

THE DISCOURSE MARKERS INDEED, IN FACT, REALLY AND ACTUALLY AND THEIR SPANISH EQUIVALENTS IN ECONOMY¹

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Abstract: This article explores the translation procedures followed in the rendering of the adverbials *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* in a parallel corpus of English texts and their Spanish counterparts in the field of economy. While the adverbials mentioned are all categorized as boosters according to Hyland's classification of metadiscourse markers (2005) in the source corpus, their Spanish correspondents may fall within other such metadiscourse categories as attitude and hedging markers, for example. The study of these variants contributes to our understanding of the processes involved in the translation of these markers, which seem to correspond to an intention of the translators to provide adequate translated versions so that these texts read as naturally in the target language as possible. Our methodology of inquiry involves corpus linguistics tools in order to interrogate a parallel corpus and retrieve cases of the adverbials *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually*. Our approach to discourse markers includes Schiffrin (1987), Fraser (1996), Jucker & Ziv (1998), Aijmer (2002), and especially Buysse (2012), Ghezzi (2014), Carrió-Pastor (2016a, 2016b), and Furkó (2020). Our notion of metadiscourse follows Hyland (2005) from where we have also taken the taxonomy of metadiscourse markers used in the analysis of data to classify findings. The identification and the classification of the translation procedures rely on Cruz-García (2014). Conclusions report on the most frequent translations procedures and the commonest Spanish forms used to translate the adverbial analysed, including their metadiscourse functions.

Keywords: discourse markers, contrastive analysis, translation, metadiscourse.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article explores the translation procedures followed in the rendering of the adverbials *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* in a parallel corpus of English texts and their Spanish counterparts in the field of economy. While the adverbials mentioned are all categorized as boosters according to Hyland's classification of metadiscourse markers (2005) in the source corpus, their Spanish correspondents may fall within other such metadiscourse categories as attitude and hedging markers, for example. The study of these variants contributes to our understanding of the processes involved in the translation of these markers, which seem to correspond to an intention of the translators to provide adequate translated versions so that these texts read as naturally in the target language as possible (cf. Carrió-Pastor and Muñiz-Calderón, 2015). The indexical nature of the adverbials as discourse markers allows variation in the target texts to meet particular communicative needs. As discourse markers, these devices may be felt as optional, and they may be omitted in the target texts.

Our methodology of inquiry involves corpus linguistics tools in order to interrogate a parallel corpus and retrieve cases of the adverbials *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually*. Our approach to discourse markers includes Schiffrin (1987), Fraser (1996), Jucker & Ziv (1998), Aijmer (2002) and especially Buysse (2012), Ghezzi (2014) and Furkó (2020). Our notion of metadiscourse follows Hyland (2005) from where we have also taken the taxonomy of metadiscourse markers used in the analysis of data to classify findings. The identification and the classification of the translation procedures rely on Cruz-García (2014).

The structure of this paper is as follows: firstly, we offer a notion of discourse markers along with their characteristics. Section 3 deals with a description of the corpus and the methodology deployed in our study. In this section, we also include a definition of metadiscourse and an account of a taxonomy of translation procedures

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in which our samples may fit. Section 4 contains the discussion of findings according to the criteria of the position of adverbials in the source and the target texts, their form in the target texts, the translation procedures exhibited and their metadiscourse functions. The last section gives the conclusions drawn from the present study.

2. DISCOURSE MARKERS

The notion of discourse marker is very often related to the spoken rather than the written mode (Ghezzi & Molinelli, 2014: 1), especially when this term is deployed in the domain of language teaching and interaction. The terminology is very confusing, and such terms as conjunctions, discourse connectives, discourse particles, discourse operators and cue markers might be used indistinctively (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Jucker, 1993; Brinton, 1996; Jucker & Ziv, 1998; Aijmer, 2002; Blakemore & Gallai, 2014; Torabi Asr & Demberg, 2020). The terminological maze was evident in the last century (Jucker & Ziv, 1998: 1), and even today there seems to be a unanimous position of scholars in this respect (Bouveret & Carter-Thomas, 2020: 136). The terms 'discourse marker' and 'pragmatic marker' often have overlapping functions in the literature, as pointed out in Furkó (2020: 2). For Furkó (2020), the term 'discourse marker' seems to be the superordinate element, but for Fraser (1996), and also for Andersen and Fretheim (2000: 2-3), this appears to be the other way round. In any of these approaches, the discourse and the pragmatic dimensions of the term discourse marker are clearly acknowledged, but this does not explain the indistinctive use of these two terms. Ghezzi (2014) offers a description of these terms as follows:

The label 'pragmatic marker' has often been used as a cover term to describe functions associated with this range of heterogeneous forms precisely to underline the fact that the meaning of these items is functional in nature, as it has its origin in the communicative exchange (2014:12).

[...] the term 'discourse marker' is mainly used to refer to elements that index the structure of discourse, functioning as discourse-cohesive devices that stress intra-discourse relations and specify how the message or its content is related to the preceding and following discourse or the extralinguistic situation (2014:15).

The first definition emphasizes the functional communicative dimension of pragmatic markers, while the second definition focuses on the potential for signalling textual relations of discourse markers. These descriptions appear convincing although they do not tell whether a discourse marker can have an additional pragmatic and not only textual function. In addition, none of the definitions reports on the interpersonal meaning of these markers. Furkó (2020: 1) points out that ideally, a discourse marker does not have propositional scope in the sense that these markers "do not typically change the propositional meaning of an utterance", but they certainly add an attitudinal value to the proposition. In this direction, some authors have identified a hedging function in the use of discourse markers seemingly to attenuate the certainty of the proposition framed (Berk-Seligson, 2002: 180).

Our definition of discourse marker is along the lines of Schiffrin's (1987): She defines discourse markers as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin, 1987: 132). This means that discourse markers are not obligatory elements of utterances, but are useful to frame certain acts of speech so as to attain the author's position. The indexical function of discourse markers is observed in Buysse (2012: 1764), as they "connect an utterance to its co-text and context". The textual function of discourse markers is, as shown in Halliday and Hassan (1976: 226), dependent on the meaning a particular marker has. The meaning of discourse markers as units of natural speech appears to emerge from their own particular meanings, which seem tailor-made to accommodate their specific function in discourse. Fraser (1990; 1996; 1999) claims that "when an expression functions as a discourse marker, that is its exclusive function in the sentence" (Fraser, 1990: 189). For Fraser, there is a clear distinction between the semantics and the pragmatics of these markers. Blakemore is more inclusive, and a discourse marker represents "a syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode" (2004: 221). Torabi Asr and Demberg (2020: 378) have a more radical stance and claim that the meaning of a discourse marker does not strictly follow from an underspecified core meaning, and then the disambiguation of meaning depends on their neighbouring words. Be as it may, the role of context is obvious, and this includes the position of discourse markers in the utterance. Thus, a particular discourse marker can be clause-initial, clause-medial or clause-final, all of them may fulfil seemingly distinct communicative goals. There are cases in which a particular marker seems to be structure-independent, which is but an indication of a later state of grammaticalization, and they can, therefore, appear virtually anywhere in the sentence, as pointed out in Furkó (2020: 10).

Concerning the particular meaning of discourse markers, these are "said to carry little or no propositional meaning [...], which implies that they do not contribute to the propositional content of an utterance" (Lutzky, 2012: 18), and this is the reason why these markers cannot always be translated from one language to another. They are either omitted, or they need to be paraphrased or replaced by equivalent devices in the target text, as we shall see in our analyses of examples. Instead, discourse markers are normally agreed to have a procedural meaning (Nyan, 2016: 3), and so they seem to indicate a particular reading of the text in which these units occur.

In this context, a discourse marker represents a constraint “on the context in which the hearer is expected to process the utterance” (Schourup, 2011: 2121). For this reason, these markers are generally said not to have propositional scope, as pointed out in Crible and Pascual (2020: 58). Nevertheless, following Fischer (2006), these authors add that discourse markers can indicate textual organization and hierarchy, in addition to contribute as interactional cues in communication. They also argue that discourse markers may “express the speaker’s modality (e.g. approximation, mitigation)” (Crible & Pascual, 2020: 58), thus contradicting their assumption that discourse markers have no effect on the proposition, for modulators have an effect on the propositional content of the utterance by definition. Following our personal caveats in this respect, we assume in principle that discourse markers have an interactional dimension that affects both the textual dimension and the illocutionary meaning of utterances, as their role also as attitudinal markers is evident. Their role as modulators is less clear, and we should take the directions in Crible and Pascual (2020) and their source references with caution in this respect. With this in mind, we shall examine the instances excerpted from our parallel corpus of technical texts in the domain of economy.

3. METHOD AND DATA

Our method of enquiry includes the analysis of texts using a corpus linguistics methodology to retrieve data from a parallel corpus of English texts and their Spanish translations in the field of economy. Our corpus is called SCOPE and has been designed and prepared by the Computational Linguistics Group (SLI) at the University of Vigo in Spain². The corpus consultation to obtain concordances in the source, and the target languages can be performed using their own corpus tool. The corpus size represents a total of 1,151,544 words, and these constitute 26,286 translation units, which are distributed into the subcorpus of English texts with an amount of 536,823 words and into the subcorpus of 614,721 words.

Our research procedure also includes a detailed analysis and tagging of every example of the adverbials examined using the Apple Numbers application to obtain accurate statistic figures which may include such aspects as position of discourse markers in either language, the form of the translated material of the source discourse markers, the metadiscourse function fulfilled by the target translated material, and the translation strategies exhibited by the Spanish rendering. In accordance with our description of discourse markers, we may predict that these markers might be potentially categorised as transitions and frame markers in the domain of the interactive metadiscourse strategies and as hedges, boosters, attitude markers and relational markers in the domain of the interpersonal metadiscourse strategies (Hyland, 2005: 49). Interactive markers are meant “to shape and constrain a text to meet the needs of particular readers”, and interactional markers are deployed “to make his or her views explicit and to involve readers by allowing them to respond to the unfolding text” (Hyland, 2005: 49). The definitions and examples of these categories taken from the source are given in Table 1:

Table 1. Potential metadiscourse categories fulfilled by metadiscourse markers.

Interactive domain	Transitions	<i>in addition, and, but</i>
	“express relations between main clauses”	
	Frame markers	<i>finally, to conclude</i>
	“refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages”	
Interpersonal domain	Hedges	<i>perhaps, possibly</i>
	“withhold commitment and open dialogue”	
	Boosters	<i>in fact, definitely</i>
	“emphasize certainty or close dialogue”	
	Attitude markers	<i>unfortunately, surprisingly</i>
	“express writer’s attitude to proposition”	

The identification of translation procedures will be performed using the categories described in Cruz-García (2014) and applied earlier to the description of translation strategies in another corpus (Alonso-Almeida & Sánchez, 2016). Translation procedures are used to introduce adjustments in the target text to accommodate meaning. These changes can be textual and cultural features and comprise up to 11 categories, which are gathered into 5 groups representing the relationship between the source text and the target text, as shown in Table 2. This information has been taken from Alonso-Almeida and Sánchez (2016) after Cruz-García (2014).

² This corpus can be accessed through SLI Internet site at <http://sli.uvigo.ga/CLUVI/>.

Table 2. Translation procedures.

Group	Procedure	Definition
Reduction	Omission	Some part of the text is not given in the target text.
	Condensation	Translated material presents a reduction of monemes.
Extension	Addition	Translated material presents new material not given in the source text.
	Explicitation	The target text present information, which is only implicit in the source text.
	Amplification	Translated material presents more morphemes than the source text.
Focalisation	Modulation	The target text offers a different perspective.
	Compensation	Material in the source text appears in a different syntactic position in the translated version.
Substitution	Partial creation	The translated version contains new material in lieu of the original and with a different meaning.
	Partial adaptation	A cultural element of the source text is given in the target text with an equivalent element of the target culture.
	Equivalence	An expression of the source text is replaced with a pragmatically similar expression in the target text, but one which is different in form and meaning.
Non-translation	Partial foreignization	A portion of the original language of the source text is preserved in the translated version.

The results of our analysis will represent the distribution of the variables concerning clause-position, formal aspect of the Spanish renderings, their metadiscourse category and the translation procedure used in the target text will be given both in raw numbers and in percentages. This will allow comparison of variation between the two subcorpora. Our analysis will also show that the English adverbs share the same renderings in Spanish, thus indicating the same functional values.

4. INDEED, IN FACT, REALLY AND ACTUALLY

The analysis the corpus has returned 912 cases of *indeed, in fact, actually* and *really*. The form *actually* is the most frequent item, and this is followed by *in fact, really* and *indeed*, in this order.

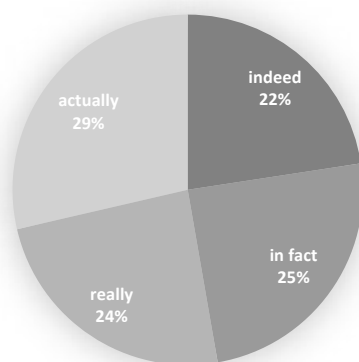


Figure 1. Position of the adverbials in the source language.

Our description of these forms in the source and the target texts includes (a) the sentence position of these adverbials and their translations, (b) the form they take in the target texts, and (c) their meanings and functions in these target texts. Variation in the translations, as we shall see, reveal the translators' understanding of the source adverbials.

4.1 Position

The position of these adverbials in the source texts are graphically exhibited in Figure 2.

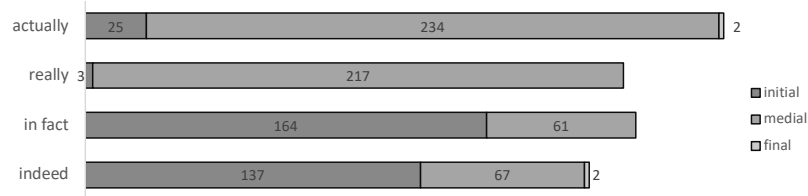


Figure 2. Position of the adverbials in the source language.

The forms *in fact* and *indeed* frequently appear in initial position in higher frequencies. The adverbials *actually* and *really* also present cases in initial position, but the preferred position of these items is the medial position. The adverbials *in fact* and *indeed* can also occupy this medial position. Final position is not very common, and the only cases identified in this position involve the forms *actually* and *indeed*. Examples are the following:

1. **Indeed**, with many Americans desperate to find work or struggling to make ends meet, we are still living with many of those effects (BLI(190)).
2. Still, the prediction that the supposedly inflationary actions of the Fed would not, **in fact**, lead to higher inflation has been borne out (KRU(1861)).
3. And there was one more huge problem--an insuperable barrier, **actually** (BLI(4178)).

These forms are translated differently in the target texts, and their position may also differ with respect to the source texts, as shown in Figure 3:

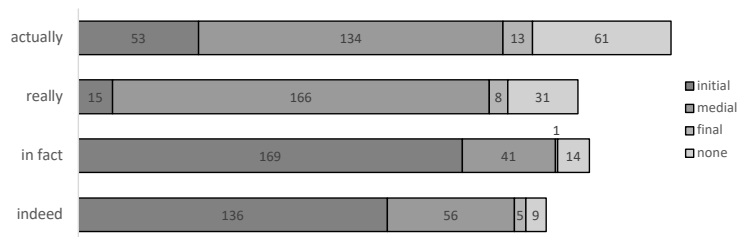


Figure 3. Position of the translated elements in the target language. None refers to non-translation of the adverbials.

Focusing first on *actually*, this form appears more frequently in medial position in the target texts; otherwise, it is given initially and rarely in final position in the sentence. Even if this tendency to appear medially is shared in both the source and the target texts, the favourite position of this adverbial in the source texts is clearly the initial position, as seen in Figure 2 and Figure 3. The way in which the source and the targets texts relate as to the position of *actually* and its translated variants is given in Table 3:

Table 3. Position of *actually* and its Spanish renderings. Key: I(nitially), M(edially), F(inally), and N stands for none or non-translated.

	I-I	I-M	I-F	I-N	M-I	M-M	M-F	M-N	F-I	F-M	F-F	F-N
actually	19	4	3	2	34	132	9	56	0	1	1	0

This table indicates that the medial-medial position is the commonest one, followed by the media-non-translated and the medial-initial positions, in this order. Some examples are:

4. [M-M] ENG: Lending without recourse **actually** puts you in an inferior position to buying an asset outright BLI(2808).

SPA: Realizar un préstamo sin recurso te sitúa **realmente** en peor posición que si compras el activo directamente.

5. [M-N] ENG: All parties to an agreement have to want to embrace the goal, do the work, and accept the risks; they also have to believe that others involved in the deal will **actually** work productively toward the common goal and do all the things that the best information suggests should be done SHI(253).

SPA: Todas las partes de un acuerdo han de querer alcanzar la meta, hacer el trabajo y aceptar los riesgos; también deben creer que las demás personas implicadas en el trato trabajarán de manera productiva por el fin común y que harán lo que la mejor información sugiere que hay que hacer.

6. [M-I] ENG: **Actually**, it does KLU(1783).

SPA: **En realidad**, sí puede ser.

The distribution of *in fact*, *indeed* and *really* in the source and the target texts is indicated in Table 4:

Table 4. Position of *indeed*, *in fact* and *really* and their Spanish renderings. Key: I(nitially), M(edially), F(inally), and N stands for none or non-translated.

	I-I	I-M	I-F	I-N	M-I	M-M	M-F	M-N	F-I	F-M	F-F	F-N
indeed	127	4	2	4	9	52	1	5	0	0	2	0
in fact	147	7	1	9	22	34	0	5	0	0	0	0
really	2	1	0	0	13	165	8	31	0	0	0	0

The adverbials *in fact* and *indeed* are frequently found in left periphery, and this really stresses their function as stance markers to reinforce the writers' perspective. This perspectivization appears to be retained in the target texts, as in these instances, in which both adverbials are rendered with *de hecho* strongly reporting on the factuality of the events described:

7. [I-I] ENG: **In fact**, the U.S government almost shut down in April 2011 over its inability to pass anything that remotely resembled a budget (BLI(7228)).

SPA: **De hecho**, el gobierno de Estados Unidos casi se colapsó en abril de 2011 por su incapacidad para aprobar nada que se asemejase ni remotamente a un presupuesto.

8. [I-I] ENG: **Indeed**, one of the first common stocks ever issued, in the South Sea Company in England, was hyped into the first stock-market bubble--the famed South Sea Bubble of 1720--which devastated, among others, a pretty smart fellow named Isaac Newton (BLI(190)).

SPA: **De hecho**, unos de los primeros títulos bursátiles emitidos en la historia, los de la South Sea Company de Inglaterra, causaron la primera burbuja bursátil que se conoce --la célebre Burbuja South Sea de 1720--, que arruinó, entre otros muchos, a un tipo bastante inteligente llamado Isaac Newton.

Medial *indeed* and *in fact* in the source texts are also rendered in medial position in the target texts, as shown in these instances:

9. [M-M] ENG: Casual observation **indeed** suggests that smarter investors do tend to win (SHI(634)).

SPA: Una observación superficial sugiere **de hecho** que los inversores más astutos tienden a ganar.

10. [M-M] ENG: But one is left wondering what tasks one really wants done--and whether one can **in fact** use the wealth to persuade others to do those tasks constructively, and not end up spending the money on something very different from what one wanted (SHI2484).

SPA: pero nos quedamos con la duda de qué tareas queremos realmente ver cumplidas, y de si deseamos **realmente** utilizar la riqueza para convencer a los demás de que hagan estas tareas de manera constructiva, y no acabar gastando el dinero en algo muy distinto de lo que queríamos.

The form *really* is primarily found in medial position, in the vicinity of the verb, thus highlighting the meaning of the propositional content, as exhibited in (11), below. The adverb *really* medially is also often non-translated, as exemplified in (12).

11. [M-M] ENG: But the corruption **really** began in the political process that created the program and still allows it to continue. (STI(3770)).

SPA: Pero la corrupción **realmente** empezó con el proceso político que creó el programa y que permite que siga existiendo.

12. [M-N] ENG: Customers didn't **really** trust certification that a private firm might provide. (STI(3697)).

SPA: Los clientes no confiaban en la certificación de las empresas privadas.

4.2 Form

The forms in which the adverbials *indeed, in fact, really* and *actually* are translated in the Spanish texts show the distribution in Figure 4:

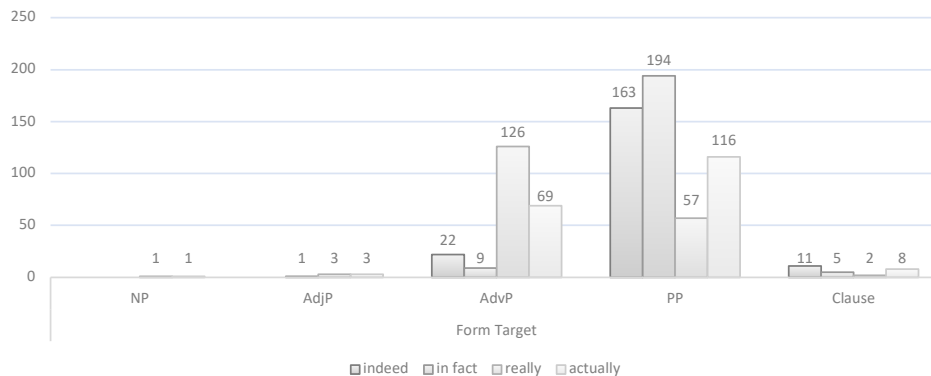


Figure 4. Form of the Spanish renderings. Key: N(oun) P(hrase), Adj(ective) P(hrase), Adv(erb) P(hrase), and P(repositional) P(hrase).

Prepositional phrases are in the lead with 530 cases in total, and the related forms *in fact, indeed* and *actually* are more commonly translated using this structure, as shown in the examples, below. The use of this form for *really* is less common if compared with the set of adverbials mentioned previously:

13. ENG: Recently economic theorist John Geanakoplos has expanded on Fisher's theory; he argues that although there has not been significant deflation during the severe financial crisis that began in 2007, the crisis is **indeed** well thought of as a debt overhang problem (SHI(2956)).

SPA: Hace poco, el economista teórico John Geanakoplos ha ampliado la teoría de Fisher: afirma que, aunque no ha habido una deflación significativa durante la grave crisis iniciada en 2007, ésta se considera **en efecto** como un problema de exceso de deuda.

14. ENG: **In fact**, for the thirty-five years leading up to the crisis, the international financial system was a hybrid (SPE(2207)).

SPA: **En realidad**, durante los treinta y cinco años precedentes a la crisis actual, el sistema financiero internacional había sido una especie de híbrido.

15. ENG: It was as if other countries' views were an afterthought, something that had to be dealt with politely but not **actually** incorporated into any important decisions. (STI(4736)).

SPA: Era como si las opiniones de los demás países fueran ocurrencias, algo que había que tratar educadamente pero no incorporar **en serio** a ninguna decisión importante.

16. ENG: Who **really** knew what these firms did? (BLI(2865)).

SPA: ¿Quién sabía **con exactitud** lo que hacían estas entidades?

The second more frequent form is the adverbial phrase with 226 cases, and this is the most usual structure for the Spanish translations of *really* and *actually*, while the Spanish variants *in fact* and *indeed* are not typically rendered as adverbial phrases. Some instances are these:

17. ENG: Times had **indeed** changed (BLI(733)).

SPA: Los tiempos habían cambiado **mucho**.

18. ENG: If this was **in fact** the case, then Aristotle had a point: mathematicians will win when pitted against naïve counterparties (BLI(1593)).

SPA: Si éste era **realmente** el caso, entonces Aristóteles tenía razón: los matemáticos ganarán cuando compitan con contrapartes ingenuos.

19. ENG: The stock market crumbled--first on the news that TARP might fail and then on the fact that it **actually** did fail (BLI(4849)).

SPA: tras la que el mercado bursátil se derrumbó, primero por la noticia de que el TARP podía fracasar y después por el hecho de que **efectivamente** fracasó.

20. ENG: How much of a concentration of economic blessings do we **really** want to allow? (SHI(3684)).

SPA: ¿Cuánta concentración de bienestar económico queremos **realmente** permitir?

Clauses, adjective phrases, and noun phrases are also deployed in the source texts for the adverbials studied here. Adjective and noun phrases are indeed very unusual devices to translate these adverbials, and some instances are given in (21) and (22):

21. ENG: The question, then, wasn't whether it was possible for austerity to **actually** expand the economy through these channels; it was whether it was at all plausible to believe that favorable effects through either the interest rate or the expected tax channel would offset the direct depressing effect of lower government spending, particularly under current conditions (KRU(2374)).

[NP] SPA: La pregunta, pues, no era si resultaba posible que la austeridad tuviera **el efecto de** expandir la economía a través de estos canales; era la de si resultaba en absoluto verosímil creer que los efectos favorables (ya fuese mediante la tasa de interés o la expectativa de futuros impuestos) sirvieran para compensar el efecto depresor directo de una rebaja del gasto gubernamental; particularmente, en las circunstancias actuales.

22. ENG: Evolution **really** happened (BLI(4500)).

[AdjP] SPA: La evolución de las especies es **real**.

Clauses are more frequent than NPs and AdjPs to render the English adverbials studied here, with the exception of the adverbial *really*, which is translated using a clause only twice in the entire corpus. Examples of these clauses involving significant extension, especially in the case of *actually* in (24), are the following:

23. ENG: Something was **indeed** wrong with the process as it had developed by the early 2000s (SHI(1052)).

SPA: **Estaba claro que** había algo en el proceso, tal y como se había desarrollado desde comienzos de 2000, que no funcionaba bien.

24. ENG: Reviving the HOLC was not the only foreclosure mitigation idea to emerge from the academy in 2008, and they didn't all come from spend-thrifty (**actually** borrow-thrifty) Democrats like me (BLI(5990)).

SPA: La recuperación de la HOLC no fue la única idea en relación con la mitigación de los problemas planteados por las ejecuciones hipotecarias que surgió del mundo académico en 2008, y no todas procedían de demócratas despilfarradores como yo (**aunque insisto en que se trataba de** préstamos, no de gastos).

4.3 Meaning and function

The translation of *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* show much variation in the target texts. As seen in Figure 5, literal translation, amplification, and non-translation are the commonest translation procedures identified in our parallel corpus:

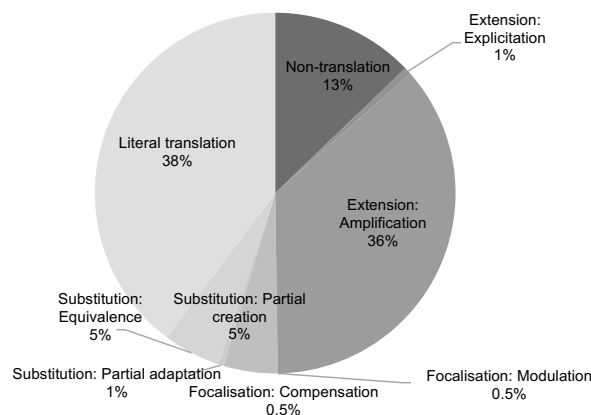


Figure 5. Translation procedures.

We need to say that this number of occurrences of amplification cases is the result of considering the adverbial *de hecho* as the rendering of *indeed* and *actually* in this category. Our motivation is simply that the quantity of monemes is higher in the target language. However, this rendering could be classified as a literal translation from a semantic point of view. Table 5 presents the Spanish correspondences in the corpus for the adverbials *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually*, which are the result of the translation procedures deployed and summarized in Figure 5. The metadiscourse functions these renderings carry out in the target texts are also offered in this table:

Table 5. Spanish equivalents and metadiscourse categories in the target texts.

ENGLISH	SPANISH			
	Textual	Interpersonal		
	Logical 11/791	Hedge 3/791	Booster 557/791	Attitude marker 220/791
<i>indeed</i>	<i>así, más aún, de hecho</i>	<i>como quien dice</i>	<i>de hecho, efectivamente, realmente, en verdad, en efecto, a veces incluso</i>	<i>mucho, no cabe duda, lo cierto es que, sin duda, está claro que, de veras, desde luego, en realidad, ciertamente, obviamente, por no decir, personalmente</i>
	4	1	142	45
<i>in fact</i>	<i>finalmente, por el contrario, ni siquiera, pues por mi parte, en realidad</i>		<i>de hecho, efectivamente, en efecto, realmente</i>	<i>es cierto que, lo cierto es que, en la práctica, real, en (la) realidad, ciertamente, precisamente</i>
	6	0	180	25
<i>really</i>		<i>acaso, a veces</i>	<i>realmente, en verdad</i>	<i>a ciencia cierta, excesivamente, en realidad, verdaderamente, de verdad, ciertamente, ante todo</i>
	0	2	125	58
<i>actually</i>	<i>por el contrario</i>		<i>realmente, de hecho, en efecto, en verdad, exactamente, objetivamente</i>	<i>acaso, lo cierto es que, en realidad (más bien), más bien, aunque insisto en que se trataba de, la verdad es que, el efecto de, que en la actualidad, real, efectivo, literalmente, muchas ganas de, en su totalidad, en serio, de veras, de verdad, finalmente</i>
	1	0	110	91

There are 12 cases of textual metadiscourse devices classified as logical markers in the target texts. These are the result of amplification, as in (25) and partial creation, as in (26) and (27), translation procedures. Equivalence and literal translation are also used, as exemplified in (28) and (29), respectively. In (28), the textual dimension of *And... in fact* is captured in the use of *en realidad* in the left periphery.

25. ENG: The Great Depression coincided with the decline of U.S. agriculture; **indeed**, agricultural prices were falling even before the stock market crash in 1929 (SHI(725)).

[Amplification] SPA: La Gran Depresión coincidió con el declive de la agricultura estadounidense; **de hecho**, los precios agrícolas estaban bajando incluso antes del gran crac de la bolsa en 1929.

26. ENG: **In fact**, Dodd decided not to run again in 2010 (BLI (5683)).

[Partial creation] SPA: Dodd decidió **finalmente** no volver a presentarse en 2010.

27. ENG: **In fact**, it won't be a tragedy if the debt actually continues to grow, as long as it grows more slowly than the sum of inflation and economic growth (KRU (1722)).

[Partial creation] SPA: **Pues** no supondría ninguna tragedia que la deuda continuara aumentando, a condición de que lo haga más lentamente que la inflación y el crecimiento económico.

28. ENG: **And** the Obama administration has **in fact** had a program, the Home Affordable Refinance Program, with that goal (KRU (2658)).

[Literal translation] SPA: **En realidad**, el gobierno de Obama contó con un programa creado para este fin, el HARP (Programa de Refinación Asequible de la Vivienda).

29. ENG: **Indeed**, one Western nation, Hungary, already seems well on its way toward reverting to an authoritarian regime reminiscent of those that spread across much of Europe in the 1930s (KRU (258)).

[Equivalence] SPA: **Así**, una de las naciones occidentales, Hungría, ha avanzado mucho en el camino de regresar a un régimen autoritario que recuerda a los que se expandieron por tantos países de Europa en los años treinta.

The use of *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* as interpersonal metadiscourse markers is more evident in the light of the examples in this category identified, i.e. 780 out of 791. The number of these as hedges is minimal: 1 translated case of *indeed* and 2 cases of *really*. An example of the latter is given in (30) in which the combined use of *could* and *really* are used with a rhetorical force to indicate authorial hesitance concerning the proposition framed by *could* and *really*:

30. ENG: Could it **really** be that profligate Greece was no more likely to default than stolid Germany? (BLI (7454)).

[Equivalence; hedge] SPA: ¿**Acaso** era posible que la despilfarradora Grecia no tuviera más probabilidades de entrar en situación de impago financiero que la imperturbable Alemania?

The adverbials studied in this paper are rendered to indicate a strengthening effect in the target texts. There are several variants to designate this function. In the case of *de hecho*, this is by far the commonest booster in the corpus with 167, 109 and 38 cases, corresponding to a literal translation of *in fact* and the amplification processes of *indeed* and *actually*, respectively. A second more usual marker in this category in the target corpus is *realmente*. This adverb is given as the literal translation of *really*, *actually*, *indeed* and those represent 117, 53 and 12, respectively. In the case of *in fact*, this is translated 4 times with this Spanish word. Some examples are:

31. ENG: **Indeed**, with many Americans desperate to find work or struggling to make ends meet, we are still living with many of those effects (BLI(190)).

[Amplification; booster] SPA: **De hecho**, con muchos de estos ciudadanos desesperados por conseguir trabajo y haciendo malabarismos para llegar a fin de mes, aún hoy seguimos sufriendo estos efectos.

32. ENG: But at the decisive moment, when what we **really** needed was clarity, economists presented a cacophony of views, undermining rather than reinforcing the case for action (KRU(1343)).

[Literal translation; booster] SPA: Pero en el momento decisivo, cuando lo que **realmente** necesitábamos era claridad, los economistas presentaron una cacofonía de puntos de vista que, más que reforzar la necesidad de una actuación, contribuyó a socavarla.

The form *indeed* in (31) is placed in the left periphery and, in this context, the adverbial strengthens the meaning and the position of the author with respect to the information presented. The position of the adverbial is retained in the target text, and the form *de hecho* is, therefore, also given initially, thus emphasizing the boosting effect of the Spanish adverbial. In the case of *really* in (32), this adverbial appears in a medial position preceding the lexical verbs both in the target and the source texts, plainly affecting the propositional content of the sentences in which they are embedded.

The rest of the Spanish boosters amounting to 61 cases include such markers as *efectivamente*, *realmente*, *en verdad*, *en efecto*, *a veces incluso*, *ciertamente*, *en verdad*, *exactamente* and *objetivamente*, which exemplify cases of different translation procedures, which we signal in the selected instances in (33) and (34). The first example with the source adverbial *indeed* is interesting in the sense that, while the boosting effect is preserved, the expression *a veces incluso* represents a case of partial creation. The target text presents a form with more monemes, and its meaning has changed. In the case of (34), the Spanish word *exactamente* has a similar pragmatic meaning to the source adverbial *actually*. In both instances, the adverbial seeks to accentuate the meaning of the sentence where they appear.

33. ENG: The current crisis has shown, however, that market failures can be complex and pervasive and are not so easily corrected, and **indeed**, following mechanical rules may make matters worse (STI (4204)).

[Partial creation; booster] SPA: La crisis actual, sin embargo, ha demostrado que los fallos del mercado pueden ser complejos y extenderse, y que no son tan fáciles de corregir; **a veces incluso** seguir reglas mecánicas puede empeorar las cosas.

34. ENG: Prices were set by individual investors and day traders, many of whom would have flunked a quiz on what the companies **actually** produced or did, if such a quiz had been administered (SPE (3978)).

[Equivalence; booster] SPA: Los precios los determinaban inversores individuales y operadores intradía, muchos de los cuales habrían suspendido un cuestionario sobre qué era **exactamente** lo que producían o hacían estas compañías, en caso de que este test se hubiera llevado a cabo.

The translated forms *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* are also deployed as attitude markers, and we have identified 220 cases with several variants, which are given in Table 5, above. The examples in (35) and (36) include the Spanish forms *personalmente* and *en serio* as renderings of *indeed* and *actually*, respectively. These two translated adverbials exhibit the author's perspective. While, in (35), the use of *personalmente* unambiguously signals stance, in the specific case of (36), the adverbial *en serio* implies subjective positioning, particularly in the realm of truth. The translation of *really* into *ante todo* in (37) indicates a difference in perspective in the target text with respect to the source text. The adverbial *really* means factuality, but the form *ante todo* reflects a restriction concerning banking associates and members.

35. ENG: The Austerian desire to slash government spending and reduce deficits even in the face of a depressed economy may be wrongheaded; **indeed**, my view is that it's deeply destructive (KRU (2449)).

[Equivalence; attitude] SPA: El deseo «austeríaco» de dar un tijeretazo al gasto gubernamental y reducir los déficits aun en el contexto de una economía deprimida quizá sea obstinado; **personalmente**, diría más aún, que es profundamente destructivo.

36. ENG: It was as if other countries' views were an afterthought, something that had to be dealt with politely but not **actually** incorporated into any important decisions (STI (4373)).

[Equivalence; attitude] SPA: Era como si las opiniones de los demás países fueran ocurrencias, algo que había que tratar educadamente pero no incorporar **en serio** a ninguna decisión importante.

37. ENG: Thirty years ago, shadow banking was a minor part of the financial system; banking **really** was about big marble buildings with rows of tellers (KRU (824)).

[Equivalence; attitude marker] SPA: Hace treinta años, esta banca paralela era una parte menor del sistema financiero; la banca la formaban, **ante todo**, los grandes edificios de mármol con hileras de cajeros.

Another instance of attitude marker is given in (38), which includes a case of *in fact* in the source text. This adverbial functions as a booster, but it is reinterpreted as an attitude marker in the target text:

38. ENG: This is, **in fact**, a sensible question to ask when the economy is at more or less full employment.

[Partial creation; attitude] SPA: **Para ser justos**, se trata de una pregunta sensata, cuando la economía funciona en un nivel de pleno empleo, o similar.

In (38), medial *in fact* in the source text is given as *para ser justos* in the target text. This Spanish expression appears in the left periphery to plainly indicate perspectivization concerning the information presented. We think that the change of position has the specific function of framing the complete text and somehow, a particular reading of the text is forced. This is seen in (36), where the meaning of the attitude marker falls in the domain of truth and accuracy.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper describes the Spanish equivalences of *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* in a parallel corpus in the field of economy. Our study has considered the variables of position, form and function of the adverbials analyzed in order to explain variation in the target texts. According to the criterion of position, the adverbials *in fact* and *indeed* tend to occur initially in the sentences in the source texts. Those adverbials ending in *-ly* appear more often in medial position pivoting around the lexical verbs. This is also a tendency with the equivalents of these English adverbials in the target texts, although the distribution is certainly different to the extent that the translated forms for *indeed*, *in fact*, *really* and *actually* may appear in the right periphery or they may be omitted in the source texts. The number of these adverbials found finally in the sentence in the source texts is minor. The massive presence of these markers in initial and medial position contributes to enhancing the authors' perspective.

As to form, most renderings are given as prepositional phrases in Spanish, being *de hecho* the most prevalent form. Adverbial phrases come second in frequency, and this is especially due to the influence of *really*, whose form in the target language is virtually the same. Prepositional phrases and adverbial phrases in Spanish basically reflect

the same meanings of the source adverbials, and so they belong to the realm of truth, factuality and other related evidentiary aspects. With these, the source texts retain the authors' perspective. This is also achieved with the use of such matrices in Spanish as *lo cierto es que* or *estaba claro que* showing clear epistemic nuances.

The commoner translation procedures shown in the renderings of these adverbials are literal translation and amplification, and this may be a helpful methodological and, even pedagogical, cue in translation studies. Generally speaking, we can say that these procedures help to keep the authorial communicative intention of the source texts in the target texts. All the English adverbials examined here are boosters in Hyland's metadiscourse classification. This function is also the most attested one in our corpus with the exceptions found, which clearly indicate mitigation and attitude (Carrió-Pastor, 2016c; Carrió-Pastor, 2019). As exemplified in this study, a change in the metadiscourse category may also carry a change in the position of the adverbial in the Spanish texts. All said, our research has shown that the adverbials used in the source texts have a remarkable effect on the choice of the translation procedures deployed. Changes in stancetaking, however, may occur for readability purposes. The aim of sounding natural in the target language may produce these changes in meaning, communicative intention and/or perspectivization, whose consequences may go unnoticed for the final users.

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