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Article abstract

The present article shows that the most frequent way of translating *Should have* + Past participle in Spanish is the word-by-word translation Debería haber. This preference is not coherent with the language use of natives at three levels: (i) the marginal role of modal verbs to express the speaker's subjectivity in Spanish; (ii) the preferred use of modal verbs in the past participle position (e.g., No hubiese debido tener libros); and (iii) the predominant use of the pluperfect subjunctive as a prompting tense for counterfactual readings. Our survey is based on 1.7 million-word Social Sciences corpus covering 8 essays, 4 political biographies and 2 dystopian novels. In all, 9 sentences containing *should have* + past participle were analyzed. The translations were crossed with a reference corpus in Spanish containing 154 million words (CREA). The translators' preference by Debería haber has an effect in the output texts' readability since it implies a reversal in the frequencies of the Spanish constructions pertaining to the *irrealis* semantic domain. Our results provide empirical cues to prevent the word-by-word translation Debería haber, such as avoiding infinitive periphrastic constructions or favoring subjunctive mood's tenses.

The Impact of the Source Language in Spanish Translations: A Survey on English Counterfactuals 'Should have'

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RÉSUMÉ

Le présent article montre que la construction la plus fréquente en espagnol pour traduire *Should have* + participe passé est Debería haber. Cette préférence n'est pas cohérente avec les usages en langue des hispanophones natifs en ce qui concerne : (i) le rôle peu fréquent des verbes modaux dans l'expression de la subjectivité en espagnol ; (ii) l'emploi proéminent des verbes modaux en position du participe passé ; et (iii) le rôle principal du subjonctif passé dans l'accès à des interprétations contrefactuelles. Notre étude se base sur un corpus de textes issus des sciences sociales réunissant 1,7 million de mots (8 essais, 4 biographies politiques et 2 romans dystopiques). Au total, nous avons analysé 95 phrases contenant l'occurrence *Should have* + participe passé. Ensuite, nous avons croisé les traductions avec un corpus de référence en espagnol réunissant 145 millions de mots (CREA). La préférence des traducteurs pour Debería haber comporte un effet dans la lisibilité des textes méta, car celle-ci entraîne un renversement dans les fréquences des constructions généralement associées au domaine de l'irréel. Nos résultats fournissent des indices empiriques pour échapper à la traduction mot-à-mot Debería haber, tels qu'éviter les périphrases d'infinitif ou favoriser les temps du subjonctif.

ABSTRACT

The present article shows that the most frequent way of translating *Should have* + Past participle in Spanish is the word-by-word translation Debería haber. This preference is not coherent with the language use of natives at three levels: (i) the marginal role of modal verbs to express the speaker's subjectivity in Spanish; (ii) the preferred use of modal verbs in the past participle position (e.g., No hubiese debido tener libros); and (iii) the predominant use of the pluperfect subjunctive as a prompting tense for counterfactual readings. Our survey is based on 1.7 million-word Social Sciences corpus covering 8 essays, 4 political biographies and 2 dystopian novels. In all, 9 sentences containing *should have* + past participle were analyzed. The translations were crossed with a reference corpus in Spanish containing 154 million words (CREA). The translators' preference by Debería haber has an effect in the output texts' readability since it implies a reversal in the frequencies of the Spanish constructions pertaining to the *irrealis* semantic domain. Our results provide empirical cues to prevent the word-by-word translation Debería haber, such as avoiding infinitive periphrastic constructions or favoring subjunctive mood's tenses.

RESUMEN

El presente estudio aborda la traducción al español de *Should have* + Participio pasado y demuestra que la construcción más frecuentemente utilizada es *Debería haber*. Esta preferencia no es coherente con los usos en lengua de los hablantes que tienen el castellano como lengua materna en, al menos, tres aspectos: (i) el rol poco frecuente de los verbos modales en la expresión de la subjetividad; (ii) el uso primordial de los verbos modales en la posición del participio pasado; y (iii) el rol principal del subjuntivo pasado

para denotar el sentido contrafactual del enunciado. Nuestro estudio se basa en un corpus de textos relativos a las ciencias sociales de un total de 1,7 millones de palabras (8 ensayos, 4 biografías políticas y 2 novelas distópicas). De dicho corpus se obtuvieron 95 enunciados con la construcción *Should have* + Participio pasado. Las traducciones al español se cruzaron con el corpus de referencia CREA, que contiene 145 millones de palabras. La preferencia de los traductores por *Debería haber* comporta un efecto en la legibilidad de los textos meta, puesto que implica la inversión de las frecuencias de las construcciones generalmente asociadas al campo semántico del irreal. Nuestros resultados ofrecen índices empíricos para evitar la traducción literal *Debería haber* como, por ejemplo, evitar las perífrasis verbales de infinitivo o incentivar los tiempos del subjuntivo.

MOTS-CLÉS/KEYWORDS

transfert dissimulé, ordre des constituants, verbes modaux, irréel, mode subjonctif
covert transfer, word-order, modal verbs, *irrealis*, subjunctive mood
calco, orden de los constituyentes, verbos modales, irreal, modo subjuntivo

1. Introduction

Just as we can talk about situations which we believe to be the case, we can talk about situations that might have been performed but were not. Typically, this is done by counterfactual sentences, such as *The police should have intervened*. The present study analyzes the Spanish translations of the construction *Should have* + Past participle in counterfactual contexts. Previous studies have shown crosslinguistic differences in the way languages encode counterfactuality (Van linden & Verstraete 2008). These authors have shown that there is no one single dedicated marker to encode counterfactuality across languages but rather a combination of elements that have other functions in other contexts (i.e., past-tense markers, aspectual markers, modal markers). In Spanish, the use of the perfect subjunctive is significantly higher compared to the combination of the past conditional and a modal marker (Repiso 2014). If the grammatical categories to express counterfactuality change from one language to another, the question arises whether translators replicate the source construction or use prominent constructions of the target language. Does English, as a source language, have an impact on the Spanish translations either structurally or semantically? The present survey describes the translators' output constructions and sets them against the usage-based constructions of native Spanish.

Our objective is twofold. First, we aim to describe the linguistic features of the different constructions provided by translators in Spanish. Special attention will be paid to the description of (i) the tenses and moods more frequently used by translators, (ii) the word order of the output constructions in Spanish, and (iii) the Spanish modal markers related to *Should*. Second, we aim to test whether the constructions provided by translations are coherent with the language use of native Spaniards. This will be done by searching equivalent items in the Spanish reference corpus CREA.[1] The results of our survey should contribute to elucidating the impact of the source construction *Should have* + Past participle in Spanish counterfactual readings, from a structural and a semantic viewpoint. Since word-by-word translation would give a non-deviant form in Spanish from a grammatical perspective (i.e., *Debería haber* + Past participle), we hypothesize that this will be a prominent solution for translators. Because compounded by three elements – a modal marker, an auxiliary verb and a

lexical verb-, *Should have* + Past participle is likely to be translated by what Newmark (1986: 141) labels 'micro'-procedures (transcriptions, literal translations) subject to syntactical constraints and lexical systems. If our hypothesis proves true, then one might wonder whether modal markers are equally used by English and Spanish native speakers. Significant differences have been demonstrated between Spanish and French on evaluative markers suggesting that native speakers of French tend to 'modalize' their discourse, whereas Spanish speakers rarely use modal verbs in counterfactual contexts (Repiso 2013). This typological difference has semantic implications and thus, denoting evaluative judgments by means of modal verbs seems to be a specificity of French that Spanish somehow lacks. The analysis of *Should have* + Past participle addresses this question with special emphasis.

Our article is organized as follows. In the first section, we highlight some typological differences between languages that have been at the origins of important translation studies. Subsequently we introduce the semantic domain of counterfactuality to which the construction *Should have* + Past participle is frequently associated. In the third section we present the corpus of written texts and translations that we have reunited, as well as the methods used (i) to elicit the *Should have* occurrences and (ii) to run statistical analyses. Results are presented from section 4.1 to 4.3 (English corpus, Spanish translations and reference corpus CREA, respectively). In the fourth section we discuss our findings and relate them to previous studies. Conclusions are drawn in the sixth section.

2. Contrastive linguistics and translation studies

Crosslinguistic studies have shown that different languages might have different salient categories to express time, space, movement or irreality (Carroll *et al.* 2008; Van linden and Verstraete 2008). In general, these differences lead L2 learners to explicitly replicate the salient categories of their L1 in their oral productions (Slobin 1996; Carroll *et al.* 2012; Hung 2012; Repiso 2014). As avowed *connoisseurs* of metalinguistic issues, translators avoid overt transfers. Previous surveys at the crossroad of crosslinguistic and translation studies have given evidence on the attention paid by translators to the salient categories of the target language (Fabricius-Hansen 1999; Doherty 2004[2]; Slobin 2005). Slobin (2005) has shown that the French, Spanish and Portuguese translations of *The Hobbit* (Tolkien 1937) are less specific regarding the expressions of path and manner compared to the German and Dutch translations. Slobin (2005) attributes this result to the grammatical devices available in Germanic languages which typically encode motion by satellite verbs (*go in/out/down/up*), whereas Romance languages generally encode motion by lexical verbs (entrar, salir, subir, bajar).[3] Satellite verbs allow German languages to be more specific in the description of motion events concerning manner, path and trajectory compared to Romance languages. In the aim of being coherent with their native language, the Romance translators of *The Hobbit* frequently omit some spatial details present in the source language.

Fabricius-Hansen (1999) has approached typological differences from a macrostructural perspective comparing German and Norwegian. Since German texts present a relatively higher degree of subordination and Norwegian texts are characterized by a more paratactic style, her survey focuses on how Norwegian translators

deal with the problem of informational density. The way in which it is solved is by 'sentialization' (one source sentence is translated by a sequence of independent sentences) or by 'clausalization' (rendering non-clausal source constituents as subordinate clauses without changing sentence boundaries).

Doherty (2004) explores the constraints of English and German regarding the word order of attributes and appositions at a phrasal level. These typological differences frequently lead German translators to reorganize dependencies in their output texts. Doherty (2004) claims that not to do so could be seen as a violation of the target language expectations or as presenting information in a discourse-inappropriate way. The above studies suggest that being aware of the typological differences between languages is a critical ingredient of translation's good practices.

A specific grammatical property of English is its high level of composition (i.e., when two or more radical elements form a single word). This linguistic feature was described by Sapir (1921), along with affixation and word-order, as a linguistic process making it possible to pair languages within a formal taxonomy. The word-formation variable has been analyzed by Lefer and Cartoni (2013) in order to test whether the English – *less* and – *un* negative affixes have an effect in translated texts. Much of the contribution of linguistics to descriptive translation studies lies in providing reliable variables – e.g., language pair, formal properties – that may work as explanatory factors.

The present study focuses on the translations of *Should have* + Past participle into Spanish. Our objective is to test whether the word by word equivalent Debería haber + Past participle is privileged by translators or, conversely, whether they use other constructions not so formally similar to the source one but, nonetheless, used in Spanish. This question actually relates to the notion of covert transfer or 'positive transfer' accordingly to Toury (1995).[4] We will henceforth talk about covert transfer as a subtle influence which leads to a form that is possible in the source language but does not correspond to what the native speakers normally do in such a context. Covert transfers are hardly recognizable to the reader because the output construction is still grammatical. Nonetheless, covert transfers mean a shift at the level of frequency ratios between more or less frequent constructions pertaining to a specific semantic domain.

3. The notion of counterfactuality

The present study investigates the translation of the English construction *Should have* + Past participle, which is generally associated with counterfactual meanings. Pietrandrea (2010) defines counterfactuality as a subdomain of a larger semantic category that she calls *irreality*. From a semantic viewpoint, counterfactuality combines the apparently contradictory features of potentiality and non-actualization (Versatrete 2005). Counterfactual sentences express something that was desired but did not happen, or an action that was intended but not carried out in the end, as in example (1).

(1) The police should have done something to prevent the killing (Van linden and Verstraete, 2008: 1866)

The speaker's state-of-knowledge at the moment of the topic time plays a crucial role in processing a meaning as potential or counterfactual. Potentiality implies the speaker's uncertainty about the actualization of the propositional content, whereas counterfactuality implies the speaker's certainty about the non-actualization of the propositional content. One is more likely to be certain about present or past states-of-affairs rather than future states-of-affairs. Which explains why some authors insist on placing counterfactuality in the non-future time (Iatridou 2000; Vetters 1994). The temporal span to which counterfactual sentences refer is actually a future within the past (Grevisse and Goosse 2008).[5] Thus, in example (1) the construction *Should have* + Past participle expresses a temporal value of non-factual posteriority rooted in the past.

FIGURE 1

Graphical representation of other possible worlds
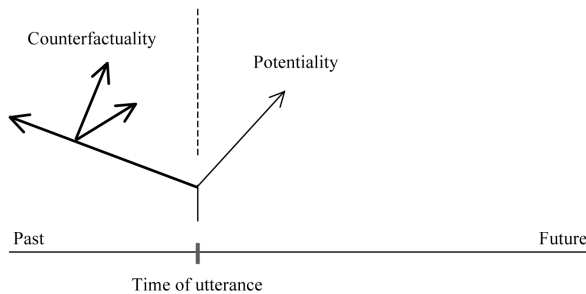
Past tense morphology has been mentioned as a component of counterfactual morphology (Iatridou 2000), along with modal markers (Van linden and Verstraete 2008). Typological differences between Spanish and French have been observed in the oral production of counterfactual scenarios (Repiso 2014). In a mutation task consisting of providing alternative scenarios to factual states-of-affairs native Spanish speakers significantly used the perfect subjunctive with no modal markers (e.g., la policía hubiera intervenido), whereas native French speakers privileged the combination of the past conditional and a modal marker (e.g., la police aurait dû intervenir). The frequencies of these grammatical devices proved to be a major difference between French and Spaniards.

In Spanish, counterfactual readings can be conveyed by different tenses and moods. According to grammarians, the most recurrent tenses are the pluperfect subjunctive (2 and 3), the past infinitive within iterative sentences (4), and the past conditional within *if-* clauses' main sentences (5). From a semantic viewpoint, example (2) usually denotes the speaker's dismissing the topic or theme conversation. The pluperfect subjunctive is used in a concessive manner to reject an eventuality that the speaker considers false (i.e., *In that case they had warned me)*. Within negative sentences (3), the pluperfect subjunctive denotes a polarity and, at the same time, asserts the lexical content of the verbal segment (i.e., *You was actually late)*.

(2) Me **hubieran avisado** (RAE 2009: 3136)[6]
(In that case) they had warned me

(3) No te **hubieras demorado** tanto (RAE 2009: 3136)
You better ain't be so late

(4) ¡**Haber venido** ayer! (RAE 2009: 3572)
You should have come yesterday

(5) Si se lo hubieran explicado, lo **habría entendido** (RAE 2009: 3573)
If they had explained it to her/him, she/he would have understood

Beyond flexional features like tenses, the notion of probability can also be encoded in Spanish by lexical means, like the periphrastic segments Tener que + Infinitive and Deber + Infinitive. The former is more frequent than the latter and conveys a modal message that is presented by the speaker as something inevitable (RAE 2009: 2144). Unlikely, the periphrastic Deber + Infinitive conveys a message socially desirable or accordingly to the norms of a given community. Both of these formulae are used to denote epistemic values in a wide range of indicative tenses such as the present indicative (6), the Spanish imperfecto (7), the past simple (8) and the present conditional (9). Thus, the periphrases Tener que or Deber + Infinitive can be seen as different points within a scale of intensity or evaluative language in Spanish. This raises the question whether the construction "Should have" is more frequently used in English with a binding connotation or a desirable connotation. It may well be that in some contexts the semantic equivalence of Should have is the Spanish Tener que, whereas in other contexts Deber que is more accurate. Anyway, the translator seems to have some degree of choice here.

(6) Son muy listos y además **tienen que haber hecho** estudios (RAE 2009: 2145)
They are very smart, plus they might have completed some degree

(7) Escobedo **debía haber llegado** a Madrid, pero no había noticias (RAE 2009: 2145)
Escobedo should have arrived at Madrid though there was no confirmation

(8) No me extraña que se matara […], **debí haberlo previsto** (RAE 2009: 2145)
Her/his death didn't surprise me […], I should have expected it

(9) **Tendría que encender** las luces […] y gritar de dolor (RAE 2009: 2144)
I/she/he would turn the lights on […] and scream out with pain

(10) **Habría que haber traído** uno aquí (RAE 2009: 2148)
Should we have brought one of those here

(11) Eva Girón salió de aquella viudedad con una alegría que, en todo caso, **pudo haber sorprendido** a quienes no conocían bien el estado de su relación con Umbrosa (RAE 2009: 2153)
Eva Giron escaped from her widow condition with a joy that could somehow have surprised those who did not know the state of her relationship with Umbrosa

Other periphrases expressing some degree of probability are Haber que + Infinitive (10) and Poder + Infinitive (11). We will discuss some of the examples above in section 3.2 during the presentation of the Spanish translations.

4. Corpus and methods

Our study is based on 1.7 million-word Social Sciences corpus covering 8 essays, 4 political biographies and 2 dystopian novels. Our purpose was to collect the same sample of texts both in English and Spanish, so that we could work on a parallel corpus. We reunited texts from political activists Naomi Klein and Noam Chomsky (2 each), political leaders Nelson Mandela, Barack Obama and Malala Yousafzai, psychologist Daniel Kahneman and feminists Audre Lorde, Silvia Federici and Judith Butler. We also included Virginia Woolf's essay *A room of one's own*, Ray Bradbury's *Fahrenheit 451* and George Orwell's *1984*. The nature of these 14 texts is diverse. Among the essays, Kahneman's is devoted to the cognitive mechanisms guiding decision-making processes. The rest of them are critical with hegemonic representations such as capitalism – Klein's and Chomsky's writings – or patriarchal institutions – Federici's, Butler's and Woolf's texts – . We targeted these authors because some of their books made part of our personal library in Spanish. The decision to extend our corpus to biographical and dystopian literature was based on the assumption that these types of texts would frequently consider 'what could have been but was not.' This assumption turned out to be particularly true for Mandela's autobiography and Obama's biography on his father. Young activist Malala's and poet Audre Lorde's autobiographies enriched our corpus together with Bradbury's and Orwell's novels.

We used the freeware toolkit AntConc to identify the contextualized occurrences of *Should have* + Past participle. We elicited 95 sentences containing this item. We stored every sentence carrying the targeted item within a table in a Word file. For the sake of transparency, every occurrence was given a code composed by the initials of the author plus a figure (e.g., VW#01, BO#95). This code appears in the Results section to quote or comment some of our examples. Working with AntConc allowed us to quantify the occurrences of *Should have* + Past participle per manuscript and thus, to have a picture of the authors who used it more and less frequently (Figures 2 and 3).

In general, we proceed to identify the equivalent translations in Spanish by using AntConc although a small part was done manually.[7] Every translated sentence was stored right after the English source sentence in a Word table to allow a segmented overview. Then we analyzed the grammatical features of the Spanish segment corresponding to *Should have* + Past participle (e.g., tenses and verbal moods of the 95 translations, presence or absence of modal markers, word order) and placed the data in an Excel file. Finally, the Spanish translations were crossed with a reference corpus in Spanish containing 154 million words (CREA), which is open and accessible online.

TABLE 1

Corpus' source texts and translations

	Original	Translation
AL	LORDE, Audre (1982): *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name.* London: Persephone Press.	(2010): *Zami, una nueva forma de escribir mi nombre.* (Translated by María DURANTE) Madrid: Horas y horas.
BO	OBAMA, Barack (2004): *Dreams from My Father.* New York: Three Rivers Press.	(2008): *Los sueños de mi padre.* (Translated by Fernando MIRANDA y Evaristo PÁEZ RASMUSSEN). Granada: Almed.

DK	Kahneman, Daniel (2011): *Thinking fast, thinking slow*. London: Penguin.	(2012): Pensar rápido, pensar despacio. (Translated by Joaquín Chamorro Mielke) Barcelona: Debate.
GO	Orwell, George (1949): *1984*. London: Secker & Warburg.	(1980): *1984*. (Translated by Rafael Vázquez Zamora) Barcelona: Salvat.
JB	Butler, Judith (1999): *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.	(2007): *El género en disputa*. (Translated by María Antonia Muñoz) Barcelona: Paidós.
MY	Yousafzai, Malala and Lamb, Christina (2013): *I Am Malala*. London: Orion.	(2013): *Yo soy Malala*. (Translated by Julia Fernández) Madrid: Alianza.
NC	Chomsky, Noam (2003): *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*. New York: Metropolitan.	(2004): *Hegemonía o supervivencia. El dominio mundial de EEUU*. (Translated by Carlos José Restrepo) Bogotá: Norma.
NC$_2$	Chomsky, Noam (1989): *Necessary Illusions. Thought Control in Democratic Societies*. New York: South End Press.	(1991): *Ilusiones necesarias. Control del pensamiento en las sociedades democráticas*. (Translated by Loreto Bravo de Urquia and Juan José Saavedra Esteban) Madrid: Ediciones Libertarias.
NK	Klein, Naomi (2000): *No Logo*. London: Flamingo.	(2001): *No Logo*. (Translated by Alejandro Jockl) Barcelona: Paidós.
NK$_2$	Klein, Naomi (2007): *The Shock Doctrine*. New York: Metropolitan.	(2007): *La doctrina del shock*. (Translated by Isabel Fuentes García, Albino Santos Mosquera and Remedios Diéguez Diéguez) Barcelona: Paidós.
NM	Mandela, Nelson (1994): *Long Walk to Freedom*. Boston: BackBay.	(2012): *El largo camino hacia la libertad*. (Translated by Antonio Resines and Herminia Bevia) Madrid: Aguilar.
RB	Bradbury, Ray (1953): *Fahrenheit 451*. New York: Ballantine Books.	(2006): *Fahrenheit 451*. (Translated by Alfredo Crespo) Almería: Ediciones Perdidas.
SF	Federici, Silvia (2004): *Caliban and the Witch*. New York: Autonomedia.	(2010): *Calibán y la bruja*. (Translated by Verónica Hendel and Leopoldo Sebastián Touza) Madrid: Traficantes de sueños.
VW	Woolf, Virginia (1929): *A room of one's own*. London: The Hogarth Press Ldt.	(2008): *Una habitación propia*. (Translated by Laura Pujol) Barcelona: Seix Barral.

4.1 *The English corpus*

The quantification of each manuscript's words and the quantification of the *Should have* items gave us an approximate volume about the role of counterfactuality in conceptualizations. The volume of the *irrealis* readings expressed by *Should have* + Past participle is 0.005% in our English sample. Of course counterfactuality can be expressed by other means not analyzed here, like *if-* clauses or nominalizations. But still the message is clear: discourses referring to counterfactual scenarios are only a small part out of what we communicate. Biographies turned out to be one of the most prolific types of text to obtain *Should have* items (18 occurrences in Obama's *Dreams from My Father* and 12 in Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom*). This seems to be logic with the motivation of writing such a text and the intellectual exercise of looking back to the past with some degree of criticism.

Interestingly, the use of *Should have* + Past participle was not correlated to the use of *Should*. Kahneman's *Thinking fast, thinking slow* presented the higher ratio of *Should* (259 occurrences) but only 3 of them were succeeded by *have* plus a past participle. This dropped Kahneman's ratio to 0.001% in what concerns the number of *Should have* + Past participle per word. The same ratio was observed in Federici's and Butler's texts. As said above, the sample's mean of *Should have* + Past participle

per words was 0.005%, and this is precisely the value found in Malala's biography. The highest ratio of *Should have* per words was observed in Woolf's essay (0.04%) followed by Obama's and Bradbury's texts (0.01% respectively). This huge gap between the English author and the rest of the sample's writers can be observed in Figure 2. The 12 occurrences found in Woolf's text represented a particular case compared to the rest of our corpus' essays, which contained an average of 3.5 occurrences per author (i.e., 25 occurrences from 7 manuscripts). This mean is lower than the average of occurrences found in the biographical type of texts, for which we obtained a mean of 10.25 occurrences per manuscript (i.e., 41 occurrences from 4 authors). The dystopian novels from Ray Bradbury and George Orwell revealed not to be so prolific texts regarding the production of *Should have* + Past participle, accounting for a mean of 6 occurrences per manuscript. As said at the beginning of Section 3, the nature of the 14 texts compounding our corpus is diverse. We can distinguish 6 narrative texts – i.e., 4 biographies and 2 novels – and argumentative texts represented by 8 essays, on the other hand. As for the production of *Should have* + Past participle, we can therefore conclude that narrative texts proved to be more prolific, especially biographies.

FIGURE 2

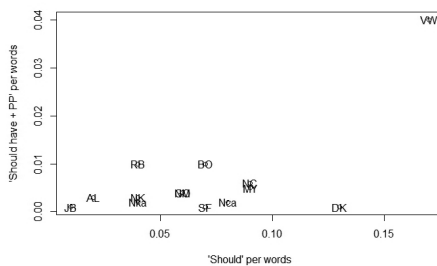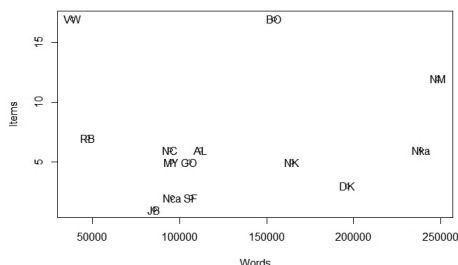**Ratio of *Should* and *Should have* + Past participle per author**

Figure 2 highlights the difference between Woolf's and the rest of the group regarding the use of *Should* in relative terms. Woolf's text contains more occurrences of *Should* per words than any other (0.17%). The second text in which *Should* is more used per words is Kahneman's *Thinking fast, thinking slow* (0.13%). This means that *A room of one's own* is a text highly modalized in itself. In Section 3.2 we will see whether this stylistic feature has an impact on the Spanish translation. Conversely, the lowest ratio of *Should* per words comes from Butler's and Lorde's texts (0.01% and 0.02%, respectively). The mean's group of *Should* per words is 0.07%. Figure 2 shows, for every manuscript, the relationship between the occurrences of *Should* and *Should have* + Past participle per words. A summary of the numerical data for each author is available in the Appendices (Appendix 1). The group's standard deviation regarding the frequencies of *Should* is 0.042, whereas the group's standard deviation regarding *Should have* + Past participle is 0.01. This means that the data points regarding the amount of *Should have* + Past participle are clustered more closely around the mean compared to the *Should* values, which are spread slightly further from the mean. Therefore, Figure 2 illustrates a more compact group regarding the frequencies of *Should have* + Past participle and a more eclectic group regarding the frequencies

of *Should*. Figure 3 represents graphically the number of occurrences of *Should have* + Past participle per words, for every manuscript. Mandela's and Obama's biographies appear in the top area of Figure 3, suggesting that this type of text is fertile in conceptualizations evoking counterfactual states-of-affairs.

Figure 3

Frequency of *Should have* + Past Participle per author

4.2 The Spanish translations

Our results shows that *Should have* + Past participle is translated in Spanish by a repertoire of verbal tenses and periphrastic solutions. For example:

(12) Todo **debería haber sido** diferente en Rosario [NK#23]
It should have been a different Rosario

(13) Después de cada accidente de aviación conocemos historias de pasajeros que no **debieron haber tomado** el avión [DK#21]
After every plane crash there are special stories about passengers who "should not" have been on the plane

(14) Les dijimos que **debían haber visto** la isla en 1964 [NM#49]
We told them that they should have seen the island in 1964

(15) No **hubiese debido tener** libros [RB#58]
She shouldn't have had books

(16) Así sea, **hubiera dicho** yo [VW#04]
So be it, I should have said

(17) A veces pienso que **debí quedarme** en Chicago y luchar allí. [AL#77]
Sometimes I think I should have stayed and fought it out in Chicago

From a formal viewpoint, translations (12) to (14) share the word order of the source construction (i.e., Modal marker + Auxiliary verb + Past participle). Both translations (15) and (16) carry the Spanish subjunctive but the difference between them is that number (16) lacks a modal verb. From these general observations, we can distinguish different factors allowing us to classify the Spanish translations: (i) word order,[8] (ii) the presence or absence of a verbal form related to *Deber* (Should), and (iii) the main verb's mood. These features were accurately described one by one for each of the 95 occurrences in an Excel table (Appendix 2). The detailed description of these variables allowed us to run statistical analyses using the software R. The point of doing so was to know whether the presence of a modal verb was

correlated to a certain word-order or to a certain length across the translated constructions.

The most frequent pattern used by translators is Debería haber + Past participle (29.5%). This construction was followed by the Debía haber + Past participle (13.7%), and by the pluperfect subjunctive with no modal verb (12.6%). The construction formed by the pluperfect subjunctive carrying the modal Deber in the past participle position was used in 9.5% of the translations. In other words, the preferred option by translators was example (12), which is a word-by-word translation of the English source construction. The second translation more frequently used corresponded to example (14), which consists of the Spanish *imperfect*. Note that both of these translations replicate the word-order of the English source construction (i.e., a conjugated modal verb followed by the auxiliary verb's infinitive followed by the construction's main verb in the past participle position). This is to say that the two most frequent translations share the same semantic and word-order patterns, which appear in Appendix 2 under the acronyms of MAV and CIP, respectively. Together, these translations represent 43.1% of the total.[9] This result suggests that the English source construction has a notable effect in the word-order and the semantics of the Spanish translations. The third and the fourth translations most frequently used corresponded to examples (16) and (15), respectively, which both contain subjunctive verbal forms. Together they represent 22.1% of the total translations but, unlikely examples (12) and (14), their semantic and word-order patterns do not converge. The four most frequent translations discussed above – examples (12), (14), (16), (15) – represented 65.2% of the total. In Table 2, they have been highlighted in grey to distinguish them from other translations relatively less used.

Table 2
Translations of *Should have* + Past participle (n = 95)

	Occurrences	Main verb's mood
Debería haber + Past participle	28	35 (36.8%)
Debería / tendría que + Infinitive	5	
Habrían + Past participle	2	
Debí / debimos / debió haber + Past participle	5	31 (32.6%)
Debí / debió / debieron + Infinitive	6	
Debía haber + Past participle	13	
Debía / debía de + Infinitive	3	
Iba a + Infinitive	1	
Podía	1	
Han / hemos debido + Infinitive	2	
Hubiera/se debido + Infinitive	9	26 (27.3%)
Hubiera/se + Past participle	12	
Haya / hayan + Past participle	2	
Bare present subjunctive (e.g., volviera)	3	
Others – Adverbial constructions (e.g., como debía, de lo que debía, en lugar de ir a parar)	3	

Table 2 shows a great variability in the Spanish constructions provided by translators. This is because of some constructions from which only one or two occurrences were elicited, like the progressive periphrasis Ir a + Infinitive (iba a ser), the modal verb Poder (podía) or some forms from the pluperfect conditional carrying Haber as a main verb (i.e., habrían transferido; habrían tenido que ser). In addition, we observed the use of an infinitive as well as two verbal forms within adverbial constructions (i.e., en lugar de ir a parar; como debía; de lo que debía).

The main verb's mood more frequently used was the conditional, with a frequency of 35 out of 95 (36.8%), followed by the indicative (32.6%) and the subjunctive (27.3%). The comparison of these frequencies revealed no significant differences, X^2 (3, N = 95) = 1.9582, p = 0.37. This result means that the subjunctive, the indicative and the conditional are similarly used across the translated constructions in Spanish.

A factor that revealed significant differences was the presence of the modal verb Deber within the translated constructions. Independently of the tense or the main verb's mood, Deber appeared in 71 out of 95 translations. Chi-squared analysis revealed that this feature is a salient pattern of the output constructions, X^2 (2, N = 95) = 52.725, p <0.001. The high frequency of Deber contrasted with the low frequency of the modal expression Tener que, from which we obtained 6 occurrences.[10] In five of them Tener que appeared as the past participle of a pluperfect subjunctive (e.g., Hubieses tenido que verla). Only in one occurrence Tener que appeared as the past participle of a past conditional (e.g., Habrían tenido que ser idénticos).

Figure 4

Verbal mood within Spanish translations (n = 95)

*P-value resulting from the t-test analysis*
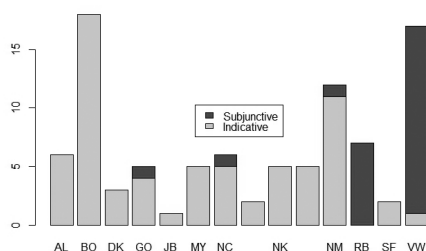
The comparison between the translated constructions in Spanish revealed critical differences between some translators. Concerning the tense variable, we found a significant difference between Laura Pujol's *Una habitación propia* on the one hand, and Antonio Resines and Herminia Bavia's *El largo camino hacia la libertad* as well as Fernando Miranda and Evaristo Páez Rasmussen's *Los sueños de mi padre* on the other hand, t (95) = 4.2426, p = 0.0006 (Figure 4). The pluperfect subjunctive with no modal markers was more frequently used by the former (e.g., hubiera hecho), whereas the latter privileged the past conditional marked by the modal Deber (e.g., debería haber hecho). Figure 4 shows that Alfredo Crespo's *Fahrenheit 451* is the only translator to join Laura Pujol's preference for subjunctive tenses. But unlikely Pujol, Crespo tends to mark his translations with the modal Deber in the past participle position (e.g., hubiera debido). Figure 5 shows that keeping a modal marker is a generalized

pattern in the translations of María Durante's *Zami*, Julia Fernandez's *Yo soy Malala*, Fernando Miranda and Evaristo Páez Rasmussen's *Los sueños de mi padre* and Antonio Resines and Herminia Bavia's *El largo camino hacia la libertad.*

FIGURE 5

Presence of modal markers related to "should" within Spanish translations (n = 95)

P-value resulting from the t-test analysis
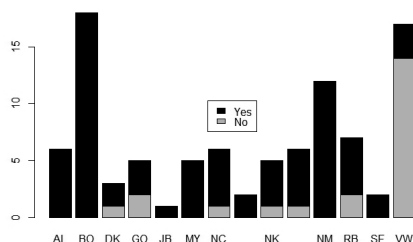
Concerning the maintenance of a modal marker in the Spanish translations, Pearson's correlation test confirmed a significant relationship between the word order 'Modal marker + Auxiliary verb + Past participle' and the use of tenses from the indicative mood, r = 7.4341, n = 95, *p* = 5.064e-11. In other words, keeping the word order of the source language generally implies for the translator to exclude the subjunctive as a way to express counterfactuality in Spanish. Conversely, the use of the Spanish subjunctive allows disengaging from modal markers more likely compared to indicative predicates, as in example (18). Another factor that prevents the transferring of modal markers in Spanish is the length of the output construction. Those compounded in Spanish by one or two units are less likely to contain *Should* equivalents, as in example (19).

(18) Es apenas natural que las instituciones modernas de control del pensamiento -llamado con franqueza propaganda antes de que la palabra cayera en desuso por sus connotaciones totalitaristas- **hayan tenido origen** en las sociedades más libres [NC#29]
*It is only natural that the modern institutions of thought control – frankly called propaganda before the word became unfashionable because of totalitarian associations – **should have originated** in the most free societies*

(19) Es una lástima tremenda que una mujer capaz de escribir así, con una mente que la naturaleza hacía vibrar y dada a la reflexión, **se viera empujada** a la cólera y la amargura [VW#08]
*It was a thousand pities that the woman who could write like that, whose mind was tuned to nature and reflection, **should have been** forced to anger and bitterness*

The Spanish translations composed by two verbal units or even just one represented 35.7% over the total (34 out of 95). Within this subgroup, verbal forms from the subjunctive were the most used (17 occurrences), followed by verbal forms from indicative tenses other than the conditional (10 occurrences) and by verbal forms from conditional tenses (7 occurrences). This means that the use of non-compounded tenses – as the present subjunctive in example (19) – prevents translators from including a modal verb in the output construction.

Figure 6 illustrates the distribution of two factors across the translations: (i) the presence of a modal marker, and (ii) the mood of the verbal construction. Figure 6 shows that the combination of indicative tenses and a modal marker is the most frequent way of translating *Should have* + Past participle.[11] Conversely, the presence of modal markers is less frequent in those translations carrying subjunctive tenses.

Figure 6

Mood and modal markers in the Spanish translations
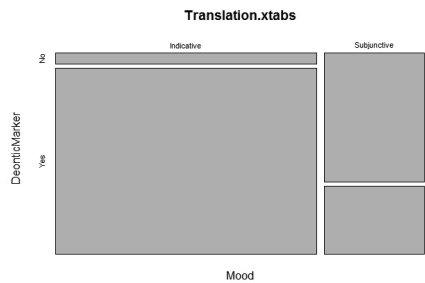
4.3 *The reference Spanish corpus CREA*

The results from our corpus were crossed with the Spanish reference corpus CREA, which contains 154 million words coming from 140.000 written documents published between 1975 and 2004. About 50% of the CREA's documents come from different types of manuscripts and the other 50% from press articles. Different varieties of Spanish are represented, with 50% of documents coming from diverse American varieties (Antilles, Chili, Mexico, Argentina, USA, among others), and 50% from Spain. The quantity of texts reunited in this corpus and the diversity of their sources made it appropriate in our mind in order to cross the translation outcomes from our Social Sciences parallel corpus.

Table 3

CREA's frequencies corresponding to the Spanish translations[12]

	Occurrences	Indicative *Vs.* Subjunctive mood	Subtotal / Total
Debería haber + PP	587 (9.2%)	1,071 (16.7%)	6,378 / 154,000,000 (0.004%)
Debía haber + PP	464 (7.3%)		
Debió/debimos haber + PP	20 (0.3%)		
Hubiera/se debido	150 (2.3%)	5,316 (83.3%)	
Hubiera/se podido	1,870 (29.3%)		
Hubiera/se + Past participle	3,296 (51.7%)		

Interestingly, the Spanish output constructions more frequently elicited in our corpus represented 0.004% of the CREA's volume. This suggests that from a semantic viewpoint counterfactual readings are similarly represented in the conceptualizations of our English corpus (0.005%) and in the CREA Spanish corpus.

Searches throughout the CREA corpus were made on-line by collocations of two verbal units. In Spanish, the collocations carrying a verbal form from <u>Deber</u> plus the auxiliary infinitive *Haber* (e.g., <u>debería haber</u>) are in general followed by a past participle. Because of this grammatical regularity, searches concerning this type of construction were rigorous and the frequencies obtained exact. As for the searches involving pluperfect subjunctives, we proceed by collocations made of the auxiliary <u>hubiera</u> or <u>hubiese</u> plus either a modal past participle – <u>debido</u> or <u>podido</u> – or a past participle coming from verbs that we assumed as being pretty much used in Spanish. For this reason the results of Table 3 involving subjunctive tenses are approximate and we assume that the CREA corpus contains other occurrences that we have not accounted for. The results based on the CREA corpus revealed three features accounting for the expression of counterfactuality in Spanish. These features are the following:

– The predominant use of the pluperfect subjunctive as a prompting tense for counterfactual readings. *Table 3 shows a higher use of the pluperfect subjunctive compared to the word-by-word translations* <u>*Debía*</u> / <u>*Debería*</u> / <u>*Debimos haber*</u> + *Past participle (5,316 occurrences versus 1,071, respectively). This ratio represents a great shift compared to the frequencies found in the Spanish translations. The pluperfect subjunctive was used in 22% of the output constructions (cf. Table 2). However, in the CREA corpus it represents 83%. Interestingly, the frequency of modal verbs in the past participle position represented 38% within the pluperfect subjunctive – i.e.,* <u>*Hubiera*</u> *or* <u>*hubiese podido*</u> / <u>*debido*</u> *–, which is similar to the amount found in our corpus (Figure 6). This suggests that translators are aware about the frequencies of constructions combining a modal verb and a subjunctive tense in Spanish.*
– The non-iconicity of modal verbs to express the speaker's subjectivity in Spanish. The amount of occurrences marked by modal verbs in Table 3 represented less than the total's half. Modal verbs <u>Deber</u> and <u>Poder</u> were elicited in 3,091 constructions against 3,296 modal-free constructions (48% versus 52%, respectively). This suggests that the role of modal verbs *is less important than the use of subjunctive tenses in order to convey counterfactual readings in Spanish. Moreover, the low frequency of the verb* <u>*Deber*</u> *within pluperfect subjunctive occurrences (2.3%) raises the question whether it is perceived as a redundant combination for Spanish users.*
– The use of modal verbs within verbal predicates in written Spanish, which generally appear in the past participle position (e.g., <u>*No hubiese debido tener libros*</u>). *Table 3 suggests that modal verbs are more likely to be used in the past participle position within pluperfect subjunctives rather than as indicative tenses introducing a periphrasis (2,020 occurrences versus 1,071, respectively). In other words, Spanish privileges verbal sequences like* <u>*hubiera debido*</u> / <u>*podido*</u> *rather than* <u>*debería*</u> / <u>*debía haber*</u>*. This preference challenges the overuse of* <u>*debería*</u> / <u>*debía haber*</u> *by translators compared to* <u>*hubiera debido*</u>*. If we apply this observation to the translations of section 3.2, we conclude that the construction* <u>*No hubiese debido tener libros*</u> *(RB#58) is likely to sound more familiar to native Spanish readers than* <u>*Todo debería haber sido diferente en Rosario*</u> *(NK#23). Still both translations contain the modal verb* <u>*Deber*</u> *but whereas the latter replicates the word-order of the source language by means of the conditional tense, the former carries the pluperfect subjunctive.*

5. Discussion

In the present article *Should have* + Past participle has been considered and analyzed as a unit of translation. Among his translation rules, Newmark (1986: 129) states that a translator should not translate an SL item into a TL item which would normally and naturally have another equivalent in the SL. The importance of producing output texts according to the language use of native speakers and readers is crucial, especially when involving a major language like English. Resistance to transfers differs from one linguistic community to another and tolerance tends to increase when translation is carried out from a highly prestigious language/culture (Toury 1995: 278). Positive transfers are less noticeable than negative ones, but they still can make the difference between *sourcier*-driven and *cibliste*-driven translators, to put it in Ladmiral's terms (2014).

Attempts to produce translations which would represent their sources 'as closely as possible' are in constant tension with the attempts of establish in a target culture and language native-like texts. (Toury 1995: 276)

Our data confirmed the incidence of literal translation – fairly straightforward word-by-word processes (Pym 2014: 13)- in Spanish related to the English construction *Should have* and thus, the impact of the source language at the morphological, compositional level. Previous results in this domain have shown that English translations involving the suffix – *less* and the prefix *un* – were markedly differently depending on whether the source languages were Romance or Germanic (Lefer and Cartoni 2013). Our results suggest that translators practice is not coherent with the language use of native Spaniards in counterfactual contexts. We base this claim on the asymmetrical frequencies found in the CREA corpus and our sample concerning the construction Debería haber + Infinitive. Accordingly to grammarians, the access to non-factual interpretations in Spanish is genuinely prompted by the use of subjunctive tenses.[13]

> El modo subjuntivo aparece de forma destacada en una serie de contextos modales o modalizados que suelen llamarse no factuales (es decir, no reales, no verificados o ni experimentados), lo que sugiere que la flexión del subjuntivo podría considerarse la manifestación en forma gramatical de las nociones abstractas que corresponden a estos contextos. (RAE 2009: 1866)
>
> *The subjunctive mood is used remarkably in certain modal or modalized contexts which are called non- factual (i.e., unreal, non-verified or non-experimented). This suggests that the flexional features of the subjunctive could be seen as the grammatical way to encode abstract notions that pertain to such contexts.* (our translation)

However, the translations analyzed proved to disregard the role of the Spanish subjunctive and favored in general the combination of conditional or indicative tenses with a modal marker. At a lexical level, translators preferred the modal marker Deber over Tener que – 71 *versus* 6 occurrences, respectively –. The translators' overuse of Deber over Tener que is not coherent with the frequencies of both modal markers in Spanish, where the latter appears to be more frequent than the former (RAE 2009: 2144).

Beyond the subjunctive mood, Spanish displays a variety of indicative tenses that may refer to counterfactual contexts. Among them, the so-called *auxiliares modales*

de obligación fill the functions of the subjunctive mood by means of the Spanish *imperfecto* (RAE 2009: 1871). This is a feature that Spanish translators seem to be aware of and which they applied in 13.7% of the output translations. This said, the past conditional also plays an important role and is considered a direct concurrent of the pluperfect subjunctive, although the latter is extensively more used in the American varieties of Spanish.

> Alternan *habría cantado* y *hubiera cantado* en la mayor parte de los contextos, como en *Yo lo {habría ~ hubiera} hecho*[14] *de otro modo*, si bien se ha observado que en el español americano es más común la segunda opción que la primera. (RAE 2009: 1795)
>
> *In the majority of contexts 'habría cantado' and 'hubiera cantado' are used randomly – e.g., I {would have ~ have had} made it differently – . However, it has been observed that the latter is more frequent than the former in the American variety of Spanish.* (our translation)

Thus, we can conclude that the past conditional translations of Should have + Past participle are coherent with the Spanish prominent tenses in counterfactual contexts. But what factors explain its higher frequency over the pluperfect subjunctive translations? In Section 3, evidence has been given about the influence of the word-order and the length of translations in using the indicative or the subjunctive mood. We consider the construction *Debería haber* + Past participle a word-by-word translation that might result from both automatized mechanisms and linearity in the translator practices. Translating *Should have* by Debería haber has economic advantages in terms of time and cognitive processes for the translator. However, it has an effect in the readability of the output text by Spanish users, who assist in a reversal in the frequencies of the prominent constructions related to counterfactual contexts. The question arises whether the preference by Debería haber has to do with the translators' approach to the English construction *Should have*. To which extent do they approach and process it as one entity or as an organization of lower-level linguistic entities? Are translators who privilege the Spanish subjunctive with no modal verbs more influenced by a communicative approach? Are translators who privilege the Spanish conditional plus a modal verb more influenced by the task's linearity? These are questions that further research must clarify.

6. Conclusions

We hope to have drawn attention to the crucial role that linguistic factors – e.g., word-order, lexical units and length – play in translation and, more specifically, in covert or positive transfers. The degree of awareness of the target language's uses and its prominent categories makes the difference among translators. In the present article, we have shown that the most frequent way of translating *Should have* in Spanish is the word-by-word translation Debería haber. This preference is not coherent with: (i) the marginal role of modal verbs to express the speaker's subjectivity in Spanish; (ii) the use of modal verbs within verbal predicates in written Spanish, which generally appear in the past participle position (e.g., No hubiese debido tener libros); nor (iii) the predominant use of the pluperfect subjunctive as a prompting tense for counterfactual readings.

Translating the counterfactual construction *Should have* + Past participle by Debería haber can be considered an idiomatic error in Spanish because it implies a

reversal in the frequencies of the Spanish counterfactual constructions. The higher frequency of the pluperfect subjunctive over Debería haber in the reference corpus CREA suggests that Newmark's principle of frequency (1986: 145) works as a reliable cue to prevent "translationese" (the influence of properties of the source language in a translated text or construction). This author claims that equivalent frequency of usage in source and target language applied to grammatical structures and lexis is particularly useful as an additional method of verifying a translation.

Hansen (2010) makes the distinction between genuine translation errors and idiomatic errors. The former are errors based on the relationship between a source text and a target text, whereas the latter must be regarded as 'errors in translation' or usual problems of language text production. Nonetheless, idiomatic errors can have a considerable impact on the quality of the target text (Hansen 2010: 386). Assigning equivalence values between the English *Should have* and the Spanish Debería haber may be the result of a covert translation's error. House (2001) claims that the function of a covert translation is to reproduce in the target text the function the original has in its frame and discourse world, so that the translator must attempt to recreate an equivalent speech event. The frequency of the pluperfect Spanish Hubiera / Hubiese in counterfactual contexts makes it a more idiomatic candidate than Debería haber. Being sensitive to the salient categories of the target language seems to be an effective strategy to prevent word-by-word translations and thus, to enhance the readability of the output text.

The findings presented in our survey point out some empirical hints for translators and translation students working from English to Spanish. First, the way in which we extracted and processed data via AntConc may be replicated in the classroom as a way for students to explore corpora and to test hypothesis quantitatively. Second, our survey provides reliable cues to prevent the word-by-word translation Debería haber + Past participle. Some useful strategies to do so are (i) avoiding infinitive periphrastic constructions and modal markers related to deber and tener que (*Should*), as well as (ii) favoring subjunctive mood's tenses and output constructions carrying less than three constituents (i.e., two-word constructions or one-word constructions). At a descriptive level, linguistic variables such as semantic elements and length proved to have an impact in the target language. Raising awareness on these features seems crucial not only to encourage critical analyses among translation students but also to stimulate their sensitivity to the output texts' readability.

NOTES

1. Real Academia Española (Junio de 2008): *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA).* Visited on 5 November 2015, <http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html>.
2. Doherty, Monika (2004): Reorganizing dependencies. *SPRIKreports. Reports of the project Languages in Contrast.* 23. Visited on 1 November 2015, <https://www.hf.uio.no/ilos/forskning/prosjekter/sprik/pdf/md/MDohertyReport23.pdf>.

3. Italian is an exception within Romance languages because motion events can be expressed like in satellite-framed languages by adding adverbial particles to a verb (e.g., **andare giù / su / avanti / indietro**; *go down / up / ahead / back*).

4. Toury (1995: 275) defines transfers as phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text which tend to be transferred to the target text. Positive transfers are made up of selected features which do exist in the target system and are used in any case, whereas negative transfers are deviations from normal, codified practices of the target system.

5. Grevisse, Maurice and Goosse, André (2008): *Le bon usage. Grammaire française.* 13ᵉ édition. Bruxelles: De Boeck/Duculot.

6. Real Academia Española (RAE) (2009): *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.

7. This was the case for Barack Obama's *Los sueños de mi padre* and Audre Lorde's *Zami: una nueva forma de escribir mi nombre*.

8. Concerning the semantic parameter translations were described as combinations of a modal verb, an auxiliary verb and a main verb (Appendix 2, column Semantics).

9. The number of translations that share this semantic and word-order patterns reaches 48.4% if we add the occurrences of Debió haber + Past participle (Appendix 2, Example 13).

10. VW#2, VW#10, VW#11, DK#19, RB#57, RB#59.

11. Note that the indicative mood covers conditional tenses.

12. Hecho, dicho, imaginado, escrito, supuesto, olvidado, hablado, sentido, escuchado, actuado, provocado, jurado, causado, recordado, prometido, arrepentido, generado, declinado, acarreado, creído.

13. Other grammatical elements prompting the non-factual interpretation of a given utterance in Spanish are: adjectives introducing a causal clause, verbs expressing rejection or opposition, the adverb sólo (only) when used in the sense of almost nobody (prácticamente nadie) and the combination of algún / alguno (some or any in interrogative sentences) and countable nouns (RAE 2009: 1950).

14. The bold text is ours to highlight the word-order of the construction – i.e., auxiliary verb appearing either as conditional or subjunctive plus the main verb in the past participle position –, which is concordant with 24% of the Spanish translations (23 out of 95).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Frequencies of *Should* and *Should have* + Past participle

	Original	Word Types Word Tokens	*Should*	*Should have* + PP
AL	Lorde, Audre (1982): *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*. London: Persephone Press.	10,305 111,877	26 (0.02%)	6 (0.003%)
BO	Obama, Barack (2004): *Dreams from My Father*. New York: Three Rivers Press.	11,467 154,206	111 (0.07%)	18 (0.01%)
DK	Kahneman, Daniel (2011): *Thinking fast, thinking slow*. London: Penguin.	12,330 196,404	259 (0.13%)	3 (0.001%)
GO	Orwell, George (1949): *1984*. London: Secker & Warburg.	9,059 105,586	69 (0.06%)	5 (0.004%)
JB	Butler, Judith (1999): *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.	7,907 85,193	14 (0.01%)	1 (0.001%)
MY	Yousafzai, Malala and Lamb, Christina (2013): *I Am Malala*. London: Orion.	7,562 95,111	90 (0.09%)	5 (0.005%)
NC	Chomsky, Noam (2003): *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance*. New York: Metropolitan.	9,855 94,798	87 (0.09%)	6 (0.006%)
NC$_2$	Chomsky, Noam (1989): *Necessary Illusions. Thought Control in Democratic Societies*. New York: South End Press.	9,164 95,934	80 (0.08%)	2 (0.002%)
NK	Klein, Naomi (2000): *No Logo*. London: Flamingo.	14,977 164,433	73 (0.04%)	5 (0.003%)
NK$_2$	Klein, Naomi (2007): *The Shock Doctrine*. New York: Metropolitan.	18,180 238,940	100 (0.04%)	6 (0.002%)

NM	MANDELA, Nelson (1994): *Long Walk to Freedom*. Boston: BackBay.	14,265 248,583	174 (0.06%)	12 (0.004%)
RB	BRADBURY, Ray (1953): *Fahrenheit 451*. New York: Ballantine Books.	4,989 47,390	19 (0.04%)	7 (0.01%)
SF	FEDERICI, Silvia (2004): *Caliban and the Witch*. New York: Autonomedia.	16,055 106,750	75 (0.07%)	2 (0.001%)
VW	WOOLF, Virginia (1929): *A room of one's own*. London: The Hogarth Press Ldt.	5,563 38,349	66 (0.17%)	17 (0.04%)
	SUBTOTAL	151,678 1,783,554	1,132 0.063%	95 0.005%
	Standard deviation		0.042	0.01

Appendix 2. Descriptive factors accounting for the translations

	Example	Word order	Semantics	Modal verb	Tense	Main verb
(12)	*Debería haber sido*	CIP	MAV	Yes	Present	Conditional
(13)	*Debieron haber tomado*	CIP	MAV	Yes	Past simple	Indicative
(14)	*Debían haber visto*	CIP	MAV	Yes	*Imperfecto*	Indicative
(15)	*Hubiese debido tener*	CPI	AMV	Yes	Pluperfect	Subjunctive
(16)	*Hubiera dicho*	CP	AV	No	Pluperfect	Subjunctive
(17)	*Debí quedarme*	CI	MV	Yes	Past simple	Indicative

Legend: C = Conjugated form, I = Infinitive, P = Past participle; A = Auxiliary verb, M = Modal verb, V = Main verb.