

# Implication of Discourse Connectives in (Machine) Translation

**Thomas Meyer**

Idiap Research Institute and EPFL  
Martigny and Lausanne, Switzerland  
thomas.meyer@idiap.ch

**Bonnie Webber**

University of Edinburgh  
Edinburgh, UK  
bonnie@inf.ed.ac.uk

## Abstract

Explicit discourse connectives in a source language text are not always translated to comparable words or phrases in the target language. The paper provides a corpus analysis and a method for semi-automatic detection of such cases. Results show that discourse connectives are not translated into comparable forms (or even any form at all), in up to 18% of human reference translations from English to French or German. In machine translation, this happens much less frequently (up to 8% only). Work in progress aims to capture this natural implication of discourse connectives in current statistical machine translation models.

## 1 Introduction

Discourse connectives (DCs), a class of frequent cohesive markers, such as *although*, *however*, *for example*, *in addition*, *since*, *while*, *yet*, etc., are especially prone to ‘translationese’, i.e. the use of constructions in the target language (TL) that differ in frequency or position from how they would be found in texts born in the language. That is, ‘translationese’ makes DCs prone to being translated in ways that can differ markedly from their use in the source language. (Blum-Kulka, 1986; Cartoni et al., 2011; Ilisei et al., 2010; Halverson, 2004; Hansen-Schirra et al., 2007; Zufferey et al., 2012). For cohesive markers and DCs, Koppel and Ordan (2011) and Cartoni et al. (2011) have shown that they may be more explicit (increased use) or less explicit (decreased use) in translationese. The paper focuses on the latter case, but the same detection method can be applied in reverse, in order to find increased use (explicitation) as well.

In English about 100 types of explicit DCs have been annotated in the Penn Discourse TreeBank,

or PDTB (Prasad et al., 2008) (We say more about this in Section 3.1). The actual set of markers or connectives is however rather open-ended (Prasad et al., 2010). DCs signal discourse relations that connect two spans of text and can be ambiguous with respect to the discourse relation they convey. Moreover, the same DC can simultaneously convey more than one discourse relation. For example, *while* can convey contrast or temporality, or both at the same time. On the other hand, discourse relations can also be conveyed implicitly, without an explicit DC.

Human translators can chose to not translate a SL DC with a TL DC, where the latter would be redundant or where the SL discourse relation would more naturally be conveyed in the TL by other means (cf. Section 2). We will use the term ‘zero-translation’ or ‘implication’ for a valid translation that conveys the same sense as a lexically explicit SL connective, but not with the same form. As we will show, current SMT models either learn the explicit lexicalization of a SL connective to a TL connective, or treat the former as a random variation, realizing it or not. Learning other valid ways of conveying the same discourse relation might not only result in more fluent TL text, but also help raise its BLEU score by more closely resembling its more implicit human reference text.

The paper presents work in progress on a corpus study where zero-translations of DCs have been semi-automatically detected in human reference and machine translations from English (EN) to French (FR) and German (DE) (Section 3). Two types of discourse relations that are very frequently omitted in FR and DE translations are studied in detail and we outline features on how these omissions could be modeled into current SMT systems (Section 4).

## 2 Implication of connectives in translation

Figure 1 is an extract from a news article in the newstest2010 data set (see Section 3.2). It contains two EN connectives — *as* and *otherwise* — that were annotated in the PDTB<sup>1</sup>. Using the set of discourse relations of the PDTB, *as* can be said to signal the discourse relation CAUSE (subtype Reason), and *otherwise* the discourse relation ALTERNATIVE. This is discussed further in Section 3.1.

**EN:** The man with the striking bald head was still needing a chauffeur, **1. as** the town was still unknown to him. **2. Otherwise** he could have driven himself — **3. after all**, no alcohol was involved and the 55-year-old was not drunk.

**FR-REF:** L’homme, dont le crâne chauve attirait l’attention, se laissa conduire **1. \_\_0\_\_** dans la ville qui lui était encore étrangère. **2. Autrement** notre quinquagénaire aurait pu prendre lui-même le volant — **3. \_\_0\_\_** il n’avait pas bu d’alcool et il n’était pas non plus ivre de bonheur.

**DE-REF:** Der Mann mit der markanten Glatze liess sich **1. wegen/Prep** der ihm noch fremden Stadt chauffieren. **2. Ansonsten** hätte er auch selbst fahren können — Alkohol war **3. schliesslich/Adv** nicht im Spiel, und besoffen vor Glück war der 55-jährige genauso wenig.

Figure 1: Examples of EN source connectives translated as zero or by other means in human reference translations.

The human reference translations do not translate the first connective *as* explicitly. In FR there is no direct equivalent, and the reason why the man needed a driver is given with a relative clause: ...*dans la ville qui...* (lit.: in the town that was still foreign to him). In DE *as* is realized by means of a preposition, *wegen* (lit.: because of). The second EN connective *otherwise*, maintains its form in translation to the target connective *autrement* in FR and *ansonsten* in DE.

On the other hand, baseline SMT systems for

<sup>1</sup>The excerpt contains a third possible connective *after all* that was not annotated in the PDTB, and our data as a whole contains other possible connectives not yet annotated there, including *given that* and *at the same time*. We did not analyse such possible connectives in the work described here.

EN/FR and EN/DE (Section 3.2) both translated the two connectives *as* and *otherwise* explicitly by the usual target connectives, in FR: *comme*, *sinon* and in DE *wie*, *sonst*.

## 3 Semi-automatic detection of zero-translations

### 3.1 Method

The semi-automatic method that identifies zero- or non-connective translations in human references and machine translation output is based on a list of 48 EN DCs with a frequency above 20 in the Penn Discourse TreeBank Version 2.0 (Prasad et al., 2008). In order to identify which discourse relations are most frequently translated as zero, we have assigned each of the EN DCs the level-2 discourse relation that it is most frequently associated with in the PDTB corpus. The total list of EN connectives is given in Table 1.

For every source connective, we queried its most frequent target connective translations from the online dictionary Linguee<sup>2</sup> and added them to dictionaries of possible FR and DE equivalents.

With these dictionaries and Giza++ word alignment (Och and Ney, 2003), the SL connectives can be located and the sentences of its translation (reference and/or automatic) can be scanned for an aligned occurrence of the TL dictionary entries. If more than one DC appears in the source sentence and/or a DC is not aligned with a connective or connective-equivalent found in the dictionaries, the word position (word index) of the SL connective is compared to the word indexes of the translation in order to detect whether a TL connective (or connective-equivalent from the dictionaries) appears in a 5-word window to its left and right.<sup>3</sup> This also helps filtering out cases of non-connective uses of e.g. *separately* or *once* as adverbs. Finally, if no aligned entry is present and the alignment information remains empty, the method counts a zero-translation and collects statistics on these occurrences.

After a first run where we only allowed for actual connectives as translation dictionary entries, we manually looked through 400 cases for each, FR and DE reference translations, that were output

<sup>2</sup><http://www.linguee.com>

<sup>3</sup>The method extends on the ACT metric (Hajlaoui and Popescu-Belis, 2013) that measures MT quality in terms of connectives in order to detect more types of DCs and their equivalents.

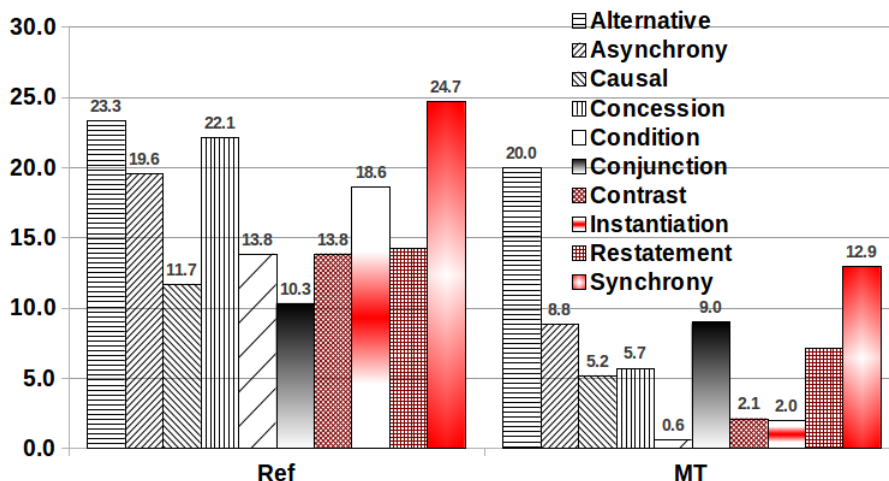


Figure 2: Percentage of zero-translations in newstest2010+2012 for EN/FR per discourse relation and translation type: human reference (Ref) or MT output (MT).

as zero-translations (in the newstest2012 data, see Section 3.2). We found up to 100 additional cases that actually were not implicatures, but conveyed the SL connective’s meaning by means of a paraphrase, e.g. EN: *if* – FR: *dans le cas où* (lit.: in case where) – DE: *im Falle von* (lit.: in case of). For example, the EN connective *otherwise* ended up with the dictionary entries in Figure 3.

EN: <b>otherwise</b> ALTERNATIVE :
FR: autrement sinon car dans un autre cas d’une autre manière
DE: ansonsten andernfalls anderenfalls anderweitig widrigenfalls andererseits andererseits anders sonst

Figure 3: Dictionary entries of FR and DE connectives and equivalents for the EN connective *otherwise*.

### 3.2 Data

For the experiments described here, we concatenated two data sets, the newstest2010 and newstest2012 parallel texts as publicly available by the Workshop on Machine Translation<sup>4</sup>. The texts consist of complete articles from various daily news papers that have been translated from EN to FR, DE and other languages by translation agencies.

In total, there are 5,492 sentences and 117,799 words in the SL texts, of which 2,906 are tokens

<sup>4</sup><http://www.statmt.org/wmt12/>

of the 48 EN connectives. See Table 1 for the connectives and their majority class, which aggregate to the detailed statistics given in Table 2.

Rel.	TC	Rel.	TC
Alternative	30	Conjunction	329
Asynchrony	588	Contrast	614
Cause	308	Instantiation	43
Concession	140	Restatement	14
Condition	159	Synchrony	681

Table 2: Total counts (TC) of English discourse connectives (2,906 tokens) from the newstest2010+2012 corpora, whose majority sense conveys one of the 10 PDTB level-2 discourse relations (Rel.) listed here.

To produce machine translations of the same data sets we built EN/FR and EN/DE baseline phrase-based SMT systems, by using the Moses decoder (Koehn et al., 2007), with the Europarl corpus v7 (Koehn, 2005) as training and newstest2011 as tuning data. The 3-gram language model was built with IRSTLM (Federico et al., 2008) over Europarl and the rest of WMT’s news data for FR and DE.

### 3.3 Results

In order to group the individual counts of zero-translations per DC according to the discourse relation they signal, we calculated the relative frequency of zero-translations per relation as percentages, see Figures 2 for EN/FR, and 4 for EN/DE.

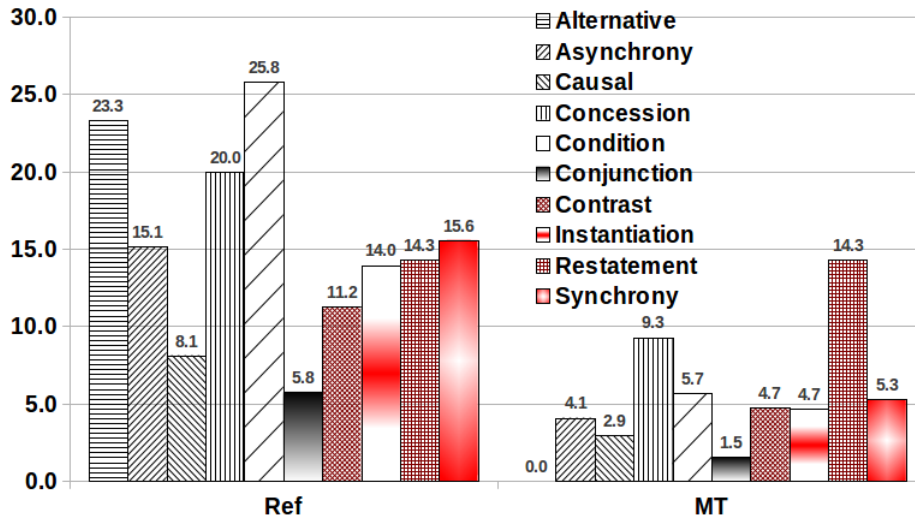


Figure 4: Percentage of zero-translations in newstest2010+2012 for EN/DE per discourse relation and translation type: human reference (Ref) or MT output (MT).

The total percentage of zero-translations in the references and the baseline MT output is given in Table 3.

A first observation is that an MT system seems to produce zero-translations for DCs significantly less often than human translators do. Human FR translations seem to have a higher tendency toward omitting connectives than the ones in DE. Figures 2 and 4 also show that the discourse relations that are most often rendered as zero are dependent on the TL. In the FR reference translations, SYNCHRONY, ALTERNATIVE and CONCESSION account for most implicitations, while in the DE reference translations, CONDITION, ALTERNATIVE and CONCESSION are most often left implicit.

Translation	Type	C	%
EN/FR	Ref	508	17.5
	MT	217	7.5
EN/DE	Ref	392	13.5
	MT	129	4.4

Table 3: Counts (C) and relative frequency (%) of zero-translations for EN/FR and EN/DE in human references (Ref) and MT output (MT) over newstest2010+2012.

The results are to some extent counterintuitive as one would expect that semantically dense discourse relations like CONCESSION would need to be explicit in translation in order to convey the

same meaning. Section 4 presents some non-connective means available in the two TLs, by which the discourse relations are still established.

We furthermore looked at the largest implicitation differences per discourse relation in the human reference translations and the MT output. For EN/FR for example, 13.8% of all CONDITION relations are implicitated in the references, by making use of paraphrases such as *dans le moment où* (lit.: in the moment where) or *dans votre cas* (lit.: in your case) in place of the EN connective *if*. The MT system translates *if* in 99.4% of all cases to the explicit FR connective *si*. Similarly, for INSTANTIATION relations and the EN connective *for instance* in the references, the translators made constrained use of verbal paraphrases such as *on y trouve* (lit.: among which we find). MT on the other hand outputs the explicit FR connective *par exemple* in all cases of *for instance*.

For EN/DE, there is the extreme case, where ALTERNATIVE relations are, in human reference translations, quite often implicitated (in 23.3% of all cases), whereas the MT system translates all the instances explicitly to DE connectives: *wenn* (unless), *sonst* (otherwise) and *statt, stattdessen, anstatt* (instead). The translators however make use of constructions with a sentence-initial verb in conditional mood (cf. Section 4.2) for *otherwise* and *unless*, but not for *instead*, which is, as with MT, always explicitly translated by humans, most often to the DE connective *statt*. The very opposite takes place for the RESTATEMENT relation

and the EN connective *in fact*. Here, MT leaves implicit just as many instances as human translators do, i.e. 14.3% of all cases. Translators use paraphrases such as *in Wahrheit* (lit.: in truth) or *übrigens* (lit.: by the way), while the translation model tends to use *im Gegenteil* (lit.: opposite), which is not a literal translation of *in fact* (usually *in der Tat* or *tatsächlich* in DE), but reflects the contrastive function this marker frequently had in the Europarl training data of the baseline MT system.

## 4 Case studies

### 4.1 Temporal connectives from EN to FR

The most frequent implicitated discourse relation for EN/FR translation is SYNCHRONY, i.e. connectives conveying that their arguments describe events that take place at the same time. However, since the situations in which SYNCHRONY relations are implicitated are similar to those in which CONTRAST relations are implicitated, we discuss the two together.

We exemplify here cases where EN DCs that signal SYNCHRONY and/or CONTRAST are translated to FR with a ‘*en/Preposition + Verb in Gerund*’ construction without a TL connective. The EN source instances giving rise to such implicitations in FR are usually of the form ‘DC + Verb in Present Continuous’ or ‘DC + Verb in Simple Past’, see sentences 1 and 2 in Figure 5.

Out of 13 cases of implicitations for *while* in the data, 8 (61.5%) have been translated to the mentioned construction in FR, as illustrated in the first example in Figure 5, with a reference and machine translation from newstest2010. The DC *while* here ambiguously signals SYNCHRONY and/or CONTRAST, but there is a second temporal marker (*at the same time*, a connective-equivalent not yet considered in this paper or in the PDTB), that disambiguates *while* to its CONTRAST sense only or to the composite sense SYNCHRONY/CONTRAST. The latter is conveyed in FR by *en méprisant*, with CONTRAST being reinforced by *tout* (lit.: all).

In Example 2, from newstest2012, the sentence-initial connective *when*, again signaling SYNCHRONY, is translated to the very same construction of ‘*en/Preposition + Verb in Gerund*’ in the FR reference.

In the baseline MT output for Example 1, neither of the two EN DCs is deleted, *while* is literally translated to *alors que* and *at the same time* to *dans*

**1. EN:** In her view, the filmmaker “is asking a favour from the court, **while** at the same time **showing** disregard for its authority”.

**FR-REF:** Pour elle, le cinéaste “demande une faveur à la cour, tout **en/Prep méprisant/V/Ger** son autorité”.

**FR-MT\*:** Dans son avis, le réalisateur de “demande une faveur de la cour, **alors que** dans le même temps une marque de mépris pour son autorité”.

**2. EN:** **When** Meder **looked** through the weather-beaten windows of the red, white and yellow Art Nouveau building, she could see weeds growing up through the tiles.

**FR-REF:** **En/Prep jetant/V/Ger** un coup d’œil par la fenêtre de l’immeuble-art nouveau en rouge-blanc-jaune, elle a observé l’épanouissement des mauvaises herbes entre les carreaux.

**FR-MT\*:** **Lorsque** Meder semblait weather-beaten à travers les fenêtres du rouge, jaune et blanc de l’art nouveau bâtiment, elle pourrait voir les mauvaises herbes qui grandissent par les tuiles.

Figure 5: Translation examples for the EN temporal connectives *while* and *when*, rendered in the FR reference as a ‘preposition + Verb in Gerund’ construction. MT generates the direct lexical equivalents *alors que* and *lorsque*.

*le même temps*. While the MT output is not totally wrong, it sounds disfluent, as *dans le même temps* after *alors que* is neither necessary nor appropriate.

In the baseline MT output for Example 2, the direct lexical equivalent for *when* – *lorsque* is generated, which is correct, although the translation has other mistakes such as the wrong verb *semblait* and the untranslated *weather-beaten*.

To model such cases for SMT one could use POS tags to detect the ‘DC + Present Continuous/Simple Past’ in EN and apply a rule to translate it to ‘Preposition + Gerund’ in FR. Furthermore, when two DCs follow each other in EN, and both can signal the *same* discourse relations, a word-deletion feature (as it is available in the Moses decoder via sparse features), could be used to trigger the deletion of one of the EN connectives, so that only one is translated to the TL. We

will examine in future work whether there are systematic patterns in the translation of such 'double' connectives in SL and TL. Another possibility would be to treat cases like *while at the same time* as a multi-word phrase that is then translated to the corresponding prepositional construction in FR.

#### 4.2 Conditional connectives from EN to DE

Out of the 41 cases involving a CONDITION relation (10.5% of all DE implications), 40 or 97.6% were due to the EN connective *if* not being translated to its DE equivalents *wenn*, *falls*, *ob*. Instead, in 21 cases (52.5%), the human reference translations made use of a verbal construction which obviates the need for a connective in DE when the verb in the *if*-clause is moved to sentence-initial position and its mood is made conditional, as in Figure 6, a reference translation from newstest2012, with the DE verb *wäre* (lit.: were) (VMFIN=modal finite verb, Konj=conditional). This construction is also available in EN (*Were you here, I would...*), but seems to be much more formal and less frequent than in DE where it is ordinarily used across registers. In the baseline MT output for this sentence, *if* was translated explicitly to the DE connective *wenn*, which is in principle correct, but the syntax of the translation is wrong, mainly due to the position of the verb *tun*, which should be at the end of the sentence.

The remaining 19 cases of EN *if* were either translated to DE prepositions (e.g. *bei*, *wo*, lit.: at, where) or the CONDITION relation is not expressed at all and verbs in indicative mood make the use of a conditional DE connective superfluous.

Of the 21 tokens of *if* whose reference translations used a verbal construction in DE, 14 (66.7%) were tokens of *if* whose argument clause explicitly referred to the preceding context – e.g., *if they were*, *if so*, *if this is true* etc. These occurrences could therefore be identified in EN and could be modeled for SMT as re-ordering rules on the verbal phrase in the DE syntax tree after constituent parsing in syntax-based translation models.

## 5 Conclusion

This study showed that human translators do not translate explicit EN discourse connectives as FR or DE discourse connectives in up to 18% of all cases. In MT output this happens about 3 times less often. We thus plan to examine how to pro-

**EN:** If not for computer science, they would be doing amazing things in other fields.

**DE-REF:** `_0_` **Wäre/VMFIN/Konj** es nicht die Computerbranche gewesen, würden sie in anderen Bereichen fantastische Dinge schaffen.

**DE-MT\*:** **Wenn** nicht für die Informatik, würden sie tun, erstaunlich, Dinge auf anderen Gebieten.

Figure 6: Translation example for the EN connective *if*, rendered in the DE reference as a construction with a sentence-initial verb in conditional mood. MT generates the direct lexical equivalent *wenn*.

duce higher-scoring translations without a target language connective but with some other syntactic pattern that conveys the same source language discourse relation. Depending on the features identified, movements of syntactical constituents or re-ordering of POS tags at the phrase and/or sub-tree level will be implemented for hierarchical syntactic or phrase-based SMT models.

## Acknowledgments

We are grateful to the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for partially funding this work and the research visit to Edinburgh with the COMTIS Sinergia project, n. CRSI22\_127510 (see [www.idiap.ch/comtis/](http://www.idiap.ch/comtis/)) and to the three anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments.

## References

- Shoshana Blum-Kulka. 1986. Shifts of Cohesion and Coherence in Translation. In Juliane House and Shoshana Blum-Kulka, editors, *Interlingual and Intercultural Communication. Discourse and cognition in translation and second language acquisition*, pages 17–35. Narr Verlag, Tübingen, Germany.
- Bruno Cartoni, Sandrine Zufferey, Thomas Meyer, and Andrei Popescu-Belis. 2011. How Comparable are Parallel Corpora? Measuring the Distribution of General Vocabulary and Connectives. In *Proceedings of 4th Workshop on Building and Using Comparable Corpora (BUCC)*, pages 78–86, Portland, OR.
- Marcello Federico, Nicola Bertoldi, and Mauro Cettolo. 2008. IRSTLM: an Open Source Toolkit for

- Handling Large Scale Language Models. In *Proceedings of Interspeech*, Brisbane, Australia.
- Najeh Hajlaoui and Andrei Popescu-Belis. 2013. Assessing the Accuracy of Discourse Connective Translations: Validation of an Automatic Metric. In *14th International Conference on Intelligent Text Processing and Computational Linguistics (CI-CLING)*, Samos, Greece.
- Sandra Halverson. 2004. Connectives as a Translation Problem. In H. et al. (Eds.) Kittel, editor, *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, pages 562–572. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/New York.
- Silvia Hansen-Schirra, Stella Neumann, and Erich Steiner. 2007. Cohesive Explicitness and Explicitation in an English-German Translation Corpus. *Languages in Contrast*, 7:241–265.
- Iustina Ilisei, Diana Inkpen, Gloria Pastor Corpas, and Ruslan Mitkov. 2010. Identification of Translationese: A Machine Learning Approach. In A. Gelbukh, editor, *Computational Linguistics and Intelligent Text Processing Lecture Notes in Computer Science*. Springer-Verlag, Berlin, Heidelberg, Germany.
- Philipp Koehn, Hieu Hoang, Alexandra Birch, Chris Callison-Burch, Marcello Federico, Nicola Bertoldi, Brooke Cowan, Wade Shen, Christine Moran, Richard Zens, Chris Dyer, Ondrej Bojar, Alexandra Constantin, and Evan Herbs. 2007. Moses: Open Source Toolkit for Statistical Machine Translation. In *Proceedings of 45th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL), Demonstration Session*, pages 177–180, Prague, Czech Republic.
- Philipp Koehn. 2005. Europarl: A Parallel Corpus for Statistical Machine Translation. In *Proceedings of MT Summit X*, pages 79–86, Phuket, Thailand.
- Moshe Koppel and Noam Ordan. 2011. Translationese and its Dialects. In *Proceedings of ACL-HLT 2011 (49th Annual Meeting of the ACL: Human Language Technologies)*, pages 1318–1326, Portland, OR.
- Franz Josef Och and Hermann Ney. 2003. A Systematic Comparison of Various Statistical Alignment Models. *Computational Linguistics*, 29(1):19–51.
- Rashmi Prasad, Nikhil Dinesh, Alan Lee, Eleni Miltakaki, Livio Robaldo, Aravind Joshi, and Bonnie Webber. 2008. The Penn Discourse Treebank 2.0. In *Proceedings of 6th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC)*, pages 2961–2968, Marrakech, Morocco.
- Rashmi Prasad, Aravind Joshi, and Bonnie Webber. 2010. Realization of Discourse Relations by Other Means: Alternative Lexicalizations. In *Proceedings of the 23rd International Conference on Computational Linguistics (COLING)*, pages 1023–1031, Beijing, China.
- Sandrine Zufferey, Liesbeth Degand, Andrei Popescu-Belis, and Ted Sanders. 2012. Empirical Validations of Multilingual Annotation Schemes for Discourse Relations. In *Proceedings of ISA-8 (8th Workshop on Interoperable Semantic Annotation)*, pages 77–84, Pisa, Italy.

EN conn.	Majority rel.	Tokens	EN conn.	Majority rel.	Tokens
after	Asynchrony	575/577	just as	Synchrony	13/14
also	Conjunction	1735/1746	later	Asynchrony	90/91
although	Contrast	*157/328	meanwhile	Synchrony	148/193
as	Synchrony	543/743	moreover	Conjunction	100/101
as a result	Cause	78/78	nevertheless	Concession	*19/44
as if	Concession	*4/16	nonetheless	Concession	17/27
as long as	Condition	20/24	now that	Cause	20/22
as soon as	Asynchrony	11/20	once	Asynchrony	78/84
because	Cause	854/858	on the other hand	Contrast	35/37
before	Asynchrony	326/326	otherwise	Alternative	22/24
but	Contrast	2427/3308	previously	Asynchrony	49/49
by contrast	Contrast	27/27	separately	Conjunction	73/74
even if	Concession	*41/83	since	Cause	104/184
even though	Concession	72/95	so that	Cause	31/31
finally	Asynchrony	*14/32	still	Concession	83/190
for example	Instantiation	194/196	then	Asynchrony	312/340
for instance	Instantiation	98/98	therefore	Cause	26/26
however	Contrast	355/485	though	Concession	*156/320
if	Condition	1127/1223	thus	Cause	112/112
in addition	Conjunction	165/165	unless	Alternative	94/95
indeed	Conjunction	54/104	until	Asynchrony	140/162
in fact	Restatement	*39/82	when	Synchrony	594/989
instead	Alternative	109/112	while	Contrast	455/781
in turn	Asynchrony	20/30	yet	Contrast	53/101

Table 1: English connectives with a frequency above 20 in the PDTB. Also listed are the level-2 majority relations with the number of tokens out of the total tokens of the connective in the PDTB (counts including the majority relation being part of a composite sense tag). \*For some connectives there is no level-2 majority because some instances have only been annotated with level-1 senses. We did not consider the connectives *and* and *or* (too many non-connective occurrences for automatic detection).