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A qualitative corpus study based on the Oslo Multilingual Corpus on the procedures used for Norwegian to English translation of culture-specific items

Bachelor's thesis in Language Studies with Teacher Education
Supervisor: Annjo Klungervik Greenall
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Summery

This thesis is an analysis of the translation procedures used in the translation of culture-specific items from Norwegian to English. The thesis is based on two parallel corpora from The Oslo Multilingual Corpus, and the progression follows a modified version of Toury's three-phase methodology. The categorization system used in the analysis is Aixelá's classification system for culture-specific items. The thesis investigated what translation procedures were used and whether the genre of the text and the category of the culture-specific item correlates with the procedure. In total 134 tokens were analysed across 11 types of culture-specific items. Overall, the findings show that domesticating procedures were dominant, and the type of culture-specific item and the genre of the text were correlated with the procedure used in translation.

Sammendrag

I denne oppgaven undersøkes oversettelsen av kulturspesifikke begreper fra norsk til engelsk. Oppgaven er basert på to parallelle korpus fra The Oslo Multilingual Corpus, og progresjonen følger en modifisert versjon av Toury sin tre fase metodikk. Kategoriseringssystemet som brukes i analysen er Aixelá sitt klassifiseringssystem for kulturspesifikke begreper. Oppgaven tar for seg hvilke prosedyrer som ble brukt, og om tekstens sjanger og kategorien til det kulturspesifikke begrepet korrelerte med oversettelsesprosedyren. Det var totalt 134 oversettelser som ble analysert på tvers av 11 kulturspesifikke begreper. Samlet sett viser funnene at domestiseringsprosedyrer var dominerende, og kategorien til det kulturspesifikk begrepet og sjangeren til teksten hadde betydning for hvilken prosedyre som ble brukt i oversettelsen.

Word count: 4392

Contents

1 Introduction

A translation involves the mixing and merging of two or more languages and cultures (Aixelá, 1996, p. 52). This inevitably entails evaluations concerning where the translation's 'loyalty' lies, whether the text is written to be read as *the* original, staying 'loyal' to the source text, or to be read as *an* original, presenting as a part of the target culture. According to Aixelá, the issues of loyalty arise due to diversity between two norm-systems across four basic fields: 1) linguistics, interpretation, pragmatics, and culture (p. 53). The latter, culture, is the focus of this thesis.

The Norwegian words *kos*, *koselig*, *hygge*, *hyggelig*, *marka*, *pålegg, innlevelse, krone, øre kofte,* and *bunad* are all culture-specific items, meaning that they lack a corresponding concept in English. According to Alexiá (1996, p. 53), value judgements, classification systems, norms, and so on, vary across cultures, and this creates issues concerning translation. Especially crucial in dealing with the cultural aspect of translation is the question of how to translate culture-specific items (1996, p. 52). Translators face a range of options for how to tackle this asymmetry (p. 54). Translators may for example choose to keep the cultural item as it is, to remove it entirely, or find a target culture replacement.

To describe the choices translators have in tackling culture-specific items (CSI), Alexiá has created a system to categorize the various procedures. Based on this classification system for culture-specific items, this thesis will undertake a qualitative corpus analysis of the abovementioned Norwegian culture-specific items, answering the two following questions: 1) What translation procedures have been used for the Norwegian-English translations found in the Oslo Multilingual Corpus of the culture-specific items *kos*, *koselig*, *hygge*, *hyggelig*, *marka*, *pålegg, innlevelse, krone, øre, kofte,* and *bunad*? and 2) Does the type of CSI or the genre of the text affect the translation procedure used?

2 Theory

2.1 Descriptive translation studies

The framework used in the analysis of this thesis is descriptive translation studies (DTS) developed by Gideon Toury. This is a branch of translation that aims to describe and explain translations as they are rather than imposing prescriptive value (Toury, 2012, pp. xi-xii).

2.2   Culture-specific items and taxonomies

According to Alexiá (1996, p. 57), culture-specific items arise from a translation conflict between source culture and target culture. Conflict can either occur due to differing values in the target language culture, for example, differing usage or ideology, or from the source item being entirely non-existent in the target culture (p. 57). The literature contains a multitude of classification systems for culture-specific items, for example, Olk (2012), Marco (2019), and Leppinhalme (2001). However, according to Davies, Aixelá's classification is " one of the most clearly expounded taxonomies" (2003, p. 70). Procedures in Alexiá's classification are split into two groups based on the degree of intercultural manipulation: conservation and substitution procedures (Aixelá, 1996, p. 60). This grouping is useful for generalizing patterns, as one can clearly identify trends of conservation or substitution, in addition to identifying which procedures have been used.

2.3   Alexiá's translation procedures for culture-specific items (CSI)

The examples below in parentheses are my own examples where the first word is an English CSI and the second is an application of the procedure to analyse translations into Norwegian.

Conservation procedures conserve elements of the original reference (Aixelá, 1996, p. 61). The first two conservation procedures are *repetition* and *orthographic adaptation.* These procedures involve transferring the original reference into the target text. *Repetition* entails no changes to the original form [Boston → Boston] while *orthographic adaptation* entails changes to the original orthography to fit into the target language's alphabet [Paul → Pål]. *Linguistic translation* involves using target word(s) that have the same denotative meaning as the original reference, but which are still considered to be a part of the source culture. For example, if a Norwegian was to read a translation of a novel set and written in the US, and read the word *tommer* [inches], the reader would likely understand the word to be as a part of the Norwegian

language system, but not as a part of the Norwegian culture. The last two conservation procedures are *extratextual* and *intertextual gloss*. These procedures are extra procedures used alongside the previously mentioned procedures and involve an explanation of the meaning or implications of the CSI. Extratextual gloss involves an explanation that is external to the text, for example, found in footnotes or in brackets, while intertextual gloss describes explications woven into the text [Winchester → Winchesterkatedralen].

The substitution procedures all involve a replacement of cultural foreign aspects of the original reference (Aixelá, 1996, pp. 63-64). The first two substitution procedures are *limited* and *absolute universalization*. With limited universalization, the translator chooses a related but less obscure CSI [American football → rugby]. Meanwhile, with absolute universalisation, the translator substitutes the CSI with a target culture and language reference, removing any foreign connotations [a Chesterfield → en sofa]. Another procedure which involves the removal of any foreign connotations is *neutralization*. With this procedure, the CSI item is replaced with a CSI of the target culture [dollar → kroner]. With the following procedure, *deletion*, the CSI is omitted and there is no 'replacement', and with the last procedure, *autonomous creation,* the translator includes a cultural reference that does not have a counterpart in the source text.

2.4   Previous studies on translations of culture-specific items

There is a clear trend for translations to be made to be read as 'original(s)' in the west, meaning that the foreign aspects are removed (Aixelá, 1996, pp. 53-54). Beyond this trend, many scholars point to how the genre of the text influences what translation procedure is used for CSIs. Blažytė & Liubinienė (2016) analysed the translation procedures used in translating popular science literature into Lithuanian. Based on their analysis, they argue that the fiction genre allows translators to treat CSIs more freely (pp. 48-51). In their analysis of CSI in Martin Lindstrom's *Brand Sense,* they found that there was a lack of a coherent and logical approach in the translation and that different procedures were often used to translate the same CSI (p. 43). The authors argue that an important reason for this inconsistency is the lack of regulations for popular science translations, and inconsistencies can therefore be expected to be more common in non-fiction than in fiction (pp. 43-51).

Other scholars, including Turzynski-Azimi (2020) and Ayyad, Obeidat, and Mahadi (2021), have also tied the choice of CSI procedures to the genre. Turzynski-Azimi (2020) looked at

what translation procedures were used in the translation of Japanese CSI in tourism texts. She found that although the readership is seeking the foreign, and the texts aim to advertise the foreign, there was an overall tendency towards substitution procedures (p. 421). This aligns with Blažytė & Liubinienė's position that non-fiction is a genre that allows for more 'free' translations. Ayyad, Obeidat, & Mahadi (2021) have also found a correlation between text type and procedure. Despite the norm of domestication, the degree of domestication varies across genres, and for religious texts, there is actually a tendency of foreignization (p. 294). Overall, the literature points to genre playing a role in the choice of translation procedure concerning the translation of CSIs, although, despite differences, one can expect a domesticating tendency across genres, with the exception of religious texts.

In addition to the genre, the literature points to another factor that influences the choice of translation procedure for CSIs, namely the category of the CSI. Several scholars present findings that show a connection between type of CSI and procedure used in translations, including Newmark (1988), Maasoum and Davtalab (2011), and Turzynski-Azimi (2020, p. 411). In Newmark (1988) and Maasoum and Davtalab (2011), the authors show patterns tying semantic categories of the CSI, such as 'ecology', 'religion' and 'gestures', to certain procedures. Both Newmark and Maasoum and Davtalab found that religious cultural words were often translated using generalization, while ecological and political words were more likely to be transferred directly into target texts (1988, pp. 96-98; 2011, pp. 1776-1777). Correspondingly, Turzynski-Azimi (2020, p. 411) found that category of CSI largely determines translation procedure. For example, CSI under the category of history, which included CSIs that describe buildings, historical figures and periods, were largely translated using *non-lexicalized borrowing,* which is a similar procedure to Aixelá's *orthographic adaptation,* while in comparison, for items related to food, the procedures of omission and non-lexicalized borrowing were both used frequently.

3 Method

The progression of this research project follows a modified version of Toury's three-phase methodology for source text - target text pairs (ST-TT pairs). Toury's methodology consists of the following stages: 1) situate the text within a target culture, 2) analyse the units of translation within the text, and 3) generalize patterns (Toury, 2012, p. 23 & 136). Since this methodology is designed to study ST-TT pairs, rather than specific items across multiple texts, the progression and steps were altered. In step one, instead of situating a specific text, in section 4,

I look at the more general position of translated literature in the anglophone world. Looking at the status of translated literature may help explain patterns found in the subsequent stages, as the status of translation compared to other forms of literature has been tied to trends of conservation and substitution (Even-Zohar, 2012, p. 163). In step two, instead of undertaking a textual analysis of an ST-TT pair, in section 5, I looked at the above-mentioned culture-specific items across 50 original works, identifying which of Alexiá's procedures were used. Lastly, in step three, instead of generalizing patterns within the ST-TT pairs, in section 6, I looked for patterns across the texts to find generalizations concerning the translation procedures used with culture-specific items.

The method of analysis in step two is qualitative corpus analysis. This method is based on utilizing a computerized corpus to collect data, followed by a qualitative analysis of the data as a basis for surveying viable patterns (Hasko, 2020, p. 954). The qualitative approach has clear benefits for the fined-grained investigation needed in the analysis of CSI. Both Loock (2013, p. 61) and Sinclair (1996) argue that qualitative investigations are suitable for highlighting subtle variations and for analysis of phenomena which involve very elusive changes and subtle judgment. Beyond this, the corpus-based qualitative approach allows for fast collection of data, analysis of large data set, and replications of findings, reducing many of the constraints of the more traditional non-corpus-based qualitative analysis, such as being more strenuous, hard to replicate, and facing limitation on the text size and quantity (Hasko, 2020, p. 954). However, corpus-based qualitative analysis does face some downsides, including losing sight of the context of the whole book, which can provide insight into cultural background and patterns that are specific to the translator. However, overall, qualitative corpus analysis seems a suitable method for gathering a more generalized view across several works of literature of the often-subtle changes involved in the translation of CSI.

The research in this thesis is based on two parallel corpora from The Oslo Multilingual Corpus. The two corpora are a part of the English-Norwegian parallel corpus which is split into one corpus for fiction and one for non-fiction. In total, they together consist of around 2,6 million words and 50 original works of fiction and prose. I began with researching the Norwegian CSI of *hygge, hyggelig, kos,* and *koselig,* and later expanded the analysis to include *marka*, *pålegg, innlevelse, krone, øre, kofte,* and *bunad*, amounting to a total 134 tokens. I searched the Oslo Multilingual Corpus for over 50 different types of Norwegian CSI, and all other CSI were excluded based on having no search result. Later, in the process of analysis, there occurred several cases of ambiguity concerning which procedure was used. These cases were instances
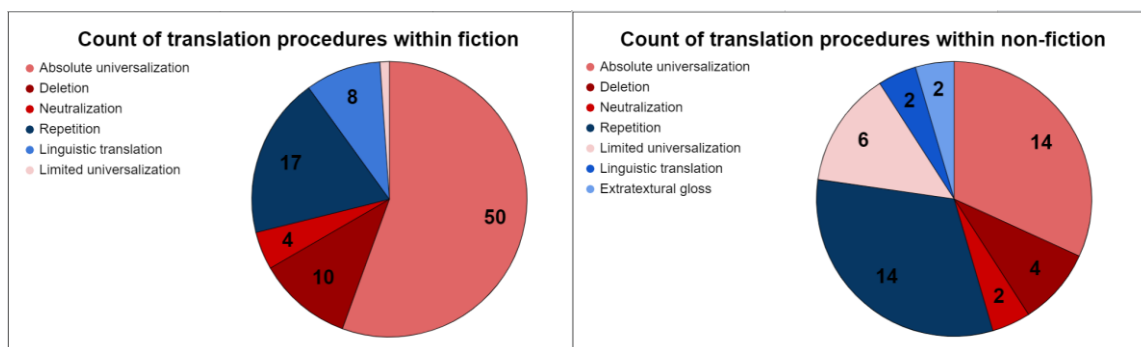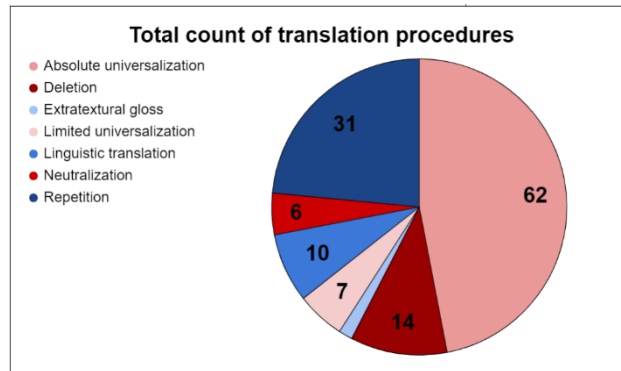
of CSI within fixed expressions. This creates a classification issue as the procedure used for the expression may be different from the procedure used of the CSI within. To stay consistent through the analysis I have decided to categorise all such instances with the procedure used for the CSI, rather than for the expression as a whole. A case of this is discussed in more detail in section 5.2 (see example 8).

4 Status of translations in the anglophone world

Translations have marginal status in British and American culture (Venuti, 2008, p. 7). As translation occupies a peripheral position, works of translation within the Anglo-American sphere typically conform to literary norms of the target literary system and culture (Even-Zohar, 2012, p. 163; Venuti, 2008, pp. 1-3). In line with this, the quality of a translation is often evaluated based on the criterion of fluency and appearing as an "original" work, where the translator and the fact that the work has been translated is made invisible (Venuti, 2008, pp. 1-2). According to Venuti (pp. 1-2), this trend has developed because of political and cultural shifts in the west. The increased focus on commodity production and exchange since World War II has resulted in emphasising language as a means for fast and easy access to knowledge, thus emphasising fluency as it allows for more immediate intelligibility (p. 5). All this has led to a domesticating trend within translation, in which most foreign aspects are removed (pp. 53-54), and in accordance with this, domesticating translation procedures, such as Alexiá's substitution procedures, are preferred.

5 Findings

Seven out of ten of Aixelá's translation procedures were used to translate the Norwegian CSI. The most common procedure was absolute universalization, followed by repetition, deletion, linguistic translation, limited universalization, and neutralization. For extratextual gloss, only two instances were identified. Meanwhile, the procedures of orthographic adaptation, intertextual gloss and autonomous creation were not found at all in the analysis of the 134 CSI. An overview of the distribution of translation procedures can be found in the diagrams below where conservation procedures are shown in blue and substitution procedures are shown in red.

Total count of translation procedures

- Absolute universalization
- Deletion
- Extratextual gloss
- Limited universalization
- Linguistic translation
- Neutralization
- Repetition

Count of translation procedures within fiction

- Absolute universalization
- Deletion
- Neutralization
- Repetition
- Linguistic translation
- Limited universalization

Count of translation procedures within non-fiction

- Absolute universalization
- Deletion
- Neutralization
- Repetition
- Limited universalization
- Linguistic translation
- Extratextual gloss

5.1 Conservation procedures

Repetition was the second most common procedure found in the analysis of CSI with 31 instances. The procedure was more commonly found in non-fiction texts, being used in 31,8% of non-fiction translations, compared to 18,9% of fiction translations. Notably, all of the instances of repetition were used in the translation of currency terms, namely *kroner*, with 28 instances, and *øre* with three instances.

Examples 1: repetition

*Hun tjente noen **kroner** på å passe Merete → She earned a few **kroner** looking after Merete*

*hun et tillegg på femogtyve **øre** timen → she got a bonus payment of twenty-five **øre** an hour*

Another conservation procedure that was solely found in the translation of currency terms is linguistic translation. Linguistic translation was identified ten times, all of which were

instances of the CSI *kroner* being translated to *crowns.* The procedure was more commonly used in the translation of fiction texts, being used in 8,9% of translations, compared to non-fiction with 4,5% of translations.

Example 2: linguistic translation

*ho hadde spurt faren om å få låne nokre **kroner*** → *she had asked her father to lend her a few **crowns***
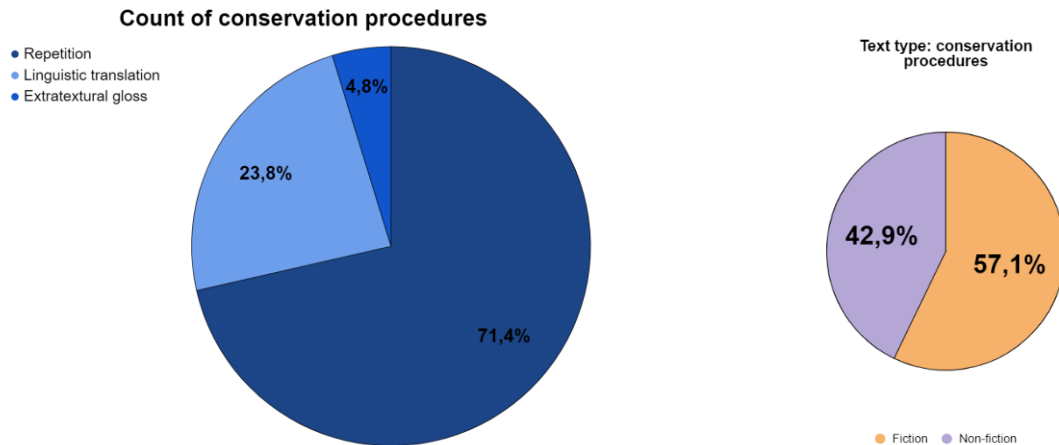
The procedure extratextual gloss is another conservation procedure solely used in the translation of currency terms. The procedure was only found twice out of 134 instances analysed, and both instances were used in the translation of *kroner* from non-fiction texts.

Example 3: extratextual gloss

en gjeld på 38_000 kroner → *the national debt is 38,000 kroner (approximately $5,400)*

til å innbetale 200 kroner → *by remitting 200 kroner (about $32)*

Overall, repetition was the dominant conservation procedure, occurring in 71,4% of conservational translations, followed by linguistic translation which occurred in 23,8%, and extratextual gloss which occurred in 4,8% of conservational translations. There were two conservation procedures that were not identified in any of the 134 instances analysed, namely orthographic adaptation and intertextual gloss. Conservation procedures were more frequent in non-fiction, occurring in 40,9 % of non-fiction translations analysed. Meanwhile, for fiction translations, conservational procedures were only used in 26,7% of translations. In addition, conservation procedures were readily used in the translation of currency terms. In fact, currency terms were the only CSIs translated using conservation procedures, making up 42 out 42 instances of conservational translation.

Count of conservation procedures

- Repetition
- Linguistic translation
- Extratextural gloss

4,8%

23,8%

71,4%

Text type: conservation procedures

42,9%

57,1%

- Fiction
- Non-fiction

5.2 Substitution procedures

Limited universalization was identified seven times. With this procedure, the original reference is replaced by another less obscure CSI. The procedure was found in the translation of the CSIs of *kroner, øre* and *lappskaus*. Most instances of limited universalization were found in non-fiction. The only exception was the translation of *øre* seen below which was from a fiction text.

Example 4: limited universalization

*Hvis jeg hadde hatt fem **øre** for hver gang du har ringt* → *If I had ten **kroner** for every time you ' d phoned*

*vi moret oss med å velge mellom lammestek med urter, **lapskaus**, kalv med trøfler* → *we dithered enjoyably between lamb stuffed with herbs , **daube** , veal with truffles*

Both *kroner* and *øre* would be perceived as foreign to an anglophone reader, however, *kroner* is arguably more known, and would be perceived as less obscure. The same can be said for *lapskaus* and *daube*, where *daube* is arguably less obscure, at least to a British audience, due to their connection and knowledge of French culture. On this basis, these instances have both been analysed as limited universalization.

The most common procedure was absolute universalization. This procedure involves choosing a natural target language reference and removing all foreign connotations. Absolute

universalization was significantly more frequent than all the other procedures with 62 instances and occurred in 47% of all translations analysed. Within fiction texts, the translation procedure was used in 55,6% of the cases (50 instances) and within non-fiction texts, the procedure was used in 31,8% of translations (14 instances). Absolute universalization occurred in the translation of all the types of CSIs, with the exception of *øre*.

Example 6: absolute universalization

*Bare at du er en **hyggelig** kar➔ Only that you ' re a **nice** man*

*en boks **lapskaus** ➔ a tin of **stewed steak***

*Øynene hadde samme farge som **kofta** ➔ His eyes were the same colour as his **well-made blue cloak***

Neutralization involves the replacement of the original reference in place of a target language word perceived to be specific to the target language culture (Aixelá, 1996, p. 64). Neutralization occurred in 4,5% of translations (6 instances) of which 4 were in fiction (4,4% of fiction translations) and the remaining 2 were in non-fiction (4,5% of non-fiction translations). The procedure was found in the translation of *hyggelig, pålegg, marka,* and *øre*.

Examples 7: neutralization

*Utvalget av **pålegg** i kjøleskapet? ➔ The assortment of **cold cuts** in the refrigerator?*

*Magda gikk ikke i **marka** slike kvelder ➔ Magda did not go up to **the field** on nights like that.*

*De to jentene ville ingen få en **øre** ut av ➔ The two girls would not part with a **penny**.*

The translations, *cold cuts, field* and *penny,* in example 7 all connote being a part of anglophone culture. The translators have chosen words that are a part of anglophone culture, rather than being culturally impartial, and these translations have therefore been analysed as instances of neutralization.

The procedure of deletion, where the CSI is omitted, was the third most frequent, occurring in 10,6% of instances with a total of 14 occurrences. The frequency in fiction and non-fiction was similar, with 11,1% of fiction translations and 9,1% of non-fiction translations involving omission. The procedure occurred in the translations of *hygge, hyggelig, koselig, innlevelse, kroner, øre,* and *lappskaus.*
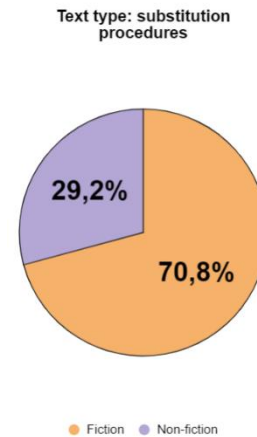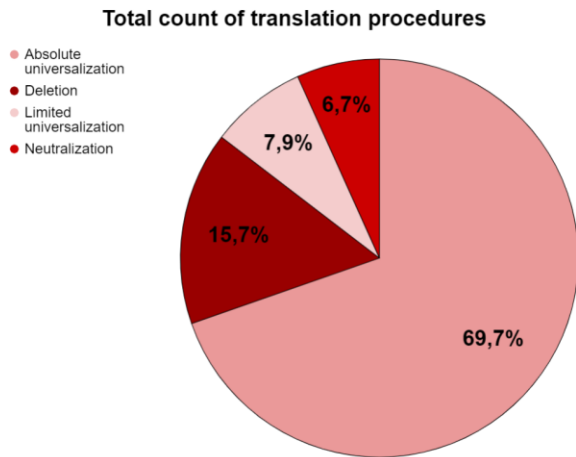
Examples 8: deletion

*Etterpå ville hun **hygge** seg med et glass vin* → *Then she would have a glass of wine*

Og den koster meg ikke et **øre** → And it costs me nothing.

The translation of *øre* shown in the second example above has been analysed as deletion based on there being no word denoting a currency in the sentence. The currency term has been omitted. However, this case is somewhat ambiguous as "ikke et øre" is an expression which can be translated to "nothing". Looking at the expression as a whole this instance would rather be analysed as absolute universalization as the word "nothing" is a natural target language reference for "ikke et øre", denoting the same meaning, but removing any foreign connotation. Despite this, the translation procedure has been categorized as deletion. As mentioned in section 3, due to a need to stay consistent through the analysis, all instances with this sort of ambiguity have been categorized based on the procedure used for the CSI, rather than for the expression as a whole.

Overall, the most common substitution procedure was absolute universalization, occurring in 69,7% of substitutional translations, followed by deletion, with 15,7%, limited universalization with 7,9% and neutralization with 6,7%. The substitution procedure autonomous creation was not identified in any of the 134 instances analysed. Regarding genre, substitution procedures were more common in fiction, used in 70,8% of translations from fiction texts, compared to 29,2% of translations from non-fiction. In contrast to the conservation procedures that were solely used in the translation of currency terms, the substitution procedures were identified in translations of all the CSIs analysed. A majority of the types of CSI were solely translated using substitution procedures, including *hygge, hyggelig, kos, koselig, innlevelse, pålegg, marka, bunad,* and *kofte*. Substitution procedures were therefore not only used more frequently but they were also used more consistently, irrespective of the type of CSI.

Total count of translation procedures

- Absolute universalization
- Deletion
- Limited universalization
- Neutralization

6,7%
7,9%
15,7%
69,7%

Text type: substitution procedures

29,2%
70,8%

- Fiction
- Non-fiction

6 Discussion of findings

This section follows a modified version of the third phase of Toury's three-phase methodology. Here I will hypothesise some reasons for the frequency and distribution of procedures identified, before lastly discussing more general patterns that were found in the analysis of Norwegian CSI.
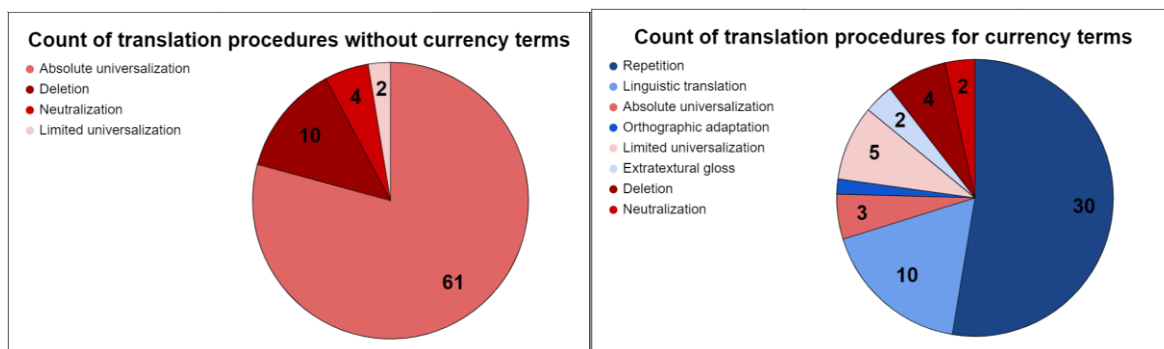
Comprehensively, substitutional procedures were the dominant procedures on multiple levels. Substitutional procedures were used in a majority; 67,4% of instances analysed and were used to translate all 11 types of Norwegian CSI. In addition, for 9 out of 11 CSIs, then most or all the instances were translated using such procedures. This reflects the peripheral position of translated literature in Britain and the United States which promotes domesticating translations. In accordance with the trend of domestication in the Anglo-American sphere, the most common and evenly distributed procedure was a substitution procedure, namely absolute universalization. One possible explanation for the prevalence of this procedure over other substitution

Count of conservation or subsitution

32,6%
67,4%

- Substitution
- Concervation

procedures may be that other procedures demand more cultural competence. Of all the substitution procedures, absolute universalization together with deletion, arguably require the least amount of cultural knowledge of the source culture. Limited universalization, for example, requires knowledge of other CSI within the source culture and knowledge of what
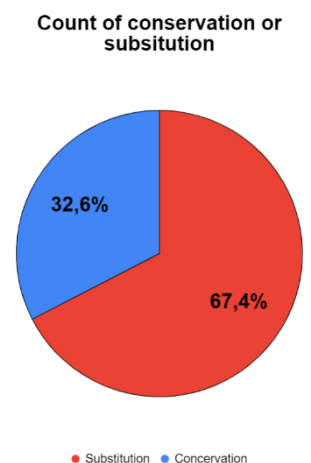
will be perceived as less foreign in the target culture, and neutralization requires knowledge of both cultures to manage to create a cultural replica of the source reference. In this sense, the popularity of absolute universalization may reflect the cultural simplicity in the procedure together with a tendency of conforming to target culture norms.

The only substitution procedure not identified in the analysis was autonomous creation. According to Alexiá (1996, p. 64), this procedure is generally uncommon, as it is unusual for translators to insert non-existent foreign references in translations. The other two procedures that were not found were the conservation procedures orthographic adaptation and intertextual gloss. Since these are foreignizing procedures, this also aligns with the trend of domestication in the Anglo-American sphere. However, an additional factor that may explain the absence of orthographic adaptation is the similarity of the English and Norwegian alphabets. As Norwegian only has three letters that are not used in English, there are few circumstances where this procedure can be applied, which may explain the absence.

A general pattern found in the analysis of the Norwegian CSIs was that different types of CSIs are correlated with different translation procedures. The procedures used with currency terms in comparison with the other CSIs illustrates this phenomenon well. Among others, three major differences were found between currency terms and non-currency terms. Firstly, the currency terms were translated using mainly conservation procedures, meanwhile, for the remaining nine CSIs no conservation procedure was used. Secondly, for currency terms absolute universalization was used in 5,3% of translations, meanwhile, for CSIs outside of this category, absolute universalization was used in 72,2% of translations. Thirdly, repetition was solely used for currency terms and was used frequently: in 50,9% of translations for currency terms. These differences may reflect familiarity with Norwegian currency terms in the anglophone world allowing for more frequent use of conservation procedures such as repetition. Alternatively, this may be due to a familiarity with the fact that other countries have different currencies, rather than specific knowledge of Norwegian currency. Regardless, the differences do align with the earlier findings presented in section 2 that point to the type of CSI playing a significant role in how it is translated (Daghoughi & Hashemian 2016; Maasoum & Davtalab 2011; Rouhi & Niami, 2021; Turzynski-Azimi, 2020). This may be because different categories have varying levels of cultural significance, making some types of words more demanding to translate and less naturally fitting in the target culture.

Count of translation procedures without currency terms

- Absolute universalization
- Deletion
- Neutralization
- Limited universalization

Count of translation procedures for currency terms

- Repetition
- Linguistic translation
- Absolute universalization
- Orthographic adaptation
- Limited universalization
- Extratextual gloss
- Deletion
- Neutralization

Another pattern found in the analysis of Norwegian CSIs was that there was more variation in the translations from non-fiction texts than from fiction texts. For fiction texts, 97,8% of instances were translated using five procedures, meanwhile, for non-fiction texts, 97,7% were translated using seven different procedures. This aligns with the idea that text type may influence what procedures are used in translating cultural items. There seems to be a greater variation used in non-fiction than in fiction, which may reflect Blažytė & Liubinienė's position of non-fiction translations being more 'inconsistent' due to fewer translation norms within the genre (pp. 43-51).

7 Conclusion

Nine out of eleven of Aixelá's translation procedures occurred in translations from the Oslo Multilingual Corpus of the Norwegian CSIs *kos*, *koselig*, *hygge*, *hyggelig*, *marka*, *pålegg*, *innlevelse*, *krone, øre, kofte,* and *bunad*. The most common procedure was absolute universalization, which occurred in 44% of translations analysed and the least frequent were autonomous creation, orthographic adaptation, and intertextual gloss, which were not identified. For most CSI absolute universalization was the most frequent procedure. The exception was the currency terms, *kroner* and *øre*, where substitution procedures were more common. Overall, in line with earlier findings, domesticating procedures were dominant, and the type of CSI and the genre of the text were correlated with the procedure used in translation.

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