

Referential explicitation in intermodal corpus

Simona Šumrada

Povzetek

V članku raziskujemo značilne vzorce v prevodih in tolmačenih govorih, kot so razvidni iz primerjave z izhodiščnimi govori in z drugimi primerljivimi govori. Postavljene so bile štiri hipoteze, ki se nanašajo na 1) navezovalno eksplicitnost (večja eksplicitnost je pričakovana v francoščini, v prevodih in pri govorih, nastalih v okviru predsedovanja Evropski uniji), 2) navezovalne eksplicitacije (več eksplicitacij je pričakovanih v francoskih prevodih), 3) semantično strukturo kazalnih samostalniških sintagem (pričakovane so razlike v semantičnih razredih samostalniških jeder leksikalnega kazalnega navezovanja in predvidena je večja leksikalna variabilnost in evaluativnost v francoskih izhodiščnih govorih), 4) kompleksnost kazalnega navezovanja (največ konceptualnih anafor kot kognitivno najbolj kompleksnih vezi je pričakovanih v francoskih podkorpusedih).

Pri vsaki hipotezi preverjamo vpliv štirih spremenljivk (jezik, način in smer prenosa ter situacijski kontekst), kar omogoča dvojezični obojesmerni vzporedni in primerljivi korpus KorToP (korpus tolmačenih govorov in prevodov), ki zajema dva situacijska konteksta, in sicer kontekst Evropskega parlamenta (izhodiščni govori slovenskih in francoskih poslancev iz obdobja od 2008 do 2011) ter kontekst predsedovanja Slovenije in Francije Svetu Evropske skupnosti v letu 2008. Korpus s 460 707 pojavnicami sestavljajo izhodiščni govori, ki so z orodjem ParaConc poravnani s prevodi in s tolmačenimi govori. Korpusna metodologija ponuja možnost metodološke rešitve za povezavo dveh sorodnih področij, pisnega prevajanja in tolmačenja, ki sta sicer redko povezana s skupnim raziskovalnim vprašanjem. Empirično raziskavo zastavljamo kot korpusno podprto diskurzivno analizo, za katero je značilno iskanje manj očitnega pomena, kombinacija kvantitativnih in kvalitativnih metod, umeščenost v situacijski kontekst in poskus povezave zunajbesedilnih informacij o korpusu z jezikovnimi podatki, pridobljenimi v korpusu.

Ključne besede: eksplicitnost, eksplicitacija, kazalno navezovanje, anaforični samostalniki, abstraktna (konceptualna) anafora, korpusna raziskava.

1 AIMS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The article investigates typical patterns in translated and interpreted language as compared to source speeches and other comparable speeches. The grammatical pattern of demonstrative noun phrases (demNP) was extracted from the corpus and compared across subcorpora, thus revealing differences in language systems (Slovene and French), modes (original, translated and interpreted speech) and contexts (EU Parliament and EU Presidency of 2008). A contrastive pilot research comparing Slovene speeches made in the context of the Slovene Presidency of the EU in 2008 to their aligned French translations revealed extensive lengthening (exceeding 30%) of texts in translation, which drew attention to the high frequency of explicitations, in particular to increased cohesiveness through referential explicitness. The research was then narrowed down to demonstrative reference in the form of proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns (considered as less explicit reference) and demonstrative determiners (explicit reference).

A lot of research has already been carried out on referential procedures (deictics, anaphora and discourse deictics, demonstratives and anaphoric nouns often associated with demonstrative noun phrases). Demonstrative noun phrases (demNP) are of interest to philosophers of language and semanticists because they shed light on the role of the context in natural language semantics. Recently they have been a frequent subject of corpus analysis (Lindström 2000, Petch-Tyson 2000, Krein-Kühle 2002, Vieira, Salmon-Alt in Gasperin 2002, Manuélian 2003, Whittaker 2004, Swales 2005, Goethals 2007, 2010, 2013, Lundquist 2007, Vanderbauwhede 2012, among others). Anaphoric nouns came into prominence after Francis drew attention to a class of abstract nouns that can be used metadiscursively to talk about ongoing discourse and function as cohesive devices, which makes them extremely useful from a communicative point of view (Francis 1994, Partington 1998, Schmid 2000, Flowerdew 2003, Mahlberg 2005).

The topic of explicitation has been a focus of Translation Studies ever since the explicitation hypothesis was put forward, claiming that “explicitation is a universal strategy inherent in the process of language mediation” (Blum-Kulka 1986: 21). In fact, the issue was a prominent one long before, though the concept was not couched in the same terms. The concept of addition, for example, fuelling controversies in the past, is related to explicitation in that it is linked to fidelity in translation (see for example Luther’s Open Letter On Translating of 1530 presenting Luther’s defence for adding a word “alone” in his Bible translation). Still another related concept is that of adaptability which, according to Verschueren (2000: 61, 93), constitutes a key property of language enabling people to make negotiable linguistic choices from a variable range of possibilities differing in terms of explicitness in order to satisfy communicative needs.

The objective of the article is to deepen the understanding of such concepts as explicitness/implicitness, explicitation/implication and referential cohesion, not in order to corroborate or to disprove any hypotheses related to translation universals, but rather to find out how different variables affect the degree and the nature of referential explicitness / explicitation (see also Šumrada 2014). Indeed, as observed by Krüger (2014: 150), “/e/xplicitation has often been reduced to its alleged universality alone, while other interesting dimensions of this concept (for example, its function as a potential indicator of text-context interaction or the translational motivation for performing explicitation shifts) have receded into the background”. The corpus structure allowed us to vary the parameters of language, mode and context. In addition to these primary parameters there are also some cognitive and paratextual ones, much more difficult to control, which refer to the speaker’s conceptualization of reality, direction of translation / interpreting, native or non-native status of the translator / interpreter, the influence of proofreading, translation brief etc.

Table 1: Primary parameters affecting the implicit / explicit ratio and the rate of explicitations in the translated / interpreted speech

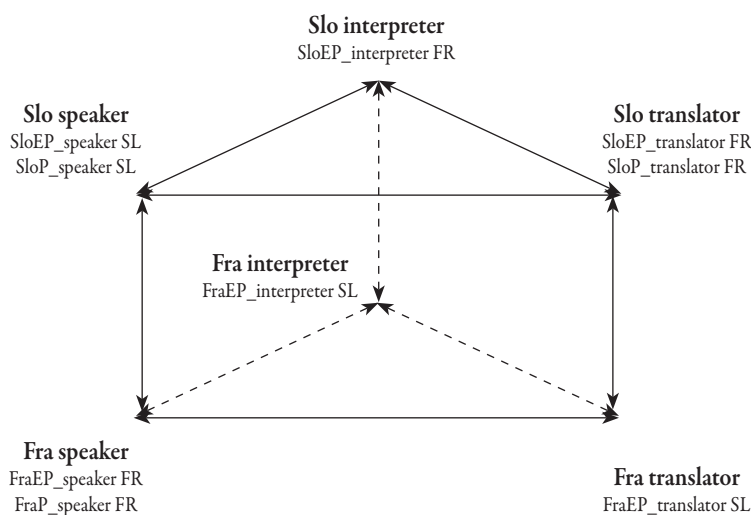
Primary parameters	Variables
Linguistic and semantic conventions	Slovene, French
Sociocultural specifics and textual conventions	Direction of translated / interpreted speech: SL → FR, FR → SL
Mode	Original speech, translation, interpreted speech
Communication situation	EU Presidency (SloP, FraP) EU Parliament (SloEP, FraEP)

2 METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

The present contribution provides a contrastive analysis of the lexicogrammatical pattern of demonstrative referential expressions often involved in explicitating/implicating shifts. The analysis is corpus based and connects two fields of Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies. There have been frequent calls for studies uniting both fields (Gile 2004: 30, Shlesinger 2009: 238), which has so far been unheeded to a large extent, undoubtedly on account of methodological difficulties. The empirical research also adopts the techniques of corpus-assisted Discourse Analysis, which aims at uncovering non-obvious meanings and is characterized by quantitative and qualitative approaches, a compilation of ad hoc specialized corpora and an attempt at relating the linguistic features under examination to the situational context.

The hypotheses were investigated in a bilingual intermodal parallel and comparable corpus named KorToP¹ (Corpus of interpreted and translated speeches, see Shlesinger 1989), which comprises speeches made by Slovene and French MPs in the European Parliament (from 2008 to 2011) and the speeches produced within the contexts of the Slovene and French Presidencies of the EU Council in 2008. The corpus of 460,707 tokens consists of source speeches aligned to their translations and simultaneous interpretations by means of the ParaConc software. Annotation was carried out only on relevant examples extracted from the corpus and saved in separate files (standoff annotation).

Figure 1: Outline of subcorpora (EU – European Parliament, P – Presidency of the EU):²



¹ KorTop is an acronym of the Slovene **K**orpus **t**olmačenih in **p**revedenih govov, denoting a corpus of interpreted and translated speeches. It is bilingual (French, Slovene), parallel (source speeches aligned to their translations), bimodal (translated and interpreted speech) and comparable (source speeches of two comparable contexts: the EU Parliament and the EU Presidency).

² **SloP_speech SL** (original Slovene speeches made within the context of the Slovene EU Presidency in 2008), **SloP_translator FR** (French translations of the Slovene speeches made within the context of the Slovene EU Presidency), **FraP_speech FR** (original French speeches made within the context of the French EU Presidency in 2008), **FraEP_speech FR** (original French speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **FraEP_translator SL** (Slovene translations of the French speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **FraEP_interpreter SL** (Slovene interpreted versions of the French speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **SloEP_speech SL** (original Slovene speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament), **SloEP_translator FR** (French translations of the Slovene speeches made within the context of EU Parliament), **SloEP_interpreter FR** (French interpreted versions of the Slovene speeches made within the context of the EU Parliament).

The hypotheses were arrived at on the basis of the statistical data obtained through the WordSmith Tools as presented in Table 2, as well as some preliminary analyses carried out in KorToP and studies done by other researchers, notably Whittaker (2004), Zinsmeister, Dipper and Seiss (2012) and Goethals (2007). The first observation was a tendency towards a great increase of tokens in French translations and even in French interpreted speech, which, unlike the tendency in the Slovene speech of both modes, indicates that the explicitation issues might be related to the parameter of the language system. On the other hand, it could also be true that this increase in length is not necessarily linked to the phenomenon of explicitation. Another finding of great interest for the study is the number of sentences, since their increase coupled with a reduction of words per sentence implies the need for a greater use of referential procedures to ensure cohesion.

Table 2: Statistical data of the KorToP corpus, retrieved by Wordsmith Tools

Subcorpora	Token	Type	Stand. TTR ³	Sentences	Stand. sentences	Sentence length in words
SloP_speech SL	91118	13 078	56,65	4549	49,92	20
SloP_translator FR	120966	8900	43,09	4690	38,77	26
FraP_speech FR	108162	9111	43,31	4641	42,90	23
FraEP_speech FR	27147	4305	43,44	1018	37,49	26
FraEP_translator SL	22113	5600	55,85	1021	46,17	21
FraEP_interpreter SL	18041	4276	51,95	/	/	/
SloEP_speech SL	21202	5687	56,07	1026	48,39	21
SloEP_translator FR	28893	4514	45,36	1133	39,21	26
SloEP_interpreter FR	23065	3468	41,74	/	/	/
Total	460707					

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The questions underlying the research were: to what extent can we trace the speaker's, translator's and interpreter's effort towards optimizing cohesion and coherence? Are shifts in referential explicitation tied to structural referential explicitness or are there other language system-independent factors involved? How do the quantitative and qualitative patterns of demonstrative explicitness/explicitations differ through a variation in language (Slovene, French), mode (original, translation or interpreting) and social context (parliamentary debates, speeches

³ Standardised Type/Token Ratio (standardised to 1000).

within the context of the EU Presidency)? How do these variables affect the frequencies and semantic structure of demonstratives?

Four hypotheses were adopted referring to referential explicitness (higher explicitness was expected to be linked to French, to translations and to the context of the EU Presidency), secondly to referential explicitations (a higher frequency of explicitations expected in French translations), thirdly to the semantic structure of demNP (the majority of nouns expected in demonstrative noun phrases are the so-called anaphoric nouns, possibly with a higher degree of variability and evaluativeness in French), and finally to the complexity of referential links (the frequency of conceptual anaphora as the most complex link is expected to be the highest in French subcorpora).

The next step was a contrastive analysis of French and Slovene demonstratives which were revealed to be remarkably frequent in all the subcorpora. The forms investigated in the corpus are presented in Table 3 below, excluding the demonstrative adverbs which were not analysed. On the KorTop word frequency lists demonstrative pronouns/determiners range from second to 23rd place, which means that in some subcorpora their frequencies surpass even those of the most common connective (Slovene *in*, French *et*, English *and*). Further research revealed that similar frequencies of demonstrative pronouns in both languages are not necessarily related to the same function. French features more non-phoric use than Slovene, and consequently there are less potential candidates for explicitation in the French-Slovene translation direction. Non-phoric use means that the demonstrative pronoun is a structural element with no proper denotation, employed, for example, for topicalization procedures. The finding correlates with the distinction between non-pro-drop (or non-null subject) languages like Slovene, which are topic prominent and use less phoric elements, and pro-drop (or null subject) languages like English and French, which are topic prominent and make more use of phoric elements (Rehbein, Hohenstein, Pietsch, 2007: 7). In our Slovene subcorpora the non-phoric use of demonstrative pronouns ranges from 6 % to 11 %, which is clearly less than in the French subcorpora with a rate of 19 % to 36 %.

Table 3: Demonstratives in three language systems (English, Slovene, French)⁴
(see Diessel 1999: 37)

ENGLISH	demonstrative pronouns		demonstrative determiners		demonstrative adverbs	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
sg.	this	that	this	that	here	there
pl.	these	those	these	those	now	then
SLOVENE	samostalniški kazalni zaimki		pridevniški kazalni zaimki		kazalni prislovi	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
sg. m.	ta	tisti, oni	ta	tisti, oni	tu, tukaj	tam,(ondi)
sg. f.	ta	tista, ona	ta	tista, ona	sedaj	tedaj
sg. n.	to	tisto, ono	to	tisto, ono		
pl. m.	ti	tisti, oni	ti	tisti, oni		
pl. f.	te	tiste, one	te	tiste, one		
pl. n.	ta	tista, ona	ta	tista, ona		
FRENCH	pronoms démonstratifs		adjectifs démonstratifs		adverbes démonstratifs	
	proximal	distal	proximal	distal	proximal	distal
sg. m.	celui(-ci)	celui(-là)	ce livre(-ci)	ce livre(-là)	-ci	-là
sg. f.	celle(-ci)	celle(-là)	cet enfant(-ci) cette fille(-ci)	cet enfant(-là) cette fille (-là)		
pl. m.	ceux(-ci)	ceux(-là)	ces livres(-ci)	ces livres(-là)		
pl. f.	celles(-ci)	celles(-là)	ces filles (-ci)	ces filles (-là)		
n.	ce, c'		/	/		
n.	ceci	cela, ça	/	/		

⁴ Abbreviations: sg (singular), pl (plural), m (masculine gender), f (feminine gender), n (neuter).

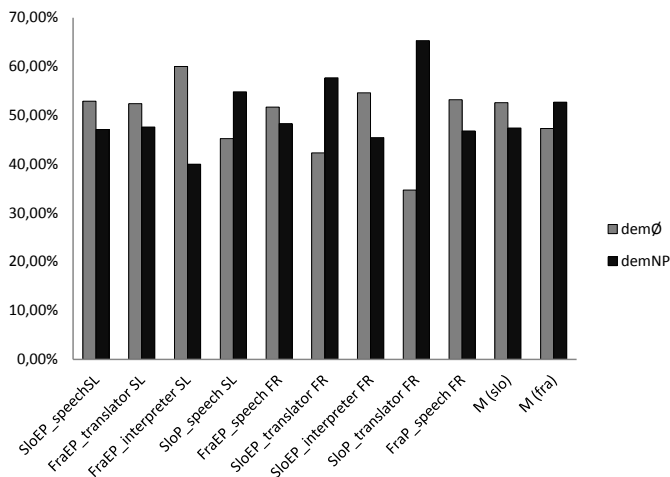


Figure 2: Ratio of non-explicit (demØ) and explicit (demNP) referential ties in KorToP subcorpora⁵

For the purposes of investigating the first two hypotheses, referential explicitness was operationalized as the ratio between the non-explicit and explicit⁶ demonstrative form (demØ/demNP) in a subcorpus and referential explicitation as a shift from a non-explicit to an explicit demonstrative (either a demonstrative pronoun is translated/interpreted as a demonstrative noun phrase, demØ>demNP, or a less explicit demonstrative noun phrase is translated/interpreted into a more explicit one, demNP₁>demNP₂). Explicitation is viewed as a translational phenomenon, while explicitness is “monotextual” and does not assume a source-to-target-text movement. “While explicitation and implicitation refer to a specific intertextual relation between source text and target text, explicitness and implicitness refer to general features of language and discourse that can be present to different degrees. If, at a certain level, a given source text exhibits a lower explicitness/higher implicitness than the corresponding target text, this would be treated as potential evidence of explicitation and vice versa” (Krüger 2014: 168).

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 279) provide an example (1) featuring different degrees of referential explicitness, ranging from the non-explicit demonstrative pronoun (*it*), a general noun (*the thing*), a superordinate (*the task*), a synonym (*the climb*), to a highly explicit repetition (*the ascent*):

⁵ M = average frequencies

⁶ A non-explicit demonstrative form or “unattended demonstrative” (or unattended this) is not necessarily a less suitable choice despite the general bias towards more explicit forms in academic writing. Indeed “there is a tacit sense of the tradeoff between economy and clarity which probably only comes with considerable writing experience” (Swales 2005: 14).

(1)

I turned to the ascent of the peak. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \textit{The ascent} \\ \textit{The climb} \\ \textit{The task} \\ \textit{The thing} \\ \textit{It} \end{array} \right\}$ is perfectly easy.

The shifts affect the three metafunctions (of systemic functional grammar): ideational (shifts in the degree of informativeness), interpersonal (shifts in evaluativeness) and textual (differences in cohesion), as is even more obvious in the corpus example (2) below, where the non-explicit Slovene demonstrative pronoun *to* (*Eng. this*) is explicitated as a French demNP premodified by an adjective coding procedural information (*Fr. cette dure réalité, Eng. this harsh reality*). The meaning is modified through added evaluation and thus interpersonal function, unobvious in the original, is highlighted:

(2) *Preprečevanje in zgodnje odkrivanje raka sta brez dvoma področji, ki jima moramo na vseh ravneh nameniti več pozornosti in sredstev. Vsak evro, vložen v preventivo, je dolgoročno najboljša naložba. **To** moramo upoštevati vsakič ob sprejemanju težkih odločitev o prednostnih nalogah v zdravstvu.* (SloP_speaker SL)

*La prévention et le dépistage précoce du cancer sont sans aucun doute des domaines pour lesquels il est nécessaire de porter une attention toute particulière et d'investir plus de moyens. Chaque euro attribué à la prévention est un investissement à long terme. **Cette dure réalité** doit être présente dans nos esprits lors des prises de décision importantes dans le domaine de la santé.* (SloP_translator FR)

To find out how referential procedures differ across corpora not only in quantity but also in terms of quality, other features in the demonstrative referential patterns were tested: the variability of anaphoric nouns in demNP, the evaluativeness of demNP and the cognitive complexity of referential procedures. DemNP were classified into three major semantic categories: concrete nouns,⁷ deictic nouns, referring to place and time, and anaphoric nouns (A-nouns), based on Schmid's (2000: 85, 86) shell noun categorization.

⁷ In some cases the abstract / concrete distinction is difficult to establish. Lyons introduced a more precise three-order classification (1977: 442-445, 1979: 93-95).

Table 4: Semantic classes of nouns in demNP

Noun types in demNP	Examples
Concrete nouns (K)	<i>coal, car ...</i>
Deictic nouns (D)	<i>time, space ...</i>
Anaphoric nouns (A-noun)	
Factive (F)	<i>fact, thing, problem ...</i>
Eventive (E)	<i>event, measure, success...</i>
Circumstantial (C)	<i>situation, area, level ...</i>
Metalinguistic (ML)	<i>discussion, statement, question ...</i>
Metalinguistic - textual (MT)	<i>report, directive, article ...</i>
Mental (M)	<i>idea, thought, conviction ...</i>
Grammaticalized (GAS)	<i>(in this) direction, (from this) point of view, (in this) way</i>
Varia (VAR)	<i>degree, certainty ...</i>

Variability was tested as a type/token relationship of A-nouns in a subcorpus, evaluativeness was operationalized as the frequency of inherently evaluative nouns or evaluative premodifiers in demNP, and cognitive complexity was operationalized as the frequency of conceptual anaphora, commonly called abstract anaphora⁸ in NLP.

From the point of view of explicitness conceptual anaphora (KA) is of special interest since it allows speakers to encapsulate a highly complex chunk of information. Such a complex antecedent, expressed in verbs, clauses, extended stretches of text or even pieces of information to be inferred from the context, is thus encapsulated and reduced to a nominal concept, which serves the dual function of characterizing and linking. It helps resolve referential ambiguity. It is a cognitively complex yet a highly economical referential procedure of referring to antecedents. In example (3) the KA *ce succès* (Eng. *this success*) in bold type encapsulates the underlined clause antecedent *nous avons avancés ces derniers mois* (Eng. *we have made some progress in the last few months*), while concurrently performing the function of characterizing the antecedent through an inherently evaluative noun *succès* (Eng. *success*).

(3) Conceptual (or abstract) anaphora in bold type referring to an underlined complex clause antecedent in (a) original French speech and (b) Slovene translation.

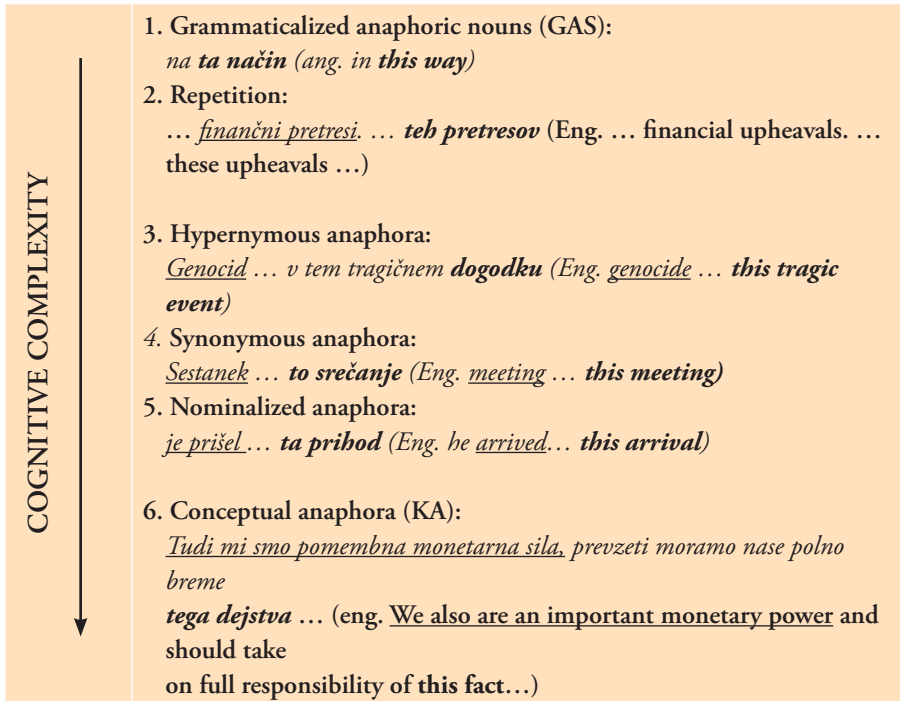
⁸ Schwarz-Friesel et al. (2007) lists other English names referring to this complex anaphora type: abstract object anaphora, labelling, reference to fact, sentence-related reference, proposition-related anaphora, situational anaphora, discourse deixis, complex anaphora, or in French: anaphore résomptive conceptuelle, anaphores prédictives démonstratives.

In the Slovene interpreted version (c) the meaning is modified through loss of the original referential procedure.

- a) *Messieurs les présidents, chers collègues, comment ne pas constater en ces temps de turbulences la nécessité pour l'Europe de plus de stabilité politique et d'efficacité dans ses décisions? Oui, nous avons avancé ces derniers mois en dépit de l'unanimité, mais rien ne nous dit que nous pourrions facilement rééditer **ce succès**.* (FraEP_speaker FR)
- b) *V teh burnih časih ne moremo spregledati, da Evropa potrebuje več politične stabilnosti in učinkovitosti pri svojih odločitvah. Res je, da smo v zadnjih mesecih napredovali kljub potrebi po soglasju, vendar pa nič ne kaže, da bomo **ta uspeh** zlahka ponovili.* (FraEP_translator FR)
- c) *gospod predsednik / v teh težkih časih ste še zlasti izpostavili potrebo te naše Evrope po stabilnosti in v teh zadnjih mesecih smo uspeli doseči soglasje o težkih zadevah // vendar nič nam ne zagotavlja **da bomo vedno tako uspešni*** (FraEP_interpreter FR)

The presupposition was that the cognitive complexity of referential procedure, stemming from the cognitive effort performed by a speaker, translator or interpreter, is the lowest in cases of grammaticalized anaphoric nouns (GAS), used (almost) automatically. The effort is similarly small in cases of repetition; greater when the anaphora and the antecedent enter into semantic relations such as synonymy, hyponymy and hyperonymy; and the greatest in cases of conceptual anaphora, as shown in the Figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Degree of cognitive complexity in referential procedures



4 DATA ANALYSIS

In examining the first hypothesis, demonstrative reference was revealed to be the least explicit in interpreted speeches (in both languages), as expected, and most explicit in translations. A less expected finding concerns demonstrative reference in French source speeches, which was not shown to be consistently and significantly more explicit than that in Slovene source speeches. This does not corroborate some claims about the reference in French being more explicit (Eloy 1995: 333). In this analysis higher referential explicitness was detected within the context of parliamentary speeches in French but not within the context of the French EU Presidency.

Table 5: Referential explicitness⁹ in subcorpora

9. FraEP_interpreter SL (1.50)	min.
8. SloEP_interpreter FR (1.20)	explicitness
7. FraP_speaker FR (1.14)	
6. SloEP_speaker SL (1.11)	
5. FraEP_translator SL (1.07)	
4. FraEP_speaker FR (1.06)	
3. SloP_speaker SL (0.83)	
2. SloEP_translator FR (0.73)	max.
1. SloP_speaker FR (0.53)	explicitness

The second hypothesis referring to the examination of demonstrative explicitation was corroborated entirely: explicitations in the translation direction Slovene-French largely outnumber those in the direction French-Slovene in both modes (see Figure 5). However, on account of similarities in quantity we should not overlook some differences in quality. As further analyses show, the two subcorpora with the highest number of explicitations differ in cognitive complexity of referential procedures.

Referential explicitations come in two major types, labelled as E1 and E2, as shown in the example (4) and (5) below.

(4) Explicitation of the type E₁ (dem \emptyset > demNP) where the inexplicit demonstrative pronoun *to* (Eng. *this*) used in the Slovene EU Presidency speech is explicitated into an explicit French demNP *cette devise* (Eng. *this motto*).

Spoštovani gospe in gospodje, geslo slovenskega predsedovanja je SI.ENERGIJA za Evropo. To naj bo tudi vodilo našim skupnim prizadevanjem za obvladovanje raka. (SloP_speaker SL)

Mesdames et Messieurs, La devise de la présidence slovène est la SI.ENERGIE pour l'Europe. Cette devise peut nous servir d'objectif pour guider nos efforts dans la maîtrise du cancer. (SloP_translator FR).

(5) Explicitation of the type E₂ (demNP₁ > demNP₂): a less explicit demNP₁ *ta postopek* (Eng. *this process*) used in the Slovene EU Presidency speech is explici-

⁹ The ratio between the inexplicit and explicit demonstrative form (dem \emptyset /demNS)

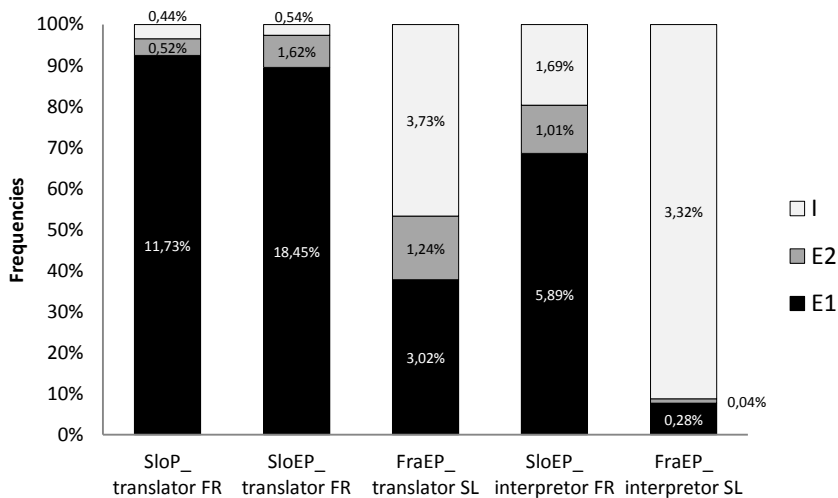
tated into a more explicit French demNP₂ *ce processus de ratification* (Eng. this process of ratification):

Naj poudarim, da je ratifikacija izključna pristojnost - in odgovornost - vsake države članice. Pri tem bi želel posebej čestitati Madžarski, ki je ta postopek že opravila. (SloP_speaker SL)

*Je souligne que la ratification est de la compétence - et de la responsabilité - exclusive de chaque Etat membre. A cet égard, je désire féliciter tout particulièrement la Hongrie qui vient d'achever **ce processus de ratification**.* (SloP_translator FR)

The frequency of overall explicitations¹⁰ (E₁ and E₂) in translated French subcorpora varies from 8.48 % (SloP_translator FR) to 16.38 % (SloEP_translator FR) while in the Slovene translations the frequencies are much lower: 3.88% (FraEP_translator SL). Comparable explicitation differences linked to translation directions were attested also by Dipper et al. (2012), who found 9.4 % of explicitation cases (demØ>demNP) in German-English translations and 7.3 % in the other direction. Explicitation tendencies in translated subcorpora parallel those in the interpreted speeches: interpreting in French is characterized by higher degrees of explicitation (6.06 % in SloEP_interpreter FR) than interpreting into Slovene (0.32 % in FraEP_interpreter SL).

Figure 4: Rate of explicitation E₁ and E₂ and implicitation I



¹⁰ The percentages do not take into account the explicitations of demØ into demNP with grammaticalized anaphoric noun (eg. this > in this case).

As figure 4 shows the explicitation frequencies ($E_1 + E_2$) largely exceed the frequency of implicitations (I). However, one subcorpus stands out – Slovene interpreted speech. Another obvious outcome is that the cases of E_1 explicitation surpass the cases of E_2 explicitation in both modes in all subcorpora, which implies that translators and interpreters are less hesitant in explicating the less explicit grammatical items than the lexicalized forms.

The higher incidence of explicitation in the French subcorpora (translated and interpreted) could presumably be attributed to the common perception of the French language as being explicit, thus encouraging the tendency among Slovene translators to perform more explicating shifts; however, the previous steps in the analysis showed firstly that referential explicitness in the French originals was not fully attested, thus disproving the conjecture of French explicitness, and secondly, that the influence of systemic differences between the two languages is undeniable since the frequency of demonstrative units prone to explicating shifts are language-bound. Based on the results of the first two hypotheses one could safely confirm Klaudy's hypothesis of linguistic asymmetry (Klaudy 2001): translators tend to use explicating rather than implicating operations and the explicitations in one translation direction are not matched by implicitations in the other translation direction.

The lower frequency of explicitation cases in interpreted speeches compared to those in translations is unsurprising due to cognitive and time limitations in interpreting. In example (6)¹¹ below, the interpreted speech is less precise in both the topic (underlined) and the comment (**in bold type**). The topic *Náša skupina* (Eng. *our group*) replaces the original explicit name of the political party (Fr. *Le groupe PPE-DE*), and the comment *je vedno delala v to smer* (ang. *has always been working in this direction*) is a substitute for the source phrase *travaille d'arrache-pied sur le paquet „Énergie-climat“* (ang. *has been actively working on the Energy-Climate package*).

(6)

Le groupe PPE-DE **travaille d'arrache-pied sur le paquet «Énergie-climat»**, ... (FraEP_speech FR)

Skupina Evropske ljudske stranke (Krščanskih Demokratov) in Evropskih demokratov nepretrgoma preučuje **energetski in podnebni sveženj**,... (FraEP_translator SL)

Náša skupina je **vedno delala v to smer** / (FraEP_interpreter SL)

¹¹ In our explicitation analysis the example (6) was not taken into account as a case of referential implicitation since we counted only demNP₂ > demNP₁ examples and demNP > demØ examples.

The topic in the interpreted version might have also been reduced on account of the fact that the target audience is set in the communicative situation. In terms of relevance theory, greater precision would not entail a greater cognitive effect. The degree of referential explicitation is therefore understandably lower in interpreted versions. However, the interpreted speech in both languages is characterized by the frequent use of demonstratives, not only the inexplicit demØ but also the explicit demNP, which shows that interpreters have a certain preference for demonstratives, also conveniently used as fillers and placeholders (Setton 1999: 271).

A further outcome of the research is a contrastive analysis carried out on the qualitative aspect of demNP. Their classification into semantic categories allowed us to search for some recurring patterns, similarities and differences across the subcorpora. The assumption was that the relationship between the demonstrative anaphora in the structure demNP encodes common perceptions of the world and allows us to understand how experience is processed into linguistic entities (Francis 1994: 100). In this respect the French simultaneous translations were all shown to be more specific (increase in the reference involving concrete nouns as compared to speeches produced originally and the speeches translated). Other features tested in the demonstrative referential patterns were variability, evaluativeness and cognitive complexity.

As for variability, originally produced French A-nouns demNP were not found to have a much higher type/token relationship (TTR) than originally produced Slovene A-nouns, which would indicate variety is not significantly higher in French, contrary to my third hypothesis. On the other hand, evaluativeness and cognitive complexity were consistently and significantly more common in the French source speeches as shown in Figure 6 and 7 below.

Figure 5: Type/token ratio of A-nouns

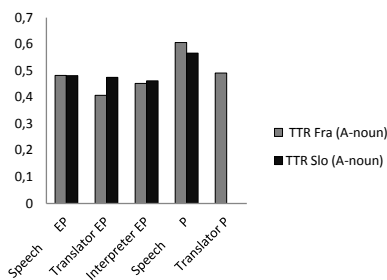


Figure 6: Evaluativeness of demNP

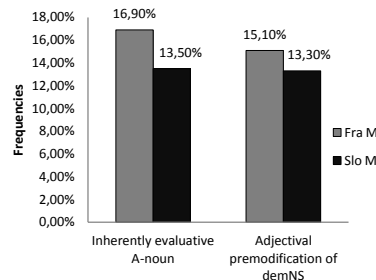
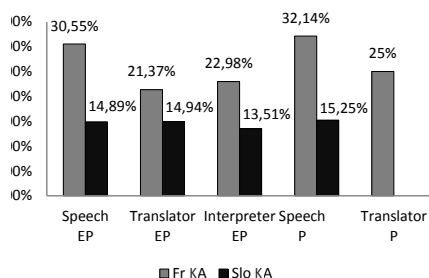


Figure 7: Frequencies of conceptual anaphora**Table 6: Comparison of conceptual anaphora in French and Slovene subcorpora**

1. FraP_speaker FR	Min rate ↓ Min rate
2. FraEP_speaker FR	
3. SloP_translator FR	
4. SloEP_interpreter FR	
5. SloEP_translator FR	
6. SloP_speaker SL	
7. FraEP_translator SL	
8. SloEP_speaker SL	
9. FraEP_interpreter SL	

The average frequency (M) of KA occurrence in French subcorpora is 26.4%, compared to a much lower M of Slovene KA, amounting to 14.6%. It is obvious that the variable of language plays a major role. Differences between Slovene and French are most pronounced in source speeches: the occurrence of French KA doubles the occurrence of Slovene KA. The lowest rates were found in Slovene interpreted speeches. KA was specifically checked in the cases of explicitations found in a previous step. The results consistently show that KA in explicitation cases is also more frequently found in French than in Slovene translated / interpreted speech. The highest occurrence was traced in French translations within the context of the Slovene Presidency, where the overall rate of explicitation was not the highest, which shows that quantitative data (frequency of explicitations) do not necessarily match the qualitative aspect of explicitation (semantic types and cognitive complexity of explicitations). Explicitations with KA are cognitively more complex than those involving other types of anaphora, testifying to a translator's / interpreter's high proficiency in handling referential procedures.

5 CONCLUSIONS

Two of the four hypotheses were entirely corroborated: the second, confirming a higher occurrence of explicitation in French, and the fourth, upholding the claim that most cases of complex referential ties will be found in French subcorpora. The first hypothesis concerning referential explicitness was confirmed only partially, since greater explicitness was indeed found in the context of the Slovene EU Presidency but not in that of the French EU Presidency as expected and furthermore was not clearly linked to French in comparison to Slovene. The third hypothesis was also partially confirmed: higher demNS variability was not

shown to be linked to French, as expected, while the increased evaluativeness of demNS undeniably was.

Referential explicitation is thus not language independent, either in terms of its quantity or in terms of its qualitative aspect since more complex explicitation examples involving conceptual anaphora were found to be linked to language structure. An implication of the finding under the fourth hypothesis is that training in the use of conceptual anaphora would be highly advisable for Slovene students pursuing translation and/or interpreting studies since this anaphora type seems to be generally more common in French. It would also be useful to draw attention to the class of A-nouns, exhibiting a high explicating and implicating potential as well as a high cohesive potential which affects not only the textual metafunction but also the ideational and the interpersonal.

While the parameters of language system and mode clearly have a significant impact on referential explicitness/explicitation, the findings related to the parameter of situational context seem to be inconclusive. Speeches of external political communication type (Schäffner 1997: 127), in which politicians are addressing the public (the context of EU Presidency in our KorToP), were expected to be more explicit than speeches of internal communication type (speeches in the context of EP in our KorToP), in which politicians speak to politicians. However, this was not corroborated by our corpus data.

Another clear conclusion was that explicitation is a prototype concept, consisting of typical examples and others which are marginal. Similarly, the same rate of occurrence does not imply the same cause or the same qualitative characteristics. Although the overall number of demonstratives in the French subcorpora is similar to those in the Slovene subcorpora, they differ in types and cognitive complexity (explicit demNP, inexplicit demØ, phoric demØ, cognitively more or less complex demNP). Furthermore, the frequencies of demonstratives increase in the process of translation and interpreting, but the underlying causes are not the same: in translations an increase in demonstrative use was more likely due to explicitations while in interpreting more commonly detected causes are the excessive and redundant use of demonstrative modifiers (increase in demNP) and a tendency to split sentences, thus triggering more referential procedures as well as lesser information density (increase in demØ).

It is hoped that the present study has identified some of the contrastive differences between the Slovene and French demonstrative referential systems, has contributed to our understanding of differences in translated and interpreted language, paved the way to connecting Translation Studies with Interpreting Studies, and exemplified how combining evidence from quantitative and qualitative corpus-

linguistic methods can provide a much more comprehensive picture of linguistic phenomena than either method could achieve alone. And hopefully, the research highlights the fact that explicitation needs to be studied beyond its quantitative aspect since a given content can be communicated explicitly with different degrees of explicitness.

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