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Articles

COPULA DELETION IN SAN ANDRESAN CREOLE¹

ELISIÓN DE LA CÓPULA VERBAL EN CRIOLLO SANANDRESANO

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Abstract

This paper deals with copula deletion in San Andresan Creole (SAC), an English-lexifier creole spoken in the Caribbean islands of Colombia. One of the most widely studied features of Caribbean creoles is the variable use of the verb BE (see Labov 1969; Holm 1976; Rickford 1996; Sharma and Rickford 2009; Michaelis et al. 2013, etc.). We aim to establish the linguistic and social determinants of observable variation in the copula system of SAC. To this end we will look primarily into BE presence (e.g. *dei waz der an di fishin graun* ‘they were there at the fishing ground’) vs BE deletion (e.g. *shi veri hongri* ‘she (was) very hungry’), and its distribution according to structural variables (e.g. grammatical context, grammatical category and grammatical person of the subject, and tense). The probabilistic analysis of the results shows that grammatical context and grammatical category of the subject determine variation in this domain of grammar, repeating a recurrent pattern shown by other Atlantic creoles. These findings provide a more complete picture of variation in the use of BE in SAC and offer valuable evidence regarding the vitality, unity and heterogeneity of this creole.

Keywords: San Andresan Creole, copula deletion, grammatical variation, grammatical context, subject category, grammatical person, tense.

Resumen

Este artículo versa sobre el fenómeno de elisión de la copula verbal en criollo sanandresano, una lengua criolla de base léxica inglesa hablada en las islas caribeñas de Colombia. Uno de los fenómenos lingüísticos más estudiados en lenguas criollas del Caribe es la variación en el uso del verbo BE (véase Labov 1969; Holm 1976; Rickford 1996; Sharma y Rickford 2009; Michaelis et al. 2013, etc.). El objetivo de este trabajo es arrojar luz sobre los factores que condicionan la variación del sistema copulativo en criollo sanandresano. Para llevar esto a cabo analizamos los contextos en los que se usa BE de forma explícita (por ejemplo, *dei waz der an di fishin graun* ‘they were there at the fishing ground’) y aquellos en los que se elide (e.g. *shi veri hongri* ‘she (was) very hungry’), y prestamos atención a su distribución teniendo en cuenta variables estructurales tales como el contexto gramatical en el que se usa o elide BE, la categoría y persona gramatical del sujeto, y el tiempo verbal. El análisis probabilístico de los resultados muestra que el contexto y la categoría gramatical del sujeto determinan la variación de este fenómeno lingüístico, confirmando así un patrón de variación observado en otras lenguas criollas del Atlántico. Los resultados obtenidos en este estudio nos permiten obtener una descripción más completa del uso de BE en criollo sanandresano al tiempo que nos ofrecen información valiosa sobre la vitalidad, unidad y heterogeneidad de esta lengua criolla.

Palabras clave: criollo sanandresano, supresión del verbo copulativo, variación gramatical, contexto gramatical, categoría del sujeto, persona gramatical, tiempo verbal.

1. Introduction

The copular verb BE is one of the most widely studied linguistic phenomena in creoles. A vast number of research papers have been published on copula variation in creoles since early work by Labov (1969, 1972a) on African American Vernacular English (AAVE), with follow-ups on other well-known Atlantic Creoles, such as Jamaican Creole (Holm 1976; Rickford 1996, 1998; Deuber 2014), Gullah (Weldon 2003), Trinidadian Creole (Deuber 2014) and Guyanese Creole (Bickerton 1971), to cite the best known (see Section 2). Our aim in the present paper is to contribute to this topic by analyzing the phenomenon of copula variability in San Andresan Creole (henceforth SAC), a little-studied Caribbean creole. This will allow us to place SAC on the map of copula variability in Atlantic Creoles.

SAC is an English-based creole spoken in the islands of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina, located on the north-west Atlantic coast of Colombia (see

Copula Deletion in San Andresan Creole

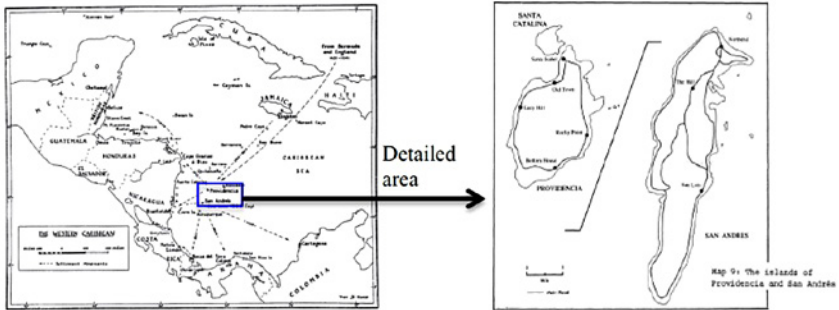


Figure 1. San Andrés and Providencia islands (Source: Ramírez-Cruz 2017: 1)

Figure 1). It developed in these islands during the seventeenth century, emerging through a process of language contact with British English (superstrate language) together with West African languages (from the Atlantic slave trade) and Spanish (substrate languages). The current linguistic situation of Colombia includes around 70 languages from different language families, two creole languages, plus Romani and Spanish, the latter divided into two main varieties: Coastal Spanish (regions of the Pacific and Atlantic coasts) and Andean Spanish (the rest of the country). Together with Spanish, SAC has been the official language of these territories since 1991 (Article 10, Constitution of Colombia). The dominant language in these islands today is Spanish, spoken by some 98% of the population, irrespective of context and age (Andrade Arbeláez 2012), although SAC remains the vehicular language in informal conversations, and the native language of the *raizal*² community, the local ethnic group.³

Unlike other Caribbean creoles, there is little linguistic research into SAC. Most studies deal with the sociolinguistic situation of these islands (Hooker et al. 2002; Moya-Chaves 2010; García León and García León 2012) and the vitality of SAC in different contexts, such as the educational system (Morren 2001; Hooker et al. 2002; Bowie and Dittmann 2007; Guerrero 2008; Moya-Chaves 2010) or the media (Sanmiguel 2007). There are some linguistic descriptions of SAC, but they tend to be of qualitative nature, as is the case with the studies by Dittmann (1992), O'Flynn de Chaves (1990, 2002) and Bartens (2013). In themselves, these are very useful in that they provide a detailed and complete picture of what SAC is like, focusing particularly on pronunciation and grammar. A recent PhD by Ramírez-Cruz (2017) provides a more systematic account of SAC, both linguistically (especially at the level of lexis and morphosyntax) and ethnolinguistically.

In terms of morphosyntax, SAC is very similar to other Caribbean English-based creoles. The following are among the most notable features reported by Bartens (2013) (see also Dittmann (1992) and Chamorro-Díaz and Suárez-Gómez (2019)) in SAC:

- unmarked SVO clausal word-order (Dittmann 1992: 64; Bartens 2013: Feature 1);
- the use of particles marking the grammatical categories Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM system) preceding the verb (Bartens 2013: Feature 43) (e.g. *de* and *wen de* for the progressive or *go* and *gwain* for the future; see Dittmann 1992: 67-70);
- lack of inflectional endings to indicate the present-past tense distinction of lexical verbs (Bartens 2013: Feature 49);
- lack of inflectional endings to mark number in nouns (Dittmann 1992: 75; Bartens 2013: Feature 22; Chamorro-Díaz and Suárez-Gómez 2019: 140);
- case syncretism in the pronominal system (Chamorro-Díaz and Suárez-Gómez 2019: 139-140);
- the use of invariable negators *no* or *never* preceding the lexical verb (Dittmann 1992: 71; Bartens 2013: Feature 101; Chamorro-Díaz and Suárez-Gómez 2019: 141-142);
- copula deletion (Dittmann 1992: 67-69; Bartens 2013: Features 73-76).

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The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the existing literature on copula deletion. In Section 3 we describe our methodology, including the source of texts used for the analysis and a detailed description of the dependent variable. Section 4 contains a description of the corpus, according to different predictors which have been reported as relevant in the distribution of the copular verb BE. Section 5 describes the probabilistic analysis applied to the variables and provides an interpretation and discussion of the results. Finally, in Section 6 we offer a summary and the main conclusions.

2. Copula Deletion

The copula is one of the most widely studied linguistic variables in Atlantic Creoles, as reflected in the number of features analysed in *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* (APiCS online) (Michaelis et al. 2013: Features 73-76). This is also reflected in the number of research papers published on copula variation in Atlantic Creoles since early work by Labov (1969, 1972a) on AAVE. Labov's studies were followed by similar studies of the same linguistic feature in other Atlantic Creoles, as detailed in Section 1.

Copula deletion refers to the omission of a form of the verb BE (in both its copulative or auxiliary uses) in contexts where its presence is required in Standard English. As is common in studies of copula variability, the term ‘copula’ is the conventional way of referring both to the copulative and to the auxiliary uses of the verb TO BE. This will be maintained in the present study, although reference to the specific forms will be made where necessary. Some accounts of the omission of the copular BE explain it as a result of imperfect second language learning (Winford 1998; McWhorter 2000; see Sharma and Rickford 2009 for a critique of the Imperfect Learning Hypothesis). However, a greater number of studies consider the omission of the copula to be due to the influence of the substrate (Holm 1976; Sharma and Rickford 2009).

From Labov (1969, 1972a) onwards, it has been observed that the omission of the copula (marked in the examples with the empty set symbol \emptyset) is not a random phenomenon, but rather it shows an ordered patterning, which is largely repeated in most of the Atlantic Creoles analyzed. The general observation is that the distribution of the copula is determined by grammatical environment. Labov’s general findings in his studies are that the verb BE is almost systematically omitted with *gonna* (example (1)) and very frequently with *-ing* forms (example (2)) while it is more frequently used if it is followed by a noun phrase (example (3)); and that there is more variation when it is followed by an adjective phrase (example (4)) or a locative complement (example (5)). Labov’s studies led to parallel work in other creoles with similar results regarding the distribution of the copula.

- (1) She \emptyset gon tell him.
 - (2) She \emptyset walking.
 - (3) He \emptyset a man.
 - (4) She \emptyset happy.
 - (5) He \emptyset in the car.
- (Examples from Sharma and Rickford 2009: 53)

One of the first of these studies was Bickerton (1973) on Guyanese Creole, who found a similar pattern of copula distribution to that in AAVE. Weldon (2003) made a similar analysis of Gullah, also finding results consistent with AAVE in relation to the grammatical environment factor. Additionally, she observed that other linguistic factors, such as the grammatical person of the subject and the phonological environment surrounding the gap of the copula, are also strong predictors of variability. In a comparative work on Atlantic Creoles, Holm (1999: 99) found that with very few exceptions, most of these varieties require an expressed copula with noun phrases, which is frequently used but can be deleted before locatives, and which is frequently deleted with adjective phrases. Rickford also discovered similar quantitative patterns of copula absence between Jamaican Creole and AAVE: more

copula absence before adjectives than before locatives and noun phrases, and also the absence of a copula before *-ing* forms and *gonna* (1996: 358), rank-ordered as follows, from more deletion to less deletion: V + *ing* > V + *ed* > Adjective > Loc > NP.

The “following grammatical environment” is a factor widely repeated to account for copula deletion, but some other factors were also seen to be relevant, particularly the grammatical category of the subject, with noun phrases favoring the explicit use of BE. The tense of the copula was also relevant; the present tense deletes the copula more often than past tense. By contrast, other factors, such as grammatical person of the subject and text type, were not determining in the use of the copula in Rickford’s analysis.

A quantitative analysis of copula forms in Jamaican Creole is also provided by Deuber (2014), with data from the Jamaican subcorpus of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE-Jamaica). Unlike Rickford’s study (1996), whose data were based on a set of Jamaican Creole stories with basilectal traces, ICE-Jamaica contains speech from upper-mesolectal or acrolectal speakers. Therefore, the prestige of the creole (whether it is a basilect, mesolect or acrolect) also yields significant results. If Rickford’s and Deuber’s results are compared, we see that the closer the speech to the most prestigious variety, the higher the frequency of BE, especially in those grammatical environments which favor copula omission, as is the case with adjective phrases and the auxiliary use (Deuber 2014: 87). In Trinidadian Creole, also studied by Deuber (2014) based on data from the ICE-Trinidad and Tobago, a similar distribution is shown: BE is almost consistently used when followed by a Noun Phrase (NP), as opposed to adjective phrases, where zero copula is recorded; zero copula is also more frequently used with progressives, aligning with the characteristic pattern of copula absence described elsewhere for Caribbean Creoles. In Trinidad the only exception is the use of the copula with locative predicates, scoring higher than in other creoles, which Deuber argues can be attributed to the limitations of the sample (2014: 145).

Sharma and Rickford (2009) compare the phenomenon of copula absence in AAVE/Creole data and L2 English data from speakers of New Englishes (Indian English, South African Indian English and Singapore English) and learners of English as a foreign language (more specifically, Spanish learners). Their results show a different patterning between the different data sets, which leads them to conclude that the ‘imperfect learner hypothesis’ (Winford 1998) as a possible justification for the omission of the copula cannot be supported. Sharma and Rickford’s results provide further evidence for the substrate hypothesis, proposing as a likely source the substrate influence of West African languages, which would also justify the shared patterning in most Caribbean Creoles. The fact that copula absence is more frequently found in the verbal environment, i.e. BE as an auxiliary

verb, irrespective of the data set, should not be taken as very strong evidence for the imperfect learning hypothesis, since:

this may be attributed in part to the perceived redundancy, on the part of the learner, in using the auxiliary with a verbal predicate. Auxiliary uses of *be* with *V-ing* and *gonna* involve verbal content or inflection (including suppletion of *is* and *are*) at a minimum of two points in the clause —the auxiliary and the progressive verb— whereas copular sentences with non-verbal predicates require morphological inflection at only one point. (Sharma and Rickford 2009: 84-85)

Ramírez-Cruz (2017) also includes an analysis of copula variability. The author only analyzes real examples of copulative structures, excluding the use of BE as an auxiliary verb, and bases his results on production and translation tasks designed specifically for the purpose. Although both the object of study and the type of data analyzed are different from the study presented here, he also concludes that variation in the copula choice is consistent with what has been found in other creoles. Predicate type also becomes a significant predictor of variation: a following NP frequently includes the presence of BE (243), there is more competition between BE and copula absence with a following adjective phrase (244), and there is inter-speaker variation in the case of locatives (245).

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The phenomenon of copula deletion in SAC has only been mentioned briefly in descriptive catalogues (Dittmann 1992: 67-69; Bartens 2013: Features 73-76), and to the best of our knowledge has never been studied in detail with real data. Inspired by earlier studies of copula deletion in different Atlantic Creoles, this variable has been selected because, as seen in this section, it is one of the most widely researched variables in these creoles and therefore allows for comparisons between them. This also allows us to place SAC on the map of copula variability in Atlantic Creoles.

3. Methodology

The data for this study comes from a selection of texts available at the Instituto Caro y Cuervo in Bogotá (Colombia), a local institution linked to the Ministry of Culture specialised in promoting the local languages and literatures of Colombia, and keeping its local traditions alive.

The texts are recorded samples of natural speech, whose transcripts are publicly available for inspection and analysis. Unfortunately, we did not have access to the recordings, and thus we relied exclusively on the available transcripts. The texts are transcriptions of recordings of conversations from three local women, between 55 and 70 years old, considered to be permanent residents of the island of San Andrés,

and who had received a limited education. From the content of the transcribed recordings, it can be appreciated that they are strongly identified with the *raizal* community (see Section 1). We can consider them mesolectal speakers, according to the creole continuum, although on some occasions there are some basilectal features interspersed, as in the use of the aspectual marker of the progressive *de* in example (6):

- (6) Ai onli **de** len yo di dres yo gou daans wit
 I only PRG lend you the dress you go dance with
 “I was only lending you the dress you are going to dance with”.⁴

The data-set contains texts of three different types: (i) local folk stories derived from the Afro-Anglo-Caribbean tradition (Anaansi Stories); (ii) personal stories of the informants about their life in the “old days”, and (iii) local practices, a dominant topic here being the therapeutic use of local plants. They are all topics with which the speakers were familiar, and with which they felt comfortable. This is an important issue in sociolinguistics, both as a means of obtaining an authentically vernacular variety of the language and also to minimise the Observer’s Paradox (Labov 1972b). The data-set amounts to c. 5000 words of transcriptions, with nothing excluded from the analysis. We are aware that the data-set is very small and the number of informants is limited, and the results derived from this study must remain tentative in nature.

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The analysis of the copula was carried out manually, in order to select relevant examples and to discard invalid instances. We distinguished between the full form of the copula (example (7)) and copula deletion (example (8)), both in the copulative (example (8)) and in the auxiliary (example (7)) uses.

- (7) Ai **waz** livin in a ranch
 I was living in a ranch
 “I was living in a ranch”.
- (8) Ih Ø gud fa wen yu hav shuga in di blod
 It good for when you have sugar in the blood
 “It is good when you have sugar in the blood”.

We also included contracted forms (example (9)), but we finally decided to exclude them from the analysis because there were only four examples, three with the structure *dats wai* (‘that’s why’) and one introduced by the existential *derz* (‘there’s’), behaving as a sort of lexicalised structure which shows no variation in the sample:

- (9) **Dats** wai shi did nou so moch abaut di bosh
 that’s why she did know so much about the bush
 “That’s why she knew so much about medicinal plants”.

We also excluded cases of BE used as a modal verb (example (10)), because in these contexts BE is systematically used:

- (10) Wen **waz** tu stap grain, hi kudn stap ih!
 when was to stop grind he couldn't stop it
 "When he had to stop (the mill) grinding, he couldn't stop it".

All examples were entered into a SPSS database, and were coded for:

- (i) DEPENDENT VARIABLE: presence (1) vs absence (0) of the verb BE;
- (ii) PREDICATE TYPE, which identifies the contexts in which BE occurs: clause (0), Noun Phrase (NP) (1), Adjective Phrase (AdjPh) (2), adverbial (which includes both locative and temporal constituents) (3), *-ing* form (4), *gwan* ('gonna') (5), and past participle (PPLE) (6);
- (iii) SUBJECT CATEGORY: omitted (0), NP (1), personal pronoun (2), and other pronouns (3);
- (iv) SUBJECT GRAMMATICAL PERSON: first (1), second (2) and third (3);
- (v) TENSE: present (1) and past (2).

The next section is devoted to an investigation of the variable contexts and the factors that govern the variation of the variable. Since different variables were analyzed, the individual searches are detailed in the analysis of each variable.

4. Data Description

4.1. General Overview of the Data

Table 1 below provides the raw numbers and percentages of tokens showing variation in the use of the copula, either present or absent:

Copula variability	Tokens and frequency
Presence	86 (57.3 %)
Absence	64 (42.7 %)
TOTAL	150

Table 1. Overall distribution of copula variability in SAC

The analysis yielded a total of 150 examples of copula deleted forms (example (8)) and copula present forms (example (7)). Table 1 confirms that the copula BE represents a clear case of morphosyntactic variation in SAC; although BE is present more frequently in the relevant contexts, a rate of absence of almost 43% in the examples confirms that it can be regarded as a case of language variation.

4.2. Contextual Factors: Grammatical Environment, Grammatical Category of the Subject, Grammatical Person of the Subject and Tense

Grammatical environment is the most pertinent factor in accounting for the distribution of BE, and has been studied repeatedly in previous research. In order to circumscribe the variable and to identify variants, two steps were followed: (1) we reviewed previous analyses (see the relevant references in Section 2) and the list of related features provided in APiCS online; (2) we complemented the list of variants through a careful reading of the texts, which allowed us to identify variants not previously mentioned in the literature. The complete set of variants included in the analysis is listed below; variants (i)-(v) were drawn from previous studies, and variants (vi)-(vii) arose from an analysis of the data-set itself.⁵

(i) Predicative noun phrases (Michaelis et al. 2013: Feature 73, Feature 76), as illustrated in example (11), which shows both a case of copula deletion and copula presence:

(11) Dis wan **iz** klat a mai dres, dis wan Ø di riil kola a mai dres
 this one is cloth of my dress this one the real color of my dress
 “This is the cloth of my dress; this is the original color of my dress”.

(ii) Predicative adjectives (Michaelis et al. 2013: Feature 74), as in example (12) (copula deletion) and example (13) (explicit copula):

(12) Maibi di presha Ø hai
 maybe the pressure high
 “Maybe the (blood) pressure is high”.

(13) Dis **iz** veri dilishos
 this is very delicious
 “This is very delicious”.

(iii) Predicative locative phrases (Michaelis et al.: Feature 75, Feature 76) (examples (14) and (15)):

(14) Dei kil aut al di monki **waz** in di haus
 they killed out all the monkeys was in the house
 “They killed all the monkeys which were in the house”.

(15) Two a dem dai, som a dem Ø in San Andres rait nau
 two of them died some of them in San Andres right now
 “Two of them (sons) died, some of them are in San Andrés right now”.

(iv) Progressive construction: BE + *-ing* (Sharma and Rickford 2009) (examples (16) and (17)):

(16) Wen yu get a gud kot, yu Ø **bliidin** a lat an yu kyaan get ih stap
 when you get a gut cut you bleeding a lot and you cannot get it stop
 “When you cut yourself, you bleed a lot and you cannot stop it (the hemorrhage)”.

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- (17) Wan sekan **waz warkin** along wit him, sou him tiich di wan sekan
 one second was working along with him, so him teach the one second
 “One assistant was working with him, so he taught the assistant (all he knew)”.
- (v) *Gwain* (‘going to’, ‘gonna’) as a marker of future (Sharma and Rickford 2009), as in example (18):
- (18) Ai Ø **gwain** put yu rait hir in di bed
 I going-to put you right here in the bed
 “I am going to put you right here in bed”.
- (vi) Passive constructions, as in examples (19) and (20):
- (19) Ai Ø **baan** in di 1900’s bot shi Ø baan in di 1800’s
 I born in the 90s but she born in the 80s
 “I was born in the 90s, but she was born in the 80s”.
- (20) Ai **waz baarn** in San Andres
 I was born in San Andres
 “I was born in San Andrés”.
- (vii) Predicative structures in which the copula is followed by a clause, as in examples (21) and (22):
- (21) Di almon liif Ø fa⁶ wen yu hav “swing hed”
 the almond leaf for when you have swing head
 “Almond leaves are used when you feel dizzy”.
- (22) Shi **waz** hu yus tu bail di bush
 She was who used to boil the bush
 “She was the one who would boil the (medicine) plants”.

The distribution of all these is set out in Table 2:

	Absence	Presence	TOTAL
<i>Gwain</i> (‘gonna’)	13 (100%)	-	13
Passive (BE + pple)	9 (69.2%)	4 (30.8%)	13
AdjPh	26 (59.1%)	18 (40.9%)	44
Clause (CL)	5 (38.5%)	8 (61.5%)	13
Progressive (BE + -ing)	4 (36.4%)	7 (63.6%)	11
Adverbial	5 (20%)	20 (80%)	25
NP	2 (6.5%)	29 (93.5%)	31
TOTAL	64	86	150

Table 2. Distribution of copula variability according to grammatical environment

The data in Table 2 reflect the distribution of copula variability in the seven relevant contexts. As can be seen, with the exception of *gwain* ‘gonna’, in all these contexts there is alternation between deletion and the explicit use of the copula, with different frequencies, as expected. If we rank-order them from the lowest to the highest frequency of use of BE, we see the following hierarchy:

(23) *gwain* > BE + pple > AdjPh > CL > BE -*ing* > Adverbial > NP

Another linguistic predictor of copula variability is the grammatical category of the subject (Labov 1972a; Rickford 1996; Weldon 2003). The variants distinguished here are the following:

- (i) Noun Phrase (see examples (17) and (21) above, and (24) below);
- (ii) Personal Pronoun (examples (16), (18), (19), (20) and (22) above);
- (iii) Other pronouns, which include demonstrative pronouns (example (13)) or existential pronouns (example (25) below) (see Rickford 1996 for a similar classification):

(24) **Di tingz** wazn rili ekspensiv bot doz deiz a peso an fifty sens
 The things weren’t really expensive but those days a peso and fifty cents
 kud bai three yaad a klat
 could buy three yards of cloth
 “Things weren’t really expensive, but in those days a peso and fifty cents
 could buy three yards of cloth”.

(25) Wan die him luking **der** waz no salt
 one day him looking there was no salt
 “One day, he (the assistant) saw there was no salt”.

- (iv) Omitted subject (mostly *it*) (example (26)):

(26) yu kyan evn bail di hol plaant. **Iz** gud fa ches kol
 you can even boil the whole plant is good for chest cold
 “You can even boil the whole plant. It is good for chest colds”.

Table 3 presents the results from this analysis:

	Absence	Presence	TOTAL
NP	19 (32.8%)	39 (67.2%)	58 (38.7%)
Personal pronouns	35 (57.4%)	26 (42.6%)	61 (40.7%)
Other pronouns (<i>der, dis, dat</i>)	9 (39.1%)	14 (60.9%)	23 (15.3%)
Omitted	1 (12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	8 (5.3%)
TOTAL	64	86	150

Table 3. Distribution of copula variation according to subject category

Table 3 shows that the category of the subject is a relevant variable in the use of the copula in SAC. As expected, the most frequent subjects are those realised by personal pronouns (40.7%) and noun phrases (38.7%), which together amount to almost 80% of the tokens. Noun phrases favor the use of explicit BE, as opposed to personal pronouns, which are more frequently used with copula deletion, as is the case of other pronouns, such as the demonstratives *dis* and *dat* and the existential *der*.⁷ Finally, omitted pronouns tend to use the full form.

A third linguistically relevant variable in the description of copula variability is the grammatical person of the subject (Rickford 1996; Weldon 2003). In the database, both singular and plural forms were distinguished, but this distinction of grammatical person in terms of number was discarded because the tendencies in the singular and the plural were very similar. Additionally, it is not always easy to determine whether the grammatical subject is singular or plural, as in example (21) above, where *di almon liif* ‘almond leaves/the almond leaf’ is clearly a 3rd person subject, yet it is not possible to determine whether it is singular or plural, since unmarked plural nouns exist in SAC (Dittmann 1992: 75; Bartens 2013: Feature 22; Chamorro-Díaz and Suárez-Gómez 2019) and the form of the definite article *di* has been found both with grammatically singular (example (27)) and plural nouns (example (24)) (see also Dittmann 1992: 74; Chamorro-Díaz and Suárez-Gómez 2019: 140).

- (27) Maibi **di** presha Ø hai
 Maybe the pressure high
 ‘Maybe the pressure is high’.

Therefore, in order to avoid very low numbers in some of the cells, and even empty cells, we decided to conflate the distinction of grammatical number. In the analysis, the following variants were distinguished:

- (i) 1st person (singular and plural), as in examples (18), (19) and (20) above;
- (ii) 2nd person (singular and plural) (see example (26) above);
- (iii) 3rd person (singular and plural) (see examples (22), (24), (26) or (27) above).

Table 4 sets out the results of the use of the verb BE according to grammatical person:

	Absence	Presence	TOTAL
1st person	11 (61.1%)	7 (38.9%)	18
2nd person	10 (100%)	-	10
3rd person	43 (35.2%)	79 (64.8%)	122
TOTAL	64	86	150

Table 4. Distribution of copula variation according to subject person

The results from Table 4 show different distributions according to the grammatical person of the subject, as has also been shown by Weldon (2003) for Gullah, but not confirmed by Rickford (1996) for Jamaican Creole. The 2nd person invariably deletes the copula, as opposed to the 1st and 3rd persons, which show variation and opposing tendencies. In the 1st person, deletion is favored, as opposed to the 3rd person, the most frequent grammatical person (it comprises both pronominal forms and noun phrases) which resorts more frequently to the presence of the copula.

The last structural variable to account for the variation in the use of BE is tense. Previous studies circumscribe the context of variation to present tense cases (Weldon 2003); other studies (e.g. Rickford 1996) include present and past tense forms and treat tense as an independent variable. In our analysis we decided to include all forms, irrespective of tense, and classify them in the database. Two variants were distinguished:

- (i) present tense forms, illustrated by example (26);
- (ii) past tense forms, as in example (25).

From Table 5 we can confirm the usefulness of including past tense examples in the global count because they show variation. These results agree with Rickford's results for Jamaican Creole, in that present tense forms favor deletion over past tense forms.

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	Absence	Presence	TOTAL
Present	28 (48.3%)	30 (51.7%)	58
Past	36 (39.1%)	56 (60.9%)	92
TOTAL	64	86	150

Table 5. Distribution of copula variation according to tense

5. Data Analysis

5.1. Analysis

A multivariate approach via a regression analysis was used to predict the presence/absence of BE in SAC adjusting for potential covariables. Analyses were performed using the Generalised Additive Mixed Models (GAMM) (Wood 2006a, 2006b). In comparison with classical linear regression models, GAMM models offer more flexibility, since they allow non-Gaussian responses to be considered and the effect of covariates to be estimated in a flexible manner. Following Wood (2006b), we conducted basic model checking plots for model fitting and no convergence problems were detected, which proves the validity and congruence of the model.

Thus, the GAMM regression model described was used considering a binomial distribution for the response (BE_Form) and four categorical covariates (*Grammatical*

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Environment, Subject Category, Subject Grammatical Person, Tense). Additionally, the covariable *Speaker* was also taken into account in order to check for random effects introduced by the different individuals, but this variable (*Speaker*) did not turn out to be statistically significant and was left out from the model. The distribution of copula deletion found in this study, therefore, cannot be attributed to idiolectal preferences.

Statistical analyses were performed using the *mgv*-package (Wood 2006b) of the open-source R statistical software. All significance levels were established at 0.05. The results obtained respective to the effect of the relevant covariates are summarised in Table 6 below:

Predictor	Estimate	Std. Error	z-value	P-value
Intercept	2.3195	1.4821	1.565	0.118
Grammatical Environment (Reference Level: <i>Clause</i>)				
<i>Noun Phrase</i>	2.2163	0.9445	2.347	0.019
<i>Adjective Phrase</i>	-0.674	0.708	-0.951	0.342
<i>Adverbial</i>	1.583	0.840	1.89	0.059
<i>Present Participle (-ing)</i>	1.317	1.041	1.265	0.201
<i>Gwain</i>	-2.8354	1.297	-2.187	0.029
<i>Past Participle</i>	-1.0148	0.987	-1.029	0.304
Tense (Reference Level: <i>Present</i>)				
<i>Past</i>	0.874	0.512	1.686	0.0919
Subject Category (Reference Level: <i>No subject</i>)				
<i>Noun Phrase</i>	1.655	1.037	-1.600	0.110
<i>Personal Pronouns</i>	-2.942	1.167	-2.521	0.012
<i>Other pronouns</i>	-1.6014	1.215	-1.318	0.187
Grammatical person (Reference Level: <i>First</i>)				
<i>Second</i>	-16.4187	631.490	-0.026	0.979
<i>Third</i>	-0.524	0.817	-0.642	0.521

Table 6. Summary of the estimated linear effects for the binomial regression model (*p*-values < 0.05 in bold type)

Of the variables analyzed, *Grammatical Environment* and *Subject Category* have a significant effect on the choice between absence and presence of the verb *BE*. Starting with *Grammatical Environment*, SAC seems to show a significantly

higher probability of using the verb *BE* when followed by an NP in comparison with the reference variant ‘Clause’; by contrast, the probability of using it if followed by the vernacular form marking the progressing *gwain* is significantly lower, also in comparison with the reference variant ‘Clause’.

The covariate *Subject Category* is also statistically significant. More specifically, the presence of the verb *BE* shows a lower probability if the subject is realised by a personal pronoun, in comparison with the reference variant ‘No Subject’.

In the regression model, the variables *Tense* and *Grammatical Person* do not have a significant effect on the absence/presence of the verb *BE*. Therefore, the tense of the verb *BE*, either present or past, and the grammatical person of the subject (first, second or third) do not seem to be responsible for the selection of the copular verb.

5.2. Discussion

The results of copula variability show notable similarities between SAC and other Caribbean Creoles. The results show that the use of the verb *BE* is largely conditioned by the grammatical environment in which it occurs, in agreement with Sharma and Rickford’s (2009) findings for AAVE and Rickford’s (1996) for Jamaican Creole. The predicate type which most frequently selects the use of *BE* is the NP, which seems to be the favorite locus of explicit *BE*; at the opposite end, the predicate type which opts for omitting the copula systematically is *gwain* (‘gonna’). These two variable contexts, as also found in previous literature, are contexts of systematic variation. The remaining environments tend towards one option or the other: adverbial and *-ing* favour the explicit use of the verb *BE*, as opposed past participle and adverbial, which opt more frequently for an absent copula. However, the non-significant results prevent us from reaching definite conclusions. These tendencies may be conditioned by other factors or by the limitations of the sample.

Another finding which agrees with previous research on copula variability in Atlantic Creoles is the grammatical category of the subject. As was the case in AAVE (Labov 1972a) and in Gullah (Weldon 2003), personal pronouns are significantly more frequently used with copula deletion. Other pronouns, such as the demonstratives *dis* and *dat* and the existential *der*, also disfavor the deletion of the copula, something which was also noted by Rickford (1996), although here the results are not significant, probably because of the scarcity of examples within this category. Regarding omitted subjects (‘No subject’), the tendency is to use the full form for the purposes of transparency, since it facilitates the processing of information, as in example (26), repeated here for convenience as (28), but we cannot confirm this result because the number of examples with omitted subjects is very low.

- (28) yu kyan evn bail di hol plaant. **Iz** gud fa ches kol
you can even boil the whole plant is good for chest cold
“You can even boil the whole plant. It is good for chest colds”.

Another predictor which was considered to play a role in the use of the copular verb BE was its tense. These results agree with Rickford’s (1996) results for Jamaican Creole, in that present tense forms favor deletion over past tense forms. However, these results are not significant at 0.05 level (*p-value* 0.09), and therefore we cannot consider this predictor as a determining variable in the distribution of copula variability. Further research on the effect of tense on copula variability is necessary with a larger sample.

The tendencies observed in Section 4.2 to demonstrate the hypothesis that the grammatical person of the subject conditions the selection of the copula cannot be confirmed, in agreement with Rickford (1996) for Jamaican Creole. The cause of variation in this realm is found in contextual factors, such as the grammatical category of the subject or the predicate type following the verb BE.

6. Conclusion

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This paper presents a preliminary analysis of copula variability in San Andresan Creole, an English-based creole spoken in the Caribbean islands of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina, Colombia.

Research on SAC is very scarce, mostly because of the lack of available data, and the few existing studies tend to deal with the ethnolinguistic vitality of the creole and with the language policies that have been applied. There are also some linguistic descriptions, but these are mostly of a qualitative nature. Despite the paucity of the data available, we have attempted to provide a preliminary analysis of copula variability in SAC from a qualitative perspective, testing the resulting claims with various quantitative statistical tests to prove their validity and increase, to some extent, their credibility, and thus make up for the low number of data handled. Copula variability has been selected because it is one of the most widely researched variables in these creoles and therefore allows for comparisons between them. It refers to the alternation between the deletion and the explicit presence of the verb BE in copulative and in auxiliary contexts (progressive and passive). One of the main conclusions of studies on copula deletion is that the phenomenon is not random, and that there is rather a systematic pattern, governed mainly by predicate type. This patterning is very consistently shown in the Atlantic Creoles so far analyzed, and the results from our own analysis show that SAC seems to be no exception in this respect.

In order to test the validity of the results obtained from a qualitative data analysis, we studied the effect of contextual factors using a regression model with a binomial response distribution (see Table 6). The structural contextual factors here show that rates of copula presence are higher when followed by an NP and lower in contexts of *gwain* ('gonna'); there is more variability if the verb TO BE is followed by an adjective, an adverbial or *V-ing*. This distribution reflects the hierarchy (*gwain* > *V-ing* > Adj > Loc > NP) that applies to AAVE and Caribbean Creoles (Sharma and Rickford 2009), especially at the poles, thus supporting the substrate hypothesis proposed by these authors.

Another factor which potentially motivates the distribution of the verb TO BE in the corpus is the category of the grammatical subject, especially if the subject is realised by a personal pronoun, which disfavors the use of BE. As mentioned, the regression analysis confirmed that our corpus sample is amenable to the drawing of conclusions regarding grammatical environment and subject category. However, the influence of other factors such as grammatical person of the subject and tense cannot be confirmed as predictors of copula variability in SAC and will need to be tested on larger samples.

30 This study has shown that there is a complex interplay of structural factors interacting to shape grammatical variation. Copula variability does not seem to be a random phenomenon in SAC, but rather places SAC on the map of Atlantic Creoles since it shows the ordered patterning largely detected in most of the Atlantic Creoles analyzed to date. The conclusions shown, however, must remain tentative in nature since the sample used for the study is very small. Future analyses of a larger sample will shed light on this still underexplored English-based creole.

Notes

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2. The term *raizal* comes from Spanish *raíz-* ('root') + *-al* (a derivative suffix meaning 'relating to') and makes reference to the indigenous community of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina.

3. The *raizal* community is identified by the following traits: their islander ancestry, the fact that they were born in the islands, the creole language, and their cultural practices (see Ramírez-Cruz 2017: 6-31 for detailed information on the *raizal* community).

4. All examples from SAC are glossed and translated. Translations are our own.

5. Due to the size of the sample and the limited number of speakers, we cannot discard the possibility that these unrecorded variants in previous studies

represent idiolectal tendencies. This is taken into account in section 5, which deals with the data analysis.

6. According to Washabaugh (1975), the particle *fi/fo/fa* is considered to be a complementiser in SAC when followed by a clause.

7. Findings for contracted forms, although scarce, seem to point in the same direction. The only contexts where contracted forms appear in our data-set are with demonstrative and existential pronouns (see Rickford 1996: 369) (e.g. **Dats wai shi did nou so moch about di bosh**); contracted forms, although reduced forms, will also represent an explicit copula.

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**CONCEPTUALIZATION OF 'SCHOOL'
IN THE ENGLISH AVAILABLE LEXICON
OF SPANISH ADOLESCENTS**

**LA CONCEPTUALIZACIÓN DE LA 'ESCUELA'
EN EL LÉXICO INGLÉS DISPONIBLE
DE ADOLESCENTES ESPAÑOLES**

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Abstract

This study explores the conceptualization of 'School' in the English lexicon of EFL learners, and compares this lexicon to the meanings attributed to the entry School in English dictionaries. Our first objective aimed at identifying the most frequent content words retrieved by Spanish EFL learners in response to the cue-word SCHOOL in a lexical availability/association task, and comparing them with the meanings attributed by dictionaries. Our second objective aimed at ascertaining whether there were gender similarities or differences in the lexical production and the actual words retrieved by males and females. The quantitative analyses applied to the data revealed a common structure in male and female EFL learners' available lexicon as well as a high correspondence to the meanings attributed to School in dictionaries. However, the qualitative analysis also uncovered typical patterns related to adolescent school life not present in dictionaries as well as vocabulary not shared by males and females but exclusively generated either by males or by females.

Keywords: conceptualization, archetype, available lexicon, lexical retrieval, adolescent EFL learners.

Resumen

Este estudio explora la conceptualización de la ‘Escuela’ en el léxico inglés de aprendientes de inglés como lengua extranjera, y compara este léxico con los significados atribuidos a la entrada de la palabra Escuela en diccionarios ingleses. Nuestro primer objetivo pretendió identificar las palabras de contenido más frecuentes vertidas como respuesta a la palabra estímulo ESCUELA por chicos y chicas españoles aprendientes de inglés en una prueba de disponibilidad léxica/asociación y compararlas con los significados que se atribuyen en los diccionarios a la ‘Escuela’ como concepto, a través de la entrada léxica de la palabra. Nuestro segundo objetivo tuvo como fin determinar si había similitudes y diferencias de género entre la producción léxica y las palabras que produjeron los chicos y las chicas en respuesta a dicho estímulo. Los análisis cuantitativos realizados demostraron una estructura común en el léxico disponible de los aprendientes de inglés como lengua extranjera, así como una elevada correspondencia con los significados que los diccionarios atribuyen a la ‘Escuela’. Sin embargo, el análisis cualitativo reveló patrones prototípicos relacionados con la vida estudiantil de los adolescentes que no estaban presentes en los diccionarios, al igual que vocabulario no compartido por chicos y chicas, es decir, generado exclusivamente o bien por los chicos o por las chicas.

Palabras clave: conceptualización, prototipo, léxico disponible, recuperación léxica, adolescentes aprendices de inglés como lengua extranjera.

1. Introduction

The concept of ‘School’ is related to language education, since foreign languages form part of the instructional programs of schools and universities all over the world. Likewise, it relates to gender, identity, and emotions because male and female learners may develop positive or negative attitudes and views towards the foreign language. In this regard, several scholars (cf. Dewaele 2007; Lasagabaster and Sierra 2009) have reported that females have more positive attitudes towards languages than males in school contexts.

This paper explores ‘School’ as a conceptual archetype, defined by Evans (2007: 31) as “a concept that has a direct experiential basis, but which constitutes an abstraction representing commonalities over ubiquitous everyday experiences”. Our study applies this abstraction to the words retrieved by Spanish learners of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in response to the cue-word SCHOOL in a lexical availability task and compares the words to the senses attributed to the entry School in English dictionaries. By means of this double perspective, we hope to

contribute to Applied Linguistics (AL) within the subfields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Foreign Language Education (FLE), as the present study will provide an account of the vocabulary that Spanish adolescent EFL learners know and associate to specific concepts closely related to their lives such as 'School', as this forms part of their everyday experience.

According to Evans (2007: 36), "the conceptual content system or meaning" of archetypes consists of content words. Consequently, the first objective was to identify the most frequent content words retrieved by EFL learners and classify them in terms of their word class. This allowed us to explore how the conceptual content system of 'School' is structured in the lexicon of EFL learners. Following Aitchison (1987), we understand structure as the distribution or organization of content words in the mental lexicon in terms of word classes, senses and their connections to concepts. Thus, we used current English dictionaries as a reference for the identification of word classes and senses in learners' word responses which we interpreted in terms of conceptual archetypes. Our second objective was to determine whether there were similarities or differences in the words retrieved by males and females associated with SCHOOL. By means of this objective we hope to contribute to gender and EFL research as male and female's available English words associated with SCHOOL may point to different views of a shared reality, which in turn, as noted by Eriksson et al. (2012), might result in inequalities in language achievement and vocabulary performance. For the sake of clarity, we mark the concept in single quotation marks ('School'), the lexical entry in dictionaries without quotation marks (School), and the cue-word in capital letters (SCHOOL).

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The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. Section 2 includes a review of studies on lexical availability in EFL and poses the research questions. Section 3 provides a description of the sample, data collection instruments and analyses conducted. Section 4 presents the results and their interpretation in terms of lexical availability and includes a brief interpretation of the findings from the perspective of 'School' as an archetype. We end the paper by presenting the main conclusions and the implications of the study for foreign language education.

2. Lexical Availability Studies in EFL

Lexical availability is a dimension of lexical competence, and as such forms part of the available lexicon in any language (cf. Faerch et al. 1984). It is defined as the words that come to mind when required to talk about a topic in a communicative situation. Lexical availability research is based on time-controlled association tasks consisting of cue-words related to topics such as FOOD AND DRINK, TRANSPORT, or SCHOOL (Richards and Schmidt 2002 [1985]). Theoretically,

cognitive lexical availability research is close to the Spreading Activation Theory of Semantic Processing (Collins and Loftus 1975), where it is postulated that “concepts correspond to particular senses of words or phrases” (408). Words are connected in the mind by means of semantic networks, where concepts are represented as nodes and are organised on the grounds of semantic similarity. Thus, under this theoretical framework, lexical availability retrieval would involve the activation of words related to the node or concept but would expand to other nodes that present semantic similarity or to unrelated concepts with which they are linked in our memory; for instance, the association of positive or negative emotions towards ‘School’.

Most lexical availability research has focused on the available lexicons of learners of Spanish. In comparison, studies on English language learners are scarce and mainly targeted at the identification of the most and least productive cue-words and the correlation of lexical output to learning and instructional factors. For instance, regarding learning factors, research has addressed the effect of age, gender, mother tongue, and language level (cf. Jiménez Catalán 2014, 2017). Research has shown an increase in EFL learners’ lexical availability output as age and course level increase (Agustín Llach and Fernández Fontecha 2014), as well as an advantage for adult learners in comparison with child learners of the same mother tongue and vocabulary level (Jiménez Catalán et al. 2014). Regarding gender, research has revealed a higher lexical availability production in girls than in boys across primary and secondary school education (Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda Alba 2009a; Agustín Llach and Fernández Fontecha 2014). As for instructional factors, researchers have explored the effect of the type of school and language program on EFL learners’ lexical output. For example, there is research on the effect of private versus state Schools, CLIL versus non-CLIL instruction, and special language programs versus ordinary programs in secondary education in Chile, Spain and Poland (cf. Germany and Cartes 2000; Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda Alba 2009b; López González 2014; Fernández Orío and Jiménez Catalán 2015). In this respect, the findings were strikingly similar concerning the most productive and least productive cues no matter the different focus, the educational level, and the places where the studies were conducted. For instance, SCHOOL was the most productive cue-word in a study carried out by Jiménez Catalán and Agustín Llach (2017) with EFL learners at 8th and 10th grade in CLIL and non-CLIL instruction. Their outcomes were alike to those obtained with other samples of EFL learners at sixth grade (cf. Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda Alba 2009a, 2009b; Jiménez Catalán and Dewaele 2017).

The similarity of results points to the existence of gaps of knowledge in some semantic domains as well as gender differences in favour of female EFL learners that may result in educational inequalities. The similar findings also have

implications for research on the conceptualization of EFL learners' lexicon as they suggest the existence of common patterns at different ages and levels. However, although some of these studies have explored prototypical patterns in foreign language learners' first word responses (e.g. Hernández et al. 2014; Jiménez Catalan and Dewaele 2017; Mora and Jiménez Catalán 2019), they did not go further to explore conceptual archetypes in learners' available words, neither did they compare the words retrieved by learners to the senses provided in current English dictionaries. This study is a first step in the identification and conceptual analysis of the words retrieved by adolescent EFL learners in response to SCHOOL in order to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What type of English words do 12th grade Spanish EFL learners most frequently associate with the cue-word SCHOOL?

RQ2: Do the English words retrieved by 12th grade Spanish EFL learners correspond to the senses provided for the entry SCHOOL in current English dictionaries?

RQ3: Are there differences or similarities in the words retrieved by 12th grade male and female Spanish EFL learners in response to SCHOOL?

3. Method

3.1. Participants

The sample comprises 265 Spanish learners of EFL (mean age 17.37) distributed into 171 females and 94 males. At the time of data collection (spring 2015), they were enrolled in 12th grade (2nd year of baccalaureate, the last year of Spanish post-secondary education) in five secondary state schools in La Rioja, a Spanish autonomous community with full competences in education. Upon consultation with the education board, the selection was done on a stratification basis so as to obtain a representative sample of the state schools in La Rioja. Regarding instruction, English is a compulsory subject taught throughout three periods of 50-60 minutes per week under a communicative teaching approach. According to the school reports, the informants were at B1 level or close to it. B1 was assigned to 12th grade by the education board, and the ELT textbooks, the teaching and assessments were all adapted to this level.

3.2. Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

Students were asked to accomplish a lexical availability task consisting of fifteen cue-words. Nevertheless, due to space limitations and in accordance with our

objectives, this paper only focuses on students' responses to SCHOOL. This cue-word is included in a good number of lexical availability studies both in Spanish (cf. Carcedo González 2001; Bartol Hernández 2004; Serrano Zapata 2004; Ávila Muñoz 2006) and in EFL (cf. Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda Alba 2009a, 2009b; Agustín Llach and Fernández Fontecha 2014; Fernández Orío and Jiménez Catalán 2015).

Data was collected in one session during school time. At the beginning of the task, instructions were given both orally and in written form in Spanish. Students were encouraged to write down as many words as came to mind in two minutes per cue-word (see Appendix). Time was controlled by means of a stopwatch. Written consents for the administration of the availability task to students were signed by the headmasters of each participating school. Students were informed of the research purpose of the task, and its voluntary nature.

Once the data was collected, informants' responses were coded and entered into Excel files according to the following edition criteria: (i) spelling mistakes were corrected, (ii) repeated words in the same prompt were eliminated, (iii) Spanish words and proper nouns were deleted with the exception of those which refer to cities and countries in English (e.g. London, Sweden), (iv) plural words were changed into singular unless they were plural in English (e.g. trousers), (v) irregular verb forms and irregular plural nouns were counted as different word types, (vi) lexical units with lexicalised meaning were hyphenated (e.g. fish-and-chips), (vii) titles of films or books were deleted, (viii) brand names were deleted (e.g. PS4), (ix) verbs were changed to bare infinitive unless they appeared as a lexical entry, (x) possessive adjectives and articles were deleted, (xi) prepositions which were not part of a phrasal verb were deleted, (xii) the negative particle NOT was kept, (xiii) contracted forms (e.g. don't) were counted as two different words (e.g. do not) unless they constituted a fixed expression (e.g. can't stand), (xiv) the conjunction AND was deleted and the pair of words joined by it were counted separately (e.g. hot and cold became hot, cold), (xv) expressions and phrases which did not appear in the Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English were counted as separate words (e.g. make somebody do something: 4 words).

We combined quantitative and qualitative analysis. The Excel spreadsheet was employed to calculate the mean values of age, gender, and the average of words retrieved by both females and males. The Kruskal-Wallis test was implemented to determine whether there were statistically significant differences between males and females regarding the number of words retrieved in response to SCHOOL. Afterwards, WordSmith Tools version 5 was used to create alphabetical and frequency lists for the identification of the words retrieved by males and females.

For the identification of the word class retrieved by EFL learners and their senses we took as reference four English dictionaries: Cambridge, Collins, Merriam-Webster, and Oxford. The reasons for their selection were twofold. Firstly, the four dictionaries are considered as references by experts on applied linguistics (Lew 2011; Alexander 2015). Three of them are published by long-standing British publishing houses (Cambridge, Collins and Oxford), and one is considered America's foremost dictionary (Merriam-Webster). The distribution of British and American dictionaries reflects the situation in the community where the study was conducted, where most schools and teachers adopt the British variety as reference. Secondly, they provide free access to their content and can be consulted online anywhere and at any time from most currently used electronic devices.

After the extraction of all the senses for School from each dictionary, we identified those in common and created the classification shown in Table 1. These categories were used in the identification and classification of senses underlying the words retrieved by EFL learners in response to the cue-word SCHOOL. The categories also served as a reference for establishing tentative links among common word responses and archetypes.

Senses	Definitions	Examples
Place for education	'A place where children go to be educated' (Cambridge dictionary)	"My brother and I went to the same school" (Oxford dictionary)
	'A place or institution for teaching and learning; establishment for education' (Collins dictionary)	
People/entity	'All the students, or pupils, and teachers at any such establishment' (Oxford dictionary)	"The head addressed the whole school" (Oxford dictionary)
	'All the children and teachers at a school' (Cambridge dictionary)	"The whole school is delighted about Joel's success in the championships" (Cambridge dictionary)
	'A school is the pupils or staff at a school' (Collins dictionary)	
Educational level/stage	'UK a primary/secondary School' (Cambridge dictionary)	

Senses	Definitions	Examples
Training/instruction in some field or skill	'A part of a college or university specializing in a particular subject or group of subjects' (Cambridge dictionary; Collins dictionary; Oxford dictionary)	"Dancing School" (Collins dictionary; Oxford dictionary) "The School of Oriental and African studies" (Cambridge dictionary)
Building	'The building or buildings, classrooms, laboratories, etc. of any such establishment' (Collins dictionary)	"They're building a new school in the town" (Cambridge dictionary) "The cost of building a new school" (Oxford dictionary) "School building" (Cambridge dictionary)
College, Faculty, University Department	'A college or university or the time that a student spends there' (Cambridge dictionary)	"The School of Medicine" (Oxford dictionary) "We first met in graduate school" (Cambridge dictionary)
40 Activities/processes	'The process of formal training and instruction at a School; formal education; Schooling' (Collins dictionary)	"Ryder's children did not go to school at all" (Oxford dictionary)
	'The process of teaching or learning especially at a school' (Merriam-Webster dictionary)	"a children's writing competition open to schools or individuals" (Collins dictionary)
	'The period of your life during which you go to school, or the teaching and learning activities which happen at School' (Cambridge dictionary)	"Schoolwork" (Oxford dictionary)
Period of life (Time)	'The period of your life during which you go to school, or the teaching and learning activities which happen at School' (Cambridge dictionary)	"Most children start/begin School at the age of five" (Cambridge dictionary)
Period of day (Time)	'The period of instruction at any such establishment; regular session of teaching; the date when school begins' (Collins dictionary)	"School started at 7 a.m." (Oxford dictionary)

Senses	Definitions	Examples
Individual school objects	'The time during the day when children are studying in school' (Cambridge dictionary)	"School starts at 9 a.m. and finishes at 3.30 p.m." (Cambridge dictionary)
		"School books" (Oxford dictionary)
A group	'A group of people held together by the same teachings, beliefs, opinions, methods, etc.; followers or disciples of a particular teacher, leader, or creed' (Collins dictionary)	"School lunches/uniform/buildings" (Cambridge dictionary)
		"School bus" (Oxford dictionary)
Affect/emotion	'A large number of fish or other sea creatures swimming in a group' (Cambridge dictionary).	"The Frankfurt School of critical theory" (Oxford dictionary)
		"The impressionist School of painting" (Cambridge dictionary)
Related places/activities		"A school of dolphins/whales" (Cambridge dictionary)
Way of life, manners		"I love/hate School" (Cambridge dictionary)
		"Deirdre, the whole School's going to hate you" (Collins dictionary)
		"The Kingsley School of English" (Collins dictionary)
		"a gentleman of the old School" (American dictionary)

Table 1. Main semantic traits for School given by dictionaries' definitions and examples

4. Results and Discussion

As mentioned in the introduction, this study aimed to explore 'School' as a conceptual archetype grounded on commonalities and shared experiences. By looking at word responses in a lexical availability task and contrasting them to the senses in dictionaries, we intended to uncover the actual words that adolescent EFL learners associate with SCHOOL, the senses of these words, and the common experiences that constitute their conceptualization of 'school'. In this section, we will first present the results and the discussion for each research question. We will then attempt to establish links between EFL learners' word responses and archetypes.

The first research question aimed at the identification of the words most frequently retrieved by 12th grade Spanish EFL learners in response to the cue-word SCHOOL. Table 2 shows the top 50-word responses ranked according to the number of learners who retrieved each word and its word class following its classification in dictionaries. A close inspection of the data reveals common patterns. Firstly, the positions 1 to 8 in the ranking correspond to the words retrieved by over 50% of the informants, the retrieval of *teacher* by 85.28% of the learners being remarkable. Secondly, the data shows the prevalence of nouns over other word classes since 31 out of 34 word responses were nouns (91.18%), one was a verb (*learn*), and one an adjective (*boring*). The double (or even triple) classification in dictionaries of 16 words within the 50 most frequent words should be taken into account, since they are nouns but also belong to other word classes. Specifically, 8 words are both nouns and verbs (e.g. *pen*, *chair*, *pass*), and one can be a noun and an adjective (*rubber*). In addition, we find 8 words (e.g. *pencil*, *class*, *table*, *book*) that can be nouns, verbs and adjectives, and one word (*subject*) that is labelled as a noun, a verb, an adjective or an adverb in the four dictionaries.

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Rank	Word	n Students	Word Class	Rank	Word	n Students	Word Class
1	<i>teacher</i>	226	N	26	<i>Science</i>	53	N
2	<i>pencil</i>	184	Adj, N, V	27	<i>notebook</i>	49	N
3	<i>pen</i>	158	N, V	28	<i>paper</i>	48	Adj, N, V
4	<i>table</i>	154	Adj, N, V	29	<i>student</i>	48	N
5	<i>chair</i>	152	N, V	30	<i>French</i>	43	Adj, N
6	<i>book</i>	150	Adj, N, V	31	<i>mark</i>	42	N, V
7	<i>exam</i>	145	N	32	<i>Biology</i>	39	N
8	<i>Maths</i>	135	N	33	<i>classroom</i>	38	N
9	<i>friend</i>	95	N, V	34	<i>Geography</i>	38	N
10	<i>pencil case</i>	95	N	35	<i>playground</i>	37	N
11	<i>rubber</i>	95	Adj, N	36	<i>window</i>	37	N
12	<i>blackboard</i>	94	N	37	<i>learn</i>	35	V
13	<i>study</i>	88	N, V	38	<i>door</i>	34	N
14	<i>English</i>	87	Adj, N, V	39	<i>ruler</i>	33	N
15	<i>computer</i>	84	N	40	<i>children</i>	32	N
16	<i>schoolbag</i>	74	N	41	<i>fail</i>	32	N, V

Rank	Word	n Students	Word Class	Rank	Word	n Students	Word Class
17	<i>homework</i>	70	N	42	<i>Physical Education</i>	32	N
18	<i>bag</i>	67	N, V	43	<i>Philosophy</i>	31	N
19	<i>language</i>	67	N	44	<i>pass</i>	30	N, V
20	<i>class</i>	65	Adj, N, V	45	<i>Music</i>	29	N
21	<i>History</i>	64	N	46	<i>professor</i>	29	N
22	<i>pupil</i>	60	N	47	<i>Art</i>	27	Adj, N
23	<i>subject</i>	60	Adj, N, V	48	<i>university</i>	27	N
24	<i>desk</i>	59	N	49	<i>boring</i>	26	Adj
25	<i>classmate</i>	54	N	50	<i>Chemistry</i>	26	N

Table 2. The 50 most frequent word responses to SCHOOL classified by word class

The words retrieved by 12th grade EFL learners in response to SCHOOL bear a striking resemblance to the words retrieved by 6th grade EFL learners in response to the same cue-word. For instance, *pencil*, *Maths*, *book*, *computer*, *teacher*, *notebook*, *PE* (*Physical Education*), *pen*, *pencil case*, and *table* were the top 10 words retrieved by sixth grade EFL learners in the study conducted by Jiménez Catalán and Dewaele (2017), while *pen*, *book*, *table*, *pencil*, *chair*, and *paper* were among the first word responses to SCHOOL provided by senior EFL learners (Gallardo del Puerto and Martínez Adrián 2014). The concurrence of results may be interpreted on the grounds of exposure to the words either in their English textbooks or in class. Our interpretation is only tentative as we did not control this factor and, to the best of our knowledge, the relation between input and lexical availability output has not been investigated to date.

The predominance of nouns in this study also corroborates the results obtained in previous research with EFL learners at different grades. This may be because the cue-words included in lexical availability tasks are usually nouns rather than verbs or adjectives. Research has shown that cue-words activate more frequent word responses of the same category. For example, in a lexical availability study comprising six cue-words of different word classes, Fernández Orío and Jiménez Catalán (2015) found that 10th grade EFL learners' word responses depended on the type of cue-word. Although nouns predominated in their word responses to all the cue-words, FRIENDSHIP (abstract noun), HAPPY (adjective), and GIVE UP (phrasal verb) tended to activate words from other word classes: they "elicited words from other parts of speech apart from nouns, as for instance adjectives,

verbs, adverbs and prepositions” (Fernández Orío and Jiménez Catalán 2015: 112). Another explanation for this finding might be the higher accessibility of nouns in comparison to other word classes in the learners’ English lexicon. This coincides with what occurs in the mental lexicon of English native speakers, where nouns predominate, as Aitchison (1987) notes. Furthermore, according to this scholar, words of the same class are connected in the mind, as proved by speakers’ involuntary mistakes and errors. More studies are needed in which cue-words of different word classes are included so as to obtain more evidence concerning the structure of the English lexicon of EFL learners. Likewise, as one of the reviewers of this paper observed, this research could be expanded by extending lexical availability analyses to the learners’ mother tongue to ascertain whether there are similarities or differences in their L1 and L2 available lexicons related to ‘School’.

The purpose of our second question was to ascertain whether the words retrieved by EFL learners corresponded to the senses provided for the entry School in English dictionaries. To answer this question, each of the 50 most frequent words retrieved by the EFL learners in response to SCHOOL (see Table 2) were checked against the categories of the senses previously identified in English dictionaries for the entry School (Table 1 above). The comparison allowed us to establish links between senses given in the dictionaries and senses in the EFL learners’ available lexicon on the grounds of the following: (i) six senses seem to be available in the learners’ mental lexicon. These are related with Individual school objects (e.g. *pencil, pen*), the most common sense, followed by Activities/processes (e.g. *exam, study*), and People (e.g. *teacher, pupil*). Likewise, although in a reduced number, informants retrieved words that related to the senses Place (*class, classroom, playground*), Affect/emotion (*friend, boring*), and College, Faculty, or University Department (*university*) (Table 3); (ii) eight senses present in dictionaries, such as Way of life/manners or Educational level/stage, did not appear in the learners’ 50 most frequent word responses; while, (iii) nouns for school subjects, such as *Maths* or *History*, activated by learners do not appear in English dictionaries.

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	Senses in dictionaries	EFL Learners’ words
1	Individual school objects	<i>pencil</i> (69.43%), <i>pen</i> (59.62%), <i>table</i> (58.11%), <i>chair</i> (57.36%), <i>book</i> (56.60%), <i>pencil case</i> (35.85%), <i>rubber</i> (35.85%), <i>blackboard</i> (35.47%), <i>computer</i> (31.70%), <i>schoolbag</i> (27.92%), <i>bag</i> (25.28%), <i>desk</i> (22.26%), <i>notebook</i> (18.49%), <i>paper</i> (18.11%), <i>window</i> (13.96%), <i>door</i> (12.83%), <i>ruler</i> (12.45%)
2	Activities/processes	<i>exam</i> (54.72%), <i>study</i> (33.21%), <i>homework</i> (26.41%), <i>mark</i> (15.85%), <i>learn</i> (13.21%), <i>fail</i> (12.07%), <i>pass</i> (11.32%)

	Senses in dictionaries	EFL Learners' words
3	People	<i>teacher</i> (85.28%), <i>pupil</i> (22.64%), <i>classmate</i> (20.38%), <i>student</i> (18.11%), <i>children</i> (12.07%), <i>professor</i> (10.94%)
4	Place (building)	<i>class</i> (24.53%), <i>classroom</i> (14.34%), <i>playground</i> (13.96%)
5	Affect/emotion	<i>friend</i> (35.85%), <i>boring</i> (9.81%)
6	College, Faculty or University Department	<i>university</i> (10.19%)

Table 3. Senses in EFL learners' word responses to SCHOOL

The lack of comparative research on dictionaries and lexical availability does not allow the tendencies observed to be confirmed or disconfirmed. However, we could hypothesise that learners might have produced more words related to the sense Individual school objects because these are items used at school on a daily basis (e.g. *pencil*, *notebook*, *ruler*) and many teachers use them as realia to foster the learning of English vocabulary in a contextualised manner (cf. Bala 2015). Similarly, words referring to the school curricula such as *Maths*, *English*, *Language*, or *History* are part of school life. Therefore, it seems plausible that the vocabulary of individual objects and school subjects might have been learnt at an early age through the vocabulary input in EFL textbooks, thus giving rise to their high availability in the EFL learners' lexicon. Some evidence on the vocabulary input in primary and secondary textbooks was reported in Jiménez Catalán and Mancebo Francisco (2008) where words such as *class*, *teacher*, *children*, *friend*, *book*, *English* or *History* were ranked within the top 50 words in textbooks for those levels. In consequence, it is not unrealistic to assume that 12th grade EFL learners' association of those words with SCHOOL might be due to a high degree of familiarization with the words and their meanings. In lexical availability tasks, the higher the number of informants who retrieve a given word, the higher the association in the mental lexicon. Strong association involves high word familiarity (Hernández et al. 2014).

We now move on to present the results for the third research question in which we asked whether there were differences or similarities in the number and type of words retrieved by males and females. Regarding number, Table 4 summarises the average mean obtained by each group together with the comparison of maximum and minimum and the standard deviations for both sexes. These figures were calculated on the average number of different words retrieved by each individual learner. As can be observed, male students obtained a slightly higher mean than females although this difference did not prove to be significant, as revealed by the Kruskal-Wallis test applied to the means (Table 5).

Males				Females				
				Cue-word				
Min	Max	Mean	SD		Min	Max	Mean	SD
9	33	19.88	6.33	SCHOOL	1	37	19.77	6.18

Table 4. 'School' Means for males and females

Kruskal-Wallis Test		
Chi-squared	df	p-value
0.0027035	1	0.9585

Table 5. Kruskal-Wallis test

As to the actual words retrieved by males and females, we observe that 88% were shared by both groups. However, as a close inspection of Tables 6 and 7 reveals, six words were retrieved only by females (*Music, Art, note, Spanish, colour, people*) and six words were retrieved only by males (*professor, Physics, boring, fail, pass, and test*). A similar pattern is observed when we look at word class in the two top 50 lists, as nouns predominate in both groups. However, we also note that males produced the only adjective found in both groups, *boring*, and three verbs more than females (*pass, fail, test*).

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Rank	Word	n Students	Word class	Rank	Word	n Students	Word class
1	<i>teacher</i>	148	N	26	<i>notebook</i>	35	N
2	<i>pencil</i>	120	Adj, N, V	27	<i>paper</i>	33	Adj, N, V
3	<i>book</i>	109	Adj, N, V	28	<i>subject</i>	33	Adj, N, V
4	<i>chair</i>	101	N, V	29	<i>French</i>	32	Adj, N, V
5	<i>pen</i>	100	N, V	30	<i>student</i>	29	N
6	<i>table</i>	98	Adj, N, V	31	<i>window</i>	26	N
7	<i>exam</i>	90	N	32	<i>Biology</i>	25	N
8	<i>Maths</i>	86	N	33	<i>Music</i>	24	N
9	<i>friend</i>	68	N, V	34	<i>classroom</i>	23	N
10	<i>pencil case</i>	66	N	35	<i>Geography</i>	23	N
11	<i>blackboard</i>	63	N	36	<i>children</i>	22	N
12	<i>computer</i>	58	N	37	<i>ruler</i>	22	N
13	<i>English</i>	57	Adj, N, V	38	<i>door</i>	21	N
14	<i>rubber</i>	57	Adj, N	39	<i>mark</i>	21	N, V

Conceptualization of 'School' in the English Available Lexicon...

Rank	Word	n Students	Word class	Rank	Word	n Students	Word class
15	<i>study</i>	51	N, V	40	<i>Art</i>	20	Adj, N, V
16	<i>homework</i>	48	N	41	<i>learn</i>	19	V
17	<i>bag</i>	44	N, V	42	<i>Philosophy</i>	19	N
18	<i>schoolbag</i>	44	N	43	<i>playground</i>	19	N
19	<i>History</i>	43	N	44	<i>note</i>	18	N, V
20	<i>class</i>	42	Adj, N, V	45	<i>university</i>	18	N
21	<i>pupil</i>	40	N	46	colour	17	Adj, N, V
22	<i>language</i>	39	N	47	people	17	N, V
23	<i>Science</i>	39	N	48	<i>Chemistry</i>	16	N
24	<i>classmate</i>	37	N	49	<i>Physical education</i>	16	N
25	<i>desk</i>	35	N	50	Spanish	16	Adj, N

Table 6. Females' 50 most frequent word responses to School classified by word class

Rank	Word	n Students	Word class	Rank	Word	n Students	Word class
1	<i>teacher</i>	78	N	26	<i>student</i>	19	N
2	<i>pencil</i>	64	Adj, N, V	27	fail	18	N, V
3	<i>pen</i>	58	N, V	28	<i>playground</i>	18	N
4	<i>table</i>	56	Adj, N, V	29	<i>classmate</i>	17	N
5	<i>exam</i>	55	N	30	pass	17	N, V
6	<i>chair</i>	51	N, V	31	<i>learn</i>	16	V
7	<i>Maths</i>	49	N	32	<i>Physical education</i>	16	N
8	<i>book</i>	41	Adj, N, V	33	<i>classroom</i>	15	N
9	<i>rubber</i>	38	Adj, N	34	<i>Geography</i>	15	N
10	<i>study</i>	37	N, V	35	<i>paper</i>	15	Adj, N, V
11	<i>blackboard</i>	31	N	36	professor	15	N
12	<i>English</i>	30	Adj, N, V	37	<i>Biology</i>	14	N
13	<i>schoolbag</i>	30	N	38	<i>notebook</i>	14	N
14	<i>pencil case</i>	29	N	39	<i>Science</i>	14	N
15	<i>language</i>	28	N	40	boring	13	Adj
16	<i>friend</i>	27	N, V	41	<i>door</i>	13	N
17	<i>subject</i>	27	Adj, N, V	42	Physics	13	N
18	<i>computer</i>	26	N	43	<i>Philosophy</i>	12	N
19	<i>desk</i>	24	N	44	test	12	Adj, N, V

Rank	Word	n Students	Word class	Rank	Word	n Students	Word class
20	<i>bag</i>	23	N, V	45	<i>French</i>	11	Adj, N, V
21	<i>class</i>	23	Adj, N, V	46	<i>ruler</i>	11	N
22	<i>homework</i>	22	N	47	<i>window</i>	11	N
23	<i>history</i>	21	N	48	<i>Chemistry</i>	10	N
24	<i>mark</i>	21	N, V	49	<i>children</i>	10	N
25	<i>pupil</i>	20	N	50	<i>university</i>	9	N

Table 7. Males' 50 most frequent word responses to School classified by word class

The higher (but not significant) mean obtained by males in the present study does not corroborate the results reported by Jiménez Catalán and Ojeda Alba (2009a) and Agustín Llach and Fernández Fontecha (2014) for SCHOOL, where females generated a significantly higher number of words. This may be due to the different age and grade levels of the informants as the samples in the previous research were 6th and 8th grade EFL learners, compared to the 12th grade EFL learners of the present study. It may be the case that, as age/grade increases, males become more motivated towards English and this, in turn, might be related to a higher lexical availability output concerning SCHOOL. Some evidence in this regard is found in Fernández Fontecha and Terrazas Gallego's (2012) longitudinal research on the receptive vocabulary and motivation of EFL learners in secondary school education. They reported an increase in the motivation towards English of a great number of students (132 out of 185) at 9th grade in comparison with 8th and 7th grade. A strong correlation between motivation and receptive vocabulary knowledge at 9th grade was also reported. However, the evidence of these results should be treated with caution as their study focused on receptive vocabulary. Studies are required in which motivation and lexical availability production of EFL learners are observed across grades.

As to the similarities found in the actual words retrieved by both males and females, this finding fulfils expectations as in Spain male and female EFL learners attend mixed schools where identical subjects are taught to both sexes sharing instruction and classrooms from kindergarten to post-compulsory education. However, the small but relevant exclusive vocabulary for each group observed cannot be overlooked as, in our opinion, it may suggest different preferences, views and attitudes towards 'School' and its activities, which in turn may be affected by gender ideology. As van der Vleuten et al. quote, "traditionally, more science-related subjects, for example mathematics and information technology, are considered masculine subjects, whereas art, language and humanities are typical feminine subjects (Colley and Comber 2003; Whitehead 1996)" (2016: 184).

The present study confirms this observation regarding school subjects given that females retrieved *Music*, *Art*, and *Spanish* (language) and males *Physics*. Likewise, our study corroborates the results obtained for upper education in the Netherlands by van der Vleuten et al. as boys in their study showed a preference for science and technology whereas girls tended “to choose the more feminine tracks that focus on biology and physics (science & health) and languages and humanities (culture & society)” (2016: 191). Particularly relevant in our data is the presence of words related to exams such as *test* or *fail* in males but not in females. Girls seem to be more concerned with the recognition of the work accomplished and the assessment of the task rather than with a cause-effect relationship, as suggested by the retrieval of *note* (meaning marks) by females and not by males. Finally, another relevant finding is the presence of *boring* in the males' 50 most frequent words list, but not in the females' list. This seems to point to negative male attitudes towards their school as an institution.

We believe that the findings can be interpreted under the conceptual framework of archetypes. In the first place, the EFL learners' 50 most frequent word responses reflect *commonalities* that point to learners' *everyday experience* with individual school objects and activities. From the English learners' words, we note that the 'School' has classrooms, which contain typical objects (*blackboard*, *desk*, *chair*, *window*, *door*), and where typical activities (*study*, *learn*, *homework*, *exam*, *fail*, *pass*) are conducted. Furthermore, the learners' words point to the subjects that form part of their school curricula (*Maths*, *English*, or *History*) and with the people linked to the 'School': *teacher*, *student* or *pupil* with *teacher* being the most frequent word retrieved by the two groups. The learners' words range from general nouns (*teacher*, *student* or *pupil*) to more specific ones (*classmate* or *friend*), but *teacher* emerges as the more salient word response since it was retrieved by most of the learners. Furthermore, for 125 of them it was the word that first came to mind, appearing between the first to fifth position in learners' first responses. According to cognitive lexical availability research, the salient position of the word *teacher* in response to SCHOOL would point to a strong association of both words in EFL learners' lexicon, usually related to a high degree of word familiarity and typicality. The study conducted by Hernández et al. (2014) proved that the most available words were those which learners were more familiarised with because of having learnt them earlier in life. They also found that the most available words corresponded to the most typical exemplars of the semantic categories under investigation. According to the Spreading Activation Theory of Semantic Processing (Collins and Loftus 1975), 'Teacher' and 'School' would represent two nodes or concepts related by semantic links. From a pedagogical perspective, the prominent position of the word *teacher* in learners' responses may suggest a teacher-centred approach

rather than a learner-centred approach in EFL and possibly in other school subjects. This is in line with the research conducted on the conceptualization of teaching in terms of prototype theory (cf. Sternberg and Horvath 1995; Smith and Strahan 2004), as well as with the research conducted by Marchant (1992) on undergraduate and graduate education students' similes and metaphors of what a teacher is.

Secondly, the comparison of the learners' 50 most frequent word responses with the senses in English dictionaries uncovers common patterns that can be interpreted as archetypes. Although the learners' words come from their mental lexicon and the words from dictionaries come from texts, we believe that the comparison is possible as the dictionaries used as reference were created out of corpora of natural language. Thus, in both cases we note that 'School' is linked to students and teachers. Likewise, 'School' is a physical place divided into distinct parts which can be represented as whole-part or part-whole-part relationships. Furthermore, in dictionaries and in the learners' available lexicon, 'School' is related to emotions. Compare, for instance, the example in the Cambridge dictionary "love/hate School" to the word responses *friend* and *boring* retrieved respectively by 95 and 26 EFL learners. The learners' word responses suggest a conceptualisation of 'School' alike to the senses provided in the dictionaries: a place or container where there are people, and where relations, feelings and emotion emerge. However, the learners' English words in response to SCHOOL also reveal patterns typically associated with school life not included in dictionaries we used as reference, as for example, *homework*, *pass*, *fail*, *exam*, or school subjects such as *History*, *Maths*, or *Music*.

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Finally, the comparison of the males' and females' word responses reflects a shared conceptualization of 'School' through words that point to *commonalities* and *experiences* related to school, which can be considered as *ubiquitous* as they are part of the life of the adolescent EFL learner all over the world. Overall, the words retrieved by males and females present more similarities than differences. However, the data also reveals exclusive words in the two groups. For females the exclusive words were: *Music*, *Art*, *note*, *colour*, *people*, and *Spanish*. In comparison, the exclusive words for males were: *fail*, *pass*, *professor*, *boring*, *Physics*, and *test*. The comparison of the males' and females' exclusive words reveals a slightly different view of 'School': those retrieved by females have to do with school subjects (*Music*, *Art*, *Spanish*) and with qualifications (*colour* and *notes*), ("notas" in Spanish means scores or marks), whereas the males' exclusive word responses point to the results of exams and tests (*fail* and *pass*) as well as to a negative feeling towards 'School' (*boring*). It is also noteworthy that the two groups differ in the words retrieved regarding school subjects.

5. Conclusion

This study has provided empirical evidence on the available lexicon of EFL learners. The first finding was that 12th grade Spanish EFL learners retrieved a higher number of nouns than other word classes in their top 50 word responses in a lexical availability task. Among these, *teacher* was the most frequent response. We have interpreted this finding on the grounds of a common structure of EFL learners' lexicon but we have pointed out the need of conducting further research with EFL learners of different ages and grades to ascertain whether the structure of their available lexicon is similar or differs according to age, vocabulary knowledge and level. We have also considered the possible effect of the task on the elicitation process as this finding might have been somewhat affected by the word class of the prompt. This result suggests the need to select prompts of different word classes in lexical availability/association tasks. In particular, it is necessary to include verbs as cue-words since verbs have been found to be more difficult to acquire than nouns by English children (cf. Gentner 2006).

The second finding provided evidence of the similarity of the EFL learners' word responses to the senses provided in English dictionaries. This result has educational implications as on the one hand it proves that the available lexicon of EFL learners concerning the 'School' concept matches the senses attributed to the lexical entry School by English dictionaries. On the other hand, it provides evidence of the potential of English dictionaries to serve as a reference when conducting qualitative analyses of EFL learners' available lexicon. In the first place, we noted common patterns in both sources. Secondly, the examples provided in dictionaries for each sense facilitated the understanding of what the learners meant by the word responses and allowed us to interpret them under the conceptual framework of archetypes. However, although there was considerable coincidence in the two sources, the analysis of the learners' word responses uncovered realities closely linked to daily life at school such as Maths, History, Physical Education, blackboard, pencil, or book. Furthermore, the word *teacher* was the first response retrieved by numerous students, which suggests that the teacher represents an essential part in their conceptualization of 'School'. This finding is relevant for research on the L2 lexicon as it points to the existence of typical patterns in learners' available lexicons in relation to the 'School' concept.

Regarding the performance of female and male EFL learners, no significant differences were observed in the average means of words produced by both groups, and their word responses were similar. However, we also observed words retrieved by males but not by females and vice versa. This exclusive vocabulary needs further research as differential patterns might be related to gender ideologies, and these may involve

stereotypes and negative attitudes towards the school as an institution and therefore have consequences for the successful achievement of learning a foreign language.

The findings are relevant for teachers, dictionary compilers and researchers on L2 available lexicon as knowledge of the number and the actual words that EFL learners can generate in response to SCHOOL in a lexical availability task provides them with clues about 12th grade EFL learners' vocabulary knowledge related to a specific semantic domain. For example, it is possible to hypothesise from the learners' word responses that they would have the words to write about or discuss issues related to 'School'. Furthermore, given the sample stratification, the findings can be generalised to all the EFL learners in the community where the study took place. With caution, the findings could serve as a reference for comparison with EFL learners at the same level in other learning contexts. Notwithstanding this, we recognise limitations to the study. The first is that due to space constraints, our analysis and interpretation was based on only the 50 most frequent words retrieved by the learners rather than on the total number of words elicited by means of the lexical task. In a subsequent study it would be necessary to check whether the tendencies resulting from the analysis of the 50 most frequent words are also observed in the whole corpus. This analysis would need to be complemented by the identification of possible clusters and switches resulting from the EFL learners' word responses as these would allow in-depth insights into the conceptualization of 'School'. The second limitation of this study is that our analysis was based on EFL learners' responses in a lexical availability task. As shown in Table 3, some word responses may be classified under different word classes and some words convey more than one meaning. This calls for more innovative lexical availability research, in which a detailed examination of the words English language learners associate with SCHOOL should be complemented by interviews. These could allow us to determine the word class and the intended meaning of the words retrieved by learners, which in turn would provide a deep insight into their L2 mental lexicon. However, as it would be unrealistic to conduct interviews with large samples such as that used in the present study (265 students), the most problematic cases (e.g. *boring, note*) could be chosen for further exploration. Likewise, regarding conceptual archetypes, comparative research is necessary with other ages and educational levels in primary and secondary education to ascertain whether the patterns of the conceptualization of 'School' change or remain as age and course level increase. Moreover, for a more comprehensible picture of the variables that might affect EFL learners' lexical availability, it would be necessary to include standardised language tests to ascertain whether learners' language level determines or not their lexical availability output in terms of both number and word variation. Likewise, a study with informants of different mother tongues

and cultures would expand the present study as it would allow us to ascertain whether their conceptualisation of the 'School' is different or similar.

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APPENDIX

- EDAD:.....
- SEXO: MUJER
 HOMBRE
- NACIONALIDAD:
- CENTRO:
- LENGUA(S) MATERNA(S) (lengua(s) que usas con tu familia).
Marca con una X tu respuesta:
 - Español Rumano
 - Chino Portugués
 - Árabe Urdu
 - Ruso Ucraniano
 - Otra (escribe cuál):
- En caso de que recibas o hayas recibido clases de inglés fuera del centro, especifica:
Nº años:
Nº semanas por año:
Nº horas por semana:
- ¿Cuál ha sido el motivo?
 - Había suspendido y quería aprobar. Complacer a mi familia
 - En el colegio/instituto/centro saco buenas notas Otros
pero quería mejorar.
 - Me gustan mucho los idiomas y me divierte aprenderlos.
- ¿Has estado en algún país de habla inglesa?
 - NO SÍ ¿Cuál?.....
 - ¿Cuándo?.....
 - ¿Cuánto tiempo aproximadamente?.....
 - ¿Fuiste a clases de inglés allí? NO SÍ
- ¿Has ido a cursos de inglés intensivos/de verano, etc. en España alguna vez?
 - NO SÍ ¿Cuándo?.....
 - ¿Cuántas semanas
y horas de duración
aproximadamente?.....

- Además de inglés, ¿estudias otra lengua extranjera bien en este Centro o fuera?
 NO Sí ¿Cuál?.....
- Tipo de Bachillerato:
 Artes Ciencias y Tecnologías Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales
- Programa(s) de lenguas en los que participas (por ejemplo, Programa de Escuela Oficial de Idiomas):

PRUEBA DE DISPONIBILIDAD LÉXICA

INSTRUCCIONES:

- En esta prueba hay 10 enunciados.
- Escribe **en 2 minutos** las palabras que te sugiera cada enunciado siguiendo el orden numérico.
- El profesor/a te irá marcando el tiempo para cada palabra.
- Una vez acabado el tiempo no puedes incluir más palabras.
- Por favor, escribe con letra legible.

THE SCHOOL

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**ACCULTURATION THROUGH CODE-SWITCHING
LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS IN THREE SHORT-STORIES:
“INVIERNO”, “NILDA” AND “THE PURA
PRINCIPLE” (DÍAZ 2012)**

**ACULTURACIÓN A TRAVÉS DEL ANÁLISIS
LINGÜÍSTICO DEL CAMBIO DE CÓDIGO
EN TRES HISTORIAS: «INVIERNO», «NILDA»
Y «THE PURA PRINCIPLE» (DÍAZ 2012)**

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Abstract

The purpose of this article is to investigate whether Yuniór, a character and narrator in the three short stories under study, “Invierno”, “The Pura Principle”, and “Nilda”, becomes absorbed into American culture or obtains a positive relationship with this culture without losing his Dominican identity. Quantitative analyses of the vocabulary in the L1 code-switches (Spanish) and of the L2 (English) vocabulary used by Yuniór in the stories were carried out to appraise his linguistic progression. Code-switching was analyzed because it gives insights into how situation and context influences language use and why the characters use the language they do. The results obtained, by means of three common lexical measures used in foreign language research (lexical density, age of acquisition and lexical sophistication), allowed us to assess Yuniór’s change of identity. According to the acculturation model, Yuniór becomes acculturated in the host country, showing progression and integration with many cultural aspects of American life and the English language due to his formal education and early age of acquisition of L2.

Keywords: code-switching, identity, acculturation, lexical density, age of acquisition.

Resumen

El propósito de este artículo es comprobar si Yunior, personaje y narrador en los tres relatos que se analizan, “Invierno”, “The Pura Principle” y “Nilda”, se acultura a la cultura estadounidense u obtiene una relación positiva con esta cultura sin perder su identidad dominicana. Para evaluar la progresión lingüística de Yunior se llevó a cabo un análisis cuantitativo del vocabulario utilizado por él en los relatos en su cambio de código a la L1 (español) y del vocabulario en la L2 (inglés). El cambio de código se analizó porque ayuda a entender cómo la situación y el contexto influyen en el uso del lenguaje y en por qué los personajes usan el lenguaje que usan. Los resultados obtenidos, con tres medidas léxicas utilizadas normalmente en la investigación de lenguas extranjeras (densidad léxica, edad de adquisición y sofisticación léxica), nos permitieron valorar el cambio de identidad de Yunior. De acuerdo con el modelo de aculturación, Yunior se acultura en el país anfitrión, mostrando una progresión e integración con muchos aspectos culturales de la vida estadounidense y el idioma inglés debido a la educación formal y a una edad temprana de adquisición de la L2.

Palabras clave: cambio de código, identidad, aculturación, densidad léxica, edad de adquisición.

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1. Introduction

This study concerns the linguistic analysis of literary code-switching in three short stories by Junot Díaz (2012).¹ Despite the fact that literary code-switching is a frequent feature of literary texts used in different languages and times such as in Roman literature (Mullen 2015), the English literary tradition from its beginnings until the present time (Schendl 2015), and contemporary Brazilian literature (Müller 2015), it is an under-developed phenomenon in research. Bilingual Hispanic-American writers have used it with profusion and thanks to them the investigation of this type of switching has become more important (Gardner-Chloros and Weston 2015). Nonetheless, this phenomenon should not be considered as exclusive to Latin American literature. Literary code-switching has been ‘legitimated’ (Montes-Alcalá 2015) to a certain extent due to its strong resemblance to switches in natural speech production at socio-pragmatic and psycholinguistic levels, and its study can be a complement to the switches based on natural speech (Weston and Gardner-Chloros 2015).

Code-switching (CS) and language varieties in literature (Meisel 2014) become critical for issues which deal with culture and identity because they can show how characters self-identify by the language they use and “offer a perfect bridge to

discuss language ideologies” (Devereaux and Wheeler 2012: 96). A personal use of two languages, the heritage (Spanish) and the host language (English), either as a character or narrator (the case of Yunior in the stories under study), can be a valuable source to perceive linguistic evolution and possible changes in identity throughout these stories without being confused by the existence of opposing points of view that other characters could offer. In the stories chosen for analysis, “Invierno”, “The Pura Principle”, and “Nilda” (Díaz 2012), the last two overlapping in time, Yunior determines the story’s point of view (as first person narrator) and at the same time participates in the action (as a character). This facilitates a better tracking of his use of English and his CS, taking this term in a broad sense (Dumitrescu 2014; Hall and Nilep 2015), and of the evolution of his identity. His personal participation in the plot does not allow the reader to forget that he is involved in the events and that all the information presented is filtered through his personal perspective, which is related to his degree of acculturation. Yunior’s relations and the language he uses, either English (L2) or Spanish (L1), being a main component of cultural identity, determine who he is as an individual in his community and his progressive acculturation to the Anglo world. The linguistic analysis of CS in this study is relevant since the aim is to uncover whether Yunior (Junot’s alter ego, Dumitrescu 2014: 413), character and narrator in the three short stories, becomes acculturated to the American culture, showing, as a result, a progressive preference for the English language.

2. Literature Review on Code-switching and Acculturation

2.1. Code-switching (CS)

The use of two languages in communication between multilingual speakers has been the subject of research in the sociolinguistic field in the past decade (Fachriyah 2017; Beatty-Martínez et al. 2018). Much of the research conducted nowadays with bilinguals concerns aspects dealing with CS within the fields of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics. In psycholinguistics the research deals with the partial activation of the two languages in bilinguals, a process that supposedly facilitates CS production, while in sociolinguistics it mainly focuses on CS as a strategy to shape acculturation and bicultural identity (Cox et al. 2019).

The three types of studies discussed below provide a general overview and represent the backbone of this study. Essentially, these studies address the relationship between CS and language proficiency, CS and the reduction in cognitive effort when the speaker has a large exposure to the language, and finally the use of a second language (L2) for cold and detached interaction.

- a) CS and language proficiency. CS should not be linked to an inability to differentiate the two language systems or to a lack of knowledge of the second language (Lipski 2014; Montes-Alcalá 2015; Yow et al. 2017). Though it is well established in bilingual literature that there is a link between proficiency and CS, still more studies are needed to determine in what way proficiency affects CS. In the literature in the field, proficiency and the frequency of CS have been associated (Torres 2007; Weston and Gardner-Chloros 2015; Beatty-Martínez et al. 2018), and more proficient individuals have been perceived as frequent users of their L2 in their bilingual speech as proficiency decreases in their L1 (Torres and Potowski 2016; Cox et al. 2019). It can also be stated that as a result of proficiency in the L2, there is a relationship between CS and the type of switching used: insertion, alternation or congruent lexicalization (Muysken 2000). The general idea is that CS begins with small insertions and evolves towards alternation and large insertions (Lipski 2014).
- b) CS and cognitive effort. CS can be produced spontaneously (Cox et al. 2019), and sometimes bilinguals are aware of their linguistic behavior (Lipski 2014). Nonetheless, research agrees that CS requires more effort than staying in one language due to the simultaneous control of both languages (Beatty-Martínez et al. 2018; van Hell et al. 2018). Beatty-Martínez et al. (2018), who incorporated experimental contributions done with eye-tracking and event-related potential (ERPs) methodologies in their review of CS, called the slower processing, which happens as a result of moving back and forth between two different codes, the ‘processing cost’ (10). They concluded that the cognitive effort depends on the type of CS used and bilinguals’ experience with the language, and that switching costs can be reduced if the speaker has a large exposure to a given code-switched structure or code-switches freely. This last idea is supported by Bruin et al. (2018), who found that freely using two languages can be less effortful than staying in one language. Van Hell et al. (2018), also working with ERPs, claimed that processing costs are always present in bilinguals independently of the degree of proficiency in the language in which they produce the code-switches.
- c) CS and detachment. The use of CS, regardless of the effort involved, is associated with the transmission of feelings in the different speech acts. This linguistic behavior, that is, switching between languages while becoming emotional with known interlocutors (intimate and familiar domains), has been strongly supported by recent literature investigating the emotional force of multilinguals’ various languages (Pavlenko 2008; Dewaele 2010; Ferré et al. 2010; Costa et al. 2017). As a general rule, though it is not always

the norm, bilinguals choose the L1 to express their emotions, and the L2 for a colder, more distant, and more detached interaction (Dewaele 2005). According to the different roles played by languages in multilingual societies, L2 would be used for more objective and colder expression, while the L1 would be for subjective and intimate situations (Dewaele 2010; Ferré et al. 2010; Jończyk et al. 2016; Costa et al. 2017). The intimacy that happens with L1 in different areas such as games, moral judgement, decision making, etc. is also perceived in consumer preferences. In a code-switched advertisement, in which the influence of acculturation and language was examined (Garcia Quintana and Nichols 2016), it was found that the bicultural consumer preferred the advertisement that was more closely related to his/her L1. The authors linked this result to the relationship which exists between language and the degree of acculturation and concluded that the more acculturated the individuals were, the more inclined they felt to accept L2 language advertisements.

These three types of academic contributions are part of the theoretical foundation for this study. The basic idea that underlies it is that a long time spent in a host country using the L2 as the main language and acquiring a new culture will produce a progressive a) reduction of CS to the L1 and b) acculturation to the adopted culture.

2.2. Acculturation

In this section we consider ideas related to acculturation in order to explain the possible change produced in language use (L1/L2) as a result of adopting new values and habits in a new place.

The development of identity in individuals with a long-term exposure to the host culture (Fu 2015), e.g. migrant characters, asylum seekers, expatriates, and ethnic minorities (Rahiminezhad and Arabian 2018), has been studied from a multidimensional view of acculturation. Acculturation is a common process and normally happens over multiple generations. Therefore, first generation migrants (the ones who moved to another country after the age of 14) do not acculturate completely to their adopted country's values. Nonetheless, as Mesoudi (2018) says, the degree of acculturation can change depending on different traits, and these can shift substantially in the same population.

Researchers call readers' attention to the term assimilation and other new terms such as 'biculturalism', 'multiculturalism', 'globalization', etc., being used as synonyms, and therefore interchangeably, with the most generic (Fu 2015) and preferable term: 'acculturation'. This refers to the social, psychological, and cultural change produced after intercultural contact (Panicacci 2020). Widely

accepted definitions convey the same ideas about acculturation. For example, Rahiminezhad and Arabian (2018: 45) talk about it as the phenomenon which results “when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns”. Though it gives the impression that the authors restrict their definition to the alteration in cultural frames, acculturation is necessarily linked to all types of changes. Acculturation may pertain to a range of different phenomena which can include likes, changes in self-definition and deep psychological processes (Mesquita et al. 2019). Fu (2015), who tries to discriminate among differences in the three related concepts of adaptation (also known as conformity, Mesoudi 2018), adjustment and acculturation, emphasizes the psychological side of acculturation, recognizing that the first users of this term were mainly psychologists. Apart from the psychological side, acculturation often conveys visible changes in language, customs, food, and clothing, showing the foreign individuals two coexisting cultural identities since they adopt, to varying degrees, the dominant host culture in specific domains: behavior, values, and/or identity (Rahiminezhad and Arabian 2018). Its effects can be noticed in both the original (native/heritage) and newly adopted (host) culture and, as a result, when individuals accommodate to the native and the host culture, alterations in self-identity are produced (Panicacci 2020).

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Some aspects of the psychological impact of being bicultural have only been addressed theoretically while others have received a great deal of controlled study (LaFromboise et al. 1993). These researchers carried out a very exhaustive review of the literature on this topic and examined several models of second-culture acquisition which are not mutually exclusive: assimilation, acculturation, alternation, and fusion. In our research, in which identity development is examined through CS to L1, and vocabulary used in the L2, what happens is more closely related to the acculturation and alternation models. It probably has little to do with assimilation because, as LaFromboise et al. (1993) claim, the underlying assumption is “that a member of one culture loses his or her original cultural identity as he or she acquires a new identity in a second culture” (396); nor with fusion, since once fused “the individual’s psychological reality would be indistinguishable from a member of the majority group” (401), and these aspects are not seen in the analyzed stories. The acculturation and alternation models are related to the multicultural model, which promotes a pluralistic approach in the relationship existing between cultures. Identity in our study can be related to the positive scenario depicted by LaFromboise et al. (1993). Their main conclusion was that it was possible to obtain a positive relationship with cultures without losing one’s sense of identity or having to choose one culture over the other; this is what the alternation model suggests (LaFromboise et al. 1993). In this

multicultural model the individual can also develop a strong orientation to the host culture; the accommodation of both cultures, the host and heritage cultures, normally brings changes in self-identity and, as a result, acculturation.

Years later Recker et al. (2017), considering Berry's (2005) well known acculturation strategies of integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization depending on the orientation to the cultural heritage and the interaction with the host culture (maintaining both / detachment from both / showing a strong orientation to the heritage / showing a strong orientation to the host culture) put the emphasis on the motivations which underlie the behavior of migrants. For them, it was important to research this topic because in their view there was a lack of studies dealing with motivation. They found that the motivation for cultural maintenance with the features of conservation and stability was related to ethnic peer connections and produced psychological adaptation, while the motivation for cultural exploration with the features of openness and change was related to national peer connections and produced sociological adaptation and a better ability to "fit in" (10).

It is worth mentioning that numerous different disciplines including psychology, sociology and education have analyzed the impact of being born in one culture and raised in another (biculturalism) from the point of view of second culture acquisition. Empirical research carried out with Chinese-English bilinguals in the United States (Jiang et al. 2009), of considerable interest because it deals with acculturation and with language use, found that language proficiency and use are related to processes of "sociocultural integration and identity formation" (Hammer 2017: 43). These researchers suggest strong links between acculturation and linguistic performance in the L2. The results of Hammer's research indicate that those who acculturate to a higher level use L2 more frequently, even in familiar and private domains, and that the language used at home can change with time and length of residence in the host country. Another revealing classic investigation (Birman and Trickett 2001) looked at the process of acculturation through three different dimensions, language competence, behavioral acculturation, and cultural identity with first-generation Soviet Jewish refugee adolescents. It showed that acculturation occurs in a linear pattern over time for most dimensions. In this case acculturation to the American culture increased and acculturation to the Russian culture decreased. The results were completely different for older migrant generations (parents) whose Russian language competence was not reduced even after a long period of residence in the host country. Therefore, both a deep understanding of the L2 and the age of acquisition (AoA) have a lot to do with the degree of acculturation of foreign migrants and how they feel about the host country, either in terms of attachment or detachment. The feelings of exclusion/

belonging to the host country are supposedly connected with the way the person internalizes the experience. It is generally recognized that living in two cultures could be psychologically undesirable if the experience provokes ambiguity and identity confusion. However, from a very different perspective, it is considered that it could bring long-term benefits for the individual and for society, as stated by Recker et al. (2017). These researchers maintain a positive attitude towards the phenomenon, seeing advantages for those living between two cultures because the motivation to maintain the heritage culture and also to explore the host culture is linked to positive outcomes. A benefit can also be produced when new ways of doing things and knowledge brought by migrants is recombined with existing skills and knowledge (Mesoudi 2018). Probably, as already suggested, the psychological and social adaptation to a new space could bring an evolution in L2 and a reduction in the use of L1 and code-switches, an idea that is in line with acculturation-related literature (Devereaux and Wheeler 2012; Hozhabrossadat 2015; Garcia Quintana and Nichols 2016; Zaker 2016).

66 **3. Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Having in mind the above theoretical ideas, and considering the character of Yunior as a “first generation migrant” (Mesoudi 2018: 3) due to his early arrival in the United States and the number of years living there with formal education, the research questions which arise in this study are:

1. Does Yunior become bicultural and maintain his original identity and the new one without being forced to choose one over the other (alternation)?
2. Does Yunior’s identity change due to acculturation to the American culture?

The hypotheses that are raised, considering the research questions, are the following:

1. Yunior’s identity, shaped by language, will share relevant features with those of his parents and relatives from the Dominican Republic, and at the same time he will participate in the dominant host culture (alternation).
2. Yunior will probably identify with the new context and develop competence in both the dominant culture and its language as he grows up in the United States (acculturation).

Since communication is one of the most important aspects to define identity, Yunior’s cultural ‘linguistic identity’ (Hozhabrossadat 2015) will be analyzed through a linguistic study. Specifically, it will be checked whether the code-switches to his L1 lead to a progressive reduction of Spanish words from the first

chronological story (“Invierno”) to the third (“Nilda”), whether he is looking for solidarity or distancing from Latin speakers (convergence/divergence, attachment/detachment, Hozhabrossadat 2015), and whether the English he uses comes closer to that employed by a native speaker.

For the code-switches, two different lexical variables are used, as explained in the Methodology section: Lexical density (LD) and AoA of the terms. To assess Yunior’s English linguistic progression (character/narrator), a quantitative analysis of his sophistication in English will be done with *VocabProfile Classic* (Cobb 2002; Heatley et al. 2002), a program based on Laufer and Nation’s (1995) ‘Lexical Frequency Profile’ (LFP) which breaks the texts down by word frequencies as represented by their frequencies in a corpus. This program was not used for the Spanish code-switches because it does not work with the Spanish language.

4. Methodology

4.1. Materials

Three short stories from *This Is How You Lose Her* (Díaz 2012) are examined. Though this book contains nine stories, we only analyzed “Invierno”, “The Pura Principle” and “Nilda” because in all of them Yunior is a participant in the story’s action (character) and the one who determines the story’s point of view (first person narrator). This feature allows a better tracking of the CS and of the evolution of his cultural identity.²

Information on Spanish vocabulary comprising types, tokens, translation, category and AoA are provided as supplementary material in an Appendix.

4.2. Instruments

The first step in analyzing the code-switches from English into Spanish was to identify the Spanish vocabulary within the stories. The three texts were submitted to the software *AntConc* (Anthony 2014) which provided the total number of words, the number of different words (tokens and types), the frequency of occurrence, and contextual information. A manual count of words in Spanish was done and then their morpho-syntactic categories were decided, considering contextual information. As this program did not recognize apostrophes in the Saxon genitive or contractions, or accents in the Spanish words, we removed the extra types and tokens that the software had introduced and did a manual count of types and tokens eliminating forms that did not count as a separate word in English (e.g. the letter *d* from contractions like *you’d* which appeared alone. In this case *you’d* was replaced by *you would* or *you had* depending on the context).

The English translations of the Spanish terms presented in the supplementary material were taken from the online *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, while *El Diccionario Dominicano* and the *Dominican English Dictionary* were used for the translations of Dominican words.

4.3. Measures

Quantitative data were obtained through the most common lexical measures used in foreign language research: LD and AoA of the Spanish words in the code-switches, and lexical sophistication with LFP of the English vocabulary:

- a) LD is a robust measure defined as the percentage of lexical words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) in the text (van Hout and Vermeer 2007). It gives information about how informative a text is and can be used to monitor improvements in the use of lexical items when different texts are compared. It is obtained by multiplying the number of lexical tokens by 100 and dividing it by the total number of tokens ($\text{number of lexical tokens} * 100 / \text{total number of tokens}$). A text can be considered dense if it has many lexical words relative to the total number of words (lexical and grammatical words).
- b) AoA is a psycholinguistic variable referring to the age at which a word is typically learned. It is related to the frequency of a word, therefore Brysbaert and Ghyselinck (2007: 992) say that there is a “near perfect correlation between the magnitude of the AoA effect and the magnitude of the frequency effect”.

The scores obtained by Alonso et al. (2015) for 7,039 Spanish words were considered in order to obtain the average AoA in each story. We only used the scores of those words whose forms were the same as in the text, except when there were differences in number (e.g. *sucias* in the text, *sucia* in the set of norms). In this way *borracha* was not considered because it was not in the list compiled by these authors. Though they had the score for *borracho* we disregarded it, since we have checked that the ratings change with gender. The same thing happened with variations in verbal tenses (e.g. *consentido* in the text, *consentir* in the set of norms) and familiarity (e.g. *Papi* in the text, *papá* in the norms reported here).

- c) The sophistication of the English vocabulary in the three stories, a particular aspect of lexical richness related to frequency (Laufer and Nation 1995), was obtained through the *VocabProfile Classic* program. Using this reliable and valid measure of lexical use (LFP), which discriminates proficiency levels as stated by its authors (Laufer and Nation 1995), we obtained the percentage of words at different vocabulary frequency levels. This information enabled us to assess the sophistication of Yunior’s vocabulary.

5. Results

5.1. Quantitative Analysis of the Spanish Vocabulary in the Code-Switches Produced by Yuniór

Surprisingly, the percentage of Spanish types and tokens is not high in spite of the impression the reader can get when reading these short stories. It seems that Spanish ‘invades’ (Dumitrescu 2014: 413) with numerous words due to the continuous repetitions of some of these words such as proper nouns (e.g. Rafa, Nilda, etc.), and names to describe family relations such as *Papi*, *Mami*, and *hermano*, but the truth is quite the opposite. The texts contain a reduced number of Spanish words in the code-switches (types), and those words have a very low frequency (tokens).

The three stories were submitted to *AntConc* (Anthony 2014) to acquire the total number of types and tokens (L1+L2) in each story, the number of words in the code-switches in Spanish, and the percentage in each story for the types and tokens considering all the words. We did not use the *type/token ratio* (also known as *lexical variation*) because it has to do with text length and not with lexical richness. This is important in our case in which the numbers of types and tokens vary substantially between the texts being compared (van Hout and Vermeer 2007). Though this measure is the most popular when dealing with foreign languages, it is not reliable (van Hout and Vermeer 2007) and is unstable for short texts because it is affected by differences in text length (Laufer and Nation 1995). For these reasons, we considered a more robust measure to discriminate the lexical richness of the Spanish code-switches in the three short stories: LD.

As we can see in Table 1, “Invierno”, the first chronological story, had the largest LD, while the figures were quite similar for the other two temporal overlapping stories. The largest number in the first story suggests a direct correspondence between LD and CS. The decrement in LD for the Spanish words in the code-switches in “The Pura Principle” and “Nilda” supports the thesis that Yuniór’s linguistic acculturation to English takes place due to immersion, and to the number of years living in a country other than where he was born.

Stories	Lexical density
“Invierno”	Tokens 98*100/100=98
“The Pura Principle”	Tokens 114*100/122=93.44
“Nilda”	Tokens 21*100/23=91.30

Table 1. LD of Spanish words in the code-switches

We also used the average AoA of the words in Spanish (Table 2 below). This measure, which deals with acquisition order (van Hout and Vermeer 2007), has to do with the frequency of words and refers to “the average chronological age at which a particular word is first learned, thus reflecting the word’s time of entrance into the lexical repertoire of an individual” (Alonso et al. 2015: 268). Its effects in lexical decisions (Morrison and Ellis 2000), normally showing faster and more accurate recognition times, are strongly associated with lexical accessibility (Alonso et al. 2015). The words which have been learnt early in the L2 will probably be common and frequent words, being therefore more accessible. Those learnt later, in adolescence or adulthood, will be more sophisticated (less frequent and related to adult topics) and less accessible, especially when one is immersed in a foreign culture and having a formal education in the second language. Alonso et al.’s (2015) scores for Spanish words were used to obtain the average AoA in each story. There were a few words, restricted to the Dominican environment, which were not in their norms. This was so because they do not include ratings for dialectal variations or different types of Spanish. However, considering that there are not many of these words in the three short stories, the loss is likely to be small. We found 2 in “Invierno” (*pernil* and *moro*), 8 in “The Pura Principle” (*aguajero*, *boricua*, *chin*, *deguabinao*, *estribao*, *manganzón*, *prieta* and *toto*), and 3 in “Nilda” (*cuero*, *tigueres* and *mota*). Though the AoA norms used in this research (Alonso et al. 2015) show a high correlation with a set of words for Argentinian speakers of Spanish (Manoiloff et al. 2010), researchers should be cautious when using these scores with Spanish vocabulary in regions other than Spain. Nonetheless, as Alonso et al. (2015) suggest, considering the high scores obtained by Cuetos et al. (2012) with participants from different professional backgrounds and those obtained by Kuperman et al. (2012) with no effects of educational level on AoA ratings, this seems to be an unimportant concern.

Stories	AoA
“Invierno”	4.32
“The Pura Principle”	4.70
“Nilda”	4.61

Table 2. AoA average of Spanish words in the code-switches

The two measures reveal a bigger LD and an inferior AoA for the Spanish code-switches in “Invierno”, which suggests a direct correspondence between these two variables and CS. This means that at an early period Yuniors’ (character/narrator) vocabulary is closer to the Spanish culture and language, changing progressively as he acculturates to the Anglo word. At this early stage he shows attachment to terms

related to early learnt content words such as survival items (food). He talks about the typical food his mother cooks (e.g. *moro*, *pernil*) because food is linked to keeping humans and their culture alive, it is “a crucial aspect of human identity and one of the most effective means of expressing and communicating this identity” (Faber and Vidal Claramonte 2017: 157). The idea of his acculturation is reinforced by the quantitative analysis of the English vocabulary in each of the three stories, which becomes increasingly closer to the English used by English native speakers.

5.2. Quantitative Analysis of the English Vocabulary Used by Yunior

The three stories were submitted to the *VocabProfile Classic* program to obtain the percentage of English words a speaker uses at different vocabulary levels. To help in the interpretation of data, it can be useful to consider that the less proficient speaker is less likely to use rare vocabulary, and the main distinction between less proficient and advanced speakers should be between the first 1,000 frequent words, the second 1,000 more frequent words, and the words in the Academic Word List (AWL), which is vocabulary “that is not in the first 2,000 words of English, but is frequent and has wide range across a variety of written academic texts from a variety of disciplines” (Laufer and Nation 1995: 312). A reasonable percentage for an intermediate level would be: 75% (first 1,000), 10% (second 1,000), 10% (AWL), 5% (not in any list, e.g. foreign words). In our case the percentages are displayed in Table 3:

Stories	First 2,000 Words (1,000+1,000)	AWL Words
“Invierno”	90.07 (83.41+6.66)	.59
“The Pura Principle”	89.27 (84.51+4.76)	.85
“Nilda”	90.84 (85.68+5.16)	.68

Table 3. Percentages of English words pertaining to K-1, K-2, and AWL

It is obvious that in the three stories there is a wide use of words belonging to the first 1,000 most frequent words. The percentages together with those for the second 1,000 more frequent words exceed the 85% that an intermediate level speaker would use. The picture is very different for the words belonging to the AWL, which in all cases is far below 5%. However, it can be observed that the percentage increases in the two last chronological and temporal overlapping stories, “The Pura Principle” and “Nilda”, and this increase is probably related to the continuous formal education received by Yunior and the amount of time spent by him in the United States. These data, together with the lower LD of the Spanish words in these two stories and their superior AoA, lead to a change in Yunior’s

linguistic behavior from that in “Invierno”. This change can be explained through the fluency he has gained in the English language. From this position of superiority, he criticizes Hispanic speakers (e.g. his mother’s lack of linguistic evolution in the L2). As Gerke (2015) claims, he finds his identity in detaching himself from characters who, unlike him, are not expressing themselves in English. A clear hint of his detachment and progressive linguistic superiority is the way he expresses himself when he speaks to the people who are close to him: freely mixing Spanish and English (e.g. *prieta*-ness or *mami*’s) or at other times using very fluent English.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

The results obtained through quantitative linguistic analyses of the Spanish words in the code-switches and of the English vocabulary used in the three stories enable us to reach conclusions regarding Yunior’s change of identity. The results can be interpreted as evidence of acculturation. They indicate that he has drawn close to the dominant American culture, confirming the second hypothesis (acculturation) and therefore rejecting the first one (alternation). According to the acculturation model (LaFromboise et al. 1993), he has become a competent participant in the majority culture and its language in this multicultural place: the United States. Though he could be considered a member of the minority (Dominican) culture by his ethnic peers, he has progressively adopted the American culture from the first chronological story “Invierno” to the last two temporal overlapping stories without experiencing a psychological conflict. It has been a personal choice since he has not been forced to choose between the Latin or the North American culture. Yunior (character/narrator) has become acculturated showing development and a strong orientation towards the English language due to his length of stay in the USA, his formal education received in the L2 and also the early AoA of this language.

Yunior’s acculturation correlates with the fluency he has gained in the English language which goes hand in hand with mastering this language. He lives surrounded by a Hispanic bilingual community, but he has chosen to detach himself from these people. A clear hint of detachment is the way he expresses himself when he speaks to the people who are close to him. This linguistic superiority allows him to objectively establish a social criticism of the Latin people permanently settled in their new homeland. Despite his critical attitude, Yunior shows both a psychological adaptation in the United States maintaining the connection with his ethnic peers and a sociocultural adaptation through his American connections (Recker et al. 2017).

This study represents an advance for studies related to the under-developed phenomenon of literary CS, being an addition to this under-researched field since

it legitimizes the use of valuable academic contributions taken from bilingual or multilingual environments. Moreover, the great similarity that exists between literary CS and that which occurs in natural speech production at socio-pragmatic and psycholinguistic levels can also encourage consideration of this type of switching as a complement to the switches that occur in natural speech.

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Notes

1. The general term code-switching is used in this study to refer to literary code-switching as well.

2. In the story "The Sun, the Moon, the Stars" Yunior is also character and narrator, but in almost a third of the pages the action takes place in Santo Domingo. Therefore, when

Yunior remembers the different events the amount of CS increases disproportionately, not following the normal course of the narrative. Its inclusion would imply a distortion in the study under research, and it is the reason why this story is not analyzed despite belonging to *This Is How You Lose Her* (Díaz 2012).

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Appendix: Supplementary Material

INFORMATION OF THE SPANISH VOCABULARY PRODUCED BY YUNIOR:
Types, tokens, translation, category and AoA. * has been used for Dominicanisms.

“INVIERNO”

Types and translation	Tokens	Morphosyntactic Category	AoA
barrio (neighborhood)	1	noun	5.66
bueno (good)	1	adj.	2.82
de (of)	1	prep.	4.16
gran (big)	1	adj.	5.18
gringo (gringo)	2	noun	–
gringos (gringos)	2	noun	–
guaguas (guagua) (buses)	1	noun	4.40
hijo (son)	1	noun	3.08
la (the)	1	art.	3.14
malecón (pier)	1	noun	–
malo (bad)	1	adj.	3.36
mami (mum)	35	noun	–
merengue (merengue)	1	noun	6.47
* moro (dish with beans)	1	noun	–
muchacho (boy)	1	noun	–
papi (dad)	45	noun	–
pelo (hair)	1	noun	2.60
* perrito (roast pork butt)	1	noun	–
puta (whore)	1	noun	6.74
zángano (lazy)	1	adj.	--

“THE PURA PRINCIPLE”

Types and translation	Tokens	Morphosyntactic Category	AoA
* aguajero (one who speaks a lot and does nothing)	1	adj.	–
Ave-María (Hail Mary)	1	interj.	–
* boricua (Puerto Rican)	1	adj.	–
bueeeeeennnooooo (gooddddddddd)	1	adj.	2.82
caballero (gentleman)	1	noun	6.72

campesina (peasant)	2	noun	–
campo (country)	2	noun	4.48
* chín (a little)	1	adj.	–
chulo (cool)	1	adj.	7.80
consentido (spoilt)	1	adj.	–
cubano (Cuban)	1	noun	–
de (of)	3	prep.	4.16
* deguabinao (tired)	1	adj.	–
Doña (Mrs)	5	noun	6.02
Dios (God)	1	noun	3.90
* estribao (confused)	1	adj.	–
favor (favor)	1	noun	5.58
figureando (boasting)	1	adj.	–
flan (crème caramel)	1	noun	4.56
gente (people)	1	noun	4.20
guapísima (very beautiful)	1	adj.	–
hijo (son)	3	noun	3.08
indiecita (little native Indian)	1	noun	–
la (the)	1	article	3.14
loco (crazy)	1	adj.	4.66
madres (mothers)	1	noun	2.34
Mami (Mum)	52	noun	–
* manganzón (immature person)	1	adj.	–
mayo (may)	1	noun	5.30
mierda (shit)	1	noun	4.56
mono (monkey)	1	noun	2.90
no (no)	3	adv.	1.86
novela (novel)	1	noun	7.26
papi (daddy)	1	noun	–
plaza (square)	1	noun	5.38
por (for)	1	prep.	4.56
* prieta (dark haired)	1	adj.	–
pura (pure)	1	adj.	8.66
puta (whore)	1	noun	6.74
querido (dear)	1	adj.	–
rabo (tail)	1	noun	4.18
respeto (respect)	1	noun	5.90
santísimo (blessed)	1	noun	–

Señora (Mrs.)	1	noun	4.32
sodas (soda) (sodas)	1	noun	6.98
sucias (dirty)	1	adj.	4.18
tacita (little cup)	1	noun	–
tetas (boobs)	2	noun	3.44
tía (aunt)	2	noun	3.12
tías (aunts)	2	noun	3.12
* toto (vagina)	1	noun	–
tú (you)	1	pronoun	–
un (a)	1	article	–
vieja (old, mother)	2	adj.	–
yerba (weed)	1	noun	–

“NILDA”

Types and translation	Tokens	Morphosyntactic category	AoA
* cuero (whore)	1	noun	–
enamorado (enamorado) (lover)	1	adj.	7.62
foto (picture)	1	noun	3.62
novias (novia) (girlfriend)	1	noun	5.94
vieja (old, mother)	2	adj.	4.78
mami (mum)	7	noun	–
moreno (dark)	2	adj.	4.56
morena (dark)	1	adj.	4.91
* tígueres (street boy)	1	adj.	–
* mota (cannabis)	1	noun	–
borracha (drunk)	1	noun	–
paso (step)	1	noun	3.92
Claro (the expression ‘Claro que sí’ means of course)	1	interj.	5.84
que	1	interj.	3
sí	1	adv.	1.98

**PUNCTUATION PRACTICE IN EARLY MODERN
ENGLISH SCIENTIFIC WRITING:
THE CASE OF MS 3009 AT THE WELLCOME
LIBRARY, LONDON**

**LA PUNTUACIÓN EN LOS TEXTOS INGLESES
CIENTÍFICOS DEL PERIODO MODERNO
TEMPRANO: EL CASO DEL MS 3009 DE LA
BIBLIOTECA WELLCOME, LONDRES**

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Abstract

The study of punctuation has traditionally been overlooked by some scholars for being considered haphazard and unpredictable. In medieval manuscripts, every scribe was free to use their own repertory of symbols. However, the establishment of the printing press along with the proliferation of professional scribes resulted in a process of standardization of the system in such a way that by the end of the 16th century a repertory of punctuation symbols was fully developed (Salmon 1999: 15; Calle-Martín 2019: 179-200). The present study seeks to examine the punctuation system of a 17th-century recipe book housed in the Wellcome Library in London, MS Wellcome 3009. This paper has therefore been conceived with a twofold objective: a) to assess the inventory of punctuation marks in the text; and b) to analyze the use and pragmatic functions of these symbols.

Keywords: punctuation, early modern English, scientific texts, recipe books, manuscripts.

Resumen

Tradicionalmente el estudio de la puntuación ha recibido escasa atención en la literatura a causa de su supuesta aleatoriedad e impredecibilidad. En la época medieval, cada

escriba era libre de utilizar su propio repertorio de símbolos. Sin embargo, el establecimiento de la imprenta junto con la proliferación de escribas profesionales dio como resultado un proceso de estandarización del idioma de forma que a finales del siglo XVI el repertorio se desarrolló completamente (Salmon 1999: 15; Calle-Martín 2019: 179-200). En el presente artículo se analiza el sistema de puntuación de la colección de recetas médicas escritas en inglés moderno temprano recogidas en el manuscrito MS 3009 alojado en la biblioteca Wellcome en Londres. El estudio llevado a cabo persigue un doble objetivo: a) examinar el repertorio de signos de puntuación del texto; y b) analizar el uso y funciones pragmáticas de estos símbolos.

Palabras clave: puntuación, inglés moderno temprano, textos científicos, recetarios, manuscritos.

1. Introduction

Traditionally, punctuation has been disregarded in the literature due to its supposed arbitrariness and inconsistency in pre-modern English (Arakelian 1975: 614-615). Several factors have contributed to this neglect such as the lack of systematization and correspondence to modern punctuation and the overlapping functions of punctuation symbols (Lucas 1971: 19; Mitchell 1980: 412; Marqués-Aguado 2009: 55). In the seventies, however, studies of historical punctuation proliferated, and the idea of the existence of a consistent system of scribal punctuation developed, implying the use of a specific set of rules. Since then, two different viewpoints regarding the punctuation practice in medieval and Elizabethan English have been adopted. Some scholars defend the idea of a haphazard system (e.g., Petti 1977; Parkes 1978), whereas others consider the system to follow a set of standard patterns (e.g., Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008; Esteban-Segura 2009; Alonso-Almeida and Ortega-Barrera 2014).

The use and function of punctuation marks in English have changed in the course of the centuries. In Middle English, punctuation marks depended on the scribes' choice since "every scribe [was] ultimately free to imprint his own repertory of symbols" (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2012: 32). In this context, the second key issue has to do with the function of punctuation marks, which has been the source of inspiration of many scholarly discussions mainly attempting to decide whether it was grammatical or rhetorical. The first "provides syntactic sense and is used to mark structural relations among sentence constituents. Rhetorical punctuation, on the other hand, helps to signal necessary pauses in an oral exposition" (Esteban-Segura 2009: 95-96).

Early Modern English, however, marked a transitional period towards the development of grammatical punctuation (Salmon 1999: 40; Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008: 357; Calle-Martín 2019: 179-200), although there is still controversy with regard to its

ultimate function. Ong (1944), for instance, regards Elizabethan punctuation as being primarily rhetorical as he states:

From the evidence in texts which between 1582 and 1640 treat of punctuation, there is little doubt that there survived not only [...] the terminology of the earlier systems [...], but also a recognition of the primacy of breathing as a determinant of punctuation. (Ong 1944: 355)

Fries (1925) refutes this idea as he states that punctuation was essentially intended to assist the reader's eye in recognizing the structure of the text:

Although the practice of the times might easily not strictly conform to the theory of the grammarians [...] it seems unlikely that the practice could have been unconsciously based upon another principle differing so fundamentally from that expressed in contemporary grammars. (Fries 1925: 81)

There is a general consensus, however, that early Modern handwritten texts “gradually favored a grammatical over a rhetorical function” after the introduction of Caxton's printing press and the incorporation of new punctuation marks (Blake 1996: 207). The printing press along with the proliferation of professional scribes and the increasing activity of Westminster's Royal Chancery resulted in a process of standardization of the system (Salmon 1999: 15) and, consequently, by the end of the 16th century the usage of these symbols was similar to contemporary practice.¹ This is probably the case of most early English texts, although the function of these punctuation marks may also depend on the genre “since practice almost certainly varied according to subject-matter and style” (Lucas 1971: 1). In the particular case of legal texts, for instance, the transition from rhetorical to grammatical has been claimed not to be so straightforward “inasmuch as the channel and the addressee lead us to postulate a plausible reading-aloud, especially if it is taken into consideration that the majority of the population was then illiterate” (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008: 358).

The study of historical punctuation has been mainly based on medieval material (Alonso-Almeida 2001; Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2005; Obegi-Gallardo 2006; Esteban-Segura 2009; Marqués-Aguado 2009; Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009; de la Cruz-Cabanillas 2014, among others). The punctuation of early Modern English handwritten texts has also received some editorial attention, some of these works being concerned with schoolbooks (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2010), legal documents (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008) or literary texts (Simpson 1911), but there are still a limited number of publications investigating the punctuation practice of scientific texts, with the exception of Alonso-Almeida and Ortega-Barrera (2014), who studied the punctuation symbols in the 16th-century medical recipes of John de Feckenham, and Calle-Martín and Esteban-Segura (2018), who analyzed scribal punctuation from a diachronic perspective. In the light of the gap in the literature, the present paper has

been conceived with the primary aim of analyzing the punctuation system of the recipe book contained in MS Wellcome 3009 (henceforth W3009). For this purpose, an inventory of punctuation marks of the text under scrutiny is provided, together with an analysis of their uses at the different textual levels (i.e. macro-textual, sentence and clause level) and the functions they perform.

2. The Manuscript

The manuscript under scrutiny is MS Wellcome 3009, housed at the Wellcome Library in London, containing a 17th-century recipe book entitled *Physicall and chyrurgicall receipts. Cookery and preserves*, attributed to Elizabeth Jacob, whose signature is visible in the fourth and fifth folios of the text. As such, she is the main contributor to the volume (ff. 35r-54r; 63v-88r), although later unknown hands expanded the manuscript from 1654 to 1685. A paleographic analysis reveals the presence of six different hands making use of the italic, secretary and hybrid scripts. The text is divided into two sections: the first deals with medical recipes (ff. 17r-90r) and the second with cookery recipes (ff. 179r-224r), a division easily noticeable due to the blank folios between the two sections (ff. 90v-178v) and the flip in the direction of the folios. The present work is only concerned with the first part of the volume, i.e., the medical recipes, which are “instructions on how to prepare medicines to cure an illness, how to maintain health or prevent a harmful condition” (Calle-Martín and Castaño-Gil 2013: 13). Ingredients and the order to be followed in their preparation are given together with the precise quantity and time needed, normally expressed as a command, as illustrated in (1).

(1) For a bruise *which* causeth to spitt Blood ./.

Take a pottle of Clarrett wine and sett it over the fire in the which putt one handfull of the inner barke of Elder , with one handfull of the inner barke of Ash , boile them together until the wine is consumed to a quart , straine it and drink a quarter of pint att a time every morning and every night , (f. 30r)

The source of the text of the manuscript is unknown since in earlier times recipe books had an oral tradition, often shared among family members, neighbors and physicians. The compilation in volumes of these recipes permitted readers to test them, contrast them and see what was shared among them (Eamon 1994: 130-131). In Middle English manuscripts, the conventional arrangement of these recipes was *de capite ad pedem* (i.e. from head to foot) in order to facilitate their consultation. This order, however, is only witnessed in some early Modern English compositions. The recipes in W3009 do not follow an established order as shown in the index at the beginning of the volume. They follow an alphabetical order enabling the reader to find the ailment or the part of the body to be treated with

ease. In order to find a cure for a canker, the index brings the reader to folios 6, 28, 107 and 124, thus demonstrating the random distribution of recipes throughout the text.

3. Methodology

The present research stems from a major project entitled *The Málaga Corpus of Early Modern English Scientific Prose*, which pursues the electronic editing and corpus compilation of early modern scientific handwritten texts in the vernacular. The rationale behind this project can be explained in terms of a twofold objective: a) the semi-diplomatic transcription and electronic editing of hitherto unedited scientific manuscripts housed at Glasgow University Library, the Wellcome Library in London and the University of Manchester Library, also displaying the digitized images and their corresponding transcriptions on the website; and b) the compilation of a normalized and POS-tagged corpus of early Modern English.²

In the particular case of W3009, the analysis has been carried out using the semi-diplomatic transcription of the text and the software *AntConc* (Anthony 2014). Procedurally, the text has been transcribed using the digitized images provided by the Wellcome Library together with an in situ examination of the original. Next, *AntConc* has been used for the automatic retrieval of the instances, although the classification of some of the occurrences required manual disambiguation. W3009 contains a total of 6,907 instances, which have been examined according to their context so as to classify their uses and functions. The inventory of punctuation marks in the text includes the period (.); the comma (,); the virgule, rendered as a single slash (/), as a double slash (//) or as a perioslash (./.), (./); the colon (:); the semicolon (;); the hyphen (-); the apostrophe (') and the parenthesis (()).

4. The Punctuation System of W3009

The following analysis is carried out in order to enable us to ascertain the different uses and functions of the punctuation marks in W3009. The uses of each symbol are studied individually and examples from the manuscript are also provided.

4.1. The Period

The period (52×) is the earliest and most common punctuation mark in early Modern English handwritten compositions, although it is not frequent in the text under scrutiny, especially if compared with other similar scientific texts. From the

15th century onwards, this symbol underwent a process of normalization to express a major type of pause indicating sentence boundaries, even though it still preserved some of its inter-clausal functions until the 17th century (Petti 1977: 25; Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008: 364). The function of the period is threefold, i.e. macro-textual, sentential and clausal, thus suggesting that it is used for both rhetorical and grammatical purposes.

4.1.1. *The Period at Macro-textual Level*

The period is sometimes used to signal major divisions within the text. In the particular case of W3009, it is employed to mark off the end of a recipe as in (2). This use of the period allows us to endorse the idea that early modern scribes regarded this mark as indicating strong divisions within a text.

(2) Take 2 pound of Raisons 1 pound of figgs half a pound of Dates a quarter of an ounce of safron half a dozen bunches of merigold flowers , bunch of balin , bunch of mint half an ounce of mace a quarter of an ounce of Cloues bruised , sweet anniseeds Tunper berryes *and* Cardinams of each an Ounce 1 bunch of notted marjorum , handfull of red sage , 3 rases of ginger.
For the Stone in the Kidneys (f. 88v)³

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4.1.2. *The Period at Sentence Level*

The period is employed at sentence level with different functions:

a) To indicate the beginning of a new sense-unit within a recipe, either to separate the ingredients and the indications of preparation or to introduce authorial comments. The authors occasionally use the first person to provide their personal experiences, as in (4) below:

(3) to make it more Effectuall and of greater virtue it will be good in Quince time to mix therwith the Iuice of Quinces in such quantity as that there may be for Euery pound of honey , A quarter of A pound of Iuice of Quinces , some before they put the honey and water together into the barrell . boile them together vpon A Clear fire , or vpon coales without soak , scum the honey and boile it to perfection which gather by casting an Egg into it (f. 52r)

(4) mix them together to what strength you find most gratefull to your pallete . I allways sweeten it at the time of the makeing , with the sirup of Elder , to what proportion you best like , this will make it A perfect Clarred wine in Colour , then bottle it and it will keep A yeare , or two , 2 or 3 mornings (f. 64r)

b) To separate the type of recipe from the illness to be cured in the title of the recipe:

(5) An Excellent plaister . for wind paines or stiches (f. 70r)

- c) To introduce the sequential marker *then* so as to organize the subsequent steps in the preparation of a recipe:

(6) Take half a pinte of sack a quarter of a good large lemon or half a small one squeezd into the sack . then put the sack into 3 pints of milk , Iust boyling vp : let it stand for the Curd to harden and strain it and drink a draught when you please if you put in no lemon a quarter of a pinte of sack to a pinte of milk . (f. 89r)

- d) To introduce coordinate clauses (both copulative and disjunctive with the coordinators *and* and *but*). The function of this symbol would be grammatical since “coordination is systematically punctuated regardless of the semantic and syntactic relationship between the main and the coordinate clause, no matter whether they share the same subject or not” (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008: 364).

(7) For The Stone or grauell

Take the roots of thorne bake dry them faire . and make powder of them , and take therof 2 peny waight , and put therto 2 spoonfulls of water of raisons and drink it Euery day , and Euery night , and it will help by gods blessing (f. 81v)

- e) To introduce conditional sentences:

(8) A quarter of A pint Before supper and before you goe to bed . if you like it , it is the better if you put some sirup of violets in it when you drink it / (f. 68v)

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4.1.3. The Period at Clause Level

Punctuation marks are also employed to mark off all kinds of relations within the clause such as to enumerate, to separate the clause constituents, etc. In the particular case of the period, it is also employed at phrase level in the text after abbreviations and to enumerate items in a sense-unit.

- a) To indicate abbreviations (after *Saint* and *Madam*):

(9) Milk Waters Madam . Roberts

Take Carduus , Goals rue , Meadow sweet each six handfulls , mint , wormwood , each 5 handfulls , rue 4 handsfull , Angellico 2 handfulls . Whey 3 Gallons infuse them 24 hours , then distill them / (f. 88v)

- b) To enumerate, mostly ingredients, within a recipe. In this case, the period is used indiscriminately together with the comma:

(10) Take 6 drames of Senna Alexandria , 2 drames of polipodia of the Oak , 2 drames of soldanella , 2 drames of sassafras wood . 2 drames of bay berys hulled , 1 ounce of Aniseeds , 2 drames of Ash-key's , let all these be bruised 3 seuerally and put it into A Bagg and put it into 3 or 4 pints of strong beare (f. 43v)

4.2. The Comma

The comma (5,877×) was introduced in England in the 16th century and it is often considered to have evolved from the virgule. It is the principal punctuation symbol in W3009 and it presents an array of purposes at different textual levels.

4.2.1. The Comma at Sentence Level

The comma contributes to the organization of the text and marks the relationship between clauses with the following functions:

a) To separate different sense-units:

(11) Take some fine Lint and some soft sope and mix it well together and Rowle it up and put into the hole of the contrary Eare , it will draw Away the paine / (f. 37v)

b) To separate the sections of a recipe. The comma serves here as the modern period, indicating a longer pause:

(12) Take Rue , Agremony , Wormwood , Celendine , Red sage , Baume , Mugwort , Dragon , Pimpernell , featherfew Burnett , Sorrell , Tormentle Scabius , Carduus , Benned , Bettony , Dittany , Marigold , of each halfe a pound Rosemary one pound Angelica leaves four ounces , three or four Enulacampane Rootes Slip , Pick all these and lett them dry on a boarde Twentie four houres (f. 20v)

c) To make comments or clarifications and therefore presenting a rhetorical function.

(13) Take mirrh beaten to powder and bath the pit of the stomach with Aquæ vitæ , then strow the powder of mirrh vpon the stomach till the skin be Couer'd then wett A peece of London paper in Aquæ vitæ and lay it vpon the mirh , and A dry paper on the top of the wett , all the Aquæ vitæ must be warm'd / (f. 53r)

d) To introduce coordinate clauses (*and*, *but*, *or*, *nor*, *either* or *neither*):

(14) Take as much milk as you think fitt , and boile it by it selfe , and take some cleare water and boile it by it selfe then mix the water and milk together , and drank / (f. 38r)

e) To introduce imperative clauses (i.e., commands), mainly followed by the verbs *let*, *take*, *boil*, *put* and *have*, among others. These verbs are often preceded by the adverb *then* as an indicator of a new step in the preparation of the recipe:

(15) First chopping them , then take linseeds and finbreeke bruised , and Oatmeale , figgs cutt , boyle these in new milke till they are soft and thick , then take sheepes suitt picked from , the skinns , mix all together and them in the Liquer the hearbes was boiled in , the quantity of all must be according to the quantity you make (f. 21v)

4.2.2. The Comma at Clause Level

The comma also serves to introduce indications after a list of ingredients in a recipe and to enumerate them.

a) To indicate the measures in the preparation:

(16) Take annyseeds , fenell , lintseed , and the powder of piony , of Each halfe an ounce , and boile them in A quart of whit wine , then drink A good draught thereof , and it will make you goe to stoole orderly / (f. 77v)

b) To enumerate the ingredients within a recipe. The comma is mainly used in W3009 to join paratactic elements within sections:

(17) Take lignum vitta , red saunders , sweet fenell seeds , Iuory , yellow launders , of Each 3 ounces , sasafras , caraway seeds , and Coliander seeds of Each 2 ounces , China , Saraperella of Each halfe A pound , cutt the China and take all the rest of the Things , Except the seeds , and bruise them (f. 54r)

4.3. The Virgule

The virgule (629x) is represented as a single slash (/), as a double slash (//) or as a perioslash⁴ (./.), (./). This punctuation mark is said to be the equivalent of the Present-Day English full stop, and it displays different functions at the macro-textual and sentential levels: to mark off the end of the title of a recipe (18); to indicate the end of a section or recipe (19); to separate different sense-units (20); to make explanatory comments (21); and to introduce efficacy phrases at the end of a recipe (e.g., *probatum est*) (22).

Calle-Martín and Miranda-García (2005: 37) point out the difference between the uses of the ordinary virgule and the perioslash, stating that the former is mainly used with linking purposes as a conjunctive mark whilst the latter has a disjunctive nature and therefore performs a splitting function within a text. Alonso-Almeida and Ortega-Barrera (2014: 165), however, in their analysis of *Booke of soueraigne medicines*, MS G.U.L Hunter 93, find that both symbols are basically disjunctive. This is also the case of W3009 insofar as these punctuation marks serve in most cases to separate independent sense-units, thus representing a grammatical function. A conjunctive function is also attested in some instances, as in (21), in which the virgule is employed by the scribe to introduce an explanatory comment with regard to the preparation of the recipe.

(18) *Mister* Iohnsons cure for the Ricketts ./.

Take of the juyce of Scury grass four pennyworth to every two spoonfulls of it add one spoonfull of Ieane treacle , begin in February March Aprill and May taking it nine daies in each moneth the spoonfulls in the morning fasting , and as much in the evening after a sleepe , (f. 17r)

(19) To gett spots or pimples out of the Face

Take Camphire made into powder , mix it with whit wine vinegar , and the Iuice of Lemmons , shake them altogether , and wett A linnen cloth in it , and dip the cloth vpon the spots 2 or 3 nights , and mornings , and they will vanish / (f. 63v)

(20) Take Dittony Vervayne *and* Isoppe of each much alike stamp straine it and drink its ale in Travill / when a wooman is past all hope in traville take the weight of a serup woy quike silver and give it her to drinke (f. 55r)

(21) put to them 3 pints of the best white wine , stire them altogether , and soe lett them stand all night , and then distill them in A Limbeck with A Temperate fire / Let it drop on suger candy / (f. 65r)

(22) straine it through till it be cleere , then drink a beere glass in the Morning , and at three a Clocke in the Afternoone and at night if the Dropsey be deepe upon the party , then drinke no other drinke ./. Probatum est ./. (f. 30r)

4.4. The Colon

The colon (68x) stems from the *punctus* and it performs different functions in the text at macro-textual, sentential and clause levels. In W3009, the colon is mainly used to mark an explanation or to introduce specific information, i.e. personal names, quantity of ingredients, etc.

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4.4.1. The Colon at Macro-textual Level

The colon is used to separate the different sections and subsections of the text on certain occasions, indicating the end of the title of the recipe and the beginning of the recipe itself. This grammatical function is exemplified in (23), in which the colon serves to introduce a new recipe.

(23) To make Snaile Drink mad^m Tyr :

Take Snailes and scour them in 3 waters with A good Quantity of sage and hauing scour'd and pick them uery Clean , Take 30 of the Snailes , and put them into A Quart of new milk (f. 47r)

4.4.2. The Colon at Sentence Level

The colon also performs grammatical functions at sentence level, either to mark the separation of sense-units, as in (24), to introduce conditional sentences (25) or to connect coordinate sentences, as in (26), although in this case, it also implies a pause therein.

a) To separate sections of a recipe. In (24), for instance, the colon indicates the transition between two stages of the recipe, from “ingredients” to “preparation”:

(24) Take A quart of whit wine , and Infuse in it 2 or 3 spoonfulls of the Iuice of sallendine , and A little saffron : let them be Infused in A bottle 2 days together , shake the bottle , and drink neare A Quarter of A pint in the morning fasting , The : it vomitts proceed , in A weeks time it cures / (f. 84v)

- b) To introduce conditional sentences:

(25) Take Oyle of spicke and Rubb the teeth thirewith and in too howers etc. : if your teeth ar yellowe take sage stamp it a little thirewith (f. 62r)

- c) To link coordinate sentences:

(26) A Quarter of an ounce of sennae : and the Iuice of 4 lemmons then blanch halfe A pound of bitter Almonds , beate them uery well (f. 67r)

4.4.3. The Colon at Clause Level

The colon is sometimes used to associate clause constituents or to enumerate the steps in the preparation of a recipe or the items in the list of ingredients.

- a) To introduce proper names after abbreviations (in most cases preceded by *Saint*, *Doctor* or *Mistress*):

(27) Bees wax , two ounces Red sanders , one ounce of true Naturall Balsam , one ounce of Oyle of Saint : Iohns wort a drame of Cocheneale , halfe a pint of Sack (f. 18r)

- b) To indicate quantity. This use may resemble that of the point in the medieval period with numerals (Alonso-Almeida and Ortega-Barrera 2014: 162):

(28) seeth all these in faire water and straine it drinke 6 : oz : thire of fasting In the morning and soe continue foure hours after from meate or drinke / (f. 59v)

- c) To enumerate sections with ordinal numbers:

(29) Take the powder of bays leaues and put vpon hott coales , and sitt ouer it – 2nd : Take A Quantity of Saffron , and as much Cummin , beate them to powder and drink them in warme wine – 3rd : Take A draught of womans milke from the breast warme (f. 80v)

- d) To enumerate the ingredients of a recipe and therefore overlapping with the period and the comma:

(30) Take of sagapenum : Apopanox : ammoniacum of Each 3 drames dissolued in vinegar , and boiled to the Consumption of the vinegar (f. 76v)

4.5. The Semicolon

The semicolon (13×) was introduced in England at the end of the 15th century (Parkes 1992: 49). This symbol emerged to signal a finer discrimination between the comma and the colon and, in this vein, it “progressively became the standard mark of punctuation to represent an intermediate pause between the period and the comma” (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2008: 371). The semicolon presents a sporadic use in W3009 and it is employed for different purposes at

sentence level: to connect coordinate sentences (with the conjunctions *and*, *or* and *nor*, in particular) (31); to introduce sequential markers headed by the adverb *then* (32); to separate different sections of a recipe (33); and to enumerate or to mark off the end of a list (34). This punctuation mark is therefore primarily used as a device contributing to the organization of the text.

(31) roast itt on the ember in a browne paper very sofft then apply to the Mavill ye same spred opon a linen cloath ; or thus set for sleep a quart of Clarrett wine 24 howers (f. 55r)

(32) To Dissolue Ising-Glass

Take the Ising-glass and beat it with A hammer , as Thin as you can ; then put it on the fire , in A litle water , till it be hott , and it will Dissolue it / (f. 87v)

(33) you must put in by litle , and litle , it will beate the Better , and be the whiter ; you must vse this Ointment with A feather , Iust as they beynn to dry , and soe continue it till they be all shelled of (f. 85r)

(34) it is admirable Against the collick , Palsey , Consumption , dropsey , Runing Euell ; Kings Euill , and wormes , if you vse it for the Euill , leaue out the sirup of violets ; it must be drank A fortnight at least , more if Occasion be / (f. 85v)

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4.6. The Hyphen

The hyphen (198×) can be rendered in three forms: curly, straight or double (Alonso-Almeida and Ortega-Barrera 2014: 163). In the present text, the curly dash is not attested, and the straight and the double hyphen have different purposes. The former is used as a line filler, whilst the second is used to indicate compound nouns and adjectives as in the following example.

(35) Take dry Cummin , and beate it to powder , mix it with oyle Oliue , and boares greace try them together , then straine , and put it in boxes , and Anoint the patient Against A Char-cole fire , vnder the feet , and in the hands , after lay them to bed , and Couer them warme , / (f. 83v)

4.7. The Apostrophe

The apostrophe (60×) as a marker of the genitive was not yet regularized in the early modern period. In W3009, it is used for the following purposes: to show the genitive case of nouns (36); to put two words together in contractions (37); and to indicate plural or third person inflections (38).

(36) Take A gallon of new milk , wild Time Saxifrage , pelitory of the wall , of Each A handfull , of parsley 2 handfulls , Philipendula's roots , marsh mallow roots of Each A handfull and 2 or 3 radice roots slic'd and bruised (f. 46r)

(37) if it's for the pain in the back , or any strein in the back you must put in it Archangle flowers and Isinglass , you may drink it 3 or 4 Times A day (f. 39v)

(38) it hath many more vertues which are rare , that for Brevity sake I doe no write , it being A most rare , and reall medicine , and well known by all the world , it Agree's to all Ages , About 7 yeares , and to all constitutions , and may be giuen at , or in any season (f. 79r)

4.8. The Parenthesis

The parenthesis (10×) “mark[s] words, phrases, or clauses which interrupt the direct grammatical construction” (Simpson 1911: 88). In W3009, it is used at sentence level with three different functions: to provide extra information about recipes in appositive sentences (39); to specify the quantity of an ingredient (40); and to provide an explanatory comment of a term (41).

(39) Then take the hoo fats , and sett them vpon A cole fire , and melt them both together , then strew vpon them the powders (mingled before together) and stire them together , and let them be cold (f. 66r)

(40) Take gallingall , Cloues , quibibis , ginger , Cardimonium , mace , nutmeggs , and melilot of Each A drame (that halfe A quarter of an ounce) the Iuice of sallendine , halfe A pint (f. 65r)

(41) The leaues or roots of Hercules all heale (which is A larger leafe them clowns all heale) stamp'd with honey and brought to the form of an vnquantum (f. 41v)

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4.9. Quantitative Results

Figure 1 shows the distribution of punctuation marks in W3009. The quantitative data offer the raw frequencies for each symbol in the text with an outstanding preference for the comma. This mark is found in 5,877 instances as it is an umbrella sign employed for manifold purposes. Its main use is to separate sense-units, marking off the end of a section in a recipe and the beginning of a new section, to enumerate ingredients within a recipe, etc. The comma is therefore used for both short and long pauses, similar to the Present-Day English use of the full stop.

The virgule is the most widespread punctuation mark after the comma (629 occurrences). Its use resembles that of the comma and the period as it performs similar functions throughout the text, although it is also employed to introduce efficacy phrases in the form of tag phrases (e.g., *probatum est*). The hyphen is the third most common punctuation mark. The text, being a remedy book, contains many compound nouns, i.e., ingredients of the recipes rendered by a hyphen, which explains the high frequency of this symbol in the text under study. The colon (68 occurrences), the apostrophe (60 occurrences) and the period (52 occurrences) are somewhat frequent in the text, whereas the parenthesis and the semicolon are rarely found.

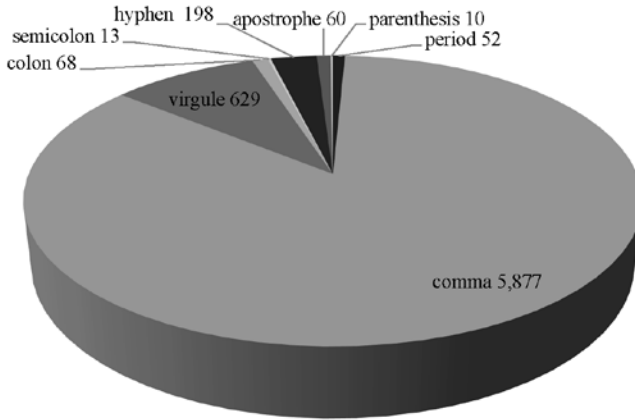


Figure 1. Distribution of punctuation marks in W3009 (raw)

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Table 1 reproduces the punctuation practice in W3009 in order to show visually how the punctuation marks function. The data are provided in normalized frequencies (per 1,000 words). The hyphen, the apostrophe and the parenthesis have been omitted since their functions differ from the rest of the symbols of the repertory. The slash also includes the occurrences of the perioslash.

	,	.	:	;	/	Total
To mark off the end of a section/recipe	9.46	0.08	0.16	0.02	9.97	19.69
To separate sense-units	36.75	0.44	0.44	-	0.21	37.84
To introduce a sequential marker	6.78	0.07	-	0.05	-	6.9
To introduce coordinate sentences	18.14	0.13	0.03	0.1	-	18.4
To introduce explanatory comments	-	-	-	-	0.05	0.05
To introduce efficacy phrases	-	-	-	-	0.05	0.05
To indicate abbreviations	-	0.02	0.25	-	-	0.27
To enumerate	18.14	0.11	0.25	0.05	-	18.55

Table 1. Functions of punctuation marks in W3009 (n.f.)

As can be observed, the distribution of symbols is mainly grammatical so as to separate sense-units in the text (37.84 instances). Punctuation marks are also

employed at macro-textual level to mark off the end of a recipe and at micro-textual level to signal the end of a section within the recipe (19.69 instances). The results also indicate that symbols are more frequently used to introduce coordinate sentences and the sequential marker *then* at sentence level (18.4 and 6.9 instances, respectively). The 17th century is regarded as the turning point in the adoption of the comma to express coordination whilst the period expressed this function in the 16th century (Calle-Martín and Esteban-Segura 2018: 76). At clausal level, punctuation is mostly used to enumerate (18.55 instances). In the majority of cases, it is employed to enumerate ingredients within a recipe, demonstrating the modernization of the textual arrangement by means of punctuation. The use of symbols to introduce abbreviations, explanatory comments and efficacy phrases is also attested in W3009 with only sporadic distribution.

5. Conclusions

The present paper has studied the use and functions of the punctuation marks in the medical recipes contained in MS Wellcome 3009 (ff. 17r-90r), a 17th-century recipe book. The repertory of symbols found in the text includes the period, the comma, the virgule, the colon, the semicolon, the hyphen, the apostrophe and the parenthesis.

The use of punctuation marks contributes to the textual organization of the recipes showing a somewhat consistent use of these symbols in the text, even though giving room to a certain level of overlapping. Punctuation marks are mainly employed by the scribes to signal micro-textual relations within the text and hence their function is primarily grammatical, i.e., they are used to express syntactic relations. Notwithstanding this, some rhetorical functions are also witnessed as, for instance, the use of the comma to introduce explanatory comments, helping the oral performance of the text. Some symbols are therefore employed with both grammatical and rhetorical functions in such a way that they complement each other enabling an insightful understanding of the recipes.

The use of punctuation marks in the text under scrutiny has also been examined in quantitative terms, demonstrating that not all of them are used with the same frequency. The comma is systematically favored showing the highest frequency with 5,877 instances. This symbol is followed by the virgule and the hyphen, which amount up to 629 and 198 occurrences, respectively. Finally, the use of the colon, the apostrophe and the period is more constrained, whereas the parenthesis and the semicolon are rarely found in the text.

Notes

1. The standardization of the language did not affect solely punctuation, but this process also changed English at different linguistic levels. Two main events in the history of English forged the language and led to the beginning of this new stage in its development: the Great Vowel Shift, which changed utterly the way in which vowels were pronounced whilst it also gave rise to new ones, and the above-mentioned establishment of Caxton's printing press, which entailed the modernization of spelling.

2. The corpus can be accessed at <http://modernmss.uma.es>.

3. W3009 contains a double foliation system, i.e. it is paginated at the upper corner of the folios (foliation A) and in the lower margin of each recto (foliation B). In the present work, foliation B, located at the lower right-hand corner, has been followed because of its consistency.

4. The perioslash consists of the combination of the virgule with a period, as named by Arakelian (1975: 619).

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PERSONAJES MASCULINOS QUE CUESTIONAN LOS ESTEREOTIPOS DE GÉNERO Y NUEVAS MULTIALFABETIZACIONES EN LOS LIBROS ÁLBUM: UNA MIRADA SISTÉMICO-FUNCIONAL Y SEMIÓTICO-SOCIAL

MALE CHARACTERS THAT CHALLENGE GENDER STEREOTYPES AND NEW MULTILITERACIES IN CHILDREN'S PICTURE BOOKS: A FUNCTIONAL SYSTEMIC AND SOCIAL SEMIOTIC APPROACH

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RESUMEN

El objetivo de este trabajo es identificar, en dos libros álbum donde los personajes principales cuestionan los estereotipos tradicionales de género masculinos, los recursos verbales y visuales utilizados por el/la autor/a y los ilustradores para estudiar sus sinergias en la construcción del mensaje global en el plano representacional. Mediante un análisis multimodal desde la Lingüística Sistémica Funcional de Halliday (2004) y la Semiótica Social Visual de Kress y van Leeuwen (2006), se identifican las elecciones en el modo verbal y visual adoptadas en cada texto de la muestra y luego se analiza su interacción.

Mayoritariamente, ambos modos se complementan para elaborar un mensaje común, aunque, en ocasiones, el peso del modo visual supera al textual en la construcción del significado debido a la complejidad de las imágenes (procesos visuales de acción y reacción, con procesos verbales y mentales). Por ello, es fundamental que los jóvenes reciban instrucción sobre las alfabetizaciones múltiples en la Educación Primaria.

Palabras clave: semiótica social, multimodalidad, género, metafunción representacional, alfabetizaciones múltiples.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to identify, in two picture books where the main characters challenge traditional male stereotypes, the verbal and visual resources used by authors and illustrators to study their synergies in the construction of the global message at the representational level. Through a multimodal analysis from Halliday's Functional Systemic Linguistics (2004) and Kress and van Leeuwen's Social Visual Semiotics (2006), I identify the choices in verbal and visual modes adopted in each of the sample texts and then I analyze their interaction.

Mostly, both modes complement each other to elaborate a common message, although the visual mode sometimes outweighs the textual one in the construction of meaning due to the complexity of the images (which combine visual processes of action and reaction with verbal and mental processes). Therefore, it is essential that young people receive instruction on the concept of multiple literacies in Primary Education.

Key words: Social Semiotics, Multimodality, gender, representational metafunction, multiliteracies.

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1. Objetivos y alcance del estudio

La literatura es un gran instrumento para la adquisición de diversas competencias (Duff y Maley 1990; Millán 2000; Cassany 2006; Cerrillo 2010). Concretamente, la literatura infantil, mediante el formato del libro álbum donde conviven imágenes y texto en un mismo espacio, tiene la capacidad de contribuir enormemente a la educación de las jóvenes colectividades en valores sociales (Colomer 2018). Actualmente, los/las niños/as están sometidos al bombardeo de anuncios, al uso de Internet, la televisión, etc. y esta exposición les exige contar con unas capacidades de diversa índole (cognitivas, emocionales, alfabetización visual, etc.), que les permitan procesar la cantidad y variedad de estímulos y los distintos lenguajes a los que se enfrentan (Unsworth 2001, 2014).

En este sentido, Kümmerling-Meibauer (2015: 249) afirma que la literatura infantil y, específicamente, los álbumes ilustrados, juegan un papel crucial en la promoción de la adquisición de la primera y la segunda lengua. Del mismo modo, estos álbumes ilustrados facilitan también el aprendizaje de lenguajes simbólicos, así como la formación en las alfabetizaciones visuales y literarias (Kümmerling-Meibauer et al. 2015). Por ello es necesario instruir a los/las niños/as en las potencialidades de significación de las imágenes en su combinación con el lenguaje escrito, de lo que tradicionalmente carecen en el currículo de las etapas iniciales (infantil y

primaria). Es tal el potencial significativo de las imágenes que se puede hablar incluso de una literariedad visual, en referencia a la capacidad de interpretar el lenguaje de las imágenes (Hanán Díaz 2007: 159). Esto exige la ampliación de los recursos y las prácticas interpretativas de los/las lectores/as para que sean capaces de extraer el sentido de estos textos tan complejos (Serafini 2012).

Los libros álbum permiten abordar innumerables temáticas. Los que aquí se analizan se adentran en cuestiones de género, una materia que cuenta con cierta tradición, como evidencia la existencia de estudios previos, como los realizados por Judith Evans (1995), Unsworth y Wheeler (2002), Mills (2008), Sunderland (2012), Janet Evans (2015), Martínez Lirola (2019, en prensa), Moya (2014) o Moya y Cañamares (en prensa), entre otros. Más concretamente, Sunderland (2012) revisa cómo se construyen las características de género en los libros álbum. Su análisis se basa en el Análisis Crítico del Discurso (Caldas-Coulthard y Coulthard 1996; Fairclough 2003) y en el análisis del contenido (Taylor 2003; Cohen et al. 2007), que muestran cómo, tradicionalmente, los personajes se perfilan a través del lenguaje en función de estereotipos predeterminados. De esta forma, los personajes masculinos adoptan roles más activos que influyen en otros/as participantes, mientras que los papeles desempeñados por personajes femeninos son de carácter más pasivo. Sin embargo, los estudios existentes se centran mayoritariamente en cuestiones de contenido, desatendiendo la incidencia de las estrategias verbales y visuales utilizadas por escritores/as e ilustradores/as en la representación de estos personajes, que ofrecen otros modelos de comportamiento alejados de los estereotipos tradicionales.

El objetivo del presente estudio es la identificación de los recursos visuales y verbales que se actualizan en los dos libros álbum seleccionados con el fin de determinar qué cualidades se atribuyen a la caracterización de los personajes masculinos: si se siguen los estereotipos tradicionales en los que el varón (niño) es el que porta el coraje, la decisión y la capacidad de acción, y la mujer (niña) desempeña un papel secundario relegado a otras tareas menos productivas (Gooden y Gooden 2001; Sunderland 2012). Asimismo, se analiza la interacción que tiene lugar entre la palabra y la imagen a nivel representacional (Halliday 2004; Kress y van Leeuwen 2006) para dilucidar el papel que desempeña en la construcción del mensaje, por una parte, de cada uno de estos modos semióticos por separado y, por otra, de forma conjunta. Consecuentemente, se incide en la necesidad de que los/las destinatarios/as de estas obras reciban la formación necesaria para poder desentrañar el complejo mensaje que encierran.

Este trabajo se estructura en cuatro partes. En la sección segunda se describe el marco teórico escogido para su análisis: la semiótica social multimodal. En la sección tercera se presentan los textos de la muestra, la metodología y el análisis que

se ha llevado a cabo. Para ello, en primer lugar, se identifican los patrones de transitividad recurrentes (Halliday 2004; Kress y van Leeuwen 2006) utilizados en el modo textual por el/la escritor/a y en el visual por los ilustradores para desafiar los estereotipos de género en estos libros álbum. A continuación, la sección cuarta se ocupa de recoger las conclusiones y mostrar cómo colaboran el modo verbal y el visual para promover discursos progresivos de género.

2. Aproximación a la Semiótica Social Visual y a la alfabetización visual

La sistémica funcional de Halliday (2004) y la semiótica social de Kress y van Leeuwen (2006), posteriormente desarrollada por Painter, Martin y Unsworth (2013), constituyen un marco teórico válido para el análisis de libros álbum, dada su tradición en el estudio de texto en su contexto de producción y uso. Además, el concepto de alfabetizaciones múltiples (Kalantzis y Cope 2001; Unsworth 2001; Healy 2007) se ha convertido en la actualidad en un concepto formativo fundamental en las etapas iniciales del aprendizaje.

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El origen del concepto de alfabetizaciones múltiples, nuevas alfabetizaciones o multialfabetismos aparece a mediados de los años noventa a cargo del New London Group, aunque ha sufrido posteriores modificaciones (Cope y Kalantzis 2009). Dicho concepto se basa en la adquisición y dominio de una serie de destrezas relacionadas con el empleo personal, social y cultural de unas herramientas y lenguajes de representación, entendidos más bien como una práctica social. La alfabetización múltiple implica la asunción de la existencia de la alfabetización multilingüística y la multimodal. Atendiendo a la afirmación de Kress (2010), quien expuso que el mundo que se relata se ha convertido en la actualidad en el mundo que se muestra, se hace imperiosamente necesario contar con unas destrezas en el ámbito cognitivo, emocional y social para posibilitar un desarrollo integral de la persona. En el caso de los/las más jóvenes, los libros álbum constituyen una herramienta de primer orden para promover la adquisición de la alfabetización visual.

Por su parte, la Lingüística Sistémica Funcional (LSF) de Halliday (2004) permite analizar en el plano lingüístico aquello que se representa, a quién afecta y los medios que se utilizan. A su vez, partiendo de esta visión lingüística de la LSF, Kress y van Leeuwen (2006) desarrollan su Semiótica Social Visual (SSV) como marco para el análisis de los recursos visuales empleados para la construcción del significado en textos multimodales. Así, el análisis de los textos multimodales de acuerdo con este marco teórico se corresponde con las elecciones tomadas de los sistemas semióticos que contienen opciones potenciales para crear significado. Kress y van

Leeuwen (2006) asumen el planteamiento de Halliday de que en los textos se incluyen significados representacionales, interpersonales y textuales. En este sentido, Kress y van Leeuwen (2006) elaboran su gramática visual como marco para analizar la contribución de las imágenes en la construcción del significado estableciendo un paralelismo con las tres metafunciones hallidianas. Cada una de ellas por sí sola representa un amplio campo de investigación. También, al amparo de las directrices del proyecto de investigación AMULIT (véase agradecimiento final), se está llevando a cabo el análisis de las metafunciones en función de las posibilidades interpretativas que brinda cada una de ellas. En el presente estudio nuestro interés reside en la metafunción representacional, que se corresponde con la metafunción ideacional de Halliday.

Tanto desde la LSF como desde la SSV, la lengua se concibe como un sistema semiótico social donde los/las usuarios/as disponen de una serie de opciones para lograr sus objetivos comunicativos y construir significados en función del contexto social o de la cultura en que se inscriben (Lemke 1998; Halliday 2004; Unsworth 2006; Painter et al. 2013; Moya y Cañamares en prensa). Mediante las diversas elecciones dentro del sistema de transitividad de los procesos realizados por verbos, la función representacional se ocupa de la representación de los/las participantes, de los procesos en los que están involucrados/as y de las circunstancias donde se producen los diferentes tipos de procesos verbales. Para ello, Halliday (2004) establece una distinción básica entre procesos materiales, mentales y relacionales. Los procesos materiales son procesos de hacer, suceder, causar y transferir que reflejan los aspectos externos de la realidad, mientras que los procesos mentales reflejan los procesos internos de la consciencia e indican percepción, cognición, deseo, emoción y afecto. Además de estos dos procesos, existen los de clasificación e identificación, conocidos como procesos relacionales (tener, ser y llegar a ser). Finalmente, existen otros tres tipos de procesos, cuyas fronteras son menos claras: los de comportamiento, los verbales y los existenciales (Halliday 2004: 251). Los procesos de comportamiento son las manifestaciones externas de los aspectos internos de la experiencia. Por su parte, los procesos verbales son los que sirven para decir y comunicar información. Por último, mediante los procesos existenciales se reconocen, suceden o se introducen acontecimientos de diversa índole.

Al igual que la parte textual, las imágenes también poseen procesos visuales. De acuerdo con Kress y van Leeuwen (2006) y Painter et al. (2013), en el análisis de la función representacional de las ilustraciones también se puede diferenciar entre procesos narrativos, conceptuales y proyectados (véase Figura 1). En primer lugar, los procesos narrativos contienen vectores de movimiento para que los/las espectadores/as puedan crear una historia entre los/las participantes representados/as (en adelante PR). Estas ilustraciones pueden ser de acción (*action*), reac-

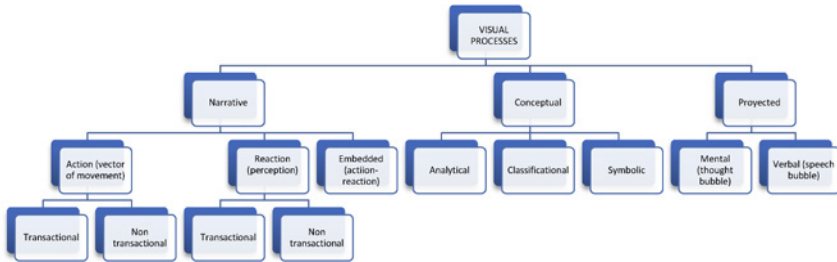


Figura 1. Procesos visuales (adaptado de Kress y van Leeuwen 2006 y Painter, Martin y Unsworth 2013).

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ción (*reaction*) o de procesos compuestos (*embedded*), es decir, combinando procesos de acción y de reacción. Por su parte, las ilustraciones de acción, concretas o abstractas, pueden situar a un/una actor/a en situaciones transaccionales o no transaccionales. Las imágenes narrativas también pueden ser de reacción (*reaction*) y construir la narración mediante vectores oculares entre los/las PR y, del mismo modo que las de acción, pueden ser transaccionales y no transaccionales. Los procesos transaccionales, de acción o reacción, cuentan con un objetivo o fenómeno al final del vector, mientras que, en el caso de los no transaccionales, no aparecen como tal y los vectores carecen de direccionalidad. Además, los procesos de acción y reacción pueden combinarse dando lugar a la categoría de procesos compuestos (*embedded*).

Las imágenes conceptuales (*conceptual*), por su parte, carecen de vectores y suelen representar a los/las participantes en situaciones generales y atemporales, sin apenas contextualizar. Kress y van Leeuwen (2006) distinguen tres tipos de procesos conceptuales: los analíticos (*analytical*), donde los procesos relacionan a los/las participantes entre sí mediante una relación de la parte por el todo (Kress y van Leeuwen 2006: 93); las imágenes clasificatorias (*classificational*), que suelen aunar entidades para mostrar sus puntos en común y, por último, las simbólicas (*symbolic*), que están asociadas a valores simbólicos. Finalmente, la categoría de los procesos proyectados (*projected*) se bifurca en procesos mentales (*mental*) de cognición, que suelen realizarse mediante globos, bocadillos o burbujas de pensamiento, y los procesos verbales (*verbal*), que se expresan mediante globos de diálogo (véase Figura 1). Painter et al. (2013: 68) afirman que las acciones mentales y verbales no necesariamente incluyen vectores, sino que si vemos una imagen en donde un personaje tiene la boca abierta, nuestro conocimiento nos permite deducir que está hablando.

Como dijimos anteriormente, en los últimos años proliferan los estudios que versan sobre la relación que se establece entre texto e imagen para la construcción del significado: Lewis (2001), Painter (2007, 2008), Unsworth y Ortigas (2008), Serafini (2010), Unsworth (2014) y Moya (2019). Estos estudios proponen taxonomías que plantean dicha relación como un continuo de relaciones que van desde la complementariedad a la contradicción. No obstante, en ocasiones, la interacción entre texto e ilustración no es clara, y además es cambiante dentro de una misma obra. Ahora bien, y de acuerdo con Painter et al. (2013: 6), la clave de esta cuestión reside en que la mayoría de estas taxonomías concebidas para analizar la sinergia texto-imagen únicamente permiten establecer un tipo de relación intersemiótica en cada composición o incluso en toda la historia. Por ello, Painter, Martin y Unsworth desarrollan un modelo intersemiótico basado en los conceptos de *compromiso sistémico* (*commitment*) y *emparejamiento* (*coupling*) (Painter et al. 2013: 134-143). Por una parte, el concepto de *compromiso sistémico* se refiere a las opciones de significado que son seleccionadas dentro de un sistema, en nuestro caso el sistema de transitividad, para representar una realidad específica en un texto concreto (véase Figura 1 como ejemplo de sistema de transitividad a nivel de la función representacional de la lengua). Respecto al *compromiso sistémico* aplicado a la metafunción representacional, Painter et al. (2013: 143) identifican tres dominios narrativos clave: la acción, el personaje y el contexto. Por otra parte, el concepto de *emparejamiento* hace referencia al patrón o uso recurrente dentro de un texto de realizaciones de dos o más sistemas.

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Un ejemplo de compromiso sistémico sería la utilización conjunta de procesos narrativos verbales junto con procesos de acción y reacción visual en una representación concreta. Y cuando esta representación conjunta en ambos sistemas (visual y escrito) se dé con asiduidad, podremos hablar de que existe un patrón recurrente. La identificación de este patronaje repetitivo nos permitirá determinar si se dan casos de emparejamiento convergente o divergente a nivel representacional en los modos verbal y visual de los libros álbum objeto de estudio.

3. Análisis de los textos de la muestra

Tras la revisión de la Semiótica Social Visual y de la Lingüística Sistémica Funcional en la sección anterior, en este apartado se presenta el análisis de los dos libros álbum. Exponemos primero la metodología adoptada para llevarlo a cabo y una breve descripción de sus argumentos.

El análisis se realiza siguiendo una metodología mixta cuantitativa-cualitativa que nos ha permitido identificar, cuantificar e interpretar los recursos verbales y visuales empleados por el/la autor/a y por los ilustradores de los libros álbum para generar

discursos progresivos de género. En primer lugar, se señalan los procesos verbales en los que participan los personajes masculinos principales y, posteriormente, se analizan e identifican los procesos visuales en los que estos están involucrados y así se determina si los personajes bien se adaptan o bien rompen con los estereotipos tradicionalmente asociados al género masculino. Finalmente, se revisa la sinergia que se crea entre texto e imagen para establecer si la carga semántica que cada modo semiótico aporta a la construcción del significado es convergente o divergente, así como los patrones recurrentes de realización de significados que utilizan el/la autor/a y los ilustradores para generar mensajes progresivos que calen en el/la joven lector/a.

Los dos libros álbum seleccionados son *10,000 Dresses* escrito por Marcus Ewert e ilustrado por Rex Ray (2008) y *The Purim Superhero* escrito por Elisabeth Kushner e ilustrado por Mike Byrne (2013). Estos libros álbum forman parte del corpus del Proyecto AMULIT, que consta de cuarenta ejemplares subdivididos en cuatro secciones: diez títulos que muestran familias homoparentales cuyos padres sean dos hombres y otros diez que retratan a familias compuestas por dos mujeres; diez títulos que tratan las cuestiones de género y que tienen una chica como personaje principal y los diez restantes, con un chico como protagonista. La lengua materna de todos ellos es el inglés, por su difusión internacional. De este corpus de estudio, nos hemos centrado en el subapartado que tiene a los chicos como protagonistas y, dada la extensión de este trabajo, se han seleccionado dos ejemplares a partir de unos criterios comunes y de otros diferenciadores. Entre los comunes, el primero es que el público objetivo es un doble destinatario (Shavit 1986; Fernández 1996: 30), es decir, niños/as de entre siete y nueve años que probablemente comparten esa lectura con adultos/as, que son quienes seleccionan y guían la obra objeto de lectura; el segundo es que el argumento de los dos libros álbum aborda la cuestión de género, concebida como un constructo social, y la pone en tela de juicio; el tercero, que ambos libros álbum ofrecen una perspectiva amplia sobre las identidades de género y dejan en manos de sus protagonistas la capacidad de decisión final.

Sin embargo, pese a que los dos libros álbum seleccionados comparten como temática central la revisión crítica de los estereotipos e identidades de género, lo hacen desde contextos sociales diferenciados. En *10,000 Dresses*, el joven Bailey se halla inmerso en un contexto familiar desfavorable ya que carece de la aprobación de su padre, de su madre y, sobre todo, de su hermano. Bailey se enfrenta al dilema interno de ser fiel a sí mismo y ponerse vestidos o de renunciar a su deseo para no disgustar a sus familiares. En cambio, Nate, el protagonista de *The Purim Superhero*, cuenta con el apoyo incondicional de sus dos padres. Este libro álbum, que celebra la cultura judía y una familia conformada por dos padres homosexuales (aunque

ninguna de estas dos cuestiones se aborda explícitamente) es otro claro ejemplo de introspección interior en la búsqueda del verdadero yo. Con motivo del *Purim*, una festividad judía, todos los/las compañeros/as de clase de Nate se disfrazan de superhéroes, tal y como marca la tradición. Pero a Nate le encantan los alienígenas y se le plantea el dilema entre seguir la tradición o perseguir sus más profundos deseos, pese a ser diferentes a los tradicionales. Con el apoyo de sus padres homosexuales, Nate se decanta por enfundarse, por propia elección, un originalísimo atuendo de alienígena.

Una vez revisados brevemente los argumentos de los dos álbumes, en la siguiente sección se analizan los procesos verbales en los que participan ambos protagonistas.

3.1 La representación de los participantes y los procesos en el modo verbal

A continuación, y siguiendo la propuesta de Halliday (2004) en relación con los tipos de procesos verbales expuesta en la sección segunda, se detallan los procesos relacionados con los protagonistas de los dos libros álbum.

En *10,000 Dresses*, como muestra el Gráfico 1, Marcus Ewert utiliza en el modo verbal sobre todo procesos materiales y mentales para caracterizar al personaje principal, Bailey. Entre ambos acumulan el 87,49% del total de los procesos identificados, dejando únicamente un 6,25% a los relacionales, un 3,12% a los verbales y otro 3,12% a los procesos de comportamiento. Bailey se sirve de procesos mentales transitivos para poder expresar sus sentimientos. Para ello se repite hasta en tres ocasiones la estructura del proceso ‘amar’: “With all her heart, Bailey loved the dress made of [...]”, seguido de tres complementos distintos, uno por cada uno de los vestidos con los que sueña: 1) “crystals that flashed rainbows in the sun”; 2) “lilies and roses, with honeysuckle sleeves” y 3) “windows which showed the Great Wall of China and the Pyramids” (dobles páginas tercera, sexta y novena, respectivamente). Además, Bailey logra alcanzar sus deseos más profundos a través de procesos materiales (correr, hacer, etc.): “Bailey ran and ran. She ran all the way to the end of the block, until she came to a house with a big blue porch [...]” (doble página duodécima). Gracias a su total determinación, finalmente Bailey encuentra a Laurel, una amiga en la que halla la buscada aceptación (“That’s awesome”) y con quien consigue confeccionar sus anhelados vestidos: “Together the girls made two new dresses” (doble página decimotercera).

La abundancia de procesos materiales (53,12% Gráfico 1) y mentales (34,37%, Gráfico 1) utilizados permiten trazar el perfil de la personalidad de Bailey como un niño tenaz y decidido que no duda en perseguir su sueño, pese al desdén y rechazo de sus familiares. Leemos incluso cómo la madre contribuye a perpetuar el discurs-

**Procesos narrativos textuales en
10,000 Dresses**

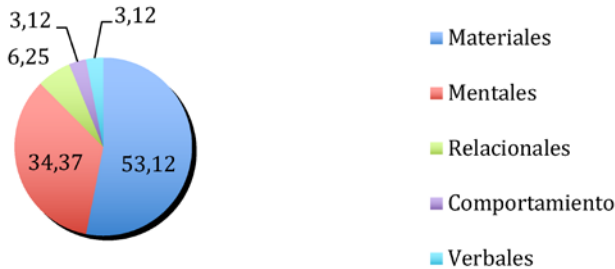


Gráfico 1. Valores porcentuales de los procesos narrativos textuales en *10,000 Dresses*.

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so patriarcal del estereotipo machista donde el hombre es el que se ocupa de las tareas productivas fuera del hogar mientras que es la mujer la que adopta un papel más pasivo encargándose de las tareas domésticas. Son numerosas las ocasiones que encontramos a lo largo del libro álbum donde tanto el padre y la madre como el hermano de Bailey responden bien con indiferencia (“Uh-huh”) o bien con desaprobación (“That’s gross”, le espeta su hermano, doble página duodécima, o también “You are a **boy**. Boys don’t wear dresses”, le responde su madre, doble página quinta) a las constantes interpelaciones de Bailey en busca de su aprobación. El hecho de que “**boy**” aparezca en negrita no es baladí. La tipografía¹ resaltada enfatiza la fuerza que la madre en este caso y posteriormente el padre y el hermano (dobles páginas octava y duodécima respectivamente) ponen en su discurso para recordarle a Bailey su condición masculina y también su reprobación.

Otro detalle que no se debe pasar por alto es el hecho de que desde el principio del libro álbum, cuando se hace referencia a Bailey a través de pronominalización, tanto en función de sujeto como de objeto, en lugar de utilizar el pronombre de género masculino “he/his” se utilizan los pronombres femeninos como “she” o “her”: “When Bailey woke up, she went to find mother” (doble página cuarta). O cuando, en la octava doble página su padre le responde con indiferencia: “Uh-huh, said her father” (doble página octava). Sin lugar a dudas, estas opciones lingüísticas son todo menos casuales, y sirven para anticipar al/a la lector/a el desenlace final de la historia.

Por su parte, el análisis de la transitividad en *The Purim Superhero*, al igual que en *10,000 Dresses*, muestra un predominio de procesos materiales y mentales (véase Gráfico 2). De esta forma, Elisabeth Kushener emplea mayoritariamente procesos

Procesos narrativos textuales en
The Purim Superhero



Gráfico 2. Valores porcentuales de los procesos narrativos textuales en *The Purim Superhero*.

materiales y mentales (65,9%, Gráfico 2) para modelar la personalidad del personaje principal en relación con la diatriba a la que se enfrenta a lo largo de la historia: qué disfraz utilizar para la celebración de Purim. Como dijimos anteriormente, la tradición marca que los disfraces que se utilizan son normalmente de superhéroes, sin embargo, Nate, el personaje principal, desea disfrazarse de algo diferente, en concreto, de alienígena. Los procesos materiales transitivos (43,18%, Gráfico 2) permiten construir la historia transmitiendo una sensación de movimiento y de progresión a medida que se suceden los acontecimientos que va realizando Nate, actor y protagonista activo de los mismos (*pick up, scrunched up, put on*, etc.). Asimismo, esta sensación de movimiento también va dejando entrever al/a la lector/a la determinación de Nate para tomar sus propias decisiones. Finalmente, Nate, siguiendo el cariñoso consejo de sus dos padres, no traiciona sus más profundos sentimientos y decide disfrazarse de alienígena, que es lo que realmente quiere: “He put on the alien suit that Abba had sewed, and the antenna and mask Daddy had bought” (doble página décima).

A su vez, los procesos mentales (22,72%, Gráfico 2) contribuyen a la construcción de la historia mediante verbos que, principalmente, expresan voluntad (*love, miss, want, wish*) y que permiten a Nate expresar sus gustos y deseos: “Nate loved aliens, he loved to read about them” (doble página segunda). En última instancia, es también a través de los procesos verbales transitivos como Nate da voz a su debate interno: “Abba?, Nate asked, Do you ever just to want to be like everybody else?” (doble página duodécima). De esta forma, Nate hace partícipe al/a la lector/a de su dilema interno.

3.2. La representación de la realidad en el modo visual

Tras efectuar el análisis de la transitividad en el modo verbal de estos dos libros álbum en la sección anterior, ahora se aborda la representación visual de los personajes masculinos protagonistas. Posteriormente, en la sección 3.3 se determina en qué medida contribuye cada uno de estos modos al desarrollo de la historia y a la construcción de los personajes. Para estudiar la representación visual de los/las PR, se analizan las elecciones adoptadas por los ilustradores con relación a los patrones de transitividad visual que se actualizan en los libros álbum para retratar a los dos niños protagonistas, Bailey y Nate.

Ahora, siguiendo la taxonomía de la propuesta adaptada de Kress y van Leeuwen (2006) y Painter et al. (2013) (Figura 1) sobre los tipos de procesos visuales, se especifican los procesos en los que participan los protagonistas en los álbumes de la muestra. En el libro álbum *10,000 Dresses*, como se expresa en la Tabla 1, predominan las imágenes compuestas (64,28 %, Tabla 1) de acción y reacción, con proyecciones mentales de cognición (35,71 %, Tabla 1).

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PATRONES DE TRANSITIVIDAD EN 10,000 DRESSES			Valores absolutos	Valores relativos
	Acción	Transaccionales		
		No transaccionales		
Narrativos	Reacción	Transaccionales		
		No transaccionales		
Procesos visuales	Compuestos		9	64,28%
	Analíticos			
Conceptuales	Clasificatorios			
	Simbólicos			
Proyectados	Mentales		5	35,71%
	Verbales			

Tabla 1. Valores absolutos y porcentuales de los procesos visuales en *10,000 Dresses*.

A continuación, se analiza cómo las elecciones concretas en los patrones visuales de transitividad inciden en la representación de los personajes masculinos de estos dos libros álbum con sensibilidades diferentes.



Figura 2. Bailey sueña con vestidos (El texto y la ilustración de esta doble página de *10,000 Dresses* escrito por M. Ewert e ilustrado por R. Ray aparecen con el permiso de Copyright © Seven Stories Press, 2008).

La representación visual de los/las participantes en *10,000 Dresses* corre principalmente a cargo de Bailey, sus familiares y Laurel, pese a que también podemos observar a otros/as participantes, como a unas ovejas que emanan de los sueños de Bailey. Este libro álbum se compone de catorce dobles páginas y de una estructuración simétrica perfecta, como veremos a continuación. Predominantemente, en este libro álbum Rex Ray utiliza imágenes compuestas (*embedded*) que incluyen procesos de acción y reacción (64,28%, Tabla 1) y, dentro de estos, encontramos siete transaccionales y dos no transaccionales. El resto de los procesos son mentales de cognición y se expresan mediante globos de pensamiento (35,71%, Tabla 1). De este modo, por ejemplo, encontramos al protagonista en sueños (doble página segunda, Figura 2) donde, mediante una imagen de proyección mental, se representa visualmente el gran anhelo de Bailey: ponerse vestidos.

En la Figura 2 observamos cómo en esta imagen Bailey proyecta sus sueños mediante globos de pensamiento. Son precisamente estas imágenes de proyección mental de cognición las que desempeñan un papel clave en la representación del personaje principal, ya que son el medio utilizado por el ilustrador, Rex Ray, para expresar las

aspiraciones más profundas de Bailey: llevar fastuosos vestidos. Además, la Figura 2 es también una imagen narrativa de reacción no transaccional cuando nos muestra los fascinantes vestidos con los que sueña Bailey flotando en la escalera. Los corazones de distintos tamaños que rodean a los vestidos ponen de relieve el amor que Bailey siente por sus vestidos. De esta forma, Rex Ray se sirve de una combinación de imágenes de proyección mental y compuestas de acción-reacción para destacar el transgénero de Bailey (dobles páginas segunda, tercera, sexta y novena).

Además, este libro álbum presenta una secuencia estructural tripartita (Tabla 2) que se repite en tres ocasiones (una con cada uno de los familiares: madre, padre y hermano del protagonista):

- la primera parte, de proyección mental, es utilizada por el ilustrador para presentar los sueños del protagonista (dobles páginas tercera, sexta y novena);
- la segunda parte, la fase narrativa de acción-reacción no transaccional, se ocupa de plasmar el encuentro de Bailey con cada uno/una de los/las PR, mediante representaciones metonímicas de los personajes (Moya 2019) (dobles páginas cuarta, séptima y décima);
- finalmente, en la tercera parte, se ubica la narrativa de acción-reacción mediante ilustraciones que muestran las reacciones de Bailey frente a los comportamientos de los/las otros/as PR (dobles páginas quinta, octava y undécima).

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Veamos con un poco más de detalle cada una de las partes de estas tres secuencias narrativas. En la primera parte, tras la ensoñación inicial que nos presenta a Bailey y sus anhelos (Figura 2), Bailey aparece fantaseando con los tres vestidos que se describen en la primera parte (Tabla 2). Aquí, el ilustrador se sirve de los procesos mentales para representar los sueños de Bailey mediante imágenes de proyección mental materializadas en burbujas de pensamiento donde aparece con diferentes vestidos. Estas ilustraciones representan la voluntad del personaje principal de ponerse vestidos. Además, el hecho de que estas burbujas de pensamiento broten de la cabeza de Bailey y su tamaño aumente progresivamente simboliza que proceden de lo más profundo de su ser.

El uso de las escalas es un elemento visual destacado en la narración de la historia para expresar la cercanía o lejanía, tanto física como sentimental, de Bailey respecto a sus familiares y a Laurel, la vecina. En todas las dobles páginas de esta parte (tercera, sexta y novena), Bailey aparece en primer plano y representado con un gran tamaño, ocupando toda la burbuja de pensamiento. Mediante imágenes narrativas de reacción no transaccional, Bailey mira fijamente al/a la lector/a, buscando su empatía.

En la segunda parte de la secuencia narrativa se van presentando al/a la lector/a los familiares de Bailey. Tras soñar con un vestido, el personaje principal se aproxima

Personajes masculinos que cuestionan los estereotipos...

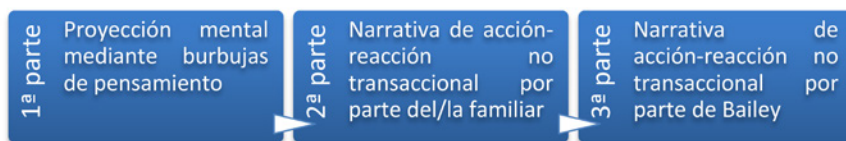


Tabla 2. Estructuración de los procesos verbales de *10,000 Dresses*.

ma a sus familiares, madre, padre y hermano (dobles páginas cuarta, séptima y décima). Quiere contarles su sueño y compartir con ellos/ella sus sentimientos. Sus familiares se presentan al/a la lector/a realizando distintas tareas, de acuerdo con un punto de vista tradicional de la distribución de tareas en el hogar: la madre corta los cupones de descuento para velar por la economía familiar (doble página cuarta), el padre realiza tareas de jardinería (doble página séptima) y el hermano juega al fútbol con sus amigos (doble página décima). Sin embargo, es llamativo que su representación sea parcial, ya que nunca se llega a verlos/la de cuerpo entero. De acuerdo con Painter et al. (2013: 60-66), la manifestación de la narrativa visual de los personajes puede ser de dos tipos: *completa*, cuando la representación del personaje incluye la cara o la cabeza; y *metonímica*, cuando la representación visual de un personaje se efectúa únicamente mediante una parte de su cuerpo. Así, en esta segunda parte, el ilustrador únicamente nos muestra una parte del/de la PR en una representación metonímica (el brazo de la madre y del padre y las piernas del hermano). Además, en todas las secuencias, Bailey se aproxima a sus familiares lleno de felicidad y optimismo, como muestran su mirada alegre, intentando entablar contacto visual con ellos/ella, y sus brazos alzados, en signo de demanda de atención, mientras sus familiares realizan alguna acción (la madre corta cupones, el padre arranca malas hierbas y el hermano juega al fútbol). La ausencia de correspondencia se muestra a través de imágenes compuestas de acción-reacción no transaccionales. En las tres ocasiones, la ausencia de contacto visual con sus familiares pone de manifiesto la falta de comprensión, reciprocidad y apoyo hacia Bailey. No será hasta la doble página duodécima donde, también a través de una representación metonímica (mano con aguja) mediante una imagen narrativa de reacción transaccional, Bailey encuentra a Laurel, su vecina, y la tan ansiada comprensión.

En esta segunda fase y en relación con las escalas y la posición que ocupa Bailey, observamos que Bailey está ahora representado con un tamaño medio y en un plano medio, reflejando cierto distanciamiento tanto físico como emocional de sus familiares.

En la tercera parte de la secuencia o fase narrativa de acción, Bailey se representa ubicado en un alejado segundo plano, con un tamaño incluso muy inferior al de su engrandecido familiar, y con los brazos caídos y la mirada baja para representar la profunda decepción que sufre al comprobar que sus pretensiones no son bien acogidas por sus familiares. Para ello, el ilustrador utiliza imágenes combinadas de acción-reacción transaccionales, pero no bidireccionales. Así, hallamos a un diminuto Bailey que mira descorazonado al suelo mientras su agigantado/a interlocutor/a (el/la familiar de turno) le observa con desdén (como muestran la representación de la madre con los brazos cruzados, del padre con las manos en los bolsillos y de su hermano con el balón quieto a los pies).

Por su parte, Rex Ray representa a la madre, al padre y al hermano de cuerpo sin cabeza (o al menos completo), con un tamaño muy superior (dobles páginas quinta, octava y undécima) y de espaldas. En ningún momento en todo el álbum vemos la cara a ningún miembro de su familia, que siempre están de espaldas, simbolizando visualmente el rechazo de su entorno a su transgenerización. Además, la ausencia de contacto visual entre Bailey y sus familiares vuelve a recalcar y aumentar aún más la distancia y separación física y emocional. En consecuencia, estas imágenes de reacción transaccionales aunque, sin embargo, no bidireccionales, sirven también para reforzar la idea de que a Bailey, y a los/las niños/as transgénero por extensión, se les aísla y margina, se les da la espalda.

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La tendencia ofrecida en estas secuencias narrativas se ve alterada en la doble página decimotercera donde Laurel, pese a aparecer inicialmente también representada metonímicamente (su mano sujetando una aguja, doble página duodécima), es el único personaje que muestra cercanía con el niño transgénero, ya que aparece junto a él. Esto se representa mediante una imagen compuesta de acción-reacción, en la que Laurel se solidariza con los sentimientos del protagonista al aparecer a su lado. Además, es el único personaje, aparte de Bailey, que establece conexión visual con el/la lector/a, para así dejar en manos del/de la lector/a ese espacio interpretativo y que tome su posicionamiento moral.

En la última doble página (decimocuarta), a través de imágenes compuestas de acción-reacción, los rostros de Bailey y Laurel se muestran reflejados en unos espejos como metáfora de que, finalmente, han encontrado a su verdadero yo, y Bailey ha logrado la aceptación y el apoyo que tanto perseguía en Laurel, una joven que le ayuda a hacer sus sueños realidad.

El otro libro álbum analizado, *The Purim Superhero*, consta de trece dobles páginas y dos páginas sencillas, en total también veintiocho páginas. En ellas, el patrón de transitividad mayoritario que arroja el análisis visual se compone también, como en el caso de *10,000 Dresses*, de imágenes compuestas de acción-reacción de carácter transaccional, pero en este caso en combinación con los procesos verbales o de

comunicación (92,85% conjuntamente, Tabla 3). Por otra parte, aunque tan solo representen únicamente un pequeño porcentaje (14,28%, Tabla 3), los procesos mentales también son relevantes en la representación de Nate en *The Purim Superhero* ya que es ahí donde Mike Byrne escenifica su gran dilema (doble página séptima). Por último, las imágenes narrativas de acción no transaccional solo representan el 7,14% de los elementos identificados en las ilustraciones, tal y como se puede observar en la Tabla 3.

PATRONES DE TRANSITIVIDAD EN 10,000 DRESSES			Valores absolutos	Valores relativos	
Procesos visuales	Narrativos	Acción	2	7,14%	
					Transaccionales
			No transaccionales		
	Conceptuales	Reacción	22	78,57%	
					Transaccionales
					No transaccionales
	Proyectados	Compuestos	4	14,28%	
					Analíticos
					Clasificatorios
					Simbólicos
	Mentales				
	Verbales				

Tabla 3. Valores absolutos y porcentuales de los procesos visuales en *The Purim Superhero*.

Efectivamente, en numerosas ocasiones observamos cómo los/las PR se muestran en imágenes compuestas combinadas con representaciones visuales de proyección verbal, hecho que se evidencia visualmente por aparecer con la boca abierta. Esto pone de manifiesto la comunicación fluida que se establece entre Nate y sus padres o Nate y el resto de sus compañeros/as de clase (por ejemplo, en las dobles páginas primera, tercera, cuarta y quinta). A esto se suman los vectores visuales que conectan las miradas de Nate y sus respectivos/as interlocutores/as (padres o compañeros/as) mediante imágenes de reacción transaccionales, lo que pone de relieve visualmente la comprensión y aceptación que halla el joven protagonista en su entorno (78,57%, Tabla 3). Uno de estos ejemplos aparece en la Figura 3 (doble página sexta) en la que Nate establece contacto visual con uno de sus padres, Abba, mientras este último aparece representado con la boca abierta, en una imagen de proyección verbal tran-



Figura 3. Nate charlando con uno de sus padres mientras hacen patrones (El texto y la ilustración de esta doble página de *The Purim Superhero* escrito por Elizabeth Kushner, ilustrado por Mike Byrne ©2013 aparecen con el permiso de Kar-Ben Publishing, www.karben.com).

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sitiva, para manifestar gráficamente en la ilustración que están manteniendo una conversación. Abba pregunta a Nate si ya ha elegido cuál será su disfraz y, al percibir dudas en Nate, Abba apunta que no necesariamente todos/as los/las niños/as tienen que ser iguales. Simultáneamente, se puede apreciar el contacto visual entre las miradas de ambos participantes en una imagen narrativa de reacción transaccional. Por lo tanto, esta conversación se representa mediante una imagen narrativa compuesta de carácter transaccional combinada con otra de proyección verbal.

Una escena similar a esta se repite en las dobles páginas séptima y octava donde Nate sigue conversando con Abba mientras este le narra la historia de Purim, la reina judía que salvó a su pueblo, y donde Daddy le reafirma ante sus dudas acerca de qué disfraz elegir en el momento de acostarse. En la doble página sexta, al tiempo que Daddy le define las cualidades que hacen de alguien un superhéroe, también se aprecia cómo le acaricia cariñosamente la cabeza para confortarle en una imagen narrativa compuesta de carácter transaccional. En todo momento, ambos padres muestran su apoyo a Nate, lo que se manifiesta visualmente mediante los vectores visuales que establecen en una imagen de proyección verbal. No obstante, y pese al apoyo incondicional de sus dos padres a Nate, dejan que sea él quien tome la decisión final.

Nuevamente, en las páginas correspondientes al desfile final (dobles páginas undécima, duodécima, decimotercera y decimocuarta) encontramos ilustraciones que combinan imágenes narrativas de acción y reacción con otras de proyección verbal representadas mediante las bocas abiertas de los/las PR, siendo este el patrón de ocurrencia más común en el libro álbum.

Únicamente en dos ocasiones encontramos cómo Nate mira directamente al/a la lector/a buscando su complicidad en la trama (dobles páginas duodécima y decimotercera). En la doble página decimotercera vemos cómo Nate se une al desfile junto con sus compañeros/as (vestido de alienígena) ocupando el último lugar de la fila. En esta ocasión, establece vectores visuales con el/la lector/a mediante una imagen narrativa de reacción transaccional mientras le hace el gesto, con el dedo índice delante de los labios, de que guarde silencio para no revelar su secreto. Así pretende hacer partícipe al/a la lector/a de su decisión final, de ser fiel a sí mismo, pese a ser diferente. En la siguiente doble página (decimotercera), Nate aparece detrás de sus compañeros/as en un alejado segundo plano. Desde allí, vuelve a conectar visualmente con el/la lector/a, ahora con mirada triste y ojos vidriosos porque parece ser el único sin premio en el concurso de disfraces. Sin embargo, en la doble página decimocuarta aparecen sus padres (Abba y Daddy) y su hermana (Miri) sonrientes observando alegres cómo Nate recibe el premio al disfraz más original. Finalmente, Nate recibe el reconocimiento social que reafirma su decisión y su valentía de optar por lo diferente.

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3.3. Sinergia texto-imagen

A continuación, se analiza la contribución relativa y las relaciones sinérgicas entre el modo verbal y visual mediante el estudio de cómo se actualizan las opciones de significación en ambos modos semióticos. Comenzamos por analizar el compromiso sistémico en dos dominios narrativos clave: la acción y el personaje (Painter et al. 2013: 143). En términos generales, el potencial significativo que se actualiza en el sistema de transitividad verbal y visual es similar en los dos modos semióticos tanto en *10,000 Dresses* como en *The Purim Superhero*.

Respecto a la caracterización del personaje y las acciones que lleva a cabo, la estructura tripartita repetitiva permite a Bailey mostrar su “amor” por los diferentes vestidos (“Bailey loved the dress made of [...]”, doble página tercera, sexta y novena) mediante procesos verbales volitivos (34,37%, Gráfico 1). De la misma forma, los procesos materiales (53,12%, Gráfico 1) son muestra de la determinación y tenacidad por lograr hacer realidad sus sueños. Pese a ser rechazado, Bailey lo intenta con todos sus familiares. Concretamente, en *10,000 Dresses*, en el modo verbal, Marcus Ewert emplea procesos materiales y mentales (87,49%, Gráfico 1) para narrar la lucha interna en la que se debate Bailey y las acciones que lleva a cabo

para conseguir su sueño. A su vez, estos procesos narrativos en el modo verbal se complementan en el modo visual con una mayoría de imágenes compuestas que combinan procesos visuales de acción y reacción.

Ejemplos de complementariedad en el compromiso sistémico entre modos se observan en la primera parte (Tabla 2) de la estructura del libro cuando Rex Ray muestra a Bailey soñando con sus vestidos, en imágenes de proyección mental en burbujas de pensamiento, y Marcus Ewert los describe verbalmente en detalle. A través de la complementación de ambos modos semióticos es como autor e ilustrador de *10,000 Dresses* transmiten un mensaje progresivo de respeto por la diversidad y por los/las niños/as transgénero.

En *The Purim Superhero*, también se da la complementariedad entre las ilustraciones de Mike Byrne y el texto de Elisabeth Kushner en todas las ocasiones en que Abba y Daddy apoyan a Nate en su diatriba. Por ejemplo, en la página 15, donde, verbalmente, Nate pregunta a Abba si le coserá el disfraz que elija, a lo que Abba contesta que por supuesto. Visualmente, la ilustración muestra cómo se establece una conexión de los vectores visuales para simbolizar la empatía y conexión entre ambos. No obstante, esta conexión entre Abba y Nate es más evidente en el modo visual que en el verbal. Además, en la mayor parte de las ilustraciones encontramos a los/las PR con la boca abierta en clara representación de la comunicación que existe entre Nate y sus padres y compañeros/as.

Sin embargo, también se han identificado imágenes en las que no existe la complementariedad en el compromiso sistémico con el modo escrito. Aquellas en las que las imágenes compuestas se combinan con otras de proyección verbal que añaden una carga significativa que solo aporta el modo visual. Este es el caso de las dobles páginas cuarta, séptima y décima, correspondientes a la segunda parte (Tabla 2), que muestran a un Bailey ilusionado que se aproxima a cada uno de sus familiares para contarles sus sueños y estos le rechazan. En las tres ocasiones que se dirige a ellos/ella, la actitud de Bailey únicamente se describe en las ilustraciones: sonriente con los brazos alzados en signo de entusiasmo en una imagen narrativa de acción-reacción no transaccional, mientras que el modo verbal únicamente refleja la acción mediante un proceso narrativo material (“Bailey woke up, and went to find Mother/ Father/ her brother”, respectivamente).

Un ejemplo de divergencia de emparejamiento en *The Purim Superhero* se halla en la antepenúltima doble página duodécima. Nate marcha en última posición del desfile mientras mira fijamente al/a la lector/a y le indica con un gesto que no revele su disfraz. Este proceso visual narrativo de reacción transaccional con el/la lector/a no tiene equivalente en el modo verbal, ya que la ilustración carece de texto. Por tanto, esta ausencia de convergencia entre el modo visual y el verbal genera en los/las lectores/as la necesidad de extraer su propio posicionamiento

moral sobre lo que leen y ven. Finalmente, siguiendo el consejo de sus padres, Nate decide ser fiel a sí mismo y disfrazarse de alienígena, cumpliendo con sus deseos, pese a ser diferente.

4. Discusión final y conclusión

El análisis de la sinergia texto-imagen nos ha mostrado la relevancia de esta relación en la construcción del significado en *10,000 Dresses* y en *The Purim Superhero* y la complejidad de descifrar la carga significativa que comporta el modo visual. Mientras que, en términos generales, los procesos narrativos verbales se pueden sintetizar en un tipo de proceso, en la narrativa visual abundan los procesos combinados de acción-reacción con imágenes de proyección verbal. Consecuentemente, en los libros álbum analizados la imagen contribuye en mayor medida al desarrollo de la trama narrativa al ofrecer más cantidad de información que la palabra. Esta afirmación se puede hacer extensible a otros muchos ejemplos. Además, es reseñable mencionar que Nodelman (1988) corroboró que el hecho de analizar los recursos que utilizan los distintos medios (escrito y visual) para construir significaciones aumenta el interés de los/las niños/as en los libros álbum que tienen entre manos. Dado que tanto los libros álbum analizados, como otros muchos que proliferan en la actualidad, están principalmente dirigidos a niños/as de edades tempranas que todavía están en proceso de desarrollo cognitivo, es fundamental que los/las jóvenes alumnos/as reciban una instrucción explícita (Doonan 1993) sobre los sistemas que operan en la construcción de significados en el modo semiótico visual (Unsworth y Wheeler 2002: 69).

En un mundo donde la cultura es cada vez más multimodal, ya que se produce y se transmite a través de múltiples soportes, tecnologías y empleando diversos lenguajes de representación, es necesario que los/las jóvenes dispongan de una alfabetización visual que les permita descifrar los complejos y sofisticados mensajes que se divulgan. Los libros álbum son un recurso con alta carga multimodal y un valiosísimo instrumento para que el/la joven lector/a desarrolle múltiples capacidades. Así, para descifrar los sofisticados mensajes que encierran las imágenes es necesaria una adecuada formación sobre las estrategias que emplean los/las creadores/as del lenguaje visual. Por ello, es preciso y urgente introducir en la Educación Primaria elementos curriculares que formen a los/las niños/as en las destrezas y capacidades necesarias para decodificar la compleja carga narrativa que comporta el modo visual, y poder así comprender el papel que desempeña en su interacción con la palabra en la construcción del significado global.

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Notes

1. La tipografía de este libro álbum bien merece un estudio aparte más extenso dada la riqueza que alberga. Rex Ray, el ilustrador, emplea una paleta de colores en las letras en función de la persona que habla o el elemento al que se refiere. Por ejemplo, cuando describe los vestidos que imagina Bailey, dota los elementos característicos de cada uno de ellos de colores representativos.

Así, al describir el vestido hecho de cristales que tintinean al chocar los unos con los otros, el sustantivo “crystals” aparece en color azul. De igual forma, continúa describiendo el efecto que produce la luz al reflejarse en los cristales, que se asemeja al de un arcoíris (rainbow) y utiliza una tonalidad para cada una de las letras del término “rainbows”, como si del propio arcoíris se tratase.

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Reviews

EMOTION IN DISCOURSE

J. Lachlan Mackenzie and Laura Alba-Juez, eds.
Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2019

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The book here reviewed includes contributions to a research project (EMO-FUNDETT Excellence Project) funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MINECO), together with some invited additions from the “International Conference on Language and Emotion”, held at UNED in Madrid in November 2016. The publication fits admirably into Benjamins’ *Pragmatics and Beyond New Series*.

In their introduction (which is, in fact, Chapter 1, “Emotion processes in discourse”), the authors provide a complete survey of earlier studies of emotion in discourse, which has long been neglected, present their own functional, discursive approach to the topic, and summarize the content of the four sections into which the book is divided.

They begin by establishing that emotive functions are not merely conveyed through intonation and the lexicon, but in fact permeate the whole of grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics). We are introduced to the term ‘affect’ (i.e. the emotion associated with an idea) (3), and also the phrase ‘emotional turn’ (i.e. the recent trend of focussing on emotion in language) (4). The authors point out that one of the main research questions motivating their new work is the demarcation of the difference between the emotive function of language and the evaluative function (8), a challenging undertaking due to a lack of consensus among scholars on the use of terms such as ‘appraisal’, ‘affect’ and ‘emotion’ (14-15).

Section I contains chapters 2–6. They deal with the interlacing of emotion with linguistic structures and language in interaction. Section II contains chapters 7–9, which offer examples of emotion in real, everyday situations. Section III contains chapters 10–12. These discuss the interaction of emotional intelligence and pragmatic competence. Section IV contains chapters 13 and 14, which look at the effect of emotion in different discourse types (journalism and scientific writing).

Chapter 2, “The multifunctionality of swear/taboo words in television series” by Monika Bednarek, draws on transcriptions of dialogues from 66 contemporary US TV series recorded in the *Sydney Corpus of Television Dialogue*. The semantics and pragmatics of swear words and classification into types receives full coverage, but it is perhaps going too far to say that “their use is often not ‘gratuitous’” (49), particularly in view of Wharton’s (2016) contention that expressives contribute nothing to the truth conditions of an utterance and any meaning that they might have is independent of context. Very often, repeated expletives fulfil a merely rhythmic function in the basically trochaic pattern of English (*ábsofúckinglútely*—the phonology of expletive insertion is explained in Hammond [1999: 161–167]), but there is little reference to rhythm in this article.

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Chapter 3, “The syntax of an emotional expletive in English” by J. Lachlan Mackenzie, concentrates on the syntactic distribution of *fuck* and its inflected and derivative forms, which are “in themselves meaningless but ‘fill out’ the clause with an expression of emotion” (55). Numerous compounds are quoted (*fuckbag*, *fuckfest*, *eyefuck*), along with many blends (*fuckaholic*, *fuck-a-rama* < *panorama*), which reveal the productivity and versatility of the root. The actual positions occupied by *fucking* in the utterance, though subject to constraints, are very varied. As in Chapter 2, the metrical foot could have been invoked here: apart from Hammond (1999), McCarthy (1982), who is also cited by the author on another count (72n5), supports a phonological analysis, as does Smith (2020), who leaves no doubt as to the far-reaching role of the trochee in shaping nearly all the Germanic languages. The trochaic template can account for examples like “Get your-fucking-self out of here” (75), which Mackenzie marks as questionable, and obviates the need for numerous grammar-based rules.

Chapter 4, “Interjections and emotions: The case of *gosh*” by Angela Downing and Elena Martínez Caro, shows, with ample textual evidence, that *gosh* (< *God*), bleached of its original religious significance, functions as a pragmatic marker in present-day English. Far from being old-fashioned, *gosh* is still widely used, especially by women (89).

In Chapter 5, “Expressing emotions without emotional lexis”, Ruth Breeze and Manuel Casado-Velarde, in defiance of a universal conceptualization of emotion in language, support the idea that culture filters embodied experience. Good coverage

of the similarities and differences between English and Spanish metaphors is provided, though more could have been said about why there should be such differences as are mentioned. Occasionally the translations are slightly awkward (for example, pronominal *quemárase la sangre a alguien* cannot be even literally rendered as transitive “to set fire to someone’s blood” [126]).

Chapter 6, by Ad Foolen, investigates “The value of left and right”, i.e. the emotive value of these words and their equivalents in different languages. The article is particularly interesting for its recognition of the fact that the left-right spatial dimension appears to have some special status among image-schemata (145) and that so many cultures are right-biased in their evaluations of this polarization of concepts.

Section II starts with Chapter 7, “A cognitive pragmatics of the phatic Internet” by Francisco Yus, who, while endorsing the obvious conclusion that internet messages play a role in social bonding, also sets out to prove via the application of Relevance Theory that there is propositional content in this form of communication. Moreover, phatic communication itself is not just speaker-centred, but may produce phatic effects in the hearer if s/he infers phatic emotions beyond the sender’s intention (171). The study provides a plethora of terminology related to the different types of posts people send and lists no fewer than 16 cases or scenarios.

Salvatore Attardo’s contribution, “Humor and mirth: Emotions, embodied cognition, and sustained humor” (Chapter 8), upholds the philosophy ‘When you’re smiling, the whole world smiles with you’. Sustained humour may be extended over several conversational exchanges, rather like, it occurs to me, Beatrice and Benedick’s witty repartee in *Much Ado About Nothing*. The dichotomy marked-unmarked as applied to humour versus serious communication (191) seems a debatable, if not unnecessary, compartmentalization, but the author undertakes a thorough examination of the interaction of these two components of expression.

Nina-Maria Fronhofer rounds off this second section with her contribution “*My anger was justified surely?*” (Chapter 9), a study that examines the scalar concept of un-/certainty in the context referred to in the title, and finds that German narratives use twice as many ANGER lexemes as their British English counterparts (225). The results are exhaustively discussed and modestly presented as tentative.

Section III opens with a contribution by Laura Alba-Juez and Juan-Carlos Pérez-González, “Emotion and language ‘at work’” (Chapter 10), the expression *at work* being a pun on the meanings ‘in action’ and ‘at the workplace’. The terms ‘emotional intelligence’ and ‘pragmalinguistic competence’ are clearly explained (251-254), and there is reference to theories of (Im)politeness (256-257) before the authors expound their research methodology. A welcome inclusion among the rich bibliography is Daniel Goleman’s *Emotional Intelligence* (274).

Chapter 11, “The effects of linguistic proficiency, Trait Emotional Intelligence and in-group advantage on emotion recognition by British and American English L1 users” by Dewaele, Lorette and Petrides, discusses individual differences in emotion recognition ability, and comments that “[u]nsurprisingly, some people are better at recognizing emotions than others” (280), but “[i]ndividuals draw on different resources and combine different strategies in order to identify emotions” (294).

Chapter 12, by Miguel-Ángel Benítez-Castro and Encarnación Hidalgo-Tenorio, is a reappraisal of Martin and White’s AFFECT taxonomy (2005), concluding that ATTITUDE, which only applies to generalized contexts, needs replacing with a newly refined, “more psychologically inspired” (305) AFFECT category, subsuming EMOTION and OPINION, in order to capture more temporary, event-dependent instances (304). Convincing arguments for this are provided but, as the authors admit (327), arranging emotion into goal-seeking, goal-achievement and goal-relation types may still require some reconsideration. With regard to their attempt to weigh up the different import of *happy*, *glad*, *pleased* and *satisfied* (308), it should be remembered that there is a gap between language and cognition: different words and metaphors for the same emotion (e.g. *angry*, *boiling*) are conceptual resources with different discursive uses and deployment (Edwards 1999: 280). Do the verbs *affirm*, *declare*, *assert* and *aver* necessarily refer to different acts? (Cummins 2019: 204).

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Section IV begins with Isabel Alonso Belmonte’s study of “Victims, heroes and villains in newsbites” (Chapter 13), an analysis of 139 newsbites from *El País*, concerning the Spanish eviction crisis. The main thrust of the paper is its allusion to the increasing subjectivity in journalistic practice, in particular in Spanish (and Italian) newspapers, as opposed to British ones, and how journalists cleverly elicit an emotional response from their readers.

The last contribution, “*Promoemotional science?*” by Carmen Sancho Guinda (Chapter 14), comments on the recent use of graphics in scientific papers. Despite its entertainment value, it is a serious, detailed account, outlining how the inclusion of graphics in science is part and parcel of the popularization of the area (361), which has been “evolving towards informality in the last half century” (362). “Scholars have stepped out of their ‘ivory towers’” (363), but pictures have a stronger emotional impact than words and may blur meaning (367). On the positive side, the author allows that “GAs [the graphical abstract genre] have been a step forward in the direction of science democratization” (379).

All the papers in this volume have been carefully researched and amply supported with extensive bibliographical references, and their quality is exactly what we would expect from a selection made by McKenzie and Alba-Juez, whose excellent editing appears to have left only two slips in the whole book: *reminder* = *remainder* (43, end of first paragraph); *to which extend* = *to what extent* (221n5). There is no doubt in my mind that this volume is an extremely valuable addition to its field.

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ROAD-MAPPING ENGLISH MEDIUM EDUCATION IN THE INTERNATIONALISED UNIVERSITY

Emma Dafouz and Ute Smit
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As a Spanish academic lecturing in Translation Studies, with a double interest in Sociolinguistics and Postcolonial Literatures in English, I approached Emma Dafouz and Ute Smit's theoretical model of English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings (EMEMUS) with curiosity. I was very motivated to read more and explore current proposals and new perspectives offered in this book, as my everyday reality is teaching within a multilingual classroom delivering the Modern Languages and Translation Degree at the University of Alcalá (Madrid). Surprisingly —given my admitted scepticism with regard to related models which often overlook contexts and realities— I was not disappointed; on the contrary, as any reader will see, Dafouz and Smit's high awareness of the diversity of multilingual and multicultural contexts is not only the distinctive aspect of their model, but the main principle which structures it.

Rather than initiating a new theory of the Englishisation of universities, with a newly conceived compilation of strategies, Dafouz and Smit offer a thorough reflection of current practices across higher education institutions (HEIs) which have implemented English as a Medium of Education (EME) and moved towards a conceptualisation which might yield useful applications. As readers may perceive, their honest and perceptive analysis of positive and negative outcomes is the basis of their ROAD-MAPPING model. This is an EME model with solid sociolinguistic foundations, which embraces the present reality of education in

the internationalised university and the need for new language policies and research directions.

The ‘Expanding Circle’ of EME Areas

In their examination of the geographical spread of EME, along with the increasing research on the growth in this field, Smit and Dafouz identify EME areas that “have well-established higher educational systems in their respective national languages” (Smit and Dafouz 2012: 2). These areas, which the authors match with Kachru’s “expanding circle” (1985: 12), constitute indeed no small part of the world: Europe, the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, and Latin America. A quantitative account of the EMEMUS phenomenon is presented, with a qualitative description of six cases: three universities in Europe (Stockholm University, Sweden; Maastricht University, the Netherlands; and the University of the Basque Country, Spain), one in the Middle East (Zayed University, Arab Emirates), one in Asia (Waseda University, Japan) and one in Latin America (Universidad del Norte, Colombia).

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A huge diversity is highlighted regarding funding, social context, lecturer support, motivation of students for whom reading and writing in English poses an extra challenge, or measures to deal with linguistic tensions in certain multilingual settings. In my view, as a suggestion for further research, a more in-depth analysis of *globalisation* and more specifically the impact of economic globalisation would be useful in order to diagnose more accurately the reasons for such diversity within the EME areas along with the accelerated expansion of EME across the Global North. This closer analysis might open the way for initiatives to reach larger areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America —i.e. the Global South. A further step for Dafouz and Smit might be to appropriate their own ROAD-MAPPING model and design projects to make it work beyond the North-South divide, towards the achievement of equal educational opportunities.

In their “Reflection on the Reasons and Issues for Implementing EME” (Chapter 2.4), the authors offer a thorough review of challenges at global, continental, national, institutional and classroom levels. Interestingly, a shift from a learner-oriented view (English as a Foreign Language) to a user-oriented one (English as a Lingua Franca) is seen as a positive outcome of the continuing geographical spread of EME. Some disadvantages are identified at the continental level: the loss of language diversity and of minority languages (Basque, Catalan, Friulian, and Sami in Europe), the imposition of Anglocentric and Westernised models of education, and the commodification of education.

The authors celebrate the fact that many HEIs are adopting EME, although they observe that a number do not seem to appreciate the reasons behind it. Dafouz and Smit see the need to attract these institutions and help them converge towards common ground —a “shared ontology” (31) is highlighted in the midst of the “collage” (31) of institutions and contexts. Here is where Dafouz and Smit argue for a theoretical framework “that addresses the diversity and complexity of EME in a holistic, dynamic and integrative manner” (31).

ROAD-MAPPING: A New Conceptual Framework

The concept of ‘internationalisation’ has changed since the 1980s. There has been a shift from the simple act of promoting studies abroad to the present-day view of “comprehensive internationalisation” (40), including new perspectives in teaching and research, aiming at high quality education and innovation. Of the HEIs’ different practices in this process (“internationalisation abroad [IA]”, “internationalisation at home [IaH]” and “internationalisation of the curriculum [IoC]” [41]), the latter seems to be the one which situates the disciplines and the curriculum at the centre of this process. The authors acknowledge the insights from the few Applied Linguistics models which have addressed the specific language issues involved in these practices. Previous work mentioned includes Cenoz and Gorter (2010) and Lauridsen and Lillemose (2015), who have studied (1) the multilingual nature of twenty-first century HEIs, (2) the centrality of English in most of them, and (3) the impact of socio-political, linguistic and psychological factors on these contexts. The uniqueness of the ROAD-MAPPING model is that it focuses on the complexity of multilingual and multicultural contexts in the internationalisation of HEIs. Its theoretical foundations draw from Sociolinguistics, Ecolinguistics, Language Policy models, and Discourse Analysis approaches.

The conceptualisations from contemporary sociolinguistics —beyond more static notions of ‘speech community’ or ‘code switching’— which are relevant for the ROAD-MAPPING model include the fluidity of communicational practices in the new “superdiverse” or “emergent” settings (43). For Dafouz and Smit the concepts of “transient multilingual community” and “translanguaging” (43) feel much closer to the present.

The ROAD-MAPPING framework consists of six dimensions: roles of English in relation to other languages, academic disciplines, language management, agents, practices and processes, and internationalisation and glocalisation. All these dimensions are interconnected and equally relevant, as the authors explain in detail. This is perhaps the part of the book which the specialist reader will find

most interesting, and they will appreciate the intricacies of the interplay among these dimensions —this is undoubtedly Dafouz and Smit’s greatest achievement.

Researching EMEMUS

In Part II of the book, Dafouz and Smit explore the research potential of their ROAD-MAPPING model regarding EMEMUS. Two research areas are highlighted: (1) participant expectations and evaluations of relevant educational practices; and (2) English-medium classroom discourse. Individual studies that make use of ROAD-MAPPING are showcased, as are the ways in which the framework is found to be beneficial in allowing for more in-depth conceptualisations. “Stakeholder beliefs” (72) —i.e. lecturers’ and students’ beliefs— are also examined here: how they view and evaluate EMEMUS. Such thoughts and ideas are not easily observable, but they can be contextualised. The authors offer an overview of two studies which show how their model may be used as a methodological framework to support these analyses of stakeholder beliefs in EMEMUS.

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EME classroom discourse is also seen as an area of study where the application of the ROAD-MAPPING model may offer interesting insights. Examples include teacher talk (in lecturing), student talk (in group work), teachers and students in classroom interaction, and classroom events (e.g. presentations). In fact, recent doctoral work applying the model includes the study of students’ use of English as a lingua franca in multicultural teamwork.

All the studies introduced in this part of the book show how the ROAD-MAPPING model is useful for structuring the conceptual framework, and how it functions as a meta-level methodological guideline for the discussion of the findings.

Managing Policies in EMEMUS

Finally, the authors address policy concerns in EMEMUS, paying special attention to teacher professional development at institutional, national, and international levels. The Spanish setting, which has a high level of decentralisation, is a particularly complex one; strategies have been launched to consolidate some very diverse “subsystems” (105) across the autonomous regions. Bilingual regions in Spain where minority languages are spoken have developed specific strategies to include EME. Understandably, their fear is the loss of their own mother tongues (only used as a medium of education after the advent of democracy in 1975) in the

face of a national language (Peninsular Spanish) and more recently a third language, English. The case of the University of the Basque Country is a good illustration of a successful model.

In conclusion, the authors demonstrate how ROAD-MAPPING is a powerful model that is currently assisting HEIs across the world. The EQUiP Project (the transnational Erasmus+ project) is an innovative case in point which aims to support educational developers. This is, in my opinion, one of the most useful applications of the ROAD-MAPPING model: it pays attention to the difficulties of lecturers. These are the central stakeholders in the internationalised university, many of whom feel threatened by these overwhelming changes. Not only do they need support to overcome these difficulties —i.e. by training in multicultural classrooms and resolving specific language issues such as proficiency in English— but also new conceptualisations and directions. This model goes a long way in being able to offer this.

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**THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION:
LANGUAGE POLICY AND INTERNATIONALISATION
IN CATALONIA**

Josep Soler and Lúdia Gallego-Balsà
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With internationalisation shaping the main values and strategies of modern higher education, many authors have analysed from different perspectives its rationales, main strategies, and outcomes worldwide (Maringe and Foskett 2010; Knight 2012; de Wit et al. 2015). At its core, language issues, and particularly English, have received much attention as a result of the integration of an international dimension in the teaching, research and management functions of universities. Wisely identified in the title of this book, this situation has positioned language policy (henceforth LP) as a relevant theoretical and methodological tool that examines the relationship between local languages and English as the lingua franca for scientific communication (Spolsky 2009; Ferguson 2012; Jenkins and Mauranen 2019). While most of the leading literature in the European context tends to look at the situation in the northern countries (Haberland and Mortensen 2012; Risager 2012; Ljosland 2014; Soler-Carbonell et al. 2017), the present book focuses on the south-western context, choosing the Catalanian context as a case study. By focusing on a particular university, the authors can analyse in depth the institution's sociolinguistic context from a top-down and bottom-up approach that examines the linguistic tensions experienced by stakeholders.

The book is divided into six chapters, each of them starting with an abstract and keywords and ending with a summary of the chapter's main contents and a reference list. This 'research article' format facilitates the reading process as each

chapter can be read almost independently because they comprise specific sections of the study and are thoroughly contextualised. From the beginning of the book, the authors are aware of the diverse (and sometimes opposing) language expectations that stakeholders have regarding the three working languages at the university, which are Catalan, Spanish and English. Thus, this book analyses the practices and attitudes encountered towards the local, national, and international languages in a bilingual university. The state-of-the-art revision of this study comments on the most relevant issues shaping the nature of language management such as the neoliberal influence and market-driven orientation of higher education, the ecology of languages, or the challenges that English as the medium of instruction (EMI) brings to non-Anglophone institutions. Foreshadowing their own study, the authors stress the importance of the sociocultural dimension and multi-layered nature of LP for understanding the complexity of language relationships and speakers' beliefs, as well as considering it as a necessary tool to manage language use. From the methodological perspective, the authors justify their analytical choices for the study, which are document analysis, linguistic ethnography, and discourse analysis.

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Chapter 2 includes a detailed literature review of LP studies and internationalisation from a sociolinguistic perspective. Narrowing the field of internationalisation, the authors focus on campus-based activities, commonly referred to as “Internationalisation at home” (20), which include language learning, intercultural competence and the promotion of diversity (Jones 2015). Additionally, the authors discuss the traditional North-South division found in internationalisation and language strategies, which often rely on quantitative indicators such as the number of EMI courses. They rightly argue that this division is too simplistic since it might overlook similarities and differences just because of the geographical location when in reality there is a wide spectrum of sociolinguistic scenarios and language management traditions. In this way, they advocate an ecological perspective that connects internationalisation to multilingualism, diversity, and critical thinking. The chapter ends with an introduction to the Catalan universities' context where LP was originally designed to protect the local language, Catalan, but has recently moved towards the inclusion of foreign languages and linguistic competence in a third language, mainly English, as a consequence of globalisation.

In Chapter 3, a corpus of LP documents from all the Catalan universities is gathered to examine the role of language. The initial frequency analysis shows that the main objective of the institutional policy is the protection of the Catalan language. The quantitative results are later combined with a qualitative content analysis of the documents to underpin their narratives. In this way, the main working languages identified as Catalan, Spanish, and English are associated with

five emergent themes. Firstly, the linguistic competence in Catalan facilitates language management. Secondly, students should be competent in Catalan, Spanish, and a third foreign language, often English. Thirdly, multilingualism appears as a synonym of English and its effect on the university language ecology. Fourthly, the principle of linguistic security is a tool devised to protect the use of Catalan from the speakers of other major languages, namely Spanish. And lastly, Spanish is only mentioned concerning the linguistic right to use it, and on some occasions for collaboration with other Spanish regions and Latin America. These results reveal the main ideologies of policymakers, for whom the protection of the ‘language for (cultural) identification’ is the main objective, followed by the mastery of the ‘language for (international) communication’, to adapt the terminology used by House (2003: 559). Furthermore, these language beliefs are supported by the legal framework, supra-national policies, and access to funding, among other external factors. In sum, this chapter reminds us of the complexity of language management when several languages coexist for the same functions and how each language has certain discourses attached that might be beneficial or threatening for others, for instance, the preference for the most widely used languages over other less spoken languages for communication.

Chapter 4 provides an analysis of the ethnographic data collected from observations, field notes, and interviews with three groups of stakeholders in a small-sized Catalan university. The two main discourses identified in the data present opposite reactions. While the “discourse on ‘Catalan as an obstacle’” (77) is challenged with persuasive strategies, the discourse on the revitalisation of Catalan is encouraged and simultaneously aligns with the stance of the institutional documents analysed in the previous chapter. The interview data, on the other hand, provide first-hand evidence of the bottom-up stakeholders’ language practices and beliefs that reveal the presence of tensions between individual rights and institutional responsibilities. Firstly, international students tend to show concerns about their lack of linguistic competence in Catalan and the general opposition to switching to Spanish (or English) by the institution and lecturers. Although ultimately international students accept the situation, they question the institutional monolingual policy since the university is located in a bilingual region. In the case of lecturers, they see themselves as mediators between the university’s and the international students’ demands. They also criticise the rigid nature of the linguistic security principle and consider that its original purpose, the protection of Catalan, should be reviewed since nowadays the use of the other two working languages is promoted to reach wider audiences. Lastly, language instructors legitimise Catalan as the university’s default language, aligning with the institutional stance. Hence, this chapter explores the effects of LP on the stakeholders, who juxtapose their language beliefs with actual practices, pointing at the tensions encountered in this particular sociolinguistic context.

140 In Chapter 5, the authors identify three main orientations to language in the institutional documents (Ruíz 1984), which shape the discourses attached to the working languages: “language-as-right” (101) as the right to use the national languages, “language-as-resource” (101) that values international languages and multilingualism, and “language-as-problem” (101) referring to a multilingual setting with a predominantly monolingual policy. This book exhaustively reflects on the role of Catalan in the internationalised university, challenging some of the negative assumptions attached to it. However, there are few references to the second main objective of LP, which is the linguistic requirement for a foreign language. Since it is acknowledged that obtaining the necessary linguistic competence may hinder students’ graduation, perhaps the authors could have explored the effects of this measure and compared how other bilingual or monolingual Spanish universities tackle this issue since it is a national mandatory requirement. Regarding the ethnographic data, there is a unanimous call for an update of the language management mechanisms to better suit the stakeholders’ needs. For instance, the language instructors’ protectionist stance originates from the fear that the accommodation to the linguistic demands of non-Catalan speakers would threaten the sustainability of the local language. The in-between position of lecturers creates a situation where language choice tends to respond to conflict-avoidance with students. In the case of the international students, their negative stance is challenged by means of linguistic devices, which frame the use of Catalan as part of a full immersion experience. Hence, the current situation requires an update of the LP mechanisms that would grant flexibility and foster positive attitudes towards multilingualism. In doing so, the identification of the institution’s weaknesses and strengths would be crucial for language management, especially when several languages compete for similar functions.

The final chapter of the book answers the main research questions of the study and provides alternative options for a flexible LP approach at the university. In response to the first question, there are three contradictory stances regarding Catalan that confirm the principle of linguistic security, and therefore LP should be updated to meet current needs. Concerning the second question, the three main objectives of LP are the use of Catalan as the default language of communication at the universities, the right to use Spanish as an alternative to Catalan for national and international communication, and becoming a competent speaker in a third language, often English, as a consequence of internationalisation. “Receptive multilingualism” (105) also appears as the final goal of LP because it facilitates switching between languages without harming the right of others to use the language of their preference. Regarding the last question, the fate of Catalan is divided between a supportive policy of minority languages and a pragmatic client-oriented policy of widely spoken languages. This dichotomy is found to a certain

extent in the ‘glocalisation’ challenge that many universities face: in other words, how to become internationally attractive without losing their local identity. Thus, the conceptualisation of language is a crucial element because it shapes the contents and strategies of policy documents. Using the language-as-resource orientation, the authors mention a series of strategies such as parallel language use and “translanguaging practices” (127) that generally rely on the users’ linguistic competence. The authors’ conclusion aligns with the latter option, which calls for a flexible combination of languages according to the speakers’ needs and skills. In this way, translanguaging practices are considered an alternative to the rigid indications of the institutional documents, especially when a minority language is involved, because it changes the decision-making power from top-down to bottom-up agents. The book finishes with the fundamental idea that languages should be an asset that benefits both international and local stakeholders, a tool that promotes exchange and unity.

Overall, this book presents a detailed account of the sociolinguistic context of the Catalan universities based on a combination of the multiple data sources, the representation of stakeholders’ voices, and the triangulation of methods. It offers comprehensive insights into the processes involved in language management, and how policy documents may alter the agents’ linguistic practices and perceptions. Since the Catalan universities have a tradition of bilingual education, however, the book could have included a series of feasible recommendations for the introduction of several working languages at the university. In this way, such a proposal would be useful for other institutions facing similar challenges, either monolingual or bilingual, which could look at this case study for guidance. Similarly, it would be interesting to compare the findings of this book with other scenarios sharing similar sociolinguistic features. For instance, some South American universities may provide useful contrastive material, particularly those dealing with widely spoken languages like Spanish or Portuguese, revitalisation policies of indigenous languages, and the introduction of English, all of which present a similar language ecology.

Some further aspects that could be considered for future work would be widening the object of analysis, in other words, analysing the effects of LP in other university domains such as languages in research communication to establish whether language choice and language hierarchies are different depending on the activities carried out. In the case of education, it would be interesting to include other stakeholders’ voices (e.g. local students or administrative staff) or move on from the interview data to investigate how classroom interactions occur between students and lecturers, providing an opportunity to track monolingual or translanguaging practices. Lastly, I think that identifying the key areas of LP, such

as the resources and services provided by the institution for linguistic support, would have offered valuable information for the readers. Despite the policy analysis, there are scarce references to the available resources that lecturers and students can access to meet the linguistic requirements in other foreign languages, or to how the use of the discursive strategies deployed to reduce negative attitudes towards Catalan could be applied to the promotion of multilingualism and language learning.

Notwithstanding these minor points, the clarity of the writing and coherent organisation makes this a useful book for a heterogeneous readership. For the general audience, the book includes essential theoretical and methodological concepts about internationalisation, LP and ethnographic methods indispensable for familiarisation with the topic at hand. For a specialised audience, the detailed account of the analysis and up-to-date data makes it an excellent study for replicability. In this way, readers can reflect on the situation at their own university and take action investigating the presence of overt and covert LP mechanisms, the short- and long-term effects of those strategies, or the efficacy of the available resources to deal with multilingualism in an internationalised university. In sum, this book contributes to the field of LP with a fresh perspective, valuable for anyone interested in the relationship between internationalisation and language in higher education.

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STORYWORLD POSSIBLE SELVES

María-Ángeles Martínez

Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018

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Narrative engagement is a complex concept that has raised interest in several fields due to its interdisciplinary nature. In the last few decades this concept has shifted its attention from the text towards the reader's mind processes in narrative experience. Narrative engagement has interested diverse fields, such as literary studies, social psychology, cognitive linguistics and cognitive poetics, which have tried to explain the idiosyncratic reasons regarding readers' engagement or disengagement and their self-transformation in the narrative experience. However, as Martínez points out, there seems to be a lack of specificity on how this transformation happens (4). It is along these lines that *Storyworld Possible Selves* is written. This work aims at creating a model that can explain the cognitive processes of the reader's mind in narrative experience, emphasising emotion and feeling "as indispensable components of human cognition" (1).

Storyworld Possible Selves is included in the book series "Applications of Cognitive Linguistics", whose objective is, according to the publishers, to serve as a forum for works "where the theoretical insights developed in Cognitive Linguistics (CL) have been (or could be) fruitfully applied" ("Applications of Cognitive Linguistics"). In this way, this book follows the research line of this series, as it casts new light on the possible applications of cognitive linguistics regarding narrative engagement. *Storyworld Possible Selves* is divided into six chapters. The first three serve as the theoretical framework for the "*storyworld possible self*" (SPS) model (2), while

chapters 4, 5 and 6 focus on the SPS theory, its applications, and concluding remarks. In addition, each chapter features a brief introduction and conclusion that summarise the salient aspects and the main concepts applied throughout the book.

Chapter 1 provides the model's basic foundations, developed in the book. Martínez introduces the reader with notions, concepts and complex terminology which will become relevant for SPS. The author first focuses on narrative engagement from a psychological perspective. Martínez introduces three concepts essential for narrative engagement, which she calls "engagement pre-requisites" (27): perspective and focalisation (based on Genette's [1980] narrative perspectivisation theory), deictic shift, and possible worlds. These pre-requisites clarify how readers, through the focalisation of the narrator (Genette 1980), can move from their world to the storyworld (the fictional world) in a deictic shift (explained in Chapter 2).

SPS is based on blending theory, mainly on the work by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). Following their theory, SPS consists of four mental spaces, further developed in the following chapters: generic space (narrative perspectivisation), two input spaces (reader's self-concept and perspectiviser's construct) and the emergent structure (the blend). The two inputs will project features into a new space, the blend. SPS thus aims at a projection of the storyworld where features from the reader's self-concept and the perspectiviser (narrator or character) will be linked in a blend that the author calls *storyworld possible self*, defined as "the hybrid mental construct [...] with which we inhabit the storyworlds projected by narratives" (2).

Chapter 2 discusses the linguistic mechanisms involved in the anchoring of the SPS, focusing on interactional cognitive linguistics and interactional sociolinguistics. Martínez draws on Langacker's "viewing arrangement" (2008: 73) and Verhagen's theory (2005), and states that SPS contains an object of conceptualisation (the storyworld), in which the conceptualising entities (reader and narrator/focaliser) join their attention, with an onstage area and an offstage region. The anchoring is deeply analysed in terms of indexicality and interactional facework. Martínez uses several works on interactional facework, defined as a "sum of interaction strategies aimed at the cooperative management of face and identity" (54-55). She also mentions Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987), since the SPS model will borrow the concepts of connectedness and separateness from these experts. Following these ideas, Martínez explains how a reader can decide whether to make a convergent or divergent alignment with the features of the narrator or focaliser, the character "from whose perspective and viewpoint the fictional world is presented" (134). In relation to the linguistic anchoring of the SPS, objectification and subjectification are essential. Objectification is originated when narrator/focaliser and reader are one mental referent. The linguistic mechanisms used to

achieve objectivity include double deixis, pseudo deixis, the generic *you*, the pronoun *me*, indefinite pronouns and noun phrases. On the other hand, subjectification is achieved without verbal coding through the agentless passive voice, narrated perception, inner speech and the language of connectedness and separateness.

The concepts presented in the first chapters are essential for the understanding of the SPS. Martínez makes sure that all the ideas and theories that serve as the foundation for her model are well explained. She emphasises their importance and gives definitions from different authors, examples from novels, and closely analyses each concept in smaller parts. This means that from Chapter 3 onwards, the reader is well prepared to fully understand storyworld possible selves.

After having given an account of the cohesive base for the SPS theory, Chapter 3 deals with the cognitive operations of the SPS input spaces: character construct and self-concept. The first input space for the SPS blend is the narrator/focaliser's mental representation through characterisation and speech presentation. Interactional facework is also important for the character construct, as narrators/focalisers will seek alignment with the reader. Therefore, the reader will create a character construct with features that will be included in the input, resulting in different types of blend, depending on whether these features match or clash with the reader's. The second input space is the mental representation of the reader. Drawing on Markus (1977), self-concept can be divided into two different schemas: self-schemas (what we consider ourselves to be: parent, daughter...) and possible self (what we would like or not like to be: lover, adventurer, betrayed).

Once SPS input spaces and generic space are explained in depth, the author focuses on the blend's properties and typology (Chapter 4). In relation to its typology, the SPS blend can be divided into different types, depending on the self-concept, the character construct, and the blending network. Self-concept can be divided into self-schema, desired possible self, undesired possible self, past possible self, and past SPS. On the other hand, the character construct can be focaliser or narrator. Martínez highlights the complexity of the omniscient narrator construct, as it sometimes cannot be differentiated from the focaliser's, leaving this problem, however, for future research. Finally, in order to explain blending networks in the SPS blend, Martínez again follows Fauconnier and Turner (2002), and states that there are five types of networks: simple, mirror, single-scope, double-scope, and multiple SPS blend. In SPS, the most important networks are double-scope and multiple SPS, as they create clashes between the organising frames, raising ethical conflict in the reader (explained in the next chapter).

In Chapter 5, the SPS model is applied to three narrative texts (Thomas Pynchon's *Against the Day*, Jeff Lindsay's *Darkly Dreaming Dexter*, and the TV series

Breaking Bad), focusing on ethical narrative. Martínez references *Against the Day* as an instance for showing how the input space of past SPS deals with intertextuality. The protagonist of the novel can be compared with the protagonists of Jules Verne, activating a past SPS of an adolescent-reader-of-adventures in the reader. *Darkly Dreaming Dexter* and *Breaking Bad*, on the other hand, are perfect examples of ethical conflict when projecting their input with the characters' constructs, which have organising frames that clash with the reader's. Martínez uses concepts and theories previously explained, so that when the reader reaches this last chapter, describing the concluding part of her model, every detail and aspect of SPS is perfectly understood.

Storyworld Possible Selves introduces a very cohesive model with varied and well-supported concepts. Martínez borrows previously conceived theories with which she builds her multifaceted model. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of SPS, throughout the book Martínez supports her theory and explanations with examples from both narrative texts and personal experiences, so that a reader who is not familiarised with these notions can fully understand her model and its complexity. In addition, the chapter structure including an introduction and conclusion aims at facilitating the understanding of each section's most important aspects. Thus, *Storyworld Possible Selves* starts with a solid foundation that branches out into different fields of knowledge which together, in a smooth and well-paced rhythm, create a robust theory, the storyworld possible selves model.

Narrative engagement has been studied from varied fields of expertise. SPS benefits from this interdisciplinarity for analysing the emotional response of the individual in narrative experience. In this way, Martínez's model feeds back into the theories on which SPS draws, as it serves as a model not only for cognitive linguistics, but for many other fields. Thus, SPS could be included in psychological studies about the self, empathy, or identification. It could also help improve studies on emotional response to literature or in cognitive linguistics. Martínez's model has much potential, and has proven to be a perfect tool for building a bridge between all the theories regarding narrative engagement and encouraging the interdisciplinary study of this phenomenon.

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**APPLIED LINGUISTICS AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER:
EMPLOYABILITY, INTERNATIONALISATION
AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES**

Ana Bocanegra-Valle, ed.
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To date, applied linguistics has been discussed at length from different perspectives. The field has witnessed the publication of many research papers and books that have inquired into some of its common sub-fields (for a review of the research trends and needs in applied linguistics, see Lei and Liu 2019). Evidently, we need new books that delve into new grounds of applied linguistics or at least look at it from a new perspective. What is needed is more interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary books to expand the horizon of applied linguistics and meet the stakeholders' newly arisen needs in this field.

A newly published book to bridge this perceived gap is *Applied Linguistics and Knowledge Transfer: Employability, Internationalisation and Social Challenges* edited by Ana Bocanegra-Valle and published by Peter Lang in 2020. The book's title speaks for itself: it aims to shed light on knowledge transfer and the interwoven issues of employability, internationalisation, and social challenges in applied linguistics. The book is divided into three parts, namely "Knowledge Transfer", "Internationalisation", and "Employability and Social Challenges", and starts with an introduction by Ana Bocanegra-Valle, who gives operational definitions of keywords from the book and then provides an overview of the chapters. Like almost all books in this field, the book has a list of figures and tables and notes on contributors in the final section.

The first part of the book is devoted to the contributions by Ricardo Mairal-Usón and Pamela Faber, Sven Tarp, Jonás Fouz-González, and Carmen Sancho Guinda.

Ricardo Mairal-Usón and Pamela Faber discuss the issue of linguistic research in the current era. They aim to offer insights into the potential ways in which linguists contribute significantly, as key players, to knowledge dissemination. They focus on artificial intelligence and its multidimensional aspects in language-related research scopes. Also, the interrelationship between health science and biology with linguistics is discussed. The authors aim to bring attention to the wide scope of opportunities for linguistics experts to undertake interdisciplinary research projects. Sven Tarp focuses on integrated digital writing assistants and their role in writing instruction. The tool *Write Assistant* is explained in detail, and the related issues, challenges, and prospects are discussed. The chapter ends with an emphasis on more experimental research projects to fill potential gaps and come up with solutions for better integration of technologies in writing instruction in foreign language-learning classes. In the next chapter, Jonás Fouz-González studies the potential role of technology in teaching pronunciation. More specifically, a study on learners' perceptions about using apps in language learning, in particular the English File Pronunciation (EFP) app, is discussed. The chapter concludes with the study's positive findings and the limitations and challenges of using apps in pronunciation instruction for foreign language learners. In the last chapter of the first part of the book, Carmen Sancho Guinda throws light on entrepreneurship and the importance of discourse in entrepreneurial proposals by engineering students. The results of a case study are given, and the importance of discourse studies in interdisciplinary research and language education is highlighted.

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The second part of the book is devoted to internationalisation. Elspeth Jones investigates the role of languages in transformational internationalisation. Jones untangles the primary importance of internationalisation for students if they aim to keep pace with the advancement of technology. It is argued that language proficiency should play a key role in this endeavour. The chapter covers transformational internationalisation and its effect on education. Furthermore, the role of languages, particularly English as a lingua franca and medium of instruction, in the success of internationalisation is explained. Carmen Carracelas-Juncal goes into detail about the challenges of service-learning and social networks in study abroad contexts, especially students' preparation. What is especially worth reading in this chapter is the section titled "Current study abroad reality: 'Abroad is less abroad than it once was'" as it sheds an interesting light on the experience of studying in other countries in the age of globalization. This is coupled with a discussion of the study abroad curriculum and the interaction-related issues which students encounter. The related findings are presented in detail.

Similarly, in the next chapter, Vasi Mocanu and Enric Llorca elucidate constructing and reconstructing attitudes towards language learning in study abroad

programmes. More specifically, they explore the way attitudes towards language learning are shaped and reshaped during a study abroad experience. In the last chapter of part two, Oana Maria Carciu and Laura-Mihaela Muresan inquire into academics' views on internationalisation in higher education. Presenting the findings of a qualitative single-case research project that examined Romanian faculty members' perspectives on the internationalisation of higher education, the authors stress that this phenomenon is not limited to just one or two aspects but has a multidimensional nature.

The book's most intriguing part is the third section as it opens the door to a very important topic, namely employment and related social issues in applied linguistics. This last part of the book includes four contributions by Martha C. Pennington, Troy B. Wiwczarowski and Mária Czeller, Penny MacDonald and Llum Bracho, and Silvia Molina-Plaza and Samira Allani.

In a well-written and much-needed chapter, Martha C. Pennington particularises the undeniable role of pronunciation in finding employment internationally. She explains how pronunciation-related defects at segmental and suprasegmental levels can harm communication and interaction, especially in professional and job-related episodes. Also, the controversial issue of 'accent' and its over- and under-estimated importance in communication is discussed. The chapter concludes with some compensatory strategies to improve the pronunciation and intelligibility of language learners. Troy B. Wiwczarowski and Mária Czeller discuss the gap between what language skills are taught in higher education and the needs of the job market in real life. They clarify the 'authenticity' criteria in employment and attach importance to teaching marketable skills to students to enable them to get recruited.

Penny MacDonald and Llum Bracho report the findings of a corpus-based study of university students' ideas and attitudes about immigration in EFL classes. In the last chapter of the book, Silvia Molina-Plaza and Samira Allani explain women engineers' multimodal identity construction. They inquire into how linguistic and visual semiotic resources are used to depict women engineers in their professional identities. It is worth noting that they shed light on multimodality in discourse studies.

The book is recommended for inclusion in the syllabus of graduate and postgraduate studies to familiarise students with new avenues of research and application in applied linguistics. However, this does not mean that the book cannot be improved in a future edition. A purely conceptual introductory paper would enhance the theoretical richness of the book and should also reflect the depth and the importance of the contribution of this book to the field of applied linguistics. More importantly, if it were possible, a meta-analysis of the related studies in each

Reviews

part could give a valuable insight into the issue under investigation. Last but not least, more contributions (experimental, and especially mixed-methods, studies) from different language learning contexts (i.e. Asian, American etc.), focussing on less-investigated languages or language learners and immersion programs, would be welcome. That being said, the book is very much worth reading as it expands the scope of applied linguistics to new, inter- and multidisciplinary areas of inquiry.

Works Cited

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