

Recapitulative Discourse Markers in English, Spanish, and Spanish Translated from English

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Abstract

This paper unveils the similarities and differences between original English and Spanish recapitulative discourse markers (DMs), in fiction (F) and non-fiction (NF), and between translated and non-translated Spanish. It also aims to show that combining parallel and monolingual corpora can produce more focused results when tracking trends across language boundaries. Original English and Spanish data show how recapitulative DMs are distributed in both languages. Then, DMs with a low mutual correspondence (MC) value are selected for further analysis. English triggers to be compared with original Spanish data are identified in the English originals via the Spanish translations. Also, translated and non-translated Spanish are compared to identify translation trends. Results indicate that recapitulation is signalled by DMs more frequently in Spanish than in English. DMs in Spanish translation most frequently derive from *well, anyway, you know/see, in short, I mean and after all*. Additionally, many DMs in the translations do not have a trigger in English. Translated and non-translated Spanish results show the following trends, according to register: a) normalization in F (*en fin, en síntesis*) and counter-normalization in NF (*en síntesis, en definitiva*), b) deflation in F (*en fin, en definitiva, total, a fin de cuentas*) and in NF (*en fin, en definitiva*), c) dilation in NF (*definitivamente, en resumidas cuentas, en síntesis*), and d) equalization in F (*definitivamente, en resumidas cuentas, en síntesis*) and in NF (*a fin de cuentas*). The results may help to enhance contextual learning in generative language technology, leading to improved crosslinguistic performance.

Keywords: bilingual corpus; recapitulative discourse markers; mutual correspondence; contrast; English/Spanish

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1. Introduction

Bilingual corpora have been and are essential in understanding the relationships between languages. Combined with monolingual corpora, they help to grasp the internal workings of each language represented and the effects of crosslinguistic mediation (Čermáková and Malá 2021; Ebeling 2021). One language area where such corpora lead to more robust results is the marking of English and Spanish discourse relations. Both languages seem to use equivalent resources but tend to mark the relations differently (Aijmer, Foolen, and Simon-Vandenberg 2006; Rabadán and Gutiérrez Lanza 2023). This study focuses on one type of non-paraphrastic reformulating discourse markers (DMs)¹: recapitulative DMs (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999; Cuenca 2003; Cuenca and Bach 2007; Del Saz 2007; Garcés Gómez 2017; Ruiz González 2020; Murillo 2021). These DMs signal that the text following is a conclusion or a summary of a previous argument (Garcés Gómez 2003, 2005; Borreguero Zuloaga 2015).

We have chosen Spanish recapitulative DMs with a low mutual correspondence (MC) value with their English triggers (Altenberg 1999; Altenberg 2007; Ebeling and Ebeling 2014; Labrador 2021). That is, they are not frequent translations of one another and are not prone to be affected by formal interference (see section 3). These characteristics make them particularly valuable for a crosslinguistic study of DM usage, as they allow for a finer look at their behaviour in each language independently and may help to unveil features that would have gone unnoticed in an exclusively monolingual analysis. We hypothesize that there are crosslinguistic differences in DM use between English and Spanish and between translated and non-translated Spanish. These differences follow regular trends depending on register. The selected DMs are: *en resumidas cuentas* ('in a nutshell'), *a fin de cuentas* ('after all'), *en definitiva* ('ultimately'), *definitivamente* ('definitely'), *en síntesis* ('in summary'), *en fin* ('in the end'), and *total* ('I mean') (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999: 4051–4143).² *En fin* and *total* typically appear in oral discourse, real or fictional, and occasionally in informal written discourse (Garcés Gómez 2017).

¹ There is no universal agreement on the distinction paraphrastic vs. non-paraphrastic. See Pons Bordería (2013, 2017) and Murillo (2016b) for opposing arguments.

² English translations are the authors' own.

The aims are to unveil similarities and differences between original English and Spanish recapitulative DMs in fiction (F) and non-fiction (NF) and between translated and non-translated Spanish DM usage. Additionally, we will show how to obtain more focused results in crosslinguistic research by combining different types of corpora. We believe that parallel corpora can contribute valuable empirical information in at least two respects: they allow the researcher to build a realistic *tertium comparationis* and help to account for the multifunctionality of DMs across languages (Aijmer, Foolen and Simon-Vandenberg 2006: 111–113). Also, translation corpora can give access to the source triggers in language A (here English) of their translation equivalents in language B (in this paper, Spanish). This may help to reveal contextual uses in the source language(s) that would have remained opaque in an exclusively monolingual analysis (Johansson 2007; Hasselgård 2020). To carry out the analysis, we use data from three corpora: P-ACTRES 2.0 (ACTRES 2021), an English-Spanish bidirectional parallel corpus, CORPES XXI (RAE 2013), a monolingual reference corpus of original Spanish, and CETRI (Corpus of Spanish translated from English in its Spanish acronym) (ACTRES 2020), a monolingual corpus of Spanish translated from English. Results are interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the discussion draws upon concepts such as normalization (Lefer and Vogeleer 2013; Xia 2014; Zhang, Kotze and Fang 2022), dilation, deflation, and equalization to identify crosslinguistic trends in DM usage.

Section 2 reviews challenges posed by DMs, previous findings on reformulators, and recapitulative DMs. It also frames our research niche. Section 3 describes the data and method of analysis. Section 4 presents the results and the discussion, while section 5 offers the conclusions.

2. Reformulators and recapitulative discourse markers

Discourse marks the relationships and expectations of the participants by means of various linguistic resources, including conjunctions, adverbs, prepositional phrases, particles, or verbal periphrases. These are often, and conveniently, labelled discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987; Fraser 1990, 1999, 2006; Fleischman and Yaguello 2004). As there is no general agreement on the formal and functional characteristics that DMs share, this categorization poses terminological and conceptual challenges. Some researchers refer to them as discourse particles (e.g., Fischer 2006) or pragmatic markers (e.g., Brinton 1996; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg

2006), while others shun the category of DMs, though still using the term (e.g., Blakemore 2002). ‘Discourse marker’ is the most widely used term and has the broadest coverage (Lewis 2006).

Conceptually, DMs are taken to exhibit a semantic core meaning, but they are also polyfunctional and highly context-dependent. The ongoing debate between the monosemy and polysemy approaches is based on these two properties. The monosemy approach assumes that a single core meaning is shared by the contextual uses of the DM in question (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2011). On the other hand, the polysemy approach assumes that different semantic meanings can be described as extensions of a single polysemic DM (Hansen 2006). For methodological congruence with our contrastive aim, we take the view in this paper that DMs have a core, underlying meaning that will act as an initial *tertium comparationis*.

Reformulating DMs help to structure discourse by reformulating a previous part of discourse differently to ensure that the receiver interprets the message correctly (Gülich and Kotschi 1983). They may follow the same argumentative line, paraphrastic, or a different one, non-paraphrastic (Rossari 1994; Garcés Gómez 2005; Borreguero Zuloaga 2015). A semantic and pragmatic comparison between the reformulated and reformulating segments is proposed in paraphrastic reformulation. Non-paraphrastic reformulation posits degrees of dissociation (minimum, medium, and maximum) between the two segments. Additionally, reformulators are generally classified according to how they signal discourse flow: explicatives introduce clarification of what has been previously offered, rectificatives present a correction or improvement of the information already given, dissociatives set some distancing with the previous text and signal a new interpretive direction, and finally, recapitulatives mark a conclusion to or a summary of the previous text (Garcés Gómez 2008: 86).

Garcés Gómez (2003, 2011), and later on Portolés (2016), follow Gülich and Kotschi (1983) and make a distinction between recapitulative and reconsideration DMs. However, other empirical studies, e.g., San Martín Núñez (2016), have not identified any differences between recapitulative and reconsideration DMs in their data. Examples (1) to (4)

illustrate explicatives, rectificatives, dissociatives, and recapitulatives, respectively:³

- (1) To Aristotle the answer is that politics is built into human nature, *that is*, is part of our fate, as monarchy is the fate of bees. (FCZ1E.s97)
Para Aristóteles la respuesta estriba en que la política es inherente a la naturaleza humana, *es decir*, forma parte de nuestro destino, como la monarquía es el destino de las abejas. (FCZ1S.s99)
- (2) I don't really have a view on the last question; or *rather* I don't know how it could be done. (PATG11E.s37)
La verdad es que no tengo una opinión clara al respecto; *mejor dicho*, no sé cómo podría hacerse. (PATG11S.s35)
- (3) When the sitter called and canceled, Anne had offered to stay home with the baby—she hadn't wanted to go to the dinner *anyway*. (FLS1E.s73)
Cuando la canguro llamó para cancelar, Anne se ofreció a quedarse en casa con la niña. (FLS1S.s73) *De todos modos*, no le apetecía ir a la cena. (FLS1S.s74)
- (4) There also must be limits on the power of the central government and the presidency, a degree of regions autonomy, and rule of law—in *short*, the rudiments of a modern state and democracy. (PHR1E.s16)
También debe haber límites al poder del Gobierno central y de la presidencia, un grado de autonomía regional y Estado de Derecho; *en suma*, los elementos rudimentarios de un Estado y una democracia modernos. (PHR1S.s16)

There are few studies of reformulation DMs in English, notably Fraser (1988) and Del Saz (2003, 2007), compared with those carried out in other languages. Fraser (1988) considers that DMs fall within three functional

³ The examples come from the bilingual corpus P-ACTRES 2.0. The codes at the end of the sentences refer to sections of the corpus (Sanjurjo-González and Izquierdo 2019).

classes: topic markers, discourse activity markers, and message relationship markers. The latter includes a subclass dubbed elaboration markers, including some recapitulatives, with others spread across various categories. Del Saz prefers to categorize them as explanation DMs, and suggests looking at ‘the partitioning of the reformulative space’ in different languages to address the deficit of studies for English (2003: 474). Studies in other languages include French (Gulich and Kotschi 1983; Murât and Cartier-Bresson 1987), German (Robles Sabater 2012), Italian (Rossari 1994; Fiorentini and Sansò 2017) and Spanish (Schwenter 1996; Briz 2001, 2002; Del Saz 2006; Garcés Gómez 2005; Murillo 2015), among others. These tend to focus on single DMs, e.g., *I mean* (Schiffrin 1987), *well* (Cuenca 2008), and *es decir, esto es, o sea* (Casado Valverde 1991; Castillo Fadi and Sologuren Insua 2017), and on groups of reformulators, e. g., English explicatives and rectificatives (Del Saz 2007) or Spanish distancing reformulators (Garcés Gómez 2008, 2011). Studies on exclusively oral data also contribute interesting findings on reformulators. Among these, San Martín Núñez (2016) studies reformulators in Santiago de Chile speech. The findings show that recapitulatives (9.3%) and rectificatives (5.8%) are not widely used, as opposed to explicative (54.3%) and dissociative (30.6%) reformulators. Ruiz González (2020) analyses the use of Spanish recapitulative DMs in a geographically defined oral corpus (Preseea corpus, Granada, Spain). The results indicate that *en fin, o sea*, and *total* are the preferred DMs and are used more frequently by educated speakers. Likewise, contrastive studies tend to concentrate on single DMs, e. g., Fløttum (1994) targets *c’est-à-dire* and its equivalents in Norwegian, Vassiliadou (2004) contrasts French *c’est-à-dire* and its Greek counterpart, Murillo (2009) studies explicative reformulator *o sea* and its English counterparts *that is (to say)* and *in other words*, Pons Bordería and Lopes Macário (2014) contrast *ou seja* and *o sea* in Portuguese and Spanish, while Borreguero Zuloaga and Gómez-Jordana Ferary (2015) host a selection of studies on DMs in Romance Languages, to name just a few examples.

Reformulators have also been analyzed as a category, though not aiming specifically at recapitulative DMs (Garcés Gómez 2009). If we narrow our review to English and Spanish, Fernández Polo (1999) compared reformulators (including recapitulative DMs) in English and Spanish popular science texts and their translations from English into Spanish. He found that Spanish popular science writers use a greater

variety of DM forms, are less ambiguous, and reformulate more frequently than their English counterparts. In his data, these markers occur 50% more often in Spanish than English. Cuenca (2003) and Cuenca and Bach (2007) conduct a contrastive analysis of reformulators, including recapitulative DMs, in English, Spanish, and Catalan in a corpus of academic writing. Their conclusions corroborate those of Fernández Polo (1999), which they put down to different rhetorical styles in each language, English and Spanish, with Catalan occupying a mid-position. Murillo (2012) addresses explicative reformulators in business management research articles comparing three subcorpora, articles produced by L1 English authors, articles produced by L1 Spanish authors, and articles written in L2 English by L1 Spanish academics. The results are that reformulators are far more frequent in L1 English than in L1 Spanish, which she attributes to the audiences addressed, with L2 English texts imitating L1 Spanish conventions.

By contrast, the results of Murillo's study (2016a) on journalistic discourse in English and Spanish show that reformulators occur more frequently in Spanish than in English and are not necessarily equivalent cross-linguistically. English-Spanish DMs have also been addressed as part of a study on interference, the results being that recapitulative DMs are more frequent in NF than in F and corroborate the existence of grammatical interference (Rabadán and Gutiérrez-Lanza 2023).

Given the broad differences between the materials analyzed in these studies, the underlying frameworks (e.g., Relevance Theory, Theory of Argumentation and Polyphony, functional-pragmatic models, e.g, Pons Bordería 2006, among others), and the divergent genre-related results, their comparability is very limited. The fact that none of these studies addresses recapitulative DMs specifically makes their contribution very narrow for our purposes. It is worth noting the opposing frequency of reformulators in general and journalistic English and Spanish (Fernández Polo 1999; Murillo 2016a) and academic English and Spanish in various disciplines (Cuenca 2003). According to these authors' results, Spanish uses reformulation DMs more often than English. However, recapitulatives are much less frequent in both languages than other reformulators, e.g., explicatives (San Martín Núñez 2016), which may be why they have not been studied in detail. This paper focuses on recapitulative DMs, following Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999: 4051–4143) and Portolés (2010) categorization. In this classification,

recapitulative DMs constitute a class of reformulating DMs signalling that the text following is a summary, conclusion, or reconsideration of a previous argument.

3. Data and method

Our data come from three PoS-annotated corpora: English-Spanish-English P-ACTRES 2.0 (ACTRES 2021), a bidirectional parallel corpus, CORPES XXI (RAE 2021), a monolingual reference and monitor corpus of original Spanish, and CETRI (ACTRES 2020), a monolingual corpus of Spanish translated from English. P-ACTRES 2.0 contains nearly 6 million words, to which the English into Spanish F and NF subcorpora contribute 2,634,087 words and 1,088,309 words, respectively. The Spanish-into-English subcorpora add 1,556,969 words to the F subcorpus, the NF part coming to 99,125 words, and have only been used to calculate the MC value (see below in this section). For original Spanish data, we have used version 0.94 of CORPES XXI, which offered 35,164,151 words in the F subcorpus and 94,271,973 words in the NF subcorpus. CETRI is a monolingual corpus of translated Spanish featuring translated English F (20,042,280 words) and NF (9,587,688 words).

Concerning the materials, the three corpora include the same type of F and NF texts. In Spanish, they feature the same geographical variety, i.e., European Spanish (except for the Spanish-into-English subcorpora, which also include American varieties because of availability issues). Since they differ in size, calculations per million words (pmw) have been used, and inferential statistics have been applied to ensure the statistical significance of the results.

P-ACTRES 2.0 contributes original English and translated Spanish data and is used to identify triggers, translation solutions, and the MC value (see below) of English-Spanish DMs. CORPES XXI supplies the original, non-translated Spanish data. CETRI provides the translated Spanish texts that will be compared with non-translated ones. The latter has been preferred to the P-ACTRES 2.0 translated Spanish subcorpus for three reasons. First, CETRI is much larger, which helps reduce authors' and translators' idiosyncrasies. Second, as already mentioned, because of availability issues, Spanish-into-English P-ACTRES 2.0 features American varieties of Spanish, and third, as P-ACTRES 2.0 is also used to identify translation solutions, CETRI offers an excellent opportunity to test those results on a larger scale.

As the formal resources that can function as recapitulatives constitute an open class in both languages, we approach the selection by listing potential English recapitulative DMs, using Fraser (1988) and Del Saz (2003). The same was done for Spanish, drawing on Martín Zorraquino and Portolés (1999) and Del Saz (2006). Given the variety of labels, e.g., elaborative DMs (Fraser 1988), explanation DMs (Del Saz 2003), recapitulative reformulators (Martín Zorraquino and Portolés 1999), and compression markers (Del Saz 2006), we focus on those recapitulative DMs included in more than one of these taxonomies. Our input list features *after all, in short, in sum, so, right, well, in summary, essentially, generally, in conclusion, you know/see, anyway, and I mean* for English, and *en general, en definitiva, en fin, o sea, al fin y al cabo, total, a fin de cuentas, después de todo, en resumen, en suma, por lo general, la verdad, generalmente, definitivamente, en conclusión, en resumidas cuentas, and en síntesis* for Spanish.

The procedure is as follows. First, we queried original English (P-ACTRES 2.0) and Spanish (CORPES XXI, v. 0.94) to find out how these DMs are used and their frequencies per million words (pmw). Second, using bidirectional P-ACTRES 2.0, we further restrict the input DMs through the MC value, which measures how often two constructions occur as translations of each other (Altenberg 1999). The MC value is defined as ‘a simple statistical measure of the frequency with which a pair of items from two languages are translated into each other in a bidirectional translation corpus’ (Altenberg 2007: 10). It is calculated by means of the following formula: $(A_t + B_t) \times 100 / A_s + B_s$. A_t and B_t are the frequencies of the DMs in the translations, and A_s and B_s are their frequencies in the original texts. The value will range from 0% (no correspondence) to 100% (full correspondence). This paper focuses on recapitulative DMs showing a low MC value (below 10%) in our data. Thirdly, searches in translated Spanish are performed in P-ACTRES 2.0 to identify English triggers in original English. Finally, translated DMs are queried in CETRI (translated Spanish), and the results are compared to CORPES XXI (non-translated Spanish) data to showcase (non)significant differences.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Recapitulative DMs in original English and Spanish

P-ACTRES 2.0 and CORPES XXI data show that recapitulative DMs constitute 54.45 pmw (F: 55.6 pmw, NF: 53.3 pmw) in original English

and 234.6 pmw (F: 224.25 pmw, NF: 244.93 pmw) in original Spanish. These figures reveal that a) original Spanish uses nearly four times as many recapitulative DMs as original English, b) English usage of recapitulative DMs is slightly higher in F than in NF, and c) Spanish usage of recapitulative DMs is slightly higher in NF than in F (Figure 1).

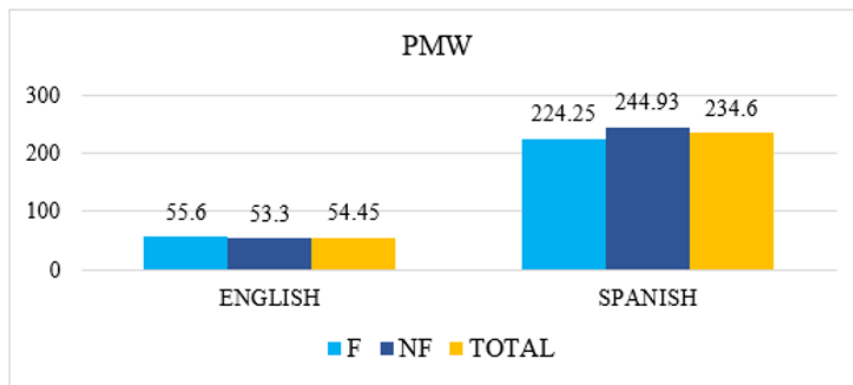


Figure 1: Recapitulative DMs in original English and Spanish

The most frequent recapitulative DMs in original English are *after all* (23.24 pmw), *in short* (13.56 pmw), *in sum*, and *so* (4.36 pmw). Concerning register, while F texts favour the use of *after all* (36.81 pmw), with *so* (4.7 pmw) following far behind, NF texts prefer *in short* (31.72 pmw), followed at some distance by *in sum* (7.61 pmw). Other options, including *right*, *well*, *in summary*, *essentially*, *generally*, *in conclusion*, *you know/see*, *anyway*, and *I mean*, are much less frequent (Figure 2).

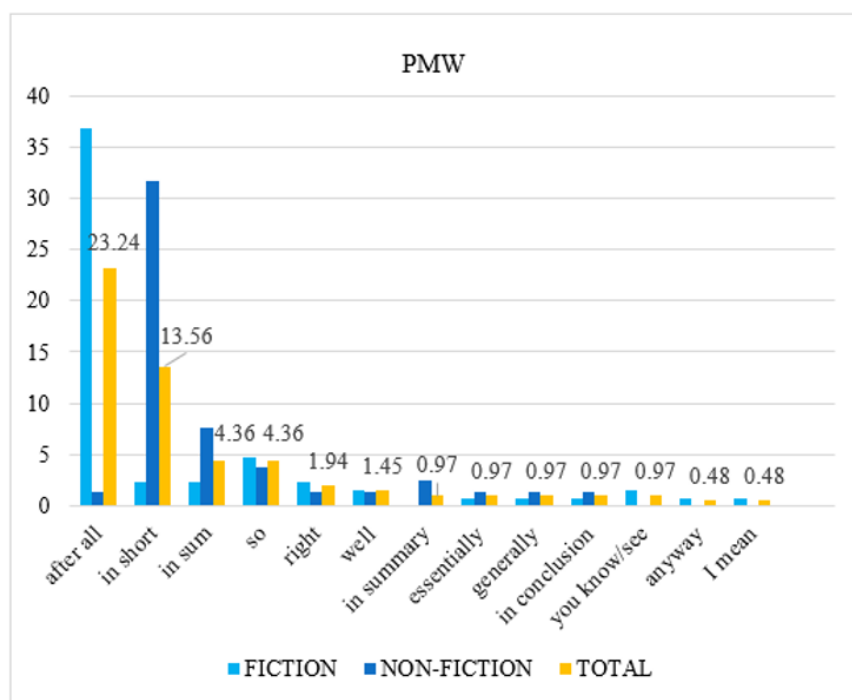


Figure 2: Recapitulative DMs in original English

The most frequent recapitulative DMs in original Spanish are *en general* (40.02 pmw), *en definitiva* (36.33 pmw), *en fin* (32.64 pmw), *o sea* (24.71 pmw), and *al fin y al cabo* (16.32 pmw). In F, the preferred recapitulative DMs are *en fin* (63.48 pmw), *o sea* (44.13 pmw), and *al fin y al cabo* (33.8 pmw). Mid-range frequency DMs include *en definitiva* (14.24 pmw), *total* (13.51 pmw), *a fin de cuentas* (12.29 pmw), *en general* (10.99 pmw) and *después de todo* (10.42 pmw). In NF, the most commonly used DMs are *en definitiva* (51.52 pmw), *o sea* (51.03 pmw), *en general* (48.12 pmw), and *en fin* (27.83 pmw). A second group of DM frequencies ranges between 15 and 10 pmw: *en resumen* (12.33 pmw), *al fin y al cabo* (11.4 pmw), and *en suma* (11.34 pmw). All other DMs occur below 10 pmw (Figure 3).

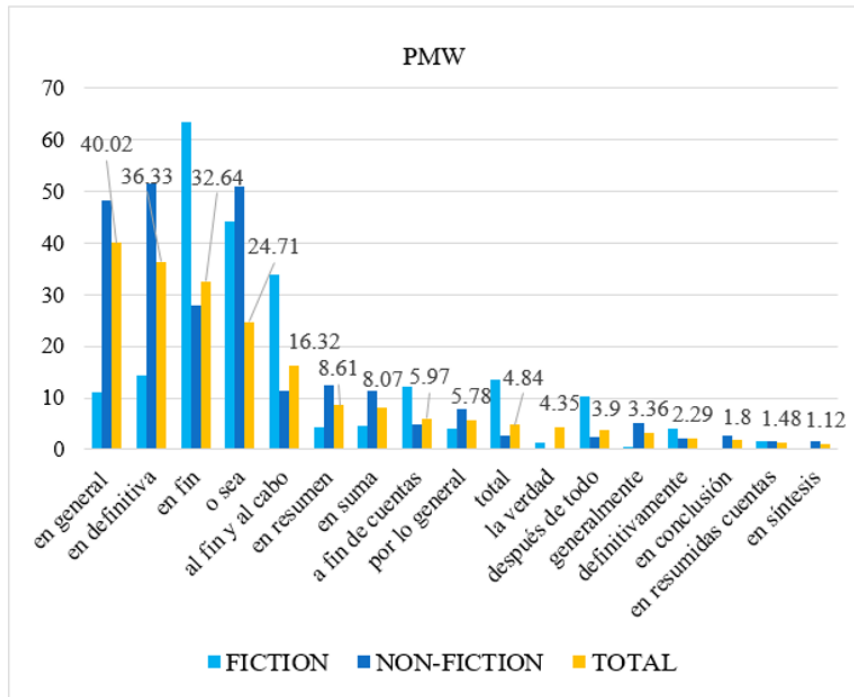


Figure 3: Recapitulative DMs in original Spanish

Original English and Spanish data show that the latter marks recapitulation through DMs considerably more often, since Spanish does so four times more than English (Figure 1). Additionally, the distribution is also different: English uses mainly two DMs (*after all* in F and *in short* in NF) (Figure 2), whereas Spanish favours a more varied range (*en general*, *en definitiva*, *en fin*, *o sea*, *al fin y al cabo*, *en resumen*, *en suma*, *a fin de cuentas* and *por lo general*, among others), with *en fin* being preferred in F and *en definitiva* and *o sea* in NF (Figure 3). These results, i.e., a higher DM frequency and a more varied distribution in Spanish compared to English, corroborate that our selected recapitulative DMs behave similarly to how reformulators behave in popular science (Fernández Polo 1999), academic writing (Cuenca 2003; Cuenca and Bach 2007), and journalistic discourse (Murillo 2016a). Explicative reformulators in business management research articles remain the exception, being far more frequent in L1 English than L1 Spanish (Murillo 2012).

To better focus our DM selection, we calculate the MC value of options in both languages to determine how often they correspond to each other, given their crosslinguistic disparity.

4.2 Recapitulative DM selection: Mutual correspondence value

P-ACTRES 2.0 data show that the higher MC values for recapitulative DMs (66.6%) correspond to *in sum* > *en suma* and *after all* > *después de todo*, as in (5) and (6).

- (5) *In sum*, while there are causes for concern looking ahead, there are also some sources of comfort (R4E.s50)
En suma, aunque persisten los motivos de preocupación, también existen algunos elementos tranquilizadores (R4S.s45)
- (6) ‘There are, *after all*, millions of people waiting for a sign’ (FBE1E.s1096)
 ‘*Después de todo*, hay millones de personas que esperan una señal’ (FBE1S.s1113)

Since DMs with a high MC value have already been the object of previous research, particularly focusing on crosslinguistic interference (Rabadán and Gutiérrez Lanza 2023), this paper focuses on recapitulative DM pairings with a low MC value (below 10%). They are as follows:

- *anyway* > *en fin* (‘in the end’) (F: 8.5%, NF: 0%)
- *well* > *en fin* (‘in the end’) (F: 4.44%, NF: 3.6 %)
- *after all* > *a fin de cuentas* (‘ultimately’) (F: 3.59%, NF: 0%)
- *in short* > *en definitiva* (‘ultimately’) (F: 5.55%, NF: 14.2%)
- *definitely* > *definitivamente* (‘certainly’) (F: 7.84%, NF: 0%)
- *anyway* > *total* (‘I mean’) (F: 2.26%, NF: 0%)
- *after all* > *en resumidas cuentas* (‘in a nutshell’) (F: 0%, NF: 0%)
- *after all* > *en síntesis* (‘in summary’) (F: 0%, NF: 0%)

These pairings suggest a variety of formally dissimilar English-Spanish recapitulative crosslinguistic resources, as shown in (7)–(11), except for *definitely* > *definitivamente* when it means ‘certainly’, as shown in (12).

Pairs *after all* > *en resumidas cuentas* and *after all* > *en síntesis* have a 0% MC value, both in F and NF.

- (7) ‘Anyway, if you ask me’, my mother was saying, ‘this is the most extraordinary picture in the whole show’. (FTD1E.s480)
—*En fin*, si quieres saber mi opinión -decía mi madre-, este es el cuadro más extraordinario de toda la exposición. (FTD1S.s479)
- (8) ‘It’s just that if it were me ... if it were one of mine doing this - well, I’d want to know’. (FDP1E.s295)
—Es que si fuera yo ... si fuera un hijo mío el que hiciera eso, me ... *en fin*, que me gustaría estar enterada. (FDP1S.s286)
- (9) ‘But the ones I saw were happy to get it: *after all*, it’s much more than most old people get’. (FLE1E.s299)
—Pero los que yo he visto están contentos de recibirla. (FLE1S.s294) *A fin de cuentas*, es mucho más de lo que tienen la mayoría de los ancianos. (FLE1S.s295)
- (10) *In short*, the transfer of energy as heat is the transfer of energy that stimulates random motion of atoms in the surroundings. (EAP1E.s311)
En definitiva, la transmisión de energía en forma de calor es la transmisión de energía que estimula el movimiento aleatorio de los átomos circundantes. (EAP1S.s348)
- (11) ‘Anyway, Quat assigns us this paper, and everybody’s paper is on a different subject, and there’s no book ...’ (FWO1E.s1010)
‘*Total*, que Quat nos encargó un trabajo, y cada uno tenía que hacerlo sobre un tema distinto, y sin libro ...’ (FWO1S.s1026)
- (12) He was *definitely* not underground. (FJE1E.s638)
Definitivamente, no estaba bajo tierra. (FJE1S.s641)

Next, starting from the translations, we proceed from the list of low MC value Spanish recapitulative DMs to identify their English triggers.

4.3 English DM triggers: Fiction vs. non-fiction

P-ACTRES 2.0 results show that in translated F the selected recapitulative DMs derive most frequently from *well* (29.68%) and *anyway* (18.75%), other options being *you know/see* and *for ever/good* (7.81% each). In NF they tend to come from *in short* (23.08%) and *well* (15.38%). Additionally, on average, 22.08% of the DMs in the translations do not have a trigger in English (F: 14.06%, NF: 61.54%). Remarkably, NF DMs come from a minimal range of English triggers (*in short* and *well*). There is a clear tendency to add DMs (with zero triggers) in the translations (F: 14.06%, NF: 61.54%) (Figure 4).

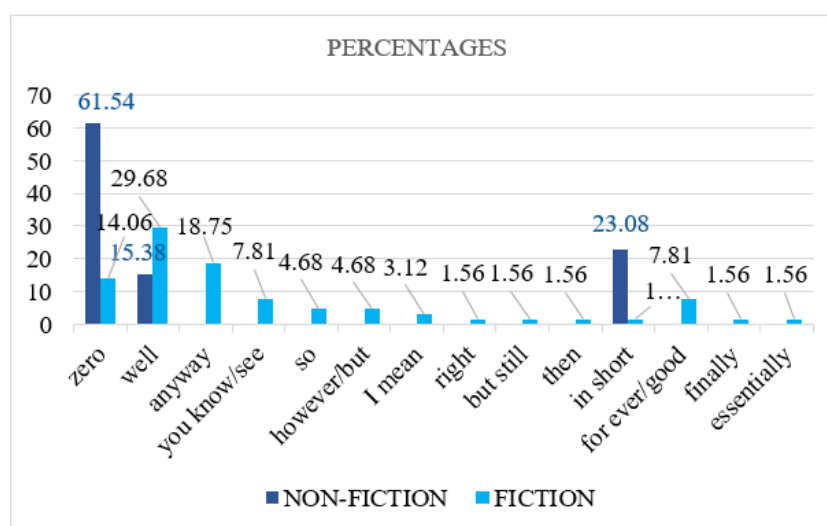


Figure 4: English triggers for Spanish DMs: Fiction vs. non-fiction

DMs added in the translations corresponding to zero triggers are: *en fin* (77.78%), *definitivamente* and *en resumidas cuentas* (11.11% each) in F, and *en definitiva* (100%) in NF. DMs traced back to zero triggers constitute an important portion of recapitulatives in the translations, replicating the practice of more DMs in Spanish. Still, in Spanish, DMs occur much less in translated than in non-translated language. The choice of target DMs, however, does not follow non-translated usage. In NF, *en definitiva* is the dispreferred option in non-translated Spanish. Non-triggered DMs in F do not follow the non-translated Spanish pattern either:

while *en fin* is underused, *definitivamente* and *en resumidas cuentas* are overused in the translations (see section 4.4).

4.4 Recapitulative DMs in translated and non-translated Spanish: Fiction vs. non-fiction

CETRI results for translated Spanish show that the selected recapitulative DMs (35.57 pmw) occur slightly more often in F (35.06 pmw) than in NF (33.24 pmw). The most frequent DMs are *en fin* (21.45 pmw) and *a fin de cuentas* (8.23 pmw) in F, while *en síntesis* (10.74 pmw), *en fin* (5.31 pmw) and *definitivamente* (4.9 pmw) are preferred in NF (Figure 5).

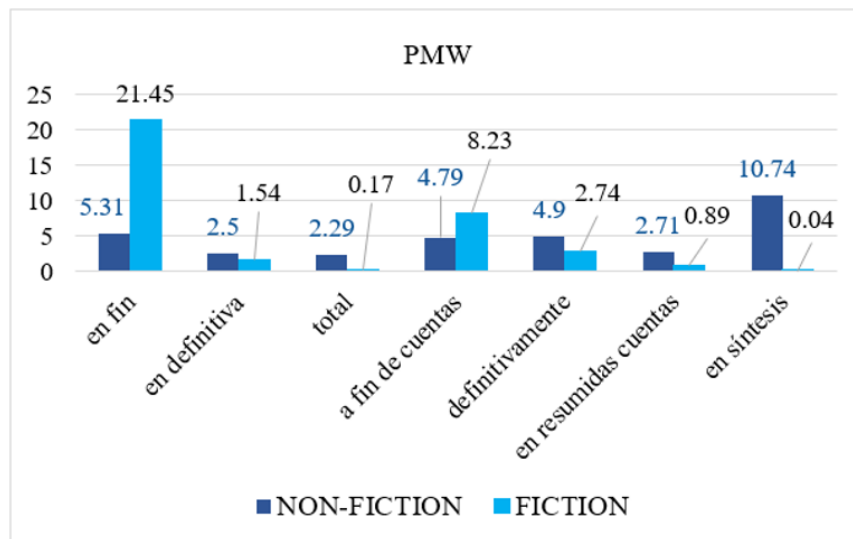


Figure 5: Recapitulative DMs in translated Spanish: Fiction vs. non-fiction

CORPES XXI results for non-translated Spanish show a similar trend: the selected recapitulative DMs (100.85 pmw) occur more often in F (109.41 pmw) than in NF (92.29 pmw). The most frequent DMs are *en fin* (F: 63.48 pmw, NF: 27.83 pmw), *en definitiva* (F: 14.24, NF: 51.52 pmw), *total* (F: 13.51 pmw, NF: 2.63 pmw) and *a fin de cuentas* (F: 12.29 pmw, NF: 4.84 pmw). The least frequent DMs are *definitivamente* (F: 4.04 pmw, NF: 2.09

pmw), *en resumidas cuentas* (F: 1.59 pmw, NF: 1.73 pmw), and *en síntesis* (F: 0.26 pmw, NF: 1.65 pmw) (Figure 6)⁴.

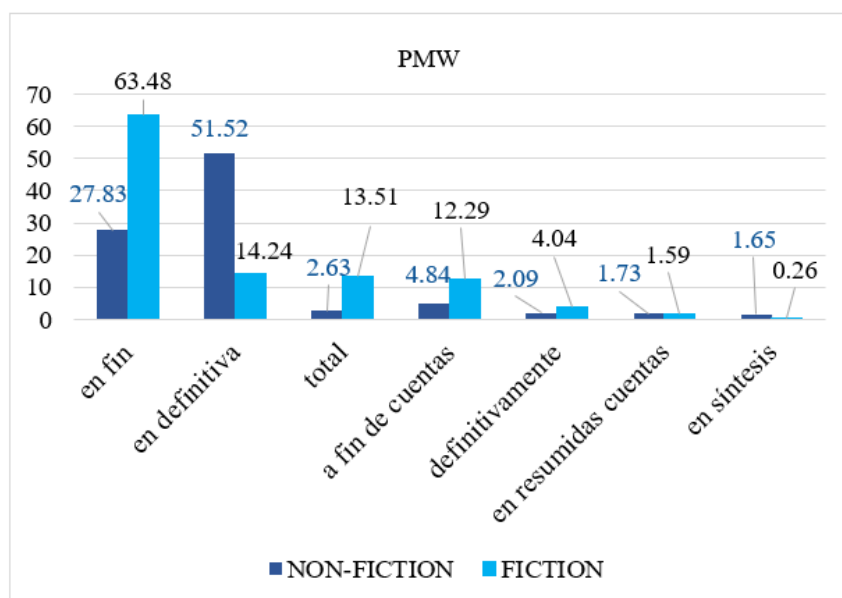


Figure 6: Recapitulative DMs in non-translated Spanish: Fiction vs. non-fiction

If data are collated by register, in F translated Spanish favours *en fin* (21.45 pmw) and *a fin de cuentas* (8.23 pmw), all other DMs occur at very low frequencies. Non-translated Spanish favours *en fin* (63.48 pmw), *en definitiva* (14.24 pmw), *total* (13.51 pmw), and *a fin de cuentas* (12.29 pmw) (Figure 7). The high frequency of *en fin* and *total* in translated and non-translated Spanish F may be attributed to their use in fictional dialogue, as they are typical of oral discourse (e.g., Garcés Gómez 2017; Ruiz González 2020).

⁴ Non-translated Spanish data for all recapitulative DMs have been presented in Figure 3 (section 4.1).

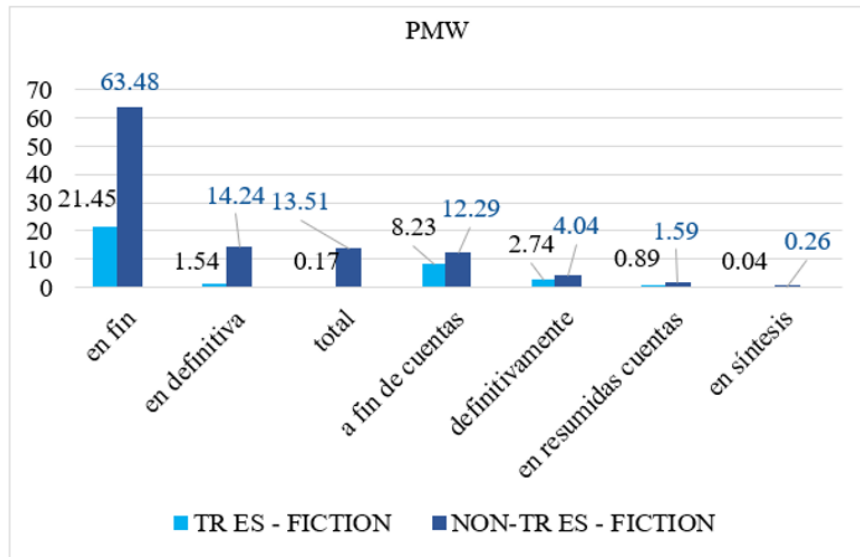


Figure 7: Recapitulative DMs in translated and non-translated fiction

NF DMs behave similarly. Translated Spanish NF also minimizes recapitulative DMs, with *en síntesis* (10.74 pmw) in the first position, followed by *en definitiva* (5.31 pmw). All other options stay below 5 pmw. Non-translated Spanish NF, as translated Spanish F, shows a marked preference for *en definitiva* (51.52 pmw) and *en fin* (27.83 pmw), with all other options below 5 pmw (Figure 8).

These results suggest that, although 22.08% of the DMs have been added in the translations (see section 4.3), translated Spanish replicates original English usage (54.71 pmw) rather than behaving as non-translated Spanish. Our DMs occur less frequently in translation (35.57 pmw) and, therefore, closer to original English than in non-translation (100.85 pmw). Concerning particular DMs, non-translated Spanish prefers *en fin*, *en definitiva*, *total*, and *a fin de cuentas*, which are scantily used in the translations.

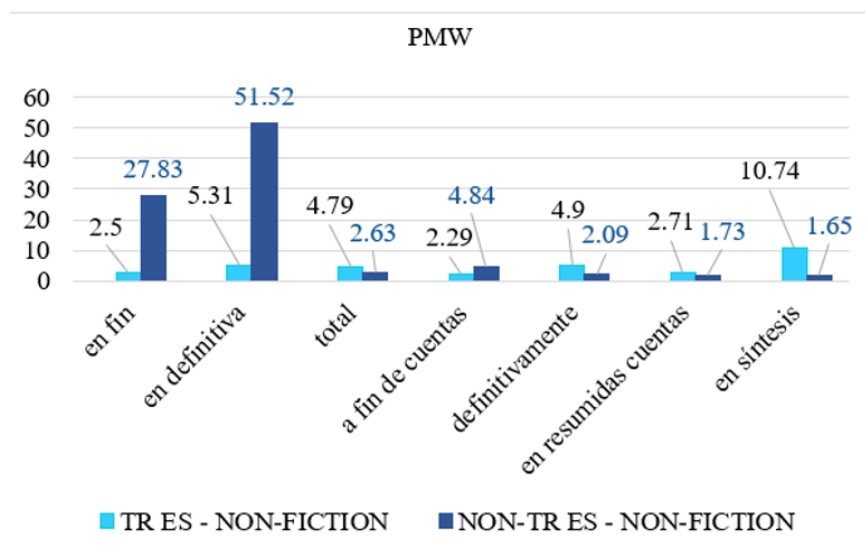


Figure 8: Recapitulative DMs in translated and non-translated non-fiction

Next, we calculate whether there are significant quantitative differences in DM use in translated and non-translated Spanish, both in F and NF. A z-test for two proportions calculator yields both the p and the z-value for the significance level stated by the user (here 0.05). The p-value indicates whether the difference is statistically significant, and the z-value indicates how different it is. Results reveal that, in F, *en fin* (z: -18.117, p: 0), *en definitiva* (z: -13.207, p: 0), *total* (z: -12.432, p: 0), and *a fin de cuentas* (z: -2.658, p: 0.0079) are underused in the translations. In NF, only *en fin* (z: -11.862, p: 0) and *en definitiva* (z: -19.641, p: 0) show this behaviour. DM overuse has been found exclusively in NF, affecting *definitivamente* (z: 6.181, p: 0), *en resumidas cuentas* (z: 2.731, p: 0.0063) and *en síntesis* (z: 18.028, p: 0). Figure 9 shows z values in the columns, and the horizontal grey area represents non-significant differences (z: ± 1.96).

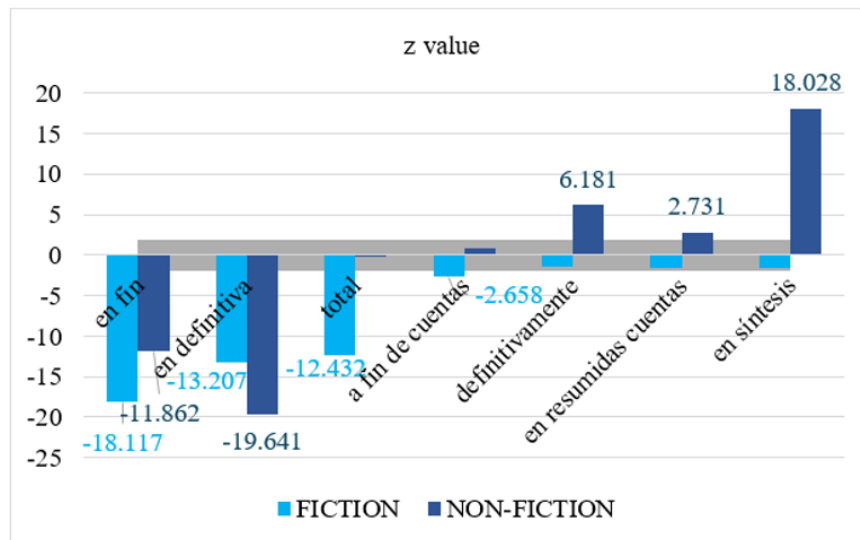


Figure 9: Statistically significant differences in DM usage

4.5 Translated language trends: (counter-)normalization, deflation, dilation, and equalization

Our results reveal that the use of recapitulative DMs *en fin* and *en síntesis* is normalized in F, as *en fin* is the most frequent choice in translated (21.45 pmw) and non-translated (63.48 pmw) Spanish and *en síntesis* is the least frequent choice in translations (0.04 pmw) and non-translations (0.26 pmw). These results suggest that the high frequency of *en fin* may relate to the recreated orality in fictional dialogue in both translations and non-translations, showing a normalized usage (Figure 10).

By contrast, in NF, there is a counter-normalization trend since *en síntesis*, the most frequent DM in translated Spanish (10.74 pmw), is the less frequent in non-translations (1.65 pmw), and *en definitiva*, the least frequent DM in translated Spanish (2.50 pmw), is the most frequent in non-translations (51.52 pmw) (Figure 11). Since 61.56% of all DMs in NF translations do not have an English trigger (Figure 3), we could hypothesize that, to improve readability, translations favour the inclusion of DMs that make the relationship between both chunks of text explicit.

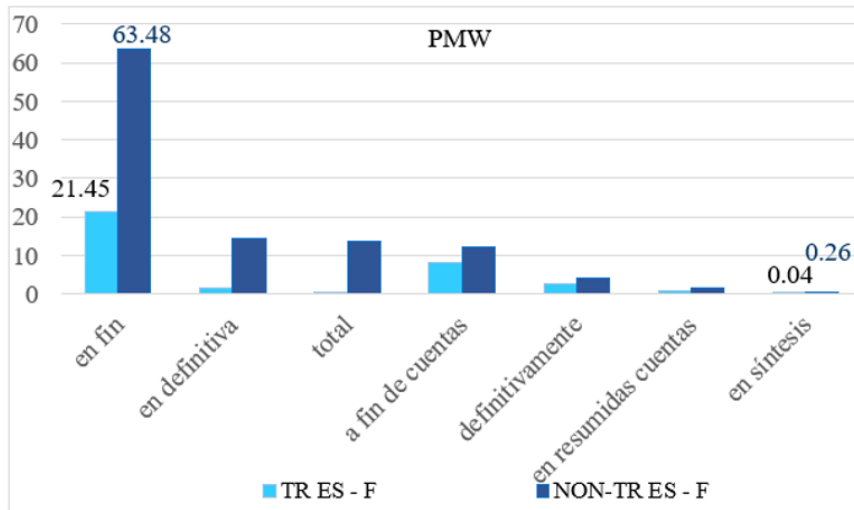


Figure 10: Normalization trends

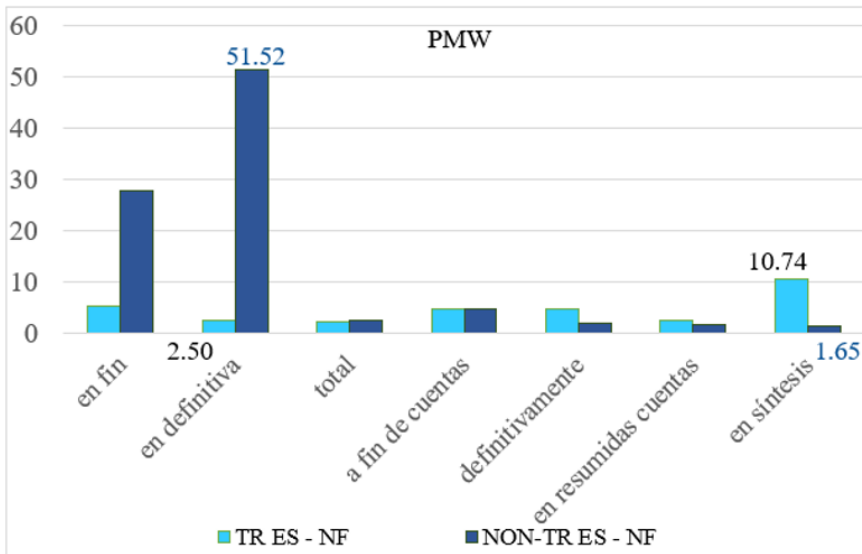


Figure 11: Counter-normalization trends

Additionally, independently of (counter-)normalization, results point to other register-related trends. When the most frequent DMs in non-translated Spanish, i.e., *en fin*, *en definitiva*, *total*, and *a fin de cuentas* (Figure 6), are underused in the translations (Figure 9), there is deflation. Our data show that *en fin* (F and NF), *en definitiva* (F and NF), *total* (F), and *a fin de cuentas* (F) are not used to advantage in the translations (Figure 12).

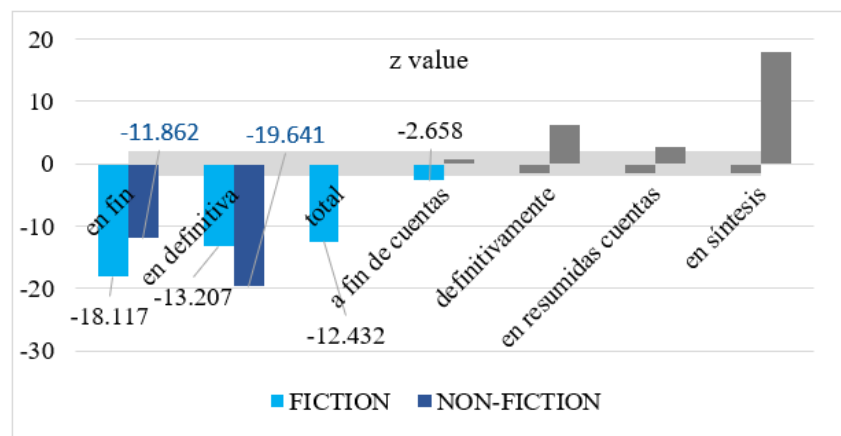


Figure 12: DM deflation

Register differences underlie our next trend: dilation. It occurs when the least frequent DMs in non-translated Spanish, i.e., *definitivamente*, *en resumidas cuentas*, and *en síntesis* (Figure 6), are overused in the translations (Figure 9). Dilation is observed only in the case of the three DMs in NF (Figure 13).

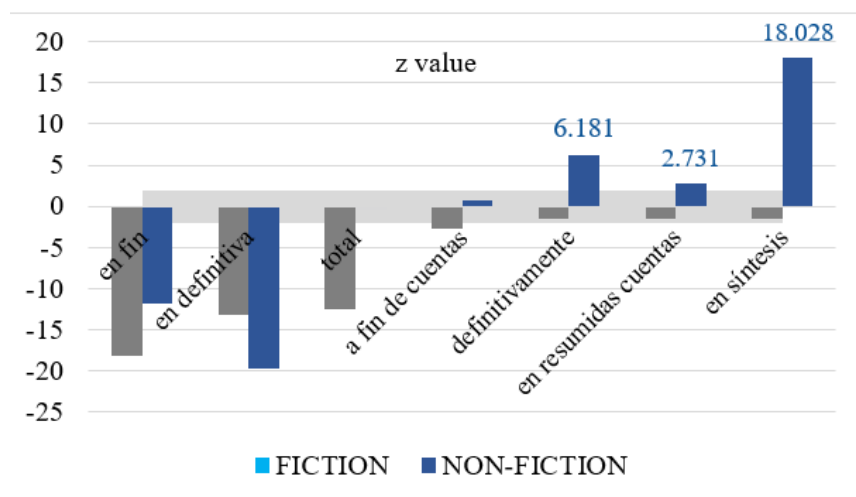


Figure 13: DM dilation

We have equalization when neither the most nor the least frequent DMs in non-translated Spanish (Figure 6) show significant differences with the translations (Figure 9). In our data, the three DMs that are affected by dilation in NF, i.e., *definitivamente*, *en resumidas cuentas* and *en síntesis*, undergo equalization in F. In NF, equalization is typical of *total* and *a fin de cuentas*, which experience deflation in F (Figure 14).

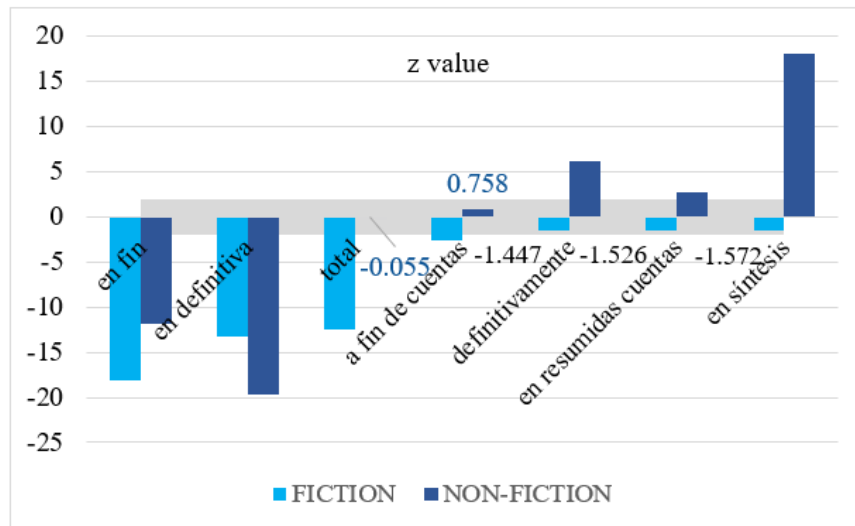


Figure 14: DM equalization

This analysis of low MC value English-Spanish recapitulatives, if compared to the results of those with a high MC value (Rabadán and Gutiérrez Lanza 2023), leads to the following:

1. Normalization, found in F for low MC value recapitulative DMs *en fin* and *en síntesis* (the most and least frequent in translated and non-translated Spanish, respectively), is also attested for high MC value recapitulative DMs *en resumen* and *en conclusion*, *en general* and *generalmente*, and *al fin y al cabo* and *después de todo*. These are also the most and least frequent in translated and non-translated Spanish in their respective groupings.
2. Deflation, identified for low MC value DMs *en fin*, *en definitiva*, *total*, and *a fin de cuentas* in F, has also been confirmed for high MC value DMs *en resumen*, *en general*, and *al fin y al cabo*. These are the preferred recapitulative DMs in non-translated Spanish and are underused in the translations.
3. Dilation, found for low MC value DMs *definitivamente*, *en resumidas cuentas*, and *en síntesis* in NF, has also been verified for high MC value DMs *por lo general* and *después de todo*. These

are not the preferred recapitulative DMs in non-translated Spanish and have been overused in the translations.

4. Finally, equalization, shown by low MC value DMs *definitivamente*, *en resumidas cuentas* and *en síntesis* in F, and *total* and *a fin de cuentas* in NF, is not attested for high MC value recapitulative DMs. They do not follow this trend; all of them are overused or underused in the translations.

5. Conclusions

Our analysis demonstrates that combining bilingual and monolingual corpora is an effective procedure to empirically examine language phenomena, in this case, recapitulative DMs, in each of the languages involved. The parallel corpus has been crucial in unveiling the English sources for recapitulative DMs, including zero triggers. The translations also contribute to interpreting source language uses (or reveal a slightly different one) that had not been brought into focus previously. The Spanish monolingual corpus is essential to determine the actual DM usage in Spanish and the differences with original English data. Additionally, it also provides empirical data that has been compared to translated Spanish uses.

Our findings show that recapitulative DMs happen more frequently in original Spanish than in original English, which agrees with Fernández Polo's (1999) and Cuenca's (2003) previous global findings for reformulators. Likewise, DM choice seems conditioned by register, mirroring Murillo's results for specialized discourse. Recapitulative DMs are more frequent in original Spanish than in translated Spanish, which suggests poor adherence to target uses and a certain degree of interference. Traces of normalization have been found in F but are absent from NF, which could be related to different work styles with translation technologies. Concerning the distribution of our low MC recapitulative DMs in translation, we have found two complementary strategies: deflation and dilation. The former occurs when the most frequent DMs in non-translated language are underused in translation, and the latter occurs when the less frequent DMs in non-translated language are overused in translation. In addition, our data show equalization, which happens when the most and less frequent DMs show no significant difference in their distribution in both translations and non-translations.

Various factors may influence the addition of recapitulative discourse markers in the Spanish translations. Possible explanations include that, as non-translated Spanish tends to use more DMs than English, translators might incorporate them to align with target language expectations, enhance the intended effect, achieve smoother transitions, or ensure the overall flow and coherence of the translation. Still, the results point to a transfer of the English usage of recapitulative DMs into translated Spanish.

These findings offer more detailed insight into the workings of recapitulative DMs in both languages. Besides, they may be used to improve crosslinguistic performance if adequately incorporated into language technology, e.g., plug-ins in translation engines. Specifically, they can feed few-shot prompting (Min et al. 2022) in generative artificial intelligence systems (AI). As AI is typically trained with bulk data, prompts often need to adjust the range of their answers but lack expert, contextualized information that this type of research can provide.

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