions of lexical intensifiers as well as their grammaticalization process and change (see, for example, Altenberg 1991, Johansson 1993, Partington 1993, Kennedy 2002, 2003). With the status of English as a *lingua franca*, it is not surprising that much of the work done focuses on the study of intensifiers in English, notably the adjectives and adverbs of degree. Cross-language studies are much fewer, and the focus is on European languages (cf. Sacks 1971, Dressler and Barbaresi 1994, Klein 1998).

The expression of intensification is an interesting research topic when it comes to translation. Questions arise: How can one relay intensification as conveyed in the source text? What are the linguistic forms used in the translation? What are the possible factors involved in the translation choice? In the field of translation studies, this ground is largely unexplored, with only a handful of research works on intensifier translation. To the best of my knowledge, the language pairs studied are Hebrew-English (cf. Zellemyer 1991), Spanish-English (cf. Folgado 2001) and Italian-English (cf. Cacchiani 2009). Although research has been carried out on

intensifying devices in Standard Thai (cf. Haas 1946, Kullavanijaya 1997) and dialects of Thai (cf. Chaisri 1984, Klubsri-on 2002), none of them looks at intensification from the point of view of translation.

To understand how intensification is carried over across language boundaries, this research looks at the transfer of intensification as realized by the three most frequently used English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* into Thai. It incorporates the use of a self-constructed corpus of English works of fiction and their Thai translations. The substantial amount of empirical data allows the researcher to see the diversity and patterns of linguistic intensification in Thai vis-à-vis the English intensifiers and to investigate the translation strategies. The purposive design of the corpus allows for an exploration of the contextual factors potentially involved in the translation of these intensifiers into Thai, i.e. the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse. It is also balanced by interviews with the professional translators.

1.2 Rationale for the Use of Parallel Corpus

In this study, a corpus was used to explore the translation of English intensifiers. A corpus is a body of texts put together in a principled way and prepared for computer processing (Johansson 1998: 3), and it has been used for a wide range of studies in grammar, lexis, discourse analysis, language variation. In cross-language and translation studies, the use of corpora is now gaining popularity. One of the main reasons for increasing interest is time-efficiency; corpora allow the researcher to access a large amount of data within a split second. Other possibilities of cross-language corpora, formulated by Aijmer and Altenberg (1996: 12 in Johansson 1998: 4), are summarized as cited below:

- they give new insights into the languages compared -- insights that are likely to be unnoticed in studies of monolingual corpora;
- they can be used for a range of comparative purposes and increase our knowledge of language-specific, typological and cultural differences as well as universal features;

- they illuminate differences between source texts and translations and between native and non-native texts.

A parallel corpus is a collection of original texts and their translation. It contains texts intended to express the same meanings, having the same discourse functions. The method is widely used in contrastive linguistics and translation studies not only in exploring the linguistic forms as generated by a source text structure or item but the relationship between the source text and the translation.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions are as follows:

1. What are the linguistic representations used in translating the English intensifiers *so*, *very*, and *really* into Thai?
2. What are the translation strategies used in translating these intensifiers?
3. What are the semantic and pragmatic factors motivating the choice of linguistic representations in the translated version?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are described in the following:

1. To investigate linguistic representations used in the translation of the three intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* into Thai;
2. To identify translation strategies used in the transfer of these intensifiers;
3. To identify semantic and pragmatic factors motivating the choice of linguistic representations

1.5 Statements of Hypotheses

1. There is a wide range of linguistic representations, i.e., lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactical devices, when translating English intensifiers *very*, *so* and *really* into Thai.

2. The strategy most opted for in translating English intensifiers in fiction is sense-oriented or interpretive translation.
3. In translating English intensifiers in fiction, the translator's choice is motivated by:
 - a) the temporal context
 - b) the context of participants
 - c) the type of discourse

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on 3 English intensifiers *very*, *so* and *really*, the first two falling under the sub-category of amplifiers and the last one emphazier, according to Quirk and Greenbaum (1980). The reasons for selecting only the three intensifiers are as follows.

- 1) They figure prominently in current British and American speech and writing (Labov 1984, Ito and Tagliamonte 2003, Kennedy 2003, De Klerk 2005) and they secure the top-three ranking in terms of frequency across corpora (cf. Altenberg 1991, Biber et al. 1999, Swales and Burke 2003). In addition, they are prevalent in the genre of fiction, which will be used as the source of data.
- 2) They have completed (or almost completed, as in the case of *really*) the process of grammaticalization, having lost its propositional content and become what Labov (1984) calls 'cognitive zeroes.' As a result, they do not have a single, preset meaning compared with lexicalized intensifiers such as *strongly*, *greatly*, *profoundly*. In this regard, they can be influenced by collocations and can take up different translations across context, making them ideal for the study of intensifier translation.
- 3) They all have a unitary meaning of intensification compared to such items as *quite* or *just*, which tend to have multiple meanings (e.g. exactly, narrowly, really, nearly) (Paradis 1997) and are difficult to determine.

Through concordance software, the adverbs *so*, *very*, and *really* which appear in the following patterns will be collected as data.

Intensifier	Syntactic patterns	Examples	Meaning
<i>very</i>	[<i>very</i> + adjective/adverb]	' <i>very</i> happy' ' <i>very</i> kind of you'	To a high degree, Extremely (intensifying function)
	[<i>very</i> + past participle as adjective]	' <i>very</i> delighted' 'a <i>very</i> celebrated singer'	
	[<i>very</i> much + past participle]	' <i>very</i> much admired'	
<i>so</i>	[<i>so</i> + adjective/adverb]	' <i>so</i> cute' 'speak <i>so</i> nicely'	To a great degree, very
	[<i>so</i> + noun/ noun phrase]	'This is <i>so</i> eighties!'	
	[<i>so</i> + much/many]	' <i>so</i> many little sisters' 'cost <i>so</i> much of their money' 'to change <i>so</i> little'	
	[<i>so</i> + past participle as adjective]	'to be <i>so</i> structured into repeated patterns'	
<i>really</i>	[<i>really</i> + adjective]	' <i>really</i> charming'	very (intensifying function)
	[<i>really</i> + verb]	'I <i>really</i> appreciate your support.'	Truly (emphasizing function)

Table 1 Breakdown of the syntactic patterns of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

This study does not include the case of negation, as it presents problems in terms of interpretation. For example, 'she is *not very tall*' can fall in the range of either being tall or being short, depending on the speaker's intention to make it a euphemistic statement or an understatement. It does not purport to explore the collocations of English intensifiers and the Thai translation.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Though the findings should be generalizable to a range of situations, there are some limitations that should be noted. First, as the corpus data comes from fictions, generalizability is not expected to go beyond this genre, e.g. research report, academic articles, news, etc. since they are not expressive text types (cf. Newmark 1988) and therefore would not yield the same set of intensifying expressions. Secondly, the results cannot be generalized to the whole array of intensifiers or de-intensifiers, as some of them have Thai correspondences. For example, *more* is usually translated into มากกว่า /*maak2 kwaa1*/ ‘more than’ or กว่า /*kwaa1*/ ‘than’, while *bitterly* is found to be translated as อย่างขมขื่น /*yaang1 khom4 khvvn1*/ ‘bitterly’ most of the time. Thirdly, the results should not be generalized to translators in general, as novice translators may not translate in the same way as their professional counterparts.

In addition, the study can be criticized for focusing on smaller units of translation e.g. words and sentences, and ignoring the larger context. This shortcoming is inherent in most corpus-based research, and although attempts have been made to include the co-text and context in the analyses, this can only be done to a certain extent due to the large quantity of our data.

1.8 Assumptions of the Study

The current research is based on the assumption that translation is a meaning mapping process, a purposeful and conscious activity, not simply a range of arbitrary solutions. To derive the meaning of the Source Text (ST), the translator combines the lexical meaning with the contextual factors before choosing a corresponding form in the Target Language (TL). Translation is also viewed as a decision-making process and concerns a range of possibilities (Levý 1967/2000). The translator has to decide in favour of one of the alternatives, or *translation variants*.

1.9 Definitions of Terms

An intensifier refers to a word that scale upward towards an assumed norm; in other words, a word that perform intensifying and emphasizing functions. In traditional sense (cf. Bolinger 1972, Quirk and Greenbaum 1980), the term also encompasses such category as downtoners.

Intensification is used in this research as a process that scales upward or emphasizes a quality.

Expressive meaning refers to meaning that expresses the speaker's feelings and emotions (Bühler 1934/1990). In this study, the term will be used interchangeably with *emotive meaning*, *emotivity*, and *expressivity*.

A translation strategy is a linguistic operation which the translator carries out during the formulation of the target text (Chesterman 1997: 89). It is a potentially conscious process.

The term **context** is used here in a specific sense, to mean the context *within* the story. It involves the features of the imaginary world as created by the novelist. In the literature of translation studies, however, the word refers to the situation surrounding the translational activity, e.g. the commissioner, the translation brief, the purpose of the translation, etc.

In line with the translation literature, the following abbreviations will be used:

SL stands for 'Source Language'

TL stands for 'Target Language'

ST stands for 'Source Text'

TT stands for 'Target Text'

Other abbreviations include

SP Sentence Particle. It constitutes a class of forms that frequently occur in the sentence-final position. Alternatively, it is called 'final particle'.

A particle does not add to the informational content of the sentence but suggests the feelings and intention of the speaker.

BE British English

AmE American English

UC Upper Class

LC Lower Class

RIDT The Royal Institute Dictionary of Thai

It should be noted here that the system of transcription used in this research is based on the system developed by the Linguistic Research Unit of Chulalongkorn University (LRU). The system uses standard keyboard characters to represent consonants, vowels, and accent of Thai words, and is therefore suited to computer input. It uses the minimum number of characters to represent the phonemic structure of Thai. Users are required to have an implicit knowledge of Thai phonology in order to correctly render the transcription into speech. The LRU system differs from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in that the LRU uses: 1) duplication of symbols to indicate vowel lengthening, 2) standard keyboard characters as substitutes for specialized IPA symbols, and 3) numbers in place of tone marks to indicate the spoken tone of syllables (Schoknecht 2000).

1.10 Significance of the Study

The present study is expected to shed light in two main areas:

(1) Cross-language intensification. The research yields a repertoire of linguistic representations of intensifiers in Thai, as preferred by the translators. This gives an insight into the nature of intensification in the Thai language. The study also touches on the issue of the conceptual network of Thai intensifiers, going beyond their surface meaning to identify the semantic fields of intensification. In this regard, the study reveals the cross-language human perception and cognition with regard to the intensification phenomenon.

(2) **Translation.** The present study investigates the strategies used in the transfer of expressive meaning, using the translation of three intensifiers of English to explore the complexity of the translation strategies. It also studies possible contextual factors that could play a role in the translator's decision.



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CHAPTER II

THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this chapter, the literature related to the study is reviewed to obtain a theoretical framework for the analyses of the data. It is divided into two main paradigms: (1) translation, and (2) intensification as a process in conveying expressive meaning.

2.1 Translation

2.1.1 Translation Theories: the Fundamental

While the bulk of literature is constantly growing with regard to Translation Studies, the most fundamental element that marks the history of western translation for two thousand years is the major polar split between *literal* and *free* translation (Hatim and Munday 2004). The dichotomy is closely associated with the struggle between *form* and *meaning*. *Figure 1* outlines the terminology used in the field.

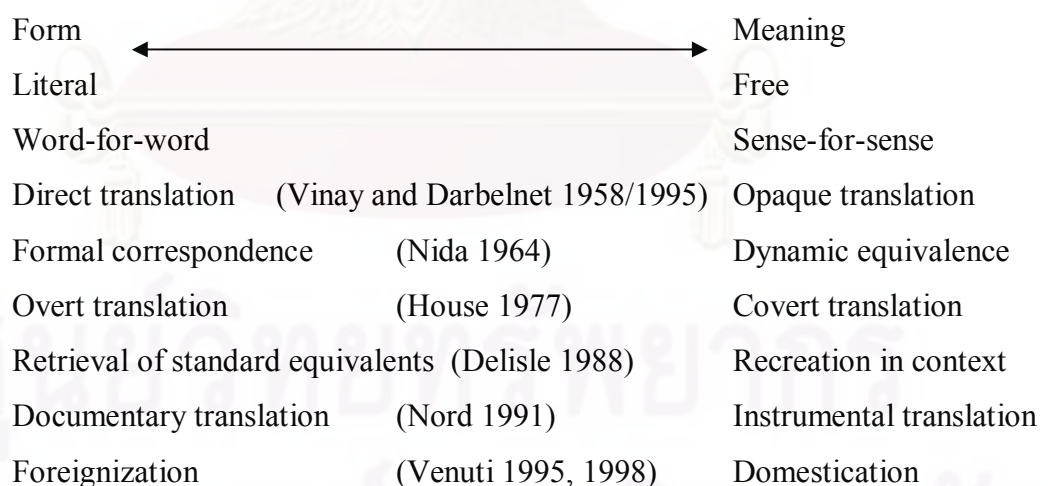


Figure 1 The literal-free dichotomy

The use of ‘free’ translation here is for the sake of convenience, as in the translation cliché ‘literal/free divide.’ The word is used as a taxonomic shifter to oppose to what it is not (Robinson 1998). The author is well aware that the word

‘free translation’ itself has been used pejoratively to refer to bad translation. A more appropriate pair would be word-for-word vs. sense-for-sense.

As translation is an activity that is performed on language, and language involves form and meaning, translation is therefore an activity related to form and meaning. Sometimes, a source language form can be rendered literally. Literal translation is classified as such by structural identity or near-identity on the syntagmatic/syntactic level, and it is discussed within the constraints of sentence boundary (Wilss 1996: 128-129). For instance, a sentence ‘he walks to school’ can be automatically rendered as เขาเดินไปโรงเรียน /*khaw4 dqqn0 paj0 roong0 rian0*/ ‘he walk go school’, with the serial verb construction ‘walk go’, consisting of the directional verb ไป /*paj0*/ ‘to go’ conveys the meaning of the preposition, that is the direction towards the school. The translation can be said to be literal. However, there are times where such direct rendition is not favourable because the translation will become meaningless or incomprehensible. This is often the case with figures of speech and idioms. The following examples are taken from the translation of Anita Diamant’s *The Red Tent* (1997) by Ngamphan Vejajiva (2004).

- (1) ST: I heard the Deborahs weep that night, and ***added another layer of salt to my own blanket.***

TT: ข้า ได้ยิน เสียง เดบอราห์ ร้องไห้ ใน ราตรี
khaa2 daj2jin0 siiang4 dee0b@@@0raa2 r@@@ng3haaj2 naj0 raa0trii0
 ‘I heard sound Deborahs cry in night
 และ เพิ่ม เกลือ ลง บน ผ้าห่ม ตัวเอง อีก ชั้น
lx3 phqqm2 klvva0 long0 bon0 phaa2hom1 tuaa0 ?eng0 ?iik1 chan3
 and add salt down on blanket mine more layer’

(Emphases mine)

At first glance, one can be led to think that the persona had sprinkled some salt on her blanket. It takes some time to realize that the translator must be using the ‘foreignizing strategy’, that is, to bring the readers to experience the culture of the ST. The sentence could very well be translated interpretively as ‘weeping.’ This

sense-for-sense translation is similar to the way the translator interprets and translates the following:

(2) ST: Leban *had been a boar* from the beginning.

TT: เลบัน ทำตัว หยาบคาย ตั้งแต่ ต้น

lee0ban0 tham0tuua0 yaap1kaaj0 tang2txx1 ton2

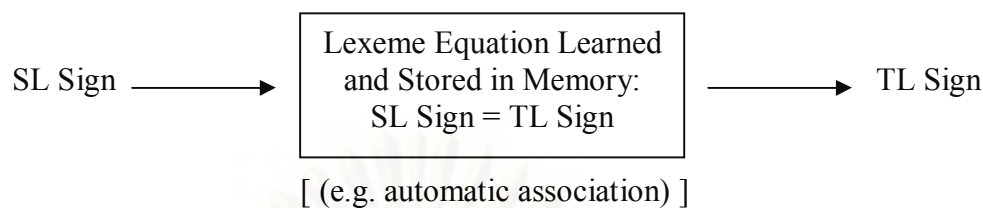
‘Leban behave rudely from beginning’

(Emphases mine)

The issue of literal and non-literalness is not just a case between idiomatic and non-idiomatic expressions as illustrated above; it is also about how we interpret the message, how we extract and put together relevant meaning, and how we translate it. For this, five indicators of literal translation have been provided from a psycholinguistic perspective as follows (Lörscher 1991: 273-274):

- i. Automatic association. The corresponding TL text segment becomes available within a very short period of time and can be verbalized.
- ii. Literal/word-for-word translation. This involves a translation that makes no sense or makes a different sense from the SL text segments.
- iii. Negative solutions to translation problems. These refer to text segments which cannot function as a solution to translation problems although they suggest themselves as a solution.
- iv. Multiple verbalizations. The translator may verbalize lexical translation problems several times.
- v. Rephrasing of SL text segments. The text segment resulting from the rephrasing can activate an equation of lexemes stored in memory and recall the second part of equation by means of an association process.

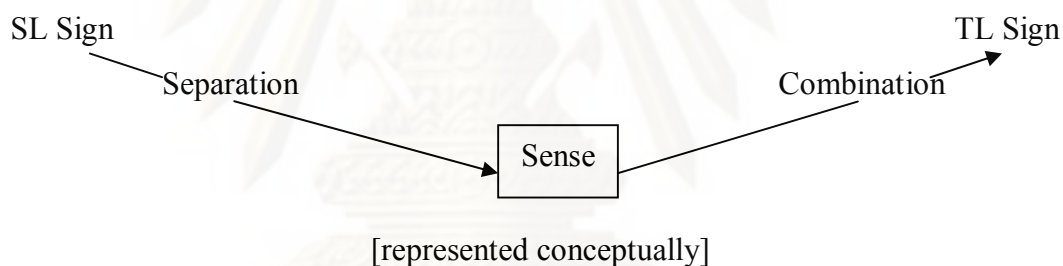
Lörscher (1991) uses, quite rightly, the terms sign-oriented and sense-oriented in the place of literal and free translation, which, according to Robinson (1998), is a catch-all term. The notion of sign-oriented translating is explained in the following diagram:



(Reproduced after Lörcher 1991: 274)

Figure 2 Sign-Oriented Translating

Sense-oriented translating, on the other hand, occurs when “the sense combined with an SL text segment is made explicit by the translator and thus “separated” from it [an SL sign]” (Lörcher 1991: 274). Then, the translator, on the basis of the sense constituted, looks for adequate TL signs. Lörcher (1991) represents the process of sense-oriented translating in the following diagram, which clearly derives from interpretive theory of translation.



(Reproduced after Lörcher 1991: 275)

Figure 3 Sense-Oriented Translating

The concept of sense-oriented translating has been described by Danica Seleskovitch (1976, 1978 cited in Lörcher 1991: 275) in connection with the process of interpreting. Forming the basis of the ‘interpretive approach’, the notion of sense-oriented translating draws heavily on Piaget’s work on genetic psychology, with particular emphasis on the mental and cognitive processes involved. Seleskovitch (1977 quoted in Salama-Carr 1998: 112-114) develops a theory based on the distinction between linguistic meaning and non-verbal sense. The non-verbal sense is defined in relation to a translating process to consist of three stages: 1) **interpretation**, 2) **de-verbalization**, and 3) **reformulation**. The above diagram, however, does not account for the interpretation (or ‘comprehension’). The de-

verbalization process can be equated with ‘separation of sense’ in the above model, while reformulation is similar to the ‘combination’ process.

Lörscher (1991) observes that during the separation of the SL forms from their sense, the subjects try to combine the sense to the extent to which they have to interpret it with the TL forms. This requires a process of searching, in which situational and contextual factors that determine the range of sense of an SL text segment are taken into account. Examples will be given here with regard to the English and Thai languages. When coming across the intensifier *so*, as in “They were *so* clever...,” a good translator will need to consider, for instance, whether it occurs in a classic novel or a pocketbook; who is the speaker/hearer; whether it occurs in speech or thought representation, or in the narrative, if it involves a fiction. With sign-oriented translating, we get the ‘unmarked’ expression, produced automatically with the least efforts on the part of the translator:

- (3) ST: ‘They were *so clever*.’
 TT: ‘พวกเขา ฉลาด มาก’
phuuak2khaw4 chalaad1 maak2
 ‘They clever much’

But with sense-oriented translating, the intensifier *so* can take several forms in Thai depending on the context, as mentioned earlier. Thus, it can be rendered as:

- (4) ST: ‘They were *so clever*.’
 TT: พวกเขา ซำง เจ็ลยว ฉลาด เหลือเกิน
phuuak2khaw4 chaang2 chaliiaw4 chalaad1 lvva4 kqgn0
 ‘They inclined bright clever much’

The selected form deviates from the unmarked expression, and requires the context to determine the range of sense and lexical items that are most appropriate. Seeing the translation product, it is possible to guess at the determining factors. It clearly signals the translator’s need to convey the poetics of the original text, and

2.1.2.2 Formal Correspondence vs. Dynamic Equivalence

The terms usually associated with the name of Eugene Nida, **formal and dynamic equivalence** are often hurled together into discussions of equivalence, even though the concept behind is essentially form vs. meaning-oriented translating. Viewed from the perspective of a Bible translator, whose goal is to convert people to Christianity, Nida (1964) emphasizes the reader's response to the sign. **Formal equivalence** focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. In such a translation, one is concerned that the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language, although he concedes, quoting Belloc (1931: 37 in Nida 1964: 159), that "there is no such things as identical equivalence." The formal elements that need to be reproduced as closely as possible are: 1) *grammatical units* (e.g. translating nouns by nouns, verbs by verbs, keeping all phrases and sentences intact, preserving formal indicators such as punctuations, paragraph breaks), 2) *consistency in word usage* (always use the same term to render a particular term), and 3) meaning in terms of the source context (reproduce idioms and expressions without any adjustment).

Dynamic equivalence, on the other hand, aims at complete naturalness and focuses attention on the receptor modes of behavior. The latter, being Nida's preoccupation, adds a new dimension to the concept of sense-oriented translating. Defining this type of translation as "the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message" (1964: 166), he identifies the three essential terms: 1) *equivalent*, which points towards the source-language message, 2) *natural*, which points toward the receptor language, and 3) *closest*, which binds the two orientations together on the basis of the highest degree of approximation.

As dynamic equivalence translation is directed towards equivalence of response rather than form, Nida (1964: 167) stresses the importance of naturalness and proceeds to define it. He states that a natural rendering must fit 1) the TL language and culture as a whole, 2) the context of a particular message, and 3) the receptor-language audience. He points out that a natural translation involves two areas of adaptation, namely grammar and lexicon. In terms of grammar, the translator can make adjustments, for example, shifting word order, using verbs in

place of nouns, or substituting nouns for pronouns. In terms of lexical items, there are three lexical levels to consider, which are:

- a) terms for which there are readily available parallels, e.g. river, tree, stone, knife;
- b) terms which identify culturally different objects, but which perform somewhat similar functions. He cites an example of the word *book*, which, in the New Testament times refers to papyrus rolled up in the form of a scroll;
- c) terms which identify culturally specialties e.g. Lamb of God, synagogue.

It is proposed that the first category presents no problem, while the second can cause confusion, unless the translator chooses an equivalent form which identifies equivalent function but possibly at the expense of formal identity. For the third set, he states that it is difficult to avoid certain “foreign associations”, as “no translation that attempts to bridge a wide cultural gap can hope to eliminate all traces of the foreign setting (ibid). He also discusses onomatopoeic expressions, vulgarisms and slang, as being receptive to adjustments in translation, and goes on to point out that adjusting the message to the context is not enough; it is important that the translation incorporate certain positive elements of style, which provide the proper emotional tone for the discourse (Nida 1964: 170). This emotional tone must correctly reflect the point of view of the author. Therefore, elements such as sarcasm, irony, or any whimsical interest must be precisely conveyed in dynamic-equivalence translation.

It should be noted, however, that Nida (1964) uses the word ‘faithful’ in an unorthodox way. Gentzler (2001: 57-58) remarks that Nida has “ironically reversed the historical use of the term “faithful” which he now applied to his dynamic approach.” The term is traditionally reserved for literal translations, but somehow Nida feels that dynamic-equivalence translator is more faithful than the literal translator because the former can render “more fully and satisfactorily the meaning of the original text” (Nida 1964: 192, quoted in Gentzler 2001: 58).

2.1.2.3 Domestication vs. Foreignization

Reflecting the cultural turn in translation, the two terms are originally derived from Antoine Berman's theoretical work (1984 cited in Munday 2001), and popularized by Lawrence Venuti (1995). Rooted in cultural studies, **domestication** involves in "taking a conservative and openly assimilationist approach to the foreign text, appropriating it to support domestic canons, publishing trends, political alignments." The strategy finds its strongest proponent in the French and English traditions, which tend to adhere to domestic values and tastes in the translation (Munday 2001: 241). Viewed in the light of the Thai context, domesticating strategies have been popular around the reign of King Chulalongkorn or King Rama V (1868-1910), as Thai writers/translators adapted the text to meet the local taste. Lorlertratna (2005) has found that the Sherlock Holmes stories, when translated into Thai, have been subjected to adaptation during the reign of King Chulalongkorn, and to rearrangement during the reign of King Vajiravudh or King Rama VI (1881-1925) and King Prajadhipok or King Rama VII (1893-1941). The mode of translation is influenced by three contributing factors: patronage, poetics, and ideology, which in turn is affected by the education reform launched by King Chulalongkorn. Another case of domestication can be found in Kukrit Pramote's translation of Jonathan Livingston Seagull, where he inserts Buddhist ideology and adapts it to the local preference.

Foreignization, on the other hand, involves choosing a foreign text and developing a translation method along lines which are excluded by dominant cultural values in the target language (Venuti 1998: 242). From its origins in the German tradition, foreignizing translation usually means a close adherence to the foreign text, a literalism that results in the importation of foreign cultural forms and the development of heterogeneous dialects and discourses (ibid.). Applied to the Thai context, the strategy manifests itself in the translation by contemporary Thai translators such as Ngamphan Vejjajiva. Below are examples from her translation entitling *Tamnan Rak Krajom Daeng* (2004), translated from the English fiction *The Red Tent* (1997).

(6) ST: “***You baboon!*** I told you what to do and you disobeyed me

TT: “เจ้า ลิง บาบบูน! ข้า สอน เจ้า แล้ว ว่า ต้อง
 caw2 ling0 baa0buun0 khaa2 s@@@n4 caw2 lxxw3 waa2 t@@ng2
 ‘monkey barboon! I teach you already that must
 ทำ อย่างไร แต่ เจ้า ไม่ เชื่อฟัง ข้า’
 tham0 jaang1 raj0 txx1 caw2 maj2 chvva2fang0 khaa2
 do how but you not obey me’

(7) ST: “You are a brood mare. You pathetic cow.”

TT: “แก เป็น แต่ แม่พันธุ์ เป็น แม่วัว น่าสังเวช”
 kxx0 pen0 khxx2 mxx2 phan0 pen0 mxx2 wuuu0 naa2sang4weet2
 ‘you are just brood mare are cow pathetic’

(Emphases mine)

Based on the New Testament, The Red Tent chronicles the life of Dinah, a daughter of Jacob, who is the ancestor of the Jewish people. The cultural background is little known to the Thai reader. The examples above involve translating expletives in their literal sense, thus reflecting the translator’s intention to “leave the writer alone as much as possible and move the readers towards the writer” (Schleiermacher 1813/ 1992: 42 cited in Munday 2001). In other words, the translator may want to introduce the Thai reader to the Jewish culture, in this case, the way of swearing. From Nida’s perspective, the two cases would fail to achieve ‘dynamic equivalence’ because the readers would perceive them to be funny rather than feel sorry for the characters being verbally abused.

So it seems, the concept of domestication and foreignization involves dealing with the unfamiliar culture, be it flora and fauna, climates, customs, beliefs, ways of life, whether to keep them that way or to adapt them in line with the local liking. But it also involves language, as foreignizing effect can be achieved by means of language, that is, to strictly adhere to forms, both lexically and syntactically. To maintain linguistic creativity and variety of the source text, the following ‘deforming

tendencies' as suggested by Berman (1984 cited in Munday 2001: 150-151) should be avoided

- **Rationalization:** This affects syntactic structures, including punctuation, sentence structure and order. It also includes the translation of verbs by noun forms and the tendency towards generalization.
- **Clarification:** Similar to explicitation, this process is aimed at making the target text "clear" (even though it does not purport to be so in the original).
- **Expansion:** The translation tends to be longer than the original due to 'empty' explicitation, 'overtranslation', and 'flattening.' These serve to destroy the 'voice' of the original.
- **Ennoblement:** This means improvement on the original by rewriting it in a more elegant style. By doing this the translator can destroy the oral rhetoric of the original. Equally destructive is a translation that is too 'popular' in its use of colloquialisms.
- **Qualitative impoverishment:** This has to do with replacement of words and expressions with TT expressions that, according to Berman, 'lack their sonorous richness or, correspondingly, their signifying or "iconic" features.' Iconicity here involves terms whose form and sound are in the same way associated with their sense.
- **Quantitative impoverishment:** This has to do with the loss of lexical variation in the TT. To elaborate, the ST may use several words but they are reduced to only a single term in the TT.
- **The destruction of rhythm.** Though more common in poetry, it is possible that in novel, rhythm is destroyed by, for instance, deformation of word order and punctuation.
- **The destruction of underlying networks of signification:** The network of words is formed throughout the text, though individually they may not be significant. Words may add underlying uniformity and sense to the text. This needs to be heeded by the translator.
- **The destruction of linguistic patterning:** While the ST may be systematic in its sentence constructions and patternings, the TT can be 'asystematic'. In many cases, the translator adopts different techniques, for example,

rationalization, clarification, and expansion, which serve to make the TT linguistically homogenous but at the same time, more ‘incoherent’ because the systematic of the ST linguistic patterning is destroyed.

- **The destruction of vernacular networks or their exorticism:** This has an impact on local speech and language patterns that play an important role in establishing the setting of a novel. If erased, there is severe loss. The traditional solution is to exoticize it by using italics, or isolating them from the co-text. Another way is to seek a TL vernacular or slang.
- **The destruction of expressions and idioms:** Replacing an idiom or proverb by its equivalent is ‘ethnocentric’ because it attacks the discourse of the foreign work.
- **The effacement of the superimposition of languages:** The target text tends to erase traces of different forms of language that co-exist in the ST. For example, there may be a mix of peninsular and Latin American Spanishes in the work of Valle-Inclán, different sociolects and idiolects, and so on. This is viewed as the ‘central problem’ in translation.

It should be noted that these dualistic pairs parallel with the trend in translation studies. To elaborate, there was the linguistic approach dominating the 50s and 60s, before shifting toward function- and culture-oriented approaches in the 70s and 80s (Riccardi 2002). The linguistic approach has its focus on forms, typified by the work of Catford. The functional approach concentrates on functions of use and receptor, and Nida (1964) is viewed as a precursor of functionalist school (though he is often associated with the linguistic approach (cf. Malmkjær 2005). The cultural turn has a broader scope of focus, and is epitomized by Venuti (1995). However, in addition to the aforementioned taxonomies, other scholars still come up with their own polaristic terms. **Overt and covert translations** (House 1997, cited in Munday 2001) are distinguished based on the status of the translation, ‘covert’ if it enjoys the status of the original; ‘overt’ if it does not purport to be an original. The taxonomies are reminiscent of the terms **direct and oblique translations** (Vinay and Dabelnet 1958/2000) – one can tell easily that the TT is a translation or not. **Documentary and instrumental translations** (Nord 1997 in Colina 2003) are defined based on the functions. The first type has a metatextual function, allowing

target-culture audience to look at its linguistic and textual structure or at the cultural structure/social situation in which it is created. In this case the concept is similar to word-for-word translation (cf. Newmark 1988) when translation is made for the sake of linguistic study. The second type of translation may have the same function as the ST; it aims primarily at producing in the TL an instrument for a communicative interaction between the SL sender and the TL audience.

While literalness/non-literalness is characterized by the translator's close adherence to the lexical and syntactical properties of the ST, many scholars (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000, Larson 1984, Newmark 1988, Hatim and Munday 2004) suggest that translation be viewed not as a pair of fixed opposite but rather as a cline.

2.1.2.4 Retrieval of Standard Equivalence and Recreation in Context

The school of thought that is fitting to the present study comes from Jean Delisle (1988), as it takes into consideration the contexts in translation. Delisle, an advocate of the interpretive approach, outlines three strategies based on the 'different degrees of interpretive analysis' (p.86). They are:

- a) the transfer of monosemous words (no analysis required)
- b) retrieval of standard equivalents from the linguistic system (simple analysis required)
- c) re-creation in context (detailed analysis required)

As explained by Delisle (1988: 86-87), the translation of monosemous words involve elements that "can be understood and re-expressed without interpretation", such as proper names, numbers, and scientific terms. They allow the translator to transpose directly to the TT without having to refer to the context or the situation. The transfer is done more or less mechanically from one text to another. As can be seen from the definition, this type of analysis is not related to the translation of intensifiers and therefore will not apply to the present research.

The second category, **retrieval of standard equivalents from the linguistic system**, is "the simplest form of interpretation" that is "practised on words whose meaning can be deduced from the linguistic context and reproduced in the target language using nothing more than knowledge and memory of languages" (Delisle

1988: 87-88). The translator identifies the relevant meaning of the word in context, knowing that he will be able to find a word in the TL. It is proposed that equivalences of this type are fixed, and many of them appear in bilingual dictionaries or works on comparative stylistics. But it cannot be considered ‘transcoding’, for transcoded equivalences are established without reference to any real communicative situation.

The third category, **re-creation in context**, involves a higher degree of interpretation that requires a detailed analysis on the context. As Delisle (1988: 91) points out, terms must be analyzed in light of the text as a whole, and in order to infer their semantic and logical relationships with the other terms and to invest them with the appropriate meaning, the translator must step back and detach himself or herself from the purely linguistic signification of the term. In other words, he or she must free himself or herself from the form of the original and draw closer to its meaning. The interpretation is limited by the text, though the text itself can engender a wide variety of rendition in the TL.

2.1.3 The Continuum

Scholars usually start with the two main kinds of translation – literal and free – and set out to describe the characteristics of translation on each side. Early scholars such as John Dryden (1680) came up with the three-term taxonomy: metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation, with the one in between being the most desirable. The types of translation have been extended to 7 by Vinay and Dabernet (1958/2000)¹ and Larson (1984)² but the most numerous divisions should be by Newmark (1988), who list 8 types of translation, four on each side. Their commonalities will be described as follows:

¹ Vinay and Dabernet’s 7 categories, though can be put on a cline, involves what is known as translation shifts (cf. Munday 2001, 2004) rather than the types of translation *per se*. In other words, their model deals with linguistic modifications with regard to translation. See *Table 2* for their classification.

² Larson (1984: 17)’s 7 kinds of translation are: 1) very literal, 2) literal, 3) modified literal, 4) inconsistent mixture, 5) near idiomatic, 6) idiomatic, and 7) unduly free. The division is insightful, but rather fuzzy. Besides, definitions have not been provided for *near idiomatic* and *inconsistent mixture translations*.

- *Word-for-word translation.* At the extreme end of the continuum is word-for-word translation, which serves as a tool for linguistic study or to prepare a difficult text for a translation process (Newmark 1988). The TL is usually below the SL words, and hence the name *interlinear translation*. The terms *very literal* (Larson 1984) and *transcoding* (Gile 1995) also refer to this type of translation.
- *Literal translation.* Translation scholars generally agree that literal translation refers to the SL grammatical construction that is rendered in the closest TL equivalents. This type of translation is what a good translator should hold to, if it does not generate anomalies or lead to incomprehensibility on the part of the reader (Newmark 1988). Larson (1984) calls it *modified literal translation*.
- *Idiomatic translation.* It is generally agreed that this kind of translation makes every effort to communicate the meaning of the source language in the natural forms of the receptor language (Larson 1984: 15), and is thus characterized by colloquialisms and idioms. Idiomatic translation sounds natural to the ears of the TL audience, and thus should be “the translator’s goal” (Larson 1984). This standpoint, however, is not shared by Newmark (1988), who claims that it distorts the nuances of the ST to some extent.
- *Free translation.* This kind of translation involves “reproducing the substance without manner, or the content without form of the original” (Newmark 1988). It is also characterized by arbitrary addition, omission, distortion, or changes in meaning made by the translator (Larson 1984)³. Such derogatory view of the term is not new in the literature. In fact, free translation has long been used as opposed to faithful translation, although fidelity in translation has been defined in a number of ways (cf. Robinson 1998).

³ For free translation, Larson uses the term *unduly free translation*, but her terminology subsumes the notion of adaptation as well.

- *Adaptation*. The best known definition is by Vinay and Dabelnet (1958/2000) – a method to be used when the context referring to in the ST does not exist in the culture of the TT, therefore necessitating a form of re-creation (Bastin 1998). It is the ‘freest form’ of translation, and is in most cases restricted to drama and poetry (Newmark 1988). Characters, themes, plots are usually preserved while the SL culture converts to the TL culture and the text rewritten. It is therefore situational rather than linguistic. This method is prevalent during the reign of King Rama V and VI (cf. Lorlertratna 2005) when Thailand obtained the genre of short story from western countries.

The different types of translation, apart from being source-text/target-text oriented, can be viewed as parallel to the different levels in linguistic studies.

Linguistic descriptions	<i>Lexical</i>	<i>Syntactic</i>	<i>Semantic</i>	<i>Pragmatic</i>
Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000)	borrowing loan translation	literal transposition ⁴	modulation ⁵	equivalence adaptation
Larson (1984)	very literal literal	modified literal inconsistent mixture	near idiomatic	Idiomatic unduly free
Newmark (1988)	Word-for-word translation	Literal translation	Faithful translation Semantic translation	communicative translation idiomatic translation free translation adaptation

Table 2 Levels of linguistic descriptions and different types of translations

⁴ Transposition involves replacing one word class with another without changing the meaning of the message (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000: 88). The authors provide an example: *dès son lever* → as soon as he gets up.

⁵ Modulation is “a variation of form of the message, obtained by a change in the point of view” (Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000: 89). The change can be from active to passive, negative to positive or vice versa, abstract for concrete, etc. This technique is viewed by Vinay and Dabelnet as a “touchstone of a good translator”

In addition to these different types of translation, some scholars have looked at translation from the pragmatic perspective. The Skopos Theory, proposed by Reiss and Vermeer (1984), focuses on the function that the translation is intended to fulfill in the target text. In this regard, the theory can be described as being target-text oriented. Apart from the function, the translator needs to take into consideration the target-text audience. He or she can choose to translate, paraphrase, or re-edit the message to suit the given situation. In more concrete terms, adopting the Skopos Theory may entail rendering a scientific text fairly literally, adapting Don Quixote for a children's edition, or deleting repetition from the sayings of the Buddha to suit the modern reader (Shuttleworth and Cowrie 1997: 156-157).

Although the Skopos Theory has been adopted by the translation practitioners, it does not apply to the present study. This is because it involves a single type of the text, that is, the works of fiction, which are generally expected to be translated literally. Besides, both look at the translation from a different paradigm. While this study looks at the relationship between the ST and the TT, and is therefore ST-oriented, the Skopos Theory is TT-oriented. Thus, it is not included here.

2.1.4 Translation Models

Translation theorists have attempted to explain the translation process, even though these mental operations are difficult to observe. Many have borrowed from the field of cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics for models of translation process (Lörscher 1991, Bell 1995, Gile 1995). The models range from the simplest to more complicated ones, as cited in Wilss (1996: 43):

Sender → Message 1 → Decoding/ Encoding → Message 2 → Receptor by the translator

Figure 5 The decoding-encoding model of translation

As criticized by Wilss, such model “shows too little differentiation and no feedback component”, and “does not do justice to the translator's cognitive achievement either in handling the ST or in the production of the TT” (Wilss 1996: 43). Besides, he feels that it does not show the mental complexity of the translation

process. Quite similar to the above model is that of Nida (1969 quoted in Lörcher 1991), who holds that the phrases involved in the translation process are Analysis, Transfer, and Restructuring. His idea can be schematically represented as follows:



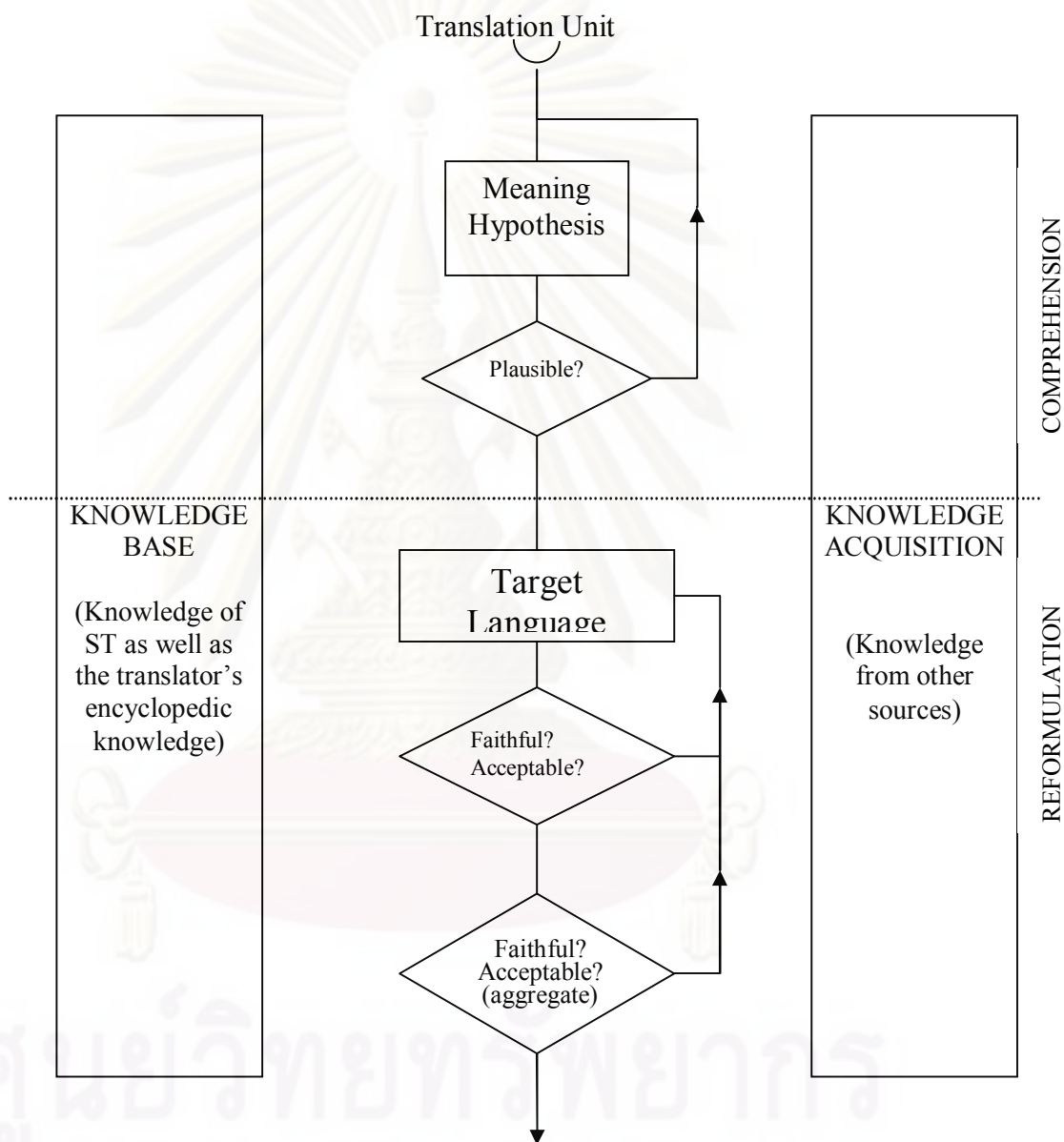
Figure 6 Nida (1969)'s three-stage model of translation

According to Nida (1969), the translator analyzes the message of the ST into “its simplest and structurally clearest forms.” There are three aspects involved in the analysis of the SL: **grammatical**, **referential-semantic**, and **connotative**. In grammatical analysis, surface structures are broken down into ‘kernels,’ a clear influence from the transformational grammar. Referential-semantic analysis restricts the potential range of meaning of lexical items. Finally, the analysis of connotative component of meaning is primarily stylistic one, but does not comprise the emotive response to the thematic content of the communication, as Nida points out that it is outside the concerns of linguistics.

The transfer involves three types of changes: **complete redistribution**, **analytical redistribution**, and **synthesis**. The first type concerns idiomatic expressions; the second occurs when a single lexeme in the SL corresponds to a combination of lexemes in the TL; synthesis takes place when a combination of lexemes in the SL corresponds to a single lexeme in the TL.

Nida (1969)'s model is criticized in Lörcher (1991: 16) on several points. Internally, Nida does not define the notion of kernels satisfactorily, and because of the lack of clear-cut definition, it is the translator's task to determine kernels on his own. Externally, Lörcher views, quite rightly, that it does not adequately capture the translation process and must be regarded as an oversimplification (although the concept of translation as a three-level activity is prevalent in the translation theory).

Second, as the model does not say anything about what goes on in the translator's head, it is therefore not a psycholinguistic one. To get a glimpse of what is inside the translator's head, Gile (1995) proposed the Sequential Model of Translation, represented in *Figure 7*:



(Adapted from Gile 1995: 102)

Figure 7 The Sequential Model of Translation

According to Gile (1995: 102-106), the translator mentally formulates a Meaning Hypothesis for the text segment he or she processes as a Translation Unit. This can be done by pulling together the knowledge of the ST as well as

encyclopedic knowledge (on the left-hand side). When the knowledge base is not enough to understand the text, the translator has to turn to other sources of information, e.g. documentary sources, human informants. This is referred to as knowledge acquisition. After that, the translator checks the Meaning Hypothesis for plausibility, with the help of Knowledge Base and through Knowledge Acquisition. If it is found to be implausible, the translator goes back to reconstruct another Meaning Hypothesis and puts it through the same test. The translator will continue to do this until it is compatible with the information possessed.

Once the Meaning Hypothesis passes the plausibility test, the translator can move on to the next stage: reformulation phase. He or she can now verbalize it in the TL, using knowledge of the TL in the process as well as extra-linguistic knowledge. If the knowledge base is inadequate, the translator has to acquire further knowledge, for example, technical terms to be used in referring to an object, concept, or action. Then, the translator sees to it that the TL version complies with the fidelity requirements: 1) none of the information has been omitted, and 2) no *unwarranted* information has been added. Moreover, the translator also makes sure that the translation is acceptable, for instance, in terms of clarity, language correctness, stylistic appropriateness, and terminological usage. If found to be unsatisfactory, the translation is subjected to revision and test once again, and during this operation, the translator relies on his or her Knowledge Base. To elaborate, if the translated message is found to contain too many repetitions, he or she may have to resort to other synonyms. For example, the metonyms 'the Kremlin' or 'Moscow' may have to replace 'the Russian government' for stylistic reasons.

When fidelity and plausibility checks have been passed, the translator also has to run periodical checks for aggregate Translation Unit, i.e. for sentences, a paragraph, a whole piece. This is because 1) it is possible that the translator may have skipped one or several translation units, and 2) an acceptable Translation Unit does not necessarily ensure acceptability of the whole text, for example, there may be inconsistencies in terminological usage or a stylistic drift in the beginning and the end of the text.

Though the Sequential Model targets students of translation, to make them aware of what they are (and should be) doing when they translate, the model is

significant in that it, as Gile (1995: 101) points out, “describes and explains an idealized path in the professional’s progression from source-language to target-language text”. Indeed, the model represents just what a professional translator does in his or her career, even though some might argue that not all translators do as described. The representation is therefore valid, not only in translation pedagogy but also in describing the processes undertaken by professional translators.

Whilst the model is helpful in understanding translation process as a whole, the focal point of this study, however, is not on the tasks carried out by the translator but on the comprehension and reformulation phases, especially the ‘mapping of meaning’. To elaborate, in the comprehension phase, the translator has to glean the meaning out of lexical and structural meaning as well as contextual information, then formulate it with appropriate TL expressions that are closest to the relevant ST meanings. To derive the ‘sum’ of meaning, it is essential to consider the contexts⁶ in translation. In this regard, the Sequential Model lends support to the present study in terms of the important role of context. This topic will be discussed in the next section.

2.1.5 The Role of Context in Translation

As it is a well-known fact that the field of translation studies has drawn heavily on linguistics, the concept of context in translating, similarly, is grounded in the idea of linguists such as Malinowski (1923, 1935) and Firth (1957). As pointed out by Hatim and Mason (1990: 36-37), Malinowski’s theory of context was originally developed with translation in mind. Working with the Melanesian peoples in the Trobriand Islands of the West Pacific, Malinowski came across the dilemma of how to translate for the English-speaking readers. Free translation would be intelligible but erase cultural insights, while literal translation would superficially preserve the original but is unintelligible to the English audience. His solution: a translation with commentary. His commentary, indeed, relates the text to the

⁶ In many cases, the term ‘context’ refers to the situation or circumstance under which the translator is working (cf. House 2006). However, in this research the term refers primarily to the situations or circumstances within or involving the text.

environment, and therefore functions to ‘situationalize’ it both verbally and non-verbally. Malinowski refers to this as **the context of situation**.

As translation involves the act of communicating the meaning of the ST, context plays a vital role in constructing and deconstructing the meaning. Firth (1957: 7) remarks, quite rightly, that “The complete meaning of a word is always contextual.” The term ‘context’ is a broad term, subsuming the linguistic context, the context of situation and the context of culture. The context of situation involves “the participants, what they say, and what is going on” (Firth 1957: 27), while the context of culture involves the experience of the participants, their worldviews, their social reality (ibid.).

To illustrate on the vital role of context, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it is difficult, if not impossible to translate without the knowledge of the context. A simple word such as *carry* is difficult to translate into Thai, and the co-text needs to be given, i.e. what is being carried, and in what manner is the item being carried. Unless the co-text is known, it is not possible to choose the right word for it. Kinship terms such as *brother* or *sister*, *aunt* or *uncle*, need context when translated into Thai, since the TL system also takes into account the age of the person. Even a simple statement such as *I love you* cannot be appropriately translated without knowing who the speaker and the hearer are, as Thai has a whole gamut of pronouns to choose from. In short, to translate one cannot do without contextual analysis.

The concept of context has been taken up by Firth’s follower such as Ellis (1966), among others, but also by translation scholars such as Nida (1964) and Hatim and Mason (1990). Following the Firthian theory (1957), the context will be discussed in terms of the linguistic context, the context of situation, and the context of culture.

The **linguistic context** involves two types of contextual meaning, which relates form to situation: 1) *grammatical contextual meaning*, and 2) *lexical contextual meaning* (Ellis 1966: 80). The contextual meaning may be either potential or instantial. By ‘potential’ it means that a form may have a range of possible contextual meaning when taken out of context, just as the word ‘carry’ does. ‘Instantial’ contextual meaning, on the other hand, means the actual meaning in a

given instance. For example, *The tomcat is carrying a mouse* leaves no doubt about what the verb ‘carry’ should come to mean.

In translating, the translator should determine all the semantic elements: syntactic, referential, and emotive (Nida 1964). This types of context also has to do with form and content, including special forms such as poetry, parables, proverbs, or epistolary formulae.

The **context of situation** is extra-linguistic, involving participants, the place and the time of the speech event (Ellis 1966: 82). The participants can be either the speaker or the hearer. A simple sentence such as “How do you do” could be said by the newly met or by doctor to patient. Other features which determines the utterance include (Ellis 1966: 83-86):

- *Register range*. The total repertoire of register that the speaker has.
- *Register*. An idiolect or a subdivision of language-variety.
- *Register-choice*. A particular register out of the speaker’s range
- *Thesis*. Event, process, action, state of affairs etc, to which the utterance refers.
- *Tone*. This may show the attitudes of the speaker.

The **context of culture** means “everything relevant in the universe at any time” (Ellis 1966: 82). It is of utmost importance in understanding the meaning of a message, as, according to Nida (1964: 244), “words have meanings only in terms of the total cultural setting, and a discourse must be related to a wider sphere of human action or thought”. While the cultural context of the ST is important in translation, the cultural context of the TT cannot be overlooked. He points out that no translator can afford to ignore certain expressions in the Bible that have become common in the TL usage. Though not too satisfactory, these expressions tend to condition their being employed in the translation.

2.2 Intensification as a Process in Conveying Expressive Meaning

Intensification is a linguistic process that conveys attitudinal and emotive⁷ meaning of the speaker (Labov 1984, Partington 1993, Caffi and Janney 1994, Eggins and Slade 1997, Mendez-Naya 2003, Jing-Schmidt 2005), and it encompasses not only lexical (e.g. *horribly*, *absolutely*) but also grammatical items (e.g. *very*). This phenomenon thus realizes the expressive function of language in Karl Bühler (1934/1990)'s sense. We add a particular word to vent our emotions such as disappointment, satisfaction, exhilaration (note that the more intense the feeling, the stronger the expression -- compare *It's very cold* with *It's bloody cold!*), to personalize speech (by making it sound a bit more exaggerated); to express levels of commitment ranging from caution to doubts (i.e. *fairly important*) and certainty and emphasis (*absolutely crucial*) (De Klerk 2005); or to foreground the relevant concepts by giving additional information. Despite the markedly emotional function, intensification also has an appellative function. Partington (1993: 178) notes that it is “a vehicle for impressing, praising, persuading, insulting, and generally influencing the listener's reception of the message”.

Expressive forms have been found on all levels of language descriptions, from phonological, morphological, lexical to syntactic and pragmatic (Caffi and Janney 1994, Foolen 1995). Follow from this; *any* forms can ‘say’ something about the speaker, ranging from intonation, stress, sentence patterns, choice of words -- even the most neutral ones. For example, by using seemingly impartial pronoun and noun phrase like “she” or “that woman,” a mother-in-law has already conveyed her feeling of dislike towards her son's fiancée.

In most literature, intensification – or other variations such as ‘intensifiers’ (e.g. Bolinger 1972, Quirk and Greenbaum 1980), ‘intensifying devices’ (e.g. Eggins and Slade 1997) - is used as an umbrella term to cover more/less orientation (Caffi and Janney 1994). Classifications of intensifiers often subsume the category of downtoners (cf. Quirk and Greenbaum 1980, Eggins and Slade 1997). As this is

⁷ Some authors note a slight difference between emotivity and expressivity. Maynard (2002), for example, views emotivity as being a specific case of expressivity, and uses the term to refer to “emotional attitude and response, the feeling of being moved, as well as culture-based feelings and sentiment expressed through the use of linguistic and related signs.” In this research, however, the term *emotive* will be used interchangeably with *expressive*, though with a slightly stronger sense.

often the case, the terms could be misleading and more neutral ones e.g. ‘degree words’ (Bolinger 1972) or ‘degree modifiers’ (Paradis 1997) might be more preferable. In this study, however, the term ‘intensification’ will generally have the meaning of emphasizing or scaling upward. For the scaling down effect, the author will use ‘de-intensification’ for the sake of clarity.

Like other emotive categories (for more details, see Caffi and Janney 1994), linguistic devices used for intensification can be of any imaginable kind, e.g. intensity of activity, length of performance, quantity of an object, intensity of adverb (Volek 1987 quoted in Caffi and Janney 1994: 358). ‘Intensifiers’ therefore subsume a very large class of linguistic (and also non-linguistic) expressions, and just as Bolinger (1972: 17) rightly put it, are “just as hard to encompass.” While different authors come up with their own classifications, the present study will attempt to group together intensification phenomena according to the levels of language descriptions. Discussions and illustrations will be given with regard to both Thai and English.

1. Intensification through phonological processes
2. Intensification through morphological devices
3. Intensification through lexical representations
4. Intensification through syntactical patterns

2.2.1 Intensification through Phonological Choices

To achieve an intensifying effect, a speaker can opt for different phonological choices, or ‘expressive phonology’ (Labov 1972), which can be superimposed upon other words of the clause. The choices range from phonological elongation, prosodic stress and loudness (Caffi and Janney 1994, Eggins and Slade 1997) to variation in intonation (Paradis 1997). These devices operate on the principle of quantity -- more form with more meaning (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Dirven 2004). The stretching of the /ai/-sound, higher pitch, or increased stress contribute to the intensity of meaning and emphasis, as illustrated in the table below:

Token feature	‘Less’ ←—————→ ‘More’		
(Adapted from Caffi and Jann)		[context: commenting on a dress]	
Sound duration	It’s nice.	It’s ni:ce.	It’s ni:~:ce!
		[context: calling the dog]	
Prosodic stress	Come.	Come!	COME!
		[context: refusing to go to see the doctor]	
	I’m not going.	I’m <i>not</i> going!	I’m NOT going!

ey 1994)

Table 3 Phonological realizations of intensification

Intonation can also perform intensifying function and suggest the speaker’s feelings and attitudes (Paradis 1997). For example:

- a) A: I \VTHINK it’s raining. (fall-rise)
 B: I \KNOW it’s raining. (fall)
 I b) A: \ Usually he is happy. (fall-rise)
 I B: Of \COURSE he is happy. (fall)

In the above cases, the intonational meaning of falls represents finality, closedness, and conclusiveness, while rises represent non-finality, openness, and inconclusiveness (ibid.). In example a), however, Paradis notes that the intonational contour appears to be associated with the lexical items. The rising intonation of *think* is due to its inconclusive and limiting lexical meaning, and the fall-rise is the most natural choice. For *know*, the most natural choice is falling intonation because of its conclusive and reinforcing lexical meaning.

While prosodic stress or loudness should be quite common across languages, phonological elongation has been noted in Bangkok Thai. Kullavanijaya (1997: 147-152) observes vowel-lengthening as a phenomenon to mark intensity. This occurs on the verb containing long vowels (although it is possible with short vowels, too). The following examples have been provided.

- (a) เขา ชอบ...บ! พิซซ่า
khaw4 ch@@:p2 pis3saa2
 He liiike pizza.
 ‘He is extremely fond of pizza.’

- (b) ปากเธอมัน...ง!
paakl thq̌0 baa:ng3
 lip her thiiin
 ‘Her lips are extremely thin.’

(Italics mine)

2.2.2 Intensification through Morphological Devices

Intensification can be realized through morphological devices, such as comparatives and superlatives, affixation, and reduplication. They will be discussed as follows.

2.2.2.1 Comparatives and Superlatives

With the strong link between the concepts of comparison and intensification, comparatives and superlatives are among the intensity devices (Labov 1984), though they tend to be less expressive due to their grammaticality. In English, comparative and superlative degrees are marked either by inflected forms *-er* and *-est*, or periphrastic forms *more* and *most*. These forms are only compatible with gradable adjectives; their combination with non-gradable adjectives will likely result in anomalies (**more total*, **most motionless*) (Biber et al. 1999: 521). Inflectional forms are possible with adverbs, though they are comparatively rarer (p.544).

While normal comparatives tend to be less expressive, repeated comparatives can be quite the contrary. As Biber et al. (1999:536-7) observe, two identical comparatives conjoined by *and* produce an ever-increasing degree of that adjective. For example, *funnier and funnier* is an expressive way of saying ‘increasingly funny.’ Typically the repeated adjectives are preceded by the copular verbs *get*, *grow*, or *become*. As the authors note, this pattern is more recurrent in fiction (p.536). A related and more frequent structure is *more and more*, as in *it’ll get more and more computer wise*.

2.2.2.2 Affixation

There are two terms common in the study of morphology that are worth mentioning here -- **diminutive** and **augmentative**. According to Bakema and Geeraerts (2004: 1045), ‘Diminutive’ refers to any formation in a language expressing the referential meaning ‘small’ and possibly derived evaluative shades of meaning. The formal devices used in diminution include both analytic (paraphrastic) and synthetic (morphological) ones, though the term is usually restricted to the morphological type. ‘Augmentative’ is diminutive’s semantic counterpart, it denotationally expresses the concept ‘big,’ thus suggesting evaluative exaggeration and intensification. Diminutive and augmentative suffixes are quite common in many languages. In Italian there are quite a few, e.g. *-one* (*bacione* ‘big kiss’) and *-issimo*, which express extreme degree, though the diminutives display a richer paradigm e.g. *-ino*, *-etto*, *-ello*, *-uccio*. English has few and less productive diminutive possibilities, with suffixes such as *-y/-ie*, *-let*, *-ette*.

Prefixes can also lend itself to intensification, as can be observed in English *super-*, *mega-*, *re-*, *over-* (Lieber 2004), and *ultra-*, and the use of them has been embraced in the media. A British TV documentary, for instance, is called *Supersize vs. Superskinny*. The MacBook Air is: “*ultrathin*, *ultraportable*, and *ultra unlike* anything else” (emphases mine), both cases involving repetition of the prefixes in separate items to achieve memorability. Lieber (2004: 169-170) mentions a slightly different case: “one can *re-retest* or even *re-re-retest* something to express repetition of the activity, or *over-overcompensate* to compensate way too much. Other less common prefixes include *per-* (as in *perfervid*), which could be derived from Latin, meaning ‘throughout’ completely’, ‘extremely’ (Collins English Dictionary), and *turbo-* as in *turbo-crush*, a vogue expression among younger British adolescents in the mid-1990s (Thorne 2007).

It is interesting to note that although Thai is not an agglutinative language, it has a suffix for intensification. Kullavanijaya (1997) documents how the plural suffix *-s*, a clear English derivative, has been added to Thai words for intensification. Examples cited are มั่น /*man0*/ → มั่นส์ /*mans0*/ ‘having a great fun’ and *yaak2* → *yaaks2* (ยากส์), but it seems that this pattern is spreading. A google search

yields such creations as มากส์ /*maaks2*/ ‘very much’, น่ารักส์ /*naa1 raaks2*/ ‘very lovely’, เทส์ /*tqqs2*/ ‘so cool’, มึนส์ /*meuns0*/ ‘very confused’, น่ากลัวส์ส์ส์ /*naa1 kluaasss0*/ ‘extremely frightening.’ These words are typical in colloquial, personalized internet language, notably in teenager webblogs, which suggests the suffix is gaining popularity and therefore could be on its way toward grammaticalization.

2.2.2.3 Reduplication

Formal repetition, or reduplication, is a linguistic phenomenon shared by many languages of the world (cf. Nuckolls 1996, Dirven 2004), and can be viewed as a form of iconicity (Wyss 1999). It involves repetition of whole or part of a word, and is very widely used to express intensity (Regier 1998). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 128) note that all cases of reduplication in the languages of the world are instances of where MORE OF FORM stands for MORE OF CONTENT. When applied to noun, reduplication turns singular noun to plural or collective (ibid.). In Japanese, for example, *kami* is ‘god’; *kami-gami* means ‘various gods,’ indicating a diversity of referents (Kajitami 2005). In Tok Pisin, *cow-cow* means ‘cows’, while in Afrikaans, *plek plek* (place-place) means ‘in various places’ (Dirven 2004: 11). As Regier (1998: 890) notes, there are at least two possible sources of motivation for this sense. The first one is from plurality, which is exemplified by the English expressions such as many thanks, in which quantity is used to express intensity. The second comes from the idea of spreading out, i.e. enlargement. This is illustrated through the Russian expression *bol’ shoe spasibo*, meaning ‘big thank you’, which suggests how large size is used to express intensity.

When applied to adjective, reduplication indicates intensification or an increase of that property (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 128). Italian reduplicatives *bella bella* and *duro duro* mean ‘very beautiful’ and ‘very hard’ respectively (Wierzbicka 1991, Dressler and Barbaresi 1994).

Reduplication in Thai has been described in Haas (1946), Luksaneeyanawin (1984), Kullavanijaya (1997), and Anchaleenukul (2003) among others. Haas distinguishes between emphatic and non-emphatic reduplications, but

she seems to view only the emphatic type as a means of intensification. According to Haas (1946), emphatic reduplication is “numerically by far the more important device for intensifying degree”, as it can be “freely used to intensify the meaning of practically all descriptive verbs” (p.130). This category is characterized by: 1) the changed form of element is placed first, in contrast to other types of reduplication found in the language and 2) the first element is always spoken with an emphatic high tone. Haas gives the examples of ดีดี /*dii3 dii0*/ ‘very good’ and รานหวาน /*waan3 waan4*/ ‘very sweet’ (p.129). As Haas observes, the emphatic high tone is not parallel to the five basic tones of Thai as it does not serve to differentiate the lexical elements. It can be treated as a modification of high tone but not identical with the high tone itself. In case where a high-tone word item is reduplicated, the emphatic high is then higher in pitch and usually more protracted in length, as in ร้อนร้อน /*r@@@n3 r@@@n3*/ ‘very hot.’ Haas notes that the emphatic tone is not restricted to reduplication but can also be found in exclamations such as อึยตาย /*?uj3taaj0*/ ‘Oh, my!’

While Haas’ contribution is valuable as a precursor to the study of reduplicatives in Thai, there are a few points worth noting. Haas rightly notes that emphatic reduplicatives are part of the spoken language (p.130), but so do non-emphatic reduplicatives (e.g. ดี ๆ /*dii0 dii0*/ ‘very good’). Besides, even non-emphatic reduplicatives can serve to increase the force of a quality, though only to a certain extent. For example, in คนดี ๆ อย่างเขาไม่น่าชวยเลย /*khon0 dii0 dii0 jang1 khaw4 maj2 naa2 suuaj0 lqqj0*/ ‘a very good person like him should not have been unlucky’, non-emphatic *dii0 dii0* heightens the quality of ‘goodness’ and highlights a contrast between the proposition and external reality.

In her study of spoken Bangkok Thai, Kullavanijaya (1997) classifies three types of reduplication based on the time of repetition: 1) one-time (similar to Haas’ emphatic reduplicative), 2) two-time, and 3) four-time. For two-time repetition, two patterns have been distinguished with regard to pitch changes (See Kullavanijaya 1997 for detail). Kullavanijaya supplies the following example: *chan3 ngii3 kham4 kham3 kham4* ‘I felt so much like laughing.’

2.2.3 Intensification through Lexical Representations

One of the most common ways to intensify one's speech is through lexical choices such as the use of emphasizing adjectives (e.g. *It was a real/complete/total mess!*), adverbs of degree (see 2.2.3.1), or interrogative pronouns as intensifiers (e.g. *What a day! How lovely!*) (Caffi and Janney 1994). Also included are lexical choices, swearwords, and lexis which quantify the degree of amplification (Eggins and Slade 1997).

2.2.3.1 Adverbs of Degree.

Poutsma (1930: 120) once observed: “the most natural, most simple and most usual way of expressing a high degree or intensity of a quality or state is to place an intensive adverb before the adjective or adverb denoting this quality [...]”. English has a large inventory of degree adverbs. Spitzbardt (1965) registered about 700 adverbs of degree in his dissertation, classified into 19 semantic domains. The adverbs of degree, or intensifiers in a broad sense, has been studied in the work of Backlund (1973), Bolinger (1972), Quirk and Greenbaum (1980), Allerton (1987), Eggins and Slade (1997), Paradis (1997), Klein (1998) and Lorenz (2002), among others.

Adverbs of degree have generally been discussed based on how they scale upward or downward a quality. Traditional grammarians like Quirk and Greenbaum (1980) distinguished three major groups: emphasizees, amplifiers, downtoners, while Allerton (1987) took their idea further and classified four groups of modifiers, including a wider range of words.

1. **Scalar modifiers** indicate different parts of a mental scale of degree from high to zero, e.g. *extremely, very, most, less, least*. This group includes Quirk and Greenbaum's boosters, compromisers, diminishers, minimizers, and various markers of comparative and superlative forms.
2. **Telic modifiers** relate the actual degree of the modified item to the degree required for a particular purpose, e.g. *easily, nearly, not quite, just, nowhere*. This type subsumes Quirk and Greenbaum's category of approximators and minimizers.

3. **Absolute modifiers** indicate that the degree of the modified item is 'superlative' i.e. *absolutely, utterly, freezing (cold)*. This category equals Quirk and Greenbaum's maximizers.
4. **Differential modifiers** indicate the difference of degree between the item being described and some reference point, e.g. *far, much, a lot, marginally, slightly*.

In later work, the scope of intensifiers seems to have broadened to include other than adverbs of degree. From the perspective of grammaticalization, Lorenz (2002) proposes five categories of adverbs which collocate with adjectives to achieve an intensifying effect.

1. *Scalar*. This category involves the degree only, having undergone delexicalization.
2. *Semantic feature copying*. This category of adverbs "achieves an intensifying effect by copying a substantial part of the adjective's denotation, and in some cases results in almost exact semantic reduplication" (Lorenz 2002: 148) Examples include pairs such as *clearly visible, closely linked, crucially important, readily available*.
3. *Evaluative*. This group of adverbs serves to express judgmental notion on the part of the speaker e.g. *remarkably inexpensive, unbelievably elegant*.
4. *Comparative*. This group is restricted to the lexical set of comparison, according to Lorenz (2002: 150), for example, *especially, extraordinary, relatively*, and *uncommonly, unusually* all fall in this category. Most human judgment is made on a comparative basis, but since the meaning of comparison can be foregrounded, these intensifiers are used to bring it to the fore (Lorenz 2002: 151).
5. *Modal*. These intensifiers involve the degree to which a speaker is willing to attest to the truth of a proposition. There are two sub-categories: a high degree of certainty or speaker commitment (*actually, genuinely, really, surely, truly*) and a certain degree of reserve or low speaker commitment (e.g. *allegedly, presumably, probably, possibly, supposedly*).

2.2.3.2 Metaphorical expressions

Metaphor and comparative elements lend themselves to emotive meaning and intensification (Ullmann 1962, Bolinger 1972, Labov 1984, Eggins and Slade 1997). Instead of saying ‘the meeting is dull,’ it is possible to put the meaning more precisely by saying *it is as dull as ditch water* (Ullmann 1962: 136). Though these clichés have lost much of its force, they are still more energetic than a simple statement (ibid.).

In normal speech there is a wide variety of metaphors that serves as intensifiers. Bolinger (1972) gives some expressions that suggest extreme results, e.g. *burnt black, bored to death, drenched to the skin*. In Thai, Kullavanijaya (1997) identifies metaphoric adverbials as a device expressing intensity, for example:

(a) เขา พอม เหมือน ไม้ เสียบ ลูกชิ้น
khaw4 ph@@m4 mvaan4 maj3 siiab1 luuk2 chin3
 He thin like stick pierce meatball
 ‘He is as thin as a meatball stick.’

(b) ครู ให้ คะแนน ยาก ครู กระดุก
khruu0 haj3 kha3nxxn0 jaak3 khruu0 kra1duuk1
 teacher give marks difficult teacher bone
 ‘The teacher is careful with his marks. The teacher is bone hard.’

2.2.3.3 Lexical colouring

The choice of words with attitudinal colouring to a meaning when a more neutral word could be used can also signal intensity of feelings. As Ullmann (1956) notes, some words contain an element of evaluation superimposed on the main meaning, and he cites *a hovel* (‘rude and miserable dwelling place’) and *scribble* (‘to write and draw in an untidy manner’) as examples. This lexical mechanism is given varied taxonomies by different scholars e.g. ‘enrichment’ (Eggins and Slade 1997), ‘connotation-loaded lexemes’ (Volek 1987 cited in Hübler 1998), and ‘graded lexemes’ (i.e. *to roar* vs. *to shout*). Below are some examples:

What are you jabbering (instead of *talking*) *about?*

She’s a psycho bitch (instead of *fussy woman*)

2.2.3.4 Swearwords

Swearwords, taboo words, and vulgarisms can be used as intensifiers (Spitzbardt 1965, Eggin and Slade 1997, Stenström 2002, Peters 2004) as they are highly emotive and serve to vent off strong feelings and attitudes on the part of the speaker (Leech 1974). They also give added dimension or shading to the language in describing conditions when used as metaphors, and in expressing different degree of intensity (positive, comparative, superlative). Besides, they cannot be exactly replaced by ordinary words (Nakamura 1964: 239). What are interesting about them are their proliferations -- many are derivatives of a few principal swearwords (e.g. *ruddy*, *blooming*, *blinking*, *bally* for *bloody*; *frigging*, *flipping*, *firkin* for *fucking*) -- and omnipresence -- some can function as various parts of speech: noun, adjective, verb, adverb, and interjection (Nakamura 1964: 239).

Semantically, swearwords and vulgarisms develop from a few sources. Spitzbardt (1965: 358) lists the ‘foul’ words in the semantic field of ‘Curses, Abusiveness, Taboo-Words.’ As can be expected many evolve around the forbidden concepts such as religion (e.g. *god-dam(n)*, *damnation*, *hell-fire(d)*, *hellishly*, *infernally*, *satanically*, *devilishly*, *diabolically*, *deucedly*), excretion (*shit*, *shit-hot*), sexual activity (the f-word), and disease (*plaguy*, *pestilently*).

2.2.4 Intensification through Syntactical Patterns

The primary function of repetition is the intensification of one’s speech. Repetition is said to be the simplest (and most powerful) practice. Consider the following statements, and it is obvious that the second utterance is more emphatic (and therefore, probably more enthusiastic) than the plain first:

- We’re happy that you came.

We’re **happy**, really **happy**, that you came.

Repetition of structural elements is widely used as a rhetorical tool. A good example of structural repetition (‘you have.../ you have never ...’) can be found in Sultan of Brunei’s speech in honor of His Majesty King Bhumibol, on his Diamond Jubilee commemoration.

“You have never sought to distance yourself from the lives of your people. You have never asked them to be followers or mere subjects. You have shared their joys, fears and disappointments.

“You have made them deeply proud of their heritage and their identity. You have made your people feel that the Kingdom of Thailand is indeed their own Kingdom. Above all, I feel you – you have given them confidence.”

(Excerpted from <http://readbangkokpost.com>, my underlines)

2.2.5 The Intensifiers *Very, So, and Really*

So, very, and really are the most common intensifiers in current British and American speech, as attested by a number of corpus-based studies (cf. Altenberg 1991, Biber et al. 1999, Swales and Burke 2003, Ito and Tagliamonte 2003). The preference, however, seems to vary according to the varieties. In British English, *very* is found to be the most favorite intensifier, followed by *really* and *so* (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003), similar to Xhosa English where *very* also ranks the highest (De Klerk 2005). In American English, the order is reverse; *so* is the most preferred item, with *really* and *very* tailing far behind (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005). The popularity ranking of the three intensifiers is illustrated as follows:

BE: <i>very</i>	AmE: <i>so</i>
<i>really</i>	<i>really</i>
<i>so</i>	<i>very</i>

In this section, we will discuss intensifiers *so, very, and really* in terms of historical development, meaning and functions, patterns of use, and collocational preferences.

2.2.5.1 *Very*

Very is “by far the most frequent of all adverbs of degree” (Bäcklund 1973: 158). Like French *vrai*, the intensifier begins its life as an adjective with the meaning ‘true’ as in *the very night*. In Middle English, it starts to develop into the

present adverb⁸ as in *a verray parfit gentil knight*, where the meaning of *very* changes from ‘real’ to ‘really’ and ‘in a high degree’. In the fifteenth century, *very* begins to be commonly used before adjectives and adverbs, and gradually it becomes the favourite intensifier, replacing *full* and *right* (Jespersen 1956, Sacks 1971). Now, the adverb has become a function word (Bolinger 1972), and is considered the most prominent case of grammaticalization (Lorenz 2002: 145). On a stylistic scale, the word is a neutral, common core item, as compared to *entirely*, *utterly*, *highly*, *somewhat*, and *almost* which are formal on the one hand, and *awfully*, *pretty*, *a bit*, and *terribly* which are informal on the other (Paradis 2000).

In terms of collocations, *very* is not a versatile adverb as compared to its counterparts, as it can only modify adjectives and adverbs; for verb phrases, noun phrases, and some prepositional phrases, *very much* has to be used (Klein 1998, Altenberg 1991). As Paradis (1997) notes, *very* as the modifier of adjectives or adverbs involves two possibilities. The first one is to precede superlative adjectives (i.e. *the very best*), and in this case it functions as a maximizer meaning ‘absolutely.’ The second possibility involves *very* co-occurring with gradable adjectives or adverbs in the base form; here *very* functions as a scalar modifier to mean ‘extremely.’⁹ The adverb is shown to co-occur with adjectives that involves ‘totally open scales’ and ‘non-trivial standard’ (Kennedy and McNally 1999). ‘Totally open scales’ are described as scales that exclude endpoints, as opposed to ‘closed scales’ which includes two end points (p.167). The concept of open-scale adjectives is similar to Allerton (1987)’s scalar adjectives (e.g. *tall*, *interesting*, *expensive*), while close-scale adjectives are known as ‘absolute adjectives’ e.g. *empty*, *awake*. ‘Non-trivial standard’ refers to the property of being context dependent, as opposed to ‘trivial standard’ which is context independent. The semantics of *very* as a booster depends on how high the initial standard value is. Kennedy and McNally (1999) provide the examples:

⁸ Although *very* is generally recognized as an adverb, Sacks (1971: 191) points out that it never modifies a verb. This probably explains why some authors (e.g. Fries (1940 quoted in Sacks 1971)) instead classify it as ‘function word of degree’ or ‘intensifier.’

⁹ This meaning of *very*, however, seems to be at odds with the classifications by Klein (1998) which put *very* in the ‘high’ category.

- a. The international space station is *very* expensive. (for space projects; *large increase in the standard*)
- b. The coffee at the airport is *very* expensive. (for coffee; *smaller increase in the standard*)

The authors also show that adjectives associated with trivial standards reject modification by *very* (as in ??*The baby is very awake*).

However, though *very* tends to co-occur with scalar or gradable adjectives, Paradis (1997) points out that there may be cases when *very* collocates with limit or extreme adjectives (e.g. *true*). She cites the following instances, not uncommon in daily communication:

- sober → *very* sober;
- certain → *very* certain;
- possible → *very* possible

Such cases confirm what Paradis has been pointing out: “adjectives cannot be rigidly categorized as either gradables or non-gradables” (Paradis 1997: 59). She proposes, quite rightly, that people conceptualize a system of various types of gradability. Such system is a stable type of our cognitive apparatus. But language users are not tied down to the system. In fact, they have a great deal of freedom as to how to use the system. The system, combined with freedom of choice, allows flexible use of language that is adaptive to different situations. The case of *true*, for instance, will be interpreted as ‘either-or’ when taken out of context, but can be forced into a scalar reading by the addition of *very*. In another word, the presence of *very* nullifies the reading of *true* as limit adjective and prompts the interpretation as scalar adjective. The process of changing the reading of an adjective is what Paradis terms ‘contextual modulation.’

According to Paradis (1997: 60), contextual modulation is more common within monosemy, but it can also take place with polysemous adjectives. She gives the example of *sober*, and proceeds to identify two different meanings: 1) not drunk, and 2) serious and thoughtful. The first meaning of *sober* can be spelled out as “X experiences sobriety.” *Sober* is then a limit adjective, but it can undergo contextual modulation and take on a scalar reading as in *The next day they were all rather sober* – the addition of *rather* forces a scalar reading. The second meaning of

sober ('serious and thoughtful') is inherently scalar, and therefore can undergo comparison and be modified by scalar modifiers. Paradis points out that a phrase "a *very sober man*" is ambiguous between the meaning of 'very thoughtful' and a jocular, scalar reading of the 'not drunk' meaning of *sober*, which might be interpreted as the opposite 'very drunk.' She states that the possibility of modulation without changing the meaning proper of the adjective is not uncommon in language, and quite rightly, that "there is a potential for language users to expand the expressiveness of language by exploiting the system rather being constrained by it [...]" (ibid.).

To sum up, while *very* is traditionally felt to collocate with scalar adjectives, it can also co-occur with limit adjectives, thanks to flexibility of language. As Paradis (1997: 64) puts it:

[...] adjectives show a great deal of flexibility with respect to gradability. They readily take on a different reading vis-à-vis gradability. This is particularly the case with non-scalar adjectives. Non-scalar adjectives are more susceptible to contextual modulation than scalar adjectives. This tendency applies to both extreme adjectives (*terribly huge*) and limit adjectives (*fairly sober*), and in fact also to nongradables (*very Russian*). This inclination towards scalarity and evaluative meanings is not unnatural, since it is easier to disregard limits and be less precise, than to express oneself in a stringent and absolutely precise way.

In conversation, *very* is found to be associated with general positive words e.g. *good, nice, fond, clever, tasty* but also with adjectives with negative associations (e.g. *distressed, difficult, sad*) (Biber et al. 1999: 566). Kennedy (2003) who studies the BNC corpus, notes that of these adjectival collocates, 23% end in *-ing*; 13% have a *-y* suffix; only two end in *-ed*. Because of its frequency and collocational freedom, *very* is regarded as 'general-purpose amplifiers' similar to *so* and *very much* (Altenberg 1991: 134). Heidinger (1984: 88-89) suggests that *very* often appears in samples of preschool children's language; often in stories, the traits of characters are stressed using *very* (*a very wicked witch, a very sly fox*). The use of *very* can be indicative of social classes. In a study of Glasgow English, Macaulay (2002: 404) finds that the word is "almost categorically a middle-class word," as the most of his working-class speakers do not use it even once in their conversation.

But despite its frequent use, *very* is now showing signs of waning popularity. In a study carried out in York, the pattern of use is found to be declining rapidly among the under 35-year-old (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003: 267), which suggests the form is probably becoming outdated and potentially replaced by other forms (i.e. *really*). But in Xhosa English, *very* is still among the most favorites -- it is found to be often reduplicated, trebled, or even quadrupled, perhaps reflecting the speaker's limited lexical resources when wishing to intensify their words (De Klerk 2005).

Having long been a common intensifier, *very* has already lost much of its emphatic force due to frequent use, which probably explains why it is often supported by *indeed* (e.g. *Very helpful indeed*) (Bäcklund 1973: 158-9) and other emphasizing items. In fact, to say *That's very kind of you* is formulaic, if not meaningless, and to express real appreciation one needs to find additional means, such as stress or repetition. So it is not surprising when Bäcklund reports that *very* is the only adverb of degree in his material whose force is usually increased by repetition, as in *very, very secret work*, and that the modifier is sometimes preceded by *so*, mostly in negative and interrogative, as in: *Is that so very remarkable?* (ibid.). Such pattern is known as 'complex collocation'; the topic is dealt with extensively in Cacchiani and Reggio (2006).

2.2.5.2 *So*

Developed from the Old English *swā*, the modal adverb *so* is one of the oldest intensifiers -- it has been around over a thousand years, dating as far back as *Beowulf* but its use was not commented on until the twentieth century (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005: 288-9). The meaning of *so* has been glossed as 'very,' but there are a few differences between the two intensifiers that need to be pointed out. First, it seems that the effect produced by *so* is more intense -- the adverb can express 'indefinite degree', as in *He's so proud of that* (Guillemin-Flescher 1999: 171), while *very* simply expresses 'high degree' (not 'extremely high,' as in *awfully, extremely*) (cf. Klein 1998). Another difference lies in the degree of subjective involvement -- while *very* is perceived as neutral, *so* presumes that the

listener or reader will be sympathetic to the speaker's evaluation of the situation (American Heritage Dictionary of English Language 2000/2004).

With expressive words as collocations, the intensifier is regarded as casual, colloquial, and conversational. The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language (2000/2004) describes the use of *so* as being "most common in informal contexts" but "may be used to good effect in more formal context to invite the reader to take the point of view of the speaker or the subject." The dictionary substantiates its claim with an example: *The request seemed to her to be quite reasonable; it was so unfair of the manager to refuse.*

Because of the highly subjective nature, *so* has often been associated with female speech (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005), and, not surprisingly, with the speech of 'the powerless.' Male witnesses, for example, are rated as being less truthful and convincing, or 'powerless', if their speech contains frequent use of intensifiers such as *so* and *surely*, along with other forms such as *well* and *you know* (Kapardis 1997: 222). The adverb is the most favorite intensifier in American English, as can be attested from its frequent occurrences in the *Friends* series (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005), in accordance with Biber et al. (1999: 166)'s suggestion that the word is more common in AmE than in BE conversation.

Because of its popularity, *so* is undergoing the process of language change. Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005: 288, 295) report that *very* and *really* may be giving way to *so*, a prediction evidenced by the fact that *so* has now come to be used in both sexes and with a great number of different adjectives. Structurally, ongoing syntactic changes have already been witnessed, with 'mildly stigmatized forms' spearheaded by the younger generations. Kuha (2005) documents the following patterns in spontaneous interaction and recorded in writing by native speakers of English in Muncie, Indiana:

1) [BE + *so* + (not) + adjective]

- a. She is *so* fired!
- b. That is *so* not cool!

2) [BE + *so* + (not) + noun phrase]

- a. That was *so* the worst movie that I ever seen

- b. That is *so* not my motto.
- 3) [Auxiliary BE + *so* + (not) + verbal material in –ing form]
 - a. I am *so* going to flunk this test.
 - b. I am *so* not going with you to the party.
- 4) [Auxiliary HAVE + *so* + (not) + verb]
 - a. You have *so* got to see this.
- 5) [Modal + *so*]
 - a. Whoa – I can *so* relate!
 - b. I could *so* date him/her.
- 6) [Subject + *so* + (not) + verb]
 - a. I *so* need a nap.
 - b. I *so* don't think he/s / she's cute.

(Emphases mine)

Kuha's observation of such forms in younger generations corresponds with what Zwicky (2006) calls *GenX so*. It is labelled as such because, as Zwicky observes:

[...] it seems to have first appeared in the speech of Generation Xers (in the 80s, with the movie *Heathers* as a major boost for its spread) -- is recognizable in speech by its characteristic high-rising-falling intonation (which distinguishes it from ordinary intensifying *so*, even when the intensifier is accented) [...]

Zwicky (2006) also provides clues on how to detect *GenX so* in writing:

clear cases of *GenX so* occur in contexts that otherwise are not available for intensifiers -- with dates and similar time expressions ("That is, like, *so* 1980s", "It was *so* two years ago"), proper nouns and pronouns ("This is *so* Iceland", "It's *so* you"), absolute adjectives ("You are *so* dead!"), negatives ("It's *so* not entertaining", "A pizza delivery man who can't find a campus address is *so* not my problem"), and VPs ("We *so* don't have a song", "Parker *so* wanted to be included", "I am *so* hitting you with the September issue of *Vogue!*").

(Original emphases)

Both Kuha and Zwicky's contribution is significant to the current study in that it raises awareness about these non-standard patterns. It is interesting to see these forms, which are not accepted by some speakers, creep into the language of fictions and literature. It would be even more interesting to see how Thai translators, equipped with a range of expressions, would cope with these stigmatized forms to convey the identity and emotionality of the speakers.

2.2.5.3 *Really*

Really is “one of the most frequent markers of intensity in colloquial conversation” in American English (Labov 1984: 44), similar to British English where it is reported to have been used overwhelmingly more in speech than in writing (Lorenz 2002: 153). The word begins its life in the fifteenth century as *rialliche* or *realie*, meaning ‘in a real manner.’ By the seventeenth century, *really* is used to emphasize the truth or correctness of an epithet or statement, hence meaning ‘positively, indeed’. It is around this time that *really* emerges as a collocater of *truly*, as in *really [and] truly* (Oxford English Dictionary), which suggests a parallel in meaning between the two adverbs. Today, *really* is generally accepted as performing an intensifying function, though in some cases the meaning of it is difficult to pinpoint. In terms of delexicalization, *really* is known to be “the most likely next candidate for grammaticalization in the intensifier paradigm” (Lorenz 2002: 153). At this stage, we are witnessing the ongoing process of grammaticalization, with the intensifying function of *really* becoming more and more evident. When it reaches the point that all the connotation of a modal, truth-attesting adverb is completely lost, grammaticalization process can be said to be complete (ibid.).

In fact, *really* is one of the most versatile words, and its meaning and functions can vary from syntactically significant to interactively expressive (Stenström 1986: 149). As Stenström shows, *really* exhibits a great deal of mobility, it can fill in any of the slots in the following sentence:

--- it --- is ---- not ----- as bad ----- as you ----- think

Because of the agility of *really*, classification of it is not an easy task. It is classified as ‘emphasizers,’ under the category of attitudinal adjunct (cf. Quirk and Greenbaum 1972, Peters 2004). Peters (2004: 285), for example, argues that *really* “underscore the writer’s/speaker’s conviction about the word or phrase used,” as in *a really good speaker* – rather than modifying the notional point of reference on a scale. Other scholars focus on its intensifying use. Klein (1998: 20-21) classifies *really* in the ‘absolute degree’ group. He notes that it can be related to different positions on a scale, and that it may be used to stress and enhance the applicability of any predicate, thus in modifying an absolute or extreme predicate they point to an absolute degree. But the problem of interpretations remains for *really*, as to in which cases do we interpret it as intensifier or emphasize. Many scholars have reflected on this ambiguity, among them Greenbaum (1969), Stenström (1986), Biber et al. (1999). But a systematic account seems to have come from Paradis and Bergmark (2003).

According to Paradis and Bergmark (2003), the interpretation of *really* is pragmatically conditioned by the speaker’s wish to back up his or her expressions with judgment of truth. These pragmatic conditions are motivating factors on the conceptual representations which *really* evokes. They suggest 3 readings to the word, based on the survey of the 500,000-word Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) which forms part of the British National Corpus (BNC):

- (1) *really*, they are quite strange [truth-attesting of proposition]
- (2) I *really* appreciate your support [subjective emphasis of situation]
- (3) they are *really* nice [reinforcement of scalar property]

The authors explain that the examples are similar in that they are all epistemic markers. The differences lie in the fact that *really* in (1) expresses epistemic modality in the sense that it expresses a judgment of the truth of the proposition in question, while *really* in (2) functions to emphasize the subjective judgment of the importance of a situation involved in the proposition. In this case, it conveys both epistemic modality and subjective emphasis at the same time. In (3), *really* functions to reinforce the degree of ‘niceness’. It is proposed that the truth-

attesting function is always there, but is placed in the background. It is also ‘a prerequisite for both emphasis and reinforcement’ (Paradis and Bergmark 2003: 73). The argument has an implication to translation. It could probably explain why the word *really* is usually translated into Thai with expressions associated with ‘truth’ e.g. *ที่จริง* /thii2 cing0/ ‘actually’, *จริงๆ* /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’.

The authors also point out that *really* in (1) sets the scene for the ‘truth’ and ‘reality’, while *really* in (2) and (3) are used to show involvement on the part of the speaker. In this case, the word is used to specify the evidential basis for propositions, situations, and properties respectively (Paradis and Bergmark 2003: 74). They conclude that there are two extremes on the dimension of evidentiality – factual evidence and subjective evidence.

As the goal of this study is to investigate *really* in their emphasizing and intensifying functions, the two readings of *really* will be closely looked at based on the findings by Paradis (2003) and Paradis and Bergmark (2003). The summary is described in the following:

a) **Emphasizing *really***

The main task of emphasizing *really* is to convey the speaker meaning. Syntactically, the intensifier is positioned in the immediate vicinity of a verb, usually before the first verb (e.g. *I really like her*) but not necessarily so. It is semantically bound to attitudinal verb meanings, and tends to collocate with attitudinal stative predicates, for example, like, be (*I mean he really is a cool guy*), want (*I really want my mum to hear that*), hate (*I really hate her*), hurt (*It really hurts*). While there are similarities between *really* as truth-attesters and emphasizees, as both are used to supply evidence, Paradis and Bergmark point out that the former foregrounds the notion of reality and supplies factual evidence. The latter, on the other hand, has the basis for the evidence in the mind of the speaker, and the meaning of ‘reality’ stands in the background.

Emphasizing *really* also occurs with adjectival predicates (states). Such adjectives are non-scalar or represent an extreme point on a scale. Paradis and Bergmark give the examples of *paranoid* and *appalling* respectively.

(4) I always get *really* paranoid with people I get off with

(5) It is *really* appalling

Both adjectives can alternatively combine with totality modifiers or maximizers such as *totally* and *absolutely*, producing a near-synonymous effect.

In the context of negation, *really* functions to attenuate or approximate the truth of the application of the situation being talked about. The result is a hedged statement. For example:

(6) I can't *really* help it.

(7) it's not *really* expensive it's not that...

It is explained that there are two opposites: *I can help it* and *I can't help it*, standing in a complementary relation. *Really* in *I can't really help it* lies in between, and serves to de-emphasize the boundary between 'can' and 'can't.' They point out that in this case, the impact of the situation is attenuated, not the truth of the whole proposition. The truth of the proposition is hedged by the combination of a negative element and *really*. In negation, *really* is frequently used to collocate with *be*, *do*, *have*, as evidenced from their corpus data.

b) Degree-reinforcing *really*

Degree-reinforcing *really* coexists with scalar property concepts as denoted by scalar adjectives. For example:

(8) Hugh is apparently *really* rude about everyone especially when he gets drunk

(9) he thinks he is *really* cool

Really has the effect of reinforcing the degree of 'rudeness', 'personality'. In this sense, *really* can be conveniently replaced by *very* with much the same effect. However, there is a slight difference, as Paradis and Bergmark (2003: 82) remark:

Really differs from *very* in that it is not a fully-fledged degree intensifier, since it takes propositional truth-attesting scope in questions. *Very* is a degree-reinforcer both in affirmatives and in questions (cf. 'Are you *very* sad?' – 'Yes, *very*'; 'Are you *really* sad?' – 'Yes, I am' [...])

The two authors point out that when combined with gradable verbs, *really* comes close to being a degree-reinforcer, as in *I really love her* or *They really enjoyed the party*. However, if an element of degree is added (e.g. *I really love her very much*), *really* remains the same in combination with verbs. But if another degree modifier is added to the utterance where *really* is already a degree-reinforcer, *really* is to be interpreted as emphazier (e.g. *she is really very funny*.) It should also be noted that *really* as degree-reinforcer generally occurs in positive statements only.

As noted earlier, *really* is found to be much more common in speech than in writing. The same applies to the academic registers (Swales and Burke 2003), with *really* being much less common in academic texts (Biber et al. 1999: 561). The intensifier tends to occur more in dialogue than in monologue (Lorenz 2002: 153). When *really* is used in written text, it is favored by most young writers between 15 and 24, over twice as much than by the more advanced age-group of 45- to-59-year-olds (ibid.).

2.3 Summary

This chapter presents the review of the literature on the two main paradigms of the research: translation and intensification.

Throughout the history of translation studies, scholars have been pre-occupied with the literal-free dichotomy, which have been assigned different taxonomy by different scholars. As shown in this chapter, the various terminologies boil down into into sign- and sense-oriented translation. Sign-oriented translation involves an automatic retrieval of established equivalent of the ST term, for example, choosing *มาก* /maak2/ ‘much’ whenever one comes across the intensifier *very*. It adheres to the ST language. Sense-oriented translation, on the other hand, has to do with separation of sense from the ST sign, or deverbalization. It requires a higher degree of interpretation and a detailed analysis of the context, after which the translator makes an informed decision.

While the dichotomous concepts may fail to capture what actually happens in translation, it has been proposed that the strategies be placed along the continuum,

based on their adherence to the source or target language. The Sequential Model of translation, as proposed by Delisle (1988), indicates that translation is not a one-off process but in fact involves hypothesis building and testing with regard to the meaning. Besides, the knowledge base of the translator is constantly activated and enlarged while doing translation. All these point towards the importance of the contextual information in translating.

Indeed, it is nearly impossible to translate without the knowledge of the context. The lack of it may result in the incomprehension of the ST as well as the failure to select the most appropriate expressions. Context is classified into three levels: the linguistic context, the context of situation, and the context of culture. The linguistic context involves the grammar and the lexical items. The context of situation has to do with the participants and the immediate speech event. The context of culture subsumes culture, worldviews, personal beliefs, social reality, among others.

The second part of the chapter discusses intensification as a process in conveying expressive meaning. Language has been used as a tool to vent out one's feelings and emotions. Four linguistic devices of intensification are reviewed, from the phonological and morphological, to the lexical and syntactical representations. To intensify one's speech, the speaker may use phonological devices, such as vowel elongation, intonation, pitch change, etc. Alternatively, he or she has at disposal the morphological tools e.g. comparative and superlatives, affixation, diminutives and augmentatives, and reduplication. But the easiest way to intensify is perhaps by using lexical devices, for example, by adding an intensifier or using metaphorical expressions, strong words, or even swearwords. The speaker may also make use of syntactic repetition, i.e. repeating the sentence or the whole clause, to achieve an intensifying effect.

Lastly, the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* are reviewed in terms of history, meaning, and usage, to pave way for the analysis in Chapter 4.

In the next chapter, the corpus construction and research methodology will be presented to give the reader some ideas how the data was acquired for this study, and what analytical tools were used for the treatment of the data.

CHAPTER III

CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the corpus and research methodology are described to give the reader an idea of how the study was conducted. It is divided into three main sections, based on the adopted research procedures: the corpus design, data extraction and analyses, and the interview with the professional translators. The corpus design section (3.2) describes the selection criteria for both English texts and their Thai translations, the rationale behind the stratified sampling method used in the study, as well as the intensifier patterns to be explored. The data extraction and analyses begins with the software (3.3), text preparation and extraction (3.4), and data analysis (3.5). The latter is described in both qualitative and quantitative terms, starting with the classification of the linguistic forms and the definitions of relevant variables in preparation for the quantitative analyses. The quantitative analyses involve two statistical methods, the first one being frequency count and percentage, and the second one the chi-square tests. The last section, the interview section (3.6), describes the profile of the translators who translated the works used in this research, their exposure to the texts with different contextual configurations, and how the interview questions have been designed.

3.1 Research Procedures

The present study concerns three main research procedures:

- (1) The corpus design
- (2) Data extraction and analyses
- (3) Interviews with the professional translators

3.2 Corpus Design

3.2.1 The Corpus Selection

Because the research involves the translation, a parallel corpus was constructed, but the selection of the texts was largely motivated by an aim of testing the third hypothesis, which states that the translator choice is motivated by the context of situation, the context of participants, and the type of discourse. The reason for not starting off with the first and second hypotheses is because these two hypotheses looked at the linguistic forms and translation strategies, and could very well be answered with the data from the entire corpus. This research therefore took the third hypothesis as a starting point. Purposive stratified sampling was carried out, where the selection of the fictions was made to fit into the criteria.

Below is the list of the 12 fictions and the translations into Thai:

- 1) Tess of the D'Urbervilles (Thomas Hardy 1891); 149,475 words
- 2) Sons and Lovers (D.H. Lawrence 1913); 159,432 words
- 3) In Dubious Battle (John Steinbeck 1936); 95,878 words
- 4) Brideshead Revisited (Evelyn Waugh 1944); 105,701 words
- 5) The Remains of the Day (Kazuo Ishiguro 1989); 69,684 words
- 6) Smart Women (Judy Blume 1990); 84,803 words
- 7) Possession: A Romance (A.S. Byatt 1991); 189,510 words
- 8) The Notebook (Nicholas Sparks 1996); 49,122 words
- 9) Bridget Jones' Diary (Helen Fielding 1996); 65,201 words
- 10) A Bend in the Road (Nicholas Sparks 2001); 92,301 words
- 11) Turning Thirty (Mike Gayle 2000); 79,608 words
- 12) The Devil Wears Prada (Lauren Weisberger 2003); 138,997 words

The size of the English data is 1,332,692 words. The number of English words was retrieved from the text statistics provided by the Amazon's website (<http://www.amazon.com>). The number of Thai words remains unknown as it is not provided by the Thai publishers and besides, counting is impossible due to the lack of Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software to convert the Thai texts into .txt files, a step necessary for the counting.

In the next sections the selection criteria for the English texts (3.2.1.1) and the Thai translation (3.2.1.2) will be outlined. Then the selection process will be described.

3.2.1.1 Selection Criteria for the English Source Texts

Before the selection could be made, a set of general criteria for the source texts was laid out as follows:

- The selected fictions are in the same sub-genre. It would be irrelevant to compare a fantasy fiction with a crime fiction. The present corpus will be restricted to fictions that involve romantic relationship, internal conflicts, social problems, or class struggle. Science, crime, fantasy, or historical fictions are not included.

The reason for the selection is because the novels with these components would feature the character's emotive involvement and heightened emotions. This would yield a variety of linguistic patterns of intensification with regard to emotive intensity.

- The selected works are well recognized internationally or among the literary circle. They are also translated into Thai by well-known translators and are published around the same period of time.
- The selected works contain the three intensifiers under investigation.

3.2.1.2 Selection Criteria for the Translation

Criteria for the target texts were also spelt out to ensure professional quality and to control some variables that may have an impact on the findings. The following variables were taken into consideration:

- *Language change variable.* The translation is made within a 20-year period, or carried out after 1986. To compare a recently translated work with the one that was translated half a century ago will likely bias the results.

- *Quality of translation.* To ensure quality, the translation must be done by professional or well-qualified translator(s). A ‘professional’ translator refers to the translator who has either published a number of translations; has had his/her reputation established as a translator or writer; or has been awarded a distinction for one of his/her translated work. A ‘well-qualified’ translator is the translator(s) who, though not being professional translator(s) in the above definition, is in the academic/literary circle. With ample knowledge of the source text/language, he or she is qualified to carry out the translation.
- *The translating/re-arranging variable.* Some translated work is the product of translating and re-arranging, as usually indicated on the cover of the book. This suggests a departure from the source text to a certain degree for the sake of naturalness. In this study, the ‘translated and re-arranged’ type of translation was avoided because in many cases it has been found that the translator engages in deliberate re-arranging of message content or arbitrary omission and addition of chunks in the TT. It is also possible that the ST message can be altered, which may cause difficulties when it comes to close investigation and retrieval of parallel concordances. Some translators are known to ‘rewrite’ the ST message, as they themselves stated in their published work. They are not included in the corpus.

To ensure that the translation is not the product of rewriting or re-arrangement, comparison has been made with the original. If the translation can be mapped with the ST linearly, that is, on a sentence-by-sentence basis, then it can be included in the corpus.

It should be pointed out here that some problems were met in the process of corpus selection. First, the range of translated texts was restricted -- it was not easy to find the Thai translation that satisfies *all* the set criteria. Fictions featuring the lower-class, for example, were a rarity, and even if there were some, the quality was not always up to par, so there was a very small range of literary works to choose from. In fact, even with the established professionals, the quality of

translation was sometimes less than satisfactory, with a number of mistranslations detected.

3.2.1.3 The Third Hypothesis and Stratified Sampling

The selection of the English texts and the Thai translation was primarily aimed at testing out the third hypothesis, which suggests that the translator choice is motivated by:

- a) The context of situation (in this research, the temporal aspect of the ST would be tested)
- b) The context of participants
- c) The types of discourse

Therefore, sample texts with distinctive features mentioned above were selected to test each sub-hypothesis in a top-down manner. Three sub-corpora were constructed to test each hypothesis. Specific selection criteria were drawn up for each hypothesis and each corpus. They are described in the following:

Hypothesis 3a: The translator choice in translating intensifiers is motivated by *the temporal aspect of the source text.*

3 fictions were selected to see how different temporal settings of the story can influence the translator choice of intensification in the TT. They were chosen contrastively, to examine how the three intensifying lexis *so*, *very*, and *really* were translated in texts with older period as setting in comparison with those set in contemporary times. The selection was made based on the physical setting *within* the story. Below is a table showing the selected fictions and their translation:

Fictions set in an older period	Fictions in contemporary settings
<p>1. English ST: <i>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</i> (Thomas Hardy 1891)</p> <p>Thai Translation: เทสส์แห่งเดอร์เบอร์วิลล์ส์ /tees3 hxxng1 dq0bqq0wil0/ (Sodsai 2004)</p>	<p>2. English ST: <i>Smart Women</i> (Judy Blume 1990)</p> <p>Thai Translation: คีอผู้หญิง /khvv0 phuu2 jing4/ (Sopaphan 2004)</p>
<p>3. English ST: <i>Possession: A Romance</i> (A.S. Byatt 1991)</p> <p>Thai Translation: นิยายรักข้ามศตวรรษ /ni3jaaj0 rak3 khaam2 sat1ta0wat3/ (Noppamas Waewhong 2003)</p>	

Table 4 The novels selected based on the temporal feature within the story

This grouping was known as **Sub-corpus A**, in accordance with the hypothesis. The first group - *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891) and *Smart Women* (1990) – was selected based on temporal distance in terms of setting (both are set approximately one hundred years apart). Both are written in third-person narrative. The third story, *Possession: A Romance* (1991) was chosen because it involves two different temporal settings (the present and the 18th century). While the first two fictions are translated by different translators which may prompt criticisms that any differences in translation choices accounted for are, in fact, due to different translators, the second was chosen to counter such claim if any, and to prove that the choices may vary within one translator, if temporal settings are different.

Hypothesis 3b: The translator choice in translating intensifiers is motivated by *the context of participants*.

To test how the context of participants play a role in the translator decision, 4 fictions featuring contrastive social classes are selected for this purpose. Two – *Brideshead Revisited* (1944) and *The Remains of the Day* (1989) – represent the upper-class milieu, while *Sons and Lovers* (1913) and *In Dubious Battle* (1936) involve the working-class participants. In addition to the class distinction, the researcher also noted relevant features of participants, such as the identity of the

speaker, and the emotive involvement of the participants. The details of the selected fictions are given as follows.

Fictions featuring upper-class participants	Fiction featuring lower-class participants
<p>1. English ST: <i>Brideshead Revisited</i> (Evelyn Waugh 1944)</p> <p>Thai Translation: มนต์รักความหลังที่ไบรด์สเฮด /mon0 khwaam0 lang4 thii2 braj0heed0/ (Sanguansri Khanthavichian 2005)</p>	<p>3. English ST: <i>Sons and Lovers</i> (D.H. Lawrence 1913)</p> <p>Thai Translation: ลูกรัก-คู่รัก /look2 rak3 khuu2 rak3/ (Duangjai Kaweeya 2005)</p>
<p>2. English ST: <i>The Remains of the Day</i> (Kazuo Ishiguro 1989)</p> <p>Thai Translation: ถ้ำถ่านแห่งวารวัน /thaw2 thaan1 hxxng1 waan0 wan0/ (Naluntha Kupt 2006)</p>	<p>4. English ST: <i>In Dubious Battle</i> (John Steinbeck 1936)</p> <p>Thai Translation: สามศรัทธา /saap1 at1thaa0/ (Narong Janpen 1987)</p>

Table 5 The novels selected based on the participant features

This group was known as **Sub-corpus B**.

Despite the year of publication, *The Remains of the Day* (1989) features people in the upper-class milieu in the pre-war period. The novel is thus not set far apart in terms of temporal context from the rest of the sub-corpus.

Hypothesis 3c: The translator choice in translating intensifiers is motivated by the type of discourse in which they occur.

As observed in the pilot study, the type of discourse is likely to influence the translator choice of TL intensifying expressions. So in a dialogue, for example, tends to be translated with oral language, such as the oral intensifier combinations จังเลย /cang0 lqqj0/ or มากเชียว /maak2 chiiaw0/ ‘very much’. To test this hypothesis, 5 fictions were selected based on the types of narrative techniques (e.g. first-person, third-person) and types of discourse featured in the story.

Types of discourse	Details of fictions
First-person narrative (in the form of personal confession); third-person narrative, limited omniscient; dialogue	<p>1. English ST: <i>A Bend in the Road</i> (Nicholas Sparks 2001)</p> <p>Thai Translation: บนทางสายรัก /bon0 thaang0 saaj4 rak3/ (Pimwalee 2004)</p>
Third-person limited omniscient narrative; dialogue; poetry	<p>2. English ST: <i>The Notebook</i> (Nicholas Sparks 1996)</p> <p>Thai Translation: ปาฏิหาริย์บันทึกรัก /paa0ti0haan4 ban0tvk3 rak3/ (Jiranun Pitpreecha 2005)</p>
First-person narrative, very intimate (in the form of diary); dialogue	<p>3. English ST: <i>Bridget Jones' Diary</i> (Helen Fielding 1996)</p> <p>Thai Translation ไดอารี่ของบริดเจ็ต โจนส์ /daj0?aa0rii2 kh@@ng4 brid3cet1 coon0/ (Ploy Jariyawet 2004)</p>
First-person narrative; e-mail correspondence; dialogue	<p>4. English ST: <i>Turning Thirty</i> (Mike Gayle 2000)</p> <p>Thai Translation: Turning Thirty...ปีนี้ไม่ อยากโสด /Turning Thirty...pii0 nii3 maj2 jaak1 soot1/ (Phumchai Bunsinsuk 2006)</p>
First-person narrative; dialogue	<p>5. English ST: <i>The Devil Wears Prada</i> (Lauren Weisberger 2000)</p> <p>Thai Translation: นางมารสวมปราด้า /naang0maan0 suuam4 praa0daa2/ (Jitraporn Notoda 2004)</p>

Table 6 The novels selected with regard to the types of discourse

This group will be referred to as **Sub-corpus C**.

While each novel includes several types of discourse, they were manually sorted out and tagged in the data. Once they were marked, they were classified into two main groups: narration and dialogue, for the ease of analysis.

Once the corpus was constructed, the researcher started with the first and second hypotheses, by carrying out linguistic analysis in a bottom-up manner (see 3.5.1), counted, and calculated for percentage. After this was done, the translation strategies were identified based on the translator's association of linguistic forms; direct and automatic mapping with the TL word (e.g. *very* → มาก /*maak2*/ 'much-many') would be classed as sign-oriented translation, while mapping with regard to the contexts, as suggested by the selection of the other linguistic devices, would be identified as sense-oriented translation (see Chapter 5).

For the third hypothesis, each concordance from the sub-corpus was tagged with the respective feature. For example, a line from the sub-corpus A would be classified into either the dated or contemporary settings according to the context in which it occurs. After all the concordances were marked in such manner, the researcher would divide them into two groups, carry out the frequency count and percentage for the linguistic categories in each group. Chi-square tests were performed on the data. Comparison was made to see if there is any difference between the two groups in terms of linguistic categories and forms, and whether the difference occurs in the translation of just one intensifier or across the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*.

3.2.2 Selection of Patterns for Investigations

The adverbs *very*, *so*, and *really* have been used prolifically in the English grammar, but in this study, the focus is on their intensifying and emphasizing use. Thus, the patterns selected for investigation generally fall in this structure: INTENSIFIER + ADJECTIVE/ADVERB in both predicative (as in 'he was *very frail*') and attributive positions (as in 'a *very attractive* person'). These patterns are pre-

determined by the researcher. Below is a summary of the syntactic patterns of the intensifiers included in the investigation.

Intensifier	INT + adjective 'he was <i>very</i> doubtful'	INT + adverb 'turned <i>very</i> slowly'	INT + verb ' <i>really</i> like it'	INT + noun 'a <i>very</i> C29 idea'
<i>very</i>	✓	✓	-	✓
<i>so</i>	✓	✓	✓	-
<i>really</i>	✓	✓	✓	-

INT = intensifier

Table 7 Syntactic patterns of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

The following cases, however, were excluded from the study.

- The pattern *VERY* + NOUN (as in 'the *very edge* of her throat'), which means 'precisely as stated'. In this sense, the adverb seems to perform an identifying function rather than intensifying function.
- *VERY* + adjective of rank, as in 'the *very first* time'.
- Formulaic expressions of agreement such as '*Very well*, my son' or '*Very good*, Mr Stevens.' Here, *very* does not convey an intensifying meaning.
- The pattern *SO* + ADJ/ADV followed by THAT or elliptical THAT (as in 'He worked *so gently that* some of the fear left Lisa's face.'). The reason for omitting the pattern from the analyses is that this construction is always translated into Thai ADJ/ADV plus *จน*/con0/ 'until', and therefore does not offer variations in terms of linguistic realizations.
- *REALLY* in initial or final position (as in '*Really*, you're beginning to sound exactly like your father' or 'But it's all up *really!*') as well as *REALLY* as a question or interjection ('Oh, *really?*') The reason for omitting these structures is that in these cases *really* tends to

perform the truth-attesting function rather than intensifying function (Paradis 1997).

- Intensifiers with *not* (e.g. ‘*not very* tall’, ‘*not really* smart’). They were excluded because, as De Klerk (2005: 85) notes, they are “effective downtoners with a diminishing effect, and have been classified accordingly”.

However, samples with double intensification (e.g. *so very nice*) or the repetition of intensifiers (*really, really bad*) are included in the corpus, as they give an insight as to how double intensification is conveyed in the target text (TT).

3.3 Research Instruments

The following software was used as research instruments:

1. Microsoft Word 2000. Its OCR feature was found to be efficient in rendering the scanned pages into characters.
2. Concordance software. Antconc¹⁰ was used to extract the concordances containing the three English intensifiers from the corpus.
3. Microsoft Excel. The program was used for data storage and statistical analyses.

3.4 Text Preparation and Data Collection

As in most corpus construction, the texts must be prepared in a machine-readable form. The English texts were scanned and converted into machine-recognizable units through the Optical Character Recognition (OCR) feature in Microsoft Word 2000. The texts were then stored in both .doc and .txt files in preparation for the concordance program.

Data collection was carried out in the following steps:

¹⁰ Antconc is a free concordance software designed by Lawrence Anthony of Waseda University, Japan. The programme can be downloaded at <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/>.

- 1) Keyword searches were run in Antconc to find instances of *so*, *very*, and *really*. The sentences were extracted and copied to Microsoft Excel.

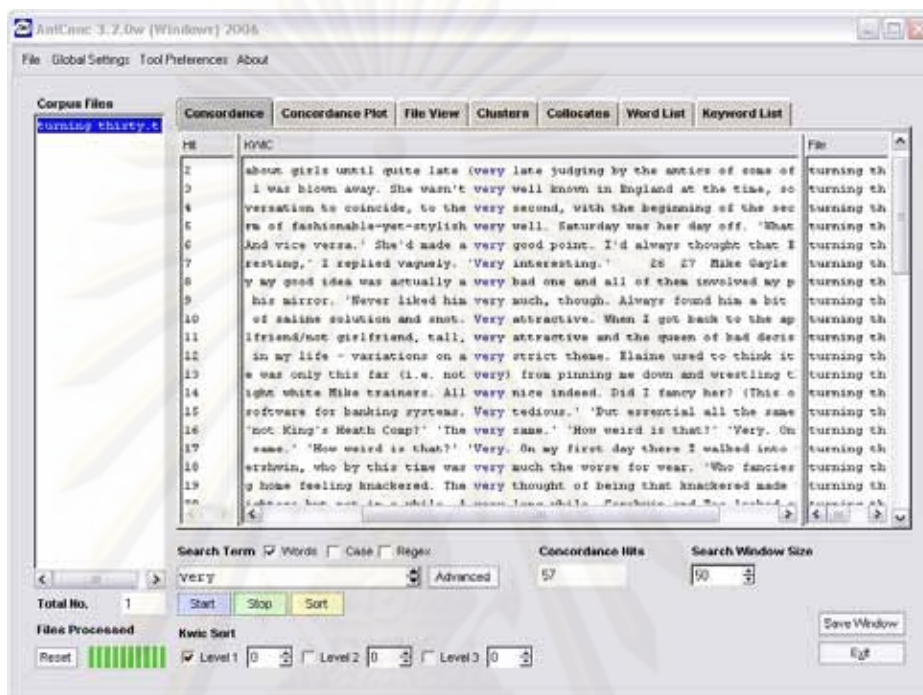


Figure 8 Screen-shot of Antconc

- 2) Instances carrying the excluded patterns were hand-sorted out (see 3.2.2 for the breakdown of patterns).
- 3) The original texts in Microsoft Word format were searched for the three intensifiers, which were then highlighted. Then their Thai texts were looked up in an attempt to find the sentences that match the ST. When found, the translated sentences were keyed into the Excel files, alongside the English ST.

No.	English	Page (TT)	Thai
1	He tells us: The ring of living beauty drawn about our shores was a <u>very</u> thin and fragile one.	325	เป็นวงแหวนความงามอันละเอียดอ่อนที่ล้อมรอบเกาะ เป็นเส้นบางและเปราะบาง <u>มาก</u>
2	It becomes a <u>very</u> resourceful swineherd - multiplies its pigs on forest acorns - and ends up with a lot of triumphant laughter and roast pork and crackling.	81	มันกลายเป็นการเป็นคณบดีที่ชาญฉลาด <u>มาก</u>
3	We have <u>very</u> ample funds, Mrs Wapshott.	134	เรามีเงินจำนวนมาก <u>มาก</u>
4	<u>Very</u> pale.	163	[รูปร่าง] ซีด <u>มาก</u>
5	There were hosts of black ravens, <u>very</u> busy and important, striding about and stabbing at the roots of things with their blue-black triangular beak!	239	มีกาจำนวนมากที่ยุ่ง <u>มาก</u> และสำคัญมาก พวกมันเดินไปมาบนพื้นดินและแทงที่รากของสิ่งต่าง ๆ ด้วยปากสามเหลี่ยมสีน้ำเงินดำ
6	Lord Ash, the Methodist, was now <u>very</u> old and frail.	391	ลอร์ดแอสซึ่งเป็นผู้เคร่งครัดในศาสนาเมธอดิสต์ ขณะนั้น <u>มาก</u> แก่และบอบบาง
7	I said, can I see the damn things, and flying said his client was <u>very</u> opposed to being disturbed. <u>very</u> scoble.	417	ฉันพูดว่า ฉันสามารถดูพวกมันได้หรือไม่ และฟลายิงกล่าวว่าลูกค้าของฉัน <u>มาก</u> ไม่ชอบที่จะถูกรบกวน <u>มาก</u>
8	I have spent all my short life - which has at times felt <u>very</u> long and dragging to me - in his house.	432	ฉันได้ใช้เวลาทั้งหมดในชีวิตอันสั้นของฉัน - ซึ่งบางครั้งก็ <u>มาก</u> ยาวและน่าเบื่อหน่าย - ในบ้านของเขา
9	It goes on through December, the <u>Very</u> Black month, as far as the Christmas story.	483	และมันดำเนินต่อไปในเดือนธันวาคม ซึ่งเป็น <u>มาก</u> เดือนดำ
10	Gode says she is not fevered, nor in decline, but <u>very</u> weak.	489	โกเดกล่าวว่าเธอไม่ไข้และไม่เสื่อมถอย แต่ <u>มาก</u> อ่อนแอ
11	The letter form of composition is presumed to aim at a <u>very</u> minute fidelity.	0	รูปแบบตัวอักษรของการประพันธ์นั้นถูกสันนิษฐานว่ามุ่งเน้นความ <u>มาก</u> แม่นยำ
12	He was a small man, with <u>very</u> soft, starting black hair and small regular features.	31	เขาเป็นชายร่างเล็ก มีผม <u>มาก</u> นุ่มและดำ
13	This one had lustreless brown hair, <u>very</u> straight, hanging about a pale, underground face.	34	ชายคนนี้มีผมสีน้ำตาล <u>มาก</u> ตรง
14	Aah, Raguar aim Roland went to Bloomsbury on his bicycle next morning, setting off <u>very</u> early when Val was still applying her worklady face.	43	เธอออกจากบ้าน <u>มาก</u> เร็ว
15	Christabel LaMotte wrote this long and <u>very</u> convoluted poem about Melusina's story in the 1860s and it was published at the beginning of the 1870s.	57	คริสเทลลาโมตต์เขียนบทกวี <u>มาก</u> ยาวและซับซ้อนเกี่ยวกับเรื่องเมลูซีนในทศวรรษ 1860
16	From <u>very</u> precise, description of the scaly tail to cosmic battles.	57	จากภาพพรรณนาที่ <u>มาก</u> แม่นยำของหางเกล็ดถึงสงครามในอวกาศ
17	One was <u>very</u> slim and ladylike, written in 1947 and entitled White Linen after one of Christabel's lyrics.	60	คนหนึ่ง <u>มาก</u> อ่อนบางและสุภาพ
18	<u>VERY</u>		

Figure 9 Screen-shot of data collected in the Microsoft Excel

3.5 Data Analysis

In most corpus work, the analysis is usually carried out in a bottom-up manner. In other words, the researcher works from the very minute details of the data to develop an insight to the observed linguistic phenomenon, in this case intensification.

The data analysis was carried out in the following stages.

3.5.1 Qualitative Analysis: Identification of the Linguistic Devices

Linguistic analysis is carried out on the data extracted in a bottom-up manner. Initially, the intensifying element in the Thai concordances was underlined. Then the following parameters were identified, noted, coded in number, and keyed into separate columns of the Microsoft Excel file.

- The number of intensifying devices used in the translation (from 0 to 1, 2, 3, and 4)
- The categories of linguistic devices (e.g. intensifiers, deictics, metaphorical expressions, semantic doublets, reduplicatives, combinatory structures, negative constructions).
- The categories of intensifiers (e.g. restricted and non-restricted)
- The types of intensifiers. Each intensifier was assigned a specific number for the ease of counting.

This allows the researcher an easy access to the frequency of the data, through the filtering and sorting commands of the program. The concordances were then classified into three major linguistic processes: the lexical processes, the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes, and the phonological processes in the final particles (see section 4.2 for detail).

3.5.2 Defining the Contextual Factors and Variables

Although the sampling was drawn from fictions known to consist of the selected contextual parameters, it was found that the data was not homogenous. To elaborate, a fiction that predominantly involves the upper-class milieu may also feature interaction with characters from the lower social stratum, and vice versa. In this case, there is the need for the definitions on the three contextual variables, to avoid any potential difficulties in the classification and codification of data. Each factor is given binary features for the ease of testing the hypotheses. The variables are discussed briefly and given operational definitions in the section below.

3.5.2.1 The ‘Dated’ and ‘Contemporary’ Context

As it has been observed that the language of translation may vary according to the temporal setting, two different contexts were chosen to test this assumption. The contexts under investigation involve the dated times, and modern or contemporary period. In this research, ‘dated’ context refers to the times before 1950s, while the ‘contemporary’ context refers to the times after 1950s.

3.5.2.2 The ‘Upper Class’ and ‘Lower Class’ Participants

Social class is not an easy concept to define precisely or measure accurately, and the stratification of class into different levels varies across nations and cultures (Stockwell 2002: 11). In societies where class exists, a social class is largely determined by personal income, education, occupation, and family background. Yet this research does not require such a fine-grained analysis of class stratification, since the researcher is interested in the upper and lower crust of the stratum. The definition is given as follows.

Class	Working definition	Examples
Upper class	People born to a distinguished family. They do not have to work, live on inheritances, and are well educated.	British aristocrats, priests
Lower class	People employed in lower tier jobs. They have limited education, depend on physical labor, and are compensated by hourly wages.	Laborers, miners, nanny soldiers

Table 8 The working definition of ‘upper class’ and ‘lower class’

Those of the middle class, an intermediate social class between the nobility and the peasantry, would be coded in this research as the upper class, based on their educational opportunity and comfortable lifestyle.

It should be noted here that this research takes into consideration the socio-cultural background of the characters. Although it has been observed that the working class may shift his or her language when speaking to an upper-class person, or vice-versa, it is beyond the scope of this study and is therefore not included.

3.5.2.3 Narration and Dialogue

The term ‘narration’ is used to refer to the way the story is told; it belongs to the level of discourse. Generally, it involves in the writer telling the story directly to the reader (‘narrative mode’ *Wikipedia*). ‘Dialogue’, on the other hand, refers to a conversation between two or more people and is characterized by the presence of quotation marks.

3.5.3 Quantitative Analyses

After the identification process was complete, two statistical methods were carried out, (1) frequency count and percentage, and (2) chi-square tests. They are described as follows.

3.5.3.1 Frequency Count and Percentage

Frequency count was conducted for the entire corpus and sub-corpus A, B, and C, with regard to the parameters listed in 3.5.1. Percentage was used as a statistic tool alongside the frequency count, with the formula: $P = \frac{f}{N} \times 100$. Both

were particularly useful in the contrastive analysis of the three intensifiers as well as the comparison of the different aspects of context with regard to intensifier translation.

But frequency count and percentage alone was not enough when it came to testing the third hypothesis, which posits that the different aspects of context may have motivated the translator's decision in intensifier translation. To see whether there is a relationship between the variables, the chi-square test was used in this research. The test is described in the next section.

3.5.3.2 Chi-Square Statistics

Chi-square is a statistical test used for the analysis of frequency data. It can be used to test independence between variables. Chi-square is a non-parametric test, so it does not require the data to be more or less normally distributed as parametric tests (e.g. t-test) do. The test is quite versatile and can be applied to a wide range of situations. Chi-square statistics, however, have some requirements (Connor-Linton 2003):

- a) The sample must be randomly drawn from the population.
- b) The data must be reported in raw frequencies and not in percentages.
- c) Measured variables must not be immediately dependent on each other.

- d) Categories on dependent or independent variables must be mutually exclusive or exhaustive.
- e) Observed frequencies cannot be too small.

In this study, chi-square was used to test out the third hypothesis. This can be done through an investigation of the relationship between two nominal variables: the linguistic forms of intensification and the contextual factors. For the chi-square test, a contingency table, a table that classifies each element of a sample according to two distinct statistics, was constructed for each of the intensifiers under investigation. Because each intensifier has a specific semantic and pragmatic profile and usage, it is deemed appropriate to test it out separately. An example of a contingency table is given below.

Types of linguistic devices found in the translation of <i>very</i>	Temporal contexts		Total
	Dated (O)	Contemporary (O)	
Institutionalized intensifiers	44	48	92
Non-institutionalized intensifiers	31	32	63
Restricted intensifiers	1	6	7
Implicit superlative intensifiers	8	3	11
Metaphorical expressions	0	2	2
Reduplication	21	17	38
Semantic repetition	34	29	63
Negative construction	12	14	26
Combinatory structures	26	65	91
Particles	5	0	5
Omission	48	30	78
Total	230	246	476

Table 9 Sample of raw data for chi-square calculation

From *Table 9*, all the linguistic devices are spread out, and it is clear that in categories such as restricted intensifiers, metaphorical expressions, and sentence particles, the number is very small, which is in breach of the chi-square requirements. While it is debatable how small is considered ‘small’, many agree that it should not be below 5, as the low number may lead to a false positive prediction

that there is a difference when none exists. When the data is too small, collapsing values/categories on a variable is advised with some precautions (Connor-Linton 2003), which are summarized as follows:

- Although categories on a variable may be collapsed, they cannot be excluded from the chi-square analysis.
- A decision to collapse categories should be well motivated, with considerations for preserving the integrity of the data as it was originally collected.
- As a rule, the chi-square analysis should be performed on the data in its uncollapsed forms. If the chi-square value achieved is significant, categories may be collapsed to double-check the validity.

Because many categories contain the number less than 5, the chi-square test was performed on the data both in its uncollapsed and collapsed forms. In this case, the categories with the observed frequency below 5, i.e. restricted intensifiers, implicit superlative intensifiers, metaphorical semantic expressions, and particles, were collapsed into the category ‘others’. This is to preserve the integrity of the data. The contingency table for the collapsed version of the data is provided as follows.

Types of linguistic devices found in the translation of <i>very</i>	Temporal contexts		Total
	Dated (O)	Contemporary (O)	
Institutionalized INT	44	48	92
Non-institutionalized INT	31	32	63
Reduplication	21	17	38
Semantic repetition	34	29	63
Negative construction	12	14	26
Combinatory structure	26	65	91
Others	14	11	25
Omission	48	30	78
Total	230	246	476

Table 10 Sample of data for chi-square calculation, with categories collapsed

To investigate whether there is a relationship between the selection of the linguistic forms and the temporal contextual factors, null hypothesis (H_0) and the alternative hypothesis (H_1) must be formulated.

H_0 : There is no association between the linguistic forms and the temporal contextual factors in the translation of *very*.

H_1 : There is an association between the linguistic forms and the temporal contextual factors in the translation of *very*.

The chi-square value (χ^2) can be computed with the equation:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(O_1 - E_1)^2}{E_1} + \frac{(O_2 - E_2)^2}{E_2} + \dots + \frac{(O_n - E_n)^2}{E_n}$$

where O stands for the observed frequency and E for expected frequency. Expected frequency (E) can be calculated with the following formula:

$$E_i = \frac{\Sigma (O) \times (\text{number of sample})_i}{(\text{total number of sample})}$$

To compute the expected frequency of the institutionalized intensifiers in dated context as shown in *Table 10*, the calculation goes as follows:

$$E_1 = \frac{92 \times 230}{476} = 44.45$$

Whereas the expected frequency of the institutionalized intensifiers in the contemporary context would be:

$$E_2 = \frac{92 \times 246}{476} = 47.55$$

The same method can be repeated to achieve the expected frequency for the other cells. The values are presented in the following table.

Types of linguistic devices found in the translation of <i>very</i>	Temporal contexts	
	Dated (E)	Contemporary (E)
Institutionalized INT	44.45	47.55
Non-institutionalized INT	30.44	32.56
Reduplication	18.36	19.64
Semantic repetition	30.44	32.56
Negative construction	12.56	13.44
Combinatory structure	43.97	47.03
Others	12.08	12.92
Omission	37.69	40.31

Table 11 Expected values of each linguistic device in dated and contemporary contexts

Once the expected frequencies are obtained, all the values are substituted to the chi-square equation mentioned earlier. The chi-square statistics is 17.04 for this test.

The last step involves in determining the degree of freedom. For a two-way test, the degree of freedom (*df*) can be obtained from the following formula:

$$df = (\text{number of category} - 1) \times (\text{number of comparison group})$$

In this case, the degree of freedom is $(8-1) \times (2-1) = 7$

To derive the critical value, the chi-square table needs to be looked up. At $df = 7$ and at the 5 percent level of significance, the critical value of chi-square is 14.07. As the chi-square value obtained from this test is greater than the critical value, there is a significant association between the frequency of linguistic forms and the temporal contextual factors of the Source Text. Thus, the null hypothesis is rejected and the alternative hypothesis is accepted.

While the calculation method mentioned earlier may be a tedious task if done manually, it represents the nitty-gritty of the chi-square calculation. In computing the chi-square statistics, however, there are quite a few shortcuts. Computer software e.g. SPSS and Microsoft Excel can save the researcher time and energy. In this research, the Microsoft Excel was used, with the application of the

chi-square calculation sheet designed by Peechavanich et al. (2004). The sheet, adapted to the needs of the present study, is illustrated below.

Chi-Square Test			
Observed			
Linguistic devices	Dated	Contemporary	Total
Institutionalized iNT	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B6: C6)
Non-institutionalized INT	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B7: C7)
Other lexical devices	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B8: C8)
Formal repetition	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B9: C9)
Semantic Repetition	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B10: C10)
Negative Construction	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B11: C11)
Combo & Particles	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B12: C12)
Omission	xxx	xxx	=SUM(B13: C13)
Total	xxx	xxx	=SUM(D6: D13)
Expected			
Linguistic devices	Dated	Contemporary	Total
Institutionalized iNT	=D6*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D6*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B18: C18)
Non-institutionalized INT	=D7*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D7*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B19: C19)
Other lexical devices	=D8*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D8*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B20: C20)
Reduplication	=D9*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D9*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B21: C21)
Semantic Repetition	=D10*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D10*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B22: C22)
Negative Construction	=D11*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D11*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B23: C23)
Combo & Particles	=D12*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D12*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B24: C24)
Omission	=D13*\$B\$13/\$D\$13	=D13*\$C\$13/\$D\$13	=SUM(B25: C25)
Total	0.00	=SUM(C18: C25)	
p-Value	=CHITEST(B6: C13, B18: C25)		
Number of Rows (R)	xx		
Number of Column (C)	xx		
Degree of Freedom	=(B29-1)*(B30-1)		
Alpha	.xx		
Critical Value	=CHIINV(B32, B31)		
Chi-Square statistics	=CHIINV(B28, B31)		
Decision	=IF(B28<B32, "Reject Null Hypothesis", "Do not Reject Null Hypothesis")		

(Adapted from Peechavanich 2004: 481)

Figure 10 Calculation sheet for the chi-square test

For the formula to work, the frequency numbers have to be keyed into the cells marked with 'xxx'. Then the numbers of rows and columns need to be entered, followed by the value of the alpha (usually 0.05 for research in humanities). The program will subsequently generate the results, as follows.

Translators	Time		Participants		Types of discourse	
	Dated	Contemp.	UC	LC	Narrative	Dialogue
Dr. Sa-nguansri Kanthavichian	✓	-	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ms. Waleeporn Wangsuekul	-	✓	-	✓	✓	✓
Ms. Montharat Songpao	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

*UC = Upper class; LC = Lower Class

Table 12 The translator's exposure to different ST variables

In addition to their experience, the reason for interviewing Sa-nguansri Kanthavichian and Waleeporn Wangsuekul was also due to the fact that both had translated the works selected as part of the corpus, i.e. *Brideshead Revisited* and *A Bend in the Road*. On top of that, Dr. Sa-nguansri Kanthavichian is a scholar who is highly prolific in the English language and taught translation at the university level, while Waleeporn Wangsuekul is an award-winning translator who had translated numerous fiction works, including *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (2000).

The third translator, Ms. Montharat Songpao did not translate any fiction in the corpus but is selected for interview based on her skills and extensive experience in fiction translation. At the time of writing this thesis, she has already translated over 40 novels of different sub-genres ranging from chick-lit¹¹ and children literature to detective and historical novels. She is an established translator and is usually assigned to translate the unputdownable collection by a leading publishing house in Thailand.

With an aim to probe the hypotheses about the types of context motivating the translator's decision in intensifier translation, the interview was designed with three different parts: a set of general questions, a translation test, and a sample translation to elicit the translator's retrospection (see Appendix A for sample interview questions). In the beginning, questions were asked so the translator could reflect on how the temporal context (dated vs. contemporary), the context of

¹¹ Chick-lit refers to a genre of fiction written for and targeting young women, especially single working women in their twenties and thirties. It features stylish female protagonists in urban settings, and follows their love lives and career struggles. 'Chick' is an American slang for young women, and 'lit' is short for 'literature.' (Wikipedia 2008)

participants (e.g. characters from upper vs. lower class) and the types of discourse (narration vs. dialogue) may affect the translator's linguistic choice. After that, the translators were asked to carry out a small test (e.g. how do you translate "I am so very angry"?) with a short description of context provided. The test is easy so the translator should be able to produce the answer over the top of her head. The aim is not to test the translator's competence but to see how the context may have motivated the translator's decision. Lastly, the translators were asked to look at some examples of their own translation, and then asked to describe why they made such decision e.g. omitting intensification from the TT.

The interview, which took one to two hours, was carried out separately with each translator at her convenience. Permission for recording was obtained from the interviewees, except for Dr. Sa-nguansri Kanthavichian who maintained that she was not comfortable with the presence of a recorder.

3.7 Summary

This chapter describes the procedures in which the research was carried out: the corpus design, data extraction and analyses, and the interview with the professional translators.

In designing the corpus, several factors need to be taken into consideration, and criteria were laid out for the selection of English texts and the translation in the corpus. The English texts need to be in the same genre, to be recognized internationally, to contain a substantial amount of intensifiers, and to carry the contextual features under investigation. The translation must be translated by a well-qualified translator within a 20-year period, and is not a product of re-arrangement, which often results in a great deal of omission. These criteria made it difficult for the selection process, since the presence of one of the above conditions would bring about the exclusion of the work from the corpus. The corpus was selected based on stratified sampling, modeled to test out the third hypothesis that postulates that the temporal factor (dated/contemporary), the participants (upper/lower class), and the types of discourse (narration/dialogue), would affect the translator's selection of intensifying devices in Thai.

The software used in the data extraction was Microsoft Word Optical Character Recognition (OCR), Antconc, and Microsoft Excel. The data was classified in terms of linguistic processes. The contextual variables were identified, classified, and counted. Percentage was calculated, then chi-square tests were carried out.

Finally, an interview was carried out with three professional translators, Dr. Sa-nguansri Kanthavichian, Ms. Waleeporn Wangsuekul, and Ms. Montharat Songpao. All of the translators have been exposed to the works of fiction with the contextual features under investigation. The interview questions were designed mainly to test out the third hypothesis.

The last section, the interview section (3.6), describes the translator's profile, their exposure to the texts with different contextual configurations, and how the interview questions were designed to get the translator to reflect on how the temporal context (dated vs. contemporary), the context of participants (e.g. characters from upper vs. lower class) and the types of discourse (narration vs. dialogue) may affect the translator's linguistic choice. The translator was also asked to complete a small translation test with a short description of context provided.

In the next chapter, the linguistic realizations found in the translation of the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* will be presented to answer the first research question: what are the linguistic representations used in the translation of the English intensifiers *so*, *very*, and *really* into Thai?

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CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSLATION OF *VERY*, *SO*, AND *REALLY*

This chapter presents the findings from the corpus in answering the research questions on the linguistic realizations used in the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*. It is divided into two sections. The first section (4.1) gives the reader a general overview of the corpus data. The second section (4.2) provides a detailed account of the linguistic processes found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*, from the lexical processes to morpho-syntactico-phonological processes and phonological process in final particles.

4.1 The Data

From the self-constructed corpus of 12 fictions, the adverbs *very*, *so*, and *really* in their intensifying and emphasizing functions were extracted. In general, they involve the structure of INTENSIFIER + ADJECTIVE/ADVERB in both predicative (as in ‘it was *very sunny*’) and attributive positions (as in ‘a *very small* woman’). Below is a summary of the syntactic patterns of the intensifiers under investigation.

Intensifier	Syntactic patterns	Examples
<i>very</i>	<i>very</i> + adjective <i>very</i> + adverb	‘he was <i>very doubtful</i> about this’ ‘she turned <i>very slowly</i> indoors’
<i>so</i>	<i>so</i> + adjective <i>so</i> + adverb <i>so</i> + verb	‘it is <i>so dull</i> ’ ‘I felt <i>so strongly</i> about what happened’ ‘I <i>so wanted</i> to see you’
<i>really</i>	<i>really</i> + adjective <i>really</i> + verb	‘she was a <i>really nice</i> woman’ ‘I <i>really appreciate</i> it’

Table 13 Syntactic patterns of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

The following cases were therefore excluded from the analyses (see 3.2.2 for a detailed account of exclusion):

- The pattern *SO* + ADJ/ADV followed by THAT or elliptical THAT (as in *a sadness so unbearable she had nothing to compare it to*).
- The pattern *VERY* + NOUN (as in *the very edge of her throat*),
- *REALLY* in initial or final position (as in *Really, you're beginning to sound exactly like your father* or *Oh, I suppose it's none of my business really*).
- Intensifiers with *not* (e.g. *It was not very nice weather*.)

However, samples with double intensification (e.g. *so very nice*) or the repetition of intensifiers (*really, really bad*) are included in the corpus, as they give an insight as to how double intensification is conveyed in the target text (TT). The total number of concordance lines with the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* after the above cases were excluded from the corpus is given in the following table.

<i>Intensifier</i>	<i>Freq.</i>
<i>very</i>	1,388
<i>so</i>	1,549
<i>really</i>	654
Total	3,591

Table 14 Number of concordance lines containing the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

It should be pointed out here that not all of the source text (ST) intensifying forms are translated by the translator. In fact, some of them are not translated *at all*, leaving a gap of intensification in the target text (TT). In other words, no trace of intensification is found in the corresponding TL sentence, nor in the vicinity of it. This phenomenon is called 'omission'. In general, omission is defined as "[t]he intentional or unintentional non-inclusion of an ST element or meaning aspect in the TT" (Munday 2009: 213). In this case, the term is used here to refer to the case in which the intensifying element of the ST is missing from the TT. Below are some examples that typify the case of omission.

(1) ST: I have some **very good** news.

TT: "ฉัน มี ข่าว ดี จะ มา บอก ละ"

chan4 mii0 khaawl dii0 ca0 maa0 b@@k1 la2

'I have news good will come tell [SP¹²]

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

(2) ST: She's **so beautiful**, Magda.

TT: แมกดา เป็น คน สวย

mxxk3daa0 pen0 khon0 suuaj4

'Magda is person beautiful'

(*Bridget Jones' Diary*)

In both (1) and (2), the loss of intensification is evident: in the TT, *good news* is put in the place of the ST *very good news* and *beautiful* in the place of ST *so beautiful*. But it is not just the meaning that is being lost; omission often leads to the loss of expressivity and as a result, the equivalence effect. The excitement in (1) and personal musing (2) in the ST are not transferred to the TT. The translated sentences are reduced to the statements of fact, devoid of emotivity.

Explanations for the translator's omission can be offered, although the decision may not always be justified. In example (1), *very* occurs twice more in the co-text, which suggests intended intensification by the speaker.

I have some very₁ good news. Miranda was very₂ impressed with you and said she's very₃ much looking forward to working with you.

(*The Devil Wears Prada*, emphases mine)

The translation has been given as follows:

ฉัน มี ข่าว ดี จะ มา บอก ละ มิแรนดา ชอบ คุณ
chan4 mii0 khaawl dii0 ca0 maa0 b@@k1 la1 mi3rxxnda ch@@p2 khun0

¹² SP is abbreviated from 'Sentence Particle', a class of forms which frequently occur in the sentence-final position. As Cooke (1989) notes, they provide a wealth of options for emotive expressiveness.

‘I have news good to come tell [SP] Miranda like you
 มาก และ รอ วัน จะ ได้ ร่วมงาน กับ คุณ เลย
maak lx3 r@@0 wan0 ca1 daj2 ruuam2ngaan0 kap1 khun0 lqqj0
 much and wait day to get work together with you beyond’

In this case, it can be assumed that the omission of *very* in the translation of ‘*very* good news’ is motivated by the omnipresence of *very* in the immediate co-text. True, the translator can translate the first and second *very* with มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, but that would result in a stylistically heavy translation. For the noun phrase ข่าวดี /khaaw1 dii0/ ‘good news’, มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ or its reduplicated variation มาก ๆ /maak2 maak2/ ‘much much’ seem to be the most likely collocates; to intensify it using other intensifiers may sound bizarre. It seems possible that the translator may use another intensifier instead of มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ to modify ชอบ /ch@@p2/ ‘like’ (for example, เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’, จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’), yet if this is the case, the emotive effect produced may be far too strong in the translation. The translator is thus faced with a dilemma: to be faithful to the ST and keep to the intensifying element, or to adopt a communicative approach (see Newmark 1988 for a discussion on faithful and communicative translation) by keeping to the stylistic of the text and sacrifice the ST intensification for the sake of eloquence and naturalness. In this case, it seems the translator has chosen the communicative method and drop intensification to achieve natural speech style and to be concise.

In example (2), the ST *She’s so beautiful, Magda* is taken from Bridget Jones’ diary. It is written as if it were an afterthought, which is lost in the translation when the sentence is translated as an affirmative statement. The loss can be explained with regard to the function of the text. As the Bridget Jones’ Diary is a light-hearted novel and is intended to produce a humorous effect in the TT readership, the translator may deem it appropriate not to keep to the words of the original but to give way to the stylistic of the TT. As it appeared, the translation is more or less condensed with some of the elements deleted here and there, but is nonetheless comical and highly acclaimed as one of the bestsellers. To translate *She’s so beautiful, Magda* as เธอสวยเหลือเกิน แมกดา /thqq0 suuaj4 lqqj4 kqqn0

mxk3daa0/ literally ‘she beautiful excessively, Magda’ is perhaps stylistically heavy and not likely to produce humor as intended by the ST.

The cases of omission account for part of the data. The rate of omission is almost similar in the translation of *very* (13.98%) and *so* (15.82%), but is distinctly higher in the case of *really* (21.10%), as described in *Table 15*.

Intensifier	Translated	%	Omitted	%	Total Freq.	%
<i>very</i>	1,194	86.02	194	13.98	1,388	100
<i>so</i>	1,304	84.18	245	15.82	1,549	100
<i>really</i>	516	78.90	138	21.10	654	100
<i>Total</i>	<i>3,014</i>	<i>83.91</i>	<i>577</i>	<i>16.09</i>	<i>3,591</i>	<i>100</i>

Table 15 Frequency of transfer and omission in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

A plausible explanation for a higher frequency of omission in the case of *really* is that the intensifier still retains much of the truth-related sense. As a result, *really* tends to be translated into a variety of truth-related expressions especially จริง /cing/ ‘true’ and จริง ๆ /cing cing/ ‘true true.’ In fact, truth-attesting words account for 41.67% (215 tokens) of the total 516 translated entries. Because of the preconception that *really* is associated with the notion of truth, the translator then made an effort to transfer it with an equivalent truth-attesting expression. When this is difficult, if not impossible, for example, in the case where the TT stylistics would not allow, or the insertion of a truth expression is likely to disrupt the flow of the writing, the translator may deem it best to omit intensification from the TT, as in (3). To insert a truth expression and translate *I really think* as ดิฉันคิดอย่างแท้จริง /di0chan4 khit3 caang1 txx3 cing0/ or ดิฉันคิดจริง ๆ /di0chan4 khit3 cing0cing0/ would result in a heavy and unnatural translation.

(3) ST: [...] I **really** think I will wait no longer.

TT: ดิฉัน คิด ว่า จะ ไม่ รอ อีกแล้ว ค่ะ"

di1chan4 khit3 waa2 ca1 maj0 r@@0 ?iik1 lxxw3 kha2

'I think that [I] will not wait anymore [PP]¹³,

(*Tess of the D'Urbervilles*)

It can be observed that the ST *really* with an emphasizing function (*really* + verb) is likely to result in omission because it is perhaps more difficult to translate. This is evidenced by the corpus data; out of the total 139 cases of omission, 110 is generated by the ST pattern of *really* + verb, while only 29 involve *really* + adjective.

Apart from the case of *really*, omission of the ST intensifying element in the TT is also found to take place if the ST involves: (1) a series of adjectives, and (2) in formulaic expressions. In the vicinity of several adjectives, the information presented is packed, thereby leaving no room for intensification. An example is given in (4).

(4) ST: A pair of **very soft**, clean glistening black shoes [...]

TT: รองเท้า สี ดำ มัน วับ หนึ่ง นุ่ม สะอาด เยี่ยม

r@@ng0thaw3 sii4 dam0 man0 wap3 nang4 num2 sa0?aat1 ?iiam1

'shoe color black shiny flashy leather soft clean new

คู่ หนึ่ง

khuu1 nvng1

pair one'

(*Possession: A Romance*)

When *very* modifies a string of adjectives, it is often difficult to determine, even for a native speaker, whether it modifies the first adjective only or the whole string (Rogers 2007, personal communication). In this case, it seems that the translator has the liberty of interpretation whether to apply intensification to only the

¹³ PP stands for Politeness Particle, a kind of sentence particles which mainly serves to convey politeness or respect towards the hearer. They are divided according to the sex of the speaker: *ค่ะ* /kha2/ and related forms for female; *ครับ* /khrap3/ for male. Both are used in somewhat formal situations (Cooke 1989: 9).

first adjective or every adjective in the series. In example (4), however, *very* is found to modify only two adjectives in the translation, that is, *clean* and *glistening*, but not *soft* and *black*, although *soft* is in its immediate vicinity. This is probably because to intensify *all* adjectives will bring about a string of modification that is too long and stylistically heavy.

It should be noted here that with a sequence of adjectives, English-to-Thai translation often starts with the item closest to noun and proceeds leftward to the first adjective. The translation in (4) proceeds in this order, although there is a swap in position between *clean* and *soft*. The adjectives are rendered as *หนังนุ่มสะอาดเอี่ยม* /*nang4 num2 sa0?aat1 ?iiam4/* ‘leather soft clean new’ where the order should be reverse if it strictly adheres to the right-to-left rule.

In formulaic utterances such as greetings, compliments, or apologies, omission can also be observed in the translation. Sentences such as ‘I am *very well*’, ‘I’m *very sorry*’, ‘It’s *very nice* to see you’, ‘That’s *very kind* of you’, or ‘Thanks *so much*’, when rendered into Thai, sometimes lose the intensifying element. In other words, the sense of intensification is not there anymore, as in (5).

(5) ST: ‘Ah, I’m *very glad* to hear it.

TT: อ้อ ยินดี ที่ได้ ทราบ เช่น นั้น ครับ

‘?@@4 jin0dii0 thii2 daj2 saap2 chen2 nan3 khrap3’

‘Ah happy to get know like that [PP]’

(*The Remains of the Day*)

A plausible explanation can be found in Dahl (2004: 124), who explains how an intensifier may be weakened, but at the same time becomes obligatory. For example, one says ‘You’re *very kind*’ and not simply ‘You’re kind’. In this case, the non-use of intensifier becomes marked. It is possible that the translator has noted the weakened force of the intensifier in ST formulaic expressions and has decided that TT intensification is not needed.

Because the focus of this research is on the translated forms of the three English intensifiers, omission or zero-forms then fall outside the scope of the study.

In the section that follows, the three linguistic processes found in the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* will be presented, from the lexical processes to the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes and the phonological processes in the final particles.

4.2 The Linguistic Processes Found in the Translation of the Intensifiers *Very*, *So*, and *Really*

From the data, three major linguistic processes have been identified:

1. The lexical processes
2. The morpho-syntactico-phonological processes,
3. The phonological process in final particles.

The first category, **the lexical processes**, involves the intensifying lexical items that have become conventionalized. They are not generative. Intensifiers, semantic expressions, and deictics fall into this class. Another distinctive feature that characterizes the lexical processes is the fact that they involve one-to-one relationship; the meaning of the source language (SL) intensifier is mapped into one single corresponding lexical item in the target language (TL).

Contrary to the lexical processes, the **morpho-syntactico-phonological processes** involve the linguistic devices that are generative. They are largely non-conventionalized, and can be produced out of the translator/language user's creativity. This class subsumes the process of repetition with regard to the repetition of form (e.g. reduplication), the repetition of meaning (e.g. semantic doublets), and other combinations of devices, which mean that more than one devices can add up on top of one another to produce intensification. As it includes syntactic devices, negative constructions also fall in this category. The morpho-syntactico-phonological processes therefore involve one-to-many relationship; the SL intensifier is rendered with more than one linguistic device in the TL.

The last category, the **phonological process** involves the use of prosodies superimposed on sentence particles (SPs), small words put at the end of a phrase or sentence to add illocutionary force, emphasis, or emotional meaning to the utterance.

The frequency of occurrences of the three linguistic processes found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really* is given in the following table.

<i>Linguistic processes</i>	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes (see <i>Table 17</i> for details)	563	47.15	602	46.17	195	37.79
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes (see <i>Table 33</i>)	616	51.59	688	52.76	281	54.46
Phonological process in final particles	15	1.26	14	1.07	40	7.75
Total	1,194	100	1,304	100	516	100

Table 16 Frequency of the linguistic processes found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

The frequency of occurrences in *Table 16* shows a similarity between *very* and *so*, both having the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes as the highest ranking (51.59% and 52.76%), followed by the lexical processes (47.15% and 46.17%) and phonological process (1.26% and 1.07%). Similar rankings can be observed for *really*, but the figures are different. The reason for a much lower frequency for the lexical processes in *really* (37.79%) is probably due to the fact that the meaning of *really* is truth-related and is therefore restricted to truth expressions, thus putting a restriction on the lexical variety as well as lexical density. Instead, *really* exhibits a slightly greater frequency for the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes (54.46%); a possible explanation is that *really* tends to be translated with the reduplication ခဉ်း ခ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’ (146 tokens, 28.29%), which is essentially a morphological process. But as regards the phonological process, *really* is much higher than *very* and *so* at 7.75%. Again, the possible reason could be due to the truth-attesting meaning of *really* which limits the range of corresponding expressions in the TL. Fitting a truth expression into the TT presents a potential difficulty, as it may result in an awkward translation. Therefore, the translator sometimes opts for sentence particles, which explains a higher rate in the phonological category.

(6) ST: 'You *really* ought to hurry up and get sprogged up

TT: "เธอ รีบ ๆ แต่งงาน ได้ แล้ว นะ

thq0 riip2 ripp2 txxng1ngaan0 daaj2 lxxw3 na3

'you hurry hurry marry get already [SP]'

(*Bridget Jones' Diary*)

In (6), to translate *really* into its equivalent expressions e.g. จริง ๆ /cing0cing0/ or อย่างแท้จริง /caang1 txx3 cing0/ is likely to result in a style that is clumsy and not speech-like. In this case, the translator substitutes the truth expressions with the emphatic particle นะ /na3/, which fits better to the translation of dialogue, to preserve the ST intensity.

The difficulty in finding an appropriate corresponding expression for *really* is also reflected in a greater frequency of omission, as noted earlier in 4.1.

In the sections that follow, the three linguistic processes will be described in greater detail, from the lexical to morpho-syntactico-phonological and phonological processes.

4.2.1 The Lexical Processes

The lexical processes are defined here as processes in which a TL lexicalized form or expression is selected by the translator to be mapped with the SL intensifier. There are three sub-classes, which are:

1. Intensifiers
2. Semantic metaphorical expressions
3. Deictics

The first sub-class, **intensifiers**, involves a word or a group of words that scale up a quality or state. In many cases, an intensifier is drawn from other semantic fields grounded in human experience, which perhaps explains its metaphorical nature. A case in point can be found in /maak2/ 'much-many', originally an expression of quantity (see *the Royal Institute Dictionary of Thai* 1999) which suggests that it is derived from the visual field and is related to the human ability for quantification. The use of มาก /maak2/ 'much-many' has long been extended to

modification of quality e.g. สวยมาก /suuaj4 maak2/ ‘beautiful much’, although *the Royal Institute Dictionary of Thai* (1999; from now on, RIDT) does not account for this usage.

The second category, **semantic metaphorical expressions**, subsumes expressions that evoke images and sense impressions. They connote an additional layer of meaning and involve a departure from the literal sense. Similar to intensifiers, semantic expressions are metaphorical in nature. In addition, this category involves a replacement of the ST intensification pattern with a TT expression, to put it roughly, “the way they say it in the target culture.”

The last group, **deictics**, is defined as words with a reference point which is speaker or writer dependent, and is determined by the speaker’s or writer’s position in space and time (Renkema 1993: 76). In linguistics, deixis is generally classified into space deixis (*this, that, this, those, here, there*), person (*I, he she*), and time (*yesterday, here, now*). In the data, deictic constructions fall in the category of space deixis, and is typical to the translation of *so* (9.63%). The following table presents the frequency data of the three lexical processes.

Linguistic realizations of the lexical processes	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Intensifiers (<i>Table 18</i>)	547	97.16	514	85.38	188	96.41
Semantic metaphorical expressions	14	2.49	30	4.98	7	3.59
Deictics	2	0.35	58	9.63	-	-
<i>Total</i>	563	100	602	100	195	100

Table 17 Lexical processes found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

Of the three lexical processes, intensifiers are the most preferred choice among the translator, while semantic metaphorical expressions represent only a tiny fraction. It is worth noting, however, that the latter occurs nearly twice as much in the translation of *so* (4.98%) as *very* and *really* (2.49% and 3.59% respectively). A possible explanation is that *so* is related to the speaker’s personal experience. This probably triggers the translator’s cognitive schemata, encouraging him/her to map

the meaning with a translation that is figurative and conforms more to the target culture. For deictics, the figure is distinctively high in the case of *so*, while it is almost non-existent for *very* and *really*. This perhaps confirms the fact that *so* is very much related to a given experience; the speaker positions himself as being in contact with a given experience or situation and expresses his psychological proximity towards the experience or situation through the use of indexical devices such as *นี้* /nii3/ ‘this’ and *นั้น* /nan3/ ‘that’. For example,

(7) ST: I'm very sorry it's taken *so long*

TT: ฉัน ขอโทษ จริง ๆ ค่ะ ที่ เสีย เวลา นาน ขนาด นี้
chan4 kh@@4thot2 cing0 cing0 kha2 thii2 siia4 wee0laa0 naan0 kha0naat1 nii3
 ‘I apologize true true [PP] that waste time long size this

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

The use of deictic *ขนาดนี้* /kha0naat1 nii2/ ‘this size’ in (7) reflects the speaker’s view of the situation as being psychologically proximate. By pointing out that a situation is ‘near’ in space and time, the speaker is giving importance to it. In this sense, deixis has the function of emphasis and intensification.

In the next sections, each of the lexical processes will be described, from intensifiers to semantic expressions and deictics.

4.2.1.1 Intensifiers

Under the intensifiers heading, three types of intensifiers have been identified in the corpus:

1. Restricted intensifiers
2. Non-restricted intensifiers
3. Implicit superlative intensifiers

These three sub-classes of intensifiers are described in the following.

The first category, **restricted intensifier**, refers to an intensifier that is restricted to certain words; in other words, it can collocate with a small set of items. Haas (1946) calls it a ‘restricted modifier’ and notes that it involves “special lexical elements used in conjunction with only one, or rarely two or three words in

the language” (p.127). For example, the word เฉียบ /chiiap1/ ‘sharp’ as a restricted intensifier can follow verbs such as เย็น /jen0/ ‘cold’ or บาง /baang0/ ‘thin’, to mean ‘very cold’ and ‘very thin’. But it cannot follow other verbs such as ร้อน /r@@@n3/ ‘hot’, หนา /naa4/ ‘thick’, or ช้า /chaa4/ ‘slow’. The group is perhaps comparable to Jespersen (1956)’s class of English adjective-subjuncts, which involves set phrases such as *devilish annoyed*, *cruel rich*, *real wicked*. The restriction of lexical items to a small number of combinations is referred to by Partington (1993: 180) as ‘linguistic fossilization’.

A **non-restricted intensifier**, on the contrary, is defined as an intensifier which is not restricted in terms of co-occurrences, and as a result, can modify a wide range of items. ทีเดีย /thii0 diiaw0/ ‘once’ is a case of point. It can collocate with verbs/adjectives carrying positive or negative connotation, e.g. สวย /suuaj4/ ‘beautiful’, ดี /dii0/ ‘good’, เลว /lew0/ ‘bad’, อารมณ์เสีย /?aa0rom0 siia4/ ‘lose temper’.

The last category, **implicit superlative intensifier**, consists of words that are confined to the negative or positive extremes of the scale. The term ‘implicit superlative’ is derived from Cruse (1986, 2000), who gives an example of *size*, which is associated not only with the antonym pair *large: small*, but also with *huge: tiny* and *enormous: minute*. This category differs from the non-restricted and restricted intensifiers in the sense that the implicit superlative intensifiers have the *extreme* meaning inherent in the lexical unit (e.g. มหา /ma0hv1maa0/ ‘gigantic’). In the restricted and non-restricted types, intensification falls on the intensifying element (e.g. เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’) which is a unit separable from the predicate or a quality (e.g. ใหญ่ /jaj1/ ‘big’).

The frequency of the three types of intensifiers is given as follows.

<i>Types of intensifiers</i>	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Restricted intensifiers	27	4.94	15	2.92	6	3.19
Non-restricted intensifiers (See <i>Table 19</i> for sub-categories)	466	85.19	433	84.24	171	90.96
Implicit superlative intensifiers	54	9.87	66	12.84	11	5.85
<i>Total</i>	547	100	514	100	188	100

Table 18 Frequency of the three types of intensifiers found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From *Table 18*, the non-restricted intensifiers are the most frequent of the three types of intensifiers in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*, although the figure is slightly higher in *really* (90.96%). For the restricted type, *very* has the highest frequency (4.94%), while *so* has the lowest (2.92%). The implicit superlative intensifiers figure the highest in the translation of *so* (12.84%), probably due to the fact that *so* is more intense in meaning, and this may have motivated the translator to look for an extreme expression. The low number of implicit superlative intensifiers in *really* (5.85%) may be explained in terms of the translator's preference of truth-related meaning of *really*, which makes him/her fail to take into account implicit superlative intensifiers as another possibility.

The next section presents the findings on restricted intensifiers. It is followed by non-restricted intensifiers, which is the largest intensifier category. Their lexical meaning and the metaphorical nature of these intensifiers will be discussed with regard to the cognitive aspect of intensification.

4.2.1.1.1 Restricted Intensifiers

Restricted intensifiers are not frequently found in the corpus, with 27 tokens (4.94%) in the translation of *very*, 15 tokens (2.92%) in *so*, and 6 tokens (3.19%) in *really*. From the data, restricted intensifiers can be classified into four groups (for a list of restricted intensifiers found in the corpus, see Appendix B). They are described as follows:

- a) Restricted intensifiers that involve sound symbolism
- b) Restricted intensifiers that add more information to the predicate
- c) Restricted intensifiers that involve metaphorical extension
- d) Restricted intensifiers that suggest attitudinal stance of the speaker

It should be pointed out here that each type is not exclusive of one another. In other words, a restricted intensifier can be classified into more than one type. For example, the word ดึ /ʔvʋ4/ ‘dark’ in เขียวดึ /khiiaw4 ʔvʋ4/ ‘dark green’ may involve sound symbolism but it also gives additional information about the type of green.

a) Restricted intensifiers involving sound symbolism

Some restricted intensifiers involve the high tone (tone 3) and rising tone (tone 4), for example:

แบน <u>แต่</u>	/bxxn0 <u>txx4</u> /	‘absolutely flat’	(ST: <i>very flat</i>)
แหลม <u>ปรี๊ด</u>	/lxxm4 <u>priit3</u> /	‘piercing shrill’	(ST: <i>very high-pitched</i>)
เขียว <u>ดึ</u>	/khiiaw4 ʔvʋ4/	‘dark green’	(ST: <i>very distinct green</i>)
บาง <u>จ้อย</u>	/baang0 <u>c@@@j4</u> /	‘exceedingly thin’	(ST: <i>very sheer</i>)

Because these tones involve the high pitch in the Thai language, they are likely to be associated with semantic intensity. In this regard, it may be said that these intensifiers are sound symbolism; the high and rising tones suggest the semantic content of the word, that is, extremity.

b) Restricted Intensifiers Adding Extra Information to the Predicate

Some restricted intensifiers add more referential information to the headword they modify. This is often the case with colour terms, to which the restricted intensifiers give semantic content as to the shade or intensity.

ดำ <u>เข้ม</u>	/dam0 <u>khem2</u> /	‘intense black’	(ST: <i>very dark</i>)
ฟ้า <u>สด</u>	/faa3 <u>sot1</u> /	‘bright blue’	(ST: <i>very blue</i>)
แดง <u>กำ</u>	/dxxng0 <u>kam1</u> /	‘deep red’	(ST: <i>very red</i>)
ขาว <u>โพลน</u>	/khaaw4 <u>ploon0</u> /	‘stark white’	(ST: <i>very white</i>)

The extra information is derived from the context. For example, แดงกำ /dxxng0 kam1/ ‘deep red’¹⁴ are selected vis-à-vis the description of eyes and face, especially when the described person is being drunk. ขาวโพลน /khaaw4 ploon0/ ‘stark white’ is chosen with regard to the description of skin color; in other contexts, e.g. *he went very white*, ซีดขาว /siit2 khaaw4/ ‘pale white’ may be more suitable.

c) Restricted Intensifiers Involving Metaphorical Extension

As noted earlier, intensification involves the transfer of meaning from another semantic field. This is also evident in some of the restricted items. For example,

(8) ST: Well, it's *so different*.

TT: "เหม ก็ มัน ต่างกัน ลิบลับ นี้ คะ
 mxx4 k@@@2 man0 taang1kan0 lip3lap3 nii2 kha3
 ‘Well then it differs remotely this [PP]

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

In (8), the expression ลิบลับ /lip3lap3/ ‘remotely’ originates from the semantic field of sight and distance, as in ไกลลิบลับ /klaj0 lip3lap3/ ‘remotely far’ (RIDT). According to Bradley (1873/1971), the word ลิบ /lip3/ is synonymous to ไกล /klaj0/ ‘far’. His *Dictionary of the Siamese Language* describes ลิบลับ /lip3lap3/ as involving an object that is “seen from afar and then gone out of sight”, for example, a small star. The intensifying usage of ลิบลับ /lip3lap3/ ‘remotely’, once established, has been further extended to modify the expression of difference, though the range of collocations is still limited. The same phenomenon can be observed with งอมแงม /ng@@@m0 ngxxm0/ in (9)

¹⁴ The word กำ /kam1/ is now described as an intensifier which means ‘intensely’ (Garden and Wannapok 2008). But in early usage, the word has the meaning of ‘deep red’, just like “the sun in the evening” (Bradley 1873/1971).

(9) ST: Love the nation being *so addicted*.

TT: ชอบ ัง ที่ คน ติด เรื่อง นี้ กัน งามแงม

ch@@p2 cang0 thii2 khon0 tit1 rvvang2 nii3 kan0 ng@@m0ngxxm0

‘like greatly that people addict story this too chronically’

(*Bridget Jones’ Diary*)

The RIDT defines งามแงม /ng@@m0 ngxxm0/ as ‘difficult to give up; difficult to solve; difficult to cure’, and modern usages include its collocating with expressions such as เป็นหวัด /pen0 wat1/ ‘have a flu’. But in fact, the intensifier is derived from the description of fruit. Bradley (1873/1971) defines งาม /ng@@m0/ as ‘ripe, to the point of becoming rotten’, and งามแงม /ng@@m0 ngxxm0/ is described as ‘a symptom of a very old person, who cannot go very far’. Thus, the expression has undergone a change in semantic meaning, from the sense of being ‘over-ripe’ to the physical condition of being ‘old and frail’. The sense of frailty is then extended as it modifies expressions such as เป็นหวัด /pen0 wat1/ ‘came down with a flu’. In this usage, the expression probably adopts the meaning of ‘chronically, ongoing, and is difficult to cure’. This new meaning results in the patterning of งามแงม /ng@@m0 ngxxm0/ with the verb ติด /tit1/ ‘addicted to’ (e.g. gambling), where the expression comes to be interpreted as an intensifier comparable to the English *utterly* or *terribly* (Garden and Wannapok 2008).

d) Restricted Intensifiers that Suggest the Attitudinal Stance of the Speaker

Some restricted intensifiers clearly express the speaker’s opinion or attitudinal stance. In (10), พิลึก /pi3lvk3/ ‘strange’ implies the speaker’s aversion to the cold, while ชวนใจ /juuan0 caaj0/ ‘tempting’ in (11) suggests personal liking on the part of the narrator. These intensifiers are derived from the translator’s interpretation of the co-text and context.

(10) ST: "Oo, it will be *so cold!*

TT: "อูว์... มัน คง หนาว พิลึก" เธอ พูด
 ?uu0 man0 khong0 naaw4 phi3lvk3 thqq0 phuut2
 ‘?uu0 it may cold strange’ she said

(*Sons and Lovers*)

(11) ST: and crepes that arrived smelling *so good*.

TT: และ เครป ที่ มา พร้อม กลิ่น หอม ยวนใจ
 lxx3 khrep3 thii2 maa0 phr@@m3 klin1 h@@m4 juuan0 caj0
 ‘and crepe that come with smell good tempting’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

4.2.1.1.2 Non-Restricted Intensifiers

Non-restricted intensifiers are characterized by their ability to collocate with a wider range of verbs, adjectives, or adverbs; their collocatability is acquired through repeated use. Under the non-restricted intensifier heading, two sub-classes have been identified:

1. Conventionalized intensifiers
2. Non-conventionalized intensifiers

They are described in the following.

A **conventionalized intensifier** is defined here as an intensifier that have become a core item in the system of intensification. The intensifier has been used repeatedly, to the point that it has entered the bilingual dictionaries as the corresponding equivalent. In this sense, the intensifier has become conventionalized, officially accepted by the grammarians. To put it simply, a conventionalized intensifier is an ‘established’ equivalent of the ST intensifier.

The term ‘**non-conventionalized intensifiers**’, on the other hand, is used here to refer to the non-restricted intensifiers outside the conventionalized category. These intensifiers tend to be more emotive than the conventionalized ones. Some of them may have a positive or negative connotation as well as a positive or

negative collocational preference. Together they form a repertoire of intensification lexicon of a language user.

The distinction between conventionalized and non-conventionalized intensifiers runs parallel with the concept put forward by Dahl (2004), who uses the terms ‘standard’ vs. ‘strong’ intensification in the context of grammaticalization. Standard intensification is generally a one-member niche and exists in many languages, e.g. French *très*, German *sehr*, Russian *очень*, while the strong group embraces other intensifiers. Dahl notes that within the strong group there is a constant fight between two or more forms, which results either with the loser fading away, or with a ‘total or partial division of labour’ between the two items (Dahl 2004: 139).

The frequency of occurrences of conventionalized and non-conventionalized intensifiers in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really* is given in *Table 19*.

<i>Categories of non-restricted intensifiers</i>	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Conventionalized intensifiers	290	62.23	100	23.09	108	63.16
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	176	37.77	333	76.91	63	36.84
<i>Total</i>	466	100	433	100	171	100

Table 19 Categories of non-restricted intensifiers found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

The frequency of conventionalized and non-conventionalized intensifiers reflects the degree of expressivity of the intensifiers under investigation. Conventionalized intensifiers are found to be highest in the translation of *really* (63.16%), followed by that of *very* (62.23%), while *so* records only 23.09%. However, the non-conventionalized group is distinctively higher for *so*, at 76.91%, while it is only 37.77% for *very* and 36.84% for *really*. The higher frequency of non-conventionalized intensifiers and lower frequency of conventionalized intensifiers found in the translation of *so* correlate perhaps to the stronger intensity suggested by the intensifier *so*.

Before going into detail on each category of the non-restricted intensifiers, it is worth mentioning the lexical variety generated by the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*. Altogether, there are 131 types of the non-restricted intensifiers. *Table 20* describes the lexical variety in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

ST Intensifiers	Number of types found (N=131)
<i>very</i>	71
<i>so</i>	85
<i>really</i>	47

Table 20 Number of types of non-restricted intensifiers found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From the data, *so* shows the greatest lexical variety, with 85 types. *Very* produces 71 types, while *really* is the least lexically diverse, with 47 types.

In the sections that follow, conventionalized and non-conventionalized items will be examined, with emphasis given to the analysis of lexical meaning of the Thai intensifiers and how they form the semantic network of intensification.

a) Conventionalized intensifiers

As noted earlier, a conventionalized intensifier is an intensifier that has attained an institutional status, but at the same time has lost emotional emphasis. In the case of *very*, and *so*, the common conventionalized intensifier is มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’. RIDT gives examples of คนมาก /khon0 maak2/ ‘many people’ and น้ำมาก /naam3 maak2/ ‘much water’, which suggests that the term is primarily a quantity expression. However, as can be observed from the corpus and from general usage, มาก /maak2/ has also been used in verb/adjective modification. In this case, it may be suggested that the term involves a metaphorical extension, having undergone a crossover in the semantic field, from modification of concrete description (quantity) to intensification of abstraction (quality). มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ and its variations (e.g. ใจมาก /jaang1 maak2/, ใจมาก /juu1 maak2/) are found to be most frequent in the translation of *very* (290 tokens or 62.23%), followed by *really* (45 tokens or 26.32%) and *so* (100 tokens or 23.09%).

Apart from มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, there are other conventionalized intensifiers but they occur exclusively in the translation of *really*. They are truth-related items such as จริง /cing0/ ‘true’, แน่ /nxx2/ ‘certain’, ที่แท้จริง /thii2 thxx3 cing0/ - อย่างแท้จริง /jaang1 thxx3 cing0/ ‘in reality’, ที่จริงแล้ว /thii2 cing0 lxxw3/ ‘actually.’ These items are documented in the bilingual dictionaries (e.g. Thongsopit 1985, Sethaputra 1999, Oxford Riverbook English-Thai Dictionary 2001), their lexical meaning triggered by the etymological origin of the English intensifier *really* which is used to emphasize the truth or correctness of an epithet or statement. The ‘truth’ here comes from the speaker, and by stressing that something is true, s/he is being emphatic about it.

b) Non-conventionalized intensifiers

A non-conventionalized intensifier refers to a non-restricted intensifier that does not belong to the conventionalized group; it tends to be more emotive than its conventionalized counterpart. As it turns out, the three intensifiers exhibit a great diversity as regards non-conventionalized intensifiers; an investigation of their lexical meaning reveals an interesting pattern of intensification in the Thai language, and also how it can be explained in terms of human experience. In this research, it is proposed that these intensifying lexes be analyzed within a **paradigm of metaphor**, as metaphor is a means of conceptualizing experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Generally speaking, metaphor involves the transference of meaning, a mechanism for deriving one meaning of a word from another (Leech 1969: 148). This is what Leech calls ‘rules of transference’, and he proposes a general formula: ‘the figurative sense F may replace the literal sense L if F is related to L in such-and-such a way’ (ibid.). According to Leech, literal and metaphorical usages are two ends of a scale, rather than clear-cut categories (p.147). He quotes Emerson’s dictum ‘Language is fossil poetry’, noting that the poet draws attention to the fact that the expressive power of everyday language largely resides in countless ‘dead’ metaphors. (ibid.). Clearly, this is the case with intensification. The meaning of non-restricted intensifiers involves the transference of meaning from another semantic field, and sometimes the transference is so complete that the literal sense

tends to be forgotten, if not dominated by the intensifying use. Examples can be found in quite a few verb/ adjective modifiers such as ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’, จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’.

From a cognitive linguistic viewpoint, metaphor is grounded in the basic human experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Since linguistic meaning is an event of activating tactile, olfactory, visual, aural, proximal, haptic expressions as well as other signs (Ruthrof 1997: 51), and since intensification involves metaphorical extension, non-restricted intensifiers are potentially derived from the six senses: sight, hearing, feeling, taste, smell, and mental perception. Through sight, one counts, quantifies, and sizes things up. The lexical items used in measurement are then extended to the description of feelings and emotions. Thus, the expressions of quantity and number can be said to constitute the most basic means of intensification.

The non-restricted intensifiers found in this research work will be classified into the following semantic domains based on their semantic categories.

Domain of quantity and number

Domain of boundary and beyond

Domain of visual and physical experience

Domain of truth, authenticity, and certainty

Domain of repeated action

The frequency of these non-restricted intensifiers found in each semantic domain is given in the following table.

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

The semantic domains of non-restricted intensifiers in Thai	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Domain of quantity and number	296	66.82	113	30.05	47	29.38
Domain of boundary and beyond (See <i>Table 22</i>)	81	18.28	210	55.85	24	15.00
Domain of visual and physical experiences (See <i>Table 25</i>)	51	11.51	37	9.84	25	15.62
Domain of truth, authenticity, and certainty	12	2.71	5	1.33	62	38.75
Domain of repeated action	3	0.68	11	2.93	2	1.25
Total	443	100	376	100	160	100

* It should be pointed out here that the figures in total are not equal to those presented in Table 19, since there are other intensifiers that fall outside these semantic domains.

Table 21 Number of non-restricted intensifiers in each semantic domain as found in the translation of intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

From *Table 21*, the domain of quantity and number has the highest frequency of occurrences for *very*, at 66.82%. This is due to the fact that *very* is often translated into มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ which denotes quantity. For the translation of *so*, the highest frequency number falls in the category of boundary and beyond (55.85%), followed by the domain of quantity and number (30.05%). In the case of *really*, the number of non-restricted intensifiers in the domain of truth, authenticity, and certainty is high at 38.75%, followed by the category of quantity and number (29.38%). The figures suggest how *really* is associated to the meaning of truth, but is also translated into words denoting quantity.

(a) The Domain of Quantity and Number

Measurement and counting are among the most basic psychological processes in human beings (Sapir 1944). Because humans are often intrigued by large quantities and enormous sizes, they tend to say something in excess of the situation. This explains why the expressions of quantity and number serve as a common vehicle in hyperbolic statements. McCarthy and Carter (2004) who study hyperbole in everyday conversation report expressions such as *hundreds*,

thousands, millions, dozens, scores, tons, and words often used metaphorically such as *heaps, piles, loads, lots* in their data. Labov (1984: 51) notes the use of quantifiers e.g. *all* in a hyperbolic manner, having the same interpretation as the intensifying adverbs. Quantity expressions that emerge from the corpus include แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’; โคร /koot2/ ‘clan’, which denotes a big group of people that are related families, and thus suggests a large quantity; สุดคณา /sut1 kha0naa0/ ‘beyond estimation’ and สุดคณานับ /sut1 kha0naa0 nap3/ ‘beyond estimation [and] counting’; and พอ /ph@@0/ ‘enough’.

These expressions of quantity will be discussed in the following order:

แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’

โคร /koot2/ ‘clan’

สุดคณา /sut1 kha0naa0/ ‘beyond estimation’ and สุดคณานับ /sut1 kha0naa0 nap3/ ‘beyond estimation [and] counting’

พอ /ph@@0/ ‘enough’

แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’

แสน /sxxn4/ is a word with double meanings: ‘one hundred thousand’ and ‘extremely high.’ It is also synonymous with เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively (RIDT)’. Expressivity of แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ can be explained with regard to the original meaning. As a unit of counting, the word denotes an extremely large quantity far beyond the ability to fathom. แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ is used in estimation and exaggeration, therefore acquiring a hyperbolic nature. Its quantitative meaning is then transferred to the sphere of subjectification, hence the use of it as intensifier.

In Chinese, similar expression as แสน /sxxn4/ can be observed. Jing-Schmidt (2005: 224) notes the use of Chinese-style hyperbolic quantifier *qian-wan* ‘thousand-myriad’ in varying configurations. The numerals *qian* means ‘thousand’ and *wan* ‘myriad’ are not used in their literal and definite sense but as a means of exaggeration.

Historically, the use of แสน /sxxn4/ as an intensifier has existed over a hundred years ago. Pallegoix (1854) in *Dictionarium Lingue Thai* gives two

meanings of the word: ‘hundred thousand’ and ‘much’, an evidence that the term has for some time moved away from the literal meaning towards the metaphorical sense as an intensifier. However, แสน /sxxn4/ appears to give the literal meaning when it precedes a noun. For example, the expression แสนกล /sxxn4 kon0/ is described by Bradley (1873/1971) as ‘one hundred thousand tricks’. Nowadays, the literal meaning of แสน /sxxn4/ is lost from the phrase, which is now translated as ‘super clever’ or ‘infinitely tricky’ (Garden and Wannapok 2008). In modern usage, the meaning of ‘one hundred thousand’ of the intensifier seems to have been forgotten, as evidenced by Panthumetha (2001)’s description of the intensifier as functioning to “emphasize a high level of a particular condition or feeling” (p.284).

In terms of position, แสน /sxxn4/ is one of the rare cases of pre-modification, because most Thai intensifiers appear in the post-position. It precedes a verb/adjective, and sometimes a noun, as exemplified above. It is worth noting that the collocations of แสน /sxxn4/ have not changed much over the course of a hundred years, as seen from a listing provided by Bradley (1873/1971). Among the expressions listed are แสนดี /sxxn4 dii0/ ‘extremely good’, แสนรู้ /sxxn4 ruu3/ ‘extremely clever’, แสนโศรก /sxxn4 sook1/ ‘extremely sad’, แสนสงสาร /sxxn4 song4saan4/ ‘extremely pitious’. The ability to take all types of collocates, either positive or negative, coupled with the loss of its original meaning ‘one hundred thousand’ suggests that the intensifier has been through the stage of semantic bleaching¹⁵

In the corpus, it is found that the high degree of emotivity expressed by แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ obviously corresponds with its frequency of occurrences with different intensifiers. แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ and its variation แสนจะ /sxxn4/ occurs 10 times in the translation of the intensifier *so* as compared to twice in *really* and once in *very*.

¹⁵ Semantic bleaching is one of the stage in grammaticalization, in which the intensifier loses its original meaning, and co-occurs with all types of collocates irrespective of their semantic content (Mendez-Naya 2003: 387). A case of point can be found in the English adverb *terribly*, which originally meant ‘in a terrible manner, so as to excite terror or dread; dreadfully’ (Oxford English Dictionary). Because of its partial semantic loss, *terribly* come to collocate freely with items of a neutral or even a positive connotation e.g. *nice, exciting, funny, happy* (Partington 1993: 184).

โคตร /koot2/ ‘clan’

โคตร /koot2/, literally meaning ‘clan’ suggests the notion of countless members of a family. The term is considered a slang, or even vulgarism in some contexts.

The term โคตร /koot2/ is an interesting evidence of language change. Over a hundred years ago, โคตร /koot2/ is defined by Bradley (1873/1971) as ‘a name of lineage, of grandfathers and grandmothers of people who were born later; it is the clan or stock’. To say ‘ก่น โคตร พ่อ โคตร แม่’ /kon1 koot2 ph@@2 koot2 mxx2/ ‘digging clan [of] father clan [of] mother’ means ‘what is said is insulting’. In this sense, โคตร /koot2/ ‘clan’ constitutes a strong language.

To this day, โคตร /koot2/ has retained the meaning of ‘clan’ and the emotive force, but it has undergone a few changes. The word adopts a pre-modifying position and becomes a verb/adjective modifier. It also manages to lose the lexical meaning, which leaves it with the function of an intensifier (12).

(12) ST: I was *so furious*

TT: โคตร ยัวะ

koot2 jua3

‘clan furious’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

The word โคตร /koot2/ in (12) is oral language. Because it is viewed as vulgarism, the use of it adds a higher degree of emotivity to the utterance as compared to other intensifiers. The intensifier is current among the younger generation. It can collocate with verbs/adjectives with both positive connotation, as in (13), or negative connotations, e.g. โคตรทุเรศ /koot2 tu3reet2/, which is equivalent to ‘damn obscene.’

(13) ST: A somewhat hoarse and *very sexy* voice

TT: เสียง แหบ ห้าว แต่ โคตร จะ เซ็กซี่

siiang4 hxxp1 haaw2 txx1 koot1 ca0 sek3sii2

‘sound hoarse tough but clan will sexy’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In example (13), โดดดร /koot2/ is immediately followed by the word จะ /ca1/ ‘will/shall’, a pattern similar to that found in other intensifiers e.g. สุดจะ /sut1 ca1/ ‘edge’, แสนจะ /sxxn4 ca1/ ‘one hundred thousand’. In modern usage, โดดดร /koot2/ can also follow the predicate and can be reduplicated, as in สวยโดดดร ๆ /suuaj4 koot2 koot2/ ‘extremely beautiful’.

The word โดดดร /koot2/ occurs twice in the translation of *very*, once in *so*, and is non-existent in *really*.

สุดคณา /sut1 kha0naa0/ ‘beyond estimation’ and สุดคณานับ /sut1 kha0naa0 nap3/ ‘beyond estimation [and] counting’

These two terms indicate that counting or estimation is impossible, because the amount is too great. สุด /sut1/ means ‘edge’ or ‘there is no more of it’ (Bradley 1873/1971, RIDT) and when combined with คณา /ka0naa0/ ‘estimate’ or คณานับ /ka0naa0 nap3/ ‘estimate [and] count’, it comes to mean ‘there is no more estimation or counting’. The two terms call to mind a quantity that is inestimable, and are found to be preceded by the quantity expression มากมาย /maak2maaj0/ ‘plentiful’.

However, สุดคณา /sut1 kha0naa0/ ‘beyond estimation’ is found to have moved from the literal sense of being a quantity term, towards the metaphorical usage, as it functions to scale upward a quality. A case in point is given in (14). The language is literary, as the speaker thanks God for his benevolence, for allowing him to

(14) ST: behold *so much* of the excellence conferred on individuals.

TT: ได้ เห็น ความวิเศษ สุด คณา ที่ ท่าน ประทาน
daj2 hen4 khwaam0wi3set1 sut1kha0naa0 thii2 thaan phra0thaan
 ‘get see excellence beyond estimation that He confers
 ให้ คน คน หนึ่ง
haj2 khon0 khon0 nvng1
 give person person one

(Possession: *A Romance*)

พอ /ph@@0/ ‘enough’

At first glance, พอ /ph@@0/ ‘enough’ seems more like an attenuator than an intensifier. But in fact, to have ‘enough’ of something implies that you have it in a large quantity to the point that you do not feel it is or will be lacking. *The Thai Thesaurus* (1992) lists the word among the expressions that are synonymous with มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, which confirms its stance as an intensifying term. In (15), the sentence is spoken by Tess, who refused to be helped out of her financial mess by the man she hated. The word พอ /ph@@0/ ‘enough’ is thus accompanied by the sense of indignation and dignity.

(15) ST: "But I am *very well off*!

TT: "แต่ ดิฉัน มี _____ พอ _____ ค่ะ!"

txx1 di0chan4 mii0 ph@@0 kha2

‘but I have enough [PP]’

(*Tess of the D’Urbervilles*)

The word พอใช้ /ph@@0 chaj3/ ‘enough [for] use’ in (16) also betrays its origin as a term of quantification: when something is enough to use, there is plenty of it. Apparently, the word functioned as a verb phrase but was then transferred to the sphere of intensification, where it becomes an adverbial with a somewhat attenuating effect.

(16) ST: "Yes, Aloysius draws *very prettily*, too

TT: อัลโลวิซัส ก็ วาด รูป ได้ เก่ง _____ พอใช้ _____ เหมือนกัน

?al0loo0vi0chas2 k@@2 vaat2 ruup2 daj2 keng0 ph@@0chaj2 mvvan4kan0

‘Aloysius then draw picture get good enough use too’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

Although both terms do not carry a strong intensity, they have the sense of being ‘above the average’ and therefore function as an intensifier.

It is worth mentioning that though not directly related to non-restricted intensifiers, there is a quantity phenomenon whereby emphasis and exaggeration can be expressed through a specific number denoting a great quantity. One interesting case from the corpus involves the translation of the English *so many*,

which is more or less abstract, into a more concrete but hyperbolic number ‘one million and seven hundred thousands’, as in (17):

- (17) ST: Hats, *so many* hats.
 TT: หมวก ล้าน เจ็ด แบบ
muuak1 laan3 cet1 bxxp1
 ‘hat million seven styles’

(The Devil Wears Prada)

While it is not easy to explain why it has to be exactly ‘one million and seven hundred thousand’, except for the considerable amount it suggests, it can be observed that language users are prone to create this kind of hyperbole in their daily speech. As can be observed in Thai, the exaggerated number may vary according to the degree of emphasis the speaker wants to impose. The number seems to start from one hundred and thousand, as can be seen in the Thai idiom ร้อยพ่อพันแม่ /r@@j2 ph@@2 phan0 mxx2/ ‘hundred fathers thousand mothers’ and expressions such as สองพันห้าร้อยเรื่อง /s@@ng4 phan0 haa2 r@@j3 rvvang2/ ‘two thousand five hundred stories’. Describing a crowded fair, for example, one may be tempted to say there are “ten million people” or “eight hundred million people” at the fair. In this case, the referential meaning is the same: there are so many people that you lose count. The only difference lies in the degree of intensity of feeling on the part of the speaker.

(b) The Domain of Boundary and Beyond

The concept of boundary is not only related to visual perception but also to the human existence. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 29) observe, territoriality is one of the few basic human instincts, and putting a boundary around it is an act of quantification. They postulate that human being are “bounded and set off from the rest of the world by our skins, and we experience the rest of the world outside us” (ibid.) Follows from this, each individual is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation, and that one projects his/her in-out orientation on other physical objects, viewing them as containers with an inside and

an outside. The authors cite prepositions *into/out of* as examples (e.g. *in the woods, out of the clearing*).

Though Lakoff and Johnson (1980) do not refer directly to intensifiers when discussing this so-called ‘ontological metaphor’, the concepts of boundary and containment can nonetheless be extended to intensification. In fact, the authors note that even with things that are not clearly discrete or bounded, human beings are inclined to impose artificial boundaries to make them discrete just as they are (p.25). Thus, when one talks about an intense quality or state, one projects artificial boundaries on it. The results are a number of expressions related to boundary, which will be described later on.

The concept of boundary also goes hand in hand with visual perception. The relation is explained in the following:

...we conceptualize our visual field as a container and conceptualize what we see as being inside it. [...] The metaphor is a natural one that emerges from the fact that, when you look at some territory (land, floor space, etc.), your field of vision defines a boundary of the territory, namely, the part that you can see.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 30)

Boundaries and containment are among the fundamental concepts underlying Thai intensifiers. The intensity of emotion or feeling can be viewed as parallel to the substance in a container. When a feeling or condition is intense, the substance may go up, reach the edge, and spill over. Hence, words meaning upward movement and reaching the boundary are common in the corpus. These notions can be summarized in *Figure 12*, as proposed by Luksaneeyanawin (2007). It is worth noting that the more intense a condition or emotion, the higher the degree.

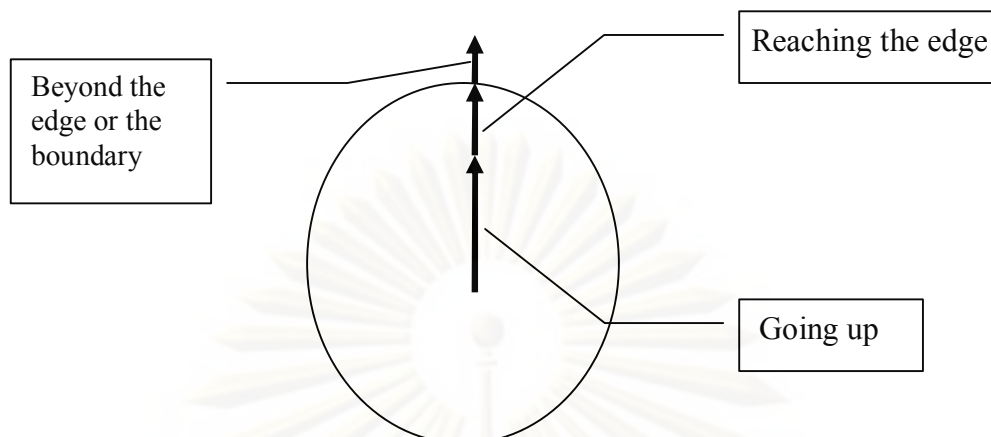


Figure 12 Representation of the boundary concept and intensifiers (Luksaneeyanawin 2007)

From the diagram, three groupings of boundary intensifiers can be distinguished based on their meaning: the GOING UP, REACHING THE EDGE, and BEYOND THE BOUNDARY groups. A list of these non-restricted intensifiers is given as follows:

GOING UP

ขึ้น /khvn2/ ‘up’

ขึ้นมา /khvn2 maa0/ ‘go up’

REACHING THE EDGE:

นัก /nak3/ ‘so much’

ระมัด /cha0mat3/ ‘super’

ัง /cang0/ ‘greatly’

Expressions with ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’

ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’

อย่างยิ่ง /jaang1 jing2/ ‘most’

อย่างยิ่งขาด /jaang1 jing2 juuat2/ ‘ultimately’

Expressions with สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’

สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’

ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’

เป็นที่สุด /pen0 thii2 sut1/ ‘be at the edge’

อย่างที่สุด /jaang1 thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’

ถึงขีดสุด /thvng4 khiit1 sut1/ ‘to the edge mark’

สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ ‘edge mark’

สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2/ ‘top’

Expressions with เต็ม /tem0/ ‘full’

เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/ ‘fully’

เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’

เต็มไปด้วย /tem0 paj0 duuaj2/ ‘full of’

Expressions with เปี่ยม /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’

เปี่ยม /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’

BEYOND THE BOUNDARY:

เกินไป /kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’

เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’

เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’

อย่างล้นเหลือ /jaang1 lon3 lvva4/

‘superabundant’

An overview of the frequency of linguistic forms found in the three groupings: GOING UP, REACHING THE EDGE and GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY is shown in *Table 22*.

The semantic concepts	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>Really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
GOING UP	2	2.47	2	0.95	-	-
REACHING THE EDGE (See <i>Table 23</i>)	38	46.91	83	39.52	14	58.33
GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY (See <i>Table 24</i>)	41	50.62	125	59.52	10	41.67
Total	81	100	210	100	24	100

Table 22 Frequency of linguistic realizations in the three semantic concepts in the domain of BOUNDARY AND BEYOND

From *Table 22*, the intensifier *so* produces the highest frequency of linguistic realizations with the GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY concept (125 tokens, 59.52%), followed by those with the notion of REACHING THE EDGE (83 tokens, 39.52%). A similar pattern can be observed in *very*, though with different frequency numbers (46.91% and 50.62% in REACHING THE EDGE and GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY concepts respectively.) The smaller gap between the two notions in *very* suggests a more moderate meaning as compared to the case of *so*. In *really*, however,

the pattern is reverse, with the REACHING THE EDGE concept figuring 16.66% higher than the BEYOND THE BOUNDARY. The number perhaps suggests a tendency towards REACHING THE EDGE concept rather than the notion of BEYOND THE BOUNDARY.

In the next section, each of the metaphorical categories will be examined in detail, from the concepts of GOING UP to REACHING THE EDGE and GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY.

The first category, **the GOING UP expressions**, is in accordance with Lakoff and Johnson's concept of MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN. The explanation is that when more of a substance or physical objects are added to a container or pile, the level goes up (1980: 15-6). More precisely, the lexical evidence found here also agrees with the metaphor themes such as EMOTION IS MOVEMENT and EMOTION IS LIQUID, as suggested by Goatly (2007: 200). Psychologically, a sudden increase in emotion is a common experience shared by all human beings. In English, this is reflected in words such as *wave*, *surge*, *swell*, as in *there was a surge/wave/swell of sympathy for him* (p.202). In Thai, this very concept is reflected in the intensifiers such as ขึ้น /khvn2/ 'up' and ขึ้นมา /khvn2 maa0/ 'go up', which suggests the upward movement of the imaginary substance, as in (18).

(18) ST: ' She looked *so relieved*

TT: เธอ ดู โลงใจ ขึ้น มา ทันควัน

thq0 duu0 long2caj0 khvn2 maa0 than0khwan0

'she look relieved up come immediately'

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

ขึ้นมา /khvn2 maa0/ 'go up' in (18) not only points toward the greater intensity, it also suggests a sudden change of state or quality, in this case emotion.

It is worth noting that these expressions tend to have a higher degree of intensity than the neutral มาก /maak2/ 'much-many', but are the least intense of the three categories. The 'up' expressions occur twice in both *very* and *so* but does not occur at all in *really*.

The second category, **the REACHING THE EDGE group**, is typified by the expressions denoting boundary e.g. those containing *สุด* /sut1/ ‘edge’, *ยอด* /j@@t2/ ‘peak’, as well as the expressions suggesting fullness (e.g. of liquid) such as *เต็ม* /tem0/ ‘full’, *เปี่ยม* /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’, *ยิ่ง*¹⁶ /jing2/ ‘most’. All these entries suggest that the speaker’s emotive substance has reached the limit, and it seems that nothing would go beyond this point.

Within this category, it is possible to identify four sub-classes:

- (1) Expressions of *นัก* /nak3/ ‘so much’, *จิ่ง* /cang0/ ‘greatly’ and *ชะมัด* /cha0mat3/ ‘super’
- (2) Expressions with *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ ‘most’
- (3) Expressions with *สุด* /sut1/ ‘edge’
- (4) Expressions with *เต็ม* /tem0/ ‘full’

The frequency of patterning of each grouping is found to differ from the translation of *very* to that of *so* and *really*. Table 23 presents the frequency of occurrences of the linguistic forms with the sense of REACHING THE EDGE, as found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

Lexical realizations in Thai representing the concept of REACHING THE EDGE	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
<i>ชะมัด</i> /jing2/ ‘super’	1	4	3
<i>นัก</i> /nak3/ ‘so much’	1	30	1
<i>จิ่ง</i> /cang0/ ‘greatly’	3	25	2
<i>ยิ่ง</i> /jing2/ ‘most’	6	3	-
<i>อย่างยิ่ง</i> /jaang1 jing2/ ‘most’	6	-	-
<i>อย่างยิ่งยวด</i> /jaang1 jing2 juuat2/ ‘ultimately’	2	-	-
<i>สุด</i> /sut1/, <i>สุดจะ</i> /sut1 ca1/, <i>สุดที่จะ</i> /sut1 thii2 ca1/ ‘edge’	6	1	-
<i>ที่ สุด</i> /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’	8	3	3

¹⁶ Similar to *สุด* /sut1/ ‘edge’, *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ can occur both in the pre- and post-positions of the predicate. In the pre-position, *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ has the meaning of ‘more, increasing’; it is generally used in couplets e.g. *ยิ่งแก่ยิ่งโง่* /jing2 kxx1 jing2 ngo2/ ‘the older the more stupid’ (RIDT), a structure similar to the English ‘the more..., the more...’. In the post-position, *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ means ‘most, top’ e.g. *งามยิ่ง* /ngaam0 jing2/ ‘most beautiful’ (ibid.). This usage has a poetic feel.

Lexical realizations in Thai representing the concept of REACHING THE EDGE	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
เป็นที่สุด /pen0 thii2 sut1/ 'be at the edge'	-	-	1
อย่างที่สุด /jaang1 thii2 sut1/ 'at the edge'	-	3	1
ถึงขีดสุด /thvng4 khiit1 sut1/ 'to the edge mark'	-	-	1
สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ 'edge mark'	-	2	1
สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2/ 'top'	-	-	1
เต็มที /tem0 thii0/ 'fully'	1	3	-
เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ 'completely'	2	4	-
เต็มไปด้วย /tem0 paj0 duuaj2/ 'full of'	1	1	-
เปี่ยม /piiam1/ 'to the brim'	1	1	-
Total	38	83	14

* Taken from *Table 22*

Table 23 Frequency of occurrences of the linguistic realizations of REACHING THE EDGE concept as derived from the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From *Table 23*, the intensifier *so* produces the highest number of intensifiers with the semantic content of 'reaching the edge': 83 tokens, while *very* accounts for 38 tokens and *really* 14 tokens. Of all these forms, *นัก* /nak3/ 'so much', which means 'inclined toward a certain tendency' (RIDT), has the greatest frequency: 32 tokens, 30 of which are found to be associated with the English intensifier *so*. Apart from *นัก* /nak3/ 'so much', *ัง* /cang0/ 'greatly' is also found to be frequent, especially in the translation of *so*, probably due to its colloquiality, while the more formal term *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ 'most' and expressions containing it (*อย่างยิ่ง* /jaang1 jing2/ 'most, *อย่างยิ่งยวด* /jaang1 jing2 juuat2/ 'ultimately') are more common in *very* as compared to *so* and *really*. These expressions are found to occur in formal contexts, narration, or polite speech (e.g. apology to one's superior), where feelings and emotions are secondary to formality of the situation. This perhaps explains why *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ 'most' is a rarity in the translation of the intensifiers *so* and *really*, both figuring prominently in conversation. The opposite can be found with the colloquial term *ชะมัด* /cha0mat3/ 'super', which is more frequent in *so* and *really* than in *very*.

Each sub-class will be investigated in the following section, beginning with

- (1) Expressions of **นัก** /nak3/ ‘so much’, **จึง** /cang0/ ‘greatly’ and **ชะมัด** /cha0mat3/ ‘super’
- (2) Expressions with **ยิ่ง** /jing2/ ‘most’
- (3) Expressions with **สุด** /sut1/ ‘edge’
- (4) Expressions with **เต็ม** /tem0/ ‘full’

Expressions with **นัก /nak3/ ‘so much’, **จึง** /cang0/ ‘greatly’, and **ชะมัด** /cha0mat3/ ‘super’**

These three expressions are synonymous in meaning but vary in terms of stylistics and usage.

According to the RIDT, **นัก** /nak3/ ‘so much’ is considered synonymous to **อย่างยิ่ง** /jaang1jing2/ ‘most’, with the meaning of ‘being inclined towards a certain tendency’, as in **ร้อนนัก** /r@@@n2 nak3/ ‘so hot’. The word has originally defined as ‘the fact that [there is] very much of something’ (Bradley 1873/1971).

From the data, the use of **นัก** /nak3/ ‘so much’ has been found in two types of constructions: (1) in affirmative statements, and (2) in questions. Examples are given below.

(19) ST: ‘Life is *so short*,’ said Roland.

TT: "ชีวิต นี้ สั้น นัก" โรลันด์ พูด
chii0wit3 nii3 san2 nak3 roo0lan0 phuut2
 ‘life this short so much’ Roland said

(*Possession: A Romance*)

In an affirmative statement, the patterning of **นัก** /nak3/ ‘so much’ (19) gives an impression of personal musing. This usage usually suggests dated or literary language, and is not very frequent in the corpus. Instead, the more common pattern of **นัก** /nak3/ involves its appearing in questions or subordinate clauses beginning with *why* or *how* (e.g. *how can/could you be...?*), as in (20).

(20) ST: "How could you be *so sure*?"

TT: "ทำไม แม่ ถึง มั่นใจ นัก ละคะ?"
tham0maj0 maxx2 tvng4 man2caj0 nak3 la2 kha3
 'why mother reach sure so much [SP][PP]

(*The Notebook*)

In the corpus, *นัก* /nak3/ 'so much' figures prominently in the translation of *so*, with 30 tokens, while it occurs only once in *very* and *really*.

จึง /cang0/ 'greatly' has an original meaning of 'straight to the point, not missing it, as in the case of someone shooting a target' (Bradley 1873/1971). The RIDT defines it as 'forceful collision', as in the context of a car colliding head-on with another vehicle. The intensifier falls in the domain of boundary, as it also invokes the image of the substance hitting the edge of a container. In this case, the word is said to have undergone a movement from the physical domain to metaphorical statement, from the meaning of 'reaching the edge in a forceful manner' to 'completely' and 'most', which enables it to be used in the description of feelings and emotions, as in (10). Unlike *นัก* /nak3/ 'so much', *จึง* /cang0/ 'greatly' is a colloquial term (ibid.) and does not occur in the formal context.

(21) ST: Oh God, I'm *so lonely*.

TT: โอ๊ย เหงา จึง
?ooj3 ngaw4 cang0
 'Oh lonely greatly'

(*Bridget Jones' Diary*)

In the corpus, *จึง* /cang0/ 'greatly' is predominantly associated with the translation of *so*, with 25 tokens as compared to 2 tokens and 3 tokens in *really* and *very* respectively (see *Table 23*). Its high frequency of patterning in *so* is perhaps due to the fact that both *จึง* /cang0/ 'greatly' and the intensifier *so* shares some similarities: both are intensive in meaning and occur in informal contexts. Besides, *จึง* /cang0/ is speaker-oriented and has a hint of personal reflection, which is also the case in *so* but not *very*.

ซะมัด /cha0mat3/ is defined by the RIDT as 'much' or 'most', but is translated here as 'super', following Garden and Wannapok (2008),

considering its frequency in the young and dynamic usage. According to Nasakul, (2009, personal communication), the term is presumed to be derived from the word ชัด /chat3/, which means ‘clear.’ It is a modifier of verb/adjective, as can be seen in phrases like ยากชะมัด /jaak3 cha0mat3/ ‘most difficult’. Like ชัง /cang0/ ‘so much’, it is essentially an oral term, and it can modify words with positive or negative connotations.

Below is an example of ชะมัด /cha0mat3/ ‘super’ co-occurring with the positive word ดี /dii0/ ‘good’.

(22) ST: It felt *so good* to be near him again

TT: รู้สึก ดี ชะมัด ที่ ได้ อยู่ ใกล้ เขา แบบ นี้

ruu3suk1 dii0 cha0mat3 thii2 daj2 juu1 klaj2 khaw4 bxxp1nii3

‘feel good super that get stay near him like this

อีก ครั้ง

?iik1khrang3

once again’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

ชะมัด /cha0mat3/ ‘super’ is a recent term, as it is not found in earlier dictionaries, such as Bradley’s *Dictionary of the Siamese Language* (1873/1971). The corpus also confirms this assumption. 7 out of 8 occurrences of ชะมัด /cha0mat3/ have been found in the translation of contemporary fictions.

Expressions with ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’

Over a hundred years ago, the word ยิ่ง /jing2/ was synonymous with ดีกว่า /dii0 kwaa1/ ‘better’. It has the sense of ‘there is nothing that can compete with it’ as in ของ ภา คน นั้น เป็น ยิ่ง /kh@@ng4 rvv0 khon0 nan3 pen0 jing2/ ‘thing or person that be best’ (Bradley 1873/1971). In modern usage, ยิ่ง /jing2/ can occur as both pre- and post-modification. In the pre-modifying position, it occurs in a recurring couplet (e.g. ยิ่งงาม ยิ่งดี /jing2 ngaam0 jing2 dii0 ‘the more beautiful the better’) and in this case it can be said to be equivalent to the English construction ‘the more... the more....’. In post-modification, ยิ่ง /jing2/ functions as an intensifier

meaning ‘to be at the top’ or ‘ultimately’ (RIDT). It has a trace of formality and dated language. An example of ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’ can be seen in (23).

- (23) ST: eighteen *very distinguished* gentlemen
 TT: สุภาพบุรุษ ที่ โดดเด่น ยิ่ง สิบแปด ท่าน
su0phaap2bu0rut1 thii2 doot1den1 jing2 sip1pxxt1 thaan2
 ‘gentlemen that distinguished most eighteen persons’
 (The Remains of the Day)

Apart from its use as a bare intensifier, ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’ is found in อย่างยิ่ง /jaang1 jing2/ and อย่างยิ่งยวด /jaang1 jing2juuat2/, both having the meaning of ‘most’. As noted by Bradley (1873/1971), the word ยวด /juuat2/ in ยิ่งยวด /jing2juuat2/ is an alliterative word that is added for euphony or emphasis. Below is an example of sentence containing อย่างยิ่งยวด /jaang1 jing2juuat2/ ‘most’.

- (24) ST: B.B. was trying *very hard* to hang on,
 TT: บี.บี. พยายาม อย่างยิ่งยวด ที่ จะ สละกด กลั้น เอา ไว้
bii0bii0 pha0yaa0yaam0 jaang1jing2juuat thii2 ja1 sa0kot1 klan2 ?aw0 waj3
 ‘B.B. try most to will suppress repress take keep’
 (Smart Women)

Despite their extreme meaning, ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’ and its variations have become conventional expressions, which, paradoxically, seems to reduce their emotive force. Because of their conventionalized status, they appear predominantly in written language where formality is required. This perhaps explains why they are more common in the translation of *very* than that of *so* and *really*.

Expressions with สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’

In the Thai language, this concept of boundary is prevalent in the system of intensification, as can be seen from a number of expressions involving สุด /sut1/, literally meaning ‘edge’:

สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’

สุดจะ /sut1 ca1/ ‘edge’

สุดที่จะ /sut1 thii2 ca1/ ‘edge’
 ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’
 เป็นที่สุด /pen0 thii2 sut1/ ‘be at the edge’
 อย่างที่สุด /jaang1 thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’
 ถึงขีดสุด /thvng4 khiit1 sut1/ ‘to the edge mark’
 สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ ‘edge mark’
 สุดยอด /sut1 j@@@t2/ ‘top’

Expressions of สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’ also enjoy versatility in terms of position. The plain สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’ and สุดยอด /sut1 j@@@t2/ ‘top’ can appear both in the pre- or post-modification. The rest are fixed. สุดจะ /sut1 ca1/ and สุดที่จะ /sut1 thii2 ca1/ are pre-modifiers, while ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’, เป็นที่สุด /pen0 thii2 sut1/ ‘be at the edge’, อย่างที่สุด /jaang1 thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’, ถึงขีดสุด /thvng4 khiit1 sut1/ ‘to the edge mark’ and สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ ‘edge mark’ appears only in the post-position.

Etymologically, สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’ is given the definition of ‘end of something, without any more of it’ such as the end of a rope (see Bradley 1873/1971). Over a hundred years ago, it occurred in a pre-modifying position, preceding either a noun or a verb. In the corpus, although สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’ is still found to retain its pre-modifying position, as in (25), and is equally productive as in the old days, the meaning of it has been transferred from literal to metaphorical. In terms of grammaticalization, the word has been through the stage of semantic bleaching, where the original meaning (‘edge’) becomes diluted, leaving it with the sense of intensity. The weakened lexical meaning of สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’ allows for the substitution of it in examples (25) and (26) with other intensifiers, e.g. มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ or แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’, without a drastic change in meaning.

(25) ST: the tight and *very sexy* D&G jeans

TT: กางเกง ยีนส์ ฟิตเปรี๊ยะ สุด เซ็กซี่ ของ ดีแอนดี้

kaang0keng0 jiin0 fit3pria3 sut1 sek3sii2 kh@@ng4 dii0 ?xxn0 cii0

‘pants jean fit very edge sexy of D&G’

(The Devil Wears Prada)

(26) ST: She was at this *really interesting* part of the book,

TT: เธอ กำลัง อ่าน ตอน สนุก สุด ของ หนังสือ พอดี

thq0 kam0lang0 ?aan1 t@@n0 sa0nuk1 sut1 khong4 nang4svv4 ph@@0dii0

'she in process of read section fun edge of book just

(*Smart Women*)

Examples (25) and (26) illustrate flexibility of สุด /sut1/ 'edge' in terms of position. In (25), the intensifier is followed by the loanword *sexy*, which suggests it is still productive in terms of collocatability. In (26), the word appears in the post-position, following the verb/adjective สนุก /sa0nuk1/ 'fun'.

It can be assumed that other expressions of สุด /sut1/ 'edge', such as ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ 'at the edge', ถึงขีดสุด /thvng4 khiit1 sut1/ 'to the edge mark', สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ 'edge mark', สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2/ 'top', were once interpreted with regard to their lexical meaning. สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2/, for example, literally means 'end top', with 'top' being thought of as 'the top of a tree' (Bradley 1873/1971).

Expressions of 'edge' in its most conventional forms (e.g. สุด /sut1/, ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/) are higher in the translation of *really* and *very* than that of *so* (see Table 23). *Really* also has more varying types, including the less conventionalized forms (e.g. ถึงขีดสุด /thvng4 khiit1 sut1/ 'to the edge mark', สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ 'edge mark, สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2/ 'top'), which is perhaps related to the fact that *really* tends to pattern in conversational discourses.

Expressions with เต็ม /tem0/ 'full'

While the expressions of มั่ง /jing2/ 'most' and สุด /sut1/ 'edge' involve the movement of the 'imaginary' liquid, expressions of fullness offer a slightly different perspective. To say something is full, one has to look at it from the top. In this sense, intensification is conceptualized as a space to be filled. The space or the container can be full, nearly full, or empty. Along this line it is possible to formulate the theme of INTENSIFICATION IS SPACE OR CONTAINER. And indeed, the extent to which one experiences an emotion can be associated with fullness. In English, for example, *full of*, *brim-full of*, *brimming with* mean 'experiencing or showing a great deal of an emotion' (Goatly 2007: 202).

The expressions of fullness found in the data are เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/ ‘fully’, เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’, เต็มไปด้วย /tem0 paj0 duuaj2/ ‘full of’, เปี่ยม /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’. They are described in the following paragraphs.

เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/ ‘fully’ and **เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’** are post-modifiers, but they seem to take different collocates. เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/ ‘fully’ tend to follow words with neutral (e.g. ใกล้จะมืด /klaj2 ca1 mvvt2/ ‘close to dark’) or negative semantic content (e.g. เบื่อ /bvva1/ ‘bored’, นาน /naan0/ ‘long’), thus suggesting the negative feelings on the part of the speaker. เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’, on the other hand, is preceded by words with neutral to positive semantic content (e.g. เป็นผู้ใหญ่ /pen0 phuu2jaj1/ ‘mature’, แนใจ /nxx2 caj0/ ‘certain’, ยินดีรับใช้ /jin0dii0 rap3 chaj3/ ‘glad to be of assistance’)

The differences between เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/ ‘fully’ and เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’ can be explained in terms of historical development. Bradley (1873/ 1971) defines เต็ม /tem0/ ‘full’ as ‘to be full to the top, not short of’, and gives examples of over 80 phrases containing it. From his list, the term is found to have been used in a pre-modifying position, proceeding a noun, as in:

เต็มกลม /tem0 k@@@p4/	‘full scoop’
เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/	‘full place’ (as the land is full of rice plants and fruit trees)
เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/	‘full time’ (as in the case where heavy things are carried with full force)

From these examples, it can be assumed that เต็ม /tem0/ ‘full’ must have started its life as a noun modifier, where it has the literal meaning, before spreading to the area of verb/adjective modification. In the time of Bradley, the intensifier เต็ม /tem0/ ‘full’ was generative, having the ability to co-occur with many verbs/adjectives. But at a certain point, the pattern began to fade, leaving only a few expressions that are still used today, among which are เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’ and เต็มที่ /tem0 thii0/ ‘fully’. Both of them seem to have lost the lexical meaning and have adopted the metaphorical meaning as well as a post-modifying position.

เต็มไปด้วย /tem0 paj0 duuaj2/ ‘full of’ is potentially derived from the English *full of* through direct translation, which perhaps explain why it is often found associated with the ST expressions *so full of* in the corpus. It precedes the noun, usually with positive semantic content, as in (27).

(27) ST: She'd felt warm and excited and *very desirable*.

TT: เธอ รู้สึก อบอุ่น ตื่นเต้น และ เต็มไปด้วย ความปรารถนา

thq0 ruu3suk1 ?op1?un1 tvvn1ten2 lx3 tem0paj0duuaj2
khwaaam0prat1ta0naa4

‘she feel warm excite and full of desire’

(*Smart Women*)

The last expression in the ‘fullness’ family is เปี่ยม /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’. According to Bradley (1873/ 1971), the word is synonymous with เต็ม /tem0/ ‘full’ and also takes a pre-modifying position. In Bradley’s time, the word เปี่ยม /piiam1/ only collocated with noun to mean ‘full to the brim’, thus having only the literal meaning, as in เปี่ยมคลอง /piiam1 khl@@ng/ ‘full canal’. In modern usage, however, the collocates of เปี่ยม /piiam1/ seem to have changed from concrete to abstract nouns. It is worth noting that most collocations of it have positive semantic content, as in (28).

(28) ST: This house - *so happy* once

TT: บ้าน หลัง นี้ ที่ แต่ก่อน เคย เปี่ยม สุข

baan2 lang4 nii2 thii2 txx1k@@n1 kqj0 piiam1 suk1

‘house one this that before used to full happiness’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

The expressions of ‘fullness’ are typical to the translation of *so* and *very*, while they do not occur at all in *really*. The lack of these terms in *really* probably indicates that the concept of ‘fullness’ is not directly related to and has not been transferred to the domain of truth, as suggested by the semantic content of *really*. In English, the concept of fullness is also part of the intensification lexicon, as evidenced by the use of adverbs such as *fully*, *totally*, *wholly*, *completely*, *entirely*.

The third category, the GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY group, gives evidence that the ‘brimming substance’ within the psychological container may burst or spill over, as in the case of anger. This metaphor is evidenced by the English nouns such as *effusion*, *outburst*, *gush*, *gushing*, and intransitive verbs such as *overflow*, *well*, *brim over*, and *pour out*. (Goatly 2007: 202-203).

As intensification is related to emotion, the concept of BEYOND THE BOUNDARY is therefore part of the intensification lexicon. As evidenced in the corpus, the items of this class suggest superfluous quantity. They are เลย /lqj0/ ‘beyond’, เกินไป /kqjn0 paj0/ ‘too much’, เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqjn0/ ‘excessively’, and ล้นเหลือ /lon3 lvva4/ ‘superabundant’. This category adds the greatest intensity to the meaning of the predicate, probably because, for the liquid to move beyond the edges or wall or a container, it needs a powerful force or pressure.

The frequency of the expressions listed above is given in the following table.

Lexical realizations in Thai	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
เกินไป /kqjn0 paj0/ ‘too much’	4	9	1
เลย /lqj0/ ‘beyond’	9	15	3
เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqjn0/ ‘excessively’	27	97	5
อย่างล้นเหลือ /jaang1 lon3 lvva4/ ‘superabundant’	-	1	-
ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’	1	3	1
Total	41	125	10

* Taken from *Table 22*

Table 24 Frequency of the linguistic realizations of BEYOND THE BOUNDARY concept as derived from the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From the table, it is striking how the intensifier *so* yields such a uniformed pattern with regard to the concept of GOING BEYOND THE BOUNDARY. It has the highest overall frequency, compared to that of *very* and *really*, which probably serves to secure its place as the most emotive intensifier of the three. It is worth noting that of the five expressions, เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqjn0/ ‘excessively’ is the most frequent. In the translation of *so*, the token number of เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqjn0/ ‘excessively’ is especially high, which seems to correspond with its perceived intensity.

The intensifiers of abundance and excess will be discussed in the following paragraphs, starting from *เกินไป* /kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’ and *เลย* /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ to *เหลือเกิน* /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ and *ออก* /?@@k1/ ‘out’

เกินไป /kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’

เกินไป /kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’ is a negative intensifier, as it embraces the speaker’s value judgment; s/he is critical of a certain quality, a state, or a behavior. This can be explained in psychological terms. When something goes beyond a limit, it is no longer considered good or acceptable, because it is too much for a container to bear. The intensifier tends to collocate with verbs/adjectives of neutral or positive semantic meaning. For example,

(29) ST: she's *so good*, when I'm not good.

TT: เธอ ดี เกินไป แต่ ผม ไม่ ดี เอง"

thqq0 dii0 kqqn0paj0 txx1 phom4 maj2 dii0 ?eng0

‘she good too much but I not good myself’

(*Sons and Lovers*)

As shown in (29), despite the positive collocation ดี /dii0/ ‘good’, the addition of *เกินไป* /kqqn0 paj0/ suggests disapproval on the part of the speaker. Though being ‘good’ is generally accepted as a favorable characteristic in a person, being ‘too good’ implies that the speaker is feeling uncomfortable with it. Thus, *เกินไป* /kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’ can be said to have a strong emotive meaning, and as can be expected, it appears with a high frequency in the translation of *so* (9 tokens).

เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’

Closely associated with *เกิน* /kqqn0/ ‘too much’ is *เลย* /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’, although the latter does not carry the negative meaning itself. In fact, both terms are originally synonymous, as Bradley (1873/1971) puts *เลย* /lqqj0/ and *เกิน* /kqqn0/ in the same grouping, with the meaning of ‘passing a certain spot’.

As regards its intensifying function, the RIDT notes that *เลย* /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ is added post-positionally for emphasis. The term also has the

meaning of ‘completely’ or ‘not in the least’ (ibid.), which explains why it tends to occur in the vicinity of a negative particle ไม่ /maj2/ ‘not’. Below are examples of เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ in positive statement (30) and negative statement (31). Both are taken from the corpus.

(30) ST: I recall it *very clearly*.

TT: ผม จำได้ แม่น เลย

phom4 cam0daj2 maxx2 lqqj0

‘I remember precise beyond’

(*The Remains of the Day*)

(31) ST: it was *so unfair* to doubt him in this way

TT: ไม่ ยุติธรรม เลย ที่ ระแวง เขา อย่าง นี้

maj2 ju3ti0tham0 lqqj0 thii2 ra0wxxng0 khaw4 jaang1 nii3

‘not fair beyond to distrust him like this’

(*Bridget Jones' Diary*)

In (30), เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ functions to emphasize the fact and thus has the meaning of ‘totally, completely’, while in (31), it co-occurs with the particle ‘not’ to mean ‘not at all’ or ‘not in the least.’ In fact, เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ tends to occur more in the negative context rather than positive statements. From the corpus, เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ is found to occur twice as much in negative sentences (18 tokens) as in positive constructions (9 tokens).

เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’

เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ is one of the most frequent intensifiers in the corpus. It occurs in the post-position, following a verb/adjective of both positive and negative connotation. In terms of meaning, the intensifier is defined as ‘exceedingly, beyond appropriateness, fully’ in the RIDT, all of which suggest a great degree of intensity. The lexical meaning of it seems to be long forgotten, and เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ is now left with only the sense of intensity. The loss of lexical meaning and its flexibility in collocation indicate that the word has travelled a long way towards becoming a grammaticalized item.

Historically, เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ had a slightly different meaning. The word was to be interpreted not as a compound but as two separate words: เหลือ /lvva4/ ‘left’ + เกิน /kqqn0/ ‘beyond’. Bradley (1873/1971) explains the context: there is a lot of a certain commodity; but after use or distribution there are still some left. The two morphemes are interchangeable in terms of position, and thus, เกินเหลือ /kqqn0 lvva4/ ‘beyond left’ was also possible in early usage.

ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’

The idea of the imaginary liquid spilling over can be viewed as being related to the term ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’, which has the original meaning of ‘moving to or from a certain direction’ (RIDT, Bradley 1873/1971). In early usages, the term was used literally, although Bradley notes one interesting example related to intensification: ออกชระา /?@@k1 cha0raa0/ ‘out old’, which can be glossed as ‘very old’. In this case, the word is used in a pre-modifying position.

As an intensifier, ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’ is added to another word to emphasize the utterance, for example ต่าออกอย่างนี้ /dam0 ?@@k1 jaang1 nii3/ ‘black out like this’ (RIDT). This usage can be observed in the corpus, as in (32), but the term can also be found in the pre-modifying position. It comes with the particle จะ /ca1/ ‘will/shall’, as in (33).

(32) ST: ‘I think you’re *very handsome*,’ said Elaine.

TT: "ฉัน ว่า คุณ หล่อ ออก" อีเลน ว่า
 chan4 waa2 khun0 l@@@1 ?@@k1 ?ii0leen0 waa2
 ‘I think you handsome out’ Elaine said

(Turning Thirty)

(33) ST: She seemed *very bitter*.

TT: ดู เธอ ออกจะ ขมขื่น
 duu0 thqq0 ?@@k1ca0 khom4khvvn1
 ‘look she rather bitter’

(Sons and Lovers)

The word ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’ in (32) has the meaning of ‘very’. It functions to emphasize the statement, especially when the speaker realizes that the hearer may or may not share his/her opinion. ออกจะ /?@@k1 ca1/ ‘out will’ in (33), however, has a different meaning. It can be interpreted as ‘to be inclined in a certain way’ and has been translated as ‘rather’, ‘kind of’ in Garden and Wannapok (2008). Thus, it can be said that ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’ in the pre-modifying position has a less stronger meaning compared to the post-modifying position.

It should be added here that once the imaginary ‘liquid’ spills over, it is everywhere and the container becomes empty, depleted, hence the expressions หมด /mot1/ literally meaning ‘used up’, หมดไป /paj0 mot1/ ‘in all aspects’, ล้น /sin2/ ‘lack of’, and เสีย /siii4/ ‘lost’.

ล้น /sin2/ ‘lack of’ is associated with the concept of depletion. It is found in the expressions as ล้นดี¹⁷ /sin2 dii0/, literally meaning ‘lack of goodness’ and อย่างล้นเชิง /jaang1 sin2 chqqng0/ ‘lack of manner’ or ‘completely’.

Another interesting term is เสีย /siii4/, literally translated as ‘lost’, a tag used for urging, negative emotions, and emphasis (RIDT, Garden and Wannapok 2008). Apart from its use as an intensifier, as in (34), the word also occurs in a number of expressions e.g. เสียจริง /siii4 cing0/ ‘lost truly’, เสียอีก /siii4 ?iik1/ ‘lost more’, เสียแล้ว /siii4 lxxw4/ ‘lost already’, and หมด¹⁸ไม่มี /sa3 maj2 mii0/ ‘lost [till there is] nothing’. In this case, the English adverb *wastefully* probably has the closest meaning.

(34) ST: I have been out of England *so long*

TT: ผม มัว ไป อยู่ นอก ประเทศ อังกฤษ เสีย นาน
phom4 muua0 paj0 juu1 n@@k2 pra1tet2 ?ang0krit1 siii4 naan0
 ‘I busy go stay outside country England lost long’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

¹⁷ As an intensifier, ล้นดี /sin2 dii0/ means ‘awfully’ or ‘totally’. It is found to collocate with negative rather than positive words, for example, ทุเรศล้นดี /tu3ret2 sin2 dii0/ ‘totally obscene’

¹⁸ หมด /sa3/ is an informal form of เสีย /siii4/ (Garden and Wannapok 2008).

(c) The Domain of Visual and Physical Experience

The lexes of intensification also have to do with other domains of experience, especially the visual and physical fields. These expressions can be subcategorized into three groups:

GROUP I: expressions of spatio-physical dimensions

GROUP II: expressions of force and action

GROUP III: expressions of positive and negative experience

For an overview of frequency for each group, *Table 25* gives an overview of the frequency of occurrences of the linguistic forms associated to the semantic concept of VISUAL AND PHYSICAL EXPERIENCES, as found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

The semantic concepts of VISUAL AND PHYSICAL EXPERIENCES	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Spatio-physical dimension	20	39.22	13	35.14	4	16.00
Force and action	17	33.33	8	21.62	6	24.00
Positive and negative experience	14	27.45	16	43.24	15	60.00
Total	51	100	37	100	25	100

Table 25 Frequency of linguistic realizations related to the semantic concepts in the domain of VISUAL AND PHYSICAL EXPERIENCES

From the table, the intensifier *very* has the highest number of the spatio-physical expressions (20 tokens, 39.22%), while *so* and *really* have the highest number of expressions of positive and negative experience: 16 tokens (43.24%) and 15 tokens (60.00%) respectively. On the contrary, the number of expressions of spatio-physical dimension is lowest in *really* (16.00%), which indicates a weak relation between these expressions and the sense of the ST intensifier. For the intensifier *so*, expressions with the lowest frequency are those related to force and action. This is probably because the category is dominated by words such as *ที่เดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ ‘once’ and *เดียว* /*chiiaw0*/ ‘once’, which tend to be associated with *very* rather than *so* and *really*.

Each of the semantic groups will be described as follows.

GROUP I: expressions of spatio-physical dimensions

The expressions involving visual and physical density in the data are **จัด** /cat1/ ‘intense’, **หนัก** /nak1/ ‘heavy’, **หนักหนา** /nak1 naa4/ ‘heavy [and] thick’, and **สูง** /suung4/ ‘high’.

จัด /cat1/ ‘intense’ is defined as a quality ‘much higher than ordinary or being inclined towards one way or another’ (RIDT). The word is originally used in relation to intensification of light and temperature, as can be seen from its occurrence in sentences such as **แดดจัด** /dxxt1 cat1/ ‘the sun is very bright’ or **ร้อนจัด** /r@@n3 cat1/ ‘the weather is very hot’. The use of **จัด** /cat1/ ‘intense’ has been extended to other domains e.g. to describe feelings and personal judgment, as in **หิวจัด** /hiw4 cat1/ ‘very hungry’, **แต่งหน้าจัด** /txxng1 naa2 cat1/ ‘put on a lot of make up’, or **แก่จัด** /kxx1 cat1/ ‘[fruit] very ripe’ (ibid.).

หนัก /nak1/ ‘heavy’ and its variations **อย่างหนัก** /jaang1 nak1/, **อย่างหนักหน่วง** /nak1 nuuang1/ and **ขนาดหนัก** /ka0naat1 nak1/, all meaning ‘heavily’, are related to physical concentration. When something is heavy, it means that there is a lot of it, and this has been transferred to the area of intensification. The concept of heaviness as intensification can also be found in the English adverb *heavily*. As noted by Partington (1993: 184), the word belongs to the group of what he calls ‘spatio-physical words’, along with the adverbs *highly* and *thoroughly*. Originally associated with weight, the sense of *heavily* were then extended metaphorically to laboriousness or to sorrow and grief. At a later period, the word conveyed severity and force, and finally came to have the meaning of ‘a large amount’. However, modern collocates of *heavily* reveal that it retains its earlier meanings associated with weight, as can be seen in *heavily clad* and *heavily laden* (Partington 1993:185).

Similar to the English *heavily*, **หนัก** /nak1/ seems to have negative collocates; it is mainly found in **ป่วยหนัก** /puuaj1 nak1/ ‘heavily sick’. **อย่างหนัก** /jaang1 nak1/ and **ขนาดหนัก** /ka0naat1 nak1/ tend to co-occur with items suggesting unfavorable experience. They may follow neutral collocates e.g. **คิด** /khit3/ ‘think’ or **ทำงาน** /tham0 ngaan0/ ‘work’ but not positive words (??**เขายิ้มอย่างหนัก** /khaaw4 jim3 jaang1 nak1/ ‘he smiles heavily’).

Closely associated with **หนัก** /nak1/ ‘heavy’ is the expression **หนักหนา** /nak1 naa4/. Originally, the word has the meaning of both ‘heavy and thick’

(Bradley 1873/ 1971), thus suggesting both weight and dimension. In modern usage, the intensifier indicates extreme intensity (RIDT). In conversation, however, the low tone of *หนัก* /nak1/ becomes elided in speech and is reduced to the neutral tone *หนักหนา* /nak3 naa4/. Since the mid tone or neutral tone does not occur in the obstruent ending syllable such as /nak1/, so in writing, to mark that there is a change, it is written as *หนัก* but in the pronunciation it is not high tone (Luksaneeyanawin 2009, personal communication). It is worth noting that the expression not only suggests intensification but also disapproval and contempt on the part of the speaker, as in (35) and (36). This perhaps explain why the expression figures higher in the translation of *so* (5 occurrences) than *very* (1 occurrence), while it does not appear in *really* at all.

(35) ST: Thought he was *so much better* than us

TT: คิด ว่า ตัวเอง ดี กว่า พวกเรา หนัก หนา
khit3 waa2 tuua0?eng0 dii0 kwaan1 phuuak2raw0 nak3 naa4
 ‘think that himself better than us heavy [and] thick’

(*The Remains of the Day*)

(36) ST: but not everyone is *very bothered* about all that.

TT: แต่ ก็ ไขว่หา ทุกคน จะ พลอย เตือนร้อน กับ
txx1 k@@2 chaj2waa2 thuk3khon0 ca1 pl@@j0 dvvat1r@@n3 kap1
 ‘but then not that everyone will go along disturbed with

เรื่อง พวก นั้น หนัก หนา
rvvang2 phuuak2 nan3 nak1 naa4

Matter group that heavy [and] thick’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

สูง /suung4/ ‘high’ is originally associated with the physical height but then the meaning is extended to intensification, as can be seen in its variant *อย่างสูง* /jaang1 suung4/ ‘highly’. For its English equivalent *highly*, Partington (1993: 184-5) notes that it was associated with emotions and feelings, but the majority of its collocates found in the modern corpus show no connection with either physical height or emotions; they are fixed collocations, such as *highly disciplined* and *highly original*. In Thai, /suung4/ ‘high’ seems to have the same fate. In the

corpus, สูง /suung4/ ‘high’ indicates a high degree of something, as in มีสติปัญญาสูง /mii0 sa0ti1 pan0jaa0 suung4/ ‘have intelligence high’ (ST: *very intelligent*); ประโยชน์ใช้สอยสูง /pra0joot1 chaj3 s@@@j4 suung4/ ‘usefulness high’ (ST: *very practical*). It is a prosaic term which has a formal connotation, which explains why it tends to occur in a non-emotive setting. Similarly, อย่างสูง /jaang1 suung4/ ‘highly’ is very formal; it generally occurs in official documents and fixed phrases such as เป็นพระคุณอย่างสูง /pen0 phra3khun0 jaang1 suung4/ ‘be grateful highly’ (ST: *really appreciate*).

The high degree of formality and non-emotiveness of สูง /suung4/ ‘high’ and อย่างสูง /jaang1 suung4/ ‘highly’ probably explains why they do not occur in the translation of *so*. Only one token is found in *really* and two in *very*.

GROUP II expressions of force and action

The concept of force and action is related to our sensory perception; the more force, the more intense a situation. Intensity of force can be perceived physically. Because the experience can be extended to feelings and emotions, the domain of force therefore contributes to the intensifying lexes, such as อย่างแรง /jaang1 rxxng0/ ‘powerfully’, and ระเบิด /ra0bqqt1/ ‘explode’, ทีเดียวก่อน /thii0 diiaw0/ ‘once’, เขียว /chiiaw0/ ‘once’.

The colloquial term อย่างแรง /jaang1 rxxng0/ ‘powerfully’ initially suggests powerful force, a strong blow on something. This meaning was soon extended to the heightening of feelings and emotions e.g. โกรธอย่างแรง /krot1 jaang1 rxxng0/ ‘angry powerfully’. In the corpus, อย่างแรง /jaang1 rxxng0/ ‘powerfully’ now functions as a fully-fledged intensifier (37). The word appears twice in the translation of *so*, while it is non-existent in *very* and *really*.

(37) ST: I'm *so sorry*, miss

TT: "ผม ขอ อภัย อย่าง แรง ครับ คุณ

phom4 kh@@@4 ?a0phaj0 jaang1 rxxng0 khrap3 khun0

‘I beg forgiveness powerfully [PP] you’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In (37), อย่างแรง /jaang1 rxxng0/ ‘powerfully’ functions as a verb modifier. It is a colloquial term.

Another expression of force is **ระเบิด** /ra0bqqt1/ ‘**explode**’. When something explodes, it is too much to bear, and the force of it is extremely powerful. Because of its great intensity in meaning, **ระเบิด** /ra0bqqt1/ ‘explode’ is adopted for use in intensification of feelings and emotions. In fact, the notion of explosion is part of the conceptualization of anger in many cultures, for example, English, Hungarian, Chinese, and Japanese (Goatly 2007: 245-247). Goatly (2007: 246) points out the metaphor theme ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER, where ‘fluid’ can be liquid or gas. Therefore, the expression of anger can be thought of as an explosion of a gas, which may or may not have been a liquid before heating. Because a number of lexis involving the loss of control in English have to do with the explosion phenomenon (e.g. *explode*, *blow up*, *erupt*, *fireworks*, *outburst*), Goatly also proposes the metaphor theme EMOTION IS EXPLOSION.

In Thai, similarly the corresponding term **ระเบิด** /ra0bqqt1/ ‘explode’ is used to describe the feeling of anger, for instance, **ระเบิดอารมณ์** /ra0bqqt1 ?aa0rom0/ ‘explode [one’s] emotion’. But whether the intensifier **ระเบิด** /ra0bqqt1/ is derived from this usage remains unsure. For one thing, the word is colloquial and emotive, probably because it is an emerging term and is gaining currency among the new generation¹⁹. It is described in the *Dictionary of Words Not in the Royal Institute Dictionary* (2000) as a slang meaning ‘greatly’ or ‘much’. The term is found only once in the corpus, and it co-occurs with another intensifying element **ไปเลย** /paj0 lqj0/, literally ‘go beyond’ as in (38). A related concept in English may be found in slangy expressions such as *blasted* (e.g. *a **blasted** idiot*) and *crashing* (as in *a **crashing** bore*) (Collins English Dictionary 2000).

(38) ST: Looks *so adorable* in leather bomber jacket!

TT: โอ้ย ใส่ แจ็กเก็ตหนัง นั้น แล้ว หล่อระเบิด

?ooj0 saj1 cxk3ket2 nang4 nan2 lxxw3 l@@1 ra0bqt1

‘Oh wear jacket leather that then handsome explosive

¹⁹ One informant aged over 60 told the researcher that she never heard of **หล่อระเบิด** /l@@1 ra0bqqt1/ ‘handsome to the point of explosion’, though she admits that **เทระเบิด** /tee2 ra0bqqt1/ ‘chic to the point of explosion’ is a possible combination. She also confirmed that she would never use **ระเบิด** /ra0bqqt1/ ‘explode’ to intensify her speech.

ไป เลย ะ
paj0 lqaj0 *wa2*
go beyond [PP]

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

The concept ‘explosion’ may bring to mind its consequences, which can be perceived visually e.g. parts scattered and crushed, as expressed in ละ /le3/ ‘crushed’²⁰; acoustically e.g. loud noises as expressed in ถล่มทลาย /ta0lom1 ta0laaj0/ ‘collapsing’ and หูดับ /huu4 dap1/ ‘ear-deafening’²¹. In the corpus, ถล่มทลาย /ta0lom1 ta0laaj0/ ‘collapsing’ follows the predicate ดัง /dang0/ ‘loud’, which also suggests acoustic quality; but elsewhere it has been found to co-occur with nouns such as ยอดขาย /j@@t2 khaaj4/ ‘sales’, รายได้ /raaj0 daj2/ ‘income’, all of which indicate a metaphorical extension. หูดับ /huu4 dap1/ ‘ear-deafening’ is an interesting term. The word apparently originates from the field of auditory perception, but the usage is expanded to physical experience, especially that of heat, as in ร้อนหูดับตับไหม้ /r@@n3 huu4 dap1 tap1 maj2/ ‘hot [until] ears [become] deaf and liver burnt’. In the data, the intensifier is found to modify the headword แพง /pxxng0/ ‘expensive’ as in แพงหูดับ /pxxng0 huu4 dap1/ ‘expensive ear-deafening[ly].’ It can be hypothesized that this expression is an extension from the better known phrase แพงหูฉี่ /pxxng0 huu4 chii1/ ‘expensive [to the point that] ears [become] sizzling’.

The last but most common expressions in this category are ทีเดียว /thii0 diiaw0/ and its oral form เขี้ยว /chiiaw0/, both originally meaning ‘once’. In early usage, both expressions are found to follow verbs such as ได้ /daj2/ ‘get’ and เห็น /hen4/ ‘see’ (Bradley 1873/1971). In this case, they are interpreted in their literal

²⁰ The term is not found in the corpus but is mentioned here as a related concept. It has a pejorative meaning, as can be seen from the phrase รวยละ /ruuaj0 le3/, which is translated into ‘filthy rich’ in English (Garden and Wannapok 2008). The negative meaning of ละ /le3/ ‘crushed’ is perhaps associated with the feeling of disgust. As Ekman (2000 cited in Goatly 2007: 234) notes, the most potent triggers of disgust are the bodily products, e.g. mucus, faeces, vomit. Because ละ /le3/ ‘crushed’ is associated with a quality of the bodily wastes, it triggers the feeling of contempt and disgust. The term is then metaphorically transferred to disgust for immorality, which explains why the expression รวยละ /ruuaj0 le3/ came to have the meaning of ‘immorally rich’.

²¹ These terms are, in fact, categorized in the restricted intensifier category but are cited here as they are semantically related to the concept under investigation.

meaning. The RIDT does not account for this definition and defines *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ as ‘suddenly, immediately’ and ‘truly’, as in *เก่งทีเดียว* /*keng1 thii0 diiaw0*/ ‘good truly’.

In modern usage, however, the literal sense of *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ ‘once’ seems to have been long forgotten, thus completing the stage of semantic bleaching. The word now appears in both written and spoken language as a fully fledged intensifier. From the data, it is found to be preceded by a number of verbs/adjectives denoting quality e.g. *สวย* /*suuaj4*/ ‘beautiful’, *มีเมตตา* /*mii0 met2taa0*/ ‘have mercy’, *อบอุ่น* /*?op1?un1*/ ‘warm’, *น่าสนใจ* /*naa2 son4 caj0*/ ‘interesting’. In addition to that, *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ ‘once’ can also be added to the end of the utterance for emphasis. For example, *จิตรกรรมมักเป็นอาชีพของทั้งตระกูลทีเดียว* /*cit1ta0kam0 mak2 pen0 ?aa0chiip2 kh@@ng4 khon0 tang3 tra0kuun0 thii0diiaw0*/ ‘painting usually is occupation of whole family [emphasis]’. In this case, *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ functions as an emphasis marker and should not be interpreted literally.

From the data, *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ and *เชี่ยวชาญ* /*chiiaw0*/ ‘once’ seem to dominate the category of force and action. As can be seen from *Table 25*, they are most frequent in *very* (17 tokens), and are much less common in *really* (6 tokens) and *so* (6 tokens). The association of *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ ‘once’ with *very* is perhaps due to the fact that both are neutral in meaning. This similarity may have motivated the translator to choose *ทีเดียว* /*thii0 diiaw0*/ ‘once’ vis-à-vis the English *very*.

GROUP III: expressions of positive and negative experience

The lexical domain of intensification is also structured in terms of positive and negative oppositions. In other words, some intensifiers may be loaded with positive or negative connotations in proportion to the degree of intensity of a particular experience. As Faber and Usón (1999: 242-3) point out, we are constantly evaluating our surrounding in terms of what is more or less agreeable for us. The polarity of *good* and *bad*, therefore constitutes a subjective scale upon which we weigh and make an assessment, and is a built-in feature of many areas of the lexicon. This scale is basic to the organization of domains such as ACTION, THOUGHT, and FEELING (ibid.). The authors note that there is a three-level hierarchy

of values. At the lowest level are those values that are associated with direct sensory experience, and which produce pleasure/repulsion. At the middle level are those values having to do with life and health. At the third level are spiritual values such as truth, beauty, and goodness. It seems that the negatively-loaded intensifiers may be viewed within the lowest range of the hierarchy, while the positively-loaded intensifiers may be in the upper levels.

Expressions of positive and negative experience are one of the richest resources for intensification. Spitzbardt (1965: 355) notes how the English adverbs express psychological conditions such as mood and individual feelings, and sub-divided them into a positively valuing group (e.g. *magnificently*, *excellently*, *purely*) and negatively valuing group (e.g. *badly*, *furiously*, *unbearably*). It should be noted that the expressions denoting positive experience appear to be less diversified than those of the negative experience, as can be seen from Spitzbardt's compilation. Similar phenomenon can be observed from the data, with a much fewer expressions for positive experience as compared to that denoting negative experience, as shown in *Table 26*.

The linguistic realizations of positive and negative experience	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
Positive experience	10	4	9
Negative experience	4	12	6
Total	14	16	15

Table 26 Frequency of linguistic realizations related to positive and negative experience

From *Table 26*, expressions of positive experience are more frequent in the translation of *very* and *really*, while expressions of negative experience are most frequent in the translation of *so*. Because expressions of positive experience are less strong in emotive meaning, their high frequency of occurrences in *very* perhaps corresponds to the weaker emotive force implied by the intensifier. In much the same vein, the high frequency of expressions related to negative experience, which evoke extreme intensity, can be associated to the strong emotivity of the intensifier *so*.

There are three expressions of positive experience found in the corpus: ดี /dii0/ ‘good’, อย่างดี /jaang1 dii0/ ‘well’ and น่าดู /naa1 duu0/ ‘worth seeing’. Their frequency of occurrences is given in *Table 27*.

Expressions of positive experience in Thai	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
ดี /dii0/ ‘good’	8	2	6
อย่างดี /jaang1 dii0/ ‘well’	2	2	1
น่าดู /naa2 duu/ ‘worth seeing’	-	-	2
Total	10	4	9

* Taken from *Table 26*

Table 27 Frequency of expressions suggesting positive experience in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From the table, the intensifier ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ is more common in the translation of *very* and *really*, while in อย่างดี /jaang1 dii0/ ‘well’ the frequency is almost similar for *very* and *so*. น่าดู /naa1 duu0/ ‘worth seeing’ is found twice in *really* and not in the other intensifiers.

The expressions of positive are described as follows.

ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ and อย่างดี /jaang1 dii0/ ‘well’ are not so strong in terms of intensity. Both are perhaps comparable in their semantic meaning to the English expressions *good and* (e.g. *the sauce is good and thick*) and *well*.

(39) ST: 'This is *very good* bread.'

TT: "ขนมปัง นี้ อร่อย ดี นะ คะ"

kha0nom4pang0 nii2 ?a0r@@@j1 dii0 na3 kha3

‘bread this delicious good [particles]

(*Possession: A Romance*)

By adding ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ to the verb อร่อย /?a0r@@@j1/ ‘delicious’, the speaker is not saying the bread is good in the literal sense but is intensifying the quality of ‘deliciousness’, although the intensity suggested is not strong.

น่าดู /naa1 duu0/ ‘worth seeing’ is a positive term that involves the visual perception. To say that something is worth seeing is to call attention to it, bringing it to the foreground, thus giving it a highlighting effect. The use of น่าดู /naa1 duu0/ ‘worth seeing’ is not restricted to the positive predicate e.g. ใส่แล้วคงจะปิ้งน่าดู /saj1 lxxw3 khong0 ja1 ping3 naa1 duu0/ ‘[if you] wear [it] [it] must be sparkling [and] worth seeing’. In fact, the term has acquired an ability to collocate with items with negative meaning as in (40). The expression occurs only twice in the translation of *really* and does not appear in *so* and *very* at all.

(40) ST: Sarah gets *really grumpy* if she doesn't get enough sleep.

TT: สวน ซาร่าห์ นี้ ถ้า นอน ไม่ พอ จะ พาล

suuan1 saa0raa1 nii2 thaa2 n@@n0 maj2 ph@@0 cal phaano

‘As for Sarah this if sleep not enough will make trouble

หงุดหงิด น่า ดู”

ngut1ngit1 naa2 duu0

irritated worth seeing’

(Turning Thirty)

Contrary to positive experience expressions, those involving the region of negative meaning are more diversified, both in Thai and in English. From the corpus, a number of expressions are found to suggest **deadliness** (จะตาย /ca1taaj0/ ‘to death’, บรรลัย /ban0laj0/ ‘die’, แทบตาย /txxp2 taaj0/ ‘almost die’), **deadliness and madness** (จะบ้าตาย /ca1 baa2 taaj0/ ‘will [go] crazy to death’, จะตายชัก /ca1 taaj0 chak3/ ‘will die convulsing’, จะบ้าตายชัก /ca1baa2 taaj0 chak3/ ‘will [go] crazy [and] die convulsing’), **painfulness** (จะแสบ /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’, สาหัส /saa4hat1/ ‘severe’, แสบสาหัส /sxxn4 saa4hat1/ ‘extremely severe’, อย่างสาหัส /jaang1 saa4hat1/ ‘severely’). These expressions find comparable terms in English. For death, there are adverbs such as *dead(ly)*, *deathly*, *to death*, *fatally*, *mortally*, *murdering*, *perishing*; madness: *absurdly*, *madly*, *crazy(-ily)*, *frenziedly*; painfulness: *agonizingly*, *excruciatingly*, *terribly*, *horribly*, *painfully*, *woefully* (see Spitzbardt 1965:358 for a list of adverbs with a markedly negative meaning).

The frequency of occurrences of the expressions associated with negative experience found in the corpus is given in *Table 28*.

Lexical realizations in Thai	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
จะตาย /ca1taaj0/ 'to death'	2	1	4
บรลย /ban0laj0/ 'die'	-	2	-
แทบตาย /txxp2 taaj0/ 'almost die'	-	1	-
จะบ้าตาย /ca1 baa2 taaj0/ 'will [go] crazy to death'	-	1	-
จะตายชัก /ca1 taaj0 chak3/ 'will die convulsing'	-	1	-
จะบ้าตายชัก /ca1baa2 taaj0 chak3/ 'will [go] crazy [and] die convulsing'	-	1	-
จะแยะ /ca1 jxx2/ 'to suffer'	1	2	1
สาหัส /saa4hat1/ 'severe'	-	1	1
แสนสาหัส /sxxn4 saa4hat1/ 'extremely severe'	1	1	-
อย่างสาหัส /jaang1 saa4hat1/ 'severely'	-	1	-
Total	4	12	6

* Taken from *Table 26*

Table 28 Frequency of expressions suggesting negative experience in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

It can be seen that the the English intensifier *so* seems to dominates this semantic category. It produces the highest number of negative-experience expressions (12 tokens), and also the greatest lexical variety (10 types). This is perhaps attributable to the fact that *so* carries a high degree of emotivity similar to the expressions of negative experience, which involve physical pain and death. The number of negative-experience expressions are lower in *really* (6 tokens) and *very* (4 tokens), both of them suggests a less strong emotive meaning as compared to that of *so*. In this regard, it can be said that there is a correlation between the degree of emotivity and subjectivity of the English intensifiers and the variety and frequency of occurrences of the TT expressions.

From the corpus, the collocates of these expressions tend to involve negative emotions (e.g. fear, hunger, anger, pain, suffering, boredom) rather than positive feelings. Only จะตาย /ca1 taaj0/ 'to death' is found to precede predicates with positive lexical content such as จริงใจ /cing0 caj0/ 'sincere' or เรียบร้อย /riiap2r@@j3/ 'well-behaved'. This has an implication. As Partington (1993: 183)

has noted, there is a correlation between the delexicalization²² of an intensifier and its collocational behavior; the more delexicalized an intensifier, the more widely it collocates. And once it begins to collocate more and more widely, it automatically loses the independent lexical content it once had. In this regard, *จะตาย* /ca1 taaj0/ ‘to death’ can be considered most advanced in its path towards delexicalization, judging from its collocatability. The stage of delexicalization in *จะตาย* /ca1 taaj0/ ‘to death’ is perhaps comparable to that of the English *terribly*, *awfully*, and *dreadfully*, whose older senses are glossed similarly by the Oxford English Dictionary as “so as to excite terror or dread” (ibid.). However, there is a slight difference in terms of the stages of delexicalization. As Partington observes, *awfully* is probably near the end of the road towards delexicalization, as it collocates frequently with modifiers having positive connotations (e.g. *good*, *nice*, *glad*, and *well*) as well as negative ones. *Terribly* has gone a little less far, since its modern collocates show a slight degree of preference for negative items, although they include *exciting*, *nice*, *funny*, and *happy* (p.184). *Dreadfully*, however, still retains the negative semantic content, judging from its collocational behaviour. Yet among its possible collocates are *dreadfully happy*, *dreadfully nice*, and *dreadfully interesting*.

Another group of expressions with a markedly pejorative meaning is *ชิบเป๋ง* /chip3peng2/ ‘damn’²³, *อย่างชั่วไร* /jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘wicked’, and *อย่างระยำ* /jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘vilely’. They are distinguished from the negative experience expressions because they are considered ‘strong’ language; in fact, they border on vulgarity. These terms are extremely emotive; they appear exclusively in the translation of *so*, and the choice of them is motivated by abusive terms in the ST, e.g.

²² According to Partington (1993: 183), delexicalization is a term by John Sinclair. It is defined by Partington as “the reduction of the independent lexical content of a word, or group of words, so that it comes to fulfill a particular function but has no meaning apart from this to contribute to the phrase in which it occurs.”

²³ *ชิบเป๋ง* /chip3peng2/ ‘damn’ is a euphemistic term of the curse word *ชิบหาย* /chip1haaj4/, literally meaning ‘ruined’ or ‘damned’. The latter is originally used for cursing; it is forbidden because it is the wishing of harm on another person or people, similar to *damn you*. The term later adopts an intensifying usage as in *สวยชิบหาย* /suuj4 chip1haaj4/ ‘damned beautiful’. While *ชิบหาย* /chip1haaj4/ is an conventionalized term (see RIDT), *ชิบเป๋ง* /chip3peng2/ ‘damn’ has not been recorded in most dictionaries.

so damn mad, so God damn jumpy. The positive collocate of ชิบเป้ง /chip3peng2/ ‘damn’ in (41) suggests that the term has been delexicalized to a certain extent.

- (41) ST: I'm *so lucky*
 TT: ฉันที้โชคดี ชิบเป้ง
chan4 nii2 chook2 dii0 chip3 peng2
 ‘I this luck good darn’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

อย่างจัญไร /jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘wickedly’ and อย่างระยำ /jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘vilely’ are also derived from abusive terms, but are used here as an intensifier, as in ประสาทกินอย่างจัญไร /pra0saat1 kin0 jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘nerve-wrecking wickedly’ (ST: *so God damn jumpy*) and โกรธอย่างระยำ /krot1 jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘angry vilely’ (ST: *so damn mad*). In the corpus, they occur in the context of the lower-class participants, and probably demonstrate how social class may have a bearing on the translator’s selection of intensifiers.

In English as well as other languages, it is easy to see how abusiveness and taboo-words have contributed to the intensifying lexicon of a language. As explained by Jay (2000: 51), strong degrees of emotion are represented by stronger emotional words. In other words, the stronger the word is chosen, the greater the intensity of the felt emotion. Curse words are unique in their ability to express the strongest emotion; they are better able to identify strong emotions than non-curse words. In fact, curses gain their power through the need to inhibit them; therefore breaking the taboo by saying them out loud is understood as occurring when the speaker is in an emotional state (p.52). When curse words are used for the sake of intensification, they tend to accompany an intense emotional state, and therefore have a much stronger meaning compared to non-curse intensifiers.

In addition to the expressions with positive and negative semantic content, there is a group of intensifiers that suggest extreme intensity of an experience, which goes beyond one’s imagination to the point that the speaker is lost for words. The mildest expression would be กว่าที่คิด /kwaa1 thii2 khit3/ ‘more than [one] thinks’, while those such as เหลือจะกล่าว /lvva4 ca0 klaaw1/ ‘unable to say’ and เกินจะบรรยาย /kqpn0 ca1 ban0jaaj0/ ‘beyond [ability] to describe’ are highly emotive;

they indicate that an emotion is so overwhelming that no words would do justice in describing it, and they can collocate with words with negative or positive meaning (42). English equivalents would be adjectives such as ‘inexpressible’, ‘inexpressible’, or ‘unspeakable’; expressions such as ‘beyond description’ or even ‘words fail me’. It is worth noting that these expressions are exclusive to the translation of *so* and not *very* and *really*; *กว่าที่คิด* /kwaa1 thii2 khit3/ ‘more than [one] thinks’ has two occurrences while *เหลือจะกล่าว* /lvva4 ca0 klaaw1/ ‘unable to say’ and *เกินจะบรรยาย* /kqqn0 ca1 ban0jaaj0/ ‘beyond [ability] to describe’ have one occurrence each. An example from the corpus:

(42) ST: There was something *so fantastic* - invigorating, really

TT: ช่าง เป็น ความรู้สึก ดี เกิน จะ บรรยาย ได้²⁴
chaang2 pen0 khwaam0 ruu3suk1 dii0 kqqn0 ca1 ban0jaaj0 daj2
 ‘craftsman be feeling good exceed will describe get’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

(d) The Domain of Truth, Authenticity, and Certainty

As Lorenz (2002: 152) notes, there is a strong link between intensification and epistemic modality: modal adverbs express a degree to which the speaker is willing to attest the truth of a proposition. In fact, a number of intensifiers began life with some modal semantic content, through which the speaker vouches for the sincerity of his/her words or cite the truth of the matter under discussion (Partington 1993: 181). The truth actually comes from the speaker; when the speaker claims that it is true, and this adds intensity to the utterance. The most famous example is *very*, from Old English *verray*, which originally means ‘truly’ or ‘genuinely’, although the truth-attesting meaning is now completely lost, making it a pure function word. Words like *really*, *truly*, and *certainly*, when used as sentence adverbs, maintain their obvious modal origins (p.182).

In Thai, a number of truth-related expressions have been observed from the corpus. Some have an intensifying function (e.g. *จริง* /cing0/ ‘true’,

²⁴ The example cited here is, in fact, classified in the morpho-syntactico-phonological category as it involves more than one devices and are generative. It is quoted here to illustrate the semantic content of the expression *เกินจะบรรยาย* /kqqn0 ca1 ban0jaaj0/ ‘beyond [ability] to describe’.

เสียจริง /siia4 cing0/ ‘truly indeed’) while others state the truth conditions of an utterance (e.g. ความจริง /khwaam0cing0/ ‘truth’, อันเป็นจริง /?an0 pen0 cing0/ ‘which is true’). Table 29 gives a list of expressions that fall in the domain of truth, authenticity, and certainty, and their distribution.

Lexical realizations in Thai	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i> ²⁵
จริง /cing0/ ‘true’	6	1	18
เสียจริง /siia4 cing0/ ‘truly indeed’	1	2	-
อย่างแท้จริง /jaang1 txx3 cing0/ ‘truthfully’	2	1	22
แท้ /txx3/ ‘genuine’	-	1	-
ที่แท้ /thii2 txx3/ ‘genuinely’	-	-	2
โดยแท้ /dooj0 txx3/ ‘genuinely’	1	-	-
ไม่มีผิด /maj2 mii0 phit1/ ‘without false’	1	-	-
แน่ /nxx2/ ‘sure’	-	-	15
แน่นอน /nxx2n@@n0/ ‘certainly’	1	-	-
ความจริง /khwaam0cing0/ ‘truth’	-	-	3
อันเป็นจริง /?an0 pen0 cing0/ ‘which is true’	-	-	1
ที่จริงแล้ว /thii2 cing0 lxxw3/ ‘actually’	-	-	1
Total	12	5	62

* Taken from Table 21

Table 29 Frequency of expressions with semantic meaning of truth, authenticity, and certainty in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From Table 29, the intensifier *really* generates the highest number of expressions within the semantic field of truth (62 tokens), leaving those of *very* and *so* far behind with 12 tokens and 5 tokens respectively. In terms of lexical variety, *really* produces the highest number of types of truth-related expressions (7 types). The high frequency of distribution and the greater number of types in *really* suggest a strong relation between the English intensifier and the expressions within the semantic domain of truth. This link is weak in the case of *very* though etymologically it had the meaning of ‘truth’, and even weaker in the case of *so*.

²⁵ For the intensifier *really*, expressions with the semantic content of truth and authenticity are classed as conventionalized intensifiers, due to their related meaning and high frequency of patterning. They are put here for the ease of comparison, to give the reader a complete picture.

Of the truth expressions, อย่างแท้จริง /jaang1 txx3 cing0/ ‘truthfully’ has the highest frequency, followed by จริง /cing0/ ‘true’ and แน่ /nxx2/ ‘sure’. Most of these expressions are found to be associated with the emphasizing function of *really*, where the English intensifier precedes a verb. For example,

- Please tell me what *really* happened.
- I kept asking myself what I *really* wanted in my life.
- You *really* thought things through tonight.

Because the translation is motivated by the ST, these three expressions tend to concern the truth condition of the utterance rather than to scale upward a quality, as most intensifiers do. Yet, even in the case where the ST really has an intensifying function, the truth expression may also be selected, as in (43).

(43) ST: a *really* talented person

TT: เป็น คน ที่ มี พรสวรรค์ อย่างแท้จริง
 pen0 khon0 thii2 mii0 p@@@n0sa0wan4 jaang1txx3cing0
 ‘be person that has talent truthfully’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

(e) The Domain of Habit and Repetition

While it has generally been noted that repetition in forms is a means of strengthening an utterance (Jespersen 1956, Lakoff and Johnson 1980), expressions which denote repetition are also found to point towards intensity. They suggest habit and inclination, for example, กันแต่ /kon1 txx1/, เอาแต่ /?aw0 txx1/, มัวแต่ /muua0 txx1/, all with the meaning of ‘to do nothing but...’ or ‘so busy’; เจ้า /chaw2/ ‘owner’, ชอบ /ch@@@p2/ ‘like’, ชี้ /khii2/²⁶ ‘excrement - natural bent’, ช่าง /chaang2/²⁷ ‘craftsman’. These terms are attitudinal, suggesting that the speaker views a

²⁶ ชี้ /khii2/ is originally a derogatory term meaning ‘excrement’. When it is used metaphorically to describe a habit, it suggests an unfavorable behavior.

²⁷ ช่าง /chaang2/ has an original meaning of ‘artisan’, someone who is specialized in a particular trade, and this meaning is still retained in normal context. As an intensifier, ช่าง /chaang2/ is defined as ‘having an inclination towards a particular habit’ (RIDT). From the corpus, it seems that the word does not occur alone but is normally accompanied by a post-modifier such as จริง /cing0/ ‘true’, จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’, เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqpn0/ ‘excessively’.

particular quality or behavior as being more intense than usual. Their distribution in the corpus is described in *Table 30*.

Lexical realizations in Thai	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
กันแต่ /kon1 txx1/ ‘to do nothing but...’	1	-	-
เอาแต่ /?aw0 txx1/ ‘to do nothing but...’	-	1	-
มัวแต่ /muua0 txx1/ ‘to do nothing but...’	-	1	-
มีแต่ /mii0 txx1/ ‘to have nothing but...’	-	1	-
เจ้า /chaw2/ ‘owner’	-	1	-
ซี้ /khii2/ ‘natural bent’	1	2	-
ชอบ /ch@@p2/ ‘prefer’	1	1	1
ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman’	-	4	1
Total	3	11	2

* Taken from *Table 21*

Table 30 Frequency of expressions with semantic meaning of habit and repetition in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

As seen from *Table 30*, the expressions of habit and inclination are more frequent and more diversified in the translation of *so* (11 tokens) than that of *really* (2 tokens) and *very* (3 token). This suggests a strong link between intensity and habit and inclination. These expressions can be divided into two sub-groups based on their semantic content:

Group 1 Expressions with the meaning of ‘to do nothing but’

Group 2 Expressions suggesting natural inclination.

They are described as follows.

Group 1 Expressions meaning ‘to do nothing but’

This group comprises กันแต่ /kon1 txx1/, เอาแต่ /?aw0 txx1/, มัวแต่ /muua0 txx1/, all with the meaning of ‘to do nothing but...’ and มีแต่ /mii0 txx1/ ‘to have nothing but’. The first three expressions precede a verb, while มีแต่ /mii0 txx1/ ‘to have nothing but’ precedes a noun, as in ชีวิตมีแต่ความไม่แน่นอน /chii0vit3 mii0 txx1 khwaam0 maj2 nxx2 n@@n0/ ‘life has [nothing] but uncertainty’ (ST: life was *so unsure*).

Of these expressions, *ก่นแต่* /kon1 txx1/ is interesting in terms of meaning change. In modern use, the word is generally understood as a term suggesting repeated action. But originally, the word *ก่น* /kon1/ has the meaning of ‘to dig’ as in ‘to dig the root of tree or grass from the ground’ (Bradley 1873/1971). To dig something requires persistence and repeated action. So the word may have adopted the meaning of repetition, while its original meaning ‘to dig’ has faded away. The intensifying use of *ก่นแต่* /kon1 txx1/ can be seen in example (44).

(44) ST: He had been drinking *very hard* for a week

TT: เขา ก่นแต่ ตุ่ม เหล้า มา ตลอด หนึ่ง สัปดาห์
khaw4 kon1txx1 dvvm1 law2 maa0 ta0l@@t1 nvng1 sap1daa0

He does nothing but drink alcohol for entire one week

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

ก่นแต่ /kon1 txx1/ is replaceable by the more current expression *เอาแต่* /?aw0 txx1/ without much change in meaning.

Group 2 Expressions suggesting natural inclination.

This group consists of *เจ้า* /chaw2/ ‘owner’, *ชอบ* /ch@@p2/ ‘like’, *ขี้* /khii2/ ‘excrement - natural bent’, *ช่าง* /chaang2/ ‘craftsman’, and they all suggest personal inclination toward a certain behavior. *เจ้า* /chaw2/ ‘owner’ and *ช่าง* /chaang2/ ‘craftsman’ have been through semantic bleaching; their lexical meaning tend to be forgotten, while people still debate whether *ชอบ* /ch@@p2/ means ‘like’ or ‘having an inclination’. Similarly, *ขี้* /khii2/, literally meaning ‘excrement’, also retains its lexical content as many people clearly dislike being described with a verb/adjective beginning with *ขี้* /khii2/. Because its association with human waste, the term triggers the feeling of disgust. This perhaps explains why it collocates with verb/adjective with negative semantic content. An example can be found in (45).

(45) ST: 'You're really becoming *very cynical and suspicious*, darling.'

TT: "ลูก ชัก จะ เป็น คน ชอบ ถากถาง และ
luuk2 chak3 ca1 pen0 khon0 ch@@p2 thaak1thaang4 lxx3

‘you begin to be person like sarcastic and

คี๊ ระวาง ไป แล้ว นะ"
khii2 ra0wxxng0 paj0 lxxw3 na3
 excrement - natural bent wary go already [SP]

(Bridget Jones' Diary)

In (45), *very* is interpreted as the modifier of both adjectives *cynical* and *suspicious*, which explains the presence of ชลน /ch@@p2/ 'like' and คี๊ /khii2/ 'excrement - natural bent'. Because the adjectives are used to describe a person, the translator selects the terms that denote habit and inclination to fit the context. When something is done on a habitual basis it becomes intensified.

4.2.1.1.3 Implicit Superlative Intensifiers

Implicit superlative intensifiers are words that inherently have extreme meaning. The concept is derived from Cruse (1986, 2000), who provides a number of features of implicit superlatives in English, which are:

- (i) They are resistant to verbal grading compared to normal antonyms. Thus, *very huge*, *extremely tiny* are anomalous.
- (ii) They can be prosodically graded by varying the pitch range of an intonational fall carried by the adjective -- the greater the fall, the higher the degree of the underlying property. Normal antonyms sound odd with this intonation.
- (iii) They can be modified by a low-pitch unstressed *absolutely*, e.g. *absolutely huge!* *absolutely tiny!* ?*absolutely large!*
- (iv) They resist affixation of *-ish*: *smallish*, **hugish*

Implicit superlative intensifiers as described in this research, however, do not share these features, because the description appears to be specific to the English language. In this study, an implicit superlative intensifier includes meaning of intensity and the predicate within the word or expression. Unlike the English implicit superlatives, they do not resist further intensification.

It should be pointed out here that although implicit superlative intensifiers are included in the category of intensifiers, they do not function to scale upward the quality of the predicate. Instead, the extreme meaning is inherent in themselves. When applied to the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*,

implicit superlative intensifiers involve in translating the intensified predicate with a so-called superlative term or a term which has a stronger degree of meaning. Examples can be found in (46), (47) and (48).

(46) ST: And then behind this **very large** beast [...]

TT: แล้ว เบื้อง หลัง สัตว์ ตัว มหา นี้
 lxxw3 bvvang2 lang4 sat1 tuua0 malhvlmaa0 nii3
 ‘already side back animal body gigantic this’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

(47) ST: **Very ornate**, I'd call it.

TT: ตกแต่ง เสีย อลังการ
 tok1txxng1 siia4 ?al1lang0kaan0
 ‘decorate lose sumptuous’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

(48) ST: But Magda was **really fed up**

TT: แต่ แมกดา ก็ เหลือ อด แล้ว
 txx1 mxxk3daa0 k@@@2 lvva4 ?ot1 lxxw4
 But Magda then beyond tolerance already

(*Bridget Jones' Diary*)

In (47), instead of rendering the expression *very ornate* straightforwardly as หุรหรามาก /ruu4raa4 maak2/ ‘ornate very,’ the translator produces the adjective อลังการ /?a1lang0kaan0/ ‘splendiferous’, which conveys the meaning of being extremely sumptuous in the decoration. It is worth noting the emphatic use of เสีย /siia4/ ‘lost’, which is also an intensifier. The word is also developed into the particles ซะ /sa3/ and ซ้ำ /saa3/, as in the slangy แจ่มซ้ำไม่มี /cxxm1 saa3 maj2 mii0/, literally ‘terrific lost [till there is] nothing’. Similarly, while it is possible to translate *really fed up* in (48) using a modifier e.g. เบื่อมาก /bvva1 maak2/ ‘bored much’, the translator chooses the expression that embodies intensification: เหลืออด /lvva4 ?ot1/ ‘beyond tolerance’. The word is itself metaphorical, featuring patience as a quantifiable substance. The expression is much stronger than *really fed up* of the ST;

it is glossed as ‘reaching one’s breaking point’ or ‘to be about to lose control’ in Garden and Wannapok (2008)

Implicit superlative intensifiers are found to occur 54 times (9.87%) in the translation of *very*, 66 time (12.84%) in *so*, and 11 times (5.85%) in *really* (see *Table 17*). The high frequency of these intensifiers in *so* perhaps correspond with the fact that *so* itself has the meaning related to ‘indefinite degree’ (Guillemin-Flescher 1999: 171), while *very* and *really* do not encompass this meaning; *very* simply indicates a high degree only (Klein 1998), and *really* seems more or less emphatic.

4.2.1.2 Semantic Metaphorical Expressions

Semantic metaphorical expressions are expressions that evoke images and sense impressions. They connote an additional layer of meaning and may involve a departure from the literal sense. Similar to intensifiers, semantic expressions are metaphorical in nature; the difference lies in the fact that semantic expressions make use of rhetorical devices and tend to be culture-bound. Thus, figurative expressions such as simile (e.g. *hot as hell*) and metaphor (*It’s lousy with a capital L, she cried her heart out*) are known to serve as a vehicle for intensification (Bolinger 1972, Labov 1984, Kullavanijaya 1997). Applied to the translation of intensifiers, this category involves the selection of semantic expressions in the TT vis-à-vis the ST intensification through modifier. This reflects the translator’s attempt to achieve naturalness in the target text on the one hand, and the tendency to ‘domesticate’ the text, or bringing it to the culture of the reader, on the other.

While some semantic expressions tend to be culture-related (49), some seem to be universal or at least, find similar expressions in English. In (49), the idiom is typically Thai; *สบายไปแปดอย่าง* /salbaaj0 paj0 pxxt1 jaang1/ can be glossed as ‘comfortable in eight matters’. The number of eight here is related to the metaphor of quantity: the higher the number, the more intense. The Thai idiom thus has the meaning of ‘convenient in every aspect’ or ‘very convenient’.

(49) ST: and it's *very convenient* for him to have me to take him in comfort

TT: และ เขา ก็ สบาย ไป แปด อย่าง เมื่อ ไป กับ ผม

lx3 khaw4 k@@@2 sa1baaj0 paj0 pxx1 jaang1 mvva2 paj0 kap1 phom4

‘and he then comfy go eight things when go with me’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

For the examples (50), (51), and (52), English expressions can be found with striking similarities to those in Thai. In (50), ปากโป้ง²⁸ /pak1 pong2/ ‘mouth big’ is comparable to the English slang *big mouth*, which is defined as ‘someone who talks too much, especially in an opinionated or gossipy way’ (*Webster’s New World Dictionary and Thesaurus*). Again this is metaphorical, as large size also suggests intensity. As In (51), แค่มือ /kxx2 jip1 mvv0/, glossed as ‘just [a] handful’ is comparable to the English *a handful of*²⁹, which means ‘a very small number’. In example (52), ใกล้..แต่เอื้อม /klaj2 khxx2 ?vvam2/, literally translated as ‘near...just reach’, is an equivalent of the English *within (easy) reach of*. These expressions are conceptualized based on the physical experience, and are metaphorical in nature.

(50) ST: but he seems to have been *very indiscreet* about my happy Christmas.

TT: แต่ ก็ มา ดี แดก เอา ตอน ปาก โป้ง เรื่อง คริสต์มาส

txx1 k@@@2 maa0 dii0 txxk1 ?aw0 t@@@n0 pak1 pong2 rvvang2 krit3sa0mat2

But then come bile break take when mouth big about Christmas

ที่ แสน สุข ของ ผม นี้ แหละ

thii2 sxxn4 suk1 kh@@ng4 phom4 nii2 lx1

which extremely happy of me this [SP]³⁰

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

²⁸ โป้ง/pong2/ means ‘thumb’ (RIDT). Because the thumb is considered the biggest of the fingers by Thais, the word also adopts the meaning of bigness.

²⁹ มือ/jip1 mvv0/ ‘a handful’ and its English equivalent refer to the amount of substance that the hand will hold, which is quite small. When used as an expression, it means ‘a very small amount or number’ (Sosothikul 2005: 10).

³⁰ SP is abbreviated from ‘Sentence Particle’, a class of forms which frequently occur in the sentence-final position. As Cooke (1989: 1) notes, they provide “a wealth of options for emotive expressiveness”. In this example, แหละ /lx1/ is a variation of ละ /la1/ and is an emphasis marker (for more detail, see 4.2.3.1.3).

- (51) ST: Lots and lots of competition out there for *very few* jobs.
 TT: งาน มี แค่ หยิบ มือ แต่ แย่ง กัน สมัคร เป็น ร้อย
ngaan0 mii0 khxx2 jip1 mvv0 txx1 jxxng2 kan0 sa1mak1 pen0 r@@j3
 ‘job have just handful but fight together apply be hundred’
 (*The Devil Wears Prada*)

- (52) ST: I [...] believed myself *very near* heaven
 TT: ผม คิด ว่า ผม เอง อยู่ ใกล้ แดน สวรรค์
phom4 kit3 waa2 phom4 ?eng0 juu1 klaj2 dxxn0 suk1khaa4wa3dii0
 ‘I think that I myself be close land heaven
แค่ เอื้อม
khxx2 ?vvam2
just reach’
 (*Brideshead Revisited*)

Semantic metaphorical expressions can also be categorized based on the rhetorical devices, e.g. simile, metaphor, and hyperbole. Simile involves describing something by comparing it with something else, using the words ‘like’ or ‘as’. In (53), the ST *so like* becomes เหมือนราวกับแกะ /mvvan4 raaw0kap1 kx1/ ‘as identical as carving’.

- (53) ST: it's simply that he looks *so like* the rest of them, sometimes.
 TT: บาง เวลา ซีบัสเตียน ก็ เหมือน เครือญาติ
baang0 wee0laa0 sii0bxxs3titan0 k@@2 mvvan4 khrvva0 jaat2
 ‘Some time Sebastian then resemble relatives
 ของ เขา ราวกับ แกะ ที่เดียว
kh@@ng4 khaw4 raaw0kap1 kx1 thii0diiaw0
 of his as if carving once’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

Metaphor involves a direct comparison of seemingly unrelated subjects. I.A. Richards (1936, cited in Paivio and Begg 1981) described the principle terms of the metaphors as *tenor*, *vehicle*, and *ground*. Tenor is the subject or the topic of the metaphor (as ‘face’ in ‘He has a stone face’); vehicle is the thing to which the tenor

is being compared to ('stone' in this example); and the ground is what the tenor and vehicle have in common (roughness or hardness). For example, anger is compared to a bonfire in terms of heat. This can be seen from the expression โกรธเป็นพินเป็นไฟ /krot1 pen0 fvn0 pen0 faj0/ in (54), which can be glossed as 'angry [like] firewood and fire'.

(54) ST: though your fancy-man was *so up* about it

TT: ถึง ไอ้หนุ่ม ใน ฝัน ของ แก จะ โกรธ เป็น พิน เป็น ไฟ
 tvng4 ?aj2 num1 naj0 fan4 kh@@ng4 kxx0 ca1 krot1 pen0 fvn0 pen0 faj0
 'Though that man in dream of you will angry be firewood be fire'

(*Tess of the D'Urbervilles*)

Hyperbole, known as purposeful exaggeration, concerns the scaling upward of reality. The translator may select a conventional TL hyperbole (55) or an original one (56). In (55), เลือดตาแทบกระเด็น /lvvat2 taa0 thxxp2 kra0den0/ literally '[until] blood [from the] eyes almost fly out', has been glossed as 'excruciatingly' in Garden and Wannapok (2008). The expression is used to describe an activity that is attempted with greatest trouble. The graphic description of the statement is far from being true in the literal sense, and is therefore considered an exaggeration.

(55) ST: she crumpled up the number we'd both just fought *so hard* to get.

TT: เธอ ขยำ เบอร์ ที่ สุดส่าห์ ความ หา มา จน เลือด
 thqg0 kha0jum4 bqg0 thii2 ?ut1saa1 khwaan0 haa4 maa0 con0 lvvat2
 'she crumble number that attempt grope find come until blood
 ตา แทบ กระเด็น ทิ้ง
 taa0 thxxp2 kra0den0 ting3
 eye nearly fly out discard'

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In (56), the expression ริษยาจนหน้าเขียว /rit3sa0jaa4 con0 naa2 khiaw4/, glossed as 'jealous [to the point that one's] face [becomes] green', is transferred from the ST *so jealous*. The phrase is obviously derived from the English expression *green with envy*.

(56) ST: Adele and her trendy mates will be *so jealous*

TT: แม่ อาเดล กับ เพื่อน ก๊ิบเก๋ ไฮโซ ของ เธอ
 mxx3 ?aa0del0 kap1 phvvan2 kip3kee4 haj0soo0 kh@@ng4 thqq0
 ‘Miss Adele and friends chic hi-so of her
 ทั้งหลาย นั้น จะ ต้อง ริษยา จน หน้า เขียว
 tang3laaj4 nan2 ca1 t@@ng2 rit3sa0jaa4 con0 naa2 khiaw4
 all those that will must jealous until face green’

(Turning Thirty)

The major difference between a semantic metaphorical expression and a restricted intensifier involving metaphorical extension (see 4.2.1.1.1) lies in the fact that a restricted intensifier functions to modify a predicate; the intensifying effect falls on the intensifier, which can be added to another predicate for intensification. A semantic metaphorical expression, on the other hand, carries intensity in one whole phrase. It is impossible to separate the intensifying component from the predicate; or even if it is possible, the intensifying component is not likely to be used with other predicate. For example, in the expression แตกต่างกันลิบลับ /txxk1taang1 kan0 lip3 lap3/ ‘remotely different’, the restricted intensifier ลิบลับ /lip3 lap3/ ‘remotely’ is originally used with distance, but the meaning is extended so it can be used with other expressions, e.g. in สูงลิบลับ /suung4 lip3 lap3/ ‘high remotely’. However, with a semantic metaphorical expression, the intensity is inherent in the entire expression. For example, โกรธเป็นพินเป็นไฟ /krot1 pen0 fvvn0 pen0 faj0/ ‘angry [like] firewood and fire’ is idiomatic; เป็นพินเป็นไฟ /pen0 fvvn0 pen0 faj0/ is unlikely to be extended to other predicates without creating an anomalous sentence.

Semantic metaphorical expressions are found to occur with the greatest frequency in the translation of *so* (30 tokens, 4.98%), twice the number of that generated by *very* (14 tokens, 2.49%). *Really* produces only 7 semantic metaphorical expressions, with (3.59%). This indicates that the intensifier *so* tends to generate a more diversified translation than the other two intensifiers.

4.2.1.3 Deictics

Deictic words focused from the speaker's perspective. They indicate how the speaker views something in connection with himself, as to whether the object or event is perceived as being near at hand or at a distance. This is described in Caffi and Janney (1994: 356) as the 'proximity phenomena', a category of which is the spatial proximity marker. This type of markers regulates metaphorical distance between 'inner' and 'outer' event, as can be seen from the use of demonstratives (*This/ That is a good idea*), or between events close to or far away from the speaker (*here/there!*).

So, in a way, deictics are used as a 'verbal pointer'. In fact, the act of pointing is rooted in the human evolution. As noted in Bühler (1934/ 1990: 93), pointing is a gesture that is specifically human. It functions as signposts in non-verbal language, just as deictic words such as *here* and *there* do to spoken language. In fact, deixis could well be the primal words of human language, and there are a few 'myths' that emerge from it. One is described in Bühler (1934/1990: 100-101):

Mute deixis, indicating with the outstretched arm and index finger and similar indicating gestures with the head and eyes are said to have preceded them. It is claimed that acoustic signs that also serve to demonstrate were at first used only to underscore this pointing to objects and events in the realm of perception, which was done mutely or accompanied by shouts and calls [...] but that later these acoustic signs increasingly served as elaborations and extensions of the gestures. Finally, the acoustic signs alone superseded and to an extent displaced the gesture.

Whatever the origin of deixis might be, deictic words are used to mark psychological distance, and are all related in some way or other to what might be regarded as the 'egocentric orientation' of the act of utterance (Caffi and Janney 1994: 364). The proximity category, as the authors have noted, appears to be basic and constitutes "a sort of bridging category between indexicality and emotivity" (ibid.). In fact, they are viewed as being "fundamental features of emotive communication" (p.365). To elaborate, the speaker's attitudes toward distance (*near/far*) can be derived from the choice of deictic words s/he chooses. The distance

could well be physical but in most cases is metaphorical or psychological, and the selection of deixis can be indicative of the speaker's 'outer' and 'inner' space. For example, by saying "Here you are" when passing on an object to the hearer, the speaker is feeling closer to the object in question than if s/he says "There you are". Similarly, if one says "I can't understand these people", referring to the people in the same room, there is potentially a discrepancy between the physical and psychological spaces; what is perceived to be near outwardly seems to be far away inwardly according to the speaker. In this regard, it is possible to say that deictics are indexical of the speaker's feeling and therefore realize the expressive function in Bühler's sense.

Deixis is found to be typical to the translation of *so*, while it is rarely found with *very* and is non-existent in *really* (see *Table 17*). This suggests that the intensifier *so* is related to the psychological positioning. Most deictics found here fall into the category of space deixis, and can be divided into three major groups: (1) the speaker-oriented *นี้* /nii3/ 'this', (2) the listener-oriented *นั่น* /nan3/ 'that', and (3) others. They are described in *Table 31*.

Deictics	Freq.		
	<i>Very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
<i>นี้</i> /nii3/ 'this'	2	40	-
<i>นั่น</i> /nan3/ 'that'	-	16	-
Others	-	2	-
Total	2	58	-

Table 31 Distribution of deictics found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From the table, *นี้* /nii3/ 'this' is found to occur in the majority of deictic cases, which perhaps suggests that the intensifiers under investigation tend to be speaker-oriented rather than listener-oriented. In other words, the object or event being talked about is perceived as being psychologically proximate to the speaker. A list of its preferred collocates is given in *Table 32*.

Collocates	Freq.	
	นี้ /nii3/ 'this'	นั้น /nan3/ 'that'
ขนาด /ka0naat1/ 'size'	19	9
อย่าง /jaang1/ 'way'	14	3
แบบ /bxxp1/ 'style'	4	-
เพียง /phiiang0/ 'just'	2	2
เช่น /chen2/ 'such'	1	1
ชั้น /khan2/ 'extent'	-	1
Total	40	16

*Taken from *Table 31*.

Table 32 Observed frequency of collocates preceding the deictics นี้ /nii3/ 'this' and นั้น /nan3/ 'that' in the translation of *so*

It should be pointed out that the mapping of deictics with intensifier *so* does not occur arbitrarily. In other words, not every sentence containing *so* can be translated with อย่างนี้ /jaang1 nii3/ 'this way' and the likes. A close look at the data reveals that deictic selection generally appears to be motivated by the cases in which the speaker expresses surprise or astonishment, or when there is a contrariety between personal expectation and reality. This is often signaled by the exclamation point, exclamative structure (*How could you be so treacherous!*), negated cognition verbs e.g. *believe, know, realize* (see examples 57 and 58). In other cases, deictics are selected in the face of question form (example 59). The other possible trigger of deictic translation is the reference to the here and now, which is sometimes realized through the use of perfective aspect and/or present tense. On the contrary, deictic expressions are unlikely to be generated by a simple, affirmative sentence (e.g. Life is *so* short → ??ชีวิตสั้นอย่างนี้ /chii0wit3 san2 jaang1 nii3/ 'life is short like this'), probably because deictics presuppose a point of reference in our cognition. This may explain why it is potentially anomalous in positive or affirmative statements.

(57) ST: I can't believe she called *so early*!

TT: ไม่ อยาก เชื่อ ว่า ยาย นั้น จะ โทร. มา แต่ เข้า อย่าง นี้
maj2 jaak1 chvva2 waa2 jaaj0 nan2 ca1 thoo0 maa0 txx1 chaw3 jaang1 nii3
 ‘not want believe that woman that will call come since early like this’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

(58) ST: [...] but I did not know a dog could bear a grudge for *so long*.

TT: แต่ พี่ ไม่ รู้ ว่า หมา จะ โกรธ ได้ นาน ขนาด นี้
txx1 phii2 maj2 ruu3 waa2 maa4 ca1 krot1 daj2 naan0 kha0naat1 nii3
 ‘But I not know that dog will angry get long size this’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

(59) ST: Why would he be *so persistent*?

TT: ทำไม เขา ต้อง ติดตาม เธอ แบบ นี้?
tham0maj0 khaw4 t@@ng2 tit1taam0 thqq0 bxxp1 nii3
 ‘Why he must follow her style this’

(*The Notebook*)

The high frequency of patterning of the deictic expressions in the translation of *so* points to the fact that *so* is context-dependent, while *very* is not. As Michaelis (2001: 1040) points out, the sentence *It's so hot* carries the meaning of ‘It is hot to x degree’, this sentence would not be uttered if neither of the speaker nor the hearer know whether it is cold or hot. In other words, both the speaker and the hearer must have a shared knowledge of the condition. In addition, the use of *so* presupposes a certain consequence. The sentence *I almost fainted, the sun was so hot* is a normal usage, but *to say I almost fainted, the sun was very hot* would sound anomalous (Michaelis 2001: 1041). Thus, the intensifiers *so* requires the participant to retrieve the meaning from the context. This is reflected in the patterning of deictics in the translation.

4.2.2 The Morpho-Syntactico-Phonological Processes

While the lexical processes have to do with prosaic forms, the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes involve the linguistic forms that are productive. This category subsumes the process of repetition in terms of formal constructions (e.g. reduplicatives), semantic content (e.g. semantic doublets), and processes, which means that more than one linguistic devices can pile up on top of others for the purpose of intensification. As this category also encompasses the syntactic processes, negative constructions and phrasal repetition are included in this grouping. Unlike the lexical processes that have to do with one-to-one relationship, the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes involve one-to-many relationship, which means that the SL intensifier is translated into more than just one linguistic device in the TL.

From the corpus data, three major processes have been identified under this heading, as follows:

1. Repetition
 - 1.1 Formal repetition
 - 1.2 Semantic repetition
2. Negative constructions
3. Combinatory structures

Repetition is a linguistic process that is common in most languages of the world. In this study, repetition is classified into two major categories: formal repetition and semantic repetition. **Formal repetition** involves repetition of the same form, be it lexical item(s) or a syntactic construction. **Semantic repetition**, on the other hand, concerns the repetition of meaning. This category subsumes semantic doublets/triplets as well as semantic iteration of the larger chunk. **Negative constructions** are sentences with the negative element e.g. *ʔai /maj2/* ‘not’. The last category, **combinatory structures**, has to do with repetition of intensifying devices. In other words, they encompass a combination of up to four linguistic devices of either same or different categories. The frequency of occurrences of these phenomena is presented in the table below.

<i>Linguistic realizations</i>	<i>very</i>		<i>So</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Repetition	259	42.04	304	44.19	198	70.46
(Formal repetition)	(108)	(17.53)	(99)	(14.39)	(181)	(64.41)
(Semantic repetition)	(151)	(24.51)	(205)	(29.80)	(17)	(6.05)
Negative constructions	68	11.04	19	2.76	-	-
Combinatory structures	289	46.92	365	53.05	83	29.54
<i>Total</i>	616	100	688	100	281	100

Table 33 Linguistic realizations of morpho-syntactico-phonological processes found in the translation of the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

From *Table 33*, repetition is found to be highest in *really*, followed by *so* and *very*. Formal repetition figures extremely high for the intensifier *really* (181 token, 64.41%) as compared to *very* (108 tokens, 17.53%) and *so* (99 tokens, 14.39%). A closer look at the data reveals that the discrepancy comes from the high frequency of the reduplicated intensifier *จริง ๆ* /cing0 cing0/, literally ‘true true’, which accounts for 146 tokens (51.96%) (see *Table 35*). On the contrary, semantic repetition occurs very infrequently in *really* (17 tokens, 6.05%) compared to the much higher number in *so* (205 tokens, 29.80%) and *very* (151 tokens, 24.51%). This is probably because *really* has been identified with truth-related lexes that the fact that it can very well be translated with other linguistic devices tends to be ignored. The negative constructions are most frequent in the translation of *very* (68 tokens, 11.04%), much less in *so* (19 tokens, 2.76%), and are non-existent in *really*. The combinatory structures, the expansion of intensifying forms, are most recurring in the translation of *so* (365 tokens, 53.05%), followed by *very* (289 tokens, or 46.92%) and *really* (83 tokens, 29.54%).

Each of the subcategory listed will be described in the sections that follow.

4.2.2.1 Repetition

Repetition is a known to be common across languages. Jespersen (1956: 173) remarks:

Repetition of the same style or syllables comes natural to all human beings and is found very often in all language as a means of strengthening an utterance.

As regards the emotive use of language, repetition is “a fundamental if primitive device of intensification³¹” (Leech 1969: 78). Bolinger (1972: 288) remarks that saying something twice “not only doubles it semantically but also doubles the noise with which we say it, and noisiness is certainly one form of intensification.” In this regard, repetition is iconic. Leech (1969: 79) also notes how repetition indicates intensity of emotion. By underlining rather than elaborating the message, repetition presents a simple emotion with a forceful effect, or even further suggests a suppressed intensity of feeling, a feeling that is confined and for which “there is no outlet but a repeated hammering at the confining wall of language” (ibid.). Leech concludes that in a way, repetition is a reflection on the inadequacy of language to express what one have to express in one go.

Tannen (1989), however, offers an interesting view on repetition from a different perspective. Written in the context of conversation, Tannen views repetition as involving “an overarching purpose of creating interpersonal involvement³²”, and points out another dimension of psychological effect repetition may create. She views repetition as

... a verbal analogue to the pleasure associated with familiar physical surroundings: the comfort of home, of a favorite chair. It is the trust in a speaker one knows, or one who seems – by virtue of appearance, dress, kinesics, and ways of speaker -- like one to be trusted. The pattern of

³¹ Leech comments that in fact, to call it a device is misleading, because repetition is “almost involuntary to a person in a state of extreme emotional excitation” (1969: 78).

³² In her book *Talking voices: repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse* (1989), Tannen’s focus is on allo-repetition (repetition of others) and not self-repetition. Yet her view on the association between repetition and psychological involvement is interesting and serves to explain the human propensity towards the linguistic process of repetition.

repeated and varied sounds, words, phrases, sentences, and longer discourse sequences gives the impression, and indeed the reality, of a shared universe of discourse.

(Tannen 1989: 52)

So to speak, repetition is a process that does not only serve as an emotional outlet to the speaker, but also offers a kind of ‘psychological comfort’ to the hearer; the luxury of being with the ‘known’ rather than the unknown. But what should constitute the case of repetition? Tannen writes:

Instance of repetition may be placed along a scale of fixity in form, ranging from exact repetition (the same words uttered in the same rhythmic pattern) to paraphrase (similar idea in different words.) Midway on the scale, and most common, is repetition with variation, such as questions transformed into statements, statements changed into questions, repetition with a single word or phrase changed, and repetition with change of person or tense.

(Tannen 1989: 54)

As mentioned earlier, the processes of repetition in this research are divided into two categories: (1) formal repetition, and (2) semantic repetition. Discussions will proceed in this order, with evidence supplied from the corpus.

4.2.2.1.1 Formal Repetition.

In this research, repetition of the same form can be classified into two categories: (1) reduplicatives, which occur at the lexical level, and (2) iteration of the same syntactic construction. Reduplicatives are quite common in Thai. They tend to be marked by the repeat sign (๑), although some variations have been noted from the data. Iteration of the same syntactic construction involves the repetition of chunks larger than the word level. For example,

(60) ST: I'm *really, really* sorry.

TT: ฉัน ขอโทษ ฉัน ขอโทษ จริง ๆ นะ"
 chan4 kh@@4thot2 chan4 kh@@4thot cing0 cing0 na3
 'I apologize I apologize true true [SP]'

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

Example (60) features the repetition of the sentence ฉันขอโทษ /chan4 kh@@4thot2/ 'I apologize'. Note that the reduplicative จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ 'true true' and the affirmative sentence particle นะ /na3/ are added to the second sentence, thus giving the utterance extra intensity. The repetition is probably motivated by the ST repetition of the intensifier *really*.

The number of both types of formal repetition in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really* is presented in the table below.

<i>Linguistic realizations</i>	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Reduplication	104	96.30	95	95.96	179	98.90
Iteration of the same syntactic construction	4	3.70	4	4.04	2	1.10
<i>Total</i>	108	100	99	100	181	100

Table 34 Frequency of types of formal repetition found in the translation of the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*

From Table 34, lexical reduplication is found to be dominant in the translation of the three intensifiers, while repetition of the syntactic construction is a rarity, occurring less than 5 percent for each intensifier. They will be dealt with in the next sections.

a) Repetition at the Lexical Level

From the corpus, a large number of formal repetitions occurs at word level. These reduplicatives have been identified based on the type of reduplicated word, orthographic form, pitch change, and insertion of word in-between. Table 35

gives a brief overview of the types of reduplicatives found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

Types of reduplicatives	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
Reduplication of intensifiers (with repeat sign)	38	23	169
Reduplication of lexical items (verb/adjective) (with repeat sign)	57	44	8
Reduplication in full form (without repeat sign)	-	-	1
Reduplication with vowel and consonantal change	5	15	1
Reduplication with pitch change	1	3	-
Reduplication of items with insertion of word in-between	3	10	-
Total	104	95	179

Table 35 Types of reduplicatives and their frequency of occurrences found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

At a glance, reduplication appears to be more predominant in the translation of *really*, less so in *very* and *so* as can be seen from the total frequency number. Yet on a close inspection, the great frequency of reduplicatives in *really* (169 tokens) seems to have come from the reduplicated intensifier จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’, usually identified as an established equivalent of *really* (see, for example, Sethaputra 1999, Oxford Riverbook English-Thai Dictionary 2001), while reduplicated intensifiers are much less in *very* (38 tokens) and *so* (23 tokens). For reduplicated verb or adjective, the results are quite the opposite. Only 8 tokens are identified for *really*, while *very* and *so* produce many more: 57 tokens and 44 tokens respectively. In other reduplication categories, *really* exhibits an extremely low number, sometimes to the point of non-existence. This suggests that the intensifier is not likely to be translated outside the semantic field of truth. The intensifier *so*, on the other hand, tends to produce a higher number of reduplicatives with acoustic modifications as well as the reduplicatives where a lexical item is inserted in-between. This perhaps corresponds with the fact that modified reduplicatives are unconventional and are therefore more expressive than the conventional types (e.g. those with the repeat sign ‘ๆ’), which constitute the majority of reduplicatives in the corpus.

In the next sections, each subtype of reduplication will be looked at in greater detail, with examples given from the corpus.

(a) Reduplication of Intensifiers

As a conventionalized intensifier, the neutral มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ or จริง /cing0/ ‘true’ needs to go through linguistic modifications, if they are to be used emotively. The most common process of modification is the morphological process, through reduplication, which gives them extra intensity (although the degree of intensity may have been reduced due to repeated use). From the data, it is found that some reduplicated intensifiers in Thai are more associated to a particular intensifier in English than others. The preference is perhaps dictated by the semantic content of the English intensifier as well as the habitual use in Thai. For example, มาก ๆ /maak2 maak2/ ‘much much’ (61) is more likely to be associated with *very*, similar to มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’.

(61) ST: Sara felt *very tired*.

TT: ซารา รู้สึก เพลีย มาก ๆ
 saa0raa1 ruu3svk1 pliia0 maak2 maak2
 ‘Sara felt tired much much’

(*Smart Women*)

In the same vein, reduplicatives จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’, จริงจัง /cing0 cang0/ ‘seriously’³³, and จริง ๆ จัง ๆ /cing0 cing0 cang0 cang0/ ‘seriously seriously’ tend to be more specific to the translation of *really*. Reduplicated intensifiers found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really* are listed in the table below.

³³ Although จริงจัง /cing0 cang0/ has been translated altogether as ‘seriously’ (see Garden and Wannapok 2008), it is classed as a truth-related term in this research, as the first syllable of it จริง /cing0/ literally means ‘true’.

Reduplicated intensifiers	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
มาก ๆ /maak2 maak2/ ‘much much’	11	2	4
เอามาก ๆ /ʔaw0 maak2 maak2/ ‘much much’	3	5	6
จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’	18	15	146
แท้ ๆ /txx3 txx3/ ‘genuine genuine’	2	-	2
แน่ ๆ /nxx2 nxx2/ ‘sure sure’	1	-	1
จริงจัง /cing0 cang0/ ‘seriously’	-	-	5
จริงจัง ๆ /cing0 cing0 cang0 cang0/ ‘seriously seriously’	-	-	2
สุด ๆ /sut1 sut1/ ‘edge edge’	2	-	-
Others	1	1	3
	38	23	169

* Taken from *Table 35*

Table 36 Reduplicated intensifiers found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

As can be seen from *Table 36*, จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’ occurs predominantly in the translation of *really* (146 tokens), much higher than those produced by *very* (18 token) and *so* (15 tokens). In fact, most reduplicated truth expressions (e.g. แท้ ๆ /txx3 txx3/ ‘genuine genuine’ and แน่ ๆ /nxx2 nxx2/ ‘sure sure’, and จริงจัง /cing0 cang0/ ‘seriously’) are more associated with *really* than the other two intensifiers. Reduplicated quantity expressions มาก ๆ /maak2 maak2/ ‘much much’ and เอามาก ๆ /ʔaw0 maak2 maak2/ ‘much much’ are more common in the translation of *very*. It is worth noting that reduplicated intensifiers are less frequent in the translation of *so*. One possible explanation for their low frequency in *so* is that these intensifier reduplicatives are ‘worn out’, which means that they have become far less emotive as compared to the force produced by the intensifier *so*.

In addition to these possibilities, there are other means of intensification that involve the repetition of forms. One of them is to add extra final consonants to the word, as in มากกกก³⁴ /maaaaak2/ ‘muuuuch’, to simulate

³⁴ Note the orthographic representation of มากกกก. In fact, with an extra long vowel, the word should be written with a repetition of vowel sound instead of consonant /k/. But as the computer does not allow multiple typing of the vowel, the sound duration is compensated by the repetition of consonant instead.

phonological elongation of the item. In other cases, reduplication is accompanied by the phonological modification. For instance, an extra high tone is added to the first syllable of the reduplicative, and this is usually accompanied by the lengthening of vowel sound, as in มาก มาก /maaak3 maak2/ ‘much much’. However, the shortening of vowel sound is also possible, as can be observed in มั๊ก มั๊ก /mak1 mak1/ ‘much much’,³⁵ a new form pioneered by the young generation. Luksaneeyanawin (2009, personal communication) notes that the shortening of vowel is a form of deviation; as a rule, the more sound (e.g. lengthening), the more intensity. Yet it can be said that deviation is important in the intensification paradigm, as it involves a form that is novel, colorful, and more emotive. When this pattern is used repeatedly, it is adopted in a wider circle and becomes accepted. Thus, in the future, it is possible that มั๊ก มั๊ก /mak1 mak1/ ‘much much’ can become another customary term of intensification, and that the process of shortening may be apply to other words, as a means of producing intensity.

(b) Reduplication of Lexical Items

Similar to the reduplicated intensifiers, reduplication of lexical items is identifiable by the repeat sign ‘๑’, which constitutes the majority of reduplication in the data. The use of repeat sign is a conventional means of writing. Although it is said to add emphasis to the utterance when the reduplicated item is a verb, adverb, or adjective, the effect is not so forceful, which perhaps explains why, for a stronger effect, one may be tempted to put a series of the repeat sign after a verb or adjective (e.g. ซวย ๑ ๑ ๑ ๑ ๑ ๑ /suuaj0 suuaj0 suuaj0 suuaj0 suuaj0 suuaj0 suuaj0/ to emphasize the extreme lack of luck upon oneself).

In general, reduplication in Thai can be formed out of different word classes, for example, noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, classifier, onomatopoeic word, but not all of them have the meaning of intensity. Some may have the meaning of plurality, individuality, etc. (Luksaneeyanawin 1984, Anchaleenukul 2003). In the corpus, however, most of the reduplicatives in this category are found to derive from an adjective or adverb e.g. โง่ ๑ /ngo2 ngo2/ ‘silly

³⁵ มั๊ก มั๊ก /mak1 mak1/ ‘much much’ does not appear in the data but is discussed here as it is an interesting case of intensification.

silly', ช้า ๆ /chaa3 chaa3/ 'slowly slowly'. Most are disyllabic, as in (62); only few are quadrisyllabic (63). This type of reduplicatives is similar to 'simple reduplicatives' as described in Luksaneeyanawin (1984)³⁶. According to Luksaneeyanawin (1984: 127-129), simple reduplicatives are derived from a base word (O) and a reduplicator (R) which is completely similar to the base word and comes in front of the base word (R O). All disyllabic simple reduplicatives have only one accent on the last syllable of the reduplicatives; they all have R'O accentual pattern.

(62) ST: She's been *so weird* all week.

TT: เธอ ทำ ท่า แปลก ๆ ใส่ ฉัน มา ทั้ง อาทิตย์ แล้ว
 thq0 thaa0 thaa2 plxxk1 plxxk1 saj0 chan4 maa0 tang3 ?aa0thit lxxw3
 'She do pose weird weird put me come all week
 already'

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

(63) ST: But don't think it's *so soft* at the joint, either.

TT: แต่ อย่า คิด ว่า งาน ใน สำนักงาน เล็ก ๆ นั้น
 txx1 jaa1 khit3 waa2 ngaan0 naj0 sam4nak3ngaan0 lek3 lek3 nan3
 'but don't think that work in office small small that
 จะ เป็น งาน เบา ๆ สบาย ๆ
 cal pen0 ngaan0 baw0 baw0 sa0baaj0 sa0baaj0
 will be work light light comfy comfy'

(*In Dubious Battle*)

Disyllabic reduplicatives are found to be most common in the translation of *very* (56 tokens) followed by *so* (42 tokens) and *really* (8 tokens). Quadrisyllabic reduplicatives are very rare; they occur twice in *so*, once in *very*, but not in *really*.

(c) Reduplication in Full Form

While most reduplicatives are written with the repeat sign ๆ they can also be written in full form, which is more marked and therefore suggests

³⁶ Luksaneeyanawin (1984) identifies four types of reduplicatives: simple, intensifying, partial, and special, based on the accentual pattern and vowel patterning. Each type of these reduplicatives is found to have its own morphophonological structure and semantic function attached to it.

stronger intensity. Repetition of the same orthographic form may serve to vent out the writer's intense emotion on the one hand; on the other hand, it may leave an impression on our memory, that extra emphasis should be given to a particular topic or utterance. This type of reduplication is not usual; in fact, only one example is found in the data. This usage is motivated by the translator's decision to simulate the ST repetition and reproduce a similar intensifying effect, as in (64).

(64) ST: maybe you can get me a *really, really, really nice* dress for special occasions?

TT: คุณ จะ กรุณา ให้ เสื้อผ้า ที่ สวย มาก มาก มาก
khun0 ca1 ka0ru0naa0 haj2 svva2phaa2 thii2 suuaj4 maak2 maak2 maak2
 'you will kindly give clothes that beautiful much much much
มาก สำหรับ โอกาส พิเศษ ของ ฉัน ได้ มั้ย อ๊ะ
maak2 sam4rap1 ?oo0kaat1 pi3set1 kh@@ng4 chan4 daj2 maj3 ?a2
much for occasion special of me get [particles]'

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

(d) Reduplication with Vowel or Consonantal Change

This type of reduplication generally involves a sequence of two couplets. In fact, they tend to be classed under 'synonymous compounds' (see, for example, Phurahong 1983), but in this research they are placed in the category of reduplicatives because they involve repetition of the first and the third syllable. In other words, the first and the third words are the same. In terms of meaning, either the first pair of couplets or the second pair supplies the core meaning; another pair is added for the sake of intensity and sonority. Examples are given in the following (the underlined items are the core word):

<u>พิลึกพิลั่น</u>	/phi3lvk3 phi3lan2/	'very strange'
	(ST: <i>so bizarre</i>)	
<u>ละเอียดลออ</u>	/la0?iiat1 la0?@@@0/	'very thorough'
	(ST: <i>very precise</i>)	
<u>สะอาดสะอาด</u>	/sa0?aat1 sa0?aan2/	'very clean'
	(ST: <i>so well-swept</i>)	
<u>ระมัดระวัง</u>	/ra0mat3 ra0wang0/	'very cautious'
	(ST: <i>very, very careful</i>)	

ชำนาญ ชำนาญ /cham0ni3 cham0naan0/ ‘very skillful’
(ST: *so efficiently*)

In the first three examples above, the core word falls on the first pair of the couplets, while in the latter it falls on the second-pair part. In addition to this type of reduplication, where the additive element does not have any specific meaning except intensity, there is a related category, in which both pair which the second pair part has similar or near-identical meaning. Note that the underlined couplets are the core item.

เต็มอกเต็มใจ /tem0?0k1 tem0caj0/ ‘very willingly’
(ST: *so smugly*)
เป็นบ้าเป็นหลัง /pen0baa2 pen0lang4/ ‘very thorough’
(ST: *so madly*)
ทันทีทันใด /than0thii0 than0daj0/ ‘very suddenly’
(ST: *so sudden*)
เอาจริงเอาจัง /?aw0cing0 ?aw0cang0/ ‘very serious’
(ST: *so serious*)

This type of reduplication is most prevalent in the translation of *so* (15 tokens). It is found five times in *very* and once in *really* (see Table 35).

(e) Reduplication with Pitch Change

This type of reduplication is perhaps similar to what Luksaneeyanawin (1984: 129) calls ‘intensifying reduplicatives’. They are derived from a base word and a reduplicator which has the same consonants and vowels as the base word. The reduplicator is accented; it is a rising and falling contour. The first syllable of the intensifying reduplicatives receives an intensifying accent. From the data, reduplicatives of this type also involve pitch change, stress, and/or phonological elongation, all these comprising intensifying choices for the speaker (Caffi and Janney 1994). To present stress or sound change, the translator makes use of orthographic representation; the reduplicatives are written in full form, instead of with the repeat sign, with tone mark or extra final consonants added. Such cases are found, however, with a small number in the corpus, probably due to the fact that the sample texts are of literary genre and to produce phonological modifications when

there is none in the ST would amount to a deviation or a transgression to the ST according to the prevalent translational norms.

(65) ST: She makes you work *very, very hard*.

TT: หลอน ใช้ งาน คุณ หนัก หนัก³⁷
 l@@n1 chaj3 ngaan0 khun0 nak3 nak1
 ‘she use work you heavy heavy’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*, original spelling)

(66) ST: ‘unlike mine who are *soooooo fake*.

TT: "ตรง กัน ข้าม กับ พ่อ แม่ ฉัน ซึ่ง เป็น อะไร
 trong0 kan0 khaam2 kap1ph@@2 mxx2 chan4 svng2 pen0 ?a0raj0
 ‘Contrast with father mother my which be what
 ที่ เสแสร้ง ม๊ากก มาก³⁸”
 thii2 see4sxxng2 maaaak3 maak2
 is pretending muuuuch-much’

(*Turning Thirty*)

In both examples, the translator’s attempt to simulate the prosodic intensification in the ST is quite obvious. In spoken language, the stress is likely to fall on *véry, very* (65), while example (66) is marked with stress and vowel lengthening (*soooooo*). The translator’s solution is to look for a phonological device that would produce an equivalent phonological effect. In this case, a disyllabic reduplicative with the high tone on the first syllable is more effective in conveying intensification than a reduplicative with normal tone (Anchaleenukul 2003: 29). Similar pattern is also possible in a four-syllable reduplicative, as in (67).

(67) ST: ‘Do you think it’s normal to be *so civilised*?’

TT: "คุณ ว่า ตกลง มัน ปกติ ไหม ที่ เรา

³⁷ It should be noted that the orthographic form หนักหนัก /nak3 nak1/ ‘heavy heavy’ is considered unorthodox, if not incorrect, as a spelling because the word หนัก /nak1/ is a closed syllable and should not receive a tone mark. A more conventional spelling for /nak3/ would be หนัก, น้ำหนัก.

³⁸ ม๊ากกมาก /maaaak3 maak2/ ‘muuuuch-much’, in fact, should be spelled with the repeated vowel ‘า’ /aa/ rather than the repeated final consonant. The reason for this orthographic representation is probably because the computer does not allow more than one vowel in a row.

khun0 waa2 tok1long0 man0 pok1ka0ti1 maj4 thii2 taw0
 ‘you think agree it normal [question word] that we
 เลิกกัน แบบ ผู้ดี ผู้ดี เนี่ย”
lqk2 kan0 bxxp1 phuu2dii3 phuu2dii0 niia2
 break up style highclass highclass [sentence particle]

(Turning Thirty)

Vowel lengthening and pitch change, however, can fall on the second syllable of the disyllabic reduplicative, as in (68). The meaning here is of emphasis on the quality of being Latin, and not on the truth condition (which could be the case if the rise tone falls on the first syllable instead).

(68) ST: ‘Oh, he’s *so Latin*

TT: "โ้ไ้ เขา ดู ร้อนแรง สไตลล์ ละติน จริง จริง
 ?oo2 khaw4 duu0 r@@n3rxxng0 sa0taaj0 la0tin0 cing0 cing3
 ‘oh he look hot style Latin true true’

(Bridget Jones' Diary)

Reduplicative with phonological modifications occurs three times in the translation of *so* and once in *very*, while it does not appear in *really* (see Table 35). Because this type of reduplicative conveys greater intensity than the simple reduplicative form, the frequency of patterning of it corresponds with the stronger force of the intensifier *so*.

(f) Reduplication with Insertion of a Lexical Item In-Between

This category involves the repetition of the same lexical item(s) juxtaposed by another item. As seen from the data, only few words can be inserted, for example, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘hundred thousand’, น้อย /n@@j3/ ‘not much’, ต่อ /t@@1/ ‘continue’, แล้ว /lxxw3/ ‘then’, และ /lx3/ ‘and’. The juxtaposition of the reduplicative produces a poetic effect, or gives the impression of ongoing action and continuity. Examples are provided below.

นานแสนนาน /naan0 sxxn4 naan0/ ‘long one hundred thousand long’
 (ST: *so long*)

สั้นแสนสั้น	/san2 sxxn4 san2/	‘short <u>one hundred thousand</u> short’
	(ST: <i>so short</i>)	
คนน้อยคน	/khon0 n@@@j3 khon0/	‘people <u>few</u> people’
	(ST: <i>very few hands</i>)	
หลายต่อหลายคน	/laaj4 t@@@1 laaj4 hon4/	‘many <u>continue</u> many people’
	(ST: <i>so many great men</i>)	
มากต่อมาก	/maak2 t@@@1 maak2/	‘much <u>continue</u> much’
	(ST: <i>so many pictures</i>)	
หงิกหงักแล้วหงิกหงักอีก	/ngvk1 ngak1 lxxw3 ngvk1 ngak1 ?iik1/	‘nod <u>then</u> nod again’
	(ST: <i>nodding so enthusiastically</i>)	
บ่อยครั้งและบ่อยครั้ง	/b@@@j1 khrang3 lx3 b@@@j1 khrang3/	‘many times <u>and</u> many times’
	(ST: <i>so often, so often</i>)	

Similar phenomenon can be observed in English. Bolinger (1972: 289) lists a number of repetitive constructions linked by *after*, *by*, and *on*, as cited below. He notes that these patterns, for most part, are rather highly stereotyped.

It happened day after day

Inch by inch (foot by foot) they made their way.

Mile on mile they traveled.

He did it over and over

Round and round it turned.

This type of construction is more frequent in the translation of *so* (10 tokens) than *very* (3 tokens), while it does not occur in *really* (see Table 35).

b) Syntactic Repetition

Syntactic repetition is characterized by the presence of space or a short pause between the repeated items, without which it would be considered a reduplicative. There is an addition of another lexical item, which is reduplicated (69) or is not reduplicated (70). If *X*, *Y*, *Z* each represent a lexical item, the pattern of

repetition can be summarized with the formulas $X [space] X Y$ or $X Y [space] X Y Y$, though some slight variations may be possible, as in (71)

(69) ST: "Because I love you *very, very much*

TT: "เพราะ พ่อ รัก ลูก มาก มาก เหลือเกิน
phr@3 ph@@2 rak3 luuk2 maak2 maak2 lvva4 kqgn0
 'because I love you much much excessively'

(*Smart Women*)

(70) ST: This is *so very, very weird*'

TT: "เป็น อะไร ที่ พิลึก มาก พิลึก มาก ๆ"
pen0 ?a0raj0 thii2 pi3lvk3 maak2 pi3lvk3 maak2 maak2
 'be something that weird much weird much much'

(*Turning Thirty*)

(71) ST: *Very, very beautiful*

TT: งาม งาม จริง ๆ
ngaam0 ngaam0 cing0 cing0
 'beautiful beautiful true true'

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

From the data, it is found that this type of reiteration is all motivated by the repetition pattern of intensifiers in the ST. This construction occurs four times in *very* and *so*, and twice in *really* (see Table 34). In this case, a pause between two-repetitive clauses juxtaposes between what seems like an emotive outburst and it is all the more powerful through suspension. Thus, this type of construction can be said to have a strong emotive meaning.

4.2.2.2.1 Semantic Repetition

In addition to the formal iteration, repetition as an intensifying mechanism can come in the form of repetition of meaning, and it can range from a smaller to larger stretch of discourse. The process of selecting different forms with identical or near-identical meaning has been noted in many languages, particularly in

Hungarian. In English, Wood (1911: 164) notes that the compounds with similar meaning are also “very common and occur also in the older periods”. For example:

haphazard = *hap* 'chance' + *hazard* 'chance'
cram-jam = 'a dense crowd' (*cram* + *jam*)
creepy-crawly = in a creeping and crawling manner

Semantic repetition is far more common in the Thai language. In this research, two types of semantic repetition are identified: (1) lexical semantic repetition, and (2) phrasal semantic repetition. Lexical semantic repetition has to do with the semantic doublets, triplets, or quadruplets, although the doublets are found to be the most common type in the corpus. Phrasal semantic repetition, on the other hand, involves repetition of meaning at a phrasal or sentential level. The frequency of each category in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really* is given in the table below.

<i>Types of repetition</i>	<i>very</i>		<i>so</i>		<i>really</i>	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical semantic repetition	150	99.34	206	100	9	52.94
Phrasal semantic repetition	1	0.66	-	-	8	47.06
<i>Total</i>	151	100	206	100	17	100

Table 37 Frequency of different types of repetition found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From *Table 37*, *so* produces the highest number of semantic repetition (206 tokens), though all of them fall into the lexical category. *Very* has 151 tokens, one of which occurs at a phrasal level. In the case of *really*, semantic repetition is a marginal group, with only 17 tokens, but it has a higher frequency of the phrasal category. Each category will be discussed as follows.

a) Semantic Doublets

Semantic doublet is defined here as a special type of compounding formed on the basis of sharing a certain degree of similarity. Also known as ‘synonymous compounds’, these doublets can have poetic quality – some may be formed with the technique of alliteration, while others may rhyme. The

length of doublets also varies – some are formed with only 2 words while others can be longer (Settawat 1973). Thai grammar books usually note that the meaning of semantic doublets may be equally distributed over each of the words e.g. โศกเศร้า /sok1 saw2/ ‘gloomy’ + ‘sad’, or fall on one core word. For example, in แปรเปื้อน /pxxt1 pvvan2/ ‘stained’, the core meaning is on the second item as the meaning of the first word is no longer known in modern Thai. The addition of another word functions to highlight the meaning of the core word, therefore producing intensification (cf. Changkhwanyuen 1972, Settawat 1973).

The degree of intensification conveyed by semantic doublets, triplets, or even quadruplets, however, seems to vary according to their repeated use. Some doublets have become ‘conventionalized’ to the point that the intensifying effect seems to be decreasing. They are so commonly used that people tend to consider them as one inseparable unit rather than an iteration of meaning aimed to achieve markedness or intensity. It can be said that in this case, newly coined doublets may be more effective conveying intensification. Below are some of the conventionalized doublets found in the data:

ใกล้ชิด	/klaj2 chit3/	‘close near’	(ST: <i>very close</i>)
คุ้นเคย	/khun3 khqqj0/	‘familiar used to’	(ST: <i>know so well</i>)
งดงาม*	/ngot3 ngaam0/	‘beautifully’	(ST: <i>so beautiful</i>)
เงียบเชียบ*	/ngiiap2 chiiap2/	‘dead silent’	(ST: <i>very sheer</i>)
ฉุนเฉียว*	/chun4 chiiaw4/	‘enraged’	(ST: <i>so moody</i>)
ชัดเจน	/chat3 ceen0/	‘clear familiar’	(ST: <i>very precise</i>)
เนิ่นนาน	/nqqn2 naan0/	‘early long’	(ST: <i>so long</i>)
เบื่อหน่าย	/bvva1 naaj1/	‘fed up bored’	(ST: <i>really wearied</i>)
มอมแมม*	/m@@m0 mxxm0/	‘filthy’	(ST: <i>very dirty</i>)
เยือกเย็น	/jvvak2 jen0/	‘chilling cold’	(ST: <i>so cool</i>)
รวดเร็ว	/ruuat2 rew0/	‘rapid fast’	(ST: <i>very quickly</i>)
ห่างไกล	/haang1 klaj0/	‘distant far’	(ST: <i>very far</i>)
เหนื่อยอ่อน	/nvvaj1 ?@@n1/	‘tired weak’	(ST: <i>so tired</i>)

* These doublets are formed on the basis of similarity of sound rather than meaning.

In addition to the above doublets, quadruplets are also found, though with a much fewer frequency. Some are formed purely on the similarity of sense, for example:

วิตกกังวล	/wi3tok1 kang0won0/	‘worried anxious’	(ST: <i>so anxious</i>)
ปกติธรรมดา	/pa1ka0ti1 tham0ma0daa0/	‘usual common’	(ST: <i>very matter-of-fact</i>)
เคร่งครัดจริงจัง	/kreng2krat3 cing0 cang0/	‘strictly seriously’	(ST: <i>very earnest</i>)
มากมายมหาศาล	/maak2maaj0 ma0haa4saan4/	‘plentiful enormous’	(ST: <i>so much</i>)

Others are formed based on similarity of vowel sound, in this case, the rhyming between the second and the third syllable (see the underlined), as in:

หอม <u>ฟังก์</u> จรงใจ	/h@@@m4 <u>fung3</u> <u>ca0rung0</u> caj0/	‘aromatic spread pleasing heart’	(ST: <i>so airily sweet</i>)
ไม่ชอบ <u>มา</u> พากล	/maj2 ch@@@p2 <u>maa0</u> phaa0 kon0/	‘unlawful tricky’	(ST: <i>so wrong</i>)
สวย <u>สด</u> ดงาม	/suuaj4 <u>sot1</u> <u>ngot3</u> ngaam0/	‘beautiful fresh lovely’	(ST: <i>very nice</i>)
มัก <u>คุ้น</u> อุ่นใจ	/mak3 <u>khun3</u> ?un1 caj0/	‘familiar warm heart’	(ST: <i>so familiar</i>)

These four-syllable phrases are known as ‘synonymous adverbials’ in Kullavanijaya (1997), who notes the intensifying effect of these linguistic forms. Haas (1946) calls them ‘elaborate expressions’ because of the rhyming, which exists to increase the euphony of an existing shorter phrase, to make it sounds nicer. The rhyming was created by the insertion of an additional word (e.g. adding ฟังก์ /fung3/ ‘spread’ between หอม /h@@@m4/ ‘aromatic’ and จรงใจ /ca0rung0 caj0/ ‘pleasing [the] heart’), but also by conjoining two compounds, as in the case of มักคุ้นอุ่นใจ /mak3 khun3 ?un1 caj0/ ‘familiar [and] warm heart’ (see Thanwarachorn 1997 for more detail on the patterns of lexical reduplication in Thai).

While the doublets and quadruplets mentioned are more or less conventional, there are, on the other end, newly invented items that are

obviously the result of the translator's originality. They are more marked and have a stronger intensifying effect than their conventional counterparts. For instance, a combination of slangy adjectives นี่อ /bv2/ 'stupid', เหี้ย /hqj1/ 'ugly', กระจอก /kra0j@@k1/ 'inferior' in (72) are effective in conveying intensification and producing humorous effect in the TT. The triplet, quite a rarity in the corpus, involves saying the same thing but with a choice of different derogatory expressions. Because the translation involves an inventive patterning of words, it is in a way unexpected and surprising, and when combined with conventional forms such as ช่าง /chaang2/ 'craftsman - inclined', reduplicated intensifier จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ 'true true' and an intensifier with tonal change เลย /lqj3/ 'beyond', the emphasis effect is forceful.

(72) ST: [...] I'm- *so-crap*-honestly variety.

TT: "รา ผม นี่ ช่าง นี่อ เหี้ย กระจอก จริง ๆ เลย"

"waa3 phom4 nii2 chaang2 bv2 hqj1 kra1c@@k1 cing0 cing0 lqj3

"oh I this inclined stupid ugly inferior true true beyond'

(Turning Thirty)

In (73) rhyming, which is one of the desired quality of doublets, can be observed in the translator's invention. Both words: ดีใจ /dii0 caj0/ 'happy' and ไชโย /chaj0 coo0/ 'hurray', though belonging to the same semantic field, that is happiness, are not a likely combination and therefore achieve markedness.

(73) ST: my dad was *so happy* he was like a game-show contestant.

TT: พ่อ ฉัน จี้ ดีใจ ไชโย ราวกับ เป็น คน เล่น

ph@@@2 chan4 ngii3 dii0caj0 chaj0 coo0 raaw0kap1 pen0 khon0 len2

'Dad my this happy hurray as if be one play

เกม โชว์ ทาง ทีวี เลย ละ

keem0 choo0 thaang0 thii0wii0 lqj0 la3

game show on TV beyond [SP]'

(Turning Thirty)

Markedness, so it seems, is better achieved with 'non-conventionalized' expression, which is the result of translator's creativity, as in (74)

Being out of ordinary, the expression is novel, thus having a higher emotive value, and is successful in producing a comical effect in the TT.

(74) ST: [...] he had the most terrible time with his wife. Japanese. *Very cruel* race.

TT: เขา ไม่ มี ความสุข กับ เมีย ญี่ปุ่น เลือดเย็น ท่อโหด
khaw4 maj2 mii0 khwaam0suk1 kap1 miia0 jii2pun1 lvvat2jen0 ha1ru3hot1
 ‘he not have happiness with wife Japanese cold-blooded cruel’

(*Bridget Jones’ Diary*)

While the repetition of meaning is a common process in the Thai language, it has been viewed in a negative light in Modern English, to the point that it is labeled by some as a “tautology”. In the English language, there are at least three possibilities: 1) a sequence of two adjectives with identical or near-identical meaning (see Huddleston and Pallum 2002), and 2) a combination of adjective and adverb whose meanings overlap to a certain extent (Johansson 1993, Lorenz 2002), and 3) addition of words of the same meaning (Bolinger 1972: 290).

For the first group, Huddleston and Pallum (2002: 562) notes that such construction belongs to an informal style, and is found with a narrow range of adjective meanings, normally ‘very small’ or ‘very big.’ Examples include:

a tiny, little bird

a huge, big box

With regard to adjective-adverb combinations, Johansson (1993: 41) gives the following examples which fit into Lorenz (2002)’s semantic feature copying category:

brilliantly clever

furiously indignant

identically similar

Bolinger (1972) notes how such combinations of synonyms may involve the adverb representing the superlative degree of the adjective, for example, *perfectly good*, *ghostly pale*, *powerfully strong*, *monstrously bad*. Similar cases can be found in Thai, as in:

ดีประเสริฐ /dii0 pra0sqqt1/ ‘good excellent’

เลวบัดขบ /leew0 bat1sop3/ ‘bad vile’

ใหญ่โตมหฬาร /ja:j1 too0 ma0hoo4laan0/ ‘big large stupendous’

Semantic repetition can also be formed by what Bolinger (1972: 290) calls ‘stretching’, that is, by adding more words. He gives the following examples.

They deceived and hoodwinked all of us.

The joy and happiness they felt was more than they had ever hoped for.

While in these cases there is no prosodic treatment, Bolinger (1972: 291) gives an illustration how prosodic treatment, e.g. rhyme and alliteration, can be given:

I’ll huff and I’ll puff.

He twisted and turned.

He groaned and grunted.

In the section that follows, semantic repetition will be discussed at a phrasal level.

b) Phrasal Semantic Repetition

In addition to semantic doublets, triplets, and quadruplets, repetition can also be made at a phrasal level, in a larger stretch of discourse, though sometimes not without a slight change in meaning. It is an iteration of a predicate using different wording. In a way, it is possible to describe this type of repetition as an addition of explicative phrase after an adjective or verb, or a type of tautology³⁹. This type of repetition is found mainly in the translation of *really* (8 tokens, 47.06%), while it occurs only once in *very* (0.66%) and none in *so* (see *Table 36*). Examples are given in (75) - (57).

In (75), the ST texts open a new paragraph, reflecting the author’s intention to highlight his feelings. The ST sentence *I really did* functions to

³⁹ A tautology is defined as a statement which is vacuous, because it is self-evidently true, for example, ‘My grandmother is female’ (Leech 1969: 132). In English, tautologies tend to be viewed in a negative light.

emphasize the first utterance. But instead of translating it into something literal, the translator attempts to find expressions related to similar experience, and by so doing, creates a distressing feel in the TT. In fact, saying something twice, though with different words, also emphasize the intense feeling on the part of the speaker. Note the repetitive use of เหมือน /mvvan4/ ‘similar’, which serves as a textual link and adds expressivity to the statements.

(75) ST: I felt lost without her.

I *really* did.

TT: พอ ขาด เธอ ไป ผม ก็ เหมือน คน หลง ทาง
 ph@@@0 khaat1 thq0 paj0 phom4 k@@@2 mvvan4 khon0 long4 thaang0
 ‘When lack her go I then similar person lose way
ชีวิต เหมือน หמד ความหมาย
chii0wit3 mvvan4 mot1 khwaam0 maj4
Life like lack meaning’

(Turning Thirty)

To accentuate on reality suggested by the intensifier *really*, sometimes the translator expands from the ST, for example, by adding the phrase ไม่ได้พูดเล่น /maj2 daj2 phuut2 len2/ equivalent of ‘I’m not joking’ (76) in the TT version, or adding a statement of confirmation such as ไม่มีทางเป็นอื่น /maj2 mii0 thaang0 pen0 ?vvn1/, roughly translated as ‘there’s no way it can change’ (77). In a way, the translation is a re-statement of truthfulness.

(76) ST: I thought I was going to die.

I *really* did.

TT: ผม คิด ใน ใจ ว่า ตู ต้อง ตาย แน่ แล้ว
 phom4 kit3 naj0 caj0 waa2 tuu0 t@@ng2 taaj0 nxx2 lxxw3
 ‘I think in mind that I must die sure already
 จริง ๆ นะ ครับ ไม่ ได้ พูด เล่น
 cing0 cing0 na3 khrap3 maj2 daj2 phuut2 len2
 True true [SP] [PP] not get speak fun’

(Turning Thirty)

(77) ST: Because she is amazing, Andy - she *really* is!

TT: หล่อน เป็น หญิง มหัศจรรย์ แอนดี้ ไม่ มี ทาง
 l@@n1 pen0 jing4 ma0hat1sa0can0 ?xxn0dii2 maj2 mii0 thaang0
 ‘She be woman amazing Andy not have way
เป็น อื่น หล่อน เป็น อย่าง นั้น จริง ๆ
 pen0 ?vvn1 l@@n1 pen0 jaang1 nan3 cing0 cing0
be other she is like that true true’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

It should be noted that the repetition of meaning at the phrasal level is a process that is perhaps associated to modern novels; the main source of the data is *Turning Thirty* (2000) and *The Devil Wears Prada* (2000), both classified as a chick-lit novel (for the definition of ‘chick-lit’, see 4.1).

4.2.2.3 Negative Constructions

In addition to the devices mentioned earlier, the translator also has at his/her disposal the choice of negation, which is characterized by a negative element e.g. the particle ไม่ /maj2/ ‘not’ in the TT. As noted by Bolinger (1972: 115), negation or litotes does not in itself intensify, but it affects intensification. When there is no lexical intensifier present, the effect of negation opens the door to intensification nuanced by the context (ibid.). Bolinger points out that in the sentence like *I was not unaware of the problem*, the denial of the negative leaves the entire positive range open as to what degree is appropriate, and in this regard, calls attention to the gradient by inviting the hearer to consider the degree to which the fact points. While a positive statement such as *I was aware of the problem* does not indicate the degree, the negative statement allows the hearer to read in ‘he must mean that he was damned well aware of it’ (Bolinger 1972: 116).

In cross-language study, the selection of negative statement in the TT vis-à-vis the ST positive statement has been documented in Vinay and Darbelnet (1958/2000) as part of the ‘modulation’ technique and in Chesterman (1997: 102) as the strategy of antonym, with which the translator chooses an antonym and combines it with a negation element. In (78), for instance, the negative particle ไม่ /maj2/ ‘not’

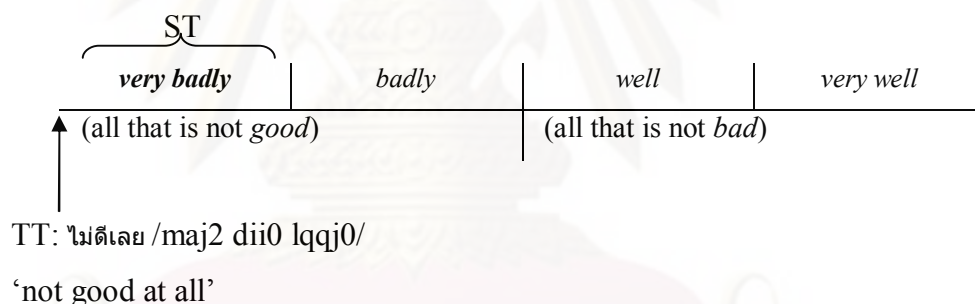
combines with ดี /dii0/ ‘good’, which is the antonym of *badly*, and non-restricted intensifier เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’, which in this case can be glossed as ‘at all’.

(78) ST: Val did *very badly*.

TT: วาล ได้ คะแนน ไม่ ดี เลย
vaal0 daj2 ka0nxxn0 maj2 dii0 lqqj0
 ‘Val got scores not good at all’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

Although positive-to-negative translation has been accepted as a common strategy, careful considerations reveal that the degree of intensity suggested by negation may not be identical to that of the ST. While the degree of the ST modification in *Val did very badly* is likely to fall into the range covered by the bracket, negation may result in stronger intensity, with the intensifier เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ directing the degree toward the extreme end of the scale.



(adapted from Bolinger 1972)

But without เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’, the TT negation again runs the risk of producing a lower degree of intensity than that of the ST. Consider example (79) and the diagram below.

(79) ST: *very soon* afterwards, the rain had come down [...]

TT: จาก นั้น ไม่ นาน ฝน ก็ เท ลง มา
caak1 nan3 maj2 naan0 fon4 k@@2 tee0 long0 maa0
 ‘from that not long rain then pour down come

(*The Remains of the Day*)

ST			
<i>very soon</i>	<i>soon</i>	<i>long (time)</i>	<i>very long (time)</i>
(all that is not <i>long</i>)		(all that is not <i>soon</i>)	
TT: ไม่นาน /maj2 naan0/			
‘not long’			

While the degree of intensity in the ST falls in the range towards the extreme end of the scale, the TT version suggests a vaguer meaning and covers the area from the point in the middle. In other words, the Thai translation ไม่นาน /maj2 naan0/ ‘not long’ can fall somewhere from ‘soon’ to ‘very soon’ or even ‘soonest’, thus becoming less specific than the ST.

In the corpus, the negative construction is most predominant in the translation of *very* (68 tokens, 11.04%), followed by *so* (19 tokens, 2.76%), while it does not occur in *really* (see Table 33). Negation tends to be generated by the predicates of the following kinds: (1) adjectives/adverbs with negative prefixes e.g. *un-*, *in-*, and (2) words denoting extremity e.g. *little*, *few* (e.g. *he has seen very little of Clara*). For the first group, adjectives/adverbs with negative prefixes such as *unclear*, *unhappy*, *unexpected*, *imperfect*, *irregular* seem to require the particle ‘not’ in their translation into Thai. True, they can be translated into a positive statement, but that would involve a search for words with positive meaning in the TL, which would be in breach of the ‘minimax’ principle, which proposes that the translator is likely to put a minimal effort for the maximum effect. In this case, the choice of negative structure becomes obligatory. Here is an example of TT negative statement which is derived from the negative prefix in the ST:

(80) ST: Our M. Dupont can be **very unpredictable**.

TT: ว่า จะ คาดเดา _____ อะไร M. ดูปกติ ของ เรา

waa2 ca1 khaat2 daw0 ?a0raj0 m@@@0 duu0pong0 kh@@ng4 raw0

‘say will speculate anything M. Dupont of us

ไม่ ได้ เลย
maj2 daj2 lqj0
cannot beyond

(*The Remains of the Day*)

The second group of predicates is those with the meaning projected towards the extreme end of a scale. They are *little*, *few*, *soon*, *shortly*, *far* (in *very far from*), *vague*, *odd*, with the first four items being most frequent. Possible explanation is that *little*, *few*, and *rare* are inherently negative (Huddleston 1984: 420-1), as evidenced by dictionary meaning provided for these words: *little* = ‘not much or only slightly’ (Longman Dictionary of English).

(81) ST: ‘She said *very little*.

TT: "เธอ แทบ ไม่ได้ พูด อะไร เลย
thqo thxxp2 maj2daj2 phuut2 ?a0raj0 lqj0
 ‘she almost did not say anything at all’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

In addition to the ST negative elements, the translator’s choice of negation can also be motivated by the pragmatic function he wishes to achieve in the TT. For example, the translator cannot just translate *very attractive* literally, as the ST constitutes a verbal irony, a contrast between what is being said and reality.

After I left you at the airport I just cried and cried until I was a seething mass of saline solution and snot. *Very attractive*.

(*Turning Thirty*)

In this case, negation may be an appropriate device. While a positive statement may serve to reinforce a particular quality, the denial of it gives an ironic effect to the utterance.

(82) ST: *Very attractive*.

TT: ดู ไม่ จี๊ด เลย ละ
duu0 maj2cvvt1 lqj0 la0
 ‘Look not bland at all [SP]’

(*Turning Thirty*)

4.2.2.4 Combinatory Structures

The repetition of devices, or the use of more than one linguistic devices, occupies a substantial portion of the corpus: it occurs 289 times (46.92%) in the translation of *very*, 365 times (53.05%) in *so*, and 83 times (29.54%) in *really* (see Table 33). The strong tendency for multiple devices suggests the translator's effort to convey intensification in the ST, to the point that it sometimes results in over-intensification. The combinatory patterns can involve any kind of the linguistic devices mentioned earlier. Usually the number of devices combined would be up to four, as in (83).

(83)	ST: “He’s in a <i>very beautiful</i> place					
	TT: "ที่ ที่ เขา ฟานัก อยู่ นะ สวยงาม/ 1					
	<i>thii2 thii2 khaw4 pham0nak3 juu1 na2 suuaj4 ngaam0</i>					
	place that he stay be [SP] <u>beautiful lovely</u>					
			<u>มาก / เขียว / แหละ ค่ะ</u> 2 3 4			
	<i>maak2 chiiaw0 lx1 kha2</i>					
	<u>much once</u> [SP] [PP]					

(Brideshead Revisited)

In (83), four different linguistic devices can be noted, from the semantic doublets สวยงาม /suuaj4 ngaam0/ ‘beautiful pretty’, the non-restricted intensifiers มาก /maak2/ and เขียว /chiiaw0/ ‘once’, to the sentence particle แหละ /lx1/ which functions to add emphasis to the statement. Any item in the slots, from 1-4, can be removed without much change in the meaning, except for the degree of intensity. Yet it will be unseemly to suggest that multiple intensification adds to the TT redundancy. In fact, the combined intensifying devices serve to carry extra intensifying force, and to enrich emotivity in the TT.

At a glance, it seems that there is no restriction on what types of devices can combine with each other; it looks as if they can pile up and move around quite freely. However, a close investigation reveals that there are collocational patterns and order. For the ease of explanation, it is proposed here that intensification patterns in Thai be viewed in terms of slots, to be filled with different types of linguistic devices as follows:

1	2	3	4	5
Pre-modifying intensifier	Mono-syllabic predicate Implicit superlative intensifier Semantic expression Reduplicatives Semantic doublets	Intensifier (s) Reduplicated intensifier	Deixis	Sentence particle(s)

Table 38 The order of patterning of linguistic devices in multiple intensification.

From *Table 38*, the most important slot is Slot 2, which is always required as it serves as the base or predicate for intensification. This slot can be filled with a monosyllabic predicate, which will then be modified; or an implicit superlative intensifier, a semantic expression, reduplicatives, or semantic doublets. All these forms may be preceded by any of the two non-restricted intensifiers: ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ or แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand - exceedingly’ (Slot 1). They are more than likely to be followed by an intensifier in Slot 3 (e.g. เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’); a combination of intensifiers (มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ + ทีเดียวกว /thii0diiaw0/ ‘once’); or a reduplicated intensifier (จริง ๆ /cing0 cing/ ‘true-true’). A deixis can occur in Slot 4, especially if the ST intensifier is *so*, while as many as three sentence particles may occur in Slot 5 to add emphasis, emotivity, or interpersonal meaning to the utterance. It should be noted that not all slots need to be filled. To give the reader a complete picture of multiple intensification, some combinatory structures are given as examples below:

**[pre-modifying intensifier] [semantic doublets] [non-restricted intensifier]
[sentence particle]**

(84) ST: Your figure is *so fairy-fine*, my love

TT: ร่าง ช่าง บอบบาง เหลือเกิน นะ ยอดรัก
raang2 chaang2 b@@@p1baang0 lvva4kqqn0 na3 j@@@t2rak3
‘body craftsman fragile excessively [SP] dearest’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

In (84), the pre-modifying intensifier *ช่าง* /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’, the doublets *บอบบาง* /b@@p1baang0/ ‘delicate’, the non-restricted intensifier *เหลือเกิน* /lvva4kqn0/ ‘excessively’, all combine to add a poetic feel and a sense of the bygone age to the TT, while the sentence particle *นะ* /na3/ gives additional emphasis and interpersonal involvement.

**[mono-syllabic predicate][restricted intensifier][non-restricted intensifier]
[sentence particles]**

(85) ST: My boobs are *very flat*

TT: หน้าอก ฉัน มัน แบน แต่ เลย นะ ดี
naa2?ok1 chan4 man0 bxxn0 txx4 lqqj0 na2 di0
 ‘breast my it flat very beyond [SP] [SP]’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In (85), there is no pre-modification but the mono-syllable predicate *แบน* /bxxn0/ ‘flat’ is modified by the restricted intensifier *แต่* /txx4/, possibly a shortened form of *แต่ดัดแต่* /txt3txx4/, which means ‘flattened by pressing or stepping on it’ (RIDT). Both are followed by *เลย* /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ and the sentence particles *นะ* /na2/ and *ดี* /di0/⁴⁰

[Figurative expression][non-restricted intensifier][sentence particle]

(86) ST: It's *really serious*.

TT: นี่ คอ ขาด บาด ตาย *เขี้ยว* นะ เหวอ
nii2 kh@@0 khaat1 baat1 taaj0 chiiaw0 na3 thqo0
 ‘this neck broken cut die once [SP] you’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In example (86), the adverbial *คอขาดบาดตาย* /kh@@0 khaat1 baat1 taaj0/ ‘neck broken cut die’ is a figurative expression which means something that is

⁴⁰ Potentially derived from the more formal *สี* /si1/, the particle *ดี* /di0/ is a highly colloquial form. It tends to be associated with the language of the teenagers, and is rarely found in written form, unless to signal the identity of the speaker.

‘critical to the point of losing one’s life’⁴¹, (RIDT). The adverbial is in the form of semantic couplets, with the rhyming between the second and the third syllables. It is followed by the non-restricted intensifier เขียว /chiiaw0/ ‘once’ and the sentence particle นะ /na3/, both of them adding emphasis and colloquialism to the statement.

From the data, most recurring patterns of multiple intensification can be found with non-restricted intensifiers such as มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman’, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’, สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’, and ดี /dii0/ ‘good’. These patterns will be elaborated in the following section in respective order.

4.2.2.4.1 Combinatory Structures Involving มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’

While มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ can be used as a single device, it is found to co-occur with other non-restricted intensifiers and sentence particle alike, to produce a variety of intensifying patterns. These patterns fall into Slot 3 (see *Table 38*). In other words, they modify the predicate, which can be a mono-syllabic verb or adjective, semantic doublet, figurative expression, or implicit superlative intensifier. These patterns are listed in *Table 39*, along with the number of tokens.

Combination of มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
..มากเลย /maak2 lqqj0/ ‘much much’	38	16	1
..มากเลยละ /maak2 lqqj0 la0/ ‘much beyond [SP]’	3	-	2
..มากเลยนะ /maak2 lqqj0 na3/ ‘much beyond [SP]’	6	-	2
..มากเลยด้วย /maak2 lqqj0 duuaj2/ ‘much beyond as well’	1	-	-
..มากที่เดียว/เขียว/เทียว /maak2 thii0 diiaw0 - chiiaw0 - thiiaw0/ ‘much once’	27	2	2
..มากเขียวละ /maak2 chiiaw0 la0/ ‘much once [SP]’	1	-	-
..มากจริง ๆ /maak2 cing0 cing0/ ‘much true true’	6	-	-
..มากด้วย /maak2 duuaj2/ ‘much too’	8	3	-
..มากเสียดด้วยซี /maak2 siia4 duuaj2 sii0/ ‘much also [SP]’	1	-	-
..มากนะ /maak2 na3/ ‘much [SP]’	9	-	-

⁴¹ The idiom is probably derived from the ancient method of killing in Thailand, that is, by decapitation.

Combination of มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
..มากะนั้น /maak2 na3 nan2/ ‘much [SP] that’	-	-	1
..มากเหลือเกิน /maak2 lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘much excessively’	1	1	-
..มากแล้ว /maak2 lxxw3/ ‘much already’	4	8	-
..มากพอ /maak2 ph@@0/ ‘much enough’	-	1	-
..มากนัก /maak2 nak3/ ‘excessively much’	-	4	-
..มากเกินไป /maak2 kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’	-	4	-
..มากไปแล้ว /maak2 paj0 lxxw3/ ‘too much already’	-	2	-
..มากไปหน่อย /maak2 paj0 n@@j1/ ‘a bit too much’	-	1	-
..มากขึ้น /maak2 khvn2/ ‘much more’	-	1	-
..มากนั่นเอง /maak2 nan2 ?eng0/ ‘that much’	-	1	-
..มากเพียงใด /maak2 phiang0 daj0/ ‘much to what extent’	-	1	-
..มากเท่าครั้งนี้ /maak2 taw2 khrang3 nii3/ ‘[as] much as this time’	-	1	-
..มากขนาดนี้/อย่างนี้ /maak2 kha0naat1 nii3/ ‘much like this’	-	7	-
..มากถึงอย่างนี้ /maak2 tvng4 jaang1 nii3 na3/ ‘much to this extent [SP]’	-	1	-
..มากถึงมากที่สุด /maak2 tvng4 maak2 thii2 sut1/ ‘much to the utmost’	1	-	-
Total	106	54	8

Table 39 Combinatory patterns of มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ and their distribution in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

In terms of type, there are 25 different patterns containing the non-restricted intensifier มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’. Of this number, 16 structures are found in the translation of *so*, while 13 are found to be associated with *very*. This is contrary to the preliminary assumption that *very* is more likely to be related to มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ and therefore should produce a greater variety of patterning. Instead, the data shows that the intensifier *so* seems to generate more diversified patterns. *Really* is the least diverse, producing only 5 types. This perhaps suggests that the intensifier is not as much related to มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ as the other intensifiers under investigation.

In respect of token number, *very* generates the highest number of expressions containing มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’: 106. The number is in sync with the initial belief that *very* has a strong tendency to be associated with มาก /maak2/ ‘much-

many’, and should therefore result in a greater frequency of occurrences of *maak2*-related expressions. As predicted, *so* produces much fewer of such expressions, with 54 tokens. This is probably due to the intensity of meaning produced by *so*, which tends to be incompatible with the moderate, non-emotive structures of มาก /*maak2*/ ‘much-many’. But such claim is only a broad generalization, for not all structures with มาก /*maak2*/ ‘much-many’ are moderate in intensity. Some combinations are far from being moderate; they are strongly attitudinal, for example:

..มากเกินไป/*maak2 kqqn0 paj0*/ ‘too much’
 ..มากนัก/*maak2 nak3*/ ‘extremely much’
 ..มากขนาดนี้/อย่างนี้/*maak2 jaang1 nii3*/ ‘much like this’

These patterns occur exclusively in the translation of *so*, and again, corresponds to the semantic intensity carried by the intensifier.

Really produces only 8 tokens of expressions with มาก /*maak2*/ ‘much-many’, which suggests a weak link between them.

Below are some of the most frequent structures found in the translation of *very* and *so*.

- (87) ST: “OK, this is it. It's *very simple*.
 TT: "เอาละ ฟัง นะ ง่าย มาก เลย
 ?aw0la1 fang0 na3 ngaaj2 maak2 lqqj0
 ‘OK listen [SP] easy much beyond’

(*Bridget Jones’ Diary*)

- (88) ST: “I gather *very necessary*.
 TT: "ผม คิด ว่า จำเป็น มาก ที่เดียว
 phom4 khit3 waa2 cam0 pen0 maak2 thii0 diiaw0
 ‘I think that necessary much once’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

- (89) ST: “It's a *very long* vacation,”

TT: "ปิด เทอม ใหญ่ นี้ นาน มาก _____ จริง ๆ"
pit1 tqm0 jaj1 nii3 naan0 maak2 cing0 cing0
 ‘close term big this long much true true’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

It should be noted here that มากเลย /maak2 lqqj0/ ‘much-many beyond’, and มากจริง ๆ /maak2 cing0 cing0/ ‘much-many truly’ tend to occur predominantly in dialogue and first-person narration. มากทีเดียว /maak2 thii0 diiaw0/ ‘much-many once’ appears in speech as much as in third-person narration, while its variations มากเขียว /maak2 chiiaw0/ and มากเทียว /maak2 thiaaw0/ are most likely to occur in dialogue.

(90) ST: It's *very different*.
 TT: มัน ต่างกัน มาก _____ นะ"
man0 taang1kan0 maak2 na3
 ‘it different much [SP]’

(*Smart Women*)

(91) ST: I should cease looking back *so much*
 TT: ผม ควร เลิก มอง ย้อน กลับ ไป ใน อดีต
phom4 khuuan0 lqqk2 m@@ng0 j@@n3 klap1 paj0 naj0 ?a0diit1
 ‘I should cease look reverse back go into past
much ขนาด นี้
maak2 kha0naat1 nii3
much like this’

(*The Remains of the Day*)

(92) ST: It was getting *so late*
 TT: มัน ช้า มาก _____ แล้ว
man0 chaa3 maak2 lxxw3
 ‘it slow much already’

(*Sons and Lovers*)

มากเกินไป /maak2 kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’ and มากนัก /maak2 nak3/ ‘extremely much’ provide clues about the attitudinal stance of the speaker, as in (93) and (94).

(93) ST: He is *so quiet*, because there is no one to talk to.

TT: เขา เงียบ มาก เกิน ไป เพราะ ไม่ มี ใคร คอย ด้วย
khaw4 ngiiap2 maak2 kqqn0paj0 pr@3 maj2 mii0 khraj0 khuj0 duuaj2
 ‘he silent much too much because not have anyone talk to’

(*Sons and Lovers*)

(94) ST: Women are *so much* more dependable, Sara.

TT: ผู้หญิง นะ ฟังพา ได้ มาก กว่า มาก นัก ซารา
phuu2jing4 na2 phvng2phaa0 daj2 maak2 kwaa1 maak2 nak3 saa0raa2
 ‘women [SP] depend -able more than much extremely Sara

(*Smart Women*)

4.2.2.4.2 Combinatory Structures Involving ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’

ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ is a polysemy. As a noun, it denotes ‘someone who is skilled in an art or a craft’. As an adverbial, the word means ‘having an inclination in a certain way’ (RIDT), while Garden and Wannapok (2008) gives the meaning of ‘given to’ or ‘fond of’, e.g. ช่างพูด /chaang2 phuut2/ ‘fond of talking’. Unlike most non-restricted intensifiers which occur in the post position, ช่าง /chaang2/ precedes the predicate (Slot 1 in *Table 37*), which can be a mono-syllabic verb or adjective, a verb phrase, semantic doublets, reduplicatives, or a figurative expression. Similar to มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, ช่าง /chaang2/ is one of the most prolific intensifiers, though it is placed on a more emotive side. Its usage signals strong emotive intensity on the part of the speaker. With ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ as intensifier, it is not just the question of possessing ‘a lot of’ a certain quality or attribute; it entails that the speaker has a connection, a personal involvement, or an evaluation of that particular quality or situation. In addition to the affective stance, ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ also has an element of poetic and dated usage, and it tends to occur more in narration rather than speech or

dialogues between characters. A list of possible combinations of *ช่าง /chaang2/* ‘craftsman - inclined’ is provided in the table below.

Combination of <i>ช่าง /chaang2/</i>	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
<i>ช่าง... /chaang2/</i> ‘inclined’	2	10	-
<i>ช่าง...ไปหมด /chaang2...paj0 mot1/</i> ‘inclined...in all aspects’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...ไปเสียหมด /chaang2...paj0 siia4 mot1/</i> ‘inclined... lost in all aspects’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...เหลือเกิน /chaang2...lvva4 kqqn0/</i> ‘inclined...excessively’	2	12	3
<i>ช่าง...เสียเหลือเกิน /chaang2 ... siia4 lvva4 kqqn0/</i> ‘inclined...in all aspects’	1	1	-
<i>ช่าง...จริง /chaang2 ...cing0/</i> ‘inclined...true’	2	-	-
<i>ช่าง...เสียจริง /chaang2...sia4 cing0/</i> ‘inclined...lost true’	2	2	1
<i>ช่าง...จริง ๆ /chaang2...cing0 cing0/</i> ‘inclined...true true’	3	2	-
<i>ช่าง...เสียจริง ๆ /chaang2...sia4 cing0 cing0/</i> ‘inclined...lost true true’	-	2	-
<i>ช่าง...จริง ๆ เสีย⁴² /chaang2...cing0 cing0 lqqj3/</i> ‘inclined... true true beyond’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...เกินจะบรรยายได้ /chaang2 ...kqqn0 ca1 ban0jaaj0 daaj2/</i> ‘inclined...beyod [ability] to describe’	-	1	-
<i>ช่างเต็มไปด้วย... /chaang2...tem0 paj0 duuaj2/</i> ‘inclined...full of’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...เป็นบ้าเป็นหลังเลย /chaang2...pen0 baa2 pen0 lang4 lqqj0/</i> ‘inclined...be mad be back beyond’	-	1	-
<i>ช่างไม่...เอาเสียเลย /chaang2 maj2...?aw0 siia4 lqqj0/</i> ‘inclined not...take lost beyond’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...ดีจริง ๆ นะ /chaang2...dii0 cing0 cing0 na3/</i> ‘inclined...good true true [SP]’	1	-	-
<i>ช่าง...ดีแท้ /chaang2...dii0 txx3/</i> ‘inclined...good genuinely’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...สิ้นดี /chaang2...sin2 dii0/</i> ‘inclined...lack good’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...เสียนี้กระไร /chaang2...siia4 nii2 kra0raj0/</i> ‘inclined...lost this how’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...ออก /chaang2 ...?@@k1/</i> ‘inclined...out’	1	-	-
<i>ช่าง...อะไรเช่นนั้น /chaang2...?a0raj0 chen2 nan3/</i> ‘inclined...what like that’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...ถึงเพียงนั้น /chaang2...tvng4 phiiang0 nan3/</i> ‘inclined...to that extent’	-	1	-
<i>ช่าง...ขนานแท้และดั้งเดิมอะไรอย่างนั้น /chaang2... kha0naan4 txx3 lx3 dang2dqmqm0 ?a0raj0 jaang1 nan3/</i> ‘inclined... authentically and originally anything like that’	1	-	-
Total	15	41	4

⁴² เสีย /lqqj3/ is the same word as the intensifier เสีย /lqqj0/ which means ‘beyond’, but is pronounced with the rising tone. The pitch change also adds to the intensity of the utterance.

Table 40 Combinatory patterns of ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ and their frequency of occurrences in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From *Table 40*, ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ figures more prominently in the translation of *so* (41 tokens) than that of *very* (15 tokens) and *really* (4 tokens) In terms of type, *so* also produces more lexically varied combinations. It has 18 out of a total of 22 patterns, twice as much as *very* which yields only 9 patterns. The greater frequency of patterning of ช่าง /chaang2/ in the translation of the intensifier *so* is perhaps attributable to the fact that similar to *so*, ช่าง /chaang2/ is a highly emotive terms, which is why it tends to be mapped with this English intensifier, and why it is not so much associated with *very*, much less with *really*.

The most typical structure of the pre-modifying ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ is the combination of it with a predicate. When this is the case, the predicate tends to be in the form of semantic doublets (e.g. เขาช่างโง่งเงา /khaw4 chaang2 ngoo2ngaw2/ ‘he inclined foolish’; ST: *He was so foolish*) rather than a mono-syllabic adjective/verb, as the latter produces too curt a statement (e.g.??ช่างเก๋ /chaang2 kee4/ ‘inclined chic’), although a di-syllabic adjective/verb is acceptable (e.g. ช่างน่ากลัว /chaang2 naa2 kluua0/ ‘inclined fearful’). In general, post-modification is added after ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘inclined’ and the predicate, and as can be seen from *Table 40*, it can be in the forms of non-restricted intensifiers as well as deictic expressions. Among the most common post-modifying intensifier are เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqan0/ ‘excessively’ (95) and จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’ (96).

(95) ST: things were *so dear*.

TT: ทุกอย่าง ช่าง แพง เหลือเกิน
 tuk3jaang1 chaang2 phxxng0 lvva4 kqan0
 ‘Everything inclined expensive excessively’

(*Sons and Lovers*)

(96) ST: The day was *very long*.

TT: วัน ข้าง ยาว นาน จริง ๑

wan0 chaang2 jaaw0 naan0 cing0 cing0

‘day inclined long lasting true true’

(*Sons and Lovers*)

In (96), apart from the pre-and post-modifiers, semantic doublets ยาวนาน /jaaw0 naan0/ ‘long lasting’ can be observed, thus adding more weight to the intense emotive expression of the speaker. But besides conventional expressions, the seemingly dated and poetic ข้าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ offers a great deal of flexibility in terms of lexical combination. The translator can put non-conventional truth-related doublets (ขนานแท้และดั้งเดิม /kha0naan4 txx3 lx3 dang2dqqm0/ ‘authentically and originally’), deictic related expression (อะไรอย่างนั้น /?a0raj0 jaang1 nan3/ ‘anything like that’) and expression indicating puzzlement (ก็ไม่รู้ /k@@2 maj2 ruu3/ ‘not know’) on top of the predicate to add creativity and humor to the translation, as in (97).

(97) ST: he is *very South American*.

TT: แก ข้าง เป็น ละติน อเมริกัน ขนาน แท้ และ

kxx0 chaang2 pen0 la0tin0 ?a0mee0ri0kan0 kha0naan4 txx2 lx3

‘he inclined be Latin American kind authentic and

ดั้งเดิม / อะไร อย่าง นั้น / ก็ ไม่ รู้

dang2dqqm0 ?a0raj0 jaang1 nan3 k@@2 maj2 ruu3

original what like that then not know’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

4.2.2.4.3 Combinatory Structures Involving แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’

In combination, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ is found with a slightly greater frequency in the translation of *so* than in *very* and *really*. The high frequency of patterning of แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ in *so* is perhaps attributable to the fact that both intensifiers have extreme meaning that is lacking in *very* and *really*, as can be seen from Table 41.

Combination of แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand'	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
แสน/แสนจะ... /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand'	3	5	-
แสน...ยิ่ง /sxxn4...jing2/ 'one hundred thousand...most'	-	1	-
แสน...ขนาดนี้ /sxxn4...kha0naat1 nii3/ 'one hundred thousand...this size'	-	1	-
แสน...ที่สุด /sxxn4...thii2 sut1/ 'one hundred thousand...at the edge'	1	-	-
แสน...เหลือเกิน /sxxn4...lvva4 kqqn0/ 'one hundred thousand...excessively'	1	-	-
แสน...สุดยอด /sxxn4...sut1 j@@t2/ 'one hundred thousand...top'	1	-	-
สุดแสน... /sut1 sxxn4.../ 'edge one hundred thousand'	1	-	-
สุดแสนจะ... /sut1 sxxn4 ca1.../ 'edge one hundred thousand'	-	3	1
สุดแสนจะ...หนักหนา /sut1 sxxn4 ca1...nak1 naa4/ 'edge one hundred thousand...heavy [and] thick'	-	1	-
แสนจะ...จริง ๆ /sxxn4 ca1...cing0 cing0/ 'one hundred thousand...true true'	-	1	-
แสนจะ...อยู่แล้ว /sxxn4 ca1...juu1 lxxw4/ 'one hundred thousand...already'	1	-	-
Total	8	12	1

Table 41 Combinatory patterns of แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand' and their frequency of occurrences in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From Table 41, แสน /sxxn4/ and แสนจะ /sxxn4 ca1/ 'one hundred thousand - exceedingly' appear to be the most frequent pattern, and they tend to combine with semantic doublets as in (98).

(98) ST: he walked **very slowly** up the steps.

TT: ท่าน ก็ เริ่ม เดิน ขึ้น บันได อย่าง แสน เชื่องช้า

taan2 k@@2 rqqm2 dqqn0 khvn2 ban0daj0 jaang1 sxxn4 chvvang2chaa3

'he then start walk up stairs in exceedingly slowly'

(The Remains of the Day)

Although แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand' itself already denotes intensive meaning, it co-occurs with extreme intensifiers of physical

boundary, such as ยิ่ง *jing2/* ‘most’, สุด */sut1/* ‘edge’, ที่สุด */thii2 sut1/* ‘at the edge’, สุดยอด */sut1 j@@t2/* ‘top’ and เหลือเกิน */lvva4 kqqn0/* ‘excessively’. Such combination only adds extra intensity to the utterance, making it all the more intense, as in (99) and (100).

(99) ST: Even *very humble* ones [...]

TT: แม้แต่ คน ที่ แสน ต่ำด้อย เหลือเกิน
mxx3txx1 khon0 thii2 sxxn4 tam1t@@j2 lvva4 kqqn0
 ‘even person that exceedingly inferior excessively’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

(100) ST: [...] with the ruthless Runway efficiency that I loved *so much*.

TT: ด้วย ประสิทธิภาพ และ ความเลือดเย็น แบบ รันเวย์
duuaj2 pra0sit1ti0phaap2 lx3 khwaam0lvvat2jen0 bxxp1 ran0waaj0
 ‘with effectiveness and cold-bloodedness like Runway
 ที่ ฉัน สุด แสนจะ ปลื้ม หนักหนา
thii2 chan4 sut1 sxxn4ca0 plvvm2 nak1naa4
 which I edge exceedingly fond of heavy [and] thick

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

It should be noted here that while examples (99) and (100) are similar in the high degree of intensity, they differ essentially in terms of effect. In (99), the form แสน...เหลือเกิน */sxxn4....lvva4kqqn0/* signals either poetic or dated use, or both, while the intensifying pattern in (100), with three different extreme intensifiers, appears to be more or less sarcastic.

4.2.2.4.4 Combinatory Structures Involving สุด */sut1/* ‘edge’

สุด */sut1/* ‘edge’ is found to combine with other intensifiers, semantic doublets, or reduplicatives, and sentence particles to add extra intensity. Below is a list of combinatory patterns of สุด */sut1/* ‘edge’ found in the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*.

Combination of สุด /sut1/ 'edge'	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
...สุด /sut1/ 'edge'	-	1	-
...สุด ๆ เลย /sut1 sut1 lqj0/ 'edge edge beyond'	-	1	-
...ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ 'at the edge'	-	3	1
...ที่สุดเลย /thii2 sut1 lqj0/ 'at the edge beyond'	1	1	-
...ที่สุดเลยนะ /thii2 sut1 lqj0 na3/ 'at the edge beyond [SP]'	-	-	1
...เป็นที่สุด /pen0 thii2 sut1/ 'be at the edge'	2	-	-
...อย่างที่สุดเลยทีเดียว /jaang1 thii2 sut1 lqj0 thii0 diiaw0/ 'at the edge beyond once'	1	-	-
...สุดยอดไปเลย /sut1 j@@t2 paj0 lqj0/ 'top go beyond'	-	1	-
...สุดยอดเลยนะ /sut1 j@@t2 lqj0 na3/ 'top beyond [SP]'	-	-	1
Total	4	7	3

Table 42 Combinatory patterns of สุด /sut1/ 'edge' and their frequency of occurrences in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

All the expressions with สุด /sut1/ 'edge' have the extreme meaning. From Table 42, *so* produces a slightly higher frequency of these expressions than *very* and *really*. It also yields a greater lexical variety than *very* and *really*, with 5 different types against 3 for the latter.

In addition to these nine patterns, the intensifier สุด /sut1/ can precede แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand' to form an emotive expression (see Table 41 and example 100). In the examples below, สุด /sut1/ 'edge' is featured in some of the combinatory structures.

(101) ST: And *very slowly*

TT: และ อย่าง ช้า ๆ เป็น ที่ สุด
lx3 jaang1 chaa3 chaa3 pen0 thii2 sut1
 'and like slowly slowly be the edge'.

(Possession: *A Romance*)

(102) ST: I would like champagne *very much*, said Julia.

TT: ฉัน อยาก ดื่ม แชมเปญ อย่าง ที่ สุด เลย ที่เดียว
chan4 jaak1 dvvm1 chxxm0peen0 jaang1 thii2 sut1 lqqj0 thii0diiaw0
 ‘I want drink champagne like at the edge beyond once’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

(103) ST: Wow, that's *really great*.

TT: ‘ว้าว นั้น วิเศษ สุดยอด เลย นะ”
waaw3 nan2 wi3set1 sut1 j@@t2 lqqj0 na3
 ‘Wow that wonderful top beyond [SP]’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

The above patterns show the flexibility of co-occurrence by สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’, which can pattern across different types of co-texts e.g. narration, dialogue. In (101), เป็นที่สุด /pen0 thii2 sut1/ ‘be at the edge’ in combination with the reduplicatives อย่างช้า ๆ /jaang1 chaa3 chaa3/ ‘slowly slowly’ sounds more literate, and it occurs in narration. อย่างที่สุดเลยทีเดียว /jaang1 thii2 sut1 lqqj0 thii0 diiaw0/ ‘at the edge beyond once’ in (102) is taken from the dialogue but still retains much of the literary and dated use. It would be awkward to use this intensifying expression in current speech. In (103), สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2 paj0 lqqj0/ ‘top’ combines with the intensifier เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’ and the affirmative sentence particle นะ /na3/ to modify the predicate. The pattern is prevalent in modern usage, as typified by *The Devil Wears Prada* (2000), which confirms its currency among the new generation. The term is common in advertising language, where it usually modifies a noun (e.g. สุดยอดนวัตกรรมยานยนต์ /sut1 j@@t2 na3wat3ta0kam0 jaan0jon0/ ‘top innovation vehicle motor’) to convey the idea of supreme quality.

4.2.2.4.5 Combinatory Structures Involving ดี /dii0/ ‘good’

Among the intensifiers which form combinatory patterns, ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ is considered the least intense in terms of meaning. The term originally involves value judgment, denoting the meaning of ‘good’. When used as an intensifier, the word is rather mild in meaning unless followed with a stonger intensifier such as เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’, but it nonetheless suggests

approval on the part of the speaker. Below are the patterns found with ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ and their frequency vis-à-vis the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

Combination of ดี /dii0/ ‘good’	Freq.		
	<i>very</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>really</i>
...ดีมาก /dii0 maak2/ ‘good much’	2	-	-
...ดีเหลือเกิน /dii0 lvva4kqqn0/ ‘good excessively’	1	-	1
...ดีทีเดียว /dii0 thii0diiaw0/ ‘good once’	1	-	-
...ดีนี้ /dii0 nii2/ ‘good this’	1	-	-
...ดีนะ /dii0 na3/ ‘good [SP]’	1	1	-
...ดีจัง /dii0 cang0/ ‘good forcefully’	-	1	-
...ดีแค่ไหน /dii0 khxx2 naj4/ ‘good to what extent’	-	-	1
...ดีเลยละ /dii0 lqqj0 la0/ ‘good beyond [SP]’	-	-	1
...สิ้นดีเลย /sin2 dii0 lqqj0/ ‘lost good beyond’	-	1	-
Total	6	3	3

Table 43 Combinatory patterns of ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ and their frequency of occurrences in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*

The combinatory structures containing ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ are more frequent in the translation of *very* than *so* and *really*. This is probably attributable to the milder force conveyed by ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ that matches the English *very* and *really*. It is worth noting that *very* yields a greater lexical variety compared to *so* and *really*: 5 patterns as opposed to 3 in the latter. From the table, only ดีเหลือเกิน /dii0 lvva4kqqn0/ ‘good excessively’ and สิ้นดีเลย /sin2 dii0 lqqj0/ ‘lost good beyond’, which literally suggests the lack of goodness, produce a high degree of intensity (see example 104). The rest are low in intensity, to the point that they can be considered as having an attenuating effect.

(104) ST: I mean, affairs they're *so* ... *Sleazy*

TT: มัน... มัน เป็น อะไร ที่ เหลวแหลก สิ้นดี _____ เลย
 man0...man0 pen0 ?a0raj0 thii2 leew4lxxk1 sin2 dii0 lqqj0
 ‘it it is something that dissolute lack good beyond’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

While ดี /dii0/ ‘good’ hints at the speaker’s positive judgment, สิ้นดี /sin2 dii0/ ‘lost good’, on the other hand, conveys disapproval and therefore has the

tendency to collocate with items with negative semantic content such as เหลวหลก /leew4lxxk1/ ‘dissolute’.

In example (105) ดีมาก /dii0 maak2/ ‘good much’ is found to produce the degree of intensity similar to that of มาก/maak2/ ‘much’; the difference lies in the positive attitude conveyed by ดี /dii0/ ‘good’. In (106), however, the degree of intensity is attenuated in the TT, as if the speaker is not willing to give a compliment. The ST somehow is stronger in meaning.

(105) ST: He was *very friendly*

TT: เขา ดู เป็นมิตร ดี มาก
 khaw4 duu0 pen0 mit3 dii0 maak2
 ‘he looks friendly good much’

(*Sons and Lovers*)

(106) ST: ‘You said it *very well*,’ said Cropper.

TT: “คุณ ก็ พูด ได้ เข้าที่ ดี นี้” ครอปเปอร์ พูด
 khun0 k@@2 phuut2 daaj2 khaw2 thii0 dii0 nii2 khr@@p3pqq2 phuut2
 ‘You then said get well good this’ Cropper said’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

In the next section, the phonological process, which has to do with the sentence particles, will be discussed.

4.2.3 The Phonological Process in the Final Particles

The phonological process found in the corpus largely involves the final particles, or ‘sentence particles’. The topic has been explored by Henderson (1949), Chuenkongchoo (1956), and Cooke (1989), among others. Sentence Particles (SPs) constitute a class of forms which frequently occur in sentence-final position, although they may also occur medially. They provide the speaker with “a wealth of options for emotive expressiveness”, with a range of functions and usages (Cooke 1989). Henderson (1949: 43-50) analyzed the prosodies of particles, and found that they command a flexibility of expression comparable to that achieved in the English sentence by the modulations of stress and intonation, and that the word class involves

two prosodies, i.e. tone and quantity, which always combine to produce a certain effect. For example, low tone and shortness may suggest impatience, exasperation, or mild command, while high tone plus length produces intensity, emphasis, and urgency.

In fact, the British Prosodic Analysis School has established a theory of final particles in Thai since 1949 (Henderson 1949). The theory describes a complex of prosodies that are used to carry emotive and attitudinal meanings in connected speech. These features that are identified are: 1) quantity, 2) intonation, and 3) termination (Chuenkongchoo 1956). These three features work in terms of a complex of three systems, and the complex is restricted only to the particles, which is a specific word class. They are elaborated as follows.

- 1) The ‘quantity’ system. It is composed of two different features of syllable length, i.e. long and short.
- 2) The ‘intonation’ system. It consists of five different features of pitch: falling, rising, high, mid, and low.
- 3) The termination system. This involves glottalized or non-glottalized features.

Falling pitch generally conveys the meaning of ‘affirmation, insistence, and emphatic, while raised pitch either high or rising generally conveys the meaning of ‘request, question, doubt, puzzlement.’ Length is also reported to carry attitudinal meaning, e.g. intensity. Glottal termination is used to convey the meaning of ‘emphatic, command, and insistence’ (Chuenkongchoo 1956).

In the corpus, some SPs are found to be recurring. In most cases, they are complementary to other intensification devices mentioned earlier, offering further emphasis. These particles fall into three groups: (1) *la* and variations (แล้ว /lxxw3/,แหละ /lx1/, ละ /la3/, ละ /la1/), (2) นะ /na3/ and ณี /nii2/ and variations, and (3) สิ /si1/. All of them are found to occur predominantly in speech-style writing (e.g. dialogue and first-person narration).

4.2.3.1 *la* and Variations

This group comprises such particles as แล้ว /lxxw3/,แหละ /lx1/, ละ /la3/, ละ /la1/; they are put together as they appear to be phonologically related.

4.2.3.1.1 แล้ว /lxxw3/

Other than its conjunctive use, แล้ว /lxxw3/ ‘already’ is usually described as an adjective or a verb meaning ‘end, finish, done’ (cf. RIDT, Panthumetha 2001). While it seems that the particle is mainly used to signify the completion of action, the meaning of แล้ว /lxxw3/ ‘already’ has been extended to intensification and emphasis, though it is more or less subtle. Saying ดีแล้ว /dii0 lxxw3/ ‘good already’, for example, has more weight than the bare adjective ดี /dii0/ ‘good’; yet this usage has not been found in any Thai dictionary.

In the corpus, the particle แล้ว /lxxw3/ ‘already’ has been observed in the vicinity of ST temporal markers (e.g. *at last, now, too late*), but it also exists even in the cases without temporal signification, as in:

(107) ST: "I am *very glad* to see them.

TT: "ได้ เห็น มัน ผม ก็ ดีใจ แล้ว
 daj2 hen4 man0 phom4 k@@@2 dii0caj0 lxxw3
 ‘got see it I then glad already’

(*Tess of the D’Urbervilles*)

4.2.3.1.2 ละ /la0/ and ละ /la2/,

Of the *la* family, ละ /la3/ and ละ /la2/ have been observed in the corpus, distinguished from each other by different phonemic tones. The particle ละ /la3/ is probably a derivative of แล้ว /lxxw3/ ‘already’ (Cooke 1989: 11). RIDT states that ละ /la0/ adds weight to the utterance, while Cooke (1989: 11) is more specific, noting the use of it signals that a decisive or critical point has been reached, as in กลับบ้านละ /klap1 baan2 la0/ ‘I’m going home now’.

Cooke’s examples, however, are largely involved with situations where the speaker is reporting a critical-point subjective reaction, and do not include cases where the speaker’s opinion and intensification is expressed. From the data, ละ /la0/ as a sentence particle is found to be used to add additional emphasis.

It is usually preceded by intensifying lexis such as ที่เดียว-เดียว /thii0 diiaw0/- /chiiaw0/ ‘once’ and เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’, as in (108) and (109). Cooke (1989: 68) also states that as the raised contour signals some type of emotional intensification or ego expressiveness. Having identified the types of meaning signalled by raising, he proposes that ละ /la0/ involves heightened and positive personal expressiveness conveying light, good-humored assertiveness.

(108) ST: "I think that's a **very good** idea," her father said.

TT: "เป็น ความคิด ที่ ดี ที่เดียว ละ" พ่อ บอก
pen0 khwaam0kit3 thii2 dii0 thii0diiaw0 la3 ph@@@2 b@@@k1
 “be idea that good once [SP]” father said’

(*Possession: A Romance*)

(109) ST: “Leonora would be **very shocked** [...]

TT: "ลีโอนอร่า จะ ต้อง ตกใจ มาก เลย ละ
lii0?o0n@@@0raa0 ca1 t@@@ng2 tok1 caj0 maak2 lqqj0 la3
 ‘Leonora will must surprised much beyond [SP]

(*Possession: A Romance*)

Closely associated with ละ /la0/ is ละ /la2/. The word is probably derived from its written equivalent ละ /law2/, which signals a shift in focus (Cooke 1989: 13). The particle generally occurs at the end of a question, command, or request (Nectec Lexitron, Pantumetha 2001: 292). But from the data, ละ /la2/ can appear in an indicative statement, as in (110).

(110) ST: You'll find it **very disturbing**, you know, starting off again.

TT: ลูก คง จะลำบาก ละ ถ้า มา เริ่มต้น
luuk2 khong0 ca1 lam0baak1 la2 thaa2 maa0 rqqm2ton2
 ‘You must will difficult [SP] if come start
 ชีวิต ใหม่ เอา ตอนนี้
chii0wit3 maj1 ?aw0 t@@@n0nii3
 life anew take now’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

4.2.3.1.3 แหะ /lx1/

แหะ /lx1/ is synonymous to ละ /la2/ according to Nectec Lexitron. This sentence particle functions to give emphasis to the statement (RIDT, Pantumetha 2001: 293). Like other particles, แหะ /lx1/ tends to co-occur with other intensifying forms, thereby adding extra intensification.

แหะ /lx1/ can be preceded with a deixis such as นี้ /nii2/ ‘this’, นี่ /nii3/ ‘this’, นั่น /nan2/ ‘that’, but apart from giving emphasis, this usage of แหะ /lx1/ also has an identifying function, for example, เขานี้แหะ /khaw4 nii2 lx1/ points towards ‘he’, with a meaning of ‘it is him and no one else.’

(111) ST: He seemed to be doing *very well*.

TT: เร็กซ์ ดูเหมือน กำลัง ไป โลด ที่เดียว แหะ
rek3 duu0mvvan4 kam0lang0 paj0 loot2 thii0diaw0 lx1
 ‘Rex seems in the act of go leap once [SP]’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

4.2.3.2 นะ /na3/ and นี้ /nii2/

นะ /na3/ adds emphasis to the statement and is used in action-induced utterances e.g. commands, requests (Cooke 1989, RIDT, Panthumetha 2001). Cooke (1989: 68) observes that the particle signals increased emotional concern, involvement, and investment in the response of the addressee, as can be seen in example (112). It can also suggest an intensified response to some kind of resistance, reluctance, intractability, impasse perceived or encountered in the addressee or the situation, as in (113) where the over-protective mother makes an attempt to convince her son that girls are trying to get at him.

(112) ST: ‘*Very much* enjoyed your Lewisham fire station report, by the way’

TT: “ผม ชอบ รายงาน ของ คุณ เรื่อง
“phom4 ch@@p2 raaj0ngaan0 kh@@ng4 khun0 rvvang2
 “I like report of you subject

/nii2/ suggests emotional concern and involvement, and that it usually comes in the last sentence particle position.

(115) ST: This does sound *very special*.

TT: ฟัง ดู พิเศษ จริง ๆ นะ ครับ เนี่ย
fang0 duu0 pi3set1 cing0 cing0 na3 khrap3 nii2
 ‘listen see special true true [SP] [PP] [SP]

(*The Remains of the Day*)

4.2.3.3 สิ /si1/

สิ /si1/ is identified as emphatic or imperative word (Garden and Wannapak 2008); it is used for a highlighting effect or for the sake of eloquence, but in most cases the particle co-occurs with verbs denoting order, persuasion, or promise, as in ไปสิ /paj0 si1/ ‘go!’ or ‘I’ll go’ (RIDT). In these cases, the word is used with action-inducement statements and signals light assertiveness, as in (116).

(116) ST: I mean, *really* think about it.

TT: แอนดี้ ลอง คิด ดู สิ
?xxn0dii2 l@@ng0 khit3 duu0 si1
 ‘Andy try think look [SP]’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

สิ /si1/ has a few variations such as ซิ /si3/ and ซึ /sii0/. Only ซึ /sii0/ is found in the corpus; it gives emphasis to the utterance.

(117) ST: and we're *very hungry*.

TT: แล้ว เรา ก็ หิว กัน มาก เสียด้วย ซึ
lxxw4 raw0 k@@2 hiw4 kan0 maak2 siia4duuaj2 sii0
 ‘and we then hungry each other much also [SP]’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

4.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the results of the study in connection with the first research question, which asked what kinds of the linguistic devices are used in the translation of the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*. From the

corpus, three major linguistic processes have been identified: (1) lexical processes, (2) morpho-syntactico-phonological processes, and (3) phonological processes.

The first category, the lexical processes, concerns intensifying expressions that have become fixed forms and are not generative. They are also characterized by the fact that they involve one-to-one relationship, which means that the semantic content of the source language (SL) intensifier is mapped into one single corresponding lexical item in the target language (TL). This category consists of three sub-classes: the intensifiers, semantic metaphorical expressions, and deictic expressions. Of these, the intensifiers are the most prolific forms and can be subdivided into restricted intensifiers, non-restricted intensifiers, and implicit superlative intensifiers.

Contrary to the lexical processes, the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes involve the linguistic devices that are generative and largely non-conventionalized. They have to do with one-to-many relationship, which means that the SL intensifier is rendered with more than one single unit of forms in the TL. This class include the process of repetition with regard to the repetition of form (e.g. reduplication); the repetition of meaning (e.g. semantic doublets); combinatory structures where devices can add up on top of one another to produce intensification; and negative constructions. The last category, the phonological process involves the use of prosodies superimposed on sentence particles.

In addition to the classification of corresponding forms of intensification in Thai, this chapter also emphasized the fact that the processes of intensification are metaphorical by nature. Intensifiers and figurative expressions involving intensification have to do with the metaphorical extension of lexical words related to the concepts of size, quantity, boundary, truthfulness, and repeated action, to name but a few. Another source of intensification is the physical experiences; the more extreme, the stronger the intensifying effect.

But intensification can equally be realized through the processes of repetition; when something is said twice, either with same or different words, it signals the importance of the message on the part of the speaker and put an extra burden to the hearer's cognition. Devices such as reduplicatives, semantic doublets, and combinatory structures are therefore functional in conveying emphasis and intensity.

Intensification can also be signalled through deviation, as can be seen from the use of pitch change and creative words such as newly coined doublets.

In the next chapter, the findings will be presented in connection with the second research question, which sought to find out what the most selected translation strategies are in translating the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* into Thai.



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CHAPTER V

THE TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

This chapter presents the analysis of the strategies found in the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* to answer the second research question, which asked what kinds of strategies were chosen by the translators. It had been hypothesized that the strategy most opted for in translating English intensifiers in fiction is sense-oriented or interpretive translation. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section (5.1) presents the definition of the different translation strategies. The second section (5.2) provides an analysis of the translation strategies with regard to the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*.

5.1 The Definitions of Translation Strategies

The term 'translation strategy' has been defined differently by translation scholars. Lörscher (1991) and Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002) defined it as a procedure, either conscious or unconscious, verbal or non-verbal, that is used by the translator to solve a particular problem that emerges when carrying out the translation process. As noted by Lörscher (1991), the term 'strategy' has a military connotation, and is described in connection with a problem to be solved. In much the same vein, Chesterman (1997: 89) views the translation strategies as "forms of explicitly textual manipulation", that are "directly observable from the translation product in comparison with the source text" but suggests a deeper meaning to the terminology. The term 'strategy', in Chesterman's view, means 'to change something'. This, he explains informally: "if you are not satisfied with the target version that comes immediately to mind - because it seems ungrammatical, or semantically odd, or pragmatically weak, or whatever -- then change something in it" (p.92). Lawrence Venuti (1998: 240) views it as involving macro-level decision rather than micro-level decision. He writes: "strategies of translation involve the basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be translated and developing a method to translate it." He notes that there are two types of strategies: domesticating and foreignizing strategies, which implies an adherence to domestic or foreign literary

canons respectively (see Venuti 1998: 240-244). In this research, however, the ‘translation strategy’ is defined here as a procedure, either conscious or unconscious, that is used by the translator to solve a particular problem that emerges when carrying out the translation process, following the definition proposed by Lörcher (1991) and Molina and Hurtado Albir (2002). A translation strategy thus involves a decision-making at a micro-level, but it also takes into consideration the contextual features. In a way, the translation strategy can be viewed as a form of textual manipulation.

5.2 The Translation Strategies in the Translation of *Very*, *So*, and *Really*

Two major translation strategies are found in the translation of *very*, *so*, and *really*: sign-oriented and sense-oriented translation. They are described as follows.

5.2.1 Sign-Oriented Translation

This type of strategy has been described by translation scholars under different terminologies e.g. correspondence (Nida 1964, Lederer 1994/2003), modified literal translation (Larson 1984), literal translation (Newmark 1988), sign-oriented translating (Lörcher 1991), established equivalent (Molina and Hurtado Albir 2002). It is characterized by a simple degree of interpretation, which Lörcher (1991) views as ‘automatic association’, by which the translator automatically calls upon his linguistic knowledge and carries out semantic mapping by retrieving an accepted equivalent in the TL. This does not require much of the effort on the part of the translator. As noted by Lederer (1994/2003), this type of translation, which she labels ‘translation by correspondence’ mainly involves the linguistic context. She writes:

The meaning of each word is determined by the words which surrounds it and this meaning in turn determines the meaning of the other words, but words are the only context taken into account.

(Lederer 1994/2003: 4)

As regards intensifier translation, sign-oriented translation occur when the translator retrieves a standard equivalent, a core, conventionalized intensifier in

Thai that has been associated with the English intensifier in question. The standard equivalents for each intensifier are:

<u>English intensifier</u>	<u>Standard equivalents</u>
<i>very</i>	มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’
<i>so</i>	มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’
<i>really</i>	จริง /cing0/ ‘true’
	จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’

For *very*, the standard equivalent is undoubtedly มาก /maak2/, meaning ‘much-many’. Similar to the neutral *very*, มาก /maak2/ functions as a core, common term in the system of intensification. In this case, the two words are a good match in terms of semantic meaning. In addition, most bilingual dictionaries, if not all, give มาก /maak2/ as an equivalent to *very*, thus confirming its status as an established equivalent. มาก /maak2/ is also the established equivalent of the adverb *so*, although the English word is stronger in terms of semantic meaning. Besides, มาก /maak2/ occurs most frequently in the translation of the English *so*.

Unlike *very* and *so*, the adverb *really* has two established equivalents: จริง /cing0/ ‘true’ and จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’, the latter being a reduplicative. The reason for proposing จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’ despite the fact that it is a colloquial term, is due to its high frequency of occurrences vis-à-vis the intensifier *really*, and to its occurrences in most bilingual dictionaries, for example, Thiengburanatham (1998)’s SE-EDS Modern English-Thai Dictionary, Sethaputra (1999)’s New Model English-Thai Dictionary, Oxford Riverbook English-Thai Dictionary (2001).

On the whole, any entry that is translated with the standard equivalent(s) associated to the intensifier in question is classified into this category. The number of cases involving the selection of standard equivalents is presented in Table 44.

Intensifiers	Total tokens	Number of tokens involving sign-oriented translation	% of total
<i>very</i>	1,194	290	24.29
<i>so</i>	1,304	100	7.67
<i>really</i>	516	164	31.78

Table 44 Number of tokens involving sign-oriented translation

Sign-oriented translation amounts to 31.78% in the translation of *really*, followed by *very* (24.29%) and *so* (7.67%). The high frequency of standard equivalents for *really* is perhaps due to the fixed semantic content, i.e. the truth-related meaning, attached with it. This meaning has been associated with *really* since early days, when *really* has all the connotation of a modal, truth-attesting adverb. In fact, the intensifying function of *really* only becomes evident in the late twentieth century (see Lorenz 2002 for the process of grammaticalization of *really*). As little has been noted about the intensifying function of *really* (cf. *SE-EDS Modern English-Thai Dictionary*, *Scholar's English-Thai Dictionary*) and because saying something is true also gives emphasis to the statement, the translator tends to choose the truth expression such as จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ 'true true'.

The reason for a high frequency in *very* is attributable to the fact that *very* and มาก /maak2/ 'much-many' are both common core terms in English and Thai, and have long been viewed as an established equivalent for one another. The standard equivalent มาก /maak2/ 'much-many' somehow figures much lower in the translation of *so*, probably because both the Thai and English intensifiers are not on equal terms as regards the degree of intensity. To elaborate, the intensifier *so* requires items stronger than มาก /maak2/ 'much-many' to convey the intensive semantic content projected.

It then goes without saying that the remaining entries, with the exception of the cases of omission, fall into sense-oriented translation. This is discussed in the section that follows.

5.2.2 Sense-Oriented Translation

This strategy in translation has been known under diverse terminologies, e.g. dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964), idiomatic translation (Larson 1984), communicative translation (Newmark 1988), sense-oriented translating (Lörscher 1991), translation by equivalence (Lederer 1994/2003). As noted by Lederer (1994/ 2003: 45), the basic difference between sign-oriented translation (or correspondence in Lederer's term) and sense-oriented translation (equivalence) lies in the fact that equivalence exists between texts, while correspondences between linguistic elements e.g. words, syntagms, set expressions, or syntactic forms within the text. Context is therefore a decisive factor. Lederer (1994/ 2003: 5) points out that the translation of words and sentences *out of context* should be included under the label of 'linguistic translation'; only the translation of texts should be called 'interpretive translation', or more simply, 'translation' (emphases mine).

But to derive the context is not as simple as automatic lexical mapping. Sign-oriented translation requires a greater degree of analysis, both contextually and conceptually, than by simply retrieving a standard equivalent. Contextual analysis involves in finding the context of the text (e.g. a medical context), and defining a general area for conceptual and lexical investigation. Conceptual analysis has to do with the analysis of semantic content of the lexical choices. Delisle (1988: 93-4) summarizes the idea as follows:

To re-create a concept in context, the translator must attribute values to two unknowns: first he must establish the meaning of the expression in the original context, then he must explore the possibilities of the target language in order to construct an expression that semantically and stylistically balances the first one.

The analysis of contextual features cannot be divorced from the interpretation of the ST. Apart from the co-text, contextual factors such as the temporal aspect within the ST, the participants, and the types of discourse all need to be considered both prior to and in the process of translation, because, as is often taught in translation classes, a word can have different meanings depending on the context. To exemplify, simple collocates such as *so quiet* can be rendered into Thai

in many different ways, depending on what it describes (e.g. a person, a place), where it appears (e.g. in narrative or dialogue), and the tone of the utterance. While *quiet* is a somewhat neutral term with no attitudinal meaning attached (as compared to positive adjectives such as *good*, *beautiful*, *sweet*, and negative adjectives such as *bad*, *beastly*, *sorry*), *so quiet* is found to be translated with words carrying positive and negative connotations, which shows that the translator has sought a recourse from the context. Consider the following examples:

(1) ST: "It's *so quiet*."

TT: "มัน เจียบ เกิน ไป
man0 ngiiap2 kqqn0paj0
 'It quiet too much'

(*In Dubious Battle*)

(2) ST: *So quiet*. It's almost like going back in time.

TT: เจียบ สงบ เหมือนกับ เรา กำลัง เดินทาง
ngiiap2 sa0ngop1 mvvan4 kap1 raw0 kam0lang0 deen0 taang0
Quiet peaceful like we in the process of traveling
 ย้อน กาล เวลา"
j@@@n3 kaan0 wee0laa0'
 back time period'

(*The Notebook*)

Examples (1) and (2) share some similarities; both occur in spoken language, and are part of the character's description of a place. Yet they differ in terms of the speaker and the affect. (1) is said by a working-class speaker, who is appraising a situation in an orchard:

He studied the orchard. The long, sun-spotted aisles were silent. There was no movement. "It's *so quiet*. Makes me suspicious. It's too quiet."

(*In Dubious Battle*)

Example (2) is spoken by an upper-class female to her ex-lover in appreciation of the beautiful surroundings in which they are canoeing.

A pause. Then, she said: "It's pretty out here. So clean. **So quiet.** It's almost like going back in time."

(*The Notebook*)

While the linguistic context of example (1) involves sociolectal features (e.g. omission of subject in *Makes me suspicious*), example (2), in contrast, has to do with refined and poetic language, which is marked by repetition (*So clean. So quiet.*) The lower-class participant, the suspicious situation, and the negative affect contribute to the translator's decision in choosing the verb เงียบ /ngiiap2/ 'quiet' with a negative non-restricted intensifier เกินไป /kqpn0paj0/ 'too much'. Similarly, the upper-class participant, the poetic style, and the pleasant mood all set the stage for the translator to choose the positive semantic doublets เงียบสงบ /ngiiap2 sa0ngop1/ 'quiet peaceful' to match with *so quiet*. As noted by Panthumetha (2001: 488-9), the doublets เงียบสงบ /ngiiap2 sa0ngop1/ are used to describe scenery, with the sense of 'having no loud noises, thus bringing peace to the mind'.

Example (3) - (5) feature a person as the subject of the verb phrase *was so quiet*.

(3) ST: He was **so quiet**, yet so strange.

TT: เขา เงียบเชียบ และ แปลก ไปมาก
 khaw4 ngiiap2chiiap2 lx3 plxxk1 paj0maak2
 'he quiet silent and strange gone much'

(*Sons and Lovers*)

(4) ST: Yet he was **so quiet**, she forgave him,

TT: แต่ เขา ก็ เงียบ ไป มาก เธอ จึง ให้อภัย เขา
 txx1 khaw4 k@@@2 ngiiap2 paj0maak2 thq0 cvng0 haj2?a0paj0 khaw4
 'but he then silent gone much she then forgave him'

(*Sons and Lovers*)

In (3), เงียบเชียบ /ngiiap2 chiiap2/, translated as 'dead silent' (Garden and Wannapok 2008), describes an activity that does not make any sound e.g. เขาเดิน ออกไปอย่างเงียบเชียบ /khaw4 dqpn0 ?@@@k0 paj0 jaang1 ngiiap2 chiiap2/ 'he walks out

in a dead-silent manner' (Panthumetha 2001: 488). When used to describe a person, it suggests that reticence is not a desired quality.

The use of ไปมาก /paj0maak2/, literally meaning 'gone much' in (4) not only denotes an increase in degree, but also implies a change from a previous state or quality. เสียงไปมาก /ngiiap2 paj0 maak2/ 'quiet gone much' and แปลกไปมาก /plxxk1 paj0 maak2/ 'strange gone much' carry a presupposition that previously the person being talked about was chatty or acting quite normal but became quiet or strange later on. The changing state, however, is not something to be desired but is viewed rather depreciatively, as suggested by the tendency of ไปมาก / paj0 maak2/ 'gone much' to pattern with negative collocations (e.g. แก่ไปมาก /kxx1 paj0 maak2/ 'old gone much': 'becoming very old'). The translator's selection of ไปมาก / paj0 maak2/ could only be motivated by the context.

In (5), the standard equivalent มาก /maak2/ 'much' offers a neutral attitudinal meaning and is compatible to the positive collocations *so superb*.

(5) ST: She was *so quiet* and so superb!

TT: เธอ เงียบ มาก และ ดู สง่า งาม

thqj0 ngiiap0 maak2 lx3 duu0 sangaa1 ngaam0

'she quiet much and look elegant beautiful'

(*Sons and Lovers*)

The number of tokens which involves the translation by sense-oriented translation is found to be far greater than those involving retrieval of standard equivalents in the linguistic system. Sense-oriented translation then has to do with the use of the following devices:

1. Lexical processes

1.1 Intensifiers

1.1.1 Non-restricted, non-conventionalized, intensifiers

1.1.2 Restricted intensifiers

1.1.3 Implicit superlative intensifiers

1.2 Semantic expressions

1.3 Deictic words

2. Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes

2.1 Repetition

2.1.1 Formal repetition or reduplication

2.1.2 Semantic repetition

2.3 Negative constructions

2.4 Combinatory structures

3. Phonological processes as involving sentence particles

The total number of these devices combined can be seen in *Table 45*.

Intensifiers	Total tokens	Number of tokens involving sense-oriented translation	% of total
<i>very</i>	1,194	904	75.71
<i>so</i>	1,304	1,205	92.41
<i>really</i>	516	352	68.22

Table 45 Number of tokens involving sense-oriented translation

As shown in *Table 45*, the majority of the intensifiers under investigation are translated through sense-oriented translation. This strategy is most selected in the translation of the intensifier *so*, with 92.41% or 1,205 tokens. This perhaps suggests that *so* is context-bound; to make an appropriate choice when translating the intensifier *so*, contextual features need to be analyzed as to which expressions should best convey the expressivity of the ST word. The second most frequent intensifier is *very*, at 75.71%, followed by *really* at 68.22%. The lower figures for the two intensifiers suggest that both have a well-established equivalent to which the translator can associate conveniently, but even so, he or she still needs to consult the context and re-creates intensification with the linguistic devices that are deemed most appropriate to the situation.

The data presented above confirms the second statement of hypothesis: the strategy most selected in translating English intensifiers in the corpus is sense-oriented translation.

It should be noted here that whilst most translations of the intensifier occurs at the same place as the ST intensifier, there are cases, though relatively rare, in which the intensifying element in the TT occurs at a different place from that in the original. This strategy is known as ‘compensation in place’ in Hervey and Higgins (1992). An example is given in (6).

(6) ST: I'm exhausted and I *really* need a shower and my own bed.

TT: ฉัน เหนื่อย จะ แย่ อยาก อาบ น้ำ แล้ว ก็ นอน ซัก งีบ
 chan4 nuaaj1 ca0 jxx2 jaak1 ?aap1naam4 lxxw3 k@@2 n@@n0 sak3 ngiip2
 ‘I tired to suffer want bathe water and then sleep only nap’

(*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In example (6), intensification as conveyed by the adverb *really* is realized as a lexical intensifier in the TT but is shifted to a different location. To elaborate, the expression จะแย่ /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’ is placed right after the verb เหนื่อย /nvaaj1/ ‘tired’, which it modifies. However, it can be argued, that this may not constitute a case of intensification shift, since the ST verb *to be exhausted* indeed carries the meaning of being ‘very tired’ and the word จะแย่ /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’ was selected to carry this meaning. Thus, it can be viewed simply as a case of omission.

5.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the translation strategies and categorized the intensifier translation into two broad strategies: sign- and sense-oriented translation. Sign-oriented translation involves in retrieving an established equivalent in the TL to map with the ST meaning; the action requires automatic association of the ST and TT items. On the other hand, sense-oriented translation requires a greater degree of analysis, both contextually and conceptually, before the selection of the linguistic form can be made.

As regards the translation of the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*, the selection of an establish equivalent, i.e. มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ for *very* and *so*, and จริง /cing0/ ‘true’ and จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’ for *really* constitutes

sign-oriented translation. Other linguistic categories are classified in the sense-oriented translation, as each of them is semantically and pragmatically conditioned, which necessitates the translator to analyse them with regard to the context and usage.

The finding lends support to the hypothesis, which states that the strategy most opted for in translating English intensifiers in fiction is sense-oriented or interpretive translation.

In the chapter that follows, I will present the findings to answer the third research question, which sought to explore the pragmatic factors behind the translator's decision: the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse.



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CHAPTER VI

THE CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

This chapter presents the findings from the corpus and the interview with the translators to prove the third hypothesis, which hypothesizes that in addition to the semantic factor (i.e. the lexical meaning of the ST intensifier) the translator's decision in selecting an intensifying device(s) is motivated by the three pragmatic dimensions of the ST: (a) the temporal dimension, (b) the participant dimension, and (c) the type of discourse dimension. The chapter will be organized accordingly, starting with the section on the temporal factors (6.1), the participant factors (6.2), and the type of discourse (6.3).

Each section begins with an overview on the frequency of occurrences of the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* that vary according to the three different dimensions. This is substantiated by the results of the chi-square test, and the comparison of the frequency of the linguistic categories is given between the two parameters. Also, the list of intensifiers is compared to see whether there is any difference between the two types of context.

The results from the interview will be presented in section 6.4.

6.1 The Temporal Dimension of the ST

In this research, it has been hypothesized that the temporal dimension *within* the story plays a role in determining the translator's choice of intensifying forms in the TT. This sub-hypothesis is based on the Firth (1957)'s theory of the context of culture and context of situation, and on personal observation that the language in period fiction work is likely to model after the language of the earlier centuries. In translation, the translator facing the language of the bygone period in the ST is likely to fill the translated version with dated vocabulary or syntax. Walya Wiwatsorn (2002), in translating Voltaire's *Candide* and *Zadig ou la Destinée* from French into Thai, reports that she looked for dated vocabulary to match with the ST language of

the 18th century. Countries such as the Netherlands, Sri Lanka, and India are translated by their former names in Thai into ประเทศศรีลังกา /phra0thet2 wi3lan0daa0/, สิงหลประเทศ /sing4hon4 phra0thet2/ and ชมภูทวีป /chom0phuu0 ta0wiip2/ or ภารตประเทศ /paa0ra0ta1 phra0tet2/ respectively. Wiwatsorn also notes that the French units of measurement are also replaced by traditional Thai equivalents, while old words and pronouns are selected instead of their contemporary counterparts (Wiwatsorn 2002: 274-6).

To test out the hypothesis, the data was drawn selectively from the English novels featuring dated and contemporary periods within the story, along with their Thai translation. The ‘dated’ aspect involves the period of the 19th century, while ‘contemporary’ has to do with the 20th century (for more information on corpus description see 3.2.1.3). This corpus is referred to as the Sub-corpus A.

In the next section, the frequency of occurrences of the three English intensifiers is investigated, as it gives an insight into their usage and popularity with regard to the different temporal settings. Then, with chi-square statistics, it examines whether there is a relationship between the temporal factors of the SL and the TL linguistic choices of intensification made by the translator. Finally, the linguistic devices are explored, with comparison made between the different time settings.

6.1.1 The Frequency of *Very*, *So*, and *Really*

From the corpus, the frequency of occurrences was found to be different among the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* in dated and contemporary settings. The data is presented in the table below.

Intensifiers	Dated		Contemporary	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>very</i>	230	35.44	246	48.71
<i>so</i>	371	57.16	178	35.25
<i>really</i>	48	7.40	81	16.04
<i>Total</i>	649	100	505	100

Table 46 Percentage of *very*, *so*, and *really* occurring in dated and contemporary contexts

From *Table 46*, the frequency of occurrences is found to vary across the three intensifiers in dated and contemporary contexts. In *very*, the number is higher in contemporary context: 246 occurrences or 48.71% vs. 230 occurrences or 35.44% in contemporary and dated settings respectively. The intensifier *so*, however, shows the reverse, with 371 occurrences or 57.16% in the dated context compared to the contemporary setting, which sees 178 occurrences or 35.25%. In *really*, contemporary setting more than doubles the frequency found in dated context: 81 occurrences or 16.04% vs. 48 or 7.40%. This conforms to recent findings (e.g. Tagliamonte 2008), which indicate that *really* has expanded dramatically in recent years.

6.1.2 The SL Temporal Factors and the TL Linguistic Choices of Intensification

To begin with, the data from the sub-corpus A was classified and coded based on the temporal contexts in which they occur. To discover whether there is an association between the temporal factors of the ST and the translator's choice of linguistic realizations of intensification in the TT, the chi-square tests were performed on the data. The linguistic categories and the temporal factors are presented in connection with each of the investigated intensifiers: from *very* to *so* and *really*. The reason why each intensifier is considered separately is due to the fact that each English intensifier has its own semantic and pragmatic dimensions and therefore should be treated in its own right.

6.1.2.1 The Chi-Square Test Results

The chi-square test was performed to see whether that there is an association between the temporal dimension of the ST and the linguistic categories selected vis-à-vis the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* in the TT. The results are reported as follows.

Intensifiers	df	Critical value ($P \leq 0.05$)	X^2
<i>very</i>	7	14.07.	21.88
<i>so</i>	8	15.51	32.15
<i>really</i>	3	7.81	17.89

*The calculations were made based on the figures in *Table 48, 49, and 51*.

Table 47 Results of chi-square test of association between the linguistic forms and the temporal contextual factor

As regards the linguistic categories associated with the intensifier *very*, the value of the test statistics is 21.88, whereas the critical value of chi-square where $df=7$ and $P \leq 0.05$, is 14.07. In *so*, the value of the test statistics is 32.15, whereas the critical value of chi-square where $df=8$ and $P \leq 0.05$, is 15.51. In *really*, the value of the test statistics is 17.89, whereas the critical value of chi-square where $df=3$ and $P \leq 0.05$, is 7.81. Since all the test statistics are greater than the critical values, the null hypothesis is rejected at the 5 percent level of significance. That is, there is an association between the temporal dimension of the ST and the linguistic categories selected by the translator in translating the three English intensifiers into Thai.

6.1.2.2 The Frequency of Occurrences: Some Observations

In this section, the translation of the intensifiers is discussed in quantitative terms, from *very* to *so* and *really*.

6.1.2.2.1 *Very*

The translation of the intensifier *very* does not exhibit any noticeable differences qualitatively between the dated and contemporary settings. In quantitative terms, the differences can be seen in the categories of combinatory structures and omission, as illustrated in *Table 48*

The translated forms found in <i>very</i>	Dated		Contemp.	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	44	19.13	48	19.51
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	31	13.48	32	13.01
Restricted Intensifiers	1	0.43	6	2.44
Implicit superlative intensifiers	8	3.48	3	1.22
Semantic metaphorical expressions	-	-	2	0.81
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	21	9.13	17	6.91
Semantic repetition	34	14.78	29	11.79
Negative constructions	12	5.22	14	5.69
Combinatory structures	26	11.30	65	26.42
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	5	2.17	-	-
Omission	48	20.87	30	12.20
Total	230	100	246	100

Table 48 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in dated and contemporary settings in the translation of *very*.

From *Table 48*, the highest frequency falls in the category of combinatory structures for the contemporary setting (65 occurrences, 26.42%), and omission for the dated setting (48 occurrences, 20.87%). Within these two categories, the difference between the contexts is found to be significant. Through the single sample chi-square test, the chi-square statistics is 14.25 and 5.45 for combinatory structures and omission respectively, where the critical value is 3.84. As omission has the effect of bringing about brevity and concision and therefore involves literate language, while combinatory structures suggest verbal intensity, the high frequency of these phenomena in dated and contemporary settings respectively is in agreement with the preliminary assumption that dated context is literacy-oriented while contemporary setting is orality-oriented⁴³.

⁴³ Orality and literacy are terms by Walter J. Ong (1982/2002). Orality is used here in the sense of 'being relative to the spoken form of language', while literacy is 'related to the written form of language'.

In other categories, however, the differences are only minimal. In conventionalized intensifiers (in this case, มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’) and non-conventionalized intensifiers, for example, the number does not vary across the temporal setting. Some intensifiers, e.g. เหลือเกิน /lvva4kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ and ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’, had been viewed as markers of dated language, but as it turned out, they were found with near-identical frequency in both dated and contemporary situations. For the rest, the figures are too small to draw a conclusion.

6.1.2.2.2 *So*

In the corpus, the intensifier *so* appears more in dated setting than contemporary setting. This is in contradiction with earlier work, e.g. Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005) which points out that the use of *so* is on the increase. The disparity, however, can be due to the language variety; the work by Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) focused on the American English, with the popular TV series *Friends* as the source of data, while the present study includes the novels written in both British and American Englishes. For one thing, the presence of *so* makes the narration or dialogue more emotional and, as a result, more appealing.

Because the adverb *so* carries a strong intensity, one would expect that the translation would bear the intensive force. Presumably, time should also have an impact on the translated expressions. As it turned out, the quantitative differences can be observed to a certain extent. *Table 49* presents the categories and their frequency of occurrences.

The translated forms found in <i>so</i>	Dated		Contemp.	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	15	4.04	13	7.30
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	75	20.22	50	28.09
Restricted intensifiers	1	0.27	1	0.56
Implicit superlative intensifiers	29	7.82	4	2.25
Semantic metaphorical expressions	3	0.81	2	1.12
Deictics	11	2.96	4	2.25
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	24	6.47	13	7.30
Semantic repetition	85	22.91	18	10.11
Negative constructions	5	1.35	3	1.69

The translated forms found in <i>so</i>	Dated		Contemp.	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Combinatory structures	69	18.60	48	26.97
Phonological processes Sentence particles	-	-	4	2.25
Omission	54	14.56	18	10.11
Total	371	100	178	100

Table 49 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in dated and contemporary settings in the translation of *so*.

In the translation of *so*, non-conventionalized intensifiers and combinatory structures are found to be higher in contemporary setting (28.09% and 26.97% respectively), while semantic repetition, are distinctly higher in dated setting, at 22.91%. Although the higher frequency in non-conventionalized intensifiers and combinatory structures in contemporary setting may seem to conform to the researcher's preliminary assumption, this is not quite what was expected. The two types of contexts do not produce any substantial difference in terms of frequency of occurrences. For instance, เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ 'excessively' and แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand' which are assumed to be temporally marked, are found to be equally frequent in both contexts. In the examples below, the patterning of แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand' is given in different temporal settings.

- (1) ST: He had always *so sad* a face - thin and lined and always pale.
 TT: หน้า พ่อ แสน เศร้า ใบหน้า ชุ่ม ดอบ
 naa2 ph@@@2 sxxn4 saw2 baj0naa2 suup2 t@@@p1
 'face father one hundred thousand sad face haggard sunken
 มี ริ้วรอย ชิด เขียว ตลอด เวลา
 mii0 riw3r@@@j0 siit2 siiaw0 ta0l@@@t1 wee0laa0
 have sign pale wan all time'
 (Possession: *A Romance*)

- (2) ST: No wonder she was sleeping *so well* these nights.

TT: ไม่น่าสงสัยเลย ว่าทำไม เธอ ถึงหลับได้
maj2 naa2 song4saj4 lqj0 waa2 tham0maj0 thqj0 tvng4 lap1 daj2
 ‘Not to wonder at all that why she can sleep get
 อย่าง แสน สุข ใน ทุก คืน นี้
jaang1 sxxn4 suk1 naj0 tuk3 khvvn0 nii3
 manner one hundred thousand happy in every night these’
 (*Smart Women*)

Example (1), from *Possession: A Romance*, involves a journal written in the 19th century, which perhaps justifies the use of the poetic and seemingly archaic term แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’. However, the same usage can be observed in the contemporary setting, in a concordance taken from *Smart Women*. In this case, there may be another factor at play, that is, the type of discourse. Both concordances occur in narration, which could have legitimated the use of literary form such as แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’.

The higher frequency of combinatory structures in contemporary context and high omission in dated context seems to correspond to the researcher’s assumption that dated context is oriented towards literacy, while contemporary setting is oriented towards orality. The smaller gap in the frequency of omission between the two types of context suggests that the translator is unlikely to omit intensification when translating the English intensifier *so*, probably due to the strong intensity carried by the word.

Semantic repetition is found to be higher in dated context compared to the contemporary context. This category comprises conventional expressions rather than current conversational expressions. In example (3), the deliberate sequencing of semantic couplets gives the translation a cadence and the refined sense of the bygone days.

- (3) ST: *So fine, so pale, so much*, crimped by its plaiting into springy zigzag tresses
 TT: เรือนผมเส้นละเอียด สี ซีดจาง ดกหนา
rvvan0 phom4 sen2 la0?iat1 sii4 siit2 caang0 dok1 naa4
 ‘setting hair thread fine color pale faint abundant dense

หยิก หยอย จาก การถัก สลับ เป็น ปอย เล็ก ๆ
jik1 j@/j4 caak1 kaan0tak1 sa0lap1 pen0 p@/j0 lek3 lek3
curly frizzy from braiding alternate be tuft small small'

(*Possession: A Romance*)

The semantic doublets used in (3) are conventionalized forms, and they add a touch of literacy to the translation. In the contemporary setting, semantic doublets occur with a much lower frequency. Besides, some are more oral and far from being conventionalized. For example,

(4) ST: [Stuart] began to attack the food Margo had set out *so carefully*.

TT: [สจ๊วต] เริ่มบุกโจมตีอาหารที่มาร์โก
[saa0cuuat3] rerm2 buuk1 coom0tii0 ?aa0haan4 thii2 maa0koo2
 Stuart began raid attack food that Margo
 ตระเตรียมไว้ อย่าง เนียบ ฉียบ
tra1triiam0 waj3 jaang1 niiap3 chiiap1
 prepare already like neat sharp

(*Smart Women*)

6.1.2.2.3 *Really*

This research includes two patterns of *really*, that is, *really* with an emphasizing function (*really* preceding verb e.g. I *really* like him) and *really* with an intensifying function (*really* preceding adjective or adverb e.g. *really* nice). Of the two patterns, the latter is further away on the path of grammaticalization, having lost the connotation of a modal, truth-attesting adverb and become an intensifier (cf. Lorenz 2002). It is interesting to note that these two patterns of *really* figure differently in dated and contemporary corpus. The frequency is reported in *Table 50*.

Semantic functions of <i>really</i>	Dated		Contemp.	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Emphasizing <i>really</i>	46	95.83	54	66.67
Intensifying <i>really</i>	2	4.17	27	33.33
Total	48	100	81	100

Table 50 Frequency of *really* with different semantic functions in dated and contemporary settings

From the table, intensifying *really*, or *really* as an adverb/adjective modifier, occurs with a much greater frequency in contemporary context than in dated setting. On the contrary, emphasizing *really* is more frequent in the dated context than in contemporary setting. Tested with chi-square, the figures reveal an association between the different functions of *really* and the temporal factor. The value of the test statistics is 16.88, whereas the critical value of chi-square where $df=1$ and $P \leq 0.05$, is 3.84. Since the test statistics is greater than the critical value, the null hypothesis is rejected at the 5 percent level of significance.

The functions of *really* have an implication to the translator's decision, which will be discussed shortly.

It can be hypothesized that intensifying *really*, having shed most of its original meaning in the process of becoming a fully-fledged intensifier, is likely to be translated with expressions without truth-attesting semantic content. On the other hand, the emphasizing *really* is likely to be translated with truth-related expressions. This preliminary assumption is proven to be true, as evidenced by the variety of types and the frequency of tokens in the translation. *Table 51* provides the translations of *really* as regards the dated and contemporary setting.

The translated forms found in <i>really</i>	Dated (N=48)		Contemp. (N=81)	
	Freq.	% of N	Freq.	% of N
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	14	29.17	11	13.58
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	2	4.16	22	27.16

The translated forms found in <i>really</i>	Dated (N=48)		Contemp. (N=81)	
	Freq.	% of N	Freq.	% of N
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Truth-related reduplicatives	11	22.92	28	34.57
Reduplication of intensifiers	-	-	2	2.47
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	1	2.08	5	6.17
Omission	19	39.58	10	12.35
Others	1	2.08	3	3.70
Total	48	100	81	100

Table 51 Translation of *really* in dated and contemporary contexts

From Table 51, truth-related intensifiers are more frequent in dated setting (29.17%) than contemporary setting (13.58%), while intensifiers with non-truth meaning are more lexically varied and more frequent in the contemporary context. This is due to the higher number of *really* preceding adjective/adverb on the contemporary side.

Truth-related reduplicatives, however, are higher in contemporary setting. Since the reduplicatives are considered oral by nature, the high frequency of it in contemporary context suggests the association of the context and the tendency towards orality.

Omission is found to with a greater frequency in the dated context. A close investigation reveals that omission in *really* comes solely from *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1891), and not from *Possession: A Romance* (1991)⁴⁴. There may be two reasons behind this. On the one hand, *really* is difficult to translate, especially in the pre-verb position, and is more likely to be left untranslated in the TT. On the other hand, since omission is a strategy that is useful in smoothen the text, it is possible that the dated setting may result in orientation towards textual literacy.

⁴⁴ In fact, *Possession: A Romance* does not yield any concordances containing *really* + verb/adjective within the dated setting at all, although it does give concordances with *really* in contemporary context. The author, A.S. Byatt, seems to be well aware of the ongoing language change as far as *really* is concerned.

To sum up the results pertaining to the temporal factor, the following has been found. First, the chi-square tests reveal an association between the temporal contexts and the linguistic categories. Omission is found to be higher in the dated context across the three intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*, while combinatory structures pattern higher in the contemporary setting. This indicates, to a certain extent, that the dated language is prone towards literacy and a lesser degree of emotivity, since omission functions to smooth the textual flow and results in the loss of intensification. However, contrary to the researcher's assumption, items that are thought to belong to the dated language, e.g. แสน /sxxn4/ 'one hundred thousand', ช่าง /chaang2/ 'craftsman - inclined', เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ 'excessively'.

6.2 The Participant Dimension of the ST

Since this study is based on the notion that people of different social classes speak differently, and that the differences must be reflected in the translation, the researcher looked at the language produced by the characters belonging to different social classes. The term 'class' is used here as a convenient label for groups of people who share similarities in economic and social status (cf. Holmes 2001). In this research, the class concept is not fine-grained as in sociology but is roughly divided into the upper and lower classes (see 3.5.2.2 for the operational definition). The focus is on the translation of the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*. Because these three expressive words cut across the social classes (Kanthavichian 2009, interview), it is interesting to see how they are expressed in Thai by the characters of different social standings: would there be any differences in the translator's linguistic choice between people of the higher ranking and the lower class?

To test out the hypothesis, the data has been drawn selectively from the English novels that feature the upper-class and lower class characters, along with their Thai translation. The speech and description containing the intensifiers were gathered and classified based on the social status of the characters associated with the concordances. This corpus is referred to as the Sub-corpus B.

In the next section, the frequency of occurrences of the three English intensifiers is investigated, as it gives an insight into their usage and popularity with regard to the different social classes. Then, with chi-square statistics, it examines whether there is a relationship between the participant factors of the SL and the TL linguistic choices of intensification made by the translator. Finally, the linguistic devices are explored, with comparison made between the different participants.

6.2.1 The Frequency of *very*, *so*, and *really*

From the corpus, the frequency of occurrences is found to be different among the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* in upper class (UC) and lower class (LC) settings. The data is presented in the table below.

Intensifiers	UC		LC	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>very</i>	377	56.02	326	45.28
<i>so</i>	235	34.92	349	48.47
<i>really</i>	61	9.06	45	6.25
<i>Total</i>	673	100	720	100

Table 52 Frequency of *very*, *so*, and *really* occurring in upper-class and lower-class contexts

From Table 52, the frequency of *very* is higher in the upper-class setting: 377 occurrences or 56.02% as opposed to 326 occurrences or 45.36% in the lower-class context. Within the upper class, the patterning of polite formulaic expressions (e.g. *I'm very sorry*, *That's very kind of you*) is high, which is rarely found in the lower-class setting. This corresponds with Macaulay (2002: 404), who, in his study of the use of intensifiers in Scotland, concludes that *very* is 'almost categorically a middle-class word'. In *so* and *really*, however, the numbers are quite different between the upper- class and lower-class contexts. *So* is found to occur more in lower-class setting (349 occurrences or 48.47%) than in the genteel context, which sees 235 occurrences or 34.92%. The reverse is found in *really*. The intensifier figures higher

in upper-class setting than lower-class context: 61 occurrences or 9.06% vs. 45 or 6.25%.

6.2.2 The SL Context of Participants and the TL Linguistic Choices of Intensification

In a process similar to that carried out with Sub-corpus A, the data from the sub-corpus B was classified and coded based on the context of participants in which they occur. To discover whether there is an association between the participant factors of the ST and the translator's choice of linguistic realizations of intensification in the TT, the chi-square tests were applied to the data. The results are reported in the following.

6.2.2.1 The chi-square test results

Similar to the results obtained for the temporal factors, the chi-square test statistics show there is an association between the context of participants and the TL linguistic categories. The results are given as follows.

Intensifiers	df	Critical value ($P \leq 0.05$)	X^2
<i>very</i>	10	18.31	28.87
<i>so</i>	10	18.31	33.23
<i>really</i>	4	9.49	9.99

*The calculations were made based on the figures in *Table 54, 56, and 58*.

Table 53 Results of chi-square test of association between the linguistic forms and the context of participant factor

Since all the test statistics (X^2) are greater than the critical values, the null hypothesis is rejected at the 5 percent level of significance. This proves that there is an association between the participant dimension of the ST and the linguistic categories selected by the translator in translating the three English intensifiers into Thai.

6.2.2.2 The Frequency of Occurrences: Some Observations

In this section, the frequency of occurrences and percentage of the linguistic categories found in the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* are presented with regard to the upper class and lower class features.

6.2.2.2.1 *Very*

While *very* is found to be evenly distributed between the upper class and lower-class participants, the translation of the intensifier reveals a different frequency of patterning between the participants. The data is presented in *Table 54*.

The translated forms found in <i>very</i>	UC		LC	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	81	21.49	88	26.99
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	56	14.85	22	6.75
Restricted Intensifiers	5	1.33	8	2.45
Implicit superlative intensifiers	18	4.77	14	4.29
Semantic metaphorical expressions	8	2.12	2	0.61
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	24	6.37	25	7.67
Semantic repetition	28	7.43	47	14.42
Negative constructions	24	6.37	16	4.91
Combinatory structures	93	24.67	62	19.02
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	4	1.06	2	0.61
Omission	36	9.55	40	12.27
Total	377	100	326	100

Table 54 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in upper-class and lower-class settings in the translation of *very*

From *Table 54*, combinatory structures and non-conventionalized intensifiers are higher in upper-class setting (24.67% and 14.85%), while conventionalized intensifiers and semantic repetition are higher in lower-class context (26.99% and 14.42%). The higher frequency of combinatory structures in the upper-class settings suggests the upper class's tendency to over-intensify their speech, as can be seen in (5).

(5) ST: and he did arrange things *very amicably*.

TT: และ เขา ก็ ช่วย จัดการ อะลุ่มอล่วย ได้
 1
lx3 khaw4 k@@2 chuuaj2 cat1 kaan0 ?a0lum3?a0luuaj1 daaj2
 and he then help manage compromise get
 อย่าง วิเศษ / สุด / ที่เดียว
 2 3 4
jaang1 wi3set1 sut1 thii0diiaw0
 manner wonderful edge once

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

In (5), the combination of อะลุ่มอล่วย with the attitudinal adverbial อย่างวิเศษ /jaang1 wi3set1/ ‘wonderfully’ as well as the intensifiers สุด /sut1/ ‘edge’ and ที่เดียว /thii0 diiaw0/ ‘once’ illustrates the use of multiple devices in intensification, which adds extra intensity to the TT. The prominence of this category suggests a tendency for verbal pomposity in the upper class. It is worth noting that in the upper-class setting, the speaker’s feeling is made explicit in the translation, as is the case in (5). Another example can be found in (6).

(6) ST: "My dear boy, you are *very young*.

TT: "พอหนุ่ม เอ้ย คุณ นี้ ปาก ยัง ไม่ สิ้น กลิ่น น้านม/
 1
ph@@2num1 ?qqj4 khun0 nii2 paak1 jang0 maj2 sin2 klin1 nam3nom0
 ‘young man dear you this mouth yet not lack smell milk
เลย /จริง ๆ /นะ
 2 3 4
lqqj0 cing0 cing0 na3
beyond true true [SP]’

(*Brideshead Revisited*)

The speaker is Cara, who is Lord Marchmain’s mistress. The sentence was said to young Charles Ryder when they were sitting leisurely and were discussing Lord Marchmain’s seclusion. The translation explicitly conveys a negative attitude to the point of becoming a criticism. There are four different devices in combination: (1) semantic metaphorical expression ปากยังไม่สิ้นกลิ่นน้านม /paak1 jang0 maj2 sin2 klin1 nam3nom0/ ‘mouth still smelling milk, which suggests

that the hearer is still a baby, (2) the intensifier เสดย /lqj0/, literally ‘beyond’, (3) the intensifier and จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’, and (4) the final particle นะ /na3/, which gives an affirmation to the statement. The co-text is provided below.

'He may not admit it to you. He may not admit it to himself; they are full of hate - hate of themselves. Alex and his family. ... Why do you think he will never go into Society?'

'I always thought people had turned against him.'

'My dear boy, you are *very young*. People turn against a handsome, clever, wealthy man like Alex? Never in your life. It is he who has driven them away. Even now they come back again and again to be snubbed and laughed at. And all for Lady Marchmain. [...]

(*Brideshead Revisited*, my emphasis)

The tendency of the upper class to adopt an emphatic speech style can also be observed in English. Macaulay (2002) who studied the speech of the middle-class and the lower class in Glasgow and Ayr, reported that Glasgow middle-class speakers seem anxious to make sure that there is no doubt about their attitude or opinion (e.g. *very user-friendly really* or *it's actually quite nice for swimming*). In this case, extra intensification serves as a means to ensure that the message is carried over and that there is no communication breakdown.

The lower class people, on the other hand, are found to be translated with fewer linguistic forms, which result in a less stronger intensity. In the lower class, three linguistic devices are found to be the maximum. Most combinations are conventional, as in (7).

(7) ST: The day was *very long*.

TT: วัน ข้าง / ยาว นาน / จริง ๆ
 1 2 3
 wan0 chaang2 jaaw0 naan0 cing0 cing0
 day inclined long lasting true true

(*Sons and Lovers*)

In (7), the pre-modifying intensifier ช่าง /chaang2/ ‘craftsman - inclined’ combines with the semantic doublet ยาวนาน /jaaw0 naan0/ ‘long lasting’, and the post-modifying reduplicated intensifier จริง ๆ /cing0 cing0/ ‘true true’. The sentence is thought representation by the protagonist, Paul. It sounds like a personal musing and does not carry an explicit attitudinal meaning.

Non-conventionalized intensifiers are found to be more than twice as much in the upper-class setting as in the lower-class context. Their frequency of occurrences is presented in *Table 55*.

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	UC	LC
ยิ่ง /jing2/, อย่างยิ่ง /jaang1 jing2/ ‘most’	8	-
เหลือเกิน /lvva4kqqn0/ ‘excessively’	8	2
ทีเดียว /thii0 diiaw0/ ‘once’	7	3
จริง /cing0/ ‘true’	5	-
เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’	4	3
ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’	3	1
เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘fully’	2	-
เพียงใด/ไร /phiiang0 daj0-raj0/ ‘what extent’	2	-
หนัก /nak1/ ‘heavy’, อย่างหนัก /jaang1 nak1/ ‘heavily’	3	2
กันแต่ /kon1 txx1/ ‘to do nothing but...’	1	-
เกินไป /kqqn0 paj0/ ‘too much’	1	-
เช่นกัน /chen2 kan0/ ‘as well’	1	-
ซะไม่มี /sa3 maj2 mii0/ ‘lost till there is nothing’	1	-
เปี่ยม /phiiam1/ ‘to the brim’	1	-
ไปกันใหญ่ /paj0 kan0 jaj1/ ‘gone too big’	1	-
ไปที /paj0 thii0/ ‘gone once’	1	-
พอใช้ /ph@@0 chaj3/ ‘enough [for] use’	1	-
ลง /long0/ ‘down’	1	1
สูง /suung4/ ‘high’	1	-
เสีย /siii4/, เสียแล้ว /siii4 lxxw4/ ‘lost’	1	-
แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’	1	-
อย่างแท้จริง /jaang1 txx3 cing0/ ‘truthfully’	1	-
อยู่แล้ว /juu1 lxx3/ ‘already’	1	-

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	UC	LC
ขึ้น /khvn2/ ‘up’	-	1
ค่อนข้าง /kh@@n2 khaang2/ ‘rather’	-	1
แค่ไหน /khxx2 naj4/ ‘what extent’	-	1
ด้วย /duuaj2/ ‘too’	-	1
นัก /nak3/ ‘so much’	-	1
ไปหมด /paj0 mot1/ ‘all gone’	-	1
สุดจะ /sut1 ca1/ ‘edge’	-	1
อย่างดี /jaang1 dii0/ ‘well’	-	1
อย่างสิ้นเชิง /jaang1 sin2 chqqng0/ ‘lack of manner’	-	1
Total	56	22

Table 55 Intensifiers found in the translation of *very* in upper-class and lower-class settings

The intensifiers associated with the upper and lower class in the translation of *very* do not vary drastically, perhaps owing to the fact that the ST *very* is a neutral intensifier. However, it is worth noting that some intensifiers do not occur at all in the lower-class setting. In the upper-class context, ยิ่ง /jing2/ and อย่างยิ่ง /jaang1 jing2/ ‘most’ are found 8 times, and จริง /cing0/ ‘true’ 5 times, while none can be found in the lower-class setting. In addition, formal and literate expressions such as เพียงใด /puiiang0 daj0/ ‘what extent’, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’, เต็ม /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’, สูง /suung4/ ‘high’ occur exclusively in the upper class speech. The lower-class setting sees more oral expressions e.g. แค่ไหน /khxx2 naj4/ ‘what extent’, ไปหมด /paj0 mot1/ ‘all gone’, สุดจะ /sut1 ca1/ ‘edge’.

6.2.2.2.2 *So*

From the data, the high frequency of the English intensifier *so* in the lower-class setting may lead us to believe that the lower class is prone to emotive expression, and that this should be reflected in the translation. As it turned out, the

quantitative and qualitative analyses yield the results that are partially contradictory. Conventionalized intensifiers and omission, which suggests lesser degree of emotive intensity, are high in the lower class. On the contrary, the upper class seems to produce a higher number of non-conventionalized intensifiers and combinatory structures, the devices considered to convey extra intensity, orality, and emotivity. The details are given in the table below.

The translated forms found in <i>so</i>	UC		LC	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	11	4.68	38	10.39
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	52	22.13	57	16.33
Restricted Intensifiers	3	1.28	5	1.43
Implicit superlative intensifiers	9	3.83	9	2.58
Semantic metaphorical expressions	8	3.40	7	2.01
Deictics	9	3.83	5	1.43
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	11	4.68	20	5.73
Semantic repetition	26	11.06	51	14.61
Negative constructions	4	1.70	3	0.86
Combinatory structures	78	33.19	78	22.35
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	2	0.85	5	1.43
Omission	22	9.36	71	20.34
Total	235	100	349	100

Table 56 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in upper-class and lower-class settings in the translation of *so*

From *Table 56*, conventionalized intensifiers are greater in frequency in the lower-class setting (10.39%) compared to the upper-class setting (4.68%). The same occurs with omission, which patterns twice as much as in the lower-class context as the upper class (20.34% vs. 9.36%). In the upper-class setting, non-conventionalized intensifiers and combinatory structures are noticeably high, at 22.13% and 33.19% respectively. The results are similar to that found in *very*, and in this case may lead us to conclude that the lower-class participants are less expressive than their upper class counterparts in their communication, despite the high degree of intensity generated by the intensifier *so*. However, a close inspection at the list of

non-conventionalized intensifiers gives a different picture. The lower class is found to be more lexically varied and highly emotive, as can be seen from *Table 57*.

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	UC	LC
เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ 'excessively'	18	14
นัก /nak3/ 'so much'	9	1
เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ 'completely'	2	-
ทีเดียว /thii0 diiaw0/ 'once'	2	3
เลย /lqqj0/ 'beyond'	2	2
ไปเลย /paj0 lqqj0/ 'go beyond'	2	-
อะไร /?a1raj0/ 'what', อย่างไร /jaang1 raj0/ 'how'	2	-
เกินไป /kqqn0 paj0/ 'too much'	-	6
กว่าที่คิด /kwaa1 thii2 khit3/ 'more than [one] thinks'	1	-
ขึ้นมา /khvn2 maa0/ 'go up'	1	-
แค่ไหน /khxx2 naj4/ 'what extent'	1	-
จะแย่ /ca1 jxx2/ 'to suffer'	1	1
ช่าง /chaang2/ 'craftsman - inclined'	1	2
ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ 'at the edge'	1	-
ดี /dii0/ 'good', เป็นอย่างดี /pen0 jaang1 dii0/ 'well'	1	1
ยิ่ง /jing2/ 'most'	1	-
เยอะ /jq3/ 'a lot'	1	-
แล้ว /lxxw3/, อยู่แล้ว /juu1 lxxw3/ 'already'	1	2
เสีย /siii4/ 'lost'	1	-
เสียด้วย /siii4 duuaj2/ 'lost also'	1	-
แสนสาหัส /sxxn4 saa4hat1/ 'extremely severe'	1	-
สาหัส /saa4hat1/ 'severe'	-	2
อย่างหนัก /jaang1 nak1/ 'heavily'	1	1
เอง /?eeng0/ 'oneself'	1	-
เต็มไปด้วย /tem0 paj0 duuaj2/ 'full of'	-	2
บรรลัย /ban0laj0/ 'die'	-	2
มีแต่ /mii0 txx1/ 'to have nothing but ...'	-	2
มีวแต่ /muua0 txx1/ 'to do nothing but...'	-	2
ชี้ /khii2/ 'excrement - natural bent'	-	1

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	UC	LC
ขึ้น /khvn2/ ‘up’	-	1
จะบ้าตาย /ca1 baa2 taaj0/ ‘will [go] crazy to death’	-	1
จัง /cang0/ ‘forcefully’	-	1
จัด /cat1/ ‘intense’	-	1
หนักหนา /nak3 naa4/ ‘heavy [and] thick’	-	1
ไป /paj0/ ‘go’	-	2
ไปหน่อย /paj0 n@@j1/ ‘too much’	-	1
ไปหมด /paj0 mot1/ ‘all gone’	-	1
เพียง /phiiang0/ ‘just’	-	1
เสียจริง /siia4 cing0/ ‘lost truly’	-	1
เสียอีก /siia4 ?iik1/ ‘lost more’	-	1
อย่างจัญไร /jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘wicked’	-	1
อย่างระยำ /jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘vilely’	-	1
ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’	-	1
Total	52	57

Table 57 Intensifiers found in the translation of *so* in the upper-class and lower-class settings

From the table, the translation of *so* in the lower-class setting brings about more lexically varied forms (31 as opposed to 22). The lower-class context is also richer in intensifiers denoting extreme experiences, i.e. death, madness, and critical conditions. They are: บรรลัย /ban0laj0/ ‘to die’, จะบ้าตาย /ca1 baa2 taaj0/ ‘will [go] crazy to death’, จะแยะ /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’, สาหัส /saa4hat1/ ‘severe’, อย่างสาหัส /jaang1 saa4hat1/ ‘severely’. Only two such expressions are found in the upper-class setting: จะแยะ /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’ and อย่างสาหัส /jaang1 saa4hat1/ ‘severely.’ In addition, intensifiers that border on vulgarity can be observed in association with the lower class speech, i.e. อย่างจัญไร /jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘wicked’, อย่างระยำ /jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘vilely’. This is perhaps due to the collocatability of the intensifier *so* with exclamatives and vulgar words, e.g. *You're so **God damn** serious*. In addition to the examples mentioned, the Thai intensifiers in the lower class appears to be more

judgmental, i.e. เกินไป /kqpn0 paj0/ ‘too much’, ไป /paj0/ ‘gone’, ไปหน่อย /paj0 n@@@j1/ ‘too much’, มีแต่ /mii0 txx1/ - มีแต่ /muua0 txx1/ ‘to have/do nothing but...’.

It should be pointed out here that vulgarisms found in the translation are motivated by the co-text. As illustrated in the following examples, บรรลั้ย /ban0laj0/ ‘die’ is mapped to the word *so damn*.

(8) ST: It's *so damn dark*.

TT: มืด บรรลั้ย เลย ะ"
 mvvt2 ban0laj0 lqqj0 wa2
 ‘dark die beyond [SP]’

(In Dubious Battle)

(9) ST: London's *so damn mad* at this wage drop

TT: ลอนดอน เขา โกรธ บรรลั้ย ใจ เรื่อง ลด ค่าแรง
 l@@@nd@@@n khaw4 kroot1 ban0laj0 ?aj2 rrvang2 lot3 khaa2rxxng0
 ‘London he angry die this matter reduce wage
 ครั้ง นี้
 krang3 nii3
 time this’

(In Dubious Battle)

As seen from examples (8) and (9), the speaker’s social standing is reflected in the translation when strong language is being used as intensifier. But social class can also be reflected through the use of other devices, e.g. incongruity of pronoun, as in (10)

(10) ST: Must be a *really posh* place, it rings a bell even to an idiot like yours truly.

TT: ต้อง เป็น ที่ หู จริง ๆ แน่ แม้แต่ ใจ โง่
 t@@@ng2 pen0 thii2 ruu4 cing0 cing0 nxx2 mxx3txx1 ?aj2 ngoo2
 ‘must be place posh true true certain even this idiot
 อย่าง ตัว ข้าพเจ้า ยัง คำน ๆ
 jaang1 tuua0 khaa2pa3chaaw2 jang0 khun3 khun3
 like self I still familiar familiar’

(The Remains of the Day)

In (10) the speaker is from the working class background, and he was talking about the famous Darlington Hall. The use of formal first-person pronoun *ข้าพเจ้า* /khaa2pa3chaaw2/ in the translation is incongruous with the co-text, i.e. the informal expression *โง่ง* /ʔaj2 ngoo2/ ‘idiot’, as well as the situational context, i.e. a casual conversation. This deliberate usage engenders the humorous effect and at the same time, gives an impression that the speaker is not so keen in language use, thus reflecting his social standing.

6.2.2.2.3 *Really*

The translation of *really* in different participant contexts yields a frequency pattern similar to that of *very* and *so*, that is, a higher number of omission and conventionalized intensifiers in the lower-class setting, and a greater frequency of combinatory structures and non-conventionalized intensifiers in the upper-class setting. In *really*, however, the upper class seems to use more sentence particles than its lower class counterparts. The frequency of each category is described in *Table 58* below.

The translated forms found in <i>really</i>	UC		LC	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	8	13.11	9	20.00
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	5	8.20	2	4.44
Restricted Intensifiers	1	1.64	-	-
Implicit superlative intensifiers	1	1.64	-	-
Semantic metaphorical expressions	1	1.64	1	2.22
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	18	29.51	14	31.11
Combinatory structures	8	13.11	2	4.44
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	6	9.84	-	-
Omission	13	21.31	17	37.78
Total	61	100	45	100

Table 58 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in upper-class and lower-class settings in the translation of *really*

Again, the data seems to suggest the tendency for over-intensification in the translation involving the upper class, and the tendency for neutralization, or even de-intensification in the translation concerning the lower-class participants. For the remaining categories, the differences are only minimal. This is typical in the translation of *really*, which tends to lean towards the translation carrying truth-attested semantic content. It is worth noting that the linguistic categories found in the upper-class setting are more varied compared to those found in the lower-class setting.

To summarize the findings as regards the participant factor, it is found that there is a relationship between the context of participant and the linguistic categories. A close inspection reveals that combinatory structures and non-conventionalized intensifiers are higher in the upper-class context, while omission and conventionalized intensifiers are higher in the lower-class setting. In this aspect, the upper-class language is perhaps similar to the language of the modern time (see section 6.2), while the lower-class language bear similarities with the language of the dated time.

It has been found that formal and literate intensifiers tend to occur more in the upper-class setting, while vulgarisms have been observed in connection with the lower-class speech. The vulgar language, however, tends to be motivated by the presence of strong words such as *damn* or *Goddamn*.

6.3 The Type of Discourse Dimension of the ST

The word ‘narration’ is used here in a specific sense, to refer to the rendition of thoughts of a person, i.e. the narrator. The term suggests that the communication is non-interactive or one-way, with an assumed hearer. It is used here as opposed to ‘dialogue’, which refers to a conversation between two or more people. In dialogue, there is always the presence of the hearer, while in narration, the presence of the hearer is usually assumed.

It is presumed that in the translation of narration, the TT language is prone towards the literacy end of the scale, especially if the story is dated from the third-person point of view. In first-person narration, however, the language may move

slightly closer to the orality end of the cline, but that also depends on the character of the narrator. In dialogue, on the other hand, the TT language use is likely to go towards orality, since it involves interactional discourse between characters.

6.3.1 The Frequency of *Very*, *So*, and *Really*

From the corpus, the frequency of occurrences is found to be different among the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* in the narration and dialogue. As it turned out, *very* appears to be narration-oriented than *so* and *really*, while *really* is more dialogue-oriented than *so* and *very*. The figures are provided in the table below.

Intensifiers	Narration		Dialogue	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
<i>very</i>	128	23.36	79	15.90
<i>so</i>	234	42.70	184	37.02
<i>really</i>	186	33.94	234	47.08
<i>Total</i>	548	100	497	100

Table 59 Frequency of *very*, *so*, and *really* occurring in narration and dialogue

Table 59 shows an interesting frequency of patterning of the three intensifiers. *Very* and *so* occur with a greater frequency in narration than dialogue, while *really* is higher in dialogue than narration. The high number of *very* corresponds with the degree of emotivity of the intensifiers and the expectation norms of the types of discourse (e.g. narration is expected to be descriptive and therefore should carry a lower degree of emotive intensification). However, such explanation does not apply to the case of *so*, which is an emotive term. In the case of *so*, the high frequency of it in narration reflects the fact that much of the data comes from the works of fiction written in first-person narration, such as *Bridget Jones' Diary*, *Turning Thirty*, and *The Devil Wears Prada*. Since they assume intimacy with the reader, it is not uncommon that the narration is more emotive, which explains the high frequency of *so*. It can be also observed here that *really* has the highest overall

frequency, probably because the corpus consists of contemporary work of fictions, where *really* is said to be an emerging intensifier (Tagliamonte 2008).

6.3.2 The Types of Discourse and the TL Linguistic Choices of Intensification

After the data from the sub-corpus C was classified and coded based on the types of discourse in which they occur, the chi-square test was performed on the data to see whether there is an association between the types of discourse and the translator's choice of linguistic realizations of intensification in the TT. The results are reported in the following.

6.3.2.1 The Chi-Square Test Results

Similar to the results obtained for the temporal and participant factors, the chi-square test statistics show that there is an association between the types of discourse and the TL linguistic categories. The results are given in the table below.

Intensifiers	df	Critical value ($P \leq 0.05$)	X^2
<i>very</i>	7	14.07	28.77
<i>so</i>	9	16.92	18.42
<i>really</i>	7	14.07	18.53

*The calculations were made based on the figures in *Table 61*, *62*, and *64*.

Table 60 The results of chi-square test of association between the linguistic forms and the type of discourse factor

As all the test statistics (X^2) are greater than the critical values, the null hypothesis is rejected at the 5 percent level of significance. In other words, there is an association between the discourse dimension of the ST and the linguistic categories selected by the translator in translating the three English intensifiers into Thai.

6.3.2.2 The Frequency of Occurrences: Some Observations

In this section, the frequency of occurrences and percentage of the linguistic categories found in the translation of the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* are presented with regard to the narration and dialogue.

6.3.2.2.1 *Very*

The higher frequency of *very* in the narration than dialogue correlates with the researcher's initial assumption that *very* as a neutral term is likely to be found more in or narration. Yet it is worth pointing out that it occurs only minimally, in the works by Nicholas Sparks: *The Notebook* and *A Bend in the Road*, with less than 10 tokens each, probably due to the author's stylistic preferences.

Interestingly, *very* is found to have a higher omission rate in the narration, while in dialogue it tends to be translated more into conventionalized intensifiers.

Table 61 provides the details.

The translated forms found in <i>very</i>	Narration		Dialogue	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	6	4.69	22	27.85
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	22	17.19	13	16.46
Restricted Intensifiers	7	5.47	-	-
Implicit superlative intensifiers	6	4.69	5	6.33
Semantic metaphorical expressions	3	2.34	1	1.27
Deictics	1	0.78	-	-
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	9	7.03	7	8.86
Semantic repetition	10	7.81	4	5.06
Negative constructions	1	0.78	1	1.27
Combinatory structures	30	23.44	17	21.52
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	1	0.78	2	2.53
Omission	32	25.00	7	8.86
Total	128	100	79	100

Table 61 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in narration and dialogue in the translation of *very*

From *Table 61*, the conventionalized intensifier, i.e. มาก /maak2/ 'much-many', is found with a greater frequency in dialogue than narration, probably because it sounds natural in speech. Besides, it does not require too much of

cognitive burden in the translation process, since *very* and มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ are established as equivalents, and is thus a case of convenient mapping. Omission is much more frequent in narration than dialogue, which conforms to the researcher’s preliminary assumption. There are two possible explanations to this. One is that in narration, especially in third-person narration, there is the need to smooth the text, and the intensity carried by *very* could be perceived by the translator to be stylistically intrusive. For the sake of naturalness, intensification may need to be sacrificed. The second explanation is that *very* is perceived to have peripheral meaning, to carry a very weak intensity and therefore can be omitted. On the contrary, in dialogue, the translation is easier. The translator simply renders it as มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, which explains why the word figures prominently in the dialogue.

There are a few categories that do not correspond to the researcher’s assumption. For instance, the non-conventionalized intensifiers and the combinatory structures are higher in narration than dialogue, where the opposite should be true. A close look at the data reveals that much of the concordances come from the fiction texts featuring first-person narration i.e. *Bridget Jones' Diary*, *The Devil Wears Prada* and are therefore prone towards orality. This explains the high frequency of non-conventionalized intensifiers and combinatory structures, which tend to be informal, in the narration.

6.3.2.2.2 *So*

Similar to *very*, the emotive intensifier *so* is found with a greater frequency in the narration than dialogue. This is perhaps due to the fact that about 70% of the adverb *so* in the narration occurred in the context of first-person narration, which, as it features the character’s thoughts, can be no less expressive than dialogue. Surprisingly, dialogue is high in both conventionalized and non-conventionalized intensifiers, where only the latter is hypothesized to figure higher. In narration combinatory structures are higher. *Table 62* provides the details.

The translated forms found in <i>so</i>	Narration		Dialogue	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	10	4.27	15	8.15
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	46	19.66	51	27.72
Restricted Intensifiers	5	2.14	-	-
Implicit superlative intensifiers	10	4.27	7	3.80
Semantic metaphorical expressions	7	2.99	3	1.63
Deictics	17	7.26	13	7.07
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	12	5.13	16	8.70
Semantic repetition	18	7.69	5	2.72
Negative constructions	4	1.71	-	-
Combinatory structures	59	25.21	37	20.11
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	2	0.85	2	1.09
Omission	44	18.80	35	19.02
Total	234	100	184	100

Table 62 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in narration and dialogue in the translation of *so*.

From Table 62, both conventionalized and non-conventionalized intensifiers occur with a greater frequency in dialogue, while semantic repetition and combinatory structures are more frequent in narration. The high frequency of combinatory structures in narration suggests extra intensity and a stronger degree of emotivity. Such findings do not conform to the researcher's initial assumption that these linguistic forms are likely to occur in emotive expression, that is, in speech. A possible explanation is that the context in which these forms occur is first-person narration, where the narrators are metropolitan people in their thirties. The presence of 'I' implies personal and inner thoughts, which can be more emotive than speech.

It can be observed that omission figures similarly in both contexts. In a way, this suggests that the context is peripheral to the semantic content of a word, in this case, the intensifier *so*. As *so* conveys strong intensity, omitting it in the TT may involve a severe loss of emotivity. But it seems that there is another overriding factor, that is, readability. In other words, the translator may have attempted to make the translation acceptable to the Thai audience. Examples of omission of *so* are given as follows.

- (11) ST: (but drunk in police presence *so clearly OK*)
 TT: (แต่ เมา ตอน ตำรวจ อยู่ ด้วย ไม่ เป็นไร)
txx1 maw0 t@@n0 tam0ruuat1 juu1 duuaj2 maj2 pen0 raj0
 ‘but drunk when police stay with not matter’
 (*Bridget Jones' Diary*)
- (12) ST: I'm *so glad* you like it.
 TT: "ดีใจ ที่ เธอ ชอบ
dii0caj0 thii2 thqj0 ch@@p2
 ‘Glad that you like’
 (*The Devil Wears Prada*)

In (11), omission has the effect of reducing lexical obtrusion, which may be necessary in translating certain genres, e.g. humorous texts such as *Bridget Jones' Diary*. Such texts need brevity as well as the right pace to produce the desired effect. Full-scale intensification may bring about redundancy and awkwardness, which in turn, has the effect of putting the reader off. In this case, omission is a necessary textual strategy to achieve a certain effect.

Although non-conventionalized intensifiers in the translation of *so* are found to be quite similar in both contexts, differences can be observed in terms of lexical variety. Because the adverb *so* has no semantic content and carries strong intensity, the realizations of it in Thai tend to vary across contexts and are therefore lexically diverse. While the differences are not absolute between the narration and dialogue, it is worth noting that some forms occur exclusively in one context and not the other.

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	Narration	Dialogue
จั่ง /cang0/ ‘forcefully’	7	12
เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’	5	13
นัก /nak3/ ‘so much’	4	5
แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’	3	-
อย่างหนัก /jaang1 nak1/ ‘heavily’	3	-
ไปหมด /paj0 mot1/ ‘in all aspects’	2	-
เลย /lqqj0/ ‘beyond’	2	2

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	Narration	Dialogue
สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ ‘edge mark’	2	-
ขี้ /khii2/ ⁴⁵ ‘excrement - natural bent’	1	-
โคตร /koot2/ ‘clan’	1	-
จริง /cing0/ ‘true’	1	-
แทบตาย /txxp2 taaj0/ ‘almost die’	1	-
จัด /cat1/ ‘intense’	1	-
ขะมัด /cha0mat3/ ‘super’	1	2
ตั้ง /tang2/ ‘as much as’	1	4
เพียงใด /phiiang0 daj0/ ‘what extent’	1	-
ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’	1	-
แล้ว /lxxw4/ ‘already’	1	-
ออกไป /?@@k1 paj0/ ‘out go’	1	-
หนักหนา /nak3 naa4/ ‘heavy [and] thick’	1	-
เหลือจะกล่าว /lvva4 ca0 klaaw1/ ‘unable to say’	1	-
เหลือร้าย /lvva4 raaj3/ ‘awfully’	1	-
อย่างแท้จริง /jaang1 txx3 cing0/ ‘truthfully’	1	-
อย่างสิ้นเชิง /jaang1 sin2 chqqng0/ ‘completely’	1	-
ชิบเป๋ง /chip3peng2/ ‘darn’	1	-
มัวแต่ /muua0 txx1/ ‘to do nothing but...’	1	-
แค่ /khxx2/ ‘just’	-	1
จะตาย /ca1 taaj0/ ‘to death’	-	1
จะตายชัก /ca1 taaj0 chak3/ ‘will die convulsing’	-	1
จะบ้าตายชัก /ca1 baa2 taaj0/ ‘will [go] crazy [and] die convulsing’	-	1
เต็มที่ /tem0 thii2/ ‘completely’	-	1
ถึง /thvng4/ ‘reach’	-	1
ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’	-	1
ไปหน่อย /paj0 n@@j1/ ‘too much’	-	1
เยอะ /jq3/ ‘a lot’	-	1

45 ขี้ /khii2/ is originally a derogatory term meaning ‘excrement’. When it is used metaphorically to describe a habit, it suggests an unfavorable behavior.

Intensifiers	Freq.	
	Narration	Dialogue
สุดเหวี่ยง /sut1 wiiang1/ ‘wildly’	-	1
อย่างแรง /jaang1 rxxng0/ ‘powerfully’	-	1
ออก /?@@k1/ ‘out’	-	1
Total	46	51

Table 63 Non-conventionalized intensifiers found in the translation of *so* in the narration and dialogue

From Table 63, the tendency towards orality can be observed in the narration, which is not surprising, considering much of the data comes from first-person narration. Yet there are some literacy-oriented items that occur exclusively in the narration. For example, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ and อย่างหนัก /jaang1 nak1/ ‘heavily’ occur three times in the narration, and are not found in dialogue. Others occur once but exclusively in narration; they are essentially literate, e.g. จริง /cing0/ ‘true’, เพียงใด /phiiang0 daj0/ ‘what extent’, ยิ่ง /jing2/ ‘most’, เหลือจะกล่าว /lvva4 ca0 klaaw1/ ‘unable to say’, อย่างสิ้นเชิง /jaang1 sin2 chqqng0/ ‘lack of manner’ or ‘completely’, and อย่างแท้จริง /jaang1 txx3 cing0/ ‘truthfully’.

6.3.2.2.3 *Really*

Really as an intensifier is part of conversational language and is therefore oral by nature. The reason it also figures high in narration is because the latter includes first-person narration, which puts *really* in an intimate, personal context. As *really* occurs within the character’s inner thoughts, the translation of it acquired the oral character and therefore comes close to that occurring in the dialogue. This perhaps explains why the figures are found to be quite similar in some categories.

The translated forms found in <i>really</i>	Narration		Dialogue	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Lexical processes				
Conventionalized intensifiers	19	10.22	36	15.38
Non-conventionalized intensifiers	20	10.75	25	10.68
Restricted Intensifiers	5	2.69	-	-
Implicit superlative intensifiers	4	2.15	7	2.99
Semantic metaphorical expressions	4	2.15	2	0.85
Morpho-syntactico-phonological processes				
Formal repetition	48	25.81	60	25.64
Semantic repetition	9	4.84	4	1.71
Negative constructions	1	0.54	1	0.43
Combinatory structures	25	13.44	46	19.66
Phonological processes				
Sentence particles	7	3.76	20	8.55
Omission	44	23.66	33	14.10
Total	186	100	234	100

Table 64 Frequency of occurrences of each linguistic category and percentages in narration and dialogue in the translation of *really*

From *Table 64*, omission was found to be substantially higher in narration rather than dialogue. As omission is a strategy to achieve readability, the result seems to agree with the researcher's previous assumption that narration is more literacy-oriented. Another factor could be the difficulty in translating *really* preceding verb. A close inspection reveals that of 44 omissions, 34 of them involve the emphasizing *really*.

But it is in dialogue that conventionalized intensifiers, combinatory structures, and sentence particles are found with a greater frequency. This correlates with the researcher's assumption that in translating dialogue, the translator is likely to use orality-oriented devices such as combinatory structures and sentence particles. The higher frequency of the conventionalized intensifiers in the translation of *really* as well as *so* and *very* in dialogue perhaps point toward a tendency: an English intensifier is more likely to be conveniently translated with an established term in dialogue than narration due to the perceived expressivity of the dialogic discourse. This translational behaviour is in accordance with Levý (1967)'s Minimax Principle,

which states that the translator “resolves for that one of the possible solution which promises a maximum of effect with a minimum of effort” (2000: 156).

In summary, the results pertaining to the types of discourse are mixed. While the chi-square test points out that there is a relationship between the linguistic categories and the types of discourse, the linguistic categories do not yield a substantial result. It seems that both narration and dialogue are oriented towards orality. This can be due to the fact that most of the data comes from first-person narration, where the language is intimate, personal, and emotive. Nonetheless, some formal and literary expressions have been observed in narration, as can be seen in the translation of the intensifier *so*.

In the next section, the results from the interview are presented as another source of data to see how the context of communication plays a role in the translator’s decision.

6.4 The Context of Communication: Reflections from Professional Translators

From quantitative analyses, the context of communication, i.e. the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse, is found to influence the translator’s decision. But statistics alone may not be enough to validate the results. Questions also arise as to whether the decision is made based on considerations of the contextual factors mentioned, or it is done intuitively. To find out about the importance of contextual factors on the translation, interviews were conducted with three professional translators: Dr. Sa-nguansri Kanthavichian, Ms. Montharat Songpao, and Ms. Waleeporn Wangsuekul (see 3.6 for details). The interviews provide invaluable insights into the topic.

It should be noted that apart from their experience with the literary texts, these three translators share the same work ethics and principles. In text analysis, they attend to the ST structures, lexical choices, and the stylistics. In the transfer process, they attempt to render the ST as closely as possible into Thai, making sure that no details and nuances of the ST meaning have been omitted. At the same time, they make sure that the translated language is natural to Thai ears. Addition and omission were avoided at all cost; if there is any, it is usually due to an oversight.

The results from the translators' retrospection are presented under the three headings: the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse. In each section, discussions will focus on the role of context on the translation as a whole, then specifically on the translation of the three English intensifiers under investigation.

6.4.1 The temporal context

The three translators agreed that the time of the story played a key role in their translation decision. They said that when translating a fiction with a dated setting, the translator must recreate the bygone period through linguistic choices. For example, Songpao told the interviewer that in translating *The Other Boleyn Girl*⁴⁶ (2001), she had carried out an extensive research on dated languages as well as the language of the court. This includes reading earlier translations of historical fictions by Nida; fictions of V. na Pramuanmarg⁴⁷, in addition to watching Thai period dramas e.g. Nang That 'female slave'. According to Songpao, the dated language is best reflected through the choice of pronouns, e.g. ข้า /khaa2/ 'I', ท่าน /thaan2/ 'you', เจ้า /caw2/ 'thou'. However, it is not possible to assimilate the language of the above authors, for some expressions might sound 'too old' for the contemporary reader. While the hero and heroine of previous works may address each other as น้องหญิง /n@@ng3 jing4/ 'younger sister' and พี่ชาย /phii2 chaaj0/ 'elder brother', such terms of address may sound unnatural to the contemporary audience. As Songpao pointed out, there is the need to mediate between the dated and contemporary language, and it is necessary that the translator use the language that can be understood by the contemporary reader. She noted that on the whole, the language use in dated setting tends to be old and more formal. In other words, the formal language of the narration is also used in translating conversations between the characters. For example, the

⁴⁶ The book was written by British author Philippa Gregory. The Thai translation has the title of *Songkham Rak Amnat Ratbanlang* 'war of love, power, throne'. The story follows the life of the lesser known Boleyn, Mary Boleyn, the sister of Anne Boleyn, the second wife of King Henry VIII who was tried for high treason and was executed.

⁴⁷ V. na Pramuanmarg is a pen name for Princess Vibhavadi Rangsit (1920-1977), a Thai writer well known for her romance novels.

formal expressions อย่างไร /jaang1raj0/ and เช่นไร /chen1raj0/, both meaning ‘how’, are used in speech instead of their colloquial counterpart ชั่งใจ /jang0 ngaj0/ to create the setting of the past.

But the use of dated language to recreate the setting can also be unintentional. According to Kanthavichian, Charles Ryder, the narrator of *Brideshead Revisited* (1944) was born in 1905; the story takes place in early twentieth century up to the Second World War. She noted that in translating the novel, she did not plan to use dated language but in fact it came naturally. This is because her mother was a contemporary of the author Evelyn Waugh; Waugh was born in 1903, her mother 1913. In this case, the translator just applied the language used in her family, or rather, the language of habitual use, in translating the novel.

In addition to the temporal aspect, the entire setting, i.e. the context of culture, in fact, is an overarching factor governing the translator’s decision. Wangsuekul pointed out that the setting set the atmosphere of the work and gave the translator the direction as regards the tone of the story. Both Wangsuekul and Songpao noted that it was necessary that the translator be able to ‘recreate’ the ST setting in their head. Otherwise, it would be impossible to translate. For example, Songpao said that in translating *The Other Boleyn Girl*, she could not imagine how tennis and bowling were played in the 16th century. But luckily, there was the British series *The Tudors* on the cable TV, it helped her considerably.

But while the influence of cultural context on the language of translation is maximal, the temporal aspect of the ST is not always reflected in the translation of intensifier *per se*. In translating the sample sentence *I am so very angry* (see Appendix A for prompt), the translators suggested formal expressions and agreed that the expression conveyed a high degree of intensity. Wangsuekul, for instance, noted that if it took place in the old day, the translated expression should sound dated, and suggested the following translation: ฉันรู้สึกโกรธจัด /chan4 ruu3svk1 krot1 cat1/ ‘I feel angry intensely.’ If uttered in the year 2009, the sentence could be translated as ฉันโมโหเดือด /chan4 moo0hoo4 dvat1/ ‘I [am] angry [and] boiling, retaining the extra intensifying effect as conveyed by double intensifiers *so very*.

Songpao is less dependent on the context but places more importance on the ST language. She noted that in translating intensifiers in the sentence *I am so very angry*, what mattered was the age of speaker rather than the time of the story, but considerations had to be made on a case-by-case basis.

6.4.2 The Context of Participants

All three translators assign supreme importance to the context of the participants, or rather, the characters in the story. Wangsuekul noted that in her translating *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban*, it was necessary that the translator be able to grasp the personality of each character. Dumbledore, for example, is perceived as a kind teacher, but in the earlier sequels of Harry Potter i.e. – *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone* (1999), *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (2000), the translators had Dumbledore call himself ฉัน /chan4/ ‘I’, which has the distancing effect and assumes authority. In her translation, Wangsuekul decided to swap this distant pronoun ฉัน /chan4/ ‘I’ for a friendlier-sounding pronoun, that is, ครู /khruu0/ ‘I -teacher’. The change of pronoun has the effect of portraying Dumbledore as a warm and lovable figure rather than a rigid and authoritarian personality.

As hypothesized, the different social classes can influence the translation. Kanthavichian noted that the upper-class was supposed to be polite and less expressive, and pointed out that standard and polite language was used in the translation of *Brideshead Revisited* accordingly. The lower class, on the other hand, is likely to be less educated and uses non-standard language, and this has to be reflected in the translation. She cited a few cases which involve language variation and social classes:

- Lady Marchmain. As an English aristocrat, she uses standard and polite language but is keen to make satirical comments. The satirical effect must be reproduced in the translation.

- Kurt the German soldier. He is not well-educated and produces non-standard forms such as “She rich?”, prompting the translator to look for the Thai

equivalent. In this case, she chose the colloquial particle เมะ /mx3/ to match with the ST non-standard speech style.

- The nanny. She is from the lower class and is likely to be uneducated. This is reflected in the use of pronoun อีน, which is widely used by the elderly and the lower class when speaking to members of the upper class in the TT culture.

But not every translator perceives social class as a criterion for the TT language variation. Interestingly, Songpao pointed out that the translated language may vary according to the role assumed by the characters. To elaborate, the hero and heroine tend to use polite language, while the villains are prone to impoliteness and vulgarism. This is irrespective of their social classes.

When prompted by a cue card, the translators produce fascinating rendition to the sentence *Where are you guys? It's **so damn dark***, uttered by a poor orchard worker (for context, see Appendix A). The prompt is adapted from Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle* (1936). Wangsuekul and Songpao came up with the following expressions.

- a) มืดจะตายห่า /mvvt2 ca1taaj0haa1/ 'dark to die [from] plague'
- b) มืดเป็นบ้าเลย /mvvt2 pen0 baa2 lqqj0/ 'dark [to the point of] being crazy'
- c) มืดหนีบหายเลย /mvvt2 chip1haaj4 lqqj0/ 'dark [to the point of] damnation'
- d) มืดโคตร ๆ /mvvt2 koot2 koot2/ 'dark clan clan'
- e) เม่งโคตรมืด /mxxng2 koot2 mvvt2/ '[your] mother clan dark'

Both translators, however, agreed that in translation the degree of vulgarism must be toned down as the reader and the publishing house must also be taken into consideration. As Wangsuekul noted, although the worker may be highly emotive, it the translated language cannot always reflect emotivity through vulgar language. In this regard, it can be said that there is an expectancy norm in operation (cf. Toury 1995) However, it should be noted here that the knowledge of participants alone may not be enough to motivate a certain choice; the translator's decision is based largely on the linguistic forms. Thus, should the word *damn* be taken out, the offensive in the TT would disappear. To put the vulgar element there when there is not any in the

ST would be tantamount to deliberate addition, an act often shunned by the professionals.

6.4.3 The Types of Discourse

The translators agreed that the narration and dialogue required different styles in translation: narration usually involves a descriptive and more formal language, while dialogue involves a more oral and informal style. Wangsuekul and Songpao said that there was no substantial difference in language use between third and first-person narrations, although Wangsuekul noted that the latter appears to be more personal and emotive. Kanthavichian pointed out that it also depended on other factors e.g. the time of writing, the author, as well as authorial style.

For the translation of intensifiers, Songpao noted that multiple intensifying devices would go to the translation dialogue rather than narration. She viewed Thai as a language that contains a number of stylized forms e.g. *จ้จ* /cang0/ ‘forcefully’, which has lost the intensity. In this case, several other linguistic forms may be needed if the translator is to reproduce the ST intensification in the TT.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the findings from the corpus and interview to prove the third hypothesis, which postulates that the temporal dimension (dated vs. contemporary), the participant dimension (upper vs. lower classes), and the types of discourse (narration vs. dialogue) play a role in motivating the translator’s decision.

On the whole, the chi-square test results indicate an association between the linguistic forms and all the three types of contexts. As regards the temporal context, it is found that omission is higher in the dated context, while the combinatory structures are more frequent in the contemporary setting. Semantic doublets are found to be higher in dated settings in the translation of *so*, and they tend to be more conventionalized. Non-conventionalized intensifiers are found with a greater frequency in contemporary setting. From the data, it can be assumed that the dated context tends to be more literate, while the contemporary context appears to be more oral.

For the context of participants, the data reveals that the upper-class participants in the translation tend to be more emotive, with heavy use of combinatory structures and a variety of non-conventionalized intensifiers. The lower-class participants, however, tend to be translated with a restricted range of intensifiers and the translation contains a high rate of omission. But in terms of non-conventionalized intensifiers, formal intensifiers are found more in the upper-class context, for example, *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ ‘most’, *อย่างยิ่ง* /jaang1 jing2/ ‘most’, *จริง* /cing0/ ‘true’, *แสน* /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’, while the lower-class participants are found with vulgar terms such as *บรรลัย* /ban0laj0/ ‘die’, *อย่างชั่วไร* /jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘wicked’ and *อย่างระยำ* /jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘vilely’.

The types of discourse yield a mixed result. The rate of omission tends to be higher in narration for *very* and *really*, which corresponds with the researcher’s assumption that the language of narration tends to be literate. However, combinatory structures are found to be high in narration (*really* and *so*), which suggests the strong oral nature. An explanation is that much of the corpus data comes from the works of fiction featuring first-person narration, which is then translated in an intimate, personal style. This must have biased the results toward orality rather than literate language.

The last part presents the result from the interview with the translator. All of them note the importance of the three dimensions of context: the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse, and agree that these factors have a bearing on their decision.

In the next chapter, the findings will be discussed with regard to the three research hypotheses, the implications of the study, and recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the findings of the study with regard to the three research hypotheses. It begins by giving a summary of the study (7.1), then proceeds to answer each of the three research questions on the linguistic expressions found in the translation (7.1.1), the translation strategies (7.1.2), and the factors involved in the translation of the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* (7.1.3). The implications of the study, both theoretical and pedagogical, are discussed (7.2), followed by the recommendations for further research (7.3).

7.4 The Main Findings of the Study

In summary, this empirical research looked at the translation of the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* into Thai, through the use of parallel corpus. It aimed to see how intensification was transferred across the language boundary, to identify the translation strategies that were used by the translator in rendering these intensifiers, and to spell out the semantic and pragmatic factors that could have motivated the choice of linguistic forms in the translated version. Three research questions were formed accordingly. They are:

4. What are the linguistic representations used in translating the English intensifiers *so*, *very*, and *really* into Thai?
5. What are the translation strategies used in translating these intensifiers?
6. What are the semantic and pragmatic factors motivating the choice of linguistic representations in the translated version?

The hypotheses were laid out as follows:

1. There is a wide range of linguistic representations, i.e. lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactical devices, when translating English intensifiers *very*, *so* and *really* into Thai.

2. The strategy most opted for in translating English intensifiers in fiction is sense-oriented or interpretive translation.
3. In translating the three intensifiers, the translator choice is motivated by:
 - a) the context of situation
 - b) the context of participants
 - c) the type of discourse

To prove the third hypothesis, 12 English fictions and their Thai translation were selected for corpus construction. The sampling was drawn through stratified sampling methods to prove the third hypothesis: three fictions involved different time settings; four involved characters from the upper and lower classes; and five were selected based on different types of discourse, e.g. narration and dialogue (see section 3.2.1.3). The first and second hypotheses were tested out with the data from the entire corpus. To extract the data, concordancing software were used along with the Microsoft Excel. Interviews were also carried out with three professional translators (see section 3.6) to triangulate the data.

The main findings are summarized into three areas: 1) the linguistic processes used in translating intensification, 2) the translation strategies, and 3) the factors involved in the translation of intensifiers. These topics will be discussed with regard to the hypotheses.

7.4.1 The Linguistic Expressions

It had been hypothesized that the translator uses a wide range of linguistic representations i.e. phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic devices in translating the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* into Thai. The hypothesis is proven true, as all of the listed devices were found in the corpus. However, after analyses and revisions, it is proposed here that intensification be considered in terms of linguistic processes through which the new forms can be generated, although in most cases, the translator simply resorts to the existing linguistic forms. In

translating the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* into Thai, the translator makes use of the three linguistic processes, which are described as follows:

1. The lexical processes, which comprise
 - 1.1 Intensifiers
 - 1.1.1 Restricted intensifiers
 - 1.1.2 Non-restricted intensifiers
 - 1.1.2.1 Conventionalized intensifiers
 - 1.1.2.2 Non-conventionalized intensifiers
 - 1.1.3 Implicit superlative intensifiers
 - 1.2 Semantic metaphorical expressions
 - 1.3 Deictics
2. The morpho-syntactico-phonological processes, which comprise
 - 2.1 Repetition
 - 2.1.1 Formal repetition e.g. reduplicatives
 - 2.1.2 Semantic repetition e.g. semantic doublets
 - 2.2 Negative constructions
 - 2.3 Combinatory structures
3. The phonological process in final particles.

While there is a whole gamut of expressions and lexical realizations associated with the meaning of intensity, it is proposed here that *all* kinds of intensification have a metaphorical basis, and such is a universal phenomenon. Explanations can be given with regard to the human cognition. When one feels or perceives something, it is often in terms of more or less. In the western cultures and elsewhere around the world, the human feelings are conceptualized in terms of liquid, which can go up and down. This is seen from the ‘most important metaphor theme’ in English, which goes along the line of ANGER IS HOT LIQUID IN A CONTAINER (Goatly 2007: 245).

Because the feelings or emotions are abstract, to verbally express how one feels requires something more concrete to convey the feelings or emotions to the hearer. This necessitates the need to borrow from other semantic domains, e.g.

quantity and number, negative experience, etc. Thus, intensification lexes essentially involve a crossover from other fields.

The most basic sources of intensification lexes are related to the corporal experiences, especially the visual, physical, and mental perceptions (see *Figure 12*). Some intensifiers are derived from the visual field, as it is through sight that we may measure the size or quantity of something, which explains why a number of intensifiers are found to involve quantity e.g. มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’, แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’, สุดคณา /sut1 kha0naa0/ ‘beyond estimation’, โคร /koot2/ ‘clan’, พอ /ph@@0/ ‘enough’. Others are drawn from the physical domain, for example,หนัก /nak1/ ‘heavy’, สูง /suung4/ ‘high’, but those with a strong emotive intensity tend to involve physical pains (e.g. จะแย /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’, สาหัส /saa4hat1/ ‘severe’, แสนสาหัส /sxxn4 saa4hat1/ ‘extremely severe’, อย่างสาหัส /jaang1 saa4hat1/ ‘severely’) and death (จะตาย /ca1 taaj0/ ‘to death’, บรรลัย /ban0laj0/ ‘die’, แทบตาย /txxp2 taaj0/ ‘almost die’). Intensifiers related to the auditory perception, for instance, are found to involve ear-deafening noise, as can be seen in หูดับ /huu4 dap1/ ‘ear-deafening’ (แพงหูดับ /pxxng0 huu4 dap1/ ‘expensive ear-deafening[ly]’); ระเบิด /ra0bqqt1/ ‘explode’. So, it can be seen that in general, the intensifying lexes involving the bodily experiences are intense in meaning, having to do with a large quantity or extreme conditions.

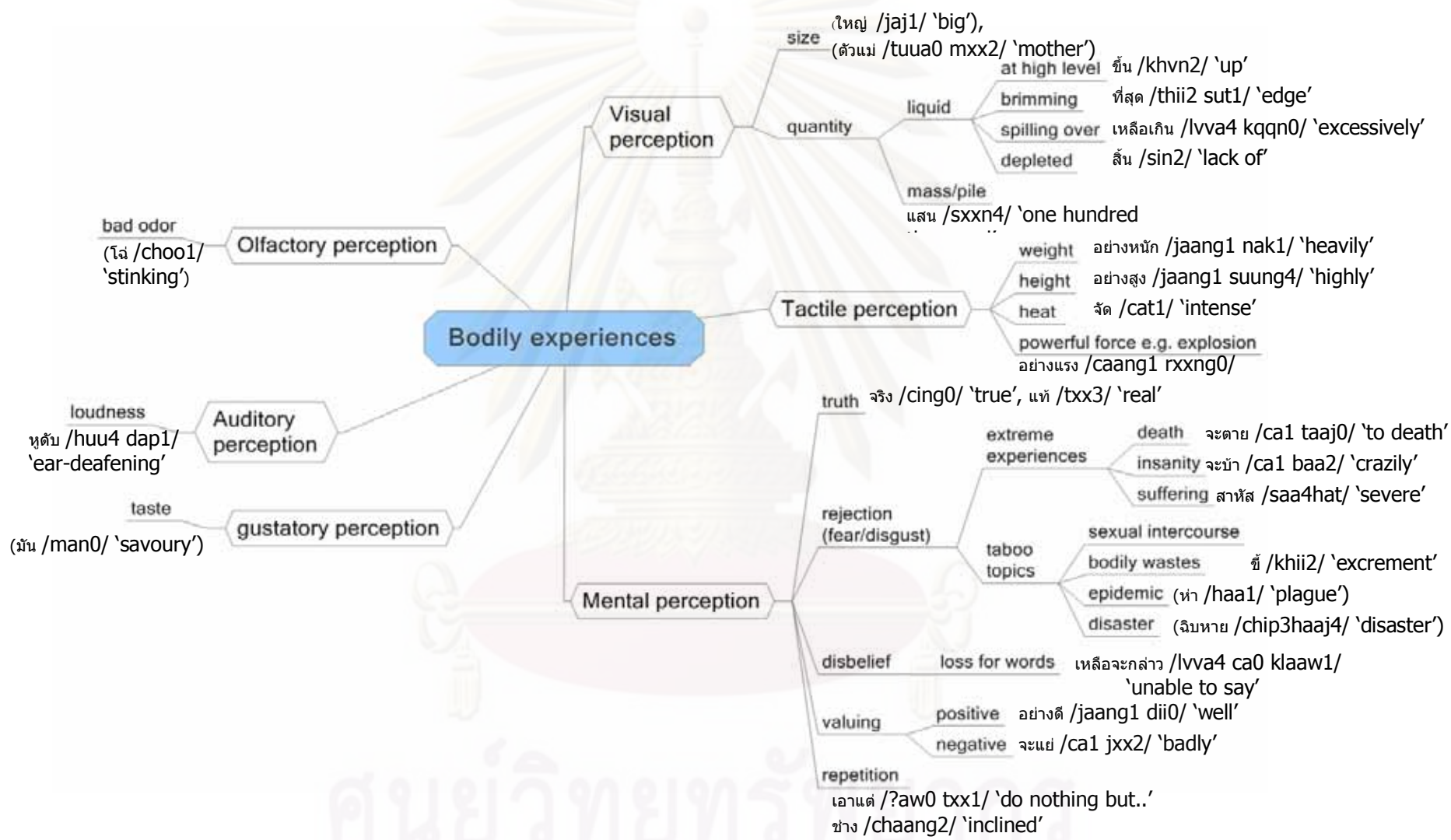


Figure 12 The semantic domain of intensification (Items in brackets do not appear in the corpus).

While it seems that much of the intensification lexicon has to do with negative evaluation, intensifiers with positive semantic load can also be observed, though with a much lower frequency. ดี /dii0/ ‘good’, อย่างดี /jaang1 dii0/ ‘well’, and น่าดู /naa1 duu0/ ‘worth seeing’ typify this category. A similar phenomenon was reported in Dutch. In Dutch, the most common adverb of degree *erg* literally means ‘bad’ while *tamelijk* ‘decently’ is used positively evaluated statement (Klein 2001: 231) The positive and negative assessment inherent in the intensifiers points toward the interconnectedness of intensity and emotions.

The relation between emotivity and intensity finds explanations in psychology. Western psychologists (cf. Caffi and Janney 1994) argue that there are three basic dimensions to all emotions: (a) the positivity/ negativity of affects, (b) their intensity and (c) the emotional proximity which an individual expresses toward the object or state of affairs. In other words, people typically respond to objects of appraisal by feeling positively or negatively towards them, by feeling close/distant to them (or in control of them, according to some authors); these orientations tend to vary in terms of intensity (Caffi and Janney 1994).

In addition to intensifiers, intensification can be expressed through semantic metaphorical expressions. While this category has a metaphorical basis, it has a wider range of ‘vehicles’ and are more novel, and perhaps more culture-bound than the conventionalized intensifiers.

Deictics are found to translate the intensifier *so*, and not the others. Although a deictic does not directly indicate intensity, the presence of it adds emotivity to the utterance. As noted by Caffi and Janney (1994: 356), deictics are essentially proximity markers, which regulate metaphorical distances between ‘inner’ and ‘outer’ events. And in fact, establishing distance is “logically and chronologically prior to all other emotive activities” (p.365). Caffi and Janney gave the following explanation (ibid.):

Before we can evaluate things, commit ourselves to things in different ways, or become more or less assertive with respect to things, that is, we must first point them out; and in this initial act of pointing to things, we plot our

metaphorical ‘positions’ or ‘distances’ with respect to them. In this sense, proximity devices are fundamental features of emotive communication.

The metaphorical nature can be seen not only with the lexical devices, but the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes are also found to have an underlying metaphorical basis. Repetition, both formal and semantic, is, according to Jespersen (1956: 173), “a means of strengthening an utterance.” Bolinger (1972:288) notes that by saying something twice doubles the noise, and that noisiness is a form of intensification, a tenet similar to that of the linguistic perspective (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980), which projected that more of form stands for more of content. In the context of intensification, repetition may involve the same forms or different forms with identical or near-identical meaning. But if the degree of intensity is less than satisfactory, the language user can add a variety of intensifying forms on top of one another. This is how combinatory structures are formulated, and they constitute repetition in a way.

The last category within the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes is the negative construction, which involves in the translator inserting ‘not’ in front of the adjective opposite to that in the ST. Thus, *a very active lad* becomes เป็นเด็กไม่อยู่นิ่ง /pen0 dek1 maj2 juu1 ning2/ ‘a child [who does] not stay put’. This shift in point of view is known as ‘modulation’ in the translation literature (cf. Vinay and Darbelnet 1958/2000). The reason why negative constructions constitute an intensifying device can be explained as follows: when there is very little of something (e.g. a particular quality), to say there is none of it or to flatly deny its existence is an exaggeration and therefore constitutes the process of intensification.

Expressive phonology is a means of intensification that is worth mentioning, although it does not pattern high in the corpus. From the data, two types of phonological processes were found: pitch change and elongation of vowel sound, and they are represented by graphology. The writing comes in different forms, for example, มาก มาก /maak3 maak2/ ‘much much’ seems to exclude phonological elongation (although it does not in pronunciation) and is likely to be less intense in emotive meaning than มากกก มาก /makkk3 maak2/ ‘muuuch much’. The selection is

clearly based on the ST, which also involves extra intensity i.e. *very*, *very*, and *sooooo* respectively.

There are some intensifying words that are considered trendy at the time of writing but do not pattern in the corpus, probably because the translation was made some time before the creation of these forms. One of them is *มัก มัก* /mak1 mak1/ ‘much much’, a clear case of phonology at play as it involves the shortening of vowel sound. Considered trendy among teenagers, the word challenges our preliminary assumption that the lengthening of sound (and not the shortening of it) is effective in creating intensity. However, an explanation is that *มัก มัก* /mak1 mak1/ ‘much much’ is a deviation. When something deviates from the norm, it becomes marked, thus bringing about novelty and emotivity.

Another phenomenon that is worth mentioning here is the word *มากมาย* /maak2 maaj0/ ‘much-many’. It is essentially a quantity term but is undergoing a semantic change to become an intensifier. Usually, *มากมาย* /maak2 maaj0/ ‘much-many’ would modify a noun, as in: *อาหารมากมาย* /ʔaa0haan4 maak2 maaj0/ ‘a lot of food’, but in recent usage, it comes to modify a verb, as in *เพลงนี้ชอบมากมาย* /pleeng0 nii3 ch@@p2 maak2 maaj0/ ‘song this [I] like much’. Such usage, spearheaded by the younger generation, is now on the increase. If it gains currency, it can be predicted that the form will become a fully-fledged adverb in the future.

It has been observed that the intensifying effect produced in the target text is not the same as that in the source text. The degree of intensity conveyed by the linguistic devices seems to range from very mild to very strong. In some cases, the extra intensity in the TT has prompted criticisms that the translation is of a poor quality as it is not equivalent to the original. For example,

(1) ST: You can just see a *very Victorian* fireplace in there.

TT: มอง เห็น เตาผิง เหมือน ยุค วิคตอเรียน เปี้ยบ อยู่ ใน นั้น เลย

m@@ng0 hen4 taw0ping4 mvvan4 juk3 wik3t@@0rian0 piiap3 juul naj0 nan3 lqqj0

‘look see fireplace like period Victorian exactly be in there beyond’

(Possession: A Romance)

While it has been suggested that such example be removed from the data, it can be contended that intensification is a matter of degree, which is a relative notion and is subject to different interpretations. In other words, people may conceptualize the degree differently, and the degree projected may as well vary across the translators. To say “she’s *very pretty*” may leave no doubts about the degree of beauty suggested by the speaker, since the utterance is accompanied by phonological features, e.g. stress and intonation. However, the work of the translator is complicated by the lack of prosodic elements. This makes it difficult to rightly gauge the degree intended in the ST.

Indeed, the tendency for over-intensification is found to be quite common in the translated versions, as evidenced by the data. A number of intensifiers show the translator’s preference for extra intensity in the TT, for example, expressions with the meaning of ‘reaching the edge’ (e.g. ที่สุด /thii2 sut1/ ‘at the edge’, สุดขีด /sut1 khiit1/ ‘edge mark’, สุดยอด /sut1 j@@t2/ ‘top’) or ‘going beyond the boundary’ (เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqpn0/ ‘excessively’). The high frequency of combinatory structures also confirms the tendency. To judge the translation by the different degree of intensification from the ST would be, in my opinion, unjust to the translator. It could be argued that the transfer of intensification is considered acceptable as long as the translation suggests the linguistic devices used function to scale *upward* a quality, notwithstanding its position. On the other hand, the translation would not be considered appropriate if the linguistic devices used have the effect of scaling down the quality.

7.4.2 The Translation Strategies

In this study, two major translation strategies have been distinguished: sign-oriented and sense-oriented translation. Most intensifier translation is found to involve sense-oriented translation. In other words, the translator selected not the standard equivalent (e.g. มาก /maak2/ ‘much-many’ for *very*) but employed different processes and expressions according to the context. The finding confirms the fact that translation is essentially a process of meaning mapping between the ST and the TT. The meaning is derived from the context.

It should be noted here that while it seems that the sense-oriented translation is more favorable, it does not apply to all types of the texts. Creative writing may allow the translator some liberty in the lexical selection, but other text types such as academic texts or legal documents may put a restriction on the translation choices. In this case, literal translation is more appropriate. In addition to the text types, the receptor can be a deterministic factor. For example, in translating a religious text, the translator may opt for a literal translation if he or she feels the needs to preserve the words of god. However, if he wants to make it more accessible to the wider public, the translator may move away from the source text and translate in a way that preserves the sense but not the form.

7.4.3 The Factors Involved in the Translation of Intensifiers

This research asked from the outset what the semantic and pragmatic factors are that play a crucial role in the translator's decision in translating the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*. Based on the Firthian theory of context (see Firth 1957/1968), it hypothesized that there are three deterministic factors that were taken into consideration: the temporal context, the context of participants, and the types of discourse. To prove this hypothesis, the corpus was designed to include a selection of texts featuring different temporal settings, participants of upper and lower social classes, and different types of discourse. The findings to each of the hypotheses are discussed in the following.

7.1.3.1 The Temporal Context

While the first sub-hypothesis states that the temporal factor plays a role in the translator's decision in translating an intensifier, the findings obtained in this research appear to be divided. At a global level, the chi-square test shows that there is a significant difference in the linguistic categories occurring in the dated and contemporary settings. On the whole, omission is substantially higher in the dated context, while the combinatory structures are more typical in the contemporary settings. In the translation of *so*, semantic repetition is substantially higher in dated setting, while non-conventionalized intensifiers are found with a greater frequency in

the contemporary contexts. As the semantic doublets found in dated settings are conventionalized forms and are therefore less emotive, non-conventionalized intensifiers produce a higher degree of emotive intensity. Such patterning points towards the fact that the dated context tends to be literacy-oriented, with the translator favoring choices that help to smooth the flow of the language e.g. omission and semantic repetition. On the other hand, the contemporary context is prone towards orality, as evidenced by a tendency for the combinatory structures in *so* and *very*, and non-conventionalized intensifiers in *so*.

A close inspection, however, reveals that the intensifiers associated with the intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really*, are not different in terms of types or tokens. For example, the intensifiers believed to temporally marked, such as แสน /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’ or เหลือเกิน /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ are found to be equally distributed across the dated and contemporary settings. Others such as จึง /cang0/ ‘forcefully’, which is thought to be a characteristic of modern speech, also occur in both contexts.

There may be a reason behind this. The translator could have been driven by an attempt to make the text readable to the contemporary audience. This tendency finds support in Montharat Songpao, one of the interviewees. Songpao pointed out that in translating *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2001), she was facing the dilemma whether to choose dated or contemporary language. As Songpao noted, she looked to previous writings and fictions containing dated language but then decided that the reader’s comprehension should be the top priority. As a result, she selected only particular features of dated language to reproduce in the translation e.g. the choice of pronouns and final particles. It is possible that intensifiers are not selected to reflect the historic atmosphere of the original.

While the choice of intensifiers appears to be unaffected by the temporal context, the interviews with the three translators indicate how time plays an important role in translation. All interviewees agreed that time is a governing factor in translation. This is exemplified by Wangsuekul’s translations of *I am so very angry*, which vary according to the temporal contexts.

Dated:	ฉัน	รู้สึก	โกรธ	จัด
	<i>chan4</i>	<i>ruu3svk1</i>	<i>krot1</i>	<i>cat1</i>
	'I	feel	<u>angry</u>	<u>intensely</u>
Contemporary:	ฉัน	โมโห	เดือด	
	<i>chan4</i>	<i>moo0hoo4</i>	<i>dvat1</i>	
	'I [am]	<u>angry</u>	[and]	<u>boiling</u>

When asked to produce the translation for *I am so very angry* in different temporal settings, Wangsuekul gave the above translations. The differences can be seen in terms of lexical and stylistic choices. In the dated example, the translation adopts a conventional and written style, and selects the intensifier จัด /cat1/ 'intensely', which is a common collocate of the verb โกรธ /krot1/ 'angry'. In the contemporary setting, the lexical choice appears to be more emotive and more colloquial with the oral term โมโห /moo0hoo4/ 'angry'. The metaphor เดือด /dvaat1/ 'boiling' brings about an image of simmering liquid in a container, thus suggesting a greater intensity to the emotion. This example reflects the translator's perception of the temporal aspect in translation: the modern period is likely to result in a more emotive, more colloquial expressions when it comes to translating an intensifier. However, another professional translator Montharat Songpao had a different view, saying that she would look to the participant profile first, e.g. age, sex, education, social status, when translating intensification.

From the above exposition, it is proposed here that the translation of the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* is influenced by the temporal context. But in the dated context, the intensifying terms may not sound as dated as expected, probably due to the translator's attempt to strike a balance between comprehensibility and archaism. Much of the intensifying devices are restricted to the literary register, which is full of fixed, conventionalized expressions. In the contemporary time, on the other hand, the intensifying expressions may range from non-emotive and banal terms to extremely emotive and novel creations, as can be found in a number of chick-lit translations.

Apart from intensifiers, the temporal context is a governing factor in translation and normal speech events alike. As Firth (1957/1968) and Hymes (1971) noted, the

temporal setting plays an important role in speech situation. This concept has long been adopted in translation studies. Practicing translators such as Songpao noted how she had to carry out an extensive research on dated language, by reading historical translated novels and watching period dramas, before embarking on the translation of *The Other Boleyn Girl* (2001).

7.1.3.2 The Context of Participants

The corpus data reveals that the participant profile plays a role in the choice of intensifier selection to some extent. The chi-square test indicates that there is an association between the participant dimension of the ST and the linguistic categories selected by the translator. However, the results were not quite what had been expected. While it had been assumed that the people in the upper class milieu will be less emotive than those from the lower class background, the data reveals that the upper class participants in the translated version tend to be more emphatic and more varied, as can be seen from the heavy use of non-conventionalized intensifiers as well as combinatory structures for intensification. On the contrary, the lower class tends to be terser and more conventional when it comes to intensification, as evidenced by a greater frequency of omission and conventionalized intensifiers.

The results, though unexpected by the researcher, find support in previous sociolinguistic work. For example, in a study of lower and middle-class speech in Glasgow, the middle-class speakers were found to have a preference for multiple intensifiers in expressing their opinion e.g. *very user-friendly really* or *it's actually quite nice for swimming* (Macaulay 2002). Yet the results from the present study have to be treated with reservation, since only four works of fiction were collected as the corpus data. It is possible that other factors are at play, for example, the style of the source text, the translator's idiosyncratic use of language (i.e. the translator may have a restricted range of intensifying expressions or may have a preference for certain intensifiers), and the translator's perception towards the ST intensifiers (e.g. an intensifier is an insignificant and peripheral unit that can be omitted from the translation) or toward the ST and translation (e.g. the translation should keep to the original word, thus *very* should always be translated as 𐄂𐄂𐄂 /*maak2*/ 'much-many'). For future research, a different corpus design is suggested, for example, a collection

of the first 50,000 words taken from a wider range of novels featuring the upper or lower class characters, along with their translation. This is to prevent the interventions of the ST and the translator factor.

Nevertheless, the present study reveals a marked difference between the upper and lower classes in terms of the selection of intensifiers in the translated versions. Some formal intensifiers are found to occur exclusively in the upper class context, for example, *ยิ่ง* /jing2/ ‘most’, *อย่างยิ่ง* /jaang1 jing2/ ‘most’, *จริง* /cing0/ ‘true’, *แสน* /sxxn4/ ‘one hundred thousand’, *เปี่ยม* /piiam1/ ‘to the brim’, *สูง* /suung4/ ‘high’. Literary intensifiers such as *เหลือเกิน* /lvva4 kqqn0/ ‘excessively’ and *นัก* /nak3/ ‘so much’ are. On the other hand, the lower class speakers are found to use strongly emotive intensifiers such as *จะบ้าตาย* /ca1 baa2 taaj0/ ‘will [go] crazy to death’, *จะแฉ* /ca1 jxx2/ ‘to suffer’, *สาหัส* /saa4hat1/ ‘severe’, *อย่างสาหัส* /jaang1 saa4hat1/ ‘severely’, which do not occur at all in the upper class context. The occurrences of these intensifiers reflect how the context of participants has an influence on the translation of the English intensifiers.

In addition to the lexical preferences, vulgarisms have been found exclusively in the lower class context, i.e. *บรรลัย* /ban0laj0/ ‘die’, *อย่างชั่วไร* /jaang1 can0raj0/ ‘wicked’ and *อย่างระยำ* /jaang1 ra0jam0/ ‘vilely’. These terms occur vis-à-vis the intensifier *so* and are apparently motivated by the co-occurrence of the ST vulgar words such as *damn* or *God damn*. The use of these expressions, found in the translation of Steinbeck’s *In Dubious Battle*, reflects the translator’s attempt to reproduce the language of the working class which Steinbeck had meticulously portrayed.

The interview with the translators also corroborates the important role of the participants in translation. The interviewees pointed out how social classes had a bearing on their decision of linguistic choices. For example, Dr. Sanguansri Kanthavichian noted that the character from a lower social standing should be translated with non-standard language, while the character with an upper class background should be polite. In addition, Waleeporn Wangsuekul and Montharat Songpao came up with the translations containing non-standard language when asked to render a sentence uttered by a laborer.

It should be mentioned here that Songpao, however, did not view social classes as a governing factor. Instead, she had a different system. According to Songpao, the language use is based on the morality of the characters, which are classified into heroes and villains. As can be expected, the heroes use standard language, while the villains are marked by non-standard or even vulgar language. Such distinction is interesting and future research can be done in this area to see if this notion is shared by the translator community as a whole.

7.1.3.3 The Types of Discourse

In this study, the types of discourse consist of two parameters: narration and dialogue. The narration involves a one-way or non-interactive communication, with an assumed audience i.e. the reader, while dialogue is characterized by the conversational interaction between two or more participants. It was hypothesized that in translation, the language of the narration is prone toward the literacy end of the scale, especially if the story is told from the third-person point of view. In dialogue, on the other hand, the TT language use is likely to go towards orality, since it involves interactive discourse between characters.

The hypothesis is proven true, but to a certain extent. The chi-square test statistics indicate that there is an association between the types of discourse and the TL linguistic categories. As expected, the rate of omission tends to be higher in the narration, which corresponds to the preliminary assumption that the language of the narration is likely to be literate. On the contrary, the occurrences of conventionalized intensifiers are higher in dialogue. This can be explained with regard to the notion of orality and literacy. In the narrative part, the text is perceived to be literate, and thus the need to smooth the text in the translation. To this end, intensification may be sacrificed on the ground of redundancy. In dialogue, on the other hand, intensity must be preserved otherwise there is a loss in emotivity. This perhaps explains the lower rate of omission and a greater use of conventionalized intensifiers in the translation.

From the interview with the translators, narration and dialogue required different styles in translation; narration usually involves a descriptive and more formal language, while dialogue involves a more oral and informal style. However,

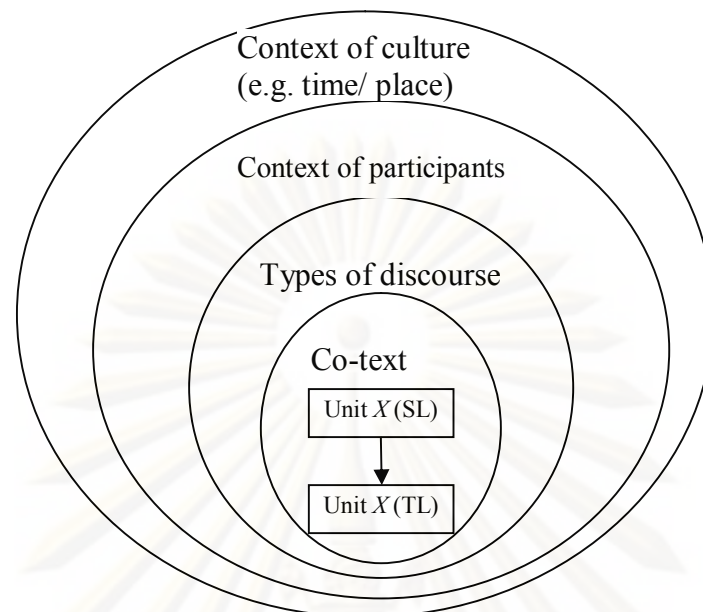
Wangsuekul and Songpao said that there was no substantial difference in language use between third and first-person narrations, although Wangsuekul noted that the latter appears to be more personal and emotive. As regards the translation of intensifiers, Songpao noted that multiple intensifying devices would go to the translation dialogue rather than narration. She viewed Thai as a language that contains a number of stylized forms e.g. *๕๓* /cang0/ ‘forcefully’, which has lost the intensity. In this case, several other linguistic forms may be needed if the translator is to reproduce the ST intensification in the TT.

7.1.3.4 The Role of Context in Translation

The study of the translation of the English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* offers an insight into the role of context in translation. Since the three intensifiers are devoid (or almost devoid, as in the case of *really*) of the lexical meaning, having become a grammaticalized object, these adverbs are highly susceptible to different co-texts and contexts. With the function of scaling upward a quality, they are subject to interpretations and can take a positive, negative, or neutral attitudinal meaning depending on the collocates. In this regard, the intensifiers serve as a vehicle of emotivity and contribute to the expressive function of the text.

While much of the literature on translation focuses on the context as a ‘translation situation’ (cf. Wilss 1994, House 2006), the present study looks at the context from the literary translation perspective, that is, the context within the story. To produce a quality literary translation, the translator needs to take into account the different features of context, i.e. the time of communication and the context of situation.

It is the contexts that shape the translator’s comprehension of the ST and his/her decision-making. The comprehension process involves inferencing strategies (Chesterman 1997) and, similar to the reading comprehension, works in a top-down manner. The translation process, on the contrary, works bottom-up. The translator’s decision is governed by the different layers of context, as elaborated in *Figure 13*. The diagram is based on the Firthian Grammar, which stresses the important role of context in communication.



(Based on Firth 1957)

Figure 13 The contexts as governing factors in the translator's decision

As proposed by Firth (1957), a verbal sign needs to be interpreted with regard to the context of culture, i.e. space and time and the context of situation, which involves the human participant, what they say, and what is going on. Similarly, when translating the English intensifiers, the translator looks to the stretch of discourse to be translated, be it at the level of word, phrase, clause, or sentence, and locates it within context. In literary translation, it has been observed that the translator tends to translate linearly, thus the unit of translation is at the sentential level. The translator's decision is motivated first by the lexical meaning of the word and its immediate collocates, since it is the level of language the translator works with. The deterministic role of the immediate co-text is exemplified by the fact that the translators interviewed noted they would translate the sentences *It's so damn dark* and *It's so dark* differently, even though they are uttered by the same speaker in the same context of situation. In their translation, the element of vulgarism is inserted for the first sentence but not for the second one. In other words, it is essentially motivated by the ST. This shows that the translator is likely to stick to the words of the original.

The next governing factors are the types of discourse, the context of participants, and the context of culture respectively. They operate in a hierarchical

order, with the context of culture as an overarching notion. Each act as a filter, sifting out the irrelevant linguistic forms, allowing only the forms associated with a certain type of context to contend with one another. For example, in translating a nineteenth century source text, one would not use a twenty-first century slangy intensifier such as ได้สิคะ /daaj2 ?iik1/, literally ‘can be more’, meaning ‘a lot’. Next, the context of situation, which concern the aspects of power relation, intimacy, social status, mode of communication, emotion of the participants, etc, regulates the choice. The narrative or dialogue may play a part in determining orality or literacy of the expression, but it also depends on how distance is created between the narrator and the imaginary reader, or between the characters.

7.5 Implications of the Study

The present study has both theoretical and pedagogical contributions, which will be discussed as follows.

7.5.1 Theoretical Implications

The present study contributes to the body of knowledge in both linguistics and translation studies. In the field of linguistics, the research sheds light on the realizations of intensification in the Thai language, through the use of a large parallel corpus. With pre-determined search terms, i.e. *very*, *so*, and *really*, it is possible to identify the linguistic realizations of intensification in the translated texts, and to ensure that the expressions found were not put up arbitrarily. The breadth and depth of the corpus data also gives an insight into the metaphorical basis of intensifiers and the network of semantic domains of intensification, to be discussed in 7.2.1.1.

In translation studies, the research provides concrete evidence on the crucial role of the ‘internal’ contexts in literary translation and proposes that these contexts operate on a hierarchical basis to govern the translator’s decision. It also confirms the existing translation theories that translation is a matter of meaning mapping, in which the contextual features need to be taken into consideration.

7.2.1.1 The Semantic Fields of Intensification

As the present study incorporates a fairly large amount of data which in turn provides a wide spectrum of intensifiers, it allows for an investigation of the semantic domains of intensification in the Thai language. The analysis of lexical meaning of the intensifiers reveals how they are grounded in the bodily experiences. An explanation is that intensity and intensification are abstract notions. To communicate it requires concrete and tangible expressions that can be related to the hearer's experience, to facilitate comprehension.

As the body plays a central role in the theory of meaning (Ruthrof 1997), the intensifiers are classified into six domains of perceptions: visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile, gustatory, and mental. The area providing the richest intensifying resource is perhaps the visual perception, since quantification constitutes the basic human faculty. People are often intrigued by a gigantic size or a large quantity, which explains why it is a good source of intensifying expressions. Many intensifiers are conceptualized with regard to liquid or substance. It can be proposed that many of them are closely tied to the agricultural lifestyle of the Thai people, which depend largely on water for farming and transportation. From Thai Thesaurus (1992), quite a few synonyms of มาก /maak2/ 'much, many' are conceptualized with regard to the level of water, for example, เต็มเปี่ยม /tem0 piam1/, ล้นเหลือ /lon3 lvva4/, ท่วมท้น /tuuam2 ton3/, ภา /baa1/, หลาก /laak1/, เนืองนอง /nvvang0 n@@ng0/.

It is worth noticing that depletion or the lack of an entity is also a source of intensification, as exemplified by such expressions as ไปหมด /paj0 mot1/, literally meaning 'all gone', ล้น /sin2/ 'lack of', and เสีย /siii4/ 'lost'.

The second domain of perception involves the physical experience, i.e. heat, height, weight, exemplified by words such as จัด /cat1/ 'intense', หนัก /nak1/ 'heavy', หนักหนา /nak1 naa4/ 'heavy [and] thick', and สูง /suung4/ 'high. Powerful force is also a source of intensification, so is repetition, which suggests intensity. Words denoting repetition, e.g. ช่าง /chang2/ 'craftsman' and ชอบ /ch@@p2/ 'like', initially suggest a particular inclination and habit, and have become an intensifier.

Repetition as intensification is expressed not only through lexical items but as a linguistic process. A word or expression can be said twice, and by so doing, not

only strengthens the utterance but also, as noted by Leech (1969: 173), indicates the intensity of emotion by presenting a simple emotion with a forceful effect. In Thai, lexical repetition takes the form of reduplicatives. Alternatively, repetition can involve in saying the same thing in different terms, and Thai expresses it through semantic doublets.

The mental perception has to do with the psychological aspect of human being. It features abstract notions, i.e. truth, as well as emotional constructs such as disbelief, rejection, or evaluation. Truthfulness is a prolific source of intensifiers. By vouching for the sincerity of one's words, one can give emphasis to his/her speech. The expression of truth appears to be universal across languages, as can be seen in the English adverbs *really* and *truly*, the French *vraiment*, the Thai จริงๆ /cing0 cing0/ 'true true'.

Quite a few intensification lexes are the results of the psychological rejection, that is, fear or disgust. As we all know, traumatic experiences, such as death, insanity, or extreme physical pains usually leaves a long-lasting imprint on the human mind, and people tend to avoid these subjects in the normal circumstances. Taboo topics, such as sexual activity, bodily waste, epidemic, and disaster are also shunned for the reason of politeness or on the ground that the mentioning of such topics may bring upon misfortune. However, evoking these issues suggest the intensity of feelings in emotive utterances. As Bill Bryson put it in *Mother Tongue* (1990): "Forbidden words are emotive because they are forbidden and they are forbidden because they are emotive."

Surprise, amazement, and disbelief are also a source for intensifying expressions. When something is too much, it often exceeds one's ability to describe, one can be lost for words, as can be seen from expressions such as เหลือจะกล่าว /lvva4 ca0 klaaw1/ 'unable to say' and เกินจะบรรยาย /kqqn0 ca1 ban0jaaj0/ 'beyond [ability] to describe'. Positive and negative valuing, which, according to Buddhism, is automatically assigned as thoughts are being formed, contributes to the intensification lexes as well, although the degree of intensity is somewhat moderate.

The remaining domains, i.e. olfactory, auditory, and gustatory experiences, contribute much less to the intensification lexicon. The intensifiers found in these

areas are pejoratively marked, which indicates how unpleasantness is associated with the olfactory and auditory faculties, i.e. foul smell and loudness. Intensifiers derived from the concept of obnoxious smell include the English informal adverbs *stinking* (e.g. *stinking rich*) and *putrid*, as well as the Thai restricted intensifier โฉ่ /choo1/ ‘foul-smelling’. Noisiness offers a slightly greater variety, as can be seen from such intensifiers as หูดับ /huu4 dap1/ ‘ear-deafening’ (as in แพงหูดับ /pxxng0 huu4 dap1/ ‘expensive ear-deafening[ly]’) andระเบิด /ra0bqqt1/ ‘explode’. In English, informal adjectives involving loudness can be found in *howling* (a *howling error*) and *roaring* (a *roaring communist*). Adjectives denoting pleasant sound such as *rattling*, however, tend to be used to qualify something good, as in a *rattling good lunch*. Gustatory perception can be found in the Thai word of taste มัน /man0/ ‘savory’, which, when used as an intensifier, combines the sense of enjoyment in it. In English, the intensive *sweet*, used to suggest satisfaction, pleasure, and exaltation, perhaps has the same function.

It should be noted here that the semantic domains presented in *Figure 12* is by no means exhaustive, and that more branches can be added to it, for example, religion. In English, many intensifiers are drawn from Christianity, e.g. *almighty*, *bejesus*, *damned*, *damnably*, *goddamn*, *hellish*, *helluva*, *devilish*, *diabolical*.

Since the semantic domains outlined here were based on the data on the Thai intensifiers, it would be interesting to test out the universality of this model with other languages.

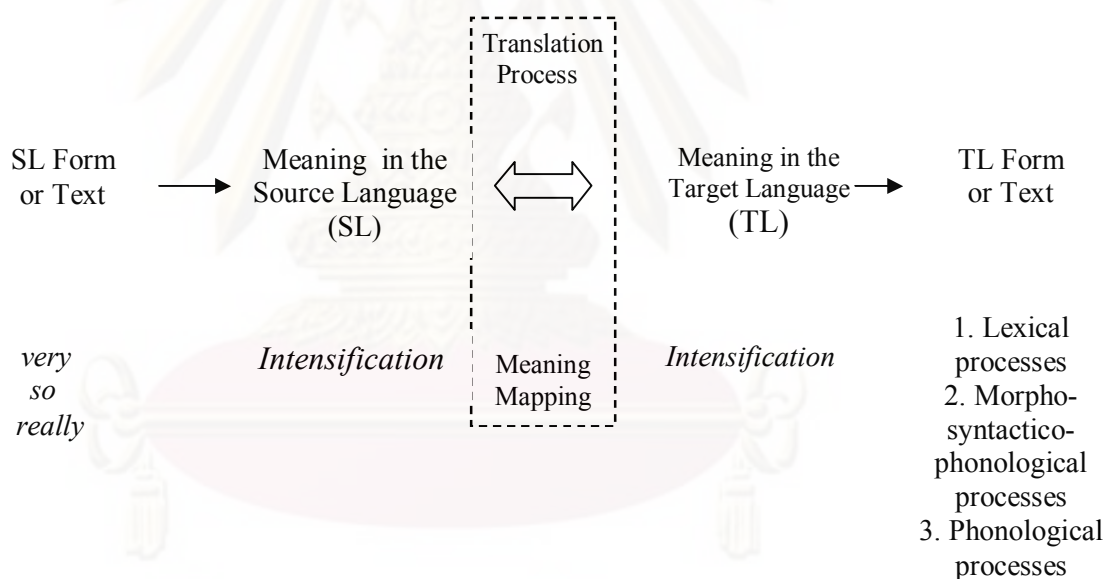
7.2.1.2 Translation as the Mapping of Meaning

The present study provides corroborative evidence that translation is essentially the mapping of meaning rather than form, since most of the translation of the three English intensifiers is found to involve the translator recreating the ST meaning with special consideration to the surrounding context. The result is a variety of intensifying expressions in the TT. In the process of meaning mapping, the translator starts with the ST linguistic forms, derives the meaning in context, then transfers it to the TT. He needs to consider the possibilities in the TL, for example,

which linguistic forms should be most suitable in this case. In selecting a form, it is not only the semantic but also pragmatic factors that come into play, e.g. the types of discourse, the participants, the communicative situation.

In the context of intensifier translation, intensification in the ST is conveyed through the pattern *so/very/really* + ADJ/ADV, which is the researcher's focal point. The pattern is understood and interpreted as intensification by the translator, who, as a mediator, then looks for possible means to convey intensification into the target language. From the study, it was found that the translator selected one of the three linguistic processes: the lexical processes, the morpho-syntactico-phonological processes, or the phonological process (see *Figure 14*).

Figure 14 Translation as the meaning mapping process



(Adapted from Poonlarp and Luksaneeyanawin 2009)

7.5.2 Pedagogical Implications

The present study has a few pedagogical implications. First, intensification is the part and parcel of the expressive language and should be given due attention in translation. If possible, an intensifier should be translated, unless it is part of a formulaic expression (e.g. *That's very kind of you*) where the presence of it does not

have any intensifying effect. It should be noted here that to many translators, an intensifier is just a trivial word that is peripheral to the core meaning of a sentence, and therefore can be omitted voluntarily. While sacrificing an intensifier may not affect the referential meaning of the text, it brings about the loss of expressive meaning in the target text. With the loss of emotivity, a literary work becomes bland and uninteresting, thus losing appeal to the TL reader.

Secondly, the findings from the study can be used to teach the translation students that translation does not simply involve decoding and encoding the linguistic forms, but constitutes the mapping of meaning between the source and the target texts. While the source text may be encoded in a particular form, it is the job of the translator to derive the meaning, and to select an appropriate form out of a range of possibilities to convey the ST semantic meaning. By ‘appropriate’, it means that the selection is suitable to the contextual features. The results of this research should be used in educating the student translators, to raise their awareness of the multiple linguistic possibilities in transferring the ST intensification.

Finally, the research results can be applied in the teaching of literary translation. Student translators should be sensitive to the ‘internal’ contextual features: the time and place, the characters, the narrative or dialogue mode, and the immediate co-text, that is, the adjectival or adverb co-occurrence, the type of sentences. But in addition to these factors, the translator trainees should be made aware that the genre and style of the writer have an important role to play. The translation of a chick-lit novel is likely to be different in style and function from that of a traditional romance, say, a beautifully written novel by Nicholas Sparks. In terms of function, while both types of fiction aim at entertaining the reader, the chick-lit may also seek to achieve a comical effect. This may prompt the translator to drop intensification from the translated version in pursuing the comical effect. The style of the writer is also important. Hemingway, for instance, is known for his simple, straightforward, and modest style, similar to the form of straight journalism. Hemingway’s prose is “unadorned as a result of his abstraining from using adjectives as much as possible” (Cooper 2005). In translating Hemingway, the translator must pay attention to his style of writing, and must not select an expression that is

expressively marked, as it will destroy the effect of Hemingway's objective, camera style.

7.6 Recommendations for Further Research

The present study has shown with empirical evidence how intensification as realized through the three English intensifiers *very*, *so*, and *really* is translated into Thai. The research does not end here. In fact, there are many related areas that remain to be explored.

To begin with, the limitations of the study should be noted. While the researcher has focused on the three contextual features, that is, the temporal context, the participants, and the types of discourse, there are yet other variables beyond the researcher's control. As regards the translation situation, i.e. the text-producing level, factors such as authorial style and translator's idiosyncratic use of language, as well as his/her preferences and methods, may have played a role in intensifier translation. At a micro-level, the character's profile, e.g. gender, age, level of education, social contexts and social relationship, may have an effect on the translation. Although the researcher is well aware of these variables and how they may affect the data, it is not always possible to control them in the corpus construction, and besides, they are not the focuses of this study. It is suggested here that these factors be taken into consideration in further research, as they are likely to yield interesting insights into the areas of language use and translation.

As the corpus shows, there is a whole array of linguistic processes and expressions at the translator's disposal. This reflects the fact that translation is not just the mapping of equivalent forms, but the mapping of meaning, in which not only the lexical content of the word but also the co-text and the wider contexts need to be taken into account. While this research is uni-directional, that is, involving the translation from English to Thai, it would be interesting to see how intensification as realized by the Thai intensifier มาก /maak2/ 'much-many', is conveyed from Thai into English. It can be surmised at this point that มาก /maak2/ 'much-many' is likely

to be translated with a wide range of expressions, but whether it would yield similar linguistic processes and forms in English has yet to be explored.

Another area of research may involve other factors affecting the translator's decision. While this study investigated the three pragmatic factors within the story, i.e. the temporal dimension, the participant dimension, and the types of this course, there are yet other factors to be explored. One of them is the gender of the characters. As it is well known in sociolinguistics that men and women speak differently, and that women tend to use certain intensifiers e.g. *so*, *really*, *terribly*, *awfully* more than their male counterparts, it would be interesting to see whether there is any difference in the use of intensifying expressions between men, women, and if possible, the homosexuals in the translated versions. This kind of study not only contributes to the knowledge in terms of context of participants but also paves way for an investigation into characterization in literary translation.

While this research looked at the participants in terms of upper and lower class backgrounds, it did not account for the role relationship and the degree of intimacy of the participants. To be precise, it did not look at who the speaker was talking to. This is one of the constraints of this research, since the status of the hearer/listener and the degree of intimacy can also determine the language use in the translation. A person from the upper-class background may well be expected to use language differently when addressing a lower-class, and vice-versa. Besides the role relationship, further research may also consider the speech situations, for example, whether the utterance is spoken in a formal or informal situation. Other factors, such as age, education, and social status, can also be taken into account in future research. All these should help bring out a further insight on the role of the context of participants, especially in translation.

Further research can be carried out in the field of linguistics and corpus linguistics. For instance, the use of intensifiers can be explored in different text types, either individually or comparatively, to see their patternings. In the same vein, it is possible to look at the literary work to see how different authors use the intensifiers. Alternatively, one can investigate the translation of intensifiers in other

text types and compare the results with the present work, which focuses on the literary genre.

In addition to translation, further research can be done in the area of cross-language intensification. From the corpus data, the present study has proposed the semantic domains of intensification based on the sensory modalities e.g. visual, auditory, physical. Examples have been drawn from Thai and English but to prove whether the same phenomenon can be observed in other languages, more evidence needs to be gathered from other languages.



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ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย



APPENDICES

ศูนย์วิทยทรัพยากร
จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A. General questions

1. How important is the context of communication (i.e. the setting, characters, and the time in which the story takes place) in the translation of [name of fiction]?
2. What is the translation method and processes in translating [name of fiction]?
3. In translating [name of fiction], how do you recreate the setting as described in the Source Text (ST)? What are the factors that need to be considered?
4. In translating the fiction of which the setting occurs in the past, how do you use language to give the reader an impression that the story is dated?
5. What are the linguistic tools you use in recreating characters from the upper class and lower class, especially when it comes to politeness and emotive expression?
6. Sometimes the characters have feelings and emotions, which are conveyed through linguistic form (e.g. "Oh, I'm so glad."), how do you transfer these emotions in the TL?
7. Are there any differences in first-person and third-person narrations? Do you translate them differently and how?
8. Do you think the language used in translating first-person and third-person narration is different and how?

B. Translation test

The translator is asked to read the following excerpt and produce the translation for the underlined sentence. Follow-up questions are asked.

Excerpt 1

England, 1860. A middle-class woman wrote to her male suitor. She told him that her female friend was jealous and had kept his letters from her, which almost damaged their relationship. One of the lines went: *Oh, dear friend -- I am so very angry. I see strange fiery flashes before my drowned eyes.*

Follow-up questions:

1. Why did you translate it as such? What did you have in mind when you translated?
2. Would you translate it differently if it is written simply as *Oh, dear friend -- I am very angry* or *Oh, dear friend -- I am so angry*? Would there be any difference in translation between the two sentences?
3. If all this happens in the year 2005, how would you translate *I am so angry*?

Excerpt 2

It was early 20th century. The orchard workers in California were poor and were planning a strike. They checked on the guards and signalled to their friends.

A: Where are you guys? It's so damn dark.

B: Over here.

A: The guards weren't in the barn. They were out on watch.

Follow-up questions:

1. Why did you translate it as such? What did you have in mind when you translated?
2. Would you translate it differently if it is written simply as *It's so dark*? Would there be any difference in translation between the two sentences?

C. Description

In this section, concordances are presented to the translator taken from her own work. The translator is then asked to explain the translation choice, e.g. why she decided to omit intensification from the target text.

In a rare moment of interest she glanced at me and remarked, “You’re *very pale*, Mary, are you feeling sick?” (*The Other Boleyn Girl*)

นาน ๆ ครั้งนางจึงจะเหลือบมองและพูดกับข้าว่า “หน้าเจ้าซีดเหลือเกินแม่รี เจ้าไม่สบายหรือเปล่า”

(สงครามรัก อำนาจ ราชบัลลังก์)

Keyes studied him naturally until the kid looked up and snapped. “My brother’s in for agg assault!” “You must be very proud.” (*Tourist Season*)

คีย์สยี่นมองเงียบ ๆ จนเด็กนั้นเงยหน้ามองแล้วตะคอก “พี่ชายฉันถูกจับข้อหาก่อความไม่สงบ!” “นายคงภูมิใจนำคุณนะ” คีย์สพูด (เด็ดหัวทัวริสต์, p.30)

“You’re a very young guy to be an investigator.” (*Tourist Season*)

“เป็นนักสืบที่หนุ่มมากเลยนะคุณนะ” เออร์เนสโตว่า “อายุเท่าไรหรือ สามสิบ หรือสามสิบเอ็ด” (เด็ดหัวทัวริสต์, p.32)

Omission

“I was just wondering if I might be allowed to go” I said very humbly. “To watch the revels” (*The Other Boleyn Girl*)

“หม่อมฉันกำลังสงสัยว่าพระนางจะทรงอนุญาตให้หม่อมฉันไป” ข้าเอ่ยด้วยท่าที่นอบน้อม “ชมงานรื่นเริงหรือไม่เพคะ (สงครามรัก อำนาจ ราชบัลลังก์, p.27)

' Oh, you’re going to be very successful, you’ll be a brain surgeon, you’ll marry at thirty, and have three kids, blah blah blah... (*The Mediator I*)

"โอ้ เธอจะต้องประสบความสำเร็จ จะได้เป็นศัลยแพทย์สมอง แต่งงานตอนอายุสามสิบ มีลูกสามคน อย่างโน้น อย่างนี้ อย่างนั้น (รักเธอให้ตายเถอะ, p.32)

“Excuse me.” The ghost looks at us very sarcastically. (*The Mediator I*)

“ขอโทษนะ” ผีสาวมองเราแบบเสียดสี (รักเธอให้ตายเถอะ, p.66)

APPENDIX B
LIST OF RESTRICTED INTENSIFIERS

Restricted intensifiers	Example	Transcription	Source text
เกินแก้	/kqqn0 kxx2/ สาย <u>เกินแก้</u>	/saaj4 <u>kqqn0 kxx2/</u>	‘really late’
เกินกู่	/kqqn0 kuu1/ ไกล <u>เกินกู่</u>	/klaj0 <u>kqqn0 kuu1/</u>	‘so far’
เข้ม	/khem2/ ดำ <u>เข้ม</u>	/dam0 <u>khem2/</u>	‘very dark’
เจียบ	/chiiap1/ บาง <u>เจียบ</u>	/baang0 <u>chiiap1/</u>	‘very thin’
เจียบ	/chiiap1/ เย็น <u>เจียบ</u>	/yen0 <u>chiiap1/</u>	‘freezing cold’
เต็มคราบ	/tem0 kraap2/ เม <u>าเต็มคราบ</u>	/maw0 <u>tem0kraap2/</u>	‘really drunk’
เป็นตาย	/pen0 taaj0/ หลับ <u>เป็นตาย</u>	/lap1 <u>pen0taaj0/</u>	‘sleep so deep’
เป็ียบ	/piiap3/ เหมือน <u>เป็ียบ</u>	/mvvan4 <u>piiap3/</u>	‘very similar’
แต่	/txx4/ แบน <u>แต่</u>	/bxxn0 <u>txx4/</u>	‘very flat’
แฟ	/fxx2/ หรุ <u>แฟ</u>	/ruu4 <u>fxx2/</u>	‘really posh’
โพลน	/ploon0/ ชาว <u>โพลน</u>	/khaaw4 <u>ploon0/</u>	‘very white’
กะหรง	/ka0r@@ng1/ ผอม <u>กะหรง</u>	/ph@@m4 <u>ka0r@@ng1/</u>	‘so thin’
กำ	/kam1/ แดง <u>กำ</u>	/dxxng0 <u>kam1/</u>	‘very red’
ขาด	/khaat1/ ยั่ว <u>ขาด</u>	/juua3 <u>khaat1/</u>	‘really annoyed’
ขึ้นใจ	/khvn2 caj0/ จำได้ <u>ขึ้นใจ</u>	/cam0 <u>daj2 khvn2 caj0/</u>	‘remember so well’
ครึ้ม	/krvm3/ เขียว <u>ครึ้ม</u>	/khiiaw4 <u>krvm3/</u>	‘very green’
งอมแงม	ติด <u>งอมแงม</u>	/tit1 <u>ng@@m0ngxxm0/</u>	‘so addicted’
		/ng@@m0ngxxm0/	
จ้อย	/c@@j4/ บาง <u>จ้อย</u>	/baang0 <u>c@@j4/</u>	‘very frilly’

Restricted intensifiers	Example	Transcription	Source text
จู่ใจ /cu1 caj0/	แพง <u>จู่ใจ</u>	/pxxng0 <u>cu1caj0/</u>	‘really expensive’
ชะลูด /cha0loot2/	สูง <u>ชะลูด</u>	/soong4 <u>cha0loot2/</u>	‘very tall’
ซู่ /suu2/	ร้อน <u>ซู่</u>	/r@@n3 <u>suu2/</u>	‘so hot’
ถล่มทลาย	ดั่ง <u>ถล่มทลาย</u>	/dang0 <u>ta0lom1 ta0</u> <u>laaj0/</u>	‘very loud’
ง่าย /nit3 diiaw0/	ง่าย <u>นิดเดียว</u>	/ngaaj2 <u>nit3diiaw0/</u>	‘so easy’
ปรี๊ด /priit3/	แหลม <u>ปรี๊ด</u>	/lxxm4 <u>priit3/</u>	‘very high-pitched’
ผล็อย /phl@@j4/	หลับ <u>ผล็อย</u>	/lap1 <u>phl@@j4/</u>	‘so far gone for asleep’
ผาก /phaak1/	แห้ง <u>ผาก</u>	/hxxng2 <u>phaak1/</u>	‘very dry’
พิลึก /phi4lvk3/	หนาว <u>พิลึก</u>	/naaw4 <u>phi4lvk3/</u>	‘so cold’
ยวนใจ /juuan0caj0/	หอม <u>ยวนใจ</u>	/h@@m4 <u>juuan0caj0/</u>	‘smell so good’
ระยับ /ra0jap3/	แพง <u>ระยับ</u>	/pxxng0 <u>ra0jap3/</u>	‘really expensive’
ร้าย /raaj3/	โมโห <u>ร้าย</u>	/moo0hoo4 <u>raaj3/</u>	‘very irascible’
ลนลาน /lon0 laan0/	กลัว <u>ลนลาน</u>	/kluaa0 <u>lon0laan0/</u>	‘so scared’
ลิบลิบ /lip3lap3/	แตกต่าง <u>ลิบลิบ</u>	/txxk1taang1 <u>lip3lap3/</u>	‘so different’
สด /sot1/	เขียว <u>สด</u>	/khiiaw4 <u>sot1/</u>	‘very green’
สดชื่น /sot1 chvvn2/	เขียว <u>สดชื่น</u>	/khiiaw4 <u>sot1 chvvn2/</u>	‘so green’
สนิท /sa0nit1/	เงียบ <u>สนิท</u>	/ngiiap2 <u>sa0nit1/</u>	‘very quiet’
สนิท /sa0nit1/	นิ่ง <u>สนิท</u>	/ning2 <u>sa0nit1/</u>	‘very still’
สนิท /sa0nit1/	หลับ <u>สนิท</u>	/lap1 <u>sa0nit1/</u>	‘fast asleep’

Restricted intensifiers	Example	Transcription	Source text
สนิท /sa0nit1/	ปิด <u>สนิท</u>	/pit1 sa0nit1/	‘shut so hard’
สะดุด /sa0dut1/	สวย <u>สะดุด</u>	/suuj4 sa0dut1/	‘very attractive’
เขียว /?v4/	เขียว <u>เขียว</u>	/khiiaw4 ?v4/	‘very green’

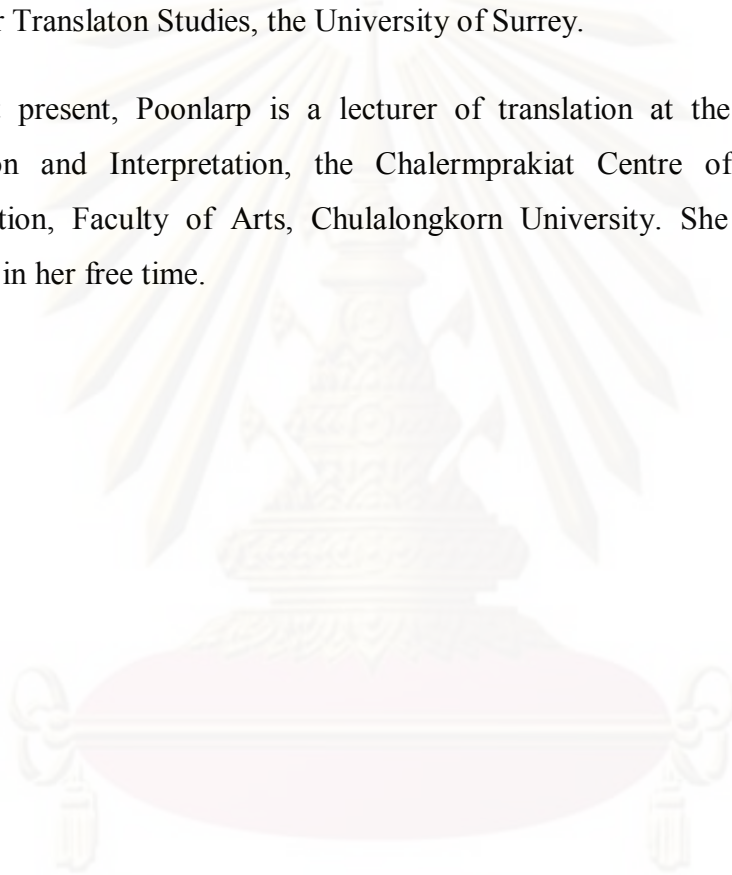


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BIOGRAPHY

Mrs. Tongtip Poonlarp was born on May 1, 1977. She earned a BA (First Class Honors) in English, and an MA in French-Thai Translation from the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in 1999 and 2002 respectively. From 2000-2002, she worked as a news rewriter for Newslane, an English-language news programme broadcast on the Thai TV Channel 11. In 2007, she was a research student at the Centre for Translation Studies, the University of Surrey.

At present, Poonlarp is a lecturer of translation at the MA Program in Translation and Interpretation, the Chalermprakiat Centre of Translation and Interpretation, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University. She also works as a translator in her free time.



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