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Counterexpectational Translations: The Dutch Markers *Toch* and *Eigenlijk* Contrasted with Their English Correspondents

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Abstract

The Dutch particle *toch* and modal adverb *eigenlijk* both belong to the broad domain of 'contrast': their prototypical functions have been described as 'concession' and 'counterexpectation', respectively, and both have been attributed emphatic discourse uses (e.g. *toch* as a common ground reminder and *eigenlijk* as a reinforcement marker). This study analyses the multifunctional scope of *toch* and *eigenlijk* in Dutch and maps their translation equivalents in English through an in-depth analysis of the Dutch-English component of the Europarl corpus. For *eigenlijk* the most common correspondents (*in fact, really, actually*) belong to the core of the semantic domain of (counter)expectation, whereas none of the English correspondents of *toch* is able to capture the marker's duality as both a concessive and a common ground marker. The high degree of zero correspondences in English source texts suggests the translators' strong awareness of the markers' pragmalinguistic contribution.

Keywords

discourse markers – pragmatic markers – parallel corpus – concession – counterexpectation – common ground

1 Introduction

Especially since the 1980s particles have enjoyed scholarly interest in the study of Dutch (see e.g. Van der Auwera and Vandeweghe, 1984; Hulshof, 1987)

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in the same period when discourse markers started to attract attention in anglophone regions (see e.g. Schiffrin, 1987). Taxonomic, terminological and definitional issues have ever since been the focus of many debates (Degand et al., 2013), testifying to the heterogeneous nature of these items. In English they are often taken to form a class of pragmatic items belonging to different word classes (e.g. adverbs, interjections), whereas in Dutch (as well as in e.g. German and Swedish) they are typically considered a distinct word class of items carrying pragmatic force (referred to as *particles*, e.g. Van der Wouden and Caspers, 2014).

Interestingly, descriptions of (modal) particles in Dutch (or German) (e.g. Abraham, 1991) and those of discourse markers in English (e.g. Schourup, 1999) have been remarkably similar, in that both types of items are attributed high frequencies, have been shown to be multifunctional, have undergone grammaticalisation processes, do not carry propositional content and are hence often considered semantically and syntactically optional. Especially their functional spectrums – i.e. the range of functions they can fulfil – would appear to demonstrate considerable overlap, while their syntactic behaviour displays diverging preferences (Degand et al., 2013). In a Dutch-English cross-linguistic perspective, roughly three types of correspondence can be discerned. First, there are English markers with Dutch counterparts that are functionally and formally similar, such as *look* and *kijk* in (1), which are both derived from a verb of looking, occur in the same position and perform comparable functions. The Dutch particle *zelfs*, on the other hand, can easily be expressed by the adverb *even* in English (as in (2)) but has a different origin and the syntactic constraints differ (*even* occurring in front of the main verb and *zelfs* in front of the phrase it holds focus over). The modal particle *maar*, finally, does not have a ready equivalent in English, which instead offers different solutions depending on the context, such as an emphatic DO construction in (3).

(1) ***Kijk**, zo gaan we nooit een oplossing vinden.*
'KIJK, this way we'll never find a solution.'
Look, this way we'll never find a solution.

(2) *Jim heeft **zelfs** een gitaar.*
'Jim has ZELFS a guitar.'
Jim **even** has a guitar.

(3) *Doe de deur **maar** dicht.*
'Close the door MAAR.'
Do close the door.

As Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen (2003) point out, translation approaches to the study of discourse markers can, on the one hand, deepen our insight into the functional and semantic potential of specific markers in one language by verifying how the same meaning or function can be conveyed in another language in the same context, and on the other hand, enhance our knowledge of discourse markers in general.

This study will zoom in on two particles that occur with a high frequency in spoken Dutch but have rarely (if at all) been subjected to corpus analyses: the concessive marker *toch* and the (counter)expectation marker *eigenlijk*. Our aim is to identify their correspondents in English and through this interlingual comparison foster insight into these markers' functional potential. To reach this aim we will address the following research question: how are the Dutch markers *toch* and *eigenlijk* translated into English, and do different functions of *toch* and *eigenlijk* also yield different translation correspondents? *Toch* has clear cognate forms in other Germanic languages such as German (*doch*) yet not in English, whereas *eigenlijk* has an intuitively obvious correspondent in English (*actually*) even though these are not cognates. It would, therefore, stand to reason that the translation profiles will look markedly different.

In Section 2 *toch* and *eigenlijk* will be introduced through a brief literature overview. After the data and methodology have been presented in Section 3, the results will be discussed in Sections 4 and 5, both in functional and quantitative terms.

2 *Toch* and *Eigenlijk*

By and large, three core functions can be posited for *toch*, as outlined by Hogeweg et al. (2011). First, it serves as a contrastive marker of concession. In such cases, *toch* responds to an inference belonging to the common ground, as in (4) where one might infer from Bill's illness that he is unable to come to an event but *toch* indicates awareness of this default inference while introducing a proposition that contradicts it. Second, *toch* may indicate inconsistency with common ground, in which case *toch* is stressed. In (5) *toch* marks that B's attempt to get a piece of equipment to work is inconsistent with the established common ground that it does not work. Third, when *toch* is unstressed it can act as a reminder of common ground, as in (6), where it reminds the co-participant of the speaker's ability to perform a task. Zeevat and Karagjosova (2009) explain this apparent paradox in the uses of *toch* – expressing both "a correction" and "a reminder of some common ground fact" (2009: 136) – through grammaticalisation processes: *toch* originates from a form that was

used in an interrogative context in which "the speaker seeks reconfirmation of a hearer opinion" (2009: 152); in a declarative context, *toch* can then evoke both confirmation and its opposite, the distinction being made clear by intonation and sentential position.

(4) *Bill is ziek maar **toch** wil hij komen.*
'Bill is ill but **TOCH** he wants to come.' ("still")

(5) A: *Het werkt niet.*
'It doesn't work.'
B: (*probeert nog even*) *Het werkt **toch**!*
'(tries again) It works **TOCH**!' (~ emphatic DO)

(6) *Ik kan dat **toch** voor jou doen.*
'I can do that **TOCH** for you.' ("can't I?")

Foolen (2006) analyses *toch* in its concessive use as an "adversative connective" (2006: 64), and when it marks inconsistency with common ground he considers it a "modal particle" (2006: 66). In the latter case *toch* can be found in declaratives (the speaker checks with the hearer whether they still share the same attitude), imperatives (marking a request), exclamatives (indicating surprise), and wh-questions.

Van Bergen et al. (2011) describe *eigenlijk* as "among the 50 most frequent tokens in the Corpus of Spoken Dutch" and yet they observe that there are "surprisingly few" (2011: 3878) analyses of the marker. Its core function is that of an "expectation management device" (van Bergen and Bosker, 2018: 191), which prepares co-participants for what the speaker assumes is an unexpected proposition. As van Bergen et al. (2011) explain, "[b]y using *eigenlijk* the speaker acknowledges that there is an alternative expectation or interpretation of reality that is more likely from the perspective of the hearer (as estimated by the speaker)" (2011: 3881). *Eigenlijk* may take scope over a proposition, as in (7), where it indicates the speaker's understanding that the proposition that he is a man may run counter to expectations. It may also function at a metalevel to show awareness of the unexpectedness of the utterance itself, e.g. in (8) the speaker indicates that they should know the answer to their own question but don't.

(7) *Ik ben eigenlijk een man.*
'I am **EIGENLIJK** a man.' ("actually, in fact")
(van Bergen et al., 2011: 3882)

(8) *Wanneer komen ze **eigenlijk**?*
'When are they coming **EIGENLIJK**?'

Mortier and Degand (2009) also point at contexts in which *eigenlijk* indexes "reformulation" (2009: 356), as shown in (9).

(9) *Wanneer de last niet dichter bij het lichaam kan gebracht worden, moet je trachten het lichaam, **eigenlijk** het lichaamszwaartepunt, dichter bij de last te brengen.*
'When the burden cannot be brought any closer to the body, one should try to bring the body, **EIGENLIJK** the bodily center of gravity, closer to the burden.'
(Mortier and Degand, 2009: 356)

Both *toch* and *eigenlijk* have been included in some contrastive studies, but this has mostly involved comparisons with German rather than English. This is particularly the case for *toch*, which has been likened to German *doch* (e.g. Foolen, 2006; Hogeweg et al., 2011; Zeevat and Karagjosova, 2009). In a corpus of translated fiction, Buysse (2017) identifies *toch* as one of the most common translation equivalents of English question tags in Dutch, occurring both as an invariant tag in clause-final position (signalling hearer involvement) and as a modal adverb in medial position (prompting co-participants to retrieve common ground information).

Eigenlijk appears in Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen's (2004) mapping of the semantic field of 'expectation' based on (translation) data from English, Swedish and Dutch. Together with *in feite* ('in fact') it turned out to be "most multifunctional" (2004: 1795) in Dutch, and *actually, really* and *in fact* were said to "belong to the core of the lexical field" (2004: 1797) in English. The nature of the observed translations led Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen to suggest that *eigenlijk* is a close "match" (2004: 1794) of *actually* and *really* (and to a lesser extent of *in fact*).

3 Data and Method

The approach adopted for this study is that of a contrastive analysis based on a parallel bilingual corpus, i.e. a corpus that "consists of texts in two different languages, with the texts in one language being the originals of the translations in the other language" (Vandevoorde, 2020: 11). Translation data enable forms in one language to be mapped against corresponding forms in another

language in a one-on-one comparison. As Aijmer and Altenberg (2002) contend, "a bidirectional translation corpus offers a fruitful basis for studying areas where there is a lack of equivalence between languages" (2002: 38), which would appear to be the case between Dutch and English for *toch* and, possibly to a lesser degree also for *eigenlijk*.

The source text (ST) and target text (TT) belong to the same context, with two exceptions: they have different target audiences belonging to different cultures, and the translator is not in full command of the content of the text. A translator, rather, autonomously interprets a ST and subsequently renders a TT that conveys the ST author's intentions in the best way possible. Johansson (2006) observes that "[w]hat we are studying is the result of this interpretation (and recreation) process" (2006: 17), which can be likened to co-participants' interpretation processes in interaction.

Parallel corpora of spoken data are quite rare, certainly those including Dutch. An interesting exception is Europarl (Koehn, 2005), a sentence-aligned corpus extracted from the proceedings of the European Parliament and available for 21 languages. Europarl7 was released in 2012, contains texts from the period 1996–2011, and can be accessed and searched through Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2014). The proceedings are verbatim reports of plenary sessions of the European Parliament, yet they are not linguistic transcriptions, in that filled pauses and truncations have been removed and transcriptions do not contain any prosodic information.

The setting is clearly institutional: turn changes are managed by the meeting chair, speech times are restricted, the topics are pre-determined, etc. Since *toch* and *eigenlijk* have not been attributed turn management roles, this context is unlikely to impact our findings. Even though some, if not most, of the discourse in the European Parliament may be scripted (as speakers will have prepared their interventions), many Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) clearly divert from their scripts (e.g. in explicitly picking up on colleagues' turns).

The Dutch-English section of Europarl contains 59,756,704 tokens. *Toch* was found 26,711 times in this corpus and *eigenlijk* 11,426 times. The maximum number allowed (10,000 tokens) was downloaded. As tokens are not tagged to distinguish between those that appear in Dutch STs and those in Dutch TTs, in order to obtain the former, only those attributed to native speakers of Dutch were selected. This resulted in 1,970 tokens of *toch* and 2,038 of *eigenlijk* appearing in Dutch STs. Similarly, to single out *toch* and *eigenlijk* in Dutch TTs, tokens uttered by a native speaker of English giving rise to these in the Dutch translations were selected, yielding 2,040 tokens of *toch* and 719 of *eigenlijk*. In order to ensure the feasibility of this study, all selections were further narrowed down

through random selection of 200 tokens for each marker and each translation direction (resulting in a total of 800 tokens). Randomisation was conducted manually: the relevant tokens were placed in order of appearance in the corpus, and subsequently the first ten in each group of 100 tokens were selected, except for *eigenlijk* in Dutch TTs (for which more were selected in each group of 100 – e.g. tokens 1–10, 41–50 and 80–86 in the first group of 100 – to arrive at 200 tokens in total, distributed more or less evenly across the corpus). The selected tokens were produced by 41 unique speakers for *toch* and 43 for *eigenlijk* in the Dutch STs, and the English utterances that gave rise to *toch* and *eigenlijk* in Dutch TTs were produced by 54 and 85 speakers, respectively. The higher number of speakers in the latter can be explained by the higher number of English-speaking than Dutch-speaking MEPs in the European Parliament at the time of data collection.

Each of the 800 tokens was submitted to a functional analysis by the researcher, who drew inspiration from previous analyses of the markers. The classification was submitted to a process of intra-coder reliability testing (i.e. the researcher repeated the classification process about one month after the first round), which resulted in a 99% correspondence rate. Subsequently, a second coder was introduced to the functional classifications of both markers and independently coded the tokens, yielding a correspondence rate of 89%. The two coders, finally, discussed the tokens lacking inter-coder agreement to reach consensus.

All translation correspondents were identified and counted. In line with Johansson's "framework of correspondence" (2007: 25), correspondents are looked at from both translation directions (in STs as well as TTs), and both those that are overtly expressed (i.e. with a linguistic form in the text in the other language) and those displaying zero correspondence (i.e. with no linguistic form in the text in the other language) are identified.

4 Analysis of *Toch*

4.1 *Functions of* Toch

Ten functions of *toch* were attested in the corpus (Table 1). Among these are the two core functions as they come forward in the literature: a marker of 'concession', and a reminder of common ground. The other functions are to varying degrees related to either or both of these. 'Counterexpectation' is in the case of *toch* an implicit form of 'concession,' whereas 'justification of the relevance of upcoming talk' functions at a metadiscursive level, where it concessively invokes conceivable reservations against the prospective talk. Similarly,

in 'seeking support for an assertion or opinion' *toch* tacitly instructs co-participants to rely on assumed common ground. Other functions, still, appear to merge elements of both core functions. When expressing 'insistence,' *toch* invokes that a question or request was already known to co-participants (common ground) but although there may have been good reasons not to act upon these, the speaker insists to do so (concession). As a hedge, it demonstrates awareness that the speaker's assertion defies the expectation of alignment with co-participants' opinions (concession) but also that the speaker seeks understanding for their position (establishing common ground). In its 'causal' function, *toch* concessively dismisses conceivable objections to a proposition by relying on assumed common ground. When it can be paraphrased by 'at least,' *toch* narrows the scope of a general proposition to a specific context (concession), again by referring to assumed shared knowledge. Thus, the functional picture that emerges is that of a polysemous marker that has two core functions, each of which are related to less central functions, and since the two main functions are wholly compatible, their meanings also combine in a range of minor interpersonal uses.

The functional analysis in the following sub-sections will illustrate the functions and *toch*'s translation correspondents.

TABLE 1 Functions of *toch* in the present corpus

Functions of *toch*
Mainly concessive
– Concession
– Counterexpectation
– Justify the relevance of upcoming talk
– Disbelief
Mainly common ground
– Reminder of common ground
– Seek support for an assertion or opinion
Concessive & common ground
– Insistence
– Hedge
– Causal
– 'at least' (narrow the scope of a general proposition to a specific context)

4.1.1 Concession

Toch's core 'concessive' function (cf. Foolen, 2006: 64–66; Hogeweg et al., 2011: 54) accounts for almost half of all analysed tokens (*N* = 94 or 47%) in the Dutch STs and even considerably more in the texts translated from English (*N* = 124 or 63%). In such instances the speaker indicates that, in spite of the prior co-text, the proposition marked by *toch* should be considered after all. In excerpt (10) the MEP has just noted that more spaces are being made smoke-free, and now claims that in spite of these efforts, smoke prevention should not be neglected either.

(10) **Toch** moet de sociale druk zodanig opgevoerd worden dat met name de jeugd niet met roken begint en dat ook de vrouwen niet met roken beginnen.
***Nevertheless** social pressure must be stepped up to a point where young people especially do not start smoking, and women to not take up smoking either.*
(#5586080, Maes[1])

With 23 corresponding tokens, the preferred translation correspondent of 'concessive' *toch* is *nevertheless* and its twin form *nonetheless*, along other concessive/contrastive forms, notably *still* (15), *despite this* (13), *yet* (4), and *however* (3). In 27.7 percent of cases, *toch* received zero correspondence (*N* = 26), i.e. the TT did not contain an overt correspondent. In nearly all of these instances another concessive or contrastive element was also present in the ST and is indeed conveyed in the TT. The presence of *ondanks* ('despite') in the previous phrase in (11) reduces the need to add a second concessive marker in the same clause in the translation, just as the combination of *maar* ('but') and *toch* in (12) can be rendered with a single word in English (*however*), although this may make the TT less expressive and less emphatic.

(11) *In de praktijk is het vaak zo dat vrouwen tijdens die periode **ondanks** de theoretische rechten **toch** gediscrimineerd worden.*
In practice, women are often discriminated against during this period, despite rights on paper.
(#2350323, Sörensen)

1 Each excerpt from the corpus is presented starting with the ST, then the TT (in italics) and finally in brackets a corpus reference consisting of the token number in the corpus and the speaker's surname.

(12) ***Maar toch*** *zou ik u nog willen vragen één amendement in stemming te brengen.*
However, I would like to ask you to put one other amendment to the vote.
(#7467872, Buitenweg)

Interestingly, the proportion of zero correspondence is even higher when going from English STs to Dutch TTs. *Toch* is added in the Dutch TT without a specific corresponding form in the English ST in 38.7% (*N* = 48) of concessive cases. Here too the English ST often contains another contrastive or concessive element but so does the TT. In (13) a concessive relation is marked in the English ST (*whilst*), which receives a corresponding form in the subclause in the Dutch TT (*hoewel*, 'while'), as well as *toch* in the main clause, which amounts to a double concessive marking.

(13) **Whilst** I understand the situation, for example, in Austria, where they have gone further, in the interests of the single market we should maintain the legal base.
Hoewel *ik begrip heb voor de situatie in bijvoorbeeld Oostenrijk, waar men een stap verder is gegaan, moeten wij in het belang van de gemeenschappelijke markt de rechtsgrondslag* ***toch*** *handhaven.*
(#17130070, Goodwill)

Another noteworthy observation is that in the TTs *toch* is rarely sparked by *nevertheless* and *nonetheless* (*N* = 9, 7.2%) but all the more so by *yet*, which accounts for one in four concessive tokens of *toch* (*N* = 31) and is virtually absent as a translation correspondent of *toch* in the reverse direction (*N* = 4, 4.3%).

4.1.2 Counterexpectation

As it appears in the present corpus, *toch* expressing 'counterexpectation' is a specific type of concession that relies on an implied proposition which had raised certain expectations that should now be revised (cf. Elffers, 1992: 67). In (14) the speaker implies that the Conference of Presidents had been expected to postpone a debate, which in the end turned out not to be the case.

(14) *Toen ik donderdagavond werd verrast met de mededeling dat de Conferentie van voorzitters* ***toch*** *niet tot uitstel had besloten, heb ik alle leden bericht dat mijn bereidheid tot uitstel nog steeds van kracht was.*

> When on Thursday evening, much to my surprise, I heard that the Conference of Presidents had decided to go ahead with the discussion **after all**, I informed all Members that I was still prepared to postpone the debate.
> (#7517321, Meijer)

Six out of eleven tokens of this function of *toch* are translated with *after all*, three have zero correspondence, and one is translated with the prototypical marker of counterexpectation (*actually*) and another with *at any rate*. All eight instances in the Dutch translations had no English ST correspondent.

4.1.3 Reminder of Common Ground

Another prototypical function of *toch* is when it acts as a reminder of common ground (cf. Foolen, 2006: 66; Zeevat and Karagjosova, 2009: 136; Hogeweg et al., 2011: 57), as in (15), where the speaker voices the assumption that all MEPs are familiar with one of the founding documents of the European Union.

(15) *Wij zijn **toch** allen bekend met het Verdrag van Rome.*
Surely we are all familiar with the Treaty of Rome.
(#196145, Bolkestein)

Toch's correspondents are restricted here to four markers that each stress the self-evident nature of the marked proposition: *surely* (*N* = 5), *after all* (*N* = 2), *of course* (*N* = 2), and the modal auxiliary *must* (*N* = 1). Half of the tokens with this function are not translated (*N* = 11). Translators may have considered the available English correspondents too outspoken as compared to *toch*, which is more multifunctional and hence vaguer and subtler in reminding co-participants that they should already be aware of a proposition. In the TTs nine out of eleven have zero correspondence, the only overt correspondence being *after all* (*N* = 2).

4.1.4 Seeking Support for an Assertion or Opinion

A strongly related context is when *toch* seeks support for an assertion or opinion by appealing to assumed common ground. In this regard, rather than reminding co-participants of common ground, the speaker appears to "check" (Foolen, 2006: 67) whether there is sufficient common ground to conclude that co-participants share the same attitude or opinion as the speaker. In excerpt (16), the MEP assumes a general consensus for his assertion that a football championship does not warrant severe policing measures.

(16) *Het kan **toch** niet dat een land omwille van een voetbalkampioenschap dagenlang het uitzicht krijgt van een politiestaat.*
Surely a country cannot take on the appearance of a police state for days on end because of a football championship?
(#2377951, Van Hecke)

Again, *surely* is the most common correspondent in the English translations (*N* = 15), joined by *of course, at least, definitely* and *although* (*N* = 1 each). Only 7 out of 26 tokens (27%) are not translated. This function resembles the 'reminder of common ground' function in its choice of correspondents, yet not in its proportion of zero correspondence. The latter could be related to the speaker's rhetorical goals: in seeking support for an opinion, overt calls on the self-evident nature of an assertion can be helpful in convincing an audience, whereas reminding someone of something could be more face-threatening.

Over half of Dutch translations did not have an overt ST correspondent (*N* = 18, or 56%), but as with the reverse translation direction, *surely* was by far the most frequent English correspondent for this function (*N* = 11, or 34%). Others were *definitely, so* and the modal auxiliary *must* (*N* = 1 each).

4.1.5 Justify the Relevance of Upcoming Talk

Speakers may feel the need to justify the relevance of upcoming talk, and *toch* can help them to do so subtly: it invokes the concessive reasoning that in spite of conceivable reservations against bringing up a point, it is still worthwhile doing so. In (17) the need to justify the upcoming talk arises from the observation that it has already been mentioned several times before.

(17) *Het is hier al een aantal keren gezegd en het is **toch** niet onbelangrijk.*
It has been said in this House a number of times, and it is not unimportant.
(#6427072, Van Brempt)

English does not appear to have a similar linguistic device, with 8 out of 13 tokens not translated explicitly. Those that are take the form of an emphatic DO structure (*N* = 2), *really, therefore* or *I cannot help but* (*N* = 1 each). There are only two instances in the Dutch translations, one with zero correspondence, and one sparked by the phrase *I am sure*.

4.1.6 Insistence

Toch can be used for insistence: a proposition has not yet been responded to, and the *toch*-marked utterance – typically a request (cf. Foolen, 2006: 66) – indicates that in spite of showing resignation at this state of affairs, the speaker

insists and persists. The speaker in (18) insists on receiving an answer to a question she had raised earlier, which in the English translation is phrased with even greater force (*at long last*).

(18) *Dus nu had ik **toch** graag een antwoord gehad op mijn vraag over cash-management en de oplossing van deze problematiek vooral voor het midden- en kleinbedrijf.*
I would, **at long last**, like to have a response to my question on cash management and the solution to this problem which is particularly hitting small and medium-sized businesses.
(#1371223, Plooij-Van Gorsel)

Most tokens are not explicitly translated (N = 8), except for one each with *really, therefore* and *at long last*. This function only occurred once in the Dutch translations, which showed zero correspondence in the English ST.

4.1.7 Disbelief

In a wh-question, *toch* can betray a sense of disbelief (Foolen, 2006: 68), indicating that in spite of its feasibility or conceivability a specific state of affairs has not yet materialised, which the speaker finds surprising, as illustrated in (19).

(19) *Maar ik stel mij de vraag hoe het **toch** komt dat het zo moeilijk is om te komen tot een Europese politiek, een industriële politiek, die een weerwoord kan bieden aan Hollywood.*
But I **do** wonder why it is so difficult to adopt European policy or industrial policy which can match Hollywood.
(#2316200, Vander Taelen)

Apart from this one instance of an emphatic DO structure, there are two instances in which *toch* occurs with this function and is not matched with a corresponding form. This function only occurred once in the Dutch TTs, with zero correspondence in the STs.

4.1.8 Hedge

When *toch* serves as a hedge, it downtones the speaker's assertions and often combines with other hedging devices like *misschien* ('maybe'), *behoorlijk* ('rather') or *wel*, as in (20).

(20) *Voorzitter, nu vind ik **toch wel** dat u het Reglement wat eenzijdig interpreteert.*

Mr President, I **do** believe that you are now giving a very one-sided interpretation of the Rules of Procedure.
(#9660167, Staes)

In such instances, *toch* is most often not translated (N = 11), and alternatively with an emphatic DO structure (N = 2), and with *really, the fact is that* and *to say the least* (N = 1 each). Also in the other translation direction zero correspondence rules, as it applies to all nine instances of this function.

4.1.9 Causal

Foolen (2006) reports a 'causal' context for *toch*, indicating that "now that what is stated in the *toch*-sentence is the case, action X can be carried out as well" (2006: 69). The MEP in (21) asserts that the decisions of the European Parliament's Bureau can readily be made public, since these become public after a while anyway.

(21) *Dat kan niet zo'n groot probleem zijn, omdat die notulen na een bepaalde tijd* ***toch*** *al openbaar worden.*
That cannot be such a big problem because these Minutes become public after a certain time **anyway**.
(#7523048, Maij-Weggen)

This function appears three times in the Dutch STs, and each of these tokens is translated with *anyway*; the nine tokens in the Dutch TTs had zero correspondence in all but two cases (which had *anyway* and *seeing as* as their respective English sources).

4.1.10 'At Least'

The final function attested for *toch* in the data is what Foolen (2006) dubs "Flemish *toch*" (2006: 63), because he considers this particular to Belgian Dutch (as spoken in Flanders, the northern region of Belgium). It can be paraphrased as 'at least': the speaker narrows the scope of a general proposition to a specific context. In a parenthetical marked by *toch*, the strong sense of urgency mentioned in (22) is narrowed to the outcome of a summit in the Dutch city of Scheveningen: this sense had at least become apparent there. Note that *toch* here appears in clause-medial position although its more typical position in this function would be clause-final. Foolen (2006), however, also provides such an example, elaborating that "from the context, it is clear that the intended use is the one we have been discussing in this section" (2006: 64), i.e. it passes the paraphrase test.

(22) *Er heerst, zo bleek* ***toch*** *in Scheveningen, een sterk besef van het spoedeisende karakter van deze aangelegenheid.*
As was apparent in Scheveningen, there is a strong sense of urgency with regard to this matter.
(#6423314, Neyts-Uytebroeck)

There are only two such instances in the corpus in each of both translation directions, none of which had a correspondent in English.

4.2 Toch *in Numbers*

The unchallenged dominant function of *toch* is that of expressing 'concession', accounting for 47 percent in the Dutch STs and 62 percent of those in the Dutch TTs (Figure 1). It is followed by the support-seeking function in 12.5 and 16 percent of tokens, respectively, and is a reminder of common ground in 10.5 and 5.5 percent of cases. All other functions are quantitatively rather more marginal.

Table 2 lists all correspondents retrieved for *toch* in both the English TTs and the English STs, ranked in descending order of overall frequency. In almost four in ten cases *toch* was not translated by an English correspondent at all, and in more than half of the cases it was added by the translator without an explicit trigger in the English ST. Unsurprisingly, contrastive and concessive markers (*nevertheless, nonetheless, despite, however, yet, although*) account for

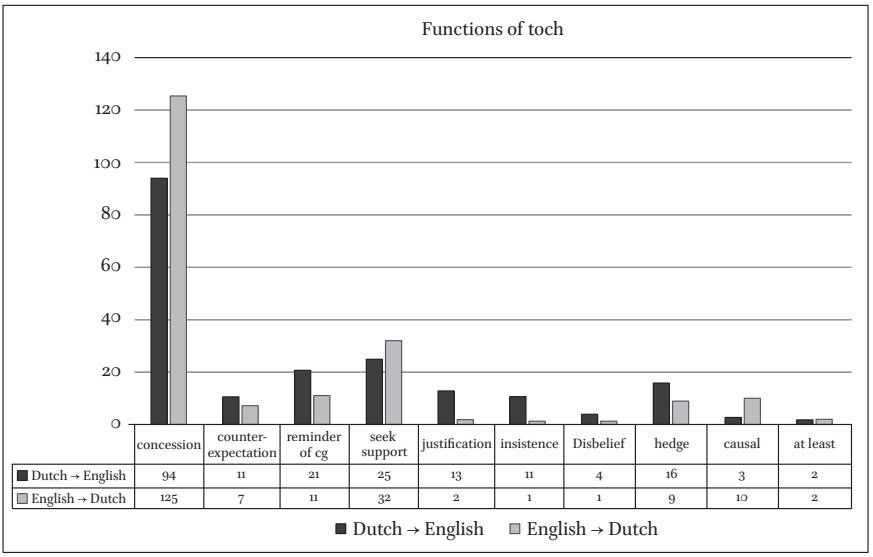

FIGURE 1 *Toch* functions in the dataset in both translation directions

28 percent of all translation choices in English TTs ($N = 56$), which even rises to 46 percent if zero correspondences are disregarded. A similar picture emerges for the English STs, but the ranking looks significantly different, with *nevertheless*/*nonetheless* commonly featuring in translations but not in sources, whereas the reverse holds for *yet* (as for *however*, albeit to a lesser extent). Other types of items particularly mark a proposition as self-evident (e.g. *surely, after all*).

TABLE 2 English correspondents of Dutch *toch* in both translation directions

English correspondent	English translations		English sources		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
zero correspondence	78	39.0	104	52.0	182	45.50
yet	4	2.0	31	15.5	35	8.75
nevertheless/nonetheless	23	11.5	9	4.5	32	8.00
surely	20	10.0	11	5.5	31	7.75
still	15	7.5	7	3.5	22	5.50
however	3	1.5	14	7.0	17	4.25
emphatic DO	12	6.0	3	1.5	15	3.75
despite this	13	6.5	0	0.0	13	3.25
after all	8	4.0	2	1.0	10	2.50
but	0	0.0	9	4.5	9	2.25
anyway	3	1.5	0	0.0	3	0.75
of course	3	1.5	0	0.0	3	0.75
really	3	1.5	0	0.0	3	0.75
must	0	0.0	2	1.0	2	0.50
therefore	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	0.50
actually, although, as, at any rate, at least, at long last, but, definitely, having said this, I cannot help but, must, the fact is that, to say the least	13 × 1	6.5	0	0.0	13 × 1	3.25
anyway, but still, definitely, having said that, I am sure, seeing as, so, then	0	0.0	8 × 1	4.0	8 × 1	2.00
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100

If correspondents are mapped against *toch*'s functions (see Appendix 1 for a full overview), some patterns emerge reflecting *toch*'s functional diversity. Concessive and contrastive markers (*nevertheless, nonetheless, still, despite this, however, yet, but, but still* and *having said this/that*) are exclusively used to express 'concession' and *anyway* is restricted to the 'causal' function, whereas *surely* and *of course* are shared by 'seeking support' and 'reminder of common ground', and *after all* by the latter and 'counterexpectation.'

English does not seem to have any marker that reconciles the various functions that *toch* does. As a result, translators did not provide a corresponding form for 39 percent of tokens ($N = 78$) in English TTs. For 'concession' and 'seek support' (the two largest functional categories), as well as for 'counterexpectation' and 'causal,' this rate drops below 30 percent, but for all other categories it ranges between 52 and 100 percent. Even more interestingly, translators added *toch* in Dutch TTs in 52 percent of cases ($N = 104$) without an explicit trigger in the English ST. Again, this rate is smaller for the large 'concessive' function (38%) but considerably higher for all other functions.

5 Analysis of *Eigenlijk*

5.1 *Functions of* Eigenlijk

The nine functions *eigenlijk* fulfils in the corpus picture the marker as one that combines contrast with reality and factuality (Table 3). When it expresses a(n explicit or implicit) contrast, it emphasises that certain beliefs are at odds with (the speaker's view of) reality, which can be extended to a juxtaposition of a current state of affairs with a more desired, or improved version of reality. There are also uses where *eigenlijk* functions more in the textual domain of elaboration, while preserving some sort of contrastive element, e.g. by contrasting how an issue is presented with what the speaker believes it boils down to ('marking the essential'), adding a comment marking the proposition in which it is embedded as more precise ('noteworthy comment'), reformulating a proposition, etc.

5.1.1 Explicit Contrast

According to van Bergen et al. (2011), *eigenlijk* always requires "a prior context as well as a contrastive environment to be used felicitously" (2011: 3890). The opposition can hold between a proposition explicitly present in the prior co-text (Mortier and Degand, 2009: 354) and the *eigenlijk*-marked proposition that the speaker presents as closer to the facts. In (23) the proposition marked by *eigenlijk* asserts that women are victims of human trafficking rather than culprits as suggested in the prior proposition. Interestingly, the English

TABLE 3 Functions of *eigenlijk* in the present corpus

Functions of *eigenlijk*
Contrast
– Explicit contrast (between two explicit propositions)
– Implicit contrast (between a proposition and an inference)
– Improving a state of affairs (contrast of current with envisaged state of affairs)
Elaboration
– Marking the essential
– Mark a noteworthy comment
– Metadiscourse
– Reformulation
– Ask for clarification
– Reinforcement

translation with *in fact* emphasises the factuality of the contrast, but also reinforces the contrastive nature of the utterance by pairing *in fact* with the concessive conjunction *whereas* instead of the additive conjunction *en* ('and') used in the Dutch ST.

(23) *Nog al te vaak in heel veel landen worden die vrouwen geculpabiliseerd* ***en eigenlijk*** *zijn zij de slachtoffers.*
All too often in many countries, those women are criminalised **whereas**, **in fact**, they are the victims.
(#1843575, Van Lancker)

Such tokens are translated into English by markers expressing 'factuality' – *in fact* (*N* = 5), *actually* (*N* = 4), *really* (*N* = 6) and *in actual fact* (*N* = 1) – or contrast (*instead*, *N* = 1), and five tokens are not translated. The same four markers are triggers in the English STs – *really* (*N* = 9), *actually* (*N* = 6), *in fact* (*N* = 2) and *in actual fact* (*N* = 1) – where they are joined by *in effect, normally* and *originally* (*N* = 1 each). Zero correspondence accounts for 13 of the 34 instances in the Dutch TTs for this function.

5.1.2 Implicit Contrast

Mortier and Degand (2009: 354) also distinguish an implicit type of opposition, when *eigenlijk* on its own marks a proposition as more real or truthful than

an inference underlying the prior proposition (rather than that proposition itself). In (24) the proposition marked by *eigenlijk* (and by *actually* in the TT) responds to the speaker's inferred assumption that immigration services in their turn assume that the situation in Somalia is safe (and can hence send refugees back to this country).

(24) *En misschien moeten we aan de Raad ook vragen dat men ophoudt met vluchtelingen terug te sturen naar Somalië aangezien de toestand* ***eigenlijk*** *helemaal niet veilig is voor een groot deel van de mensen.*
Maybe we ought to ask the Council to stop sending refugees back to Somalia since the situation there is **actually** not at all safe for a large proportion of the people.

In English TTs *in fact* and *actually* are the most common correspondents for this 'factual' function of *eigenlijk*, with 8 and 6 tokens respectively, followed by other markers emphasising 'factuality', i.e. *really* (N = 5), *in actual fact, in reality, the fact is that* (N = 1 each), and by *after all* and *strictly speaking* (N = 1 each). Nine tokens received zero correspondence. The situation is different in the Dutch TTs, for which *actually* (N = 12) is the most common trigger, followed by *really* (N = 7) and a host of markers occurring only once (*in fact, rather, just, even, in reality, it is fair to say, so* and *somehow*). Especially the marginal position of *in fact* is striking here. 45 percent of *eigenlijk* tokens (N = 22) did not have a ST correspondent.

5.1.3 Improving a State of Affairs

The conveyed contrast can also be targeted at improving the current state of affairs when the proposition that *eigenlijk* marks pitches an implicit or explicit situation or action against one the speaker considers more desirable but that has not yet materialised. In excerpt (25) the speaker has just critically evaluated a colleague's report and now suggests that something be added to it in a next phase. The translator has retained the contrastive element indicated by Dutch *echter* ('however') as well as the conditional deontic modality expressed by *zou moeten* ('should' or 'would have to'), but leaves out the additional subjective perspective that *eigenlijk* brings to the ST utterance.

(25) *In de komende periode zou er echter* ***eigenlijk*** *iets aan toegevoegd moeten worden.*
In the coming period, however, something should be added.
(#14650601, Bouwman)

In six out of fifteen instances *eigenlijk*, aimed at improving a state of affairs, was not translated explicitly. Its correspondents in the English TTs are: *in fact* (*N* = 4), *really* (*N* = 3), *actually* and *in actual fact* (*N* = 1 each). The Dutch translations were only triggered by ST correspondents in four instances, involving four markers (*really, in fact, rather* and *even though*), leaving eleven out of fifteen tokens without a correspondent.

5.1.4 Marking the Essential

Mortier and Degand (2009) observe a 'reformulation' function of *eigenlijk* when it "emphasize[s] something which is deemed important" (2009: 357), shifting focus to more important informational elements of the discourse. In (26) the MEP has been discussing the virtues of a proposed EU directive on pensions, which culminates in his assessment that this amounts to a constitution for occupational retirement schemes.

(26) ***Eigenlijk*** *kun je zeggen dat dit een soort grondwet voor bedrijfspen sioenvoorzieningen is in Europa.*
You can **actually** describe this as a sort of constitution for occupational retirement provision in Europe.
(#12744167, Pronk)

Although this category would not appear to belong to the core functions of *eigenlijk*, it is the largest in the corpus, accounting for 40.5 percent (*N* = 81) of this marker's tokens. This is probably due to the setting of the European Parliament, where MEPs continuously proffer assessments of proposals and situations, which often includes pointing out that which they believe is essential or what a proposal or situation boils down to.

Again, the most frequent TT correspondents are *actually* (*N* = 23) and *in fact* (*N* = 21), followed at a long distance by *in actual fact* (*N* = 5), *really* (*N* = 4), *surely* (*N* = 2), and a host of markers conveying 'essentiality,' i.e. *at the end of the day, after all, essentially, if truth be told, in a way, in effect, the truth is that* and *ultimately* (*N* = 1 each). In 18 instances *eigenlijk* was met with zero correspondence in the TT. Also for this function the picture looks somewhat different in the other direction. *Really* is beyond any doubt the preferred trigger for *eigenlijk* (*N* = 14), whereas *in fact* is entirely absent in the correspondent list, containing *basically* (*N* = 5), *indeed* (*N* = 2), *rather, just, essentially, perhaps, to put it simply* and *virtually* (*N* = 1 each). As with the previous functions, the proportion of zero correspondence is higher (*N* = 20, or 41%).

5.1.5 Noteworthy Comment

Eigenlijk can also be used in an elaborative context when it highlights a noteworthy comment. This use appears to be absent in previous analyses of *eigenlijk*, but has been pointed out for the English markers *actually* and *in fact* (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen, 2004: 1797; Aijmer, 2013: 85,113; Buysse, 2020: 34). In a parenthetical, the speaker in (27) comments that a proposal had already been mentioned by the rapporteur of the committee that had discussed the directive under debate.

(27) *Dat houdt wat onze fractie betreft wel in, en dan spreek ik namens de hele fractie, dat een aantal punten er niet in hoeft, dat had de rapporteur* ***eigenlijk*** *al impliciet vermeld, laten we dat opschonen en niet in de richtlijn laten staan.*
This does imply for our Group – and I am speaking on behalf of the entire group – that a number of points are redundant, something which, **in fact**, the rapporteur has already hinted at.
(#1812203, Oostlander)

By far the most common English TT correspondent for *eigenlijk* in the 'comment' function is *in fact* (*N* = 12), which is joined by *actually, in actual fact, albeit* and *as a matter of interest* (*N* = 1 each), apart from five zero correspondences. Also in English STs *in fact* (*N* = 2) occurs as well as *really* (*N* = 1) and three zero correspondences.

5.1.6 Metadiscourse

In 13 instances *eigenlijk* is used for a metadiscursive utterance, indicating an element in the discourse that the speaker feels the hearer may find unexpected. The speaker in excerpt (28) announces that he will divert from common parliamentary practice by posing only one question in the debate.

(28) *Ik heb* ***eigenlijk*** *maar één vraag.*
I **really** only have one question.
(#12709177, Wiersma)

Actually is *eigenlijk*'s translation correspondent in 4 TT instances, *really* in 3, and *in fact* and *just* in 1 each. Four tokens were not translated explicitly. The only overt marker used in English STs is *really* (*N* = 5); the remaining nine were zero correspondences.

5.1.7 Reformulation

As Mortier and Degand (2009) point out, *eigenlijk* can be used for reformulation to express "a (slight) deviation from an original proposal" (2009: 356). In (29) the MEP first situates a decision on the day of the parliamentary debate (or perhaps simply in the present, which can also be expressed by *vandaag* 'today'), and then reformulates this to refer to the exact moment when the decision is due to be taken (viz. *morgen*, 'tomorrow').

(29) *We staan vandaag of **eigenlijk** morgen voor een heel vervelende beslissing.*
Today – or **rather** tomorrow, in fact – we face a very tricky decision.
(#22245968, Corbey)

All ST tokens of *eigenlijk* in the 'reformulation' category were translated with an overt English correspondent, four with *in fact*, and one each with *really* and *rather*. The Dutch translations had *indeed* (N = 3) and *rather* (N = 1) as their overt sources, in addition to one zero correspondence.

5.1.8 Ask for Clarification

In interrogative sentences, *eigenlijk* can mark questions for clarification, at which point it expresses some level of annoyance. In (30) the speaker sees plenty of reason for the EU to take a stand against Algerian authorities on human rights issues, and raises the question why nothing is being done in this respect. *Eigenlijk* highlights that the speaker considers the lack of action unexpected.

(30) *Reden genoeg dus om de Algerijnse autoriteiten hierop aan te spreken.*
*Maar waarom gebeurt dat **eigenlijk** niet?*
Plenty of reason, therefore, to take the Algerian authorities to task about this. But why, **in fact**, is this not being done?
(#4404758, Van den Bos)

In three instances *eigenlijk* is translated into English with *actually* and in one each with *in fact* and *just*, whereas four tokens remain without a translation correspondent. Dutch translations were triggered by *in the first place* (N = 5), *actually* (N = 3), *really* and *in fact* (N = 2 each), and *just* (N = 1), whereas ten instances had no overt ST correspondent.

5.1.9 Reinforcement

Finally, five instances were identified of what can be seen as reinforcement of a prior proposition (Buysse, 2020). This is similar to what Mortier and Degand (2009: 357) call the "enhancement" function of *eigenlijk*, and it closely resembles a use of *in fact* (yet not of *eigenlijk*) described as a "strong commitment to the proposition" (Schwenter and Traugott, 2000: 12). Interestingly, this function was only attested in the Dutch TTs, and all of these were sparked by the same English marker: *in fact*. In (31) the speaker first negatively assesses a specific proposal regarding VAT, and then moves on – marked by *in fact* (and by *eigenlijk* in the TT) – to radically denounce the VAT system altogether.

(31) I do not see the introduction of a common system of VAT as a priority and I do not agree that the introduction of a common system is long overdue. **In fact**, nothing would please me, my party and the bulk of business people in the United Kingdom more than the complete abolition of VAT.
Ik zie de invoering van een gemeenschappelijk btw-systeem niet als een prioriteit, en ik ben het ook niet eens met de opvatting dat de invoering van een gemeenschappelijk systeem al veel te lang op zich heeft laten wachten. ***Eigenlijk*** *zou niets mij, mijn partij en de meeste zakenmensen in het Verenigd Koninkrijk meer deugd doen dan de volledige afschaffing van de btw.*
(#4021248, Titford)

5.2 Eigenlijk *in Numbers*

In the corpus sample studied here *eigenlijk* is especially used to 'mark the essential', which is certainly the case in the Dutch STs, where it accounts for 40.5% of the tokens (Figure 2). In Dutch TTs this use shares the first place with the 'factual' function (24% each), whereas the 'contrastive' function is third in both translation directions (11% in Dutch STs, 17% in TTs). The remaining functions are considerably less common, and one ('reinforcement') only occurs in Dutch TTs.

As Table 4 shows, by far the most common translation correspondents for *eigenlijk* in the English TTs are *in fact* and *actually*, which together account for just under half of all tokens of *eigenlijk* (N = 98 or 49%). Most other forms also highlight 'factuality' (e.g. *really, in actual fact, if truth be told, the fact/truth is that*). One in four tokens is not matched with an English TT form, which is considerably lower than for *toch* (viz. 39%).

The top three correspondents is the same for STs, but the order is completely reversed: *really* sparks one in five *eigenlijk* tokens, followed by *actually*

(11.5%) and *in fact* (6.5%). If zero correspondences are removed from the equation, the dominant positions of *really* and *in fact* in sources and translations, respectively, become even clearer: *really* holds a 35.1% share of all corresponding forms in English STs, and *in fact* a 37.6% share in English TTs.

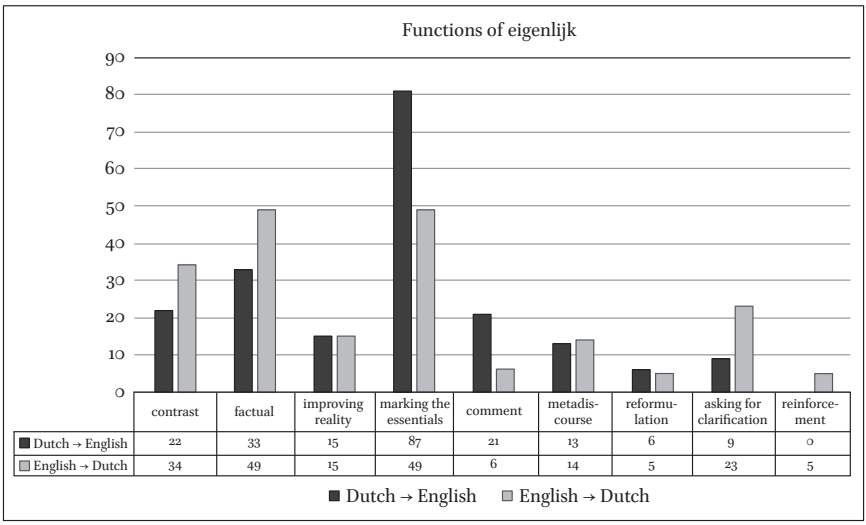

FIGURE 2 *Eigenlijk* functions in the corpus in both translation directions

TABLE 4 English correspondents of Dutch *eigenlijk* in both translation directions

English correspondent	English translations		English sources		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
zero correspondence	51	25.5	89	44.5	140	35.00
in fact	56	28.0	13	6.5	69	17.25
actually	42	21.0	23	11.5	65	16.25
really	22	11.0	39	19.5	61	15.25
in actual fact	9	4.5	1	0.5	10	2.50
basically	0	0.0	5	2.5	5	1.25
in the first place	0	0.0	5	2.5	5	1.25
indeed	0	0.0	5	2.5	5	1.25
just	2	1.0	3	1.5	5	1.25

TABLE 4 English correspondents of Dutch *eigenlijk* (*cont.*)

English correspondent	English translations		English sources		Total	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
rather	1	0.5	4	2.0	5	1.25
after all	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	0.50
essentially	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	0.50
in effect	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	0.50
in reality	1	0.5	1	0.5	2	0.50
surely	2	1.0	0	0.0	2	0.50
albeit, as a matter of interest, at the end of the day, if truth be told, in a way, instead, strictly speaking, the fact is that, the truth is that, ultimately	10 × 1	5.0	0	0.0	10 × 1	2.50
even, even though, it is fair to say, normally, originally, perhaps, so, somehow, to put it simply, virtually	0	0.0	10 × 1	5.0	10 × 1	2.50
Total	200	100	200	100	400	100

In fact is used at least once in every function that was attested in the corpus (Appendix 2), and *actually* and *really* appear in all but two functions ('reformulation' and 'reinforcement'). Due to the dominance of these three markers, there is a long list of, typically more specific, markers occurring only once or twice. By and large, these express 'factuality' (e.g. *the fact/truth is that, in reality, if truth be told*) or 'essentiality' (e.g. *basically, essentially, to put it simply, virtually, at the end of the day, ultimately*). In the English STs, *in the first place* stands out as the most common correspondent in the 'asking for clarification' category, which manages to capture some of the irritation *eigenlijk* conveys in such interrogatives.

6 Discussion and Conclusion

An analysis of 800 tokens of the Dutch markers *toch* and *eigenlijk* and their correspondents in English has both shed light on the highly multifunctional nature of both markers, and has attested a large group of English markers that play similar roles as their respective Dutch counterparts.

The two Dutch markers belong to the broad field of counterexpectation or contrast, and they both display a range of functions that are polysemously related, in much the same way as has been described for many English pragmatic markers, confirming the affinity of Dutch particles with English pragmatic markers. In *eigenlijk* this polysemy is manifested through a core function of emphasising factuality, which is contrasted with an explicit or implicit proposition or with a desired state of affairs, and which can also be further extended with a host of elaborative textual functions. For *toch* the contrastive relation is essentially a concessive one, while also attending to common ground. Both components are to varying degrees recognisable in all functions, but in some the one or the other is clearly more salient (as is also reflected in distinct preferences for translation correspondents). However, when these two core functions are clearly combined in a single token, the contrastive meaning component is complemented with an interpersonal one, the latter of which serves as an argument or justification (i.e. appeal to common ground) for the expressed or assumed contrast. These polysemy patterns suggest that the field of contrast or counterexpectation is a versatile one in terms of the various subtypes of relations that can be expressed, some of which by a single marker.

Unsurprisingly, with *actually*, *in fact* and *really* the three central markers in the semantic field of (counter)expectation (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen, 2004: 1797) have emerged as the most common correspondents of the prototypical Dutch marker of (counter)expectation *eigenlijk*, all being able to convey any of the Dutch marker's functions (except for 'reinforcement' and 'reformulation', for which *in fact* appears best suited). Translators, however, rely on *in fact* to a considerably greater extent than its incidence in spoken English as documented in prior corpus analyses (Aijmer, 2013; Buysse, 2020) would warrant. Given *in fact*'s preference for more formal settings and for written discourse, this may be due to the rather formal setting and the written mode in which proceedings are translated, although the more emphatic nature of *in fact* (compared to *actually*) may also have made it a popular candidate to translate parliamentary rhetoric. *Really* is quite dominant as a ST trigger for *eigenlijk* but translators turned to it considerably less frequently in English TTs. This could imply that *actually* and *in fact* are more easily evoked in the minds of translators than *really* in these contexts, which may be related to Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen's (2004) tentative observation that "in some respects

really seems more distant" (2004: 1794) from the other two markers in their functional network.

English correspondents of *toch* are largely exclusive to one of either of the marker's main uses ('concession' and 'common ground'), suggesting that no single marker in English captures the functional diversity of *toch*. This, in its turn, can be taken as evidence that *toch* ranks highly in the list of semantically underspecified markers. The highest correspondence rates for *toch* were noted with *nevertheless/nonetheless* and *yet* in 'concessive' functions, and for *surely* – "a positioning device for redefining common ground between individuals" (Downing, 2006: 39) – in functions that relate to common ground.

Particularly striking are the zero correspondence rates. Given the semantic and syntactic optionality of discourse markers, they could be regarded as ready candidates for omission in translations, especially when they have no formal correspondent in the other language (Aijmer and Altenberg, 2002: 29). *Toch* is indeed not explicitly translated in 39 percent of cases. Although some of these instances seem related to the presence of a similar device in the TT (e.g. another concessive marker), there is also a functional difference, in that concessive relations receive an overt translation considerably more often than others. Possibly, functions that mostly contribute to the coherence of the discourse are less prone to omission than those that contribute to interpersonal issues. What is even more noteworthy is the very high number of *toch* tokens – across functions – that was included in Dutch TTs without an explicit correspondent in the ST. For *eigenlijk*, too, translators have clearly elected to provide correspondents in a large majority of cases in English TTs, and added the marker in Dutch TTs not forced by an ST correspondent.

In this light, *eigenlijk* and, particularly, *toch* do not appear to fit the picture of traditional explanatory frameworks within Translation Studies. On the one hand, the high degree of TT tokens not triggered by a ST marker appears to confirm the tendency that TTs are more explicit in their language use (cf. Blum-Kulka's (2000) "explicitation hypothesis"). On the other hand, other tendencies, such as the Unique Items Hypothesis (Tirkkonen-Condit, 2004), would suggest that if the TL contains an item for which the SL does not have a ready equivalent, this item will occur less frequently in translated texts in the TL than in this language in general. In the current sample, this does not hold for *toch*: even though it lacks a clear English equivalent, *toch* occurs even more frequently in the Dutch translations than in the Dutch source texts. In general, it would appear that translators are strongly conscious of implicit pragmatic signals and of the pragmalinguistic potential of *toch* (as they are of *eigenlijk*) to convey these in Dutch. Such observations call for further studies at the interface between Contrastive Pragmatics and Translation Studies that also give greater prominence to the latter than was feasible within the current study.

Although the period in which the data were collected and the size of the corpus should guarantee that no single translator could have had a dominant hand in the translations, translator preferences cannot be ruled out. Especially in an institutional setting, the community of practice within which translations are carried out could have a bias towards certain linguistic phenomena, such as a preference for more formal discourse markers like *nonetheless*. The many additions of *eigenlijk*, and particularly *toch*, on the other hand, suggest that EP translators also try to capture oral discourse features.

In the present study the Dutch markers formed the focal point, but further research could investigate the mutual correspondence (cf. Altenberg, 1999) of some of the markers that have surfaced. An in-depth corpus analysis of, on the one hand, the Dutch correspondents of *actually, in fact* and *really* and on the other hand, the English correspondents of *eigenlijk, in feite* and *werkelijk* could be revealing in this respect. The scope could also be extended to other languages, such as German, for which *toch*'s cognate *doch* has already received quite some scholarly attention but a systematic contrastive corpus analysis between the Dutch and German marker is still lacking. Finally, other modes or registers including e.g. written (fictional) texts, or output from interpreting could be included.

Appendix 1. English Correspondents of Dutch *toch* per Function in Translations and Backtranslations

TABLE 5 Correspondents of Dutch *toch* per function in English TTs

Translation correspondent	concession	counterexpectation	reminder of cg	seek support	justification	insistence	disbelief	hedge	causal	at least	Total
zero correspondence	26	3	11	7	8	8	2	11		2	78
nevertheless/ nonetheless	23										**23**
surely			5	15							**20**
still	15										**15**

TABLE 5 Correspondents of Dutch *toch* (*cont.*)

Translation correspondent	concession	counterexpectation	reminder of cg	seek support	justification	insistence	disbelief	hedge	causal	at least	Total
despite this	13										13
emphatic DO	7				2		1	2			12
after all		6	2								8
yet	4										4
anyway									3		3
however	3										3
of course			2	1							3
really					1	1		1			3
therefore					1	1					2
as	1										1
but	1										1
having said this	1										1
actually		1									1
at any rate		1									1
must			1								1
at least				1							1
definitely				1							1
although				1							1
I cannot help but					1						1
at long last						1					1
the fact is that								1			1
to say the least								1			1
Total	**94**	**11**	**21**	**26**	**13**	**11**	**3**	**16**	**3**	**2**	**200**

TABLE 6 Correspondents of Dutch *toch* per function in English STs (backtranslations)

Translation correspondent	concession	counterexpectation	reminder of cg	seek support	justification	insistence	disbelief	hedge	causal	at least	Total
zero correspondence	48	7	9	18	1	1	1	9	8	2	104
yet	31										31
however	14										14
surely				11							11
but	9										9
nevertheless/ nonetheless	9										9
still	7										7
emphatic DO	3										3
after all			2								2
must	1			1							2
anyway									1		1
but still	1										1
definitely				1							1
having said that	1										1
I am sure					1						1
seeing as									1		1
so				1							1
then	1										1
Total	125	7	11	32	2	1	1	9	10	2	200

Appendix 2. English Correspondents of Dutch *eigenlijk* per Function in Translations and Backtranslations

TABLE 7 Correspondents of Dutch *eigenlijk* per function in English TTs

Translation correspondent	contrast	factual	improving a state of affairs	marking the essential	comment	metadiscourse	reformulation	ask for clarification	Total
in fact	5	8	4	21	12	1	4	1	56
zero correspondence	5	9	6	18	5	4		4	51
actually	4	6	1	23	1	4		3	42
really	6	5	3	4		3	1		22
in actual fact	1	1	1	5	1				9
after all		1		1					2
just						1		1	2
surely				2					2
strictly speaking		1							1
the fact is that		1							1
instead	1								1
in reality		1							1
at the end of the day				1					1
essentially				1					1
if truth be told				1					1
in a way				1					1
in effect				1					1
the truth is that				1					1
ultimately				1					1
albeit					1				1
as a matter of interest					1				1
rather							1		1
Total	**22**	**33**	**15**	**81**	**21**	**13**	**6**	**9**	**200**

TABLE 8 Correspondents of Dutch *eigenlijk* per function in English STS

Translation correspondent	**contrast**	**factual**	**improving a state of affairs**	**marking the essential**	**comment**	**metadiscourse**	**reformulation**	**ask for clarification**	**reinforcement**	**Total**
zero correspondence	13	22	11	20	3	9	1	10		**89**
really	9	7	1	14	1	5		2		**39**
actually	6	12		2				3		**23**
in fact	2	1	1		2			2	5	**13**
basically				5						**5**
in the first place								5		**5**
indeed				2			3			**5**
rather		1	1	1			1			**4**
just		1		1				1		**3**
essentially				1						**1**
even		1								**1**
even though			1							**1**
in actual fact	1									**1**
in effect	1									**1**
in reality		1								**1**
it is fair to say		1								**1**
normally	1									**1**
originally	1									**1**
perhaps				1						**1**
so		1								**1**
somehow		1								**1**
to put it simply				1						**1**
virtually				1						**1**
Total	**34**	**49**	**15**	**49**	**6**	**14**	**5**	**23**	**5**	200

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