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Articles

VOWEL QUALITY AND VOWEL LENGTH IN ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN SPAIN

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Abstract

In today's globalised world, the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is a reality. Given the fact that pronunciation deviations from the native-speaker norm are one of the main causes of communication breakdown (Jenkins 2000), it feels necessary to investigate which aspects of pronunciation constitute a communication hindrance if produced in a non-native-like manner and which may allow some variation without loss of intelligibility. This paper aims at contributing to the existing literature related to vowel quality and intelligibility in ELF. Our hypothesis is that vowel length distinctions alone cannot ensure the intelligibility of English spoken by Spanish speakers, but that vowel quality does play a role in avoiding communication breakdown. A panel of listeners from different countries completed an intelligibility test in which they listened to several sentences and filled in a gap by choosing the word they thought had been uttered. Results show that vowel length seems to be a crucial vocalic feature in the avoidance of miscommunications, but that vowel quality is also necessary to maintain intelligibility, contrary to what the original Lingua Franca Core (LFC) originally suggested.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca, intelligibility, vowel length, vowel quality, Spanish context.

Resumen

En este mundo globalizado, el uso del inglés como lengua franca (ELF por sus siglas en inglés) es una realidad. Debido a que la variación de la pronunciación con respecto a la norma nativa constituye uno de los principales problemas de comunicación (Jenkins 2000), se hace necesario investigar qué aspectos fonéticos característicos de hablantes no nativos suponen un obstáculo comunicativo y cuáles podrían presentar variación sin que esto cause problemas de inteligibilidad. Este texto pretende contribuir a la literatura existente relacionada con la cualidad de las vocales y la inteligibilidad en ELF. Nuestra hipótesis es que la distinción entre vocales largas y cortas no es el único rasgo que asegura la inteligibilidad de los hablantes españoles de inglés, sino que la cualidad de la vocal también juega un papel importante a la hora de evitar malentendidos. Un grupo de oyentes de diferentes países completaron un test de inteligibilidad en el que escuchaban una serie de frases y las completaban escogiendo la palabra que creían haber escuchado. Los resultados muestran que una longitud apropiada de la vocal parece ser crucial para evitar problemas de comunicación, pero que la cualidad de la vocal no debería ser ignorada por completo, como sugería el *Lingua Franca Core* (LFC) originalmente.

Palabras clave: inglés como lengua franca, inteligibilidad, longitud de las vocales, cualidad de las vocales, contexto español.

1. Introduction and background

There is no doubt that English is nowadays spoken around the world by large groups of people, more than 80% of them being non-native speakers of the language (Crystal 2003). These numbers reflect the current use of English as an international *lingua franca* in an increasingly globalised world, where the majority of the interactions in English do not involve any native speaker of the language. Thus, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is defined as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7).

Ever since Jenkins (2000) observed that pronunciation was a regular cause of misunderstandings and unintelligibility among non-native speakers of English, and proposed the Lingua Franca Core (LFC), recurrent research in the field has dealt with the relationship between phonology and intelligibility in ELF communication (e.g. Osimk 2009; Zoghbor 2011; Deterding 2012). The LFC summarises those

phonological aspects which hinder English international communication and result in unintelligibility if not articulated properly. It includes "most consonant sounds, appropriate consonant cluster simplification, vowel length distinctions and nuclear stress" (Jenkins 2000: 132).

One of the most controversial among the many elements of the LFC is the irrelevance attributed to accurate vowel quality (except for vowel /ɜ:/), while vowel length distinctions are given great importance for the maintenance of intelligibility. Jenkins (2000: 144) argues that the significant variability in the vocalic inventories of different dialects of English accounts for the decision to disregard accurate vowel quality in ELF since speakers are used to this variability and slight alterations will not contribute to unintelligibility. Nevertheless, some ELF detractors consider that this should not be a reason to ignore vowel quality in pronunciation instruction (Van den Doel 2010).

Recent investigations in several ELF contexts (Zoghbor 2011; O'Neal 2015; Deterding and Mohamad 2016) have analysed whether accurate vowel quality is indeed necessary for international intelligibility, or whether some approximation to any native variety of English is imperative. All of them conclude that shifts in vowel quality do not seem to be the main reason for misunderstandings among ELF speakers. In those instances in which vowel quality may have played a part in the communication breakdown, changes in other sounds within the word may have also contributed to the problem, thus it cannot be concluded that inexact vowel quality was the trigger of the misunderstanding. In fact, Zoghbor (2011), who analysed the effectiveness of the LFC in the intelligibility and comprehensibility of Arab students, goes further and suggests that vowel /ɜ:/ caused no intelligibility problems when her participants substituted it with diphthong /eɪ/.

The present paper aims at contributing to a better understanding of the relationship between vowel quality and intelligibility in ELF. Our hypothesis is that vowel length distinctions alone cannot ensure the intelligibility of Spanish speakers of English, but that vowel quality also plays a role in avoiding communication breakdown. We operationalise our hypothesis through the following research questions:

- It is well known that Spanish speakers tend to merge English vocalic sounds to conform to the Spanish vocalic inventory (Gómez-González and Sánchez-Roura 2016: 90). Could this be a problem for intelligibility?
- Is vowel quality an important factor for Spanish speakers of English who take part in international communication?
- Is vowel length the only characteristic regarding vowels relevant to intelligibility?

2. Method

2.1. Stimuli

The stimuli used in this study are 24 sentences taken from discrimination exercises (Bozman 1997) (Appendix 1). Each sentence invites the respondent to choose one of two words that are coupled together and are in fact minimal pairs in terms of vowel quantity, vowel quality or both (following RP). Meaning is not an issue here, it does not help, because the sentence makes sense regardless of which word is chosen. We decided to use this kind of sentences following Jenkins's (2002: 89-90) claim that ELF participants tend to rely on bottom-up processing. Consequently, these sentences provide an ideal ELF situation of this kind.

A native Spanish-speaking 27-year-old male actor (henceforth, the Speaker) was recorded reading these sentences aloud (Appendix 1), which were analysed and used as stimuli in an intelligibility test (see section 2.2). We consciously looked for a person with no knowledge of English phonetics —the actual situation of most Spaniards. He has been studying English for around 20 years but he does not speak the language on a daily basis and only uses it passively, listening to English music at home. He rarely speaks English with native speakers.

The 24 sentences were recorded using a Zoom h4n Handy Recorder and saved as individual files to be analysed in terms of both quality and length with the help of Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2016), and later used as stimuli in the intelligibility test. This analysis provided us with objective information about the pronunciation of English vowels by the Speaker. Three of the sentences were recorded as stimuli for the practice items of the intelligibility test and so they were not analysed.

To analyse vowel quality, we extracted the formant values at a point where they were steady in order to minimise the influence of surrounding sounds. These values were compared with each other in order to know whether the Speaker had pronounced the vowels differently. They were also contrasted with the formant values of English (Cruttenden 2014: 105) and Spanish (Quilis and Esgueva 1983: 244) vowels in order to know whether the Speaker tends to conform to Spanish vowel qualities or tries to produce native-like English vowels. For English, we used Cruttenden's (2014: 105) data. He reports the male-speaker formant frequencies for the 11 British English monophthongs in connected speech. For the Spanish formant values, we used the data reported in Quilis and Esgueva (1983: 244), cited in Hualde (2014: 121-123). These formant values correspond to vowels in contact with labial consonants produced by male speakers.

For the measurement of vowel duration, we looked at the beginning and ending of periodic waves in the waveform as well as the beginning and ending of steady formants in the spectrogram. The vowel length obtained was contrasted with the average native vowel durations provided in Cruttenden (2014: 101).

2.2. The intelligibility test

A two-part intelligibility test was designed by the researcher. The first section of the test gathered information about the respondent, including age, gender, occupation, native language and questions related to their use of English (see Appendix 2 for the entire list of items). These personal data allowed us to organise and analyse the responses according to different criteria which may have affected the results.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of a total of 33 items, each of them including one of the sentences recorded beforehand (see section 2.1). For each of the items, three possible answers were offered to the respondents, namely the members of the minimal pair and an 'other' option with a blank space to write down a different word from the ones offered. Respondents listened to each of the sentences and chose the word they thought the Speaker had uttered. Three practice items (not included in the analyses) were added at the beginning of the test so as to check the listeners had understood the task. After the practice items, the researcher stopped the recording to clarify any doubts the listeners may have had. Each item was played twice, with an interval of one second between both listenings and a period of 11 seconds between the different sentences.

This tool enabled us to study whether vowel length distinctions alone are responsible for a better understanding of the words or whether accurate or inaccurate vowel quality also plays an important role in communication.

The questionnaire was administered to 125 people, all of them either university students of the BA in English Studies or teachers of the same BA. Thus, they are all expected to be proficient in the language. Four responses had to be discarded because they were either incomplete (more than 3 items were left blank) or the responses to the questions were evidently chosen at random. Thus, a total of 121 responses (91 women, 30 men) were considered for this study. The respondents come from Spain (64), China (22), UK (4), Germany (4), Netherlands (2), Ecuador (2), France (2), Poland (2), Malaysia (2), Norway (2), Colombia (1), South Korea (1), Saudi Arabia (1), Romania (1), Russia (1), Portugal (1), Peru (1), Pakistan (1), Italy (1), Hungary (1), Finland (1), Belgium (1), Argentina (1), Ukraine (1) and the USA (1); their age range from 18 to 55 (mean 22.69, sd 6.639).

Most of these participants also speak one or several foreign languages, mainly English and French in the case of Spanish speakers, and English and Spanish in the case of non-native speakers of Spanish. They use English in their daily lives, mostly at university, and they tend to communicate with both native and non-native speakers of English or mostly with non-native speakers (see Figure 1). Furthermore, 82.6% claimed to have some knowledge of phonetics and phonology while 15.7%

stated otherwise and 1.7% did not respond to this question. The respondents' familiarity and contact with English foreign-accented speech may have affected the results of the test since they seem to be used to communicating in English with people of different language backgrounds.

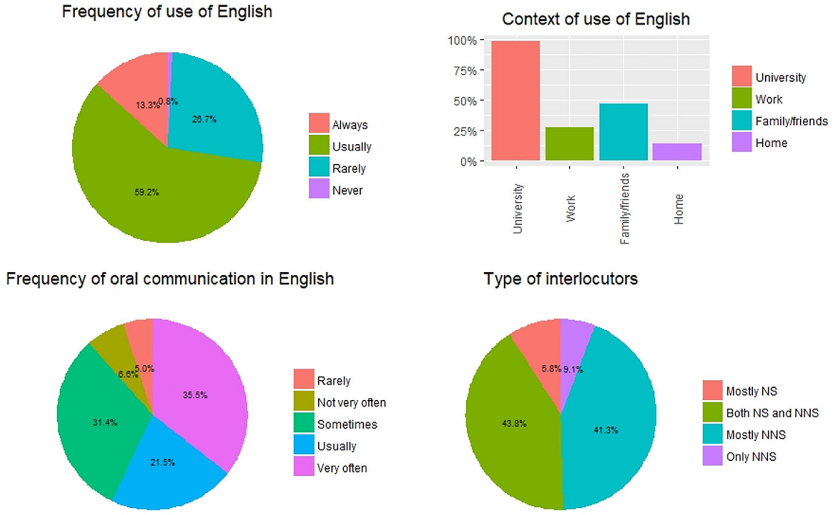

Figure 1. Distribution of the respondents according to different criteria: frequency of use of English in their daily lives (top left), context(s) in which they use English (top right), frequency of oral communication in English (bottom left) and people with whom they communicate in English (bottom right).

3. Results

As described in detail in section 2.1., we analysed vowels in terms of both length and quality with the aim of studying the actual production of English vowels by the Speaker, and their perception by other speakers of English. The results presented in this section are divided accordingly.

3.1. Vowel length

Figure 2 shows the mean vowel length as produced by the Speaker and by native speakers of English (Cruttenden 2014: 101). The chart presents different phonetic contexts in which English vowels may occur.

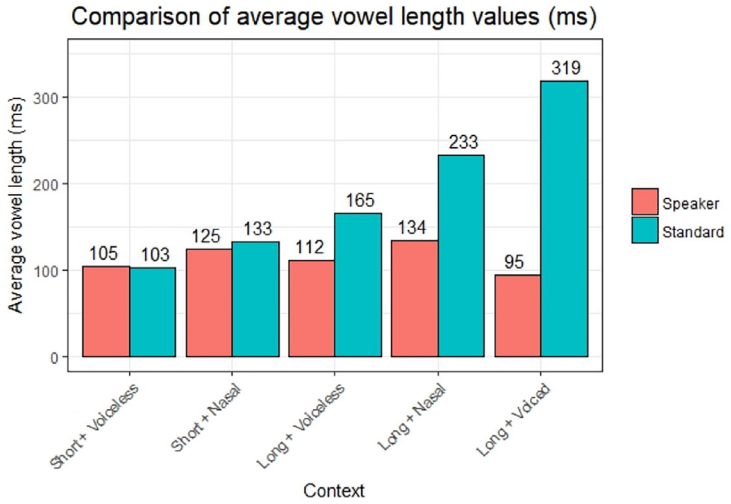

Figure 2. Comparison of vowel lengths (in ms) between a native speaker of English (Cruttenden 2014: 101) and the Speaker. 'Short' and 'long' refer to the vowel length, taking RP as the standard. 'Nasal', 'voiceless' and 'voiced' refer to the kind of consonant which follows the vowel.

The chart clearly shows that the Speaker's vowels have a similar length in all contexts, which indicates that he does not distinguish between long and short vowels. This is not surprising since Spanish vowels are only distinctive in quality and the Speaker stated he had not studied English phonetics and phonology. Moreover, all vowels produced by the Speaker are shorter than the native vocalic length, except for the context 'Short+Voiceless', in which the Speaker's vowels are slightly longer (103 ms vs 105 ms). According to the LFC (Jenkins 2000), the Speaker's 'short vowels' should not cause any intelligibility problems because the average length in the two 'short vowel' contexts is similar to that of the native speaker. Nevertheless, the difference in vowel duration between the Speaker and the standard is specially marked in the three 'long vowel' environments, suggesting that unintelligibility is likely to occur.

Because of the similar vowel length across phonetic contexts and the large deviation from the standard in long monophthongs, we used Praat to manipulate and lengthen those vowels which in RP are long. This allowed us to investigate whether listeners rely on this feature of length (consciously or otherwise) to identify words regardless of vowel quality. Table 1 shows the manipulated sentences and both the original and the manipulated duration of the vowels (in ms).

Sentence	Original vowel length (ms)	Modified vowel length (ms)
Is that a **sheep** over there?	109	182
What did you buy that **cord** for?	74	168
It is not supposed to be **hard**, actually.	101	165
Why don't you just **calm** down?	134	232
Fred used to **hawk** stolen goods, I think.	115	168
What did you buy that **card** for?	82	162
It is not supposed to be **heard**, actually.	117	279
What could we do to **burn** Johnson?	97	227
Luke, I don't know what on earth you're talking about!	112	162

Table 1. Sentences in which the vowel duration has been manipulated. Values are expressed in ms.

The data gathered from the intelligibility test (Table 2) shows that in general, participants were better at identifying the word in its modified version. A McNemar test was performed for each of the words (original vs modified), concluding that the improvement was statistically significant in 4 out of the 7 words in which the judges performed better in the modified version of the word. These results suggest that accurate vowel length helps in the identification of words. However, since this improvement is not significant in all items, it is expected that other factors have also played a role.

Word	Frequency (original)	Percentage (original)	Frequency (modified)	Percentage (modified)	Improvement[1]
Sheep	85	70.25 %	107	88.43 %	25.88 % **
Calm	102	84.30 %	107	88.43 %	4.90 %
Hard	117	96.69 %	106	87.60 %	-9.40 % *
Card	86	71.07 %	104	85.95 %	20.93 % *
Hawk	44	36.36 %	49	40.50 %	11.36 %
Cord	98	80.99 %	107	88.43 %	9.18 %
Luke	36	29.75 %	64	52.89 %	77.78 % *
Burn	106	87.60 %	114	94.21 %	7.55 % *
Heard	110	90.91 %	109	90.08 %	-0.91 %

Table 2. Correct identification of the words containing long vowels in both the original and modified versions. The data are presented in both absolute frequency and percentage. Information about the improvement between both versions of the words is also provided in the last column.

It is worth noticing that the minimal pair 'hard/heard' was slightly less accurately identified in the modified version. The results from the McNemar test suggest that only in the case of 'hard' was this difference statistically significant ($p = 0.004$). In both items, participants had to choose 'hard', 'heard' or 'other'. A thorough analysis of the participants' responses for the item 'hard' shows that in the modified version of the word some listeners opted for the 'other' option, specifying words such as 'her' or the non-existing word 'har'. We believe that these responses are a consequence of the Speaker's pronunciation of the final consonant sounds in this word. He pronounced the rhotic variant of the word and omitted the last consonant sound /d/. Thus, the lack of the final consonant cluster in the word might have affected the results, especially in the selection of 'har' as the correct option, which, according to RP rules, would also be pronounced with vowel /ɑ:/. Similar responses were found for the item 'heard', which the Speaker pronounced in the same way as 'hard' regarding the pronunciation of the final consonant sounds. Even though in this case the difference between the original and modified versions of the word is not significant ($p = 0.81$), we also noticed that some respondents had selected the 'other' option and specified words such as 'her', 'hair' or 'here'. However, the analysis of final consonant clusters is beyond the scope of this study and so we will not discuss it in detail.

3.2. Vowel quality

In this section, we present the results obtained from an analysis of vowel quality. When referring to a word containing a long vowel, only its version in isolation is taken into consideration (unless otherwise indicated) thus making possible a comparison of vowel qualities among vowels of similar lengths.

Figure 3 shows the placement of the vowels within the vowel space as produced by the Speaker. The standard Spanish (Quilis and Esgueva 1983: 244) and British English (Cruttenden 2014: 105) vowels are highlighted as a reference point for comparison (see section 2.1. for a description of the standard values). Because of the greater number of RP monophthongs (twelve) as compared to five in Spanish, Spanish speakers of English tend to merge several English vowels and assimilate them to the Spanish categories (Gómez-González and Sánchez-Roura 2016), both in production and perception. For this reason, the quality of some English vowels tends to suffer great deviation from the native-speaker norm.

For the analysis of vowel quality, the eleven English pure vowels which have been studied were grouped in five categories, corresponding to the most common merging processes by Spanish speakers, following the grouping proposed by Gómez-González and Sánchez-Roura (2016: 90).

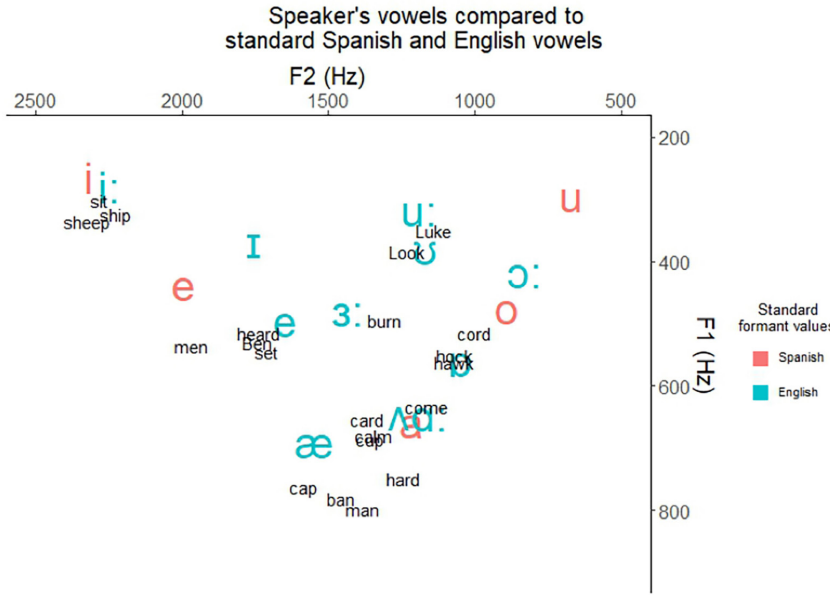

Figure 3. Placement of the vowels as pronounced by the Speaker. Spanish and English standard vowels appear for reference purposes. Formant data taken from Quilis and Esgueva (1983: 244) for Spanish and Cruttenden (2014: 105) for English.

3.2.1. *Category 1. /i:/ and /ɪ/*

Sentences 1, 2, and 11 include words containing either /i:/ (*sheep*) or /ɪ/ (*sit* and *ship*). The similar formant values in the three vowels analysed in this group (see Figure 3) seem to confirm the idea that the Speaker does not distinguish between these two English phonemes and tends to assimilate them to Spanish /i/.

Despite this similarity in the articulation of the vowels, the minimal pair 'sheep/ship' did not present major problems to the listeners. More than 70% of the participants correctly identified each of the words (see Appendix 3 for exact percentages of all words). This rate of correct identifications could be explained by the different vowel length in the words 'ship' (74 ms) and 'sheep' (109 ms). In spite of both vowels being shorter than the standard, listeners might have perceived the difference.

The results obtained in the 'sit' sentence are worth mentioning. Despite the fact that the Speaker articulated the vowel in this word close to Spanish /i/ and

English /i:/, thus very distant from the expected vowel in 'set' (Figure 3 shows the distance between /i:/ and /e/), not all respondents identified this word correctly. We think this may be the result of the Speaker producing a sound similar to /ʃ/ for the first consonant sound (/s/), which explains why 14.41% of the judges understood a word which contains the same vocalic sound as 'sit' but starting with a different consonant sound. Had the Speaker correctly pronounced the initial consonant sound, the percentage of correct identifications might have risen to 96.61%. These results suggest that the accurate production of consonant sounds is important in order to be intelligible, in agreement with the LFC (Jenkins 2000). However, this is beyond the scope of the present research, so we will not discuss it in any more detail.

3.2.2. *Category 2. /e/ and /ɜ:/*

Sentences 9, 12 and 13 include words containing vowel /e/ (*Ben*, *set* and *men*). Figure 3 presents the Speaker's vowel closer to English /e/ than to the Spanish vowel, thus there should not be any problems in understanding words containing this sound, as confirmed in the percentage of correct identifications of these words (95.04% for 'Ben', 79.34% for 'men' and 98.5% for 'set').

Nevertheless, even though the percentage of correct identifications is very high, the low score of the word 'men' as compared to the other two words in the group was striking. A chi-square test suggests that Spanish native speakers (SpNS) performed better in this item (90.14%) than non-native speakers of Spanish (SpNNS) (64%) ($p < 0.001$).

Sentences 19 and 20 include words containing vowel /ɜ:/ (*burn* and *heard*). Figure 3 shows that, while the vowel in 'burn' is pronounced in a near-native-like way, the vowel in 'heard' is closer to English /e/. Curiously enough, both words were identified by a similar percentage of the listeners (91.7% for 'heard' and 89.3% for 'burn'). It is also worth noticing that among the listeners who could not identify 'heard', five of them said they had understood 'her' or 'hair'. We believe this is the result of both a deviation in the vowel quality and the Speaker's pronunciation of the final consonant sounds: he pronounced the rhotic variant of the word but omitted the final /d/. On the other hand, three respondents thought the Speaker had uttered 'Bern' (/bɜ:ʳn/) instead of 'burn' (/bɜ:ʳn/).

3.2.3. *Category 3. /æ/, /ʌ/ and /ɑ:/*

Sentences 3, 4, 5, 8, 14, 15, 16 and 18 include words containing either /æ/ (*man*, *cap* and *ban*), /ʌ/ (*cup* and *come*) or /ɑ:/ (*hard*, *calm* and *card*). Figure 3 reveals that the Speaker pronounced many of these words similarly even though they are distinct phonemes in RP. This is particularly noticeable in the position of 'calm'

(containing RP /ɑ:/) and 'cup' (containing RP /ʌ/), which overlap, confirming that the Speaker does not distinguish between these English vowels and tends to assimilate them to Spanish sound /a/ because they are more open than the native English vowels. Also, the Speaker confuses the articulation of /ʌ/ with that of /ɑ:/ (more clearly seen in Figure 4). While the vowel in 'hard', 'calm' and 'card' should be articulated at the back of the oral cavity, it is more fronted than the one in 'come', which is pronounced very close to RP /ɑ:/.

Contrary to our expectations, there is a clear distance between the vowel in 'man', 'cap' and 'ban' and the rest of the vowels in this category. The Speaker articulates this vowel closer to English /æ/ than to Spanish /a/. This may be because /æ/ is farther away from the other two English sounds in the vowel space and the Speaker finds it easier to distinguish them in terms of articulation.

Several results are worth mentioning in this group. First, we realized that 'cap' had been identified by less than 70% of the listeners. A chi-square test was performed

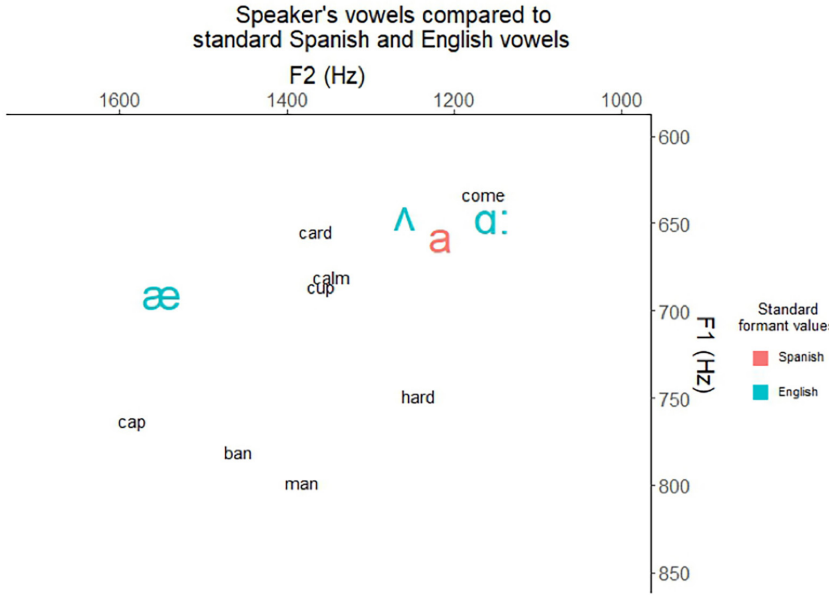

Figure 4. Enlarged image of the placement of vowels /æ/, /ʌ/ and /ɑ:/ as pronounced by the Speaker. Spanish and English standard vowels appear for reference purposes. Formant data taken from Quilis and Esgueva (1983: 244) for Spanish and Cruttenden (2014) for English.

to analyse whether any particular characteristic of the respondents had influenced the results. On average, SpNNS performed better (82%) than SpNS (57.75%) ($p = 0.005$). Figure 4 shows that the quality of the Speaker's vowels is different, thus there should not be any problems in differentiating the words. Nevertheless, because Spanish speakers tend to merge these sounds both in articulation and perception (Gómez-González and Sánchez-Roura 2016: 90), this might have been the reason for the rather poor rate of identifications by SpNS.

Second, the pair 'come/calm' is worth analyzing because the Speaker articulated the vowels in these words in an unexpected manner. As explained above, 'come' presents formant values closer to RP /ɑ:/, while the vowel in 'calm' is more front and open, that is, close to English /ʌ/ or Spanish /a/. While this change does not seem to have been a problem in the identification of 'calm' (84.3% of correct identifications) it may have been so in the identification of 'come' (72.73%), especially since 26.45% of the listeners thought the Speaker had said 'calm'.

A chi-square test suggests that SpNS performed better in 'come' (80.28%) than SpNNS (62%) ($p = 0.003$). Two non-mutually exclusive reasons may explain these results. First, SpNNS might have been influenced by the deviant pronunciation of the vowel thus choosing the incorrect word. Second, SpNS might have relied on the absence of /l/ rather than on vowel quality to identify 'come'. Even though in RP English the <l> is silent in 'calm', many Spanish speakers, including the Speaker in this study, tend to pronounce it, which may have influenced the results.

Finally in this group, the word 'card' (/kɑ:ʳd/) presents some interesting results. In spite of the large distance between the vowel quality of the two words contrasted in this item ('card' and 'cord') (Figure 3), 28.93% of the listeners were unable to identify the word which had been uttered. A thorough analysis of the participants' responses showed that 25.62% selected the 'other' option and specified they had understood 'car' (/kɑ:ʳ/). Similar to other words analysed in this study which finish in <rd>, the Speaker pronounced the /r/ but not the final consonant (/d/). This may mean that the problem in the correct identification of this word does not lie in the articulation of the vowel (both 'card' and 'car' contain the same RP vowel) but in the simplification of the final consonant cluster, as happened with the words 'hard' and 'heard' (see section 3.1. in this paper).

3.2.4. *Category 4. /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/*

Sentences 6, 7 and 17 present words containing either /ɒ/ (*hock*) or /ɔ:/ (*cord* and *hawk*). Figure 3 shows that the Speaker's vowel quality for both words is very similar, thus we may say that he does not distinguish between the two English sounds but merges them. In fact, the Speaker pronounces the minimal pair 'hock/

hawk' only slightly differently, which caused problems in the identification of the words in the intelligibility test (Figure 5).

Most listeners selected 'hock' as the word uttered by the Speaker in the three sentences within this group, even though only in one of them had the Speaker actually pronounced this word. In the sentence 'hawk (modified)' more respondents selected the correct option (40.5%), thus vowel length seems to have contributed to the better rate of identifications (see section 3.1.). Yet the majority of the respondents (50.41%) opted for 'hock', probably influenced by the quality of the vowel, very similar to English /ɒ/.

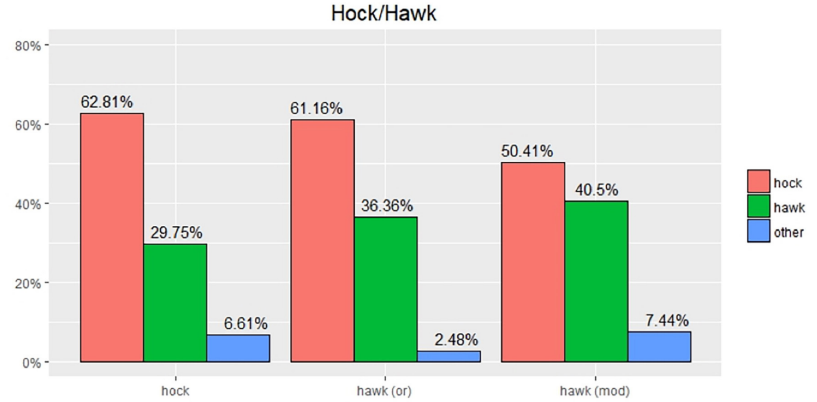

Figure 5. Distribution of the words understood by the listeners in the sentences containing the words 'hock' and 'hawk'.

3.2.5. *Category 5. /ʊ/ and /u:/*

Sentences 10 and 21 include words containing /ʊ/ (*look*) and /u:/ (*Luke*) respectively. Figure 3 reveals that the words are pronounced quite similarly. A closer look at the actual production of these vowels shows that 'look' is pronounced very close to the corresponding English vowel while 'Luke' is pronounced between /ʊ/ and /u:/. The results from the intelligibility test show some degree of confusion on the part of the listeners (Figure 6). In the sentence 'Luke (original)', only 29.75% of the respondents correctly identified the word, whereas the modified version largely improved the rate of correct responses (52.89% of right identifications). However, the number of participants who selected one of these two options is very similar, thus the confusion is maintained, probably because of the similar vowel quality produced by the Speaker.

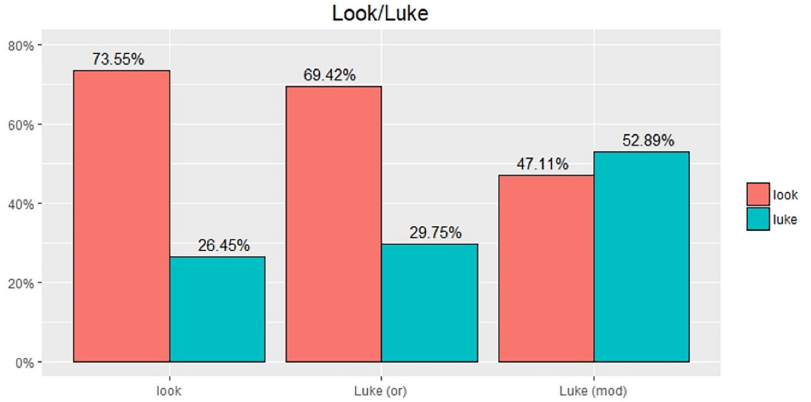

Figure 6. Distribution of the words understood by the listeners in the sentences containing the words 'look' and 'Luke'.

4. Discussion

With regard to vowel length, the results show that accurate vowel length increases the Speaker's intelligibility (Table 2), suggesting that this feature is actually a key element in ELF communication, which thus confirms the LFC in this respect. Nonetheless, this improvement was not significant in all cases and for few of the words, the lengthening of the vowel resulted in a lower degree of intelligibility. This, together with the low rate of correct responses for a few items (e.g. 'hawk' and 'Luke'), indicates that vowel length alone may not be enough to ensure intelligibility.

In the case of 'hock/hawk', we might attribute the confusion in the identification of the words to the fact that some American accents do not distinguish between RP /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ and their users produce /a:/ instead (Celce-Murcia et al. 2010: 451). Some listeners may be more used to listening to American accents and therefore have difficulties in distinguishing between the two RP sounds analysed in this paper. Another possible reason for the poor percentage of right responses is the low word frequency of these words (55 for 'hock' and 12 for 'hawk' as a verb, according to the British National Corpus).

Nevertheless, while the confusion in the group 'hock/hawk' may be justified by either the influence of American accents or the infrequent occurrence of the words, the misidentification of 'look/Luke' suggests that vowel quality may play an

important role in the intelligibility of speakers, at least in the distinction between /ʊ/ and /u:/.

The results concerning vowel quality present some contradictory results depending on the sounds which are analysed and contrasted. On the one hand, even though /i:/ and /ɪ/ are pronounced in a very similar way, more than 70% of the listeners were able to correctly identify the words. This suggests that Jenkins is right in claiming that vowel quality is not necessary to intelligibility but vowel length is. Likewise, the words containing /ʌ/ and /ɑ:/ were correctly identified by more than 70% of the participants. However, these results should be taken with caution because in those words presenting /ɑ:/, the Speaker introduced one consonant sound ([r] in 'hard' and 'card', and [l] in 'calm') after the vowel, influenced by rhotic accents and/or spelling. The production of these consonant sounds, which according to RP rules should be silent in these words, may have helped the judges to discern the correct word and therefore increase the rate of correct identifications.

Remarkable are the results obtained regarding /æ/. The percentage of identifications changes depending on the word with which it was contrasted. Even though the position on the front-back axis of the vowel in 'cap' was distant from the vowel in the other two words (Figure 4), it received the lowest rate of identification in category 3 (66.7%). We believe that the reason lies in the fact that 'cap' was contrasted with 'cup', which falls within the Spanish /a/ category, while 'ban' was contrasted to 'Ben' and 'burn', and 'man' to 'men', which belong to different Spanish perceptual categories and therefore are easier to pinpoint. This implies that the quality of vowels /æ/ and /ʌ/ should be regarded as important.

The results for /ɜ:/ are worth mentioning since the LFC establishes that vowel /ɜ:/ should be articulated accurately in terms of vowel quality. The results obtained in the present study show that 'heard' (pronounced with a vowel similar to English /e/) was better identified than 'burn' (in which the vowel was native-like) in the original version of the words. However, the modified versions reveal that 'burn' received a higher percentage of correct identification than 'heard'. This means that the combination of both vowel quality and length should be accounted for in the production of this vowel, thereby confirming the LFC.

Finally, we accidentally found out that the simplification of final consonant clusters in three of the words ('hard', 'heard' and 'card') may have influenced the results of the intelligibility test. In 'hard' (mod) (/hɑːʳd/), two of the listeners who did not identify the word claimed to have heard the non-existent word 'har' which, according to the rules of RP pronunciation, would also be pronounced with vowel

/ɑː/. Similarly, some respondents said that the word uttered by the Speaker in both versions of 'heard' was 'her', which, in its strong form, only differs from 'heard' in the production of the final cluster.

Parallel results were found in relation to 'card' (/kɑːʳd/), which was identified by 71.07% of the listeners in its original form and by 85.95% in the modified version. In both cases, a large group of participants said they had understood 'car' (/kɑːʳ/) (25.62% in the original version and 12.4% in the modified one), suggesting that they were misled by the simplification of the final cluster. Therefore, we may consider that these respondents identified the vowels uttered but were confused by the simplification of the final consonant clusters. Consequently, we might conclude that the simplification of final clusters hinders intelligibility (contradicting the LFC). Nevertheless, the intelligibility of consonant clusters is beyond the scope of this study, thus we will not discuss this any further.

Worth mentioning is the fact that we found a significant difference in the overall performance of the respondents regarding their native language. An independent T-test suggests that, overall, SpNS performed better in identifying the words (M = 23.80, sd = 2.49) than SpNNS (M = 22.40, sd = 3.47) (p = 0.02). We attribute this difference to the shared native language between the Speaker and the SpNS listeners. This may simply mean that SpNS are more familiarised with the Speaker's accent and the possible merging processes. On the other hand, SpNNS may not be so used to this foreign accent, thus they are not sure how to interpret words pronounced with a clear influence of Spanish phonology.

5. Conclusions

The data examined in this study have considered both vowel quantity and quality, which have been analysed using quantitative as well as qualitative methodology. Regarding vowel length, the quantitative analysis has revealed that the Spanish Speaker does not distinguish between English long and short vowels, all of them being short when compared to standard English vowel length. This fact has proved to be an obstacle for intelligibility. The results from the intelligibility test suggest that vowel length affects intelligibility. Longer vowels generally enhanced the rates of correctly identified words, regardless of vowel quality. This confirms Jenkins's idea that vowel length is crucial to intelligibility.

The quantitative data have also shown that the Speaker has difficulties discerning the different RP English vowel qualities, resulting in merging processes to conform

to other categories, generally closer to Spanish vowels, as discussed in existing literature (Gómez-González and Sánchez-Roura 2016).

However, the results from the intelligibility test suggest that vowel length is not the only element which helps identify a word because none of the modified versions of the words included in this study achieved 95 % correct identification, which means that other factors are also to be taken into consideration.

The study of the correct identification of words based on vowel quality suggests that Jenkins was not completely right about disregarding vowel quality altogether. Even though the sounds /i:/ and /ɪ/ did not present major problems, the group 'look/Luke' caused many misidentifications due to the similar quality of the vowels. Similarly, the group 'hock/hawk' was also a source of intelligibility problems. However, this may be due to the influence of American English accents which do not distinguish /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ or to the low frequency of use of these words. Furthermore, words including vowel /æ/ received a high rate of correct identification probably because its place of articulation was closer to the native phoneme and further from that of other vowels.

In addition, we discovered contradictory results with respect to the accurate production of vowel /ɜ:/, since 'heard (original)' (whose vowel was not accurately pronounced) was better identified than the word 'burn (original)' (whose vowel was near-native-like). However, the opposite results were found in the modified versions of the words, which suggests that a combination of both vowel length and accurate quality is necessary for this sound to be intelligible, in accordance with the LFC.

We are aware of the limitations of this study since only a few examples of each English vowel were considered, thus only tentative conclusions could be drawn. Further research is needed which analyses each phoneme in detail in order to draw more definite conclusions on the role played by vowel length and quality in international intelligibility on the part of Spanish speakers. Moreover, we consider that more research is needed on the actual relevance of final consonant clusters given the results obtained in this study.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

[1] The column "Improvement" of the correct number of identifications between the original and modified versions of the words has been calculated with the percentage of change formula ((Frequency (modified) / Frequency(original))-1).

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.001$

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Appendix 1 - Stimuli

Practice items (not included in the analyses)

1. Where did you find this **jam**?
2. I know a **person** who lives in that village.
3. No, I **want** drink.

Items included in the analyses

1. Is that a **sheep** over there?
2. Why do you always have to **sit** on my brother?
3. Have you seen the **man** anywhere?
4. Which is your **cup**, John?
5. Why don't you just **come** down?
6. Fred used to **hock** stolen goods, I think.
7. What did you buy that **cord** for?
8. It is not supposed to be **hard**, actually.
9. What could we do to **Ben** Johnson?
10. **Look**, I don't know what on earth you're talking about!
11. Is that a **ship** over there?
12. Why do you always have to **set** on my brother?
13. Have you seen the **men** anywhere?
14. Which is your **cap**, John?
15. What could we do to **ban** Johnson?
16. Why don't you just **calm** down?
17. Fred used to **hawk** stolen goods, I think.
18. What did you buy that **card** for?
19. It is not supposed to be **heard**, actually.
20. What could we do to **burn** Johnson?
21. **Luke**, I don't know what on earth you're talking about!

Appendix 2 - Intelligibility test

Part 1 - Background information

1. Age: _____
2. Gender: ☐Masculine ☐Feminine
3. Occupation: _____
4. Do you have any knowledge of phonetics or phonology? ☐Yes ☐No
5. Place of birth (Country): _____
6. Native language: _____
7. Do you speak any other languages apart from your native language? _____ Please, specify which language(s)
8. How often do you use English in your daily life?
   - ☐ I use English all the time
   - ☐ I usually use English but I also speak other languages on a daily basis
   - ☐ I rarely use English
   - ☐ I never use English

9. In which contexts do you use English? (choose all that apply)
   ☐ At work
   ☐ At school/university
   ☐ At home
   ☐ With family/friends
   ☐ Other (please, specify) _____

10. How often do you speak English?
   ☐ Very often
   ☐ Usually
   ☐ Sometimes
   ☐ Not very often
   ☐ Rarely
   ☐ Never

11. You speak English with…
   ☐ Native speakers of English only
   ☐ Mostly native speakers of English
   ☐ Mostly non-native speakers of English
   ☐ Non-native speakers of English only
   ☐ Both native and non-native speakers of English alike

Part 2 - Intelligibility test (sample items)

1. What did you buy that _____ for?
   ☐ Cord ☐ Card ☐ Other: _____

2. _____, I don't know what on earth you're talking about!
   ☐ Look ☐ Luke ☐ Other: _____

3. Is that a _____ over there?
   ☐ Sheep ☐ Ship ☐ Other: _____

4. Have you seen the _____ anywhere?
   ☐ Man ☐ Men ☐ Other: _____

5. Fred used to _____ stolen goods, I think.
   ☐ Hock ☐ Hawk ☐ Other: _____

6. It is not supposed to be _____, actually.
   ☐ Hard ☐ Heard ☐ Other: _____

7. Why don't you just _____ down?
   ☐ Come ☐ Calm ☐ Other: _____

8. Which is your _____, John?
   ☐ Cup ☐ Cap ☐ Other: _____

9. Why do you always have to _____ on my brother?
   ☐ Sit ☐ Set ☐ Other: _____

10. What could we do to _____ Johnson?
   ☐ Ben ☐ Ban ☐ Burn ☐ Other: _____

Appendix 3 - Rates of correct identifications of each of the words

Word	Sound	Frequency (correct)	Percentage (correct)
Sheep (original)	/iː/	85	70.25%
Sheep (modified)	/iː/	107	88.43%
Ship	/ɪ/	87	71.90%
Sit	/ɪ/	97	80.17%
Set	/e/	119	98.35%
Ben	/e/	115	95.04%
Men	/e/	96	79.34%
Man	/æ/	119	98.35%
Ban	/æ/	101	83.47%
Cap	/æ/	82	67.77%
Cup	/ʌ/	90	74.38%
Come	/ʌ/	88	72.73%
Calm (original)	/ɑː/	102	84.30%
Calm (modified)	/ɑː/	107	88.43%
Hard (original)	/ɑː/	117	96.69%
Hard (modified)	/ɑː/	106	87.60%
Card (original)	/ɑː/	86	71.07%
Card (modified)	/ɑː/	104	85.95%
Hock	/ɒ/	76	62.81%
Hawk (original)	/ɔː/	44	36.36%
Hawk (modified)	/ɔː/	49	40.50%
Cord (original)	/ɔː/	98	80.99%
Cord (modified)	/ɔː/	107	88.43%
Look	/ʊ/	89	73.55%
Luke (original)	/uː/	36	29.75%
Luke (modified)	/uː/	64	52.89%
Burn (original)	/ɜː/	106	87.60%
Burn (modified)	/ɜː/	114	94.21%
Heard (original)	/ɜː/	110	90.91%
Heard (modified)	/ɜː/	109	90.08%

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DISCURSIVE BOUNDARIES: CODE-SWITCHING AS REPRESENTATIVE OF GIBRALTARIAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN M.G. SANCHEZ' *ROCK BLACK*

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Abstract

The British overseas territory of Gibraltar situated on the southern tip of the Iberian Peninsula has a population of 30 000 people with a variety of ethnic origins, languages, history, and political affiliations. The recent upsurge in Gibraltarian literature has served not only to draw attention to the dynamic and multifaceted nature of their identity but also to help in the task of identity construction on the part of the Gibraltarians themselves; there is an observable push and pull of affiliation not only in Gibraltar's cultural artifacts, but also in its language. This article identifies the ways in which code-switching in M.G. Sanchez' *Rock Black* represents the Spanish-British conflict, and views language choice as a tool in the construction of group-identity among contemporary Gibraltarians.

Keywords: Gibraltar, M.G. Sanchez, code-switching, Llanito, identity.

Resumen

El territorio británico de Gibraltar, con una población civil de 30 000 habitantes y situado en el sur de la península Ibérica, se compone de una comunidad de personas con diversos orígenes étnicos, idiomas, historias y afiliaciones políticas. El reciente incremento de la literatura Gibraltareña ha constituido una herramienta

importante, no solo porque la literatura refleja una identidad dinámica y poliédrica, sino también porque sirve como un instrumento sociológico vital para la construcción de la identidad de los propios gibraltareños; se observa un elemento de incentivación y disuasión de afiliación no solo en los artefactos culturales de Gibraltar, sino también en el propio lenguaje. El presente artículo identifica las formas en que la alternancia de código en *Rock Black* de M.G. Sanchez representa un conflicto de identidad, y considera que la variación lingüística es una herramienta en la construcción de la identidad colectiva de los gibraltareños contemporáneos.

Palabras clave: Gibraltar, M.G. Sanchez, alternancia de código, Llanito, identidad.

1. Introduction

> We seldom realize, for example that our most private thoughts and emotions are not actually our own. For we think in terms of language and images which we did not invent, but which were given to us by our society.
>
> Alan W. Watts
> *The Book on the Taboo Against Knowing Who You Are* (1989: 53-54)

Gibraltarian identity has been as much an internal struggle as a Spanish-English one. The language mixture spoken on this outpost is not only representative of the political conflict, but it also participates in the construction of a particular identity and world vision. Language, from this perspective, becomes part and parcel of identity forging. As Watts (1989) suggests, the way we think is directly connected to the society to which we belong; it is a complicated system of language and images that yields our thoughts. The understanding of this can open floodgates of insight about the language of a people, and how they use language to talk about their lives. The notion of reciprocity between a language and its users is ever-present in the 30,000-inhabitant community of Gibraltar, a British territory located on the southern end of the Iberian Peninsula, sharing its northern border with Spain. Gibraltar's contact and subsequent history with Spain, along with its relatively small size, has developed a polycultural as well as a polylingual community reflecting the diverse ethnic origin of its inhabitants (including Spanish, British, Genoese, Maltese, Moroccan, and Portuguese, among others). As with any such group, Gibraltar finds itself dealing with a system of linguistic structures influenced by contact-zones, which results in a dynamic structure of social meaning construction and group-identity-building. The list of languages used in Gibraltar includes English, Spanish (predominant languages), Genoese, Ladino, Maltese and Moroccan-Arabic (Domínguez, Saussy and Villanueva 2014: 105), and also Gibraltar's particular dialect of Yanito —in linguistic topology— or Llanito —as the users call it (see Levey 2008: 1)—, which is a unique use of code-switching that yields its own classification.

Llanito describes both the language and the language users themselves; it is the product of a type of in-between community —neither British nor Spanish, but something entirely different. What the Gibraltarian identity represents, essentially, is a congruence that is influenced by contact-zones and colonialism, but that in the end rejects nationalistic pigeonholing and outsider classifications of selfhood.

Llanito is present not only in everyday conversation, but also has a presence in Gibraltarian literature. Very little creative literary writing has been published in Gibraltar, in any language, and as Stotesbury remarks, "[g]iven the small population size […] it was considered unlikely that a 'national' literary culture could form" (2015: 123). Despite this, he says, the Gibraltarian writers that have emerged in the latter part of the 20th Century have published a notable amount of literary fiction, and consequently have established a recognized Gibraltarian literary identity (2015: 123). Among this fiction are the writings of M.G. Sanchez, including novels (*The Escape Artist* 2013; *Solitude House* 2015), short stories (*Diary of a Victorian Colonial and Other Tales* 2008*; Rock Black* 2008), and even non-fiction (*Past: a Memoir* 2016), primarily written in English, but peppered with a Llanito-style code-switching that is characteristic of his work. Through his language, Sanchez places his characters in a typified Gibraltarian world, and exemplifies the struggle of coming to terms with an identity that goes with a 'no-man's land' reality. From a sociolinguistic perspective, this equates to the dynamic and ever-changing negotiation of meaning-making and group-membership that occurs at the point of emblematic association. Blommaert and Varis state that "[w]e speak of identity practices as discursive orientations towards a set of emblematic resources. The reason is that, empirically, when talking about identity or acting within an identify category, people 'point towards' a wide variety of objects that characterize their identities" (2011: 4). And, as Weston states, "local identity and language are dependent as much on the territory's relationship with Spain as with the United Kingdom" (2011: 338), so I claim that the negotiation of meaning and 'markedness' of emblematic social leanings, as well as evidence of relationship 'dependency' in M.G. Sanchez' writing is precisely what allows for a repossession of self-identity. The aim of this paper is to identify the ways in which code-switching in Sanchez' writings is not only representative of a conflict of identity, but is also a tool in identity construction among contemporary Gibraltarians. I claim that this identity is a re-taking of power by the —at times— powerless community in its middle-space of two nations, paying particular attention to the short stories in *Rock Black* and reiterating the assertion that the code-switching itself is the key to understanding that the Gibraltarians hold a strong identity that is neither Spanish, nor British, but entirely something else. The identity-building that will be described in this article can be understood through a historical, literary, and linguistic analysis of the author's novel, his language use, and his community as a whole.

2. Historical overview

> Maybe your country is only a place you make up in your own mind. Something you dream about and sing about. Maybe it's not a place on the map at all, but a story full of people you meet and places you visit, full of books and films you've been to.
>
> Hugo Hamilton
> *The Speckled People: A Memoir of a Half-Irish Childhood* (2003/2004: 87)

In the abovementioned extract, Hugo Hamilton analogizes the experience of immigrants who find themselves outsiders in their own home. In the case of colonial communities, the conflict that comes with subjugated identities is that identity formation does not belong to a place or boundaries, but rather to *experience*, and forms part of the constant self-definition of the territory's members. Sociolinguists agree that identity is polymorphic and is negotiated through social interaction. In fact, much like the advances in identity-construction in discourse analysis by scholars such as Teun van Dijk (1996, 2006, 2014), or Norman Fairclough (1989, 2010) (who posit that identities necessarily make use of cognitive components which require the negotiation of social structures), sociolinguists also assert that negotiation of group-identity attaches to signs, settings, background knowledge, or social schemata, and cannot be singular by nature (Blom and Gumperz 2000: 120). Culture and identity, therefore, are in constant flux of terms and negotiation. The late/postmodern conceptions of culture and identity attempt to re-conceptualize the notions of power, conflict and identity-building in terms more congruent with the postcolonial perspectives that culture is not homogeneous. This view tends to focus on what culture (and identity) does, rather than what it is, and states that these cultural affiliations are used to define and categorize. That is, culture creates an 'us' and 'them' taxonomy of people (Gray 2006: 48). However, the categorization is not always one-to-one, nor black and white. It is dynamic, plural, and changing. Furthermore, this categorization is essential to the construction of identity, and active meaning-making through representation, articulation, and consumption creates an ideological dimension of meaning (2006: 48). This view of cultural identity understands the group in conflict as seeking to increase a sense of collective-self by using symbolic forms, such as language, to differentiate one from another and thus define and impose a sense of sameness and otherness. This tactic of categorization imposes boundaries of class, ethnicity and territory, and essentially forms a social identity by means of delineation (2006: 44). Again, identity is something that someone does, rather than has, is *interactive* and is an active process directly connected to a group's identity or culture.

In the case of Gibraltar, a convenient contemporary outlet for a centuries-old conflict between Great Britain and Spain, the people of 'the Rock' are victims of

an ebb and flow from the competing nations, and also play a part in their own conflict of affiliation. Gibraltarians are assigned identity primarily by their Spanish or British affiliation but also make choices in their own cultural and national affiliations: the choice to remain sentimentally attached either to Britain, to Spain, to neither, or to both, is an aspect that forms their own individual and group-identity. Gibraltar is a community made up of people who have found themselves in an in-between, whether in relative political rest, or not. It is a place that is filled with both Spanish and British cultural artifacts, and for the non-Gibraltarian, it may be hard to perceive what comes from which culture, and what is 'simply Gibraltarian'. In their description of the ever-changing realities of nation-building processes, especially in terms of the role that language plays in that process, Blommaert and Verschueren (1992) describe the problematic dogma that, although controversial, seeps into today's national ideologies.

> [T]he ideal model of society is mono-lingual, mono-ethnic, mono-religious, mono-ideological. Nationalism, interpreted as the struggle to keep groups 'pure' and homogeneous as possible, is considered to be a positive attitude within the dogma of homogeneism. Pluri-ethnic or pluri-lingual societies are seen as problem-prone, because they require forms of state organization that run counter to the 'natural' characteristics of groupings of people. (1992: 362)

Their point is that 'monoism' in the conceptual "systematicity with which the norm of homogeneity turns language itself into an interethnic battlefield" and in turn encroaches in national policy and dominates politics (1992: 362). And in corroboration, as is seen in the case of communities of the 'in-between', or what has been described as "hyphenated identities", the identity of cultures in contact highlights the inadequacy of common assumptions that culture and identity are "self-contained" (Caglar 1997: 169). Instead, Gibraltarians, like other similar communities, reject 'monoism' in the face of diversity, and a multifaceted selfhood surges forth.

Since 1704, Spanish and British relations have been tumultuous. That date marks the initial British conquest of the territory, which later, in 1713, was ceded to Great Britain in the treaty of Utrecht (Fawcett 1967: 238). Since then, there has been a constant struggle on both sides to claim, reclaim, and renegotiate the political rights to the territory. Spain, as a tactic, has limited free movement between Spain and Gibraltar and continues to do so until this day (Lipski 1986: 415). One of the worst periods of conflict was during the Franco regime following the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) when there was an influx of Spanish citizens fleeing to British territory as refugees (many of them remained). This had two important effects: one is that the linguistic landscape of the territory changed drastically with the inflow of Spanish speakers (and subsequent culture) to the

territory; and secondly, it fueled a distrust between the Spanish and the British (Weston 2013: 4). Later, the civilian evacuation during WWII to make way for British soldiers further influenced the linguistic realities of the Rock, perhaps even more so (Sawchuck 1992: 88). Renegotiations continued, and Spain never gave up her claim on the territory. David Lambert in "Solid as a Rock?" (2005) explains that the issues of Gibraltar's 'decolonization', brought to the United Nations in the 1960s, led the Franco Government to press its claims on the territory by means of a total closure of the border from 1969 to 1985, in attempts to isolate the community. Yet, he claims, "this only hardened local opposition to negotiations with Spain on the colony's future", and, referencing Gold (1994), emphasizes that "the border closure remains embedded in public memory and continues to feed Gibraltarian suspicion towards Spain" (Lambert 2005: 204). Furthermore, Gibraltarians express the paradoxical situation of calling a place home that they know is not theirs, or rather, that may be taken away from them at any moment.

> We boast of being free people but we live on land which does not belong to us. We elect our own representatives but the Governor is allowed to keep his reserve powers. We talk of Our Rock, Our Town, Our Gibraltar, but at any time Britain can decide, without consulting us, to enter into negotiations about these things. (Social Action Committee of Gibraltar 1968, in Lambert 2005: 213)

That is, the whole foundation of their home-land ties is a) in constant flux, and b) beyond their control. Gibraltarians align to a place that is both theirs, and not theirs at the same time.

Present-day Gibraltar still holds on to the historical conflict, and questions of identity, independently of territorial claims, continually arise. Anti-British as well as anti-Spanish sentiments manifest themselves in a double-edged, and correlative, black legend —a historical racism that has lasted down to contemporary Gibraltar. The mutual fear between the Spanish and the British has kept its place on the Rock. The meeting place for these fears is to be found at the border, a place where the Spanish can exercise control. It is a physical place that allows the longstanding conflict to continue, and it is still just as real as it was in its inception. What stems from this conflict is a 'national' identity that is charged by experience rather than by sovereignty or border issues, a notion explored in M.G. Sanchez' writing, and particularly addressed in *Rock Black* through characters who exude the every-day Gibraltarian experience. In "Dago Droppings", a title which introduces the racist term, he attempts to highlight the absurdity of the bias by deconstructing its origins. A *dago*, as understood in synonymous racist terms is "[a] wop, a greaser, a filthy, backstabbing, lazy little Spaniard" (2008: 2). Furthermore, through his narrative, Sanchez points out the irony in its origins, and uses this as a metaphor to devalue its modern use.

> 'You may be shocked to hear this,' I said, swallowing even harder, 'but the word "dago" traces its origins to the reign of Mary I —when a Spaniard by the name of Diego (or "Dago," as his name came to be mispronounced) allegedly defecated on the high altar at Saint Paul's Cathedral. The incident is mentioned in a play by Thomas Dekker and also in one written collaboratively by Dekker and John Webster. Although, if you ask me, I believe that the story in question is... well... sort of a bit... well... apocryphal... if you know what I mean... you know what I mean, don't you?' (2008: 2)

The term itself stems from a legend, a story that most likely never happened, and is in itself a mispronunciation, a misunderstanding. The absurdity of the term, both in its mythology and in its representation of phonetic unfamiliarity to its users, highlights the anti-racist argument that weaves its way through Sanchez' collection. The racism goes both ways and is formulated in terms of physical appearance towards the Spanish as well as the British. An attempt to tell an Englishman and a Gibraltarian apart would probably concentrate on the fact that an Englishman had much less tolerance of the Spanish sun. For example, "[m]ost definitely English. You could tell from the whisky-bags under his eyes and the crumpled orange tan that stretched like an ill-fitting pair of nylon tights around his head" (2008: 4), or in the skin of "lobster-pink Englishmen" (2008: 31). In terms of language, a Gibraltarian's degree of *Britishness* is measured in their speech: "Can't you wogs speak any English? Don't you realize you're in a British colony now or what?" (2008: 65). Along with a perceived linguistic inability, Gibraltarians' loyalty is often questioned: "Aren't you British Gibraltarian like the rest of them? Or do you by chance regard yourself as a piece of filthy dago scum?" (2008: 4).

The degree of *Gibraltarianness* is also called into question on the other side of the border. In "Harry Pozo and the Brazilian Prostitute", a group of Gibraltarians cross over to Spanish territory and find themselves confronting a 'welcome' sign at the city limits of San Roque: "*Bienvenidos a San Roque*, *donde reside la de Gibraltar*", translated in the text as '"*Welcome to San Roque… where the real Gibraltar resides*" (2008: 29). In "The Line and Limit of Britishness: The Construction of Gibraltarian Identity in M.G. Sanchez' Writing" (2017), Manzanas Calvo remarks on this passage and asserts that:

> The sign points to another dichotomy, not between British and Gibraltarian […] but between real and fake Gibraltarians. Ever since Franco's dictatorship, the writer claims that the Spaniards have argued there is no such thing as a Gibraltarian because the real ones left the Rock in 1704, with the British takeover. This division between former and alleged legitimate inhabitants and contemporary and illegitimate ones promotes the vision that Gibraltarians are merely a removable population, just like they were for the British when they were evacuated during the Second World War. (2017: 36)

More than 300 years after the takeover, this sign serves as a marker of lost territory, and represents the stabs of animosity that are still present. The sign welcomes almost everyone but the Gibraltarians, or at least serves to remind them of their place: "*We are the real Gibraltarians*, they're telling the world, *not those bastards across the border*" (2008: 29). The characters of *Rock Black*, and the Gibraltarians themselves, cannot escape the othering process, whether or not they are in Gibraltar, in Britain, or in Spain. A taxonomy of who Gibraltarians are constantly confronts them and almost always comes with the further confrontation of who they are not, and where they do not belong.

Gibraltar is not only assigned group affiliation, but also a perceived level of danger for the rest of the world. Even as their colony, Gibraltar is conceived as a dangerous place for the British. When the Royal Navy ships dock in Gibraltar, they are on high alert and resort to British intelligence to calculate the degree of risk involved, even to the point of arresting Gibraltarians for seeming too idle and causing suspicion, "'Do you know,' Taffy rasped out as soon as we sat down, 'three weeks ago we'd have been arrested just for being here'" (2008: 55). Colonial borders and military would seem to be in place not only to protect the territory, but also the British who reside inside the borders. However, the navy are just as afraid of the Gibraltarians as they are of the terrorists they are protecting themselves against. A warning code is in place to inform the British of the level of security risk: "Rock Red —which means maximum alert, Rock Yellow —which means a state of increased vigilance, and Rock Black —which means the same old shit as always'" (2008: 56).

What resounds in *Rock Black* is the quest for a self-description of 'Gibraltar', one in which Gibraltarians themselves decide who they are, even if that description is overly-ideal.

> Is this really the Gibraltar I know? The one where everyone is known for his friendliness and generosity? Where Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Christians all live harmoniously together in an area not much larger than twenty football pitches? Where no murders or rapes are ever committed and where tourists are always welcomed with open arms? (2008: 69-70)

The colonial subject is at odds with the nation to which his politics, his assumed loyalty, and partial history belong, and with the reality of border contact, of history, of family, and of experience. The Gibraltarian does not want to be described, but seeks to describe himself. Despite the lack of a canonical literature, to hold the collective memory of a people, the past narratives of Gibraltar are present in historical (and contemporary) realities embedded in physical and cultural artifacts. Sanchez' writing carves out Hamilton's notion that "maybe your country is only a place you make up in your mind" (2003: 295), and rather, it is comprised of

experience, of self-awareness, self-description, and, in the case of a colonized territory, the ability to say 'we are not you, we are not them, we are us'. Furthermore, the Gibraltarian identity disrupts the apparent otherness assigned by both counterparts that is seemingly inevitable in the 'contact-zone' that is Gibraltar, both a political and de facto contact of history, people, and language.

3. Code-switching in Gibraltar

> The job of the linguist, like that of the biologist or the botanist, is not to tell us how nature should behave, or what its creations should look like, but to describe those creations in all their messy glory and try to figure out what they can teach us about life, the world, and especially in the case of linguistics, the workings of the human mind.
>
> Arika Okrent
> *In the Land of Invented Languages* (2009: 5)

As Arika Okrent states in the quotation above, analyzing language entails describing the creation of natural meaning-making, in all its "messy glory", and striving to understand what linguistic chaos can tell us of the language users themselves. In the case of Gibraltar, 'chaotic' code-switching is an observable negotiation process, and the posit that Gibraltarians are *not British, nor Spanish, but something else,* is represented in the language; which becomes a tangible representation of meaning-making structures of the community members. That is, Gibraltarian code-switching can be examined empirically —something that is a bit more difficult in other areas of their 'something else-ness'— and reveals various *less-perceivable* aspects of their identity. This section will examine Llanito as a language (and as a people), and how the code-switching in Sanchez' writing is both a mirror of society and also a tool for constructing that same society in contemporary terms.

Classic forms of code-switching follow a combination of L_1 and L_2 in which speakers move from one language to another, either within an utterance or between utterances (Weston 2013: 3). For the balanced bilingual, code-switching occurs at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L_1 and L_2 elements do not violate a surface syntactic rule of either language (Poplack 1980: 581). That is, the speakers are able to unconsciously (also consciously) move back and forth between two or more languages at grammatical and semantic points of mutual compatibility. This yields some sort of *other* language which is spontaneously created to meet the needs of speakers in any given linguistic or social situation. Llanito, as mentioned in the introduction, is the Gibraltarian form of code-switching between English and Spanish. The question of which is the L_1 and which is the L_2 in bilingual communities like Gibraltar is somewhat problematic. Gibraltar's official language

is English, as it is a British territory. However, its proximity to Spain, along with its history and the interchange of Spanish and British inhabitants, results in a community with Spanish being just as present as English, although, at times, in different social contexts.

Various empirical analyses have shed light on different aspects of Gibraltarian code-switching, including conversation strategies (Moyer 2013), language preferences, phonological phenomena, morphological changes (Levey 2008), lexical variation and choice (Weston 2013) and other sociolinguistic aspects (Lipski 1986). Llanito consists of various patterns of code-switching with a proportionately small lexical substratum from Italian, Hebrew, Arabic and a local vernacular. The most frequent speech modes, however, are English or Spanish or variations of the two combined (Moyer 2013: 216). As Gibraltar's community consists of speakers with high-bilingual proficiency, an equal opportunity for using English or Spanish as the primary language exists, despite the fact that much of the media is in English, and that Spanish is taught as a secondary subject in schools (Lipski 1986: 416). That is, each speaker may choose to speak majority Spanish, majority English, or a true and balanced mix of both without linguistic barriers, value-conflict, or other extra-linguistic factors at the point of reception (Levey 2008; Moyer 2009, 2013; Weston 2013). Gibraltar's code-switching variation is unique in its social configuration. In many multilingual situations, where members of the community do not share the same linguistic competence and attitudes, conflicts tend to arise between the groups. Moyer gives the examples of Belgium, Canada and Catalonia, and explains that these groups are at odds not only with the dominant language of their territories, but with each other as well, due to a constant evaluation and negotiation of appropriate switching at the point of speech (2013: 217). In contrast to these examples, Gibraltar's code-switching seems to bring the group together; the constant reality of code-switching is an overarching unifier.

When Gibraltarians are asked about their own code-switching, they provide examples of attitudes and practices indicating choices are very often tied to age, upbringing, or family tendencies: "There are some families where all they speak is English at home: for example my sister speaks to her sons in Spanish; *le contestan en inglés* (… they answer in English)" (Weston 2013: 9).

Or, as another speaker from Weston's study states, "Cada casa tiene su *language*" ("Each house has its own language") (2013: 17). Although there are sociolinguistic aspects that determine the frequency of switching, main language choice, and context, code-switching is the result of personal identity as well as a reflection of individual situations, and/or mere stylistic choice.

The empirical studies mentioned above point to the fact that code-switching contributes to the construction of Gibraltarian identity. In terms of language

contact, Gibraltar's is both circumstantial and chosen. As for Sanchez, his use of code-switching is, of course, his own, but is also a result of a code-switching community's sociolinguistic and situational determinants. Here it is essential to remind the reader that this analysis is not an empirical study of human subjects, nor of natural speech, but rather of the code-switching that occurs in a work of fiction. It should be borne in mind as the dynamics of an empirical analysis change altogether when confronted with the fact that, while literature indeed contains evidence of the social realities in which the author is influenced and which he himself influences, the nature of literature is distinct from that of conversation analysis as there is now a less-studied receptor of the code-switching, namely the reader. Sebba et al. (2012) point out that it is difficult to analyze code-switching in literature as there is no recognized body of theory that deals with it. They state that the issue of whether code-switching in literature is 'authentic' or 'artificial' is a strongly debated topic (2012: 183). However, there are at least two conditions that researchers agree upon for literary code-switching to be deemed mimetic of reality: one is that the characters must represent members of a real speech community, and two, that the author must be from that speech community as well. If these two conditions are met, it can at least be determined that a "socio-pragmatic approach can enable a cohesive analysis of code-switching in literature", that it is not a "marginal or arbitrary phenomenon" but instead, is a viable technique that may play a crucial role in literature (2012: 184). As Sanchez is indeed from the code-switching community of his fiction, as well as are his characters, it can be determined that the code-switching in *Rock Black* is 'authentic' and therefore may be analyzed as an artifact of the Gibraltarian identity-building system and representative of true social schemata.

Furthermore, code-switching and non-translation in literature have been both criticized and praised in academic circles. The practice in literature has been said to be "aggressively exclusive of monolingual participants, or those with a different set of languages at their disposal" (Myers-Scotton 2006, in Lakhtikova 2017: 1), and thus limiting the author's reader-base. However, code-switching and non-translation in literary texts are often praised for their function as political commentary and promoting identity-building, and have been regarded as active choices that reveal discursive realities within bilingual communities. Similarly, Sanchez' choices in his writings are both politically active and indicative of the realities of a people; the fragmentation of his language represents a fragmented identity lending to a constructive space for forming group-identity. Sanchez joins the myriad of bilingual writers and corroborates their efforts to politicize and de-politicize language. Although it seems that Sanchez' language use is exclusive, it can be argued that it is rather a tool precisely in the identity-building that I claim is constructed through the language, and an invitation to the reader to observe it.

As Sanchez himself narrates, "[e]very man, they say, carries a book of memory within him" (2008: 106). And every book of memory informs the rest of one's experience and discursive reality. The words on Sanchez' pages are his, but are also representative of the society(-ies) in which he resides. The language used is a product of social activity, "activity on the part of one individual to make himself understood by another, and activity on the part of the other to understand what is in the mind of the first" (Jespersen 1965/2007: 17). In other words, Sanchez' code-switching describes both the language and the speaker, and the interrelationship between the two.

As mentioned above, the term Llanito not only refers to the language of Gibraltar, but is also used to describe the people themselves. Sanchez reflects on the term 'Llanito' and states:

> I think the word 'llanito' is first and foremost to describe who is and who isn't Gibraltarian; in other words, it is a marker of selfhood. Plenty of times I have heard people say —"Pero ese/esa, ¿qué es, llanito/llanita, o no?" [*That man/woman, is he/she 'Llanito' or not?*] when asking if someone is Gibraltarian. Sure, 'Llanito' also refers to the form of 'Spanglish' (for want of a better term) that people speak on the Rock, but more often than not it is a word used to describe the experience of being Gibraltarian. […] What I am trying to say, I suppose, is that the word 'llanito' is both a way of speaking and a state of being. (Personal correspondence, 26 June 2017)

This *experience* of being Gibraltarian, the *state of being* that Sanchez describes is reflective of identity. It is the separation of 'us' and 'them' —them being either the Spanish or the British— and is both a state of mind and a way of speaking; both of which contribute to the construction of the other. The identity behind what Llanito is is also what informs language choice, and language choice also informs identity. The 'us' that Llanito describes, however, is at constant odds with the other; Gibraltarians have a recurrent battle of distancing themselves from 'them' in order to determine who 'we' are. This conflict is clearly seen in Sanchez' writing and manifests itself both through his narrative and in his linguistic choices; code-switching is not the only marker. Sanchez' writing also goes a step further and invites the reader into the Gibraltarian world, paradoxically, by limiting linguistic information. That is, the fact that he very rarely translates Spanish words or phrases, and that there is no glossary at the end of the volume, demonstrates a choice to delineate who is a member of the linguistic community, and who is not. He invites the reader into his world but inadvertently reminds them of the fact that they are not a part of it. Llanito, in many ways, serves as a code-language to answer the question: is he/she Llanito or not?

As discussed above, code-switching in literature has been described as difficult to pinpoint and classify, as it does not always follow the same patterns as in spoken

discourse. Consequently, it is essential to recognize the differences between the alteration that occurs in natural speech, and that which is found in literature. Furthermore, in defining code-switching we encounter several possibilities in terms of the psychological motivation behind the switch as well as the form, meaning, and grammatical patterns. The types of code-switching present in Sanchez' writing vary, and are not *radical* according to Torres' definition —a code-switching text only accessible to the bilingual reader (Torres 2007, in Casielles-Suárez 2013: 477)— but rather are what Casielles-Suárez describes as "radical hybridism" (2013: 477). Here, I claim that Casielles-Suárez' definition holds true in *Rock Black*, in that the text,

> [r]ather than including whole paragraphs in Spanish, which the monolingual reader would simply skip, or offer a neat kind of code alteration […] where the switch occurs at phrase boundaries, the quantity and quality of the Spanish words and phrases which are consistently inserted in English sentences create hybrid phrases with the result that rather than alternating with English, Spanish becomes part of English. (2013: 477)

Although Casielles-Suárez remarks that this is often done without the use of italics, Sanchez' italicizes text, I claim, not to gratify the reader, but as a visual representation of a change of mindset, or as he calls it, "experience" (personal correspondence, 26 June 2017). In this way, the 'radical hybridism' invites the reader —bilingual or not— into the Gibraltarian identity construction process of the 'us' and 'them', and the constant struggle of self-identification.

This hybridism can be seen in various examples, including one-word inserts at the end of sentences —usually expletives and/or terms of endearment (translations mine, unless otherwise indicated), "Fancy a drink, *compadre*" [literally 'godfather' but also a traditional term of reverence and friendship] (2008: 79), or emphatic clauses, "Just pack your bags and come with us, *por el amor de Dioh*" [for the love of God] (2008: 23). They can be isolated sentences, "Qué te dijo el puñetero mierda medico?" [What did the damn doctor tell you?] (2008: 18), or they can be whole thoughts inserted into framed English sentences, "… you would get descriptive rhapsodies about the way *la Paula's* hair smelt as you held its strands in your hands —*tan dulce y tan fragrante*, *como si la palma de tu mano hubiera sido empolvadah en canela*" [so sweet, and so fragrant, as if the palm of your hand was covered in cinnamon] (2008: 17), or even bilingual transactions, "'Thank you, doctor' '*No hay de que*'" [You're welcome] (2008: 187). Sanchez also presents bilingual plays where Spanish and English are contained within one word or phrase, for example, one character's nickname "'Georgie Polli' —a bilingual pun that celebrated his famously oversized and overworked privates", where an English diminutive modifies the

Spanish root (2008: 26), or "Pete-ito" (2008: 114), where the Spanish diminutive is chosen over an English one.

Sanchez' language alteration comes in various forms and is not always code-switching. At times, he attempts to convey that the Spanish itself is its own variation. Although Gibraltar's proximity to Andalusian Spain would suggest the people there speak "exactly like they do in La Línea across the border" (2008: 6), that is not the case according to Sanchez. Whether Andalusian Spanish can be deemed a substratum for the Gibraltarian dialect or not, Sanchez' narrative indicates a symbolic repertoire that Blom and Gumperz describe as serving "to symbolize the differing social identities which members may assume" (2000: 123). They state that there is no "simple one-to-one relationship between specific speech varieties and specific social identities", and that the speaker makes linguistic choices that determine finite social significance (2000: 123). This significance, however, is entirely dependent on the speakers' attitudes towards the variation. Sanchez' statements, as well as his characters', reflect an internal notion that the dialect is indeed unique to Gibraltar, and that the speakers are free to declare this. In fact, one of Sanchez' characters explains that "ask anyone from Andalusia and they'll tell you it's totally different. "*Joder*", they'd say, that's not like Spanish at all" (2008: 6). Instead, Gibraltarian Spanish, at least the pronunciation, is described as distinct from Andalusian and more similar sounding to "Uruguayan" (2008: 6), although not Uruguayan at all. What is also interesting about Gibraltar is its unique variation of standard Spanish pronunciation, despite its proximity. It should be noted, too, that the English there does not sound quite British, either:

> … where are you from?'
> 'Manchester. And you?'
> 'I'm local.'
> 'You don't sound it.'
> 'That's because I lived in England for about a year,' I said. (2008: 72)

Or, "*Habeis escuchado?* […] A British gentleman *con accento Andaluz?!*" [Did you guys hear that? A British man with an Andalusian accent] (2008: 176). Sanchez' character attempts to describe this phenomenon, "You see, Tommy-Boy, in bilingual societies people sometimes undergo what is known as a process of linguistic compartmentalisation" (2008: 7). Unfortunately, this character's eager attempt to explain why speaking English or Spanish with a non-standard accent should be considered undesirable is quickly cut off. The way in which the Gibraltarians speak —in either English, Spanish, or both— is their own. In fact, Sanchez overtly signals this aspect of his writing in a note at the beginning of *Rock Black*: "The Spanish that people speak in Gibraltar is very different from that spoken in mainland Spain. I have endeavored to reflect this on the odd occasions

that I have used Spanish in the text" (2008: i). Sanchez demonstrates this variation, and more than "on the odd occasion" by inserting indicators of aspiration, where an "s" would be pronounced (a voiceless glottal fricative, /h/, that is, debuccalization). For example, "*Qué clase de cachondeo eh ehteh*" (2008: 175). However, there are instances of eye dialect as well —the use of nonstandard spelling that implies a pronunciation that is in fact standard of a given word, and where the written indication is not actually necessary— "*andah* Pete-ito" (2008: 114). As stated before, although some of these features are indeed similar to those of the neighboring Andalusian dialect, these insertions play out to a visual relationship between the social and the linguistic interplay.

As previously mentioned, Sanchez almost never translates his Spanish variations in-text, and this aspect is particularly important as it indicates a strategic marker of the non-Gibraltarian. The one case in *Rock Black* that Spanish is directly translated actually corroborates this strategy and furthers the notion that the Spanish in Gibraltar does not belong to Spain. In the episode in which a few characters from "Harry Pozo and the Brazilian Prostitute" cross over to Spain in a car, the characters are nervous about possibly being denied border crossing, and a recent situation is remembered:

> A week earlier the British foreign secretary had made some unguarded remark about Britain never handing Gibraltar back to Spain against the democratically expressed wishes of the Gibraltarians, and Madrid had responded in the only way it knew —by slowing down traffic and harassing Gibraltarians on their way into Spain. It was the same old rubbish as usual. If you wore glasses and didn't have a spare pair with you —a mandatory requirement, it suddenly transpired, according to some obscure, half-forgotten Spanish law— they'd drag you out of your vehicle and fine you 25,000 pesetas. Similarly, if an 'essential item' like a pair of scissors was missing from your first-aid kit, they'd turn you around and send you promptly back into Gibraltar. *Lo siento, caballero, pero usted se va a tener que dar la vuelta y regresar a Gibraltar si no lleva unas tijeras en el botiquín de primeros auxilios.* ('I'm sorry, sir, but you're going to have to turn around and drive back to Gibraltar if you're not carrying a pair of scissors inside your first aid-kit.') Not the best way to go about promoting friendly relations between two neighbouring peoples, that's for sure. (2008: 25)

This anecdote is packed with meaning potential and contributes to two arguments of this article. It demonstrates the political conflict with Spain and is an example of the powerless situation in which Gibraltarians find themselves if at any point they want to access their neighboring country. And in what seems to be a backlash to the British commentary on territorial rights, it is the Spanish who punish the Gibraltarians for the British remarks. It exemplifies the control Spain has over the people, as well as Spain's ability to exercise her territorial power. It transforms what should be a seamless passage, almost a banal act, into a power-

play where, once again, it is the Gibraltarians who suffer the consequences, a proverbial *whipping boy* for the British. Secondly, the fact that this is the only direct translation in the text (there are some cases in which meaning is conveyed in both Spanish and English, but not directly translated) is a powerful tool the author wields in his efforts to highlight the fact that the translated Spanish was uttered by a Spaniard, not a Gibraltarian. It is not the 'same language' as that of the Llanito people. Although lexically, grammatically, and linguistically virtually the same, Sanchez translates it as if it were German, French, or any language that was not Spanish or English; as if he *needs* to translate the text so that the reader would understand. Remember that his use of language variation has set up an 'us' and 'them' scenario. What is inside the Gibraltarian world needs no translation. It is not only physical spaces, objects, or tangible manifestations that construct the community, it is also in the linguistic spaces (see Gerke 2015) that power is lost, maintained, and retaken and where the community is built. If there is any evidence of the 'otherness' of Spanish I find in Sanchez' writings, this translation located in the habitually non-translated text is the strongest corroboration of my claim.

The decision to translate or not, to code-switch or not, is in fact a (social) action; just as is the choice to speak or not at all remain silent. Silence is a powerful tool "prescribed *by* professional torturers the world over as the best tool for dislocating common fantasies of immortality" (2008: 3). The silence that fills *Rock Black* (the term *silence* is mentioned 17 times), the *lack* of language altogether, seems to remind speakers of a humanness but also seems to be a key in group building. Although relationships are formed through language interactions, a more bare-bones aspect of membership may reside in what happens in silence. Social relationships among members are paramount in defining a group. When people are connected by relationships, they form interdependence, they can influence one another's thoughts, actions, beliefs and emotions. A social relationship suggests that this interdependence is not caused by proximity to another, or an origin common to both, but rather the "actual imagined or implied presence of other human beings" (Allport 1985: 3). The silence in *Rock Black* may actually be the only language aspect that is overtly inclusive, silence is the invitation to deconstruct a divide. In "Timeshare" Gilbert is frustrated with the German tourist for his silence and confronts him. The German responds:

> 'I just wanted to spend some moments in silence with you' the German replied calmly, 'that's all.'[…] 'Have you never walked into a room before and felt that someone needed your company? That something drew you towards them? Made you want to get closer to them? Kind of like an invisible magnet, something that you could not explain?' (2008: 92)

It is in silence that people —now including non-Gibraltarians— are connected and disconnected: "I remember feeling a peculiarly empty sensation as the four of us trudged on in silence at the back of the queue, a kind of physical hollowness if that makes any sense, almost as if my insides had become detached and were floating freely within me" (2008: 127). And it is also in silence that relationships are made "The German placed his hand on Gilbert's shoulder and smiled again. For a second Gilbert looked up at him in silence, overwhelmed by the simple goodness that radiated out of the man" (2008: 94).

The language variation in *Rock Black* —code-switching, dialectical markers, language play, the choice to translate, or not— is indicative of speaker ability to move —relatively free of restrictions— within and around a language community, and it also helps distinguish who exactly is a part of that community and who is not. When lines of Gibraltarian identity are blurred —are they 'more' English or Spanish?— and when the voice of Gibraltar seems to be ignored as the UK and Spain get enmeshed in the process of *assigning* identity through political control, the people of Gibraltar are left with the only thing they have control over: language choice. The choice a speaker makes is a conduit for identity-building, and in the case of Gibraltar, a communal identity is reflected through the language variation itself, along with the strategic moves and choices of individual speakers. This, in many ways, gives the speaker a great deal of control, though and identity that is hard to read.

4. Gatekeeping

> One on a side. It comes to little more:
> There where it is we do not need the wall:
> He is all pine and I am apple orchard.
> My apple trees will never get across
> And eat the cones under his pines, I tell him.
> He only says, 'Good fences make good neighbors'
>
> Robert Frost
> Mending Wall (1914/2016: 51-52)

In Robert Frost's "Mending Wall", the speaker spends the duration of the poem attempting to convince his neighbor that a wall separating each of their properties is unnecessary; that the concept of 'walls for the sake of walls' is outdated and illogical. There is no reason for the wall to be kept, as there are no cows to be contained, and his apples will not harm his neighbor's pines; they have a natural separation that is provided by the nature of their harvest. His neighbor will not be swayed, and continues to repeat the adage of an outdated era: 'Good fences

make good neighbors'. It may be human nature to seek a delineation of our groups, to define and protect what is ours, and to do so by defining what we are not in terms of the social. That is, *social identity* is "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1974: 93). In order to accomplish this, delineation of perceived differences is required. The sociological need to separate and protect with a physical border is questioned, however, when the need overrides a logic that is tied to the nature of what is being separated, when there is no need to define who is and who is not, and when there is 'no risk of apples harming pines'. The 'wall' that separates Spain and Gibraltar acts as a physical manifestation of the age-old conflict between Spain and Britain; if Gibraltarians are the human outlet for an outdated hate, the Spanish-Gibraltarian border, *la verja*, or 'the gate', over which the Spanish exercise their control is the way in which the Spanish maintain a distinction rooted in historical conflict, but that as a modern contrivance is virtually redundant.

In *Rock Black*, Sanchez approaches the history of the territory in a surprisingly humanistic way, highlighting the absurdity of territorialism in historical anecdotes, and the ways in which this conflict affects the people of the present. Walls of the present and the past are contemplated: Peter, one of the characters who weaves throughout the collection, considers a wall jutting through the edge of the cemetery built in the 16th century, whose physical purpose is lost, and whose human connection can only be imagined:

> Five hundred years ago some Castilian architect must have stood on a spot nearby trying to figure out how to erect a wall on the rocky promontory before him. I could almost visualise him —loosening his ruff and shaking his head, wondering what on earth he must have done to be sent to such a remote and inhospitable outpost of the Hapsburg Empire. 'What's the world coming to?' he must have thought. 'Why am I stuck here in this hole of holes?' (2008: 62)

Peter questions the efficacy of boundaries and walls; at the time, the wall was intended to protect those in Gibraltar against piracy, and probably served its purpose. However, the wall remains as a reminder that artifacts of territorialism, protection, and claim on land are still present in Gibraltar, and that both the Spanish and the British who attempted to claim the land for themselves and protect its future paved a way for, what may have been unforeseeable to them, a never-ending potential source of unrest; one that has nothing and everything to do with lines drawn in the sand and that directly affects day-to-day life in Gibraltar. In turn, the Gibraltarian experience rests not only on delineations, but on a chance to choose which history should be extended to the present.

Lines are already blurred for Gibraltarian identity, and in terms of power relations, the Gibraltarians have little control over their physical borders and positions of power. Inside Gibraltar, the perceived level of danger is coded by colors, degrees of dangerous otherness assigned by the British; during Rock Red, a Gibraltarian could be arrested just for appearing to be too idle (2008: 55). At the border, the Spanish are in control of the Gibraltarians, and use inconsistency and intimidation as a means of power. The Gibraltarians, however, have one tool that is exclusively theirs to control and manifests itself in speech.

La verja that separates Spain and Gibraltar, not unlike other political borders, has to be mended and maintained. Metaphorically, the space between the bricks must be filled with mortar to fortify the strength of the wall. Ironically, at times, what fills the space, the gaps inside *la verja*, is what connects, and not what separates. During the Franco era, in the times of the strictest enforcement of border control, families were forced to call across the gate to talk with their relatives who lived on the Spanish side. They would have to yell across, mainly small talk, since it was quite public, and the speakers were too far from each other to have a serious conversation (Sanchez 2016: 47). However 'small' the talk, howbeit, their voices filled the void of space, and acted as a connector of the two sides. If the people could not physically cross over to embrace their loved ones, and say *we are not others, we are family, we are us,* their words and voices could.

What I claim is that language shifts the power that tangible spaces hold —the maintenance of physical boundaries— to reside in an intangible linguistic space, and that language can be, at times, what transfers the power to a seemingly powerless group (see Gerke 2015). Power relations in language have been developed, in part, by Teun van Dijk and Norman Fairclough, who both attach great importance to language as (social) action. Van Dijk states that language interaction is situated in social space, and it is the action at communication level that informs the knowledge/power tandem (1997: 10). Discourse, he describes, takes place and is accomplished in a social situation and therefore demands that language holds a physical space (1997: 11). The knowledge/power relationship is often what allows the powerful enactor to gain and maintain control over the powerless, and this is done by allowing or denying access to knowledge through discursive power-plays. Concepts of language and power rest on the notion that preferential access to public discourse is a vital power resource, and this access is managed in sometimes subtle ways that go beyond 'ownership' over language or access to it. Norman Fairclough calls these power-holders "Gatekeepers": those with power have control over the flux of knowledge and access to discourse (1989: 47).

If Gibraltarians are denied access to *la verja*, or the gate, but control the passage of knowledge, and therefore power, through language use, the power has then been transferred from a political entity to the group it attempts to control. The Gibraltarians have become their own metaphorical *Gatekeepers* and insist on a self-definition. This group-constructed discourse reframes the entire dialogue from one that views the group as politically, and therefore, socially oppressed, to one of transfer-of-power and the ability to self-define and/or construct. That is, self-definition, through language use, challenges the knowledge validation process that results in an externally-defined membership. Sanchez' language choice, and its part in identity construction, as seen in the previous section, leads to the observation made on code-switching and non-translation as a strategic exclusion of the non-Gibraltarian, and in turn, delineates who or what Llanito is.

5. Conclusion

Llanito describes the language and the language users, and the Gibraltarian *experience* is the interchange between the two. It is a reflection of choices a group makes of themselves, and about themselves. The experience of being Gibraltarian, as described by Sanchez, is in a constant state of construction and deconstruction. M.G. Sanchez forms part of a small collective of authors who are making strides in reclaiming their own representation and lashing back at outside attempts to tell the Gibraltarian story: "if we don't start writing about ourselves, we run the risk of being presented to the world solely through the prism of others' perceptions" (Sanchez 2015). Sanchez' linguistic choice is reflective of a growing contemporary identity through its own emerging literature.

This article has reflected upon three areas of interest. The first pinpoints the historical struggle of a colonized community, affronted with the realities of a politicised border situation. As Manzanas Calvo reflects, borders are "sites where political systems fortify the notions of nationality and national identity", and borders "speak volumes about the country's or the continent's values. British attitudes towards Gibraltarians are revealing of the limits of Britishness as an imaginary community. By the same token, it is possible to argue that in closing the gate and strangling Gibraltar, Spain strangles itself" (2017: 42). The historical and contemporary political realities of Gibraltar lead to the second area of interest: that amid the external conflict and assigning of identity, Gibraltarians themselves are the ones who decide 'who they are'. The code-switching in M.G. Sanchez' *Rock Black* is not only representative of a conflict of affiliation, but it is also the tool that enables the construction of the dynamic and multifaceted identity of contemporary Gibraltarians that is neither British, nor Spanish, but

entirely their own. The code-switching in *Rock Black* is a literary manifestation of an observable negotiation process between those inside and those outside the borders of the community. It is representative of a people's ideological system in that it reflects real language users (albeit in a fictionalized language situation), and at the same time it moulds society in that it is an authentic artefact of actual culture and necessarily contributes to the contemporary literary canon of its people. Despite the apparently discordant effect of an oscillation between dominant language, cultural affiliations, family tendencies, social determinants, and/or attitudes, Gibraltar's code-switching seems to unify the community in that it is the key marker of selfhood that simultaneously marks differences and similitudes of both the language and its users. And it is precisely this delineation that represents and builds the Gibraltarian identity.

This very identity-building process leads to the third aspect of interest: up against the political realities of both Britain and Spain, and the actualities they encounter at the border, the seemingly 'powerless' group in fact take back their power by acting as their own *Gatekeepers.* That is, M.G. Sanchez' writing highlights the absurdity of a conflictive past that permeates the present-day reality of Gibraltar, and takes back ownership of his community's 'processural becoming'. Gibraltarians have little control over their tangible and intangible borders, and their position of power is somewhat blurred in affiliation. However, through their code-switching, Gibraltarians have created a new, self-defined, linguistic space that reframes and transfers the power to those who allow or deny access to this space: the code-switchers themselves. Self-definition, through linguistic agency, results in an internal construct that turns the 'powerless' into the powerful.

Sanchez invites the reader into the Gibraltarian experience by presenting language choice that plays a part in contemporary identity-building through the narrative of historical realties of conflict between Britain and Spain, the contemporary consequences of political power struggles, and the ever-present forms of racism that still exist. The language variation in Sanchez' writing does more than just set apart who is Gibraltarian, and who is not. It does more than give a sense of the Gibraltarian reality. It goes beyond group-identity-building. It is the key to the metaphorical *verja* of the Gibraltarian experience. The stories in *Rock Black* are tales of ordinary people; they are stories of romance, sickness, of racism, of the gaining and the loss of power, they are stories of every-day Gibraltarians who, in essence, just want to be left alone to be who they are and lead their lives without a no-good "*entremetío*" (2008: 93) assigning them any sort of identity. As they see it, every day is *Rock Black*: "same old shit as always" (2008: 56).

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A STUDY OF NOUN-DERIVING SUFFIXES IN COMPETITION IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

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Abstract

This paper presents a corpus-driven analysis of the Germanic suffixes *-dom*, *-hood*, *-lac, -ness*, *-rede(n)*, and *-ship* in Middle English. The main objective is to assess the occurrence and use of synonymous derivations in the corpora examined, namely the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (*MEG-C*) (Stenroos et al. 2014) and the *Middle English Local Documents Corpus* (*MELD*) (Stenroos and Thengs 2014). The six suffixes could be attached to the same base with no apparent distinction in meaning, giving way to competing abstract formations. The analysis can shed light and offer fresh insight into the co-occurrence of these contending formations in different Middle English text types, including specialised and more general texts, and help explain their survival or demise.

Keywords: derivational morphology, synonymous derivations, Middle English, *MEG-C*, *MELD*.

Resumen

Este artículo presenta un análisis basado en corpus de los sufijos germánicos *-dom*, *-hood*, *-lac, -ness*, *-rede(n)* y *-ship* en inglés medio. El objetivo principal es evaluar la aparición y uso de derivaciones sinónimas en los corpus examinados, a saber, el

Middle English Grammar Corpus (*MEG-C*) (Stenroos et al. 2014) y el *Middle English Local Documents Corpus* (*MELD*) (Stenroos y Thengs 2014). Los seis sufijos en cuestión pueden aparecer unidos a la misma base sin distinción semántica aparente, dando lugar a sustantivos abstractos en competición. El análisis puede arrojar luz y proporcionar nuevos datos sobre la coexistencia de estas formaciones rivales en distintos tipos de texto en inglés medio, entre los que se incluyen textos especializados y más generales, así como ayudar a explicar su supervivencia o desaparición.

Palabras clave: morfología derivativa, derivaciones sinónimas, inglés medio, *MEG-C*, *MELD*.

1. Introduction

Inflectional and derivational morphology have been traditionally considered the two domains of morphology; the former is concerned with the "derivation of word-forms from uninflected simple or complex bases", whereas the latter involves the "creation of new lexemes" (Kastovsky 2009: 151). The present study delves into historical derivational morphology and, more specifically, into suffixation, which is understood as the process by means of which a bound morpheme is added to a base, in Middle English. This is an area which has attracted increasing scholarly attention with a wealth of studies in the last decades (Zbierska-Sawala 1993; Dalton-Puffer 1996; Miller 1997; Ciszek 2008; Trips 2009, to name but a few).[1] Within this area the focus of the paper is on derivational suffixes building abstract nouns. The main aim is to carry out a corpus-driven analysis of the Germanic suffixes -NESS,[2] -SHIP, -DOM, -HOOD, -LAC and -REDE(N) in Middle English in order to describe them and to assess the occurrence and use of suffixal doublets in the corpora examined. The six above-mentioned suffixes have been selected because they could be attached to the same base with no evident distinction in meaning, yielding rival abstract formations or suffixal doublets.[3]

Recent studies on the topic of Middle English derivational suffixes include those by Ciszek (2008), who analyses seven Early Middle English suffixes (amongst which -DOM, -HED, -SHIP and -NESS are included), taking into account semantics, productivity and dialect distribution, and Trips (2009), who traces the development of -HOOD, -DOM and -SHIP through the history of English and also deals with the rivalry between suffixes.[4] Synonymous derivations in different historical corpora have also been recently investigated by Esteban-Segura (2011) and Gardner (2011). Lindsay and Aronoff (2013) tackle the issue of competing suffixes from a diachronic perspective by paying attention to the productivity of certain suffixes.

Despite this and previous work (Aronoff 1980; Riddle 1985; Romaine 1985; Plag 1999; Bauer 2009; Hegedüs 2014), the study of synonymous derivations in English is "still in need of more thorough investigation" (Kastovsky 2009: 169).

2. Methodology

The investigation is corpus-based, which allows for both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The body of texts transcribed within the Middle English Scribal Texts Programme at the University of Stavanger, 345 of which are to date unpublished,[5] have been examined in order to retrieve and assess data. The texts date from the late mediaeval period (ca. 1200-1500) and are divided into two main corpora: the *Middle English Grammar Corpus* (*MEG-C*) (Stenroos et al. 2014) and the *Middle English Local Documents Corpus* (*MELD*) (Stenroos and Thengs 2014). *MEG-C* 2014.0, an 'in between', unpublished version of *MEG-C* containing 482 texts and 791,689 words, has been the one employed for the present study. The latest published version is *MEG-C* 2011.1 with 410 texts, and the team aims to publish a new one with at least 500 texts. *MEG-C* 2014, hereafter simply referred to as *MEG-C*, contains 256 documentary texts (155,448 words) and 226 non-documentary texts (636,241 words). For the analysis, only the non-documentary texts have been taken into consideration to avoid any kind of overlap with the texts in *MELD* 2014, which is the other corpus that has been examined. Non-documentary texts in *MEG-C* include religious prose, alliterative verse, medical and cookery recipes, etc.[6]

MELD 2014, henceforth *MELD*, contains 518 documentary texts (legal, administrative and business documents and letters) and the overall word count is 283,922. The texts are dated and connected to specific places. Approximately half of the texts are also in *MEG-C*, which explains why the documentary texts in *MEG-C* have been left out. This division allows studying the suffixes in different text types: on the one hand, those texts in *MEG-C*, which are religious, medical, literary, etc., and, on the other hand, those in *MELD*, which are only documentary. Thus, the results can provide valuable insights into the development and usage of suffixes and words in certain text types in the history of English.[7]

The corpora have been constructed so that they are suited for use with concordance programmes such as *AntConc* (Anthony 2011), which has been in fact the one employed to retrieve data. In order to get all the instances of each of the suffixes under consideration, all the forms of the suffix in Middle English as provided by the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) and the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) were taken into account and wild-card searches were made to cater for all possible

spelling variants.[8] The data were then copied into Excel spreadsheets. The results had to be culled manually, which proved to be a time-consuming task. After the irrelevant data had been weeded out,[9] the information in the Excel spreadsheets was distributed into six columns: context, word, the lemma taken from the *MED* (so as to unify all the different spelling variants of the same word), the reference, the meaning from the *MED*, and the word in the *OED*. The *OED* online was taken as a reference to check whether the word has survived into Present-Day English and, if so, whether it is obsolete or archaic. The following have been registered: the root or base in Present-Day English,[10] the corpus (*MEG-C* or *MELD*), the suffix in question, and whether the word appears as a main entry or as an alternative form within that entry.

The different sheets containing the individual suffixes were then combined in a master file and an Access database was created. The only difference is that the Reference column in Excel was replaced with the Corpus code in Access (see Figures 1 and 2). With the Access database, the possibilities for research are plentiful. We can, for instance, look for the forms with the suffix -HOOD in the Northern half of the country in the 15th century, to find out, for example, that they only occur in the genres "Document" and "Religious prose". We can compare them with those found in the South or in different centuries.

CONTEXT	WORD	LEMMA (MED)	REFERENCE	MEANING (MED)	OED	ROOT	CORPUS	SUFFIX
1242 L OF GOSTELY DEyE FOR SINNE IF yE\I WILL AND BY CLENLYNES OF SAULE COM TO ¡CLENLYNES		*clenlinesse	Leics_L0299_OK1	NOT IN MED	cleanliness	CLEANLY	MEGC	ness
409 LDES yAT NON VNEUENNES MAY BE IN HYM . WHOM SO HE DAmPNES & WHOm SO HE DAmPNES		*dampness	Derbys_L0188_OK	NOT IN MED	dampness	DAMP	MEGC	ness
3822 ME ALSO yIT A MAN LYE NOT :FOR yE MOUTHE yIT LYES DAMPNES yE SOVLE .FOR NO t DAMPNES		*dampness	YWR_L0217_OK1,	NOT IN MED	dampness	DAMP	MEGC	ness
311 WIC=[KID FENDE WT-OUTYN LIGHT ; :CRIST CROSE YE DAmP=[NYS & AL YI MYGHT . DAmPNYS		*dampness	Lincs_L0213_OK1	NOT IN MED	dampness	DAMP	MEGC	ness
258 RO COURT ALE HER FOR TO PLAY & THEn VEnus WAS SET DEFTNES TO DELE & GAR¯DEFTNES		*deftnesse	Ches_L0104_OK1	NOT IN MED	deftness	DEFT	MEGC	ness
1240 CHAUNGEABLE AND ALSO DEDLY :THUS FEL MANKIND INTO MYSCHEUESNES AFTER MYSCHEUESNES		*mischĕvŏusnesse	Leics_L0299_OK1	NOT IN MED	mischievousness	MISCHIEVOUS	MEGC	ness
1606 F HOLYNESSE ; WHI MAKEST YOU YIN-SELF A VESSEL OF PYNEFULNESSE . A LADY WI PYNEFULNESSE		*pinefulnesse	Norfolk_L0424_OK	NOT IN MED; pain	NOT IN OED	PINEFUL	MEGC	ness
962 AT SOUPER¬ . AND NO THYNG THE KYNG WYSTE OF HER TRAYTORSNESSE ;AND Wi TRAYTORSNESSE		*traitŏurnesse	Herefs_L7481_OK	NOT IN MED; traitŏurhi	traitorousness	TRAITOR	MEGC	ness
1655 BUT IF YU WILT . & YAT SCHAL NOT BEN IN DEWER NE ANGRYNESSE AND WEUYNESS ANGRYNESSE		angrines(se	Norfolk_L4252_OK	anger	angriness (rare)	ANGRY	MEGC	ness
3994 YE FIFT IS LYTHERNES OF HERT WT-IN . :YE SEXT IS ARGHNES TO BE-GYN . OTHER S ARGHNES		arghnes(se	YWR_L0410_OK2,	cowardice	arghness (obsolete	ARGH	MEGC	ness
4158 NNES HATHE FORSAKYN THE & NOT THOW THY SYNNES . ::ARGHNES OF DREDE IS W ARGHNES		arghnes(se	YWR_L0597_OK1,	cowardice	arghness (obsolete	ARGH	MEGC	ness
245 OUn yY HEDE TO LAW WHIL ANY MAnN SPEKES WT GRETE BESENES HERKEN HIS WK BESENES		bisinesse	Ches_L0043_OK1,	occupation, business; d	business (obsolete	BUSY	MEGC	ness
1932 E BRERES MAY BETOKYN yE PRIK=[KYNGS OF VICYS & yE BESENES OF yIS LIFE / / ANE BESENES		bisinesse	Notts_L0164_OK2,	occupation, business; d	business (obsolete	BUSY	MEGC	ness
4028 WONDRE THING IT WERE YAT MAN YAT GYFE HYM TO YE BESENES OF YE WERLDE k BESENES		bisinesse	YWR_L0454_OK1,	occupation, business; d	business (obsolete	BUSY	MEGC	ness
58 F GOD ALLE WORD[LI RICHES . WURCHIPES AND OUTWARD BESENESSES . AND HOL BESENESSES		bisinesse	Berks_L6770_OK1	occupation, business; d	business (obsolete	BUSY	MEGC	ness
1267 AYNE yEN IN yE MANER BE REPENTAUNT AND DO YOURE BESINES TO DO VERY PEN BESINES		bisinesse	Leics_L0299_OK1	occupation, business; d	business (obsolete	BUSY	MEGC	ness

Figure 1. Arrangement of data in Excel

CONTEXT	WORD	Lemma (MED)	Corpus code	Meaning (MED)	OED	ROOT	CORPUS	SUFFIX
L OF GOSTELY DEy\E FOR SINNE IF y\E\I WILL AND BY CLENLYNES OF SAULE	CLENLYNES	*clenlinesse	L0299	NOT IN MED	cleanliness	CLEANLY	MEGC	ness
LDES yAT NON VNEUENNES MAY BE IN HYM . WHOM SO HE DAmPNES & W	DAmPNES	*dampness	L0188	NOT IN MED	dampness	DAMP	MEGC	ness
ME ALSO y\T A MAN LYE NOT :FOR yE MOUTHE y\T LYES DAMPNES yE SOVL	DAMPNES	*dampness	L0217	NOT IN MED	dampness	DAMP	MEGC	ness
WIC=[KID FENDE W\T-OUTYN LIGHT ; :CRIST CROSE YE DAmP=[NYS & AL YI	DAmPNYS	*dampness	L0213	NOT IN MED	dampness	DAMP	MEGC	ness
RO COURT ALE HER FOR TO PLAY & THEn VEnus WAS SET DEFTNES TO DELE	DEFTNES	*deftnesse	L0104	NOT IN MED	deftness	DEFT	MEGC	ness
CHAUNGEABLE AND ALSO DEDLY :THUS FEL MANKIND INTO MYSCHEUESNE	MYSCHEUESNE	*mischĕvŏusnes	L0299	NOT IN MED	mischievousn	MISCHIEVOUS	MEGC	ness
F HOLYNESSE ; WHI MAKEST YOU YIN-SELF A VESSEL OF PYNEFULNESSE . A	PYNEFULNESSE	*pinefulnesse	L0424	NOT IN MED; pain	NOT IN OED	PINEFUL	MEGC	ness
AT SOUPER¬ . AND NO THYNG THE KYNG WYSTE OF HER TRAYTORSNESSE	TRAYTORSNES	*traitŏurnesse	L7481	NOT IN MED; traitu	traitorousness	TRAITOR	MEGC	ness
BUT IF Y\U WILT . & YAT SCHAL NOT BEN IN DEWER NE ANGRYNESSE AND H	ANGRYNESSE	angrines(se	L4252	anger	angriness (rare	ANGRY	MEGC	ness
YE FIFT IS LYTHERNES OF HERT W\T-IN . :YE SEXT IS ARGHNES TO BE-GYN . O	ARGHNES	arghnes(se	L0410	cowardice	arghness (obs	ARGH	MEGC	ness
NNES HATHE FORSAKYN THE & NOT THOW THY SYNNES . ::ARGHNES OF DR	ARGHNES	arghnes(se	L0597	cowardice	arghness (obs	ARGH	MEGC	ness
OUn yY HEDE TO LAW WHIL ANY MAnN SPEKES W\T GRETE BESENES HERKE	BESENES	bisinesse	L0043	occupation, busine	business (obsc	BUSY	MEGC	ness
E BRERES MAY BETOKYN yE PRIK=[KYNGS OF VICYS & yE BESENES OF yIS LIF	BESENES	bisinesse	L0164	occupation, busine	business (obsc	BUSY	MEGC	ness
WONDRE THING IT WERE YAT MAN YAT GYFE HYM TO Y\E BESENES OF Y\E	BESENES	bisinesse	L0454	occupation, busine	business (obsc	BUSY	MEGC	ness
F GOD ALLE WORD[LI RICHES . WURCHIPES AND OUTWARD BESENESSES . A	BESENESSES	bisinesse	L6770	occupation, busine	business (obsc	BUSY	MEGC	ness
AYNE y\EN IN y\E MANER BE REPENTAUNT AND DO YOURE BESINES TO DO	BESINES	bisinesse	L0299	occupation, busine	business (obsc	BUSY	MEGC	ness

Figure 2. Arrangement of data in Access

Several modifications with regard to how the data appear in the corpora have been made. Letters, for instance, are transcribed as capitals, whereas lower-case letters

are employed for Middle English graphs (thorn, yogh, ash, eth), abbreviations and comments. The words have been changed to lower-case and the graphs have been replaced with the actual symbols for which they stand (e.g. FORyERHED > forþerhed 'further'; KNYzTHOD > knyȝthod 'knighthood'); for abbreviations italics have been used (e.g. BUXUmNES > buxu*m*nes 'buxomness'; LOurDSCHYP > lo*ur*dschyp 'lordship'). Curly brackets ('{ }') that indicate insertions (in the corpora words are bracketed individually) have been deleted. Likewise, codes for word division across the line ('[') and ('=') have also been removed for the sake of clarity. Nonetheless, tildes which stand for squiggles ('~') —a type of flourish which may indicate an <e> or be otiose (e.g. towneshyp~ 'township')— have been kept. Hyphens ('-') joining two elements of what would correspond to a single word in Present-Day English have also been maintained (e.g. falsse-hed 'falsehead').

The study focuses on derived lexical categories, which can be inflected (as is the case of *kyngdomes* 'kingdoms', which is in the plural), and more specifically on nouns. It should be pointed out that *-ing* forms (such as *worschypyng* 'worshipping') have been excluded as they could be derived from verbs. Forms such as *hoggeshede* (*MED hogges-hēd* 'hogshead') and *merehed* (*MED mōr* + *hēd* 'top of the moor') have not been considered either since these are compounds, with *hed(e)* being a noun rather than a suffix.

3. Analysis

3.1. Frequency of the suffixes

An overview of all the abstract noun derivation occurrences including the Germanic suffixes under study[11] and their overall frequencies, both absolute and normalised, is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

	MEG-C	*MELD*
-DOM	386	30
-HOOD	305	16
-NESS	2,454	541
-SHIP	349	321
-LAC	3	0
-REDE(N)	36	1

Table 1. Suffixes (tokens) attested in the corpora analysed (absolute frequencies)

	MEG-C	*MELD*
-DOM	6.06	1.05
-HOOD	4.79	0.56
-NESS	38.57	19.05
-SHIP	5.48	11.3
-LAC	0.04	0
-REDE(N)	0.56	0.03

Table 2. Suffixes (tokens) attested in the corpora analysed (normalised frequencies per 10,000 words)

In general, as can be more clearly seen in Figure 3, the frequency of all the derivative suffixes is higher in *MEG-C* than in *MELD*, except for the suffix -SHIP, which occurs more frequently in *MELD*. This can be explained by the presence of certain recurring words containing the suffix -SHIP in documentary texts, such as *lordship* or *worship*, as these were common forms of address in administrative correspondence and legal documents.

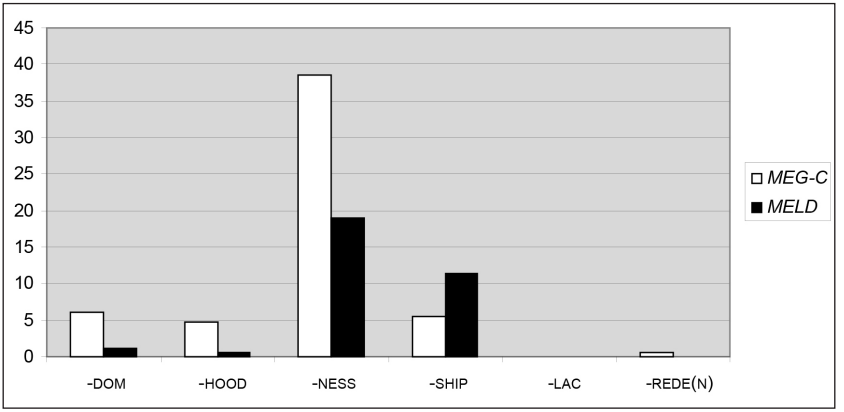

Figure 3. Suffixes (tokens) attested in the corpora analysed (normalised frequencies per 10,000 words)

3.2. Productivity of the suffixes

Productivity is a contentious issue in historical word-formation (Ciszek 2008: 21-31). According to Cowie and Dalton-Puffer (2002: 432), morphological

productivity is "not only a theoretical concept but a measurable property of word-formation rules". In order to measure the productivity of the suffixes,[12] attention has been paid to token and type frequency. Token frequency alone is not helpful as an indicator of the productivity of a given suffix, since "the token count is often inflated by a small number of very common types" (Cowie and Dalton-Puffer 2002: 426). On the other hand, the higher the number of different types, the more productive a suffix is. If suffix A has produced a greater number of new types than suffix B, it can be argued that suffix A is more productive than suffix B. Type figures have not been normalised because, following Cowie and Dalton-Puffer, normalising with tokens would be counting "types out of tokens (i.e. words in the text), which is not counting like out of like" (2002: 427). This makes it unfeasible to compare the two corpora in terms of types and therefore each corpus will be dealt with individually.

As can be seen in Table 3, the suffix with most types is -NESS in both corpora. The number of tokens is higher for -SHIP than for -NESS in *MELD*, but if we take into account types, -NESS is more productive.

	MEG-C	*MELD*
-DOM	14	4
-HOOD	43	5
-NESS	199	24
-SHIP	19	14
-LAC	2	0
-REDE(N)	6	1

Table 3. Suffixes (types) attested in the corpora analysed

3.3. Synonymous derivations

Synonymous derivations can be defined as rivalling forms from the same base with different suffixes with no apparent distinction in meaning that coexisted for a certain time in the language. Eventually one of the forms survived and the other or others (if more than two) were discarded or ousted, e.g. *smallness* and *smallship* (both forms are found in Middle English, but *smallship* has not survived into Present-Day English and is not even recorded in the *OED*; see Esteban-Segura 2011). The other possibility was that some semantic differentiation took place. Continuing with the -NESS and -SHIP dichotomy, both *hardness* and *hardship* have remained in Present-Day English, but with a clear difference in meaning. The fact that, at one point, they ceased to be synonymous enabled them to survive autonomously. Hegedüs (2014: 314-315) discusses another case of this semantic

divergence: the free variants *-ic / -ical* in the example *economic crisis* vs. *economical person*. In this connection, Bauer argues that "where we have several forms, there is a tendency to try to distinguish them semantically, and where we have a single meaning, there is a tendency to try to express that consistently with a single form" (2009: 183). Lindsay (2012: 192), however, contends that while one affix will normally dominate, the less competitive affixes could still be productive if they "find a niche: a clearly defined subdomain within its potential domain —a subsystem that is therefore distinct and predictable to a speaker in spite of a general trend towards another affix". An instance of this is the suffix *-ical*, which has carved out a morphological productive niche for itself: this suffix became dominant when combined with stems that ended in *-olog* (Lindsay 2012: 201).

A remarkable number of synonymous derivations[13] have been found, but with a different distribution among text types: all of the constructions occur in *MEG-C* and not a single one has been retrieved from *MELD*. This difference may be explained by the types of texts contained in *MELD*: legalese and administrative language, as happens with the terminology of other scientific disciplines, tends to avoid meaning identity so that ambiguity is reduced. As far as suffixal doublets are concerned, there is a total of 25 (which make up 50 types of suffixes), including -NESS and -HOOD (12×)1,[14] -NESS and -SHIP (7×), -NESS and -DOM (2×), -DOM and -HOOD (1×), -DOM and -REDE(N) (1×), -SHIP and -REDE(N) (1×), and -HOOD and -LAC (1×).

The most frequent doublet is the one consisting of -NESS and -HOOD.[15] As can be seen in Table 4, the number of occurrences with -NESS is higher in eight of the doublets. In three of them, it is the same for -NESS and -HOOD; and on one occasion the number of constructions with -HOOD is higher.

-NESS > -HOOD	*-NESS = -HOOD*	*-HOOD > -NESS*
wikkednes(se (125×) / *wikkedhēd*(e (1×)	*muchelnes(se* (3×) / *muchelhēd*(e (3×)	*lustīhēd(e* (2×) / *lustīnes(se* (1×)
derknes(se (28×) / *derkhēde* (1×)	*gōstlīnes(se* (1×) / *gōstlīhēde* (1×)	
fulnes(se (14×) / *fulhēd*(e (7×)	*neuenesse* (1×) / *neuehēde* (1×)	
kīndenes(se (12×) / *kīndehēde* (1×)		
nōblenes(se (9×) / *nōblehēd(e* (1×)		
ēvennesse (8×) / *ēvenhēde* (2×)		
unkīndenes(se (4×) / *unkīndehēde* (2×)		
blessednesse (3×) / *blessedhēde* (2×)		
gōstlīnes(se (1×) / *gōstlīhēde* (1×)		
neuenesse (1×) / *neuehēde* (1×)		

Table 4. Occurrences of -NESS and -HOOD

With regard to their continuity in Present-Day English, all the forms are collected in the *OED*, but those with -HOOD are now obsolete (*blessedness / †blessedhead*; *darkness / †darkhead*; *evenness / †evenhead*; *fullness / †fullhead*; *ghostliness / †ghostlihead*; *kindness / †kindhead*; *lustiness / †lustihead*; *mickleness / †mickle*head-*†micklehood*; *newness / †newhead*; *nobleness / †noblehead*; *unkindness / †unkindhead*; *wickedness / †wickedhead*). In the case of this suffixal doublet, it can be safely said that the formations with -NESS have been the successful ones.

Both -NESS and -HOOD attach primarily to adjectives; we also find instances of some of them being attached to past participles. It is interesting to note that *derknes(se* and *ēvennesse* were already present in Old English and both forms have been the ones that have remained in the language.[16] This may indicate that the longer a form has existed, the more chances it has of surviving when competing with another.

The second most frequent doublet is that containing -NESS and -SHIP with seven different pairs.[17] This was somehow expected, since -SHIP was the third most frequent type of suffix. In five of the seven doublets, formations with -NESS are more common, whereas in two of them, the number of occurrences for each pair is the same, as shown in Table 5.

-NESS > -SHIP	*-NESS = -SHIP*
wōdnes(se (26×) / wōdship(e (1×)	*treunesse* (1×) / *treushipe* (1×)
gladnes(se (22×) / gladshipe (3×)	*wīldnes(se (1×) / wīldeship (1×)*
īdelnes(se (20×) / īdelship(e (3×)	
drŏnkenes(se (6×) / drŏnkeshipe (2×)	
clērnesse (4×) ~ clērshipe (1×)	

Table 5. Occurrences of -NESS and -SHIP

Concerning their permanence in Present-Day English, all the forms are collected in the *OED* except for *clearship*; those forms with -SHIP are now obsolete (*clearness*; *drunkenness-†drunkness / †drunkship*; *gladness / †gladship*; *idleness / †idleship*; *trueness / †trueship*; *wildness / †wildship*; *woodness / †woodship*.

The suffixes attach mainly to adjectives and also to past participles. Likewise, there are forms inherited from Old English: *drŏnkenes(se* > OE *druncen(n)es / drŏnkeshipe* > OE *druncenscipe*; *gladnes(se* > OE *glædnes / gladshipe* > OE *glædscipe*; *wōdnes(se* > OE *wōdness / wōdship(e* > OE *wōdscipe*; *īdelnes(se* > OE *īdelnes*; *treunesse* > OE *trēowness*, *trēwnes*.

Another doublet is the one formed by -NESS and -DOM, which includes *frēnes(se* and *frēdōm*, and *hōlīnes(se* and *hālī-dōm*.[18] *Halidom* is now obsolete, whereas both *freeness* and *freedom* are collected in the *OED* with no indication of obsolescence.

As for the base to which the suffixes attach, this is an adjective in all cases. Most of the forms have been in the language before Middle English: *frēdōm* > OE *frēodōm*; *hōlīnes(se* > OE *hālignes / hālī-dōm* > OE *hāliġ-dōm*.

Competition between the suffixes -DOM and -HOOD and -DOM and -REDE(N) is also found in the doublets *thraldōm* and *thralhēd(e*, and *martirdōm* and *martirrēde*.[19] -DOM was the fourth most common type and -REDE(N) the fifth. In both doublets, the forms with -DOM are the most frequent ones and also the ones that have survived into Present-Day English (*thraldom / †thrallhead*; *martyrdom*[20]). The base to which both suffixes attach are nouns.

Moreover, with one suffixal doublet, there is competition between the suffixes -SHIP and -REDE(N) in the words *fēlaushipe* and *fēlau-rēde*.[21] The formation with -SHIP is by far the more frequent and the one that has won out in Present-Day English (*fellowship / †fellowred*). Both suffixes are attached to a noun.

Finally, and also with one suffixal doublet, there is rivalry between -HOOD and -LAC in the pair *wedhōde* (*wedhode* [1×]) and *wedlōk* (*wedlac* [1×], *wedloc* [1×]). *Wedlock* has been the formation surviving into Present-Day English (*†wedhood*). Both suffixes attach to a past participle. *Wedlōk* already existed in Old English (OE *wedlāc*), which is another example of an older form surviving its rival.

Although we initially set out to assess suffixal doublets, two suffixal 'triplets' have also been found; the suffixes competing are -NESS, -HOOD and -DOM, on the one hand, and -NESS, -HOOD and -SHIP, on the other. As for the first triplet, there are two different ones in *MEG-C*: *falsnesse*, *falshēde* and *falsdōm*, and *wrecchenes(se*, *wrecchehēde* and *wrecchedōm*.[22] Formations with -NESS have once again been the most successful ones (*falseness / †falsehead / †falsedom*; *wretchedness / †wretchedhead / †wretcheddom*), although *falsehood* has also made it to Present-Day English. All suffixes are attached to adjectives.

For -NESS, -HOOD and -SHIP, there is only one triplet: *rēchelēsnes(se*, *rēchelēshēd(e* and *rēchelēsship(e*.[23] Even though the number of words carrying each suffix is similar, the formation with -NESS is again the strongest one. The three suffixes attach to an adjective. *Rēchelēsnes(se* was already available in Old English (OE *rēcelēasnes*), proving once again that the oldest form is the one that has survived into Present-Day English.

Apart from doublets and triplets, there is one suffixal 'quadruplet', involving the suffixes -NESS, -HOOD, -LAC and -SHIP in the words *fairnes(se*, *fairhēde*, *fair-lēk* and *fairshipe*.[24] All the words are registered in the *OED*, but as expected in line with the evolution of the doublets and triplets, the only one which is not obsolete in Present-Day English is the one with the suffix -NESS (*fairness / †fairhead / †fairlec / †fairship*). The suffixes coalesce with an adjective and the form with -NESS, the successful one, dates from Old English. It is worth mentioning that Old Icelandic

has the word *fagrleik-r*, which could explain the origin of *fair-lēk* as a borrowing. This needs further investigation but, if such were the case, the borrowing was not successful.

In order to explain the existence of the synonymous derivations presented so far, attention has been paid to other variables made available for investigation by the corpus, such as geographical localisation, date and genre of the texts in which the synonymous derivations appear, but they do not seem to supply any relevant information. Thus, the forms for *fulnes(se* and *fulhēd(e* appear both in the North and South of the country, in the 15th century, in religious prose and verse.

4. Conclusions

This study has presented a new account of the use of the suffixes under study by examining their occurrence in recently compiled corpora. The value of corpus work for the study of historical word formation is more than evident and the availability of fresh material offers the possibility of revisiting and enhancing previous knowledge as well as of opening new avenues of research.

Why does a certain suffix in rival patterns win over another one? Lindsay and Aronoff (2013) regard languages as "self-organizing in a manner similar to biological systems; languages are complex, continuous systems that change through numerous smaller interactions" (Aronoff and Lindsay 2014: 80). If the derivational suffix system is viewed as a continuous, living system, we could say that a process similar to that of natural selection (Lindsay and Aronoff 2013) takes place and this can help to answer the question. When there is synonymy, productive derivation, as is the case of the suffix -NESS, ensures a successful pattern which is more likely to remain, whereas the forms with the less productive suffix will be eventually eliminated from the system and become extinct (following the natural selection metaphor). Therefore, we think that productivity has a great say when it comes to successful suffixes in synonymous derivations: the higher the productivity of a suffix, the more chances it has of surviving and this is corroborated by the data obtained. More common or token-frequent forms are the ones which continue in the language, whereas lower frequency forms are less likely to be picked up by the speakers. This involves their not becoming fixed and disappearing as a result. Some suffixes had a short life, while others seem to have been widely employed. On the other hand, older forms appear to have more chances of surviving, since they have been established for longer in the language.

Not a single instance of synonymous derivations has been found in *MELD*, which points to the fact that legal and administrative language favours fixedness of forms and univocity.

The co-occurrence of the same base with different suffixes could have been due to stylistic factors, for instance, an alternative form may have been created with the intention of contrasting it with the established form. Another explanation could be scribal preference of one form over another.

As can be seen from what has been discussed so far, noun formation in Middle English was a much freer process than it is in Present-Day English. The changing and heterogeneous nature of the language at this period is especially reflected in derivational patterns.

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Notes

[1] For previous research on Middle English derivation see Ciszek (2008: 16-17).

[2] Due to the different spelling variants of the suffixes, reference to them is made from now on in terms of prototypes and indicated by means of small capitals.

[3] Szymanek employs the label 'rival forms' (2005: 441).

[4] Ciszek succinctly deals with synonymous derivations, referring to them as "structurally and semantically parallel derivatives" (2008: 51).

[5] The author is grateful to Prof. Merja Stenroos (University of Stavanger) for kindly granting access to use the corpora.

[6] See <http://www.uis.no/getfile.php/1339078/Forskning/Kultur/MEG/Catalogue_2011_Master_3.pdf> for further information.

[7] Esteban-Segura found suffixal doublets in Middle English medical prose and examined other registers to determine whether this variation occurred elsewhere. She concluded that alternation took place "in a restricted number of words (all of them with a specialized medical sense)" (2011: 191).

[8] The search elements included the following: *dom*, *dam*, *doom*, *daam*; *hod*, *hood*, *had*, *head*, *heed*, *hat*, *hied*, *hed, *hede, *hedd, *heid, *hyd, *heuede; *lac*, *lec*, *leac*,

lez, *lack*, *loc*; *nes*, *nys*, *nis*, *nus*, *nas*, *naes*, *nec*; *red, *rede, *redd, *redde, *raed, *raede, *raedd, *raedde, *reden, *redden, *raeden, *raedden; *ship* , *chip*, *scip*, *sipe*, *sip, *sipp, *sippe, *shyp*, *chyp*, *scyp*, *sype*, *syp, *sypp, *syppe, *shep*, *chep*, *scep*, *sepe*, *sep, *sepp, *seppe, *chup*, *sup*, *shup*, *chop*, *shap, *scap.

[9] Many of the instances retrieved were not suffixes and, as a consequence, they were not pertinent: *nes*, for example, returned words such as *persones*, *townes* or *nescessary*.

[10] 'Root' and 'base' are taken as synonyms (see Blake 1992: 624).

[11] In the *OED*, -HEAD and -HOOD are listed as two different suffixes, although there seems to be some controversy because, as explained, ultimately -HEAD comes from the same Germanic base as the suffix -HOOD, although the details are not clear. Marchand (1969: 293) points out that -HEAD is "an unexplained by-form" of -HOOD. In the *MED*, the main entry for the suffix is *-hēd(e* and *-hōd* is provided as an alternative form. Taking this into account and for the purposes of the present research, *-hed* and *-hood* are treated as forms of the same suffix, -HOOD. Therefore, in words such as *childhood* (*childehede*, *childehode*, *childhede*, *child-hood*) or *manhood* (*manhede*, *manhed*, *manhode*, *manheed*, *manhod*, *monhed*, *manhood*, *manheede*, *manhoode*, *monhede*), in which both suffixes are found, they have not been considered a suffixal doublet.

[12] Since only two Late Middle English corpora have been used, it is beyond the scope of this paper to assess productivity diachronically in a comprehensive way; our intention is to compare it in two different corpora from a synchronic perspective.

[13] Synonymous derivations include suffixal doublets (the same base with two different suffixes), suffixal triplets (the same base with three different suffixes) and suffixal quadruplets (the same base with four different suffixes).

[14] Although the forms 'godnes' and 'godhede' (with different spelling realisations) occur, they have not been included since there is a semantic differentiation —the latter refers to divinity— and therefore the pair cannot be considered a suffixal doublet.

[15] Appendix I lists the items found in the corpus: firstly, the lemma taken from the *MED* in bold; secondly, the different spelling realisations; and finally, the number of occurrences in decreasing frequency.

[16] If not stated, the forms date from the Middle English period.

[17] Appendix II includes the items found in the corpus: firstly, the lemma taken from the *MED* in bold; secondly, the different spelling realisations; and finally, the number of occurrences in decreasing frequency.

[18] See Appendix III for the different spelling realisations.

[19] See Appendix IV for the different spelling realisations.

[20] The formation of *martyr* + the suffix -REDE(N) is not attested either in the *MED* or the *OED*, nor is it found in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. There is only one instance of it in the corpus ('m*a*rtir*re*d'), in a text from the West Midlands.

[21] See Appendix V for the different spelling realisations.

[22] See Appendix VI for the different spelling realisations.

[23] See Appendix VII for the different spelling realisations.

[24] See Appendix VIII for the different spelling realisations.

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Appendix I: Occurrences of -NESS and -HOOD

-NESS	-HOOD
blessednesse: blessydnesse (2×), blessidnes (1×)	**blessedhēde:** blissedhede (1×), blyssedhede (1×)
derknes(se: derkenesse (9×), derkenes (7×), derknesse (5×), derknes (4×), derkenusse (1×), derknessis (1×), derknysse (1×)	**derkhēde:** derkhede (1×)
ēvennesse: euenesse (3×), eue*nn*es (3×), euenesses (1×), euennesse (1×)	**ēvenhēde:** euenhed (2×)
fulnes(se: fulnes (6×), volnesse (5×), fullenesse (1×), fulness (1×), volnes (1×)	**fulhēd(e:** fulhede (4×), fulhed (2×), fulthede (1×)
gōstlīnes(se: gostlynes (1×)	**gōstlīhēde:** gostlyhed (1×)
kīndenes(se: kyndenes (5×), kyndnes (4×), kendenes (1×), kyndenese (1×), kyndnesse (1×)	**kīndehēde:** kyndehede (1×)
lustīnes(se: lustenes (1×)	**lustīhēd(e:** lustihede (1×), lustyhed (1×)
muchelnes(se: mykelnes (2×), mochelnesse (1×)	**muchelhēd(e:** mikelhed (1×), mikelhode (1×), mykelhed (1×)
neuenesse: newnes (1×)	**neuehēde:** newe-hed (1×)
nōblenes(se: nobylnesse (4×), nobelnes (1×), nobilnes (1×), noblenes (1×), nobulnes (1×), nobylnes (1×)	**nōblehēd(e:** nobel-hede (1×)
unkīndenes(se: vnkyndenes (2×), vnkyndenesse (1×), vnkyndnes (1×)	**unkīndehēde:** vnkyndehede (1×), vnkyndhede (1×)
wikkednes(se: wickednes (22×), wickidnes (11×), wykkednes (9×), wickednesse (8×), wickidnesse (5×), wikkenesse (5×), wyckednes (5×), wykkednesse (5×), wikkednes (4×), wikkednesse (3×), wyckydnes (3×), wiccutnes (2×), wickenesse (2×), wickudenusse (2×), wikednes (2×), wikkidnesse (2×), wyckydnesse (2×), wykednesse (2×), wckednes (1×), wekydnes (1×), wiccodnes (1×), wiccudnisse (1×), wickedenesse (1×), wickidnesses (1×), wicodnes (1×), wikednesse (1×), wikidnes (1×), wikidnesse (1×), wikkedenesse (1×), wikkedenessis (1×), wikkenes (1×), wikkudnesse (1×), wikodnes (1×), wikydnesse (1×), wilkednes (1×), wyckednesse (1×), wyckednesses (1×), wyckydnesses (1×), wyckydnessys (1×), wyckydnysse (1×), wykednes (1×), wykkedenes (1×), wykkednisse (1×), wykkenes (1×), wykkenesse (1×), wykkidnes (1×), wykkydnes (1×), wykkydnesse (1×), wykydnesse (1×)	**wikkedhēd(e:** wickedhede (1×)

Appendix II: Occurrences of -NESS and -SHIP

-NESS	-SHIP
clērnesse: clerenes (2×), clernes (2×)	**clērshipe:** clerchippe (1×)
drŏnkenes(se: dru*n*kenesse (2×), dronkenes (1×), dronke*nn*esse (1×), drounknes (1×), dru*n*knes (1×)	**drŏnkeshipe:** dronkeschype (1×), dronkschep (1×)
gladnes(se: gladnes (12×), gladnesse (8×), gladdenes (2×)	**gladshipe:** gladship (3×)
īdelnes(se: ydelnesse (4×), jdelnes (3×), ydelnes (3×), idelnes (2×), idelnesse (1×), jdilnesse (1×), jdylnes (1×), ydelnese (1×), ydelnessys (1×), ydelnys (1×), ydulnes (1×), yldelnesses (1×)	**īdelship(e:** jdelschippe (1×), ydellschyp (1×), ydelship (1×)
treunesse: triwenesse (1×)	**treushipe:** trushipe (1×)
wīldnes(se: wildenesse (1×)	**wīldeship:** wildeschepe (1×)
wōdnes(se: wodnes (5×), woodnesse (5×), wodenes (4×), wodnesse (3×), wodenesse (2×), woodenesse (2×), woddenes (1×), wodenys (1×), wodnisse (1×), woidenes (1×), woodenes (1×)	**wōdship(e:** widship (1×)

Appendix III: Occurrences of -NESS and -DOM

-NESS	-DOM
frēnes(se: freenesse (2×)	**frēdōm:** fredom (12×), fredam (3×), fredome (2×), fredomes (2×), fredom~ (1×)
hōlīnes(se: holynesse (13×), holynes (12×), halynes (9×), holines (2×), halynese (1×), helynes (1×), holenes (1×), holinesse (1×), holynusse (1×)	**hālī-dōm:** halydom (1×), halydome (1×), holydome (1×)

Appendix IV: Occurrences of -DOM and -HOOD / -DOM and -REDE(N)

-DOM	-HOOD
thraldōm: þraldome (9×), thraldam~ (2×), thraldom (2×), thraldom~ (2×), thraldome (2×), þraldom (2×), thraldame (1×), þraldam (1×), þraldom~ (1×)	**thralhēd(e:** þralhede (3×)
-DOM	**-REDE(N)**
martirdōm: marterdom (3×), martirdome (3×), martyrdome (3×), martirdam (1×), m*ar*tirdom (1×), martirdom (1×), martirdom~ (1×), m*ar*t*ur*da*m* (1×), marturdomys (1×), m*ar*tyrda*m* (1×)	**martirrēde:** m*ar*tir*re*d (1×)

Appendix V: Occurrences of -SHIP and -REDE(N)

-SHIP	-REDE(N)
fēlaushipe: felawschyp (2×), felawshipp (2×), feleschip (2×), feleschype (2×), felischip (2×), felaschep (1×), felaschip (1×), felaschup (1×), felauship (1×), felaweschup (1×), felawschepe (1×), felawschip (1×), felawschipe (1×), felawschype (1×), felawship (1×), felawshipe (1×), felechip (1×), feleschipe (1×), feleshyp (1×), felischipe (1×), felischippe (1×), feliship (1×), felowschipe (1×), felowshipe (1×), felyschip (1×)	**fēlau-rēde:** felaghrede (1×)

Appendix VI: Occurrences of -NESS, -HOOD and -DOM

-NESS	-HOOD	-DOM
falsnesse: falsnes (15×), falsnesse (7×), falsenes (3×), falnesse (1×), falsenesse (1×), falnysse (1×)	**falshēde:** falshede (12×), falshed (7×), falsehed (1×), falshode (1×), falsse-hed (1×)	**falsdōm:** falsedom (1×)
wrecchenes(se: wrichenes (1×)	**wrecchehēde:** wrecchede (1×)	**wrecchedōm:** wrecchedome (1×)

Appendix VII: Occurrences of -NESS, -HOOD and -SHIP

-NESS	-HOOD	-SHIP
rēchelēsnes(se: reklesnes (1×)	**rēchelēshēd(e:** rechleshede (1×), reklesheed (1×)	**rēchelēsship(e:** rechelaschepe (1×)

Appendix VIII: Occurrences of -NESS, -HOOD, -LAC and -SHIP

-NESS	-HOOD	-LAC	-SHIP
fairnes(se: fayrnesse (8×), fairenes (3×), fayrenes (3×), fairnesse (2×), fayrnes (2×), fayrnusse (2×), fairenesse (1×), fayrenesse (1×), fayr~nes (1×), fayr~nesse (1×), fayrnysse (1×), feirnes (1×), feyrenes (1×), feyrnes (1×)	**fairhēde:** fairehede (3×), fairhed (3×), fayrehed (1×)	**fair-lēk:** feyrelac (1×)	**fairshipe:** feyrship (1×)

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LINGUISTIC ACCURACY IN SPANISH ADOLESCENT LEARNERS' EFL WRITINGS

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Abstract

This paper presents an exploratory study of linguistic accuracy in Spanish adolescent students' writings in English as a foreign language (EFL) (N = 54) by examining learner errors in morphology (grammar), lexis and syntax. The effect of two writing task variables, i.e. length and time constraints, was also considered. Linguistic accuracy in students' texts was mostly characterised by non-transfer errors in morphology with verbal tense and aspect appearing as the most problematic areas. Transfer errors were also present in students' texts, but were more frequent in syntax and lexis. Additionally, the percentage of error occurrence in shorter essays was higher than in longer essays, and time constraints did not affect the number of students' errors. These findings may provide information to Spanish adolescent students of English and their teachers that could be useful to improve the learning and teaching of writing in EFL.

Keywords: EFL, linguistic accuracy, learner errors, foreign language writing, adolescent learners.

Resumen

Este artículo presenta un estudio exploratorio sobre la precisión lingüística en la escritura de adolescentes españoles en inglés como lengua extranjera (ILE) me-

diante el examen de sus errores en morfología (gramática), léxico y sintaxis. Se consideró el efecto de la extensión y la limitación temporal en la tarea de escritura. La precisión lingüística en los textos se caracterizó principalmente por errores de no-transferencia en morfología, con el tiempo verbal y el aspecto como las áreas de mayor dificultad. También se dieron errores de transferencia en los textos de los estudiantes, pero con mayor frecuencia en la sintaxis y el léxico. Por otra parte, el porcentaje de errores fue mayor en los textos cortos que en los textos largos, y la limitación temporal no afectó al número de errores de los alumnos. Estos resultados podrían proporcionar información tanto a adolescentes españoles aprendices de inglés como a sus profesores que podría ser útil para mejorar el aprendizaje y la enseñanza de la escritura en ILE.

Palabras clave: ILE, exactitud lingüística, errores del aprendiz, escritura en lengua extranjera, aprendices adolescentes.

1. Introduction

Linguistic accuracy or the "ability to be free from errors while using the language" (Wolfe-Quintero et al. 1998: 33) has been considered "an interesting, relevant construct for research in […] second language acquisition, L2 writing assessment, and L2 writing pedagogy" (Polio 1997: 102). The study of linguistic accuracy may provide answers about learners' interlanguages under different conditions; it may yield useful information on learner language across testing situations; and it may shed light on the editing stage of L2 writing, so that certain guidelines for the implementation of successful pedagogical techniques may be developed. Additionally, EFL adolescent writers belong to "the most fraught and the most complex" of all contexts in which writing in L2/FL takes place (Leki et al. 2008: 17). Therefore, exploring their linguistic accuracy may be a challenging enterprise.

As a construct referring to the degree of conformity to certain norms, linguistic accuracy mainly involves the notion of error (Bui and Skehan 2018). The study of learner errors has long concerned Second Language Acquisition (SLA) scholars and language educators, since it has contributed to elucidate learners' knowledge of the target language and has been central to the issue of corrective feedback (Ur 1996; Ellis 2001, 2015; Ortega 2009; Harmer 2015). In this way, exploring the linguistic accuracy of EFL adolescent student writers may be revealing of their L2 proficiency in this language domain (cf. Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman 1989; Kroll 1990; Dagneaux et al. 1998; Darus and Khor 2009). This may provide information that could be useful for teachers in terms of L2 writing instruction and error treatment in the classroom, and for students regarding their own language learning process through writing.

Information on students' error frequencies and types might help teachers to make decisions on which perspective they should adopt in the classroom within the learning to write (LW) and writing to learn (WL) dimensions of L2 writing (Manchón 2011; Hirvela et al. 2016). Thus, if students' errors impede understanding of text content and are serious enough to make their texts unacceptable according to English language rules and conventions, teachers might decide to concentrate on teaching morphology, syntax and lexis. In this way, they may favour a writing to learn the language (WLL) approach instead of focusing on text type, purpose, audience, content, and organization as in LW perspectives like process-oriented and genre-based approaches (Manchón 2011). Additionally, teachers may employ more direct as opposed to indirect corrective feedback accompanied by metalinguistic explanation to enhance these low proficiency learners' understanding of their errors.

Knowledge of error number and type might also raise students' awareness of those areas in L2 writing in which they have language learning difficulties. In this way, they can make more adequate decisions on their own language learning process and perform specific actions that may help them progress. This information might also be valuable for teachers who may thus be better equipped to assist students by designing more tailor-made material and planning lessons more attuned to their needs.

In view of the above, this study aims to account for the linguistic accuracy of Secondary School Spanish students in personal opinion essays in EFL. More specifically, it addresses the following research questions: In which field do errors characterizing students' linguistic accuracy most frequently occur within morphology, lexis and syntax? (RQ1); and to what extent does the length of the writing task and time constraints influence the number of errors made? (RQ2 and RQ3 respectively). Time constraints were especially important, since "the relationship between time and essay quality has been chiefly overlooked" in FL writing (Kenworthy 2006: 2).

2. Theoretical background

In this section, an account of linguistic accuracy is offered as a measure of learner proficiency in L2/FL. The relevance of learner errors in linguistic accuracy and the SLA field is also highlighted, followed by a discussion of foreign language writing in relation to the context of this study.

2.1. Linguistic accuracy

Linguistic accuracy is a construct that has typically been related to complexity and fluency in second language research and pedagogy, giving place to what is known as CAF measures of language proficiency (Housen and Kuiken 2009; Bui and

Skehan 2018). These three measures (complexity, accuracy and fluency) have been defined as a property of language performance both from the perspective of performance as a product and performance as a process (Pallotti 2009; Bui and Skehan 2018). They have also been argued to be independent from each other, since "learners might be strong on one or two, but not necessarily on all three", and what influences one of these areas might not affect the others (Bui and Skehan 2018: 1). Therefore, accuracy together with complexity and fluency has been invoked to assess learners' performance in oral and written tasks, their underlying proficiency, and their progress in L2/FL learning.

In general, linguistic accuracy refers to the extent a learner converges with or diverges from the conventions or rules of the target language. Therefore, it is necessarily related to errors (Wolfe-Quintero et al. 1998; Housen and Kuiken 2009; Bui and Skehan 2018). Regarding complexity, there are two types: lexical and syntactic. Lexical complexity, often called "lexical richness", "covers practically all lexical constructs and their associated measures —including but not limited to lexical diversity and lexical sophistication" (Jarvis 2013: 89). Lexical diversity has been measured through indices that concentrate on type-token ratios, whereas indices of lexical sophistication refer to the ratio of high frequency to low frequency words (Crossley et al. 2011) according to frequency lists, e.g. the New General Service List (NGSL) (Browne et al. 2013). Syntactic complexity is typically calculated through general complexity indices like ratio of subordination or length of a clause per T-unit, and specific complexity indices based on a range of grammatical structures (Bui and Skehan 2018). Finally, fluency concerns ease of expression "usually ensconced in some qualitative-temporal requirement performance" (Dormer 2016: 275). Commonly used indices of fluency in written communication include number of words per T-unit, number of correctly spelled words per sentences or letter-sequences, rate of composition, length of proposed text, output 'chunk' size and pausing (Dormer 2016).

These three notions (accuracy, complexity and fluency) have not been uncontroversial, since they have commonly been operationalized and measured as uni-dimensional, linear, and static units without any reported validity and reliability in the literature (Polio 1997, 2001; Wolfe-Quintero et al. 1998; Housen and Kuiken 2009; Larsen-Freeman 2009; Pallotti 2009; Skehan 2009; Polio and Shea 2014). Researchers in the field have therefore proposed to use more socially-oriented specific measures of performance along with general measures (Larsen-Freeman 2009), supplement the measures employed by measures of lexical use (Skehan 2009), and use appropriateness to communicative goals and situations as a way to interpret these constructs (Pallotti 2009).

Notwithstanding this criticism, linguistic accuracy has featured as "the oldest, most transparent, and most consistent construct of the triad" (Housen and Kuiken 2009: 3). It has commonly been measured through number of errors per one hundred words, presence of errors per T-unit, and ratio of error-free clauses to all clauses. With regards to L2 writing, it has been described as "a broad term that has to do with the absence of errors" (Polio 2001: 94). However, focusing on the presence of errors rather than their absence can contribute to depict this notion in a more detailed manner, since information is offered on error type (cf. Polio 1997). In this paper, we have assumed a relationship between students' errors in their writings, which are partly illustrative of their linguistic accuracy, and their knowledge of the target language, which is revealing of their interlanguage systems. In particular, we have taken errors to depict "L2 knowledge representation and [...] the level of analysis of internalized linguistic information" (Housen and Kuiken 2009: 2).

2.2. Learner errors

Presence of learner errors in terms of number and types has been used as a measure of linguistic accuracy in many studies of L2 writing along with holistic measures, error free units, and measures of error severity (Polio 1997; Wolfe-Quintero et al. 1998; Polio and Shea 2014). Learner errors have thus been essential in the conceptualization of linguistic accuracy in L2 writing research, and they have also been the focus of a vast amount of research in SLA for years. Errors started to be investigated through Error Analysis (EA), a specific type of linguistic analysis, which emerged as a reaction to Contrastive Analysis (CA), and offered a broader range of possible explanations for errors beyond L1 interference. Errors were mostly related to the version of the target language used or known by the learner, i.e. his/her *interlanguage* (Selinker 1972), and therefore they were considered by-products of his/her learning process (Corder 1967, 1981).

Although EA provided a starting point for the systematic study of learner language and SLA, it has generally been criticized on different grounds (cf. Taylor 1986; Lennon 1991; Dagneaux et al. 1998; James 1998; Ellis 2001); it is based on heterogeneous learner data; error categories are fuzzy; it cannot cater for a learner's avoidance of performance when s/he perceives an area of difficulty in L2/FL; it is restricted to what the learner cannot do; and it offers a static picture of L2/FL learning. These criticisms "need not spell the death of error analysis" (Taylor 1986: 145). EA can still be a valid enterprise and may be used with other techniques, (e.g. corpus- and computer-based analysis) to provide an answer to certain research questions or test specific hypotheses besides enquiring into learner interlanguage systems (cf. Taylor 1986; Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman 1989; Dagneaux et al. 1998;

James 1998; Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005; Castillejos 2009; Mendikoetxea et al. 2010; Mediero and Robles 2012).

In this study, exploring errors as a measure of linguistic accuracy in the writings of Spanish adolescent EFL students has been deemed relevant, since it may shed light on areas of difficulty for these students in this language domain. As previously discussed, information on error frequency and type may provide both teachers and students with a clearer picture of the latter's writing proficiency in EFL, since "accuracy is certainly part of writing quality" (Polio and Shea 2014: 24). In this way, students can make more appropriate decisions about their language learning process, and teachers may shape their teaching practices more precisely to meet their needs.

2.3. Foreign language writing

In spite of the L2 bias pervading FL writing (Manchón 2009), the latter should be distinguished from L2 writing in that the manner in which writing is learnt and taught in FL contexts is subjected to a series of social and material conditions that differ from those in L2 contexts. Learners in FL writing contexts have less contact with the language under study outside the classroom than those in L2 settings, albeit still considerable in our increasingly globalised world. Therefore, they may be less used to the writing conventions of English. Learning and giving instruction on FL writing thus requires more careful planning and greater use of materials and resources that help FL learners not only to *learn to write* in the target language for academic or professional reasons, but to *write to learn the language* (Manchón 2009, 2011). In this regard, LW approaches with beginner FL writers may not be helpful, since they need to learn to verbalise their thoughts in the target language first before handling more complex textual functions. Researchers such as Roca de Larios et al. (2007) have demonstrated that Spanish Secondary School students' low proficiency in EFL affects the interaction of formulation with other composing processes (i.e. revising and planning) since such students spend a great deal of time on the former due to their limited linguistic repertoire and lack of more automated processes of information retrieval.

In this study, we have adopted a product-oriented perspective on writing, whereby we have considered the formal and grammatical features of learner texts and good writing a demonstration of "linguistic accuracy and clear exposition" on the part of the learner (Hyland 2011: 22). Product-centred perspectives have frequently been criticised for primarily paying attention to the surface features of texts, and viewing written products as one-shot static discourses rather than dynamic interactions between the writer, the reader(s), and the context of communication (Manchón 2001; Hyland 2011). However, we believe that a product-oriented

approach may be appropriate for the purposes of this study, and it may also be useful for low proficiency learners beginning to write in EFL as long as they are also encouraged to attend, in a very simple manner, to the content of their communication, the recipient and the context (cf. Leki 1992; Ferris 2002). Certainly, process-oriented and genre perspectives to FL writing should be sought after in the long run within the communicative language classroom.

We shall further argue that a product-based perspective can be suitable in FL writing for an error-based analysis of linguistic accuracy to help students improve their writing skills (cf. e.g. Kobayashi and Rinnert 1992; Frantzen 1995; Dagneaux et al. 1998; Darus and Khor 2009). As advocated by Myles (2002: 2), a product-oriented approach to FL writing is relevant for error treatment, since students first need sufficient feedback on their errors before moving to a "process approach to instruction, with its emphasis on the writing process, meaning-making, invention and multiple drafts". Therefore, writing to learn with these students, especially writing to learn the language, may be a more adequate approach than learning to write.

3. Methods

3.1. Participants

The participants in this research are a group of Spanish students (N = 28), aged 17-18, 15 male and 13 female, in their last year of Secondary School with an average A1-A2 level of English. Writing and linguistic accuracy in this year is strongly emphasized due to the imminent College entrance examination they have to sit. Thus, last year students' productions were highly suitable for the purpose of this study.

The teacher was an L1 Spanish speaker with seven years of experience in EFL teaching at Secondary School and other educational levels.

3.2. Data and data collection procedures

The data for this research are 54 opinion essays produced by the above mentioned students (two essays each) on two different topics: risky driving and car accidents, and technology and its influence on everyday life. The essays respond to two writing tasks: a homework assignment, and a test performed in class (see Appendix). The students had previous knowledge on the essay topics, since they had been discussed in class. Therefore, they were already familiar with certain content, terms and expressions. However, these topics were simply designed as part of the syllabus rather than explicitly proposed to help students to generate ideas for their essays.

Opinion essays were considered appropriate for this research because they enable the students to express themselves freely, and therefore may illustrate their linguistic accuracy more faithfully.

From these texts, a *specific* sample, namely, a sample that belongs to a limited number of learners, and an *incidental* sample, i.e. a sample produced by single learners (Ellis 2001; Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005), were selected to investigate the relationship between errors and length of writing task (RQ2), and errors and time constraints (RQ3). These samples were representative of long and short essays (specific sample) and homework and test essays (incidental sample) in the data. Taking into account essay length and time constraints, we established a distinction between long essays (LE) (130-150 words and beyond) and short essays (SE) (less than 130 words), and homework writing assignment (HWA) and test writing assignment (TWA). SE did not comply with the task instructions, and therefore offered a measure of essay length below task requirements. Our specific sample included the most representative 6 long essays (n = 6) and short essays (n = 6) of our corpus, produced by 12 students, whilst our incidental sample included HWA (n = 6) and TWA (n = 6), produced by 6 students, one assignment type each.

Other data in this study include: fieldnotes based on classroom observation; other written samples of learner language that were obtained from different writing tasks students performed in their textbooks; and conferencing the classroom in ELF on their own errors. These interviews were brief and were conducted individually in the context of the classroom after delivering the texts to the students with feedback on their errors. Only those students whose errors and mistakes were not clear to us were interviewed. All these data were collected with the aim of obtaining information that could help further interpret our results and were analysed following content analysis (Krippendorff and Bock 2009).

3.3. Analysis

Error identification, explanation and classification were not devoid of problems. In order to recognise errors, we followed Lennon's (1991: 182) definition of error: "a linguistic form or combination of forms which, in the same context and under similar conditions of production, would, in all likelihood, not be produced by the speakers' native speaker counterparts". Grammaticality was then our main criterion for error identification.

Kroll's "syntactic reconstruction" criterion for error identification and classification was also applied, and so, we determined "what 'syntactic reconstruction' could most easily and economically render the sentence into acceptable English given the context" (1990: 143). We focused on content words for lexical errors, which amounted to a search for the wrong word. For instance, using the wrong verb in a

sentence like "This technologies can't ocuppe all the time" was coded as a lexical error. However, if a student used the right base with the wrong ending (e.g. *consumist* for *consumerist*), we coded the error as both lexical and morphological.

Errors were distinguished from mistakes by contrasting learner language in our written samples with learner language from the other written samples already mentioned. These comparisons were made at the same time as the students' essays were analysed. If fluctuation on a linguistic form was observed in a student's texts, erroneous instances were considered mistakes. However, if a form was consistently wrong across the student's writings, instances of its erroneous usage were considered errors. The students' interviews on their own performance also added to the distinction between errors and mistakes in the data, since the students were not able to self-correct their errors, but did correct their mistakes.

For our error-based analysis, we used Corder's (1981) framework. Therefore, our analysis included: error identification; error description (morphological, lexical, and syntactic); and error explanation, whereby certain errors were considered the result of L1 transfer and could sometimes be phrasing errors (*transfer errors*), whilst others were not related to L1 transfer (*non-transfer errors*) (cf. Ellis 2000; Mediero and Robles 2012). Transfer errors were further classified as follows (Ellis 2000):

a. *False friends and false cognates*: the student uses an item incorrectly because it shares features with an item in their L1, for instance, the incorrect use of "embarrassment" for "pregnancy" by an L1 Spanish speaker because of analogy with the term *embarazo*: "She was very happy with her embarrassment" ("She was very happy with her pregnancy").

b. *Transfer of linguistic feature*: the student uses an L1 feature (lexical, grammatical, pragmatic), rather than a target language feature: In Spanish, present simple is used to convey an immediate future action, whereas in English the auxiliary "will" is used: "I take an aspirin" ("I'll take an aspirin").

Following Ellis (2000), non-transfer errors qualified as errors of:

a. *Over-generalization*, in which the learner creates a deviant structure in the L2/FL based on their experience in other target language structures, e.g.: "The cat eated the fish" ("The cat ate the fish").

b. *Ignorance of rule restrictions*, which may occur at the level of syntax or lexis, and can be caused by analogy or by rote learning of rules, for instance: "The children are full of energy" ("Children are full of energy") or "He runs fastly" ("He runs fast").

c. *Incomplete application of rules*, which illustrates the degree of development in the rules required to produce acceptable utterances: "I washed me" ("I washed myself").

d. *False concepts hypothesized*, which indicates faulty comprehension of certain distinctions in the target language: "I have just done a cake" ("I have just made a cake").

Lastly, to ensure inter-reliability, another trained coder analysed most of the data following these error categories. This coder was a doctoral student doing research on errors and linguistic transfer. Our analyses were then compared, and those cases classified under more than one category were discussed. If appropriate, the error was coded more than once. Ambiguous cases were discarded. 92% agreement was reached.

4. Results and discussion

This section reports and discusses the findings of this study in terms of the most frequent non-transfer and transfer errors made by students within morphology, lexis and syntax. A discussion of the influence of essay length and time constraints in students' linguistic accuracy follows.

4.1. Linguistic accuracy and learner errors in EFL writing

Regarding our RQ1, the mean score of errors per word in the data was M = 0.103, which indicates that students made 10 errors per 100 words. The total number of errors found was N = 774, and student essays amounted to 7,467 words, with a minimum and maximum word length of 83 and 205 words respectively. Linguistic accuracy in student texts was mainly characterised by non-transfer errors (59.81%, n = 463) versus transfer errors (40.19%, n = 311). Non-transfer errors mainly affected morphology (38.88%, n = 301). However, transfer errors outnumbered non-transfer errors in syntax (19.12%, n = 148) and lexis (12.14%, n = 94) (Table 1).

	Non-transfer	%	Transfer	%	*Total*	*%*
Morphology	301	38.88	69	8.91	370	47.8
Syntax	95	12.27	148	19.12	243	31.4
Lexis	67	8.65	94	12.14	161	20.8
Total	463	59.81	311	40.19	774	100

Table 1. Distribution of non-transfer and transfer errors in the students' writing

Morphology therefore emerged as the linguistic area most affected by error in the data. These results support previous research that depicts non-transfer errors as more frequent in EFL compositions than in translation tasks (Ellis 2001); and depicts morphology as the weakest language system (Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman 1989).

Nevertheless, one needs to be cautious about these findings, since the proportion of non-transfer and transfer errors varies considerably in light of a student's age, language level, tasks type, and the kind of language samples collected (Ellis 2001).

Thus, in their analysis of High School L1 Spanish learners' writings in EFL, Ibáñez and Hernández (2011) found that transfer errors were predominant in their data, and grammar-syntax was the linguistic area most affected by error. A plausible explanation for these different findings from ours might be that they only considered tasks consisting of exams, and their grammar-syntax category includes units that qualify under morphology in our study (i.e. verbal tense, gerunds and infinitives, and pronouns). By contrast, Mediero and Robles (2012) obtained similar results to ours, since college EFL learners with different proficiency levels made more morphological errors than syntactic and lexical errors at lower proficiency levels.

Within morphology, problematic elements concerned verb-related units (38.37%, n = 142), prepositions (21.89%, n = 81), and articles and determiners (14.86%, n = 5; 11.08%, n = 41) (Table 2).

Morphological element	Non-transfer	%	Transfer	%	*Total*	%
Verb (total)	87	23.51	55	14.86	142	38.37
Preposition	42	11.35	39	10.54	81	21.89
Article	45	12.16	10	2.70	55	14.86
Determiner	41	11.08	0	0.00	41	11.08
Noun	17	4.59	8	2.16	25	6.75
Adjective	12	3.24	0	0.00	12	3.24
Pronoun (referencing)	9	2.43	0	0.00	9	2.43
Adverb	5	1.35	0	0.00	5	1.35
Total	258	69.72	112	30.27	370	100

Table 2. Distribution of non-transfer and transfer errors in linguistic elements of a morphological nature

Of the verb-related units, verbal tense and voice (40.14%, n = 57), gerunds and infinitives (24.64%, n = 35), subject pronouns (the *–s* in the third person singular) (10.56%, n = 15), and negative forms (9.15%, n = 13) were the most difficult for students (Table 3).

Verb-related elements	Non-transfer	%	Transfer	%	*Total*	*%*
Tenses/voice	18	12.67	39	27.46	57	40.14
Gerund and infinitive	22	15.49	13	9.15	35	24.64
3rd person –s	15	10.56	0	0.00	15	10.56
Negative forms	13	9.15	0	0.00	13	9.15
Modal verbs	10	7.04	2	1.40	12	8.45
Verb-subject agreement	6	4.22	1	4.92	7	4.92
There is/there are	3	2.11	0	0.00	3	2.11
	87	61.24	55	38.76	142	100

Table 3. Distribution of non-transfer and transfer errors in verb-related elements

As can be observed, non-transfer errors were more abundant than transfer errors in all the aforementioned categories except for verbal tense and voice, in which transfer errors were more frequent. This indicates that students erroneously used L1 verbal tense and voice to build their sentences in English more often than making other kinds of errors in the verbal tense and voice category. This is in keeping with the high predominance of transfer versus non-transfer errors in syntax in this study.

The results in Table 3 also back the findings of investigations like Darus and Khor's (2009), who observed more difficulties with tenses and prepositions than with other elements in EFL writings of L1 Chinese schoolers. Kenworthy (2006) also notes that subject-verb agreement, word choice and verb use are troublesome for L1 Cantonese intermediate-level college EFL writers. Ferris (2002) argues that the most problematic issues for ESL learners regarding morphology are verbal tense and aspect, and James (1998) establishes that verb-related units are the most frequent and persistent morphological problems for EFL writers.

However, studies like Dagneaux et al.'s (1998) and Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman's (1989) evince a higher proportion of errors in articles than in verbal elements and pronouns in written essays from L1 French EFL learners, and EFL learners across proficiency levels and L1 backgrounds respectively. It should be noted that learners in these studies were advanced EFL college students, and that the errors analysed come from a variety of writing tasks including translation assignments.

Non-transfer errors were mainly errors of overgeneralization (53.56%, n = 248) and ignorance of rule restrictions (27.86%, n = 129) versus errors based on false concepts hypothesized (11.66%, n = 54) and incomplete application of rules (6.91%, n = 32) (see Figure 1).

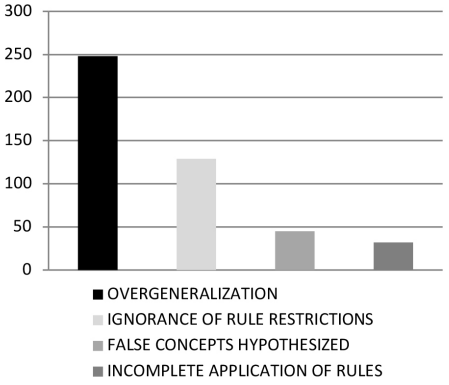

Figure 1. Non-transfer errors

Example (1) illustrates a morphological overgeneralization type of error. This extract is part of a student's essay on how risky driving and car accidents can be reduced. In offering a solution to these problems, the learner refers to the idea of "having safe roads", but makes an intralingual morphological error of overgeneralization when using this expression, since she extends the rule "use the indefinite article with singular countable nouns" to plural countable nouns.

(1) HWA.LE. Topic: risky driving and car accidents.
… everybody should help to avoid car accidents in this way *to have a safe roads.*
Syntactic reconstruction: to have safe roads.
Possible source: interlingual error, overgeneralization.

Example (2) shows a morphological error due to ignorance of rule restrictions, in which the learner does not know that the adjective "responsible" requires the preposition "for", and uses the preposition "to" because of analogy with similar phrases in English (e.g. "we are happy to announce"). This was observed in another short written sample by him.

(2) HWA.LE. Topic: risky driving and car accidents.
… So we are responsible <u>to</u> try to reduce this large number.
Syntactic reconstruction: we are responsible for trying to reduce this number.
Error type: non-transfer, ignorance of rule restrictions.

The following extract exemplifies an error based on false concepts hypothesized, since the learner shows faulty comprehension of the distinction between the indefinite article "a" and the numeral "one". Other errors in the example are transfer of linguistic feature errors affecting verbal tenses.

(3) TWA.SE. Topic: technology and everyday life.
I have one phone since I'm 11 years old.
Syntactic reconstruction: I have had a phone since I was 11 years old.
Error type: non-transfer, false concepts hypothesized.

Finally, Example 4 illustrates a non-transfer error due to incomplete application of rules regarding verbal tense sequence in English, as the learner uses "won't let" instead of "lets". Another error observed in the example is a non-transfer ignorance of rule restrictions error in the use of the double negative "isn't possible" and "won't let".

(4) HWA.LE. Topic: risky driving and car accidents.
But we all know that this isn't possible, unless the car won't let you do it.
Syntactic reconstruction: But we all know that this isn't possible, unless the car lets you do it.
Error type: non-transfer, incomplete application of rules.

Although linguistic accuracy was primarily shaped by non-transfer errors, transfer errors outnumbered these in syntax and lexis, as previously mentioned. Transfer errors in syntax (19.12%, n = 148) generally consisted of transfer of linguistic feature together with false friends and false cognates (cf. Chan 2004; Ibáñez and Hernández 2011). Example (5) illustrates a transfer of linguistic feature error in the data. In this extract, the learner describes the type of accident that people find out about by saying "… car accidents where one, two or three people are injured". S/he used the subordinate clause conjunction "where" instead of the relative pronoun "which" with the preposition "in", which is a more appropriate option. This syntactic error can be explained by transfer of the structure *donde* +Subject +Verb from the learner's L1.

(5) HWA.LE. Topic: risky driving and car accidents.
We always notice about car accidents *where* one, two or three people are injured
Syntactic reconstruction: We always find out about car accidents in which one, two or three people are injured.
Error type: transfer, transfer of linguistic feature.

Transfer errors in syntax mainly referred to word order (72.97%, n = 108), the use of subordinate clauses (20.27%, n = 30), clause connectors (4.05%, n = 6), and subject omission (2.7%, n = 4) (Figure 2).

These findings are in tune with Ibáñez and Hernández's (2011) results, which evince that wrong word order was one of the most common transfer errors in Spanish Secondary School EFL students. Bardovi-Harlig and Bofman (1989) also found that a typical syntactic error of EFL learners with different L1s and

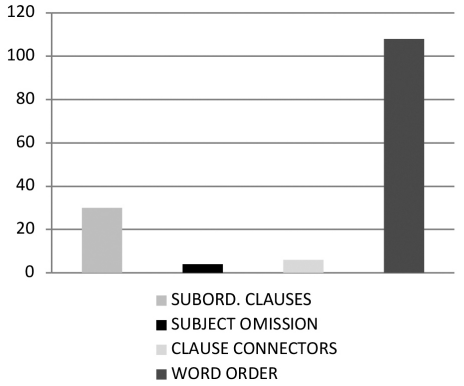

Figure 2. Transfer errors in syntax

proficiency levels was word order. By contrast, divergent results were obtained in other studies. Chan (2004) shows that transfer errors in the syntax of L1 Chinese high school and college EFL learners with low and upper intermediate proficiency levels mostly referred to confusion with verb transitivity, inability to use the "there be" structure, failure to employ relative clauses, lack of control of the copula, and incorrect placement of adverbs. L1 Chinese children, on the other hand, were observed to make mostly transfer errors regarding subject-verb agreement in their EFL essays (Darus and Khor 2009).

Transfer errors in lexis (12.14%, n = 94) mostly consisted of "overextension of analogy" errors based on the similarity between the English term and the word in the learner's L1. In example (6) the learner makes an "overextension of analogy" error by using the term "ocuppe", which is similar to the Spanish word "ocupar", as opposed to the right term "take" in expressing the idea that technological devices should not take all people's time.

(6) TWA.LE. Topic: technology and everyday life.
This technologies can't *ocuppe* all the time
Syntactic reconstruction: These technologies can't take all people's time.
Error type: transfer, overextension of analogy.

The higher number of transfer errors over non-transfer errors in lexis concurs to some extent with research that signals the prevalence of the former in the phonological and lexical planes (Ellis 2001). For example, Castillejos (2009) found a significant number of lexical errors within the transfer category in the writings of advanced EFL non-peninsular Spanish students.

4.2. Linguistic accuracy and essay length

In order to answer RQ2, a specific sample of 12 essays was analysed: 6 exceeding the word limit imposed by the teacher (130-150 words), and 6 that did not reach this limit (less than 130 words). These essays were representative of long and short essays in the data.

There is the idea that lower proficiency learners writing shorter sentences, and by extension, shorter texts, might actually make fewer errors than more advanced students (cf. Polio and Shea 2014). Our results disprove this idea, since error occurrence in our data was higher in SE (46.7%, n = 362) than LE (53.29%, n = 412) (see Figures 3 and 4).

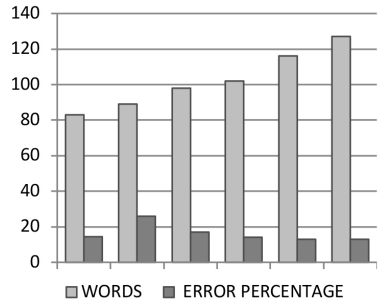

Figure 3. Errors in short essays

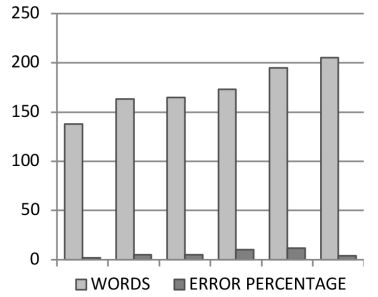

Figure 4. Errors in long essays

As illustrated in these figures, short essays of less than 100 words show the highest number of errors in comparison with more than 100 word texts within the short and long categories: e.g. an 89 word essay with 26 errors (29%) or a 98 word writing with 17 errors (17.34%) versus a 127 word essay with 13 errors (10.23%), and a 205 word writing with 8 errors (3.9%).

In spite of these differences, essay length was not observed to have an influence on students' linguistic accuracy in light of other written samples they produced. Students who produced short and highly error-laden essays were also observed to produce other longer writings with a great number of errors. However, more advanced students in the group produced longer texts in general with the presence of fewer errors. Therefore, we may conclude that the learner's proficiency level affected essay length and linguistic accuracy in our data (cf. Frantzen 1995; Ferris 2002), and as a consequence, the length of the writing task did not affect students' linguistic accuracy in terms of the number of errors.

4.3. Linguistic accuracy and time constraints

For our RQ3, an incidental sample of 12 essays —6 HWA and 6 TWA— featuring as the most representative of each task type in the data was used to check whether home essays were more accurate than test essays. Although performing the writing task as homework undoubtedly offers more time to write than a classroom writing test does, this task modality also affects other conditions for production such as consulting references, talking to classmates, experts, etc. Therefore, the results for RQ3, which are illustrated in Table 4 below, should be interpreted with caution.

Student	Errors			
	HWA	%	TWA	%
A	16	9.58	17	54.07
B	13	7.78	11	6.58
C	12	7.18	15	8.98
D	11	6.58	18	10.77
E	16	9.58	9	5.38
F	14	8.38	15	8.98
Total	82	49.1	85	50.89

Table 4. Distribution of errors in HWA and TWA

These results indicate that students made a similar number of errors in both task types (49.1 %, n = 82 in HWA and 50.89 %, n = 85 in TWA). These findings lend support to the general idea that linguistic accuracy in FL writing is likely to increase when the learner is afforded more time to monitor their production in the target language (Ferris 2002). Therefore, higher overall linguistic accuracy can be expected from home than from in-class essays (cf. Kroll 1990; Kenworthy 2006).

However, the results of empirical research regarding time as a task variable are inconclusive when linguistic accuracy is narrowly conceptualised. Dagneaux and colleagues (1998) encountered a greater proportion of errors in untimed versus timed written activities of French EFL learners. Kenworthy (2006), however, found more grammatical errors in manually written test essays than in computer-based home writings. Lastly, Kroll (1990) found no significant differences between errors in timed in-class assignments, and untimed home assignments for ESL learners. Therefore, considering these research findings and the fact that home assignments affect other conditions for writing besides time, we should be cautious about the results obtained for RQ3 in this study.

5. Conclusions

In this research, we have attempted to account for the linguistic accuracy of a group of Secondary School Spanish students by exploring their errors in personal opinion essays produced in EFL. The results of this study evince a predominance of non-transfer errors of a morphological kind in these texts. Transfer errors were less abundant and were mainly syntactic and lexical errors. Therefore, students in this study showed a weak morphological (grammar) system in the target language, but relatively stronger syntax and lexis.

Along the lines of other investigations on FL writers across L1 backgrounds and proficiency levels, difficulties in verbal tense and aspect were salient in these students coupled with the use of prepositions, articles and other determiners. Syntactic errors were mainly related to word order, subordinate clauses, clause connectors, and subject omission, whilst lexical errors were fewer and primarily consisted of "overextension of analogy" errors based on the similarity between the word in English and the term in the learner's L1. Essay length and time constraints did not appear to influence these students' linguistic accuracy. Learners with limited accuracy were found to produce consistently a large number of errors across shorter and longer writings, whilst the reverse was the case with learners with higher accuracy levels. No difference in the number of errors was found in home (untimed) versus in-class (timed) writings either. However, as previously mentioned, these findings concerning time constraints need to be regarded with caution.

In sum, the results of this study underscore the need to foster these students' development of EFL morphology and to pay attention to syntax and lexis. This involves a WLL approach that focuses on developing their micro writing skills through focus on form tasks versus a LW perspective that emphasizes macro writing skills, meaning, text type, purpose, audience, and organization. WLL does not exclude a LW approach, which should be expected in the long run in the communicative FL classroom. Additionally, teachers should provide these students with sufficiently clear feedback on their errors, favouring in this way direct corrective feedback with metalinguistic explanation, at least with low proficiency learners.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the findings of this research are limited due to our focus on a specific genre and the small size of our sample. A larger sample would thus be necessary to draw more solid conclusions, and statistical tests should be conducted to further clarify the relationship between linguistic accuracy and task variables, and check whether any ensuing differences are statistically significant. Our findings also underscore the relevance of considering other means of measuring of linguistic accuracy besides the presence of errors (e.g. the ratio of error-free clauses

to all clauses) as well as some means of measuring of syntactic and lexical complexity (previously indicated) to evaluate, positively and negatively, students' writings more efficiently.

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Appendix

Writing task (homework)
Due date: 8th March 2010
Instructions: Can we avoid risky driving and car accidents? Write an opinion essay on this topic (130-150 words).
Try to *use your previous knowledge* on the topic to write your essay (content, words and expressions you know). *Do not use external resources* (dictionaries, your student book or workbook, etc.). *Do not use your computer* to write your essay. Your text should be handwritten.

Writing task (test)
Due date: 12th April 2010
Instructions: Could you imagine your life without the latest technology (mobile phones, i-pods, computers etc.)? Write an opinion essay on this topic (130-150 words).
Try to *use your previous knowledge* on the topic to write your essay (content, words and expressions you know). *Do not use external resources* (dictionaries, your student book or workbook, etc.). *Do not use your computer* to write your essay. Your text should be handwritten.

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MEANING CONSTRUCTION IN PRINT BEER ADS

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to shed some light on the way meaning is constructed in print beer ads. The present paper lies within the scope of the research into the instantiation of metaphor, metonymy and image schemas in advertising. It analyses the role of these conceptual mechanisms from a contrastive perspective on the basis of an on-line corpus of English and French print beer ads. The theoretical underpinnings of this paper are based on the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2011, among others) on the one hand, and the studies on multimodal metaphor (Forceville 1996, 2009, 2012, 2016; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009) on the other, which have revealed that meaning is created through modes of communication other than verbal ones. The paper shows the role of monomodal and multimodal metaphor and metonymy as persuasive devices in advertising and the image-schematic basis of many metaphors and metonymies.

Keywords: metaphor, metonymy, image schema, advertising, persuasion.

Resumen

El objetivo de este estudio es arrojar luz sobre la forma en que se construye el significado en anuncios de cerveza impresos. El presente artículo se centra en la

metonimia, la metáfora y la creación de esquemas de imagen en publicidad. Analiza el papel de estos mecanismos conceptuales desde una perspectiva contrastiva basándose en un corpus en línea de anuncios impresos de cerveza en inglés y francés. Los fundamentos teóricos de este artículo se asientan en la Teoría Cognitiva de la Metáfora (Lakoff y Johnson 1980; Ruiz de Mendoza y Pérez 2011, entre otros), por una parte, y en los estudios sobre la metáfora multimodal (Forceville 1996, 2009, 2012, 2016; Forceville y Urios-Aparisi 2009), por otra, que han revelado que el significado se crea a través de modos de comunicación distintos a los verbales. El artículo muestra el papel de la metáfora y metonimia monomodal y multimodal como mecanismos persuasivos en publicidad y la imagen esquemática de muchas metáforas y metonimias.

Palabras clave: metáfora, metonimia, esquema de imagen, publicidad, persuasión.

1 Introduction

Metaphor, metonymy and image schemas are conceptual devices that allow for the interpretation of verbal and non-verbal messages. These devices play a crucial role in the interpretation and understanding of advertisements; hence, advertisers use these mechanisms to attract and persuade the consumer to buy a specific product.

The theoretical underpinnings of this paper are based on the Cognitive Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2011, among others) on the one hand, and the studies on multimodal metaphor (e.g. Forceville 2009, 2016; Forceville and Urios-Aparisi 2009) on the other, which have revealed that meaning is created through modes of communication other than verbal ones. The present research lies within the scope of the research into the instantiation of metaphor, metonymy and image schemas in advertising (Forceville 1996, 2008, 2012; Caballero 2009; Velasco 2009; Negro 2015a, 2016). It analyses the role of these conceptual mechanisms from a contrastive perspective on the basis of a corpus of French and English on-line beer ads. The purpose of our investigation is twofold: (1) to show the role of verbal and visual metaphors and metonymies in the creation of a particular conceptualization about the specific attributes and benefits of beer in English and French ads; and (2) to show the contribution of image schemas as devices that carry a positive evaluation of the product being advertised.

The layout of the paper is as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of the theoretical background of this study. Section 3 deals with the corpus and the methodology employed. Section 4 presents the sample analysis. Section 5 examines

the theoretical implications of the corpus analysis. Section 6 draws some conclusions.

2. Theoretical background

In the cognitive view, metaphor, metonymy and image schemas occupy a central role in our conceptual structure. They are conceived as primarily cognitive devices structuring human thought and action.

2.1. Metaphor and metonymy

Within the Cognitive Metaphor Theory (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff 1987, 2006; Kóvecses 2002; Ruiz de Mendoza and Pérez 2011, among others), metaphor involves understanding an abstract domain of experience (target) in terms of a concrete domain (source). While a metaphor is a mapping (i.e. a set of correspondences) between two different conceptual domains, a metonymy is a domain-internal conceptual mapping. Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal (2002: 58) suggest two types of metonymy based on the domain-internal nature of metonymic mappings:

a) Source-in-target metonymies are those in which the source domain is a subdomain of the target domain like SIGN FOR STATE (e.g. 'to raise one's eyebrows'). They involve domain expansion.

b) Target-in-source metonymies are those in which the target is a subdomain of the source, for example the metonymies based on Kövecses and Radden's part-for-part relationship and those based on other frames like the product and the location frames (1998), e.g. *The flute* (i.e. the person playing the flute) *isn't coming today*. They involve domain reduction and the consequent highlighting of part of a domain.

Metaphor and metonymy often interplay (Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez 2003). In metaphor-metonymy interaction metonymy is subsidiary to metaphor (Ruiz de Mendoza and Otal 2002). This assumption results from the nature of the two mappings. While a metaphor involves two conceptual domains, a metonymy involves just one. Therefore, the two domains of a metaphor cannot operate within the single domain of a metonymy.

Metaphors and metonymies do not only manifest themselves in language, but also occur non-verbally and multi-modally. Multimodal metaphors and metonymies are those whose target and source are rendered in two different modes. Advertising is a type of multimodal discourse, where overall meaning is construed through four modes: written language, spoken language, visuals, and

sound. In this regard, our analysis shows how image and text interact in the creation of meaning.

2.2. Image schemas

The notion of image schema was jointly introduced by Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) and further developed by other authors such as Evans and Green (2006). Briefly, an image schema is a basic conceptual pattern that organizes our experiences. A close look at the literature yields the following basic properties of image schemas (Lakoff 1987: 267-269; Hampe 2005: 1-2; Evans and Green 2006: 179-189):

- They are preconceptual, i.e. non-linguistic.
- They are generic.
- They are embodied, i.e. they are based on sensory-perceptual experience.
- They are multimodal, i.e. they encompass all types of sensory experience.
- They are structured. Although image schemas constitute *gestalts*, i.e. structured wholes, they consist of a number of structural elements and a basic logic that can be expressed propositionally. Thus, the structural elements of the PATH schema (Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987, 1989) are a starting point, an end point, and a direction. If you want to move from a source to a goal (the destination) along a path, you must pass through each intermediate point on the path (Lakoff 1989) and any obstacle may prevent you from reaching your goal.
- They are meaningful because they arise from experience.
- They are recurrent in our physical experience.
- They are common to all human beings.
- They can undergo transformations, e.g. count nouns can be transformed into mass nouns, and vice versa.
- They can occur in clusters.

A range of image schemas taxonomies have been proposed by cognitive semanticists (e.g. Lakoff and Turner 1989). We adopt Evans and Green's list of image schemas (2006: 190) for the purposes of our study. Evans and Green group image schemas according to the nature of the experiential grounding:

(a) space: up-down, front-back, left-right, near-far, centre-periphery, path, straight-curved, scale.

(b) containment: in-out, full-empty.

(c) multiplicity: part-whole, count-mass.

(d) balance: axis balance, point balance equilibrium.

(e) force: compulsion, blockage, counterforce, diversion, enablement, attraction, resistance.

(f) cycle.

(g) attribute: heavy-light, dark-bright, big-small, warm-cold, strong-weak.

As Gibbs and Colston (2006: 260) remark, image schemas "are a crucial, undervalued dimension of meaning". Cognitive literature has revealed that image schemas provide the basis for a large number of metaphoric and metonymic mappings (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Johnson 1987; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Turner 1989) and underlie metaphor-metonymy interaction (Díez 2001). In addition, they play a role in the metaphorical representation of emotions (Peña 1999) and the conceptualization of music (Saslaw 1996). In much the same way, many metaphors and metonymies used in specialized discourse are based on image schemas as shown in economics (Alejo 2010), advertising (Cortés 2001, 2010; Velasco and Cortés 2009; Negro 2013a) and political cartooning (Negro 2013b).

2.3. Metaphor and culture

The issue of cross-cultural variation in metaphor has raised great interest. Metaphorical concepts and expressions reveal differences across cultures and languages. In line with this, the present paper gives evidence of the way metaphorical images reflect culture in different nations. Some attention has been paid to the interaction between culture and metaphor within the cognitive linguistics framework (Boers 2003; Kövecses 2005, among others). Lakoff and Turner (1989: 66) argue that knowledge about source domains is not merely a question of embodiment, but also of cultural connotations and correspondences. In their view, cultural models underlie a great number of metaphors. From a multimodal perspective, Forceville (2009) claims that the study of multimodal metaphor manifestations may contribute to the understanding of culturally embedded knowledge and beliefs.

Boers (2003) distinguishes three ways in which metaphor use can vary across languages. The first type of variation refers to different degrees of productivity or conventionality of the same source-target mapping. The second type consists in differences in the value-judgments associated with either the source domain, the target domain or the appropriateness of the metaphor; for example, describing the government as a machine can evoke associations of efficiency and smooth running in one culture and associations of impersonality and inhumanity in another. Such differences are rooted in culture. The third type of metaphor variation concerns differences in the degree of pervasiveness of metaphor as such: a language may show more or less preference for the use of metaphor as compared to other figures

of speech. Of these three types, the first type of variation is the most obvious and common in metaphor. Kövecses (2005) provides abundant linguistic data from typologically different languages, showing that variations in the use of metaphors occur not only cross-linguistically, but also within the same culture. Some cross-cultural analysis has been carried out on advertising discourse (e.g. Lantolf and Bobrova 2012).[1]

2.4. Metaphor, metonymy and image schemas in advertising

Metaphor and metonymy have two essential roles in advertising:

a) Cognitive role. Metaphor and metonymy are employed to describe the product or service advertised by means of a number of features associated with it, such as its price, origin, size, shape, colour, use, effect or the target audience (Velasco and Fuertes 2004: 866).

b) Pragmatic role. Metaphor and metonymy contribute to the communicative function of advertising. The primary intention behind advertising is to make people buy. In this context, metaphor and metonymy play a persuasive role, which is closely related to the rhetoric of advertising. Metaphor and metonymy work as advertising strategies (e.g. Ungerer 2000; Velasco and Fuertes 2004; Ma 2008; Negro 2013a, 2015b). It is convenient to mention that the communicative impact of metaphor is influenced by its conventional or innovative nature. New metaphors taken from our corpus such as BEER IS A SHIP, BEER IS A SINGER and BEER IS A FLOWER (cf. below) have a stronger communicative effect than conventional ones.

The role played by image schemas in advertising is related to their axiological value. As Krzeszoswki (1993) postulates, the axiological parameter POSITIVE-NEGATIVE lends special dynamism to the use of preconceived schemas in metaphorisation. The second element of an image schema sometimes carries a positive evaluation which reinforces the positive qualities of the product advertised, thus working as a persuasive tool to attract consumers (Cortés 2010).

3. Corpus and methodology

To illustrate and contrast the use of metaphor, metonymy and image schemas in English and French advertising we compiled two on-line corpora of English and French beer advertisements. Our choice is justified on the following grounds:

1) On-line adverts are particularly good examples of interaction between the modes of language and visuals inasmuch as the text and the image are dependent upon each other to convey the message (Negro 2013a).

2) On-line adverts provide a complete image and a text in a limited space span.

Each corpus consisted of 100 ads[2] from the following beer brands:

(a) English beer ads: Guinness, London Pride, Mackeson, The Beer Daily, Murphy's, Boddingtons, Caledonia Best and Carling.

(b) French beer ads: 1664, Lorraine, Kronenbourg, Hoegarden, Cardinal, Grimbergen, Pelforth, Licorne, Champigneulles, Fischer, Kanterbräu and La Dodo lé.

We selected those ads that displayed cognitive content in their image and/or verbal element. The English corpus contains a higher proportion of metaphors and metonymies than the French corpus (78 vs 64 instances). In order to analyze the beer ads selected, we followed a cognitive and multimodal approach. We identified the metaphors and metonymies and determined whether they are monomodal (verbal or pictorial) or multimodal (verbo-pictorial, pictorio-verbal) (Forceville 1996, 2009, 2012, 2016). We also explored the image schemas that motivate a number of metaphors and metonymies. We adopted Evans and Green's list of image schemas (2006) for the purposes of our study.

Finally yet importantly, our analysis reveals the pragmatic value of metaphor and metonymy, which is linked to the promotion of beer, and the way image schemas contribute to the persuasive potential of metaphor and metonymy by conveying an evaluative meaning.

4. Corpus analysis

The corpus provides a metaphorical representation of both beer and beer consumption.

The bulk of beer metaphors are based on the Great Chain of Being proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989). This is a cultural model that defines the attributes and properties of natural beings. In this model, natural beings are arranged in the following hierarchy: God, humans, animals, plants and complex and natural objects.

In other ads metaphor views beer drinking as a source of pleasure and of loyalty to a particular beer brand as a commitment like marriage.

Images of a particular beer served on glasses or shown by means of beer bottles are frequently used. In some ads we can see a half-full beer glass. This detail is meaningful since it profiles the foam as a beer ingredient (cereal).

Only in three instances does metonymy occur alone. In the ad for Hoegaarden, a pile of broken glass cues the metonymy INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (the glass for the action of seeing), which highlights beer density. The clincher reads: *Rien à faire,*

cette bière est trouble. Image-text interaction yields the correct interpretation of the ad. In fact, the metonymy is activated by one of the meanings of *trouble*, 'blurred'. The other meaning, 'cloudy', refers to the most relevant feature of this beer brand.

In the ads for the 1664 beer (see figure 1) the beer taste is cued by the source-in-target metonymy TASTE OF BEER FOR BEER, which is verbally encoded: *Le goût à la française* 'taste in the French way'. Beer is considered an element of cultural identity through association with the country. This association is made explicit by the presence of French cultural symbols such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris.

Figure 1. Ad for the 1664 brand

The metonymy BEER INGREDIENT FOR BEER highlights the aroma of the beer, as illustrated by the Kronembourg ads, where the image features wheat (*blé*, *grain*), a beer ingredient, standing for the beer. The metonymy is also verbally cued: *Gardez votre blé au frais* ('Keep your wheat in a fresh place'), *Pas de doute, on a un grain* 'No doubt we have a grain'. In both ads the metonymy is generated through the activation of the literal sense of the idiom in the clincher rather than the idiomatic meaning (*garder son blé* 'save your money', *avoir un grain* 'have a screw loose'). Table 1 displays the metaphors reflected in our corpus.

General metaphor	Specific metaphor	Instance
BEER IS A LIVING BEING	BEER IS A WOMAN	Guinness Mackeson Champigneulles
	BEER IS A QUEEN BEER IS A SINGER	Lorraine Kronenbourg
	BEER FOAM IS THE TONGUE	La Dodo lé
	BEER IS AN ANIMAL	Licorne Murphy's
	BEER IS A PLANT BEER IS A FLOWER	Pelforth Guinness
BEER IS A NATURAL OBJECT	BEER IS GOLD BEER IS A LANDSCAPE ELEMENT BEER ORIGIN IS A BEER INGREDIENT	Kanterbräu Fischer London Pride
BEER IS A COMPLEX OBJECT	BEER IS CHINA	Fischer
	BEER IS BUTTER BEER IS FACE / SUN CREAM BEER IS WHIPPED CREAM	Boddingtons
	BEER IS AN ICECREAM	La Dodo lé
	BEER IS FUEL	Murphy's
	BEER IS THE SHOVEL OF A CRICKET	Guinness
	A BEER GLASS IS A PILE OF MOBILE PHONES	Guinness
IMPORTANCE IS SIZE	BEER IS A SHIP	Murphy's
	A BEER GLASS IS A CHINESE LANTERN	Boddingtons
BEER IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON	BEER IS A TIDAL WAVE/A WATERFALL BEER IS A HEAVY STORM	Guinness
	DRINKING BEER IS GETTING MARRIED	Guinness

Table 1. Metaphors in English and French beer ads

As advanced above, the majority of beer metaphors encoded in the ads are based on the Great Chain of Being proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989). The metaphors belonging to the highest level in the Great Chain of Being hierarchy, i.e. those subsumed under the general metaphor BEER IS A LIVING BEING —BEER IS A PERSON, BEER IS AN ANIMAL and BEER IS A FLOWER— emphasize crucial aspects of brand positioning such as defining product features, creating the consumer's need for that particular brand or enhancing the brand reputation, while the metaphors falling within the lower levels of the hierarchy focus on more specific aspects such as the product characteristics and benefits. Thus the metaphorical description of the Guinness beer as "tall, dark and handsome" enhances the beer features, whereas the

metaphors depicting beer as a woman are meant to make the product desirable by employing sexual appeals. In this sense, metaphorical gender metaphors (Velasco 2009) give rise to a sexist interpretation since women are presented as desirable objects. This is best illustrated in the ads for the Mackeson beer, which feature a sexy woman. In the ad shown in figure 2 the identification of beer with a woman (A WOMAN'S LEGS ARE A BOTTLE OPENER) relies on a further source-in-target metonymy (INSTRUMENT FOR OBJECT), the bottle opener standing for the beer. The metonymic basis of the BEER IS A WOMAN metaphor is also reflected in another ad for the Guinness beer, where the woman is represented through her back. The upper part of the back is in white, thus working as a metaphorical configuration of the foam of the Guinness beer, one of its most highly valued features, whereas the lower part of the back appears in black, the colour of the Guinness brand. The anthropomorphic metaphor is based on the space schema (front-back).

Figure 2. Ad for the Mackeson brand

In contrast, in the French subcorpus the metaphorical representation of beer in terms of a woman is based on a perceptual feature, colour. Beer is regarded as a blonde, as illustrated by ads for lager brands like Fischer: *La plus belle des blondes ne s'appelle pas Claudia, mais Fischer*. The ad creates a connection between the beer and the fashion model Claudia Schiffer, whose surname resembles the brand name.

We encountered variants of the personification of beer in the French corpus that enhance the brand reputation. The Kronenbourg beer is metaphorically understood as a renowned singer who is on tour across the whole France, as the text hints: *Actuellement en tournée* ('on tour') *dans toute la France*. The second variant of the personifying metaphor is the metaphor BEER IS A QUEEN underlying an ad for the Lorraine beer. The metaphor is verbally rendered by the text *La reine* ('queen') *de Martinique* and visually cued by the image of a glass of beer with foam shaped as a crown. The metaphor is based on a source-in-target metonymy (SIGN FOR STATUS), the crown standing for the queen.

In a few English ads the anthropomorphic metaphor enhances the beer brand origin as a sign of its high quality, as exemplified in the ads for the London Pride beer (figure 3), in which the verbal element (*Made of more / Made of London*) activates the metonymies LONDON FOR UNIQUE BREWING STYLE and LONDON FOR UNIQUE INGREDIENTS. Here, London stands for a supposedly unique or highly characteristic way of brewing beer in London that can be identified through its ingredients, so in tasting the beer one can identify its unique origin.

Figure 3. Ad for the London Pride brand

Similarly, the metaphorical representation of the Boddingtons beer as a Chinese lantern that metonymically stands for the Chinese district in Manchester, as the text *Part of Manchester* suggests, highlights the beer origin as a positive attribute in a BEER ORIGIN FOR HIGH QUALITY metonymy.

Animal metaphors foreground beer features or the beer origin. The metaphorical configuration of the Licorne beer as an untamable (*indomptable*) unicorn (figure 4), which is triggered by the brand name, profiles the beer character,[3] and the FORCE-ATTRACTION schema underlying the metaphor reinforces this characteristic.

Figure 4. Ad for the Licorne brand

In some ads for the Murphy's brand, beer is featured as a dragon standing for Ireland. Metaphor thus serves to present the beer brand as a symbol of national identity. The underlying metonymy BEER ORIGIN FOR HIGH QUALITY further enhances the beer features.

The view of beer as a cultural icon is also conveyed through the source domain of plants. The Guinness beer is sometimes portrayed as the corolla of a shamrock. The visual metaphor is based on two metonymies: PART FOR WHOLE (the corolla for the flower) and SYMBOL FOR COUNTRY (the shamrock standing for Ireland). Again the beer origin metonymically represents its high quality.

The flower metaphor may be used to enhance the floral taste of beer, as illustrated by some Pelforth ads. The glass of beer is viewed as a flower and the beer foam is equated with the liquid nectar sucked by a butterfly. The TASTE OF BEER FOR BEER metonymy is verbally expressed by the sentence *Et le palais renaît* 'And the palate revives'.

A set of ads equate beer with a natural or complex object. These metaphors enhance beer features or benefits. The Kanterbräu ad (figure 5) highlights the

COLOUR of the beer by depicting it as gold: *Que l'or coule à flots* 'Gold streams down'. The BEER IS CHINA metaphor profiled in another ad for the Fischer brand enhances its high quality. The image of a beer bottle between a knife and a fork combines with the text to instantiate the metaphor: *En Alsace, quand on sort l'argenterie, on sort aussi la porcelaine* 'In Alsace, when you put the silver crockery on the table, you also put china'.

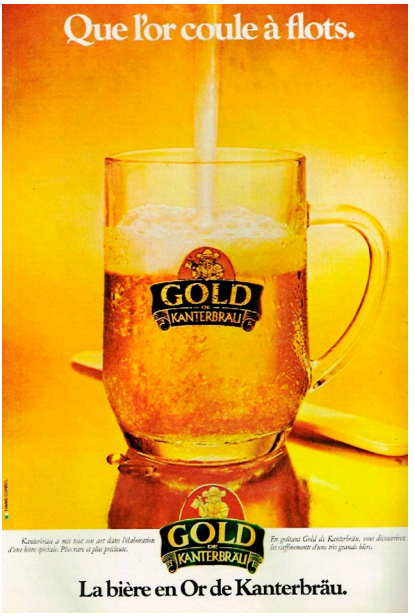

Figure 5. Ad for the Kanterbräu brand

Other metaphors highlight the creaminess of a particular beer. These metaphors use source objects such as butter, face cream, suncream or whipped cream. For example, the metaphorical reading of the Boddingtons beer as whipped cream is triggered by both the image and the text: the image depicts a whip twisted around a glass of beer, the beer being described as *the cream of Manchester*.

In other ads metaphor enhances the freshness of beer by depicting a beer glass (metonymically representing the beer) as an icecream. In the ad for La Dodo lé brand the metaphor is intended to stimulate beer drinking on the hot island of

La Martinique. The same ad highlights the taste of the beer through the metaphor BEER FOAM IS THE TONGUE, which relies upon the metonymy SENSE FOR ORGAN, the tongue standing for taste.

The strong taste of the beer is also enhanced through its metaphorical configuration as a natural phenomenon such as a tidal wave or a waterfall. The Guinness beer is sometimes depicted as a heavy storm, strength being translated into "greatness", as the text reads in one of its adverts: *Greatness in every drop*.

In other ads the beer is associated with a French region or island. For instance, the link of the Fischer beer to Alsace is created through the metaphor BEER IS A LANDSCAPE ELEMENT, which is cued by both the image of a Fischer bottle in the fog and the text (*Photo d'un paysage typiquement Alsacien par un temps de brume* 'Photo of a typically Alsatian landscape in foggy weather').

A further group of metaphors highlight the benefits of beer. For example, the metaphor BEER IS FUEL cued in a Murphy's ad where the beer bottle is depicted as a pump suggests that beer provides energy to consumers in just the same way as fuel provides energy to engines. The energy that beer brings is also conveyed through the configuration of beer as the shovel of a cricket in a Guinness ad, a cultural metaphor that invokes the UP and FORCE schemas, both being positively valued. This is reinforced by the text: *The power to lift us all*.

Beer also has emotional benefits. Thus the conceptualization of beer as a ship cued in a Murphy's ad suggests that beer drinking makes our daily life more comfortable. The use of a big ship on a billboard evokes the help of American soldiers to British ones to win World War II. This cues the interpretation that Murphy's beer is an external help to survive in "our daily war". The communicative impact of the metaphorical image is reinforced by two image schemas, namely FORCE and ATTRIBUTE (BIG). In addition, the BIG schema is called up by the primary metaphor IMPORTANCE IS SIZE (Grady 1999). Curiously, FORCE correlates with BIG. The metaphor confirms the role of shipping as a prototypical source domain in many metaphors, which is in consonance with the importance of seafare in British history.

A set of metaphors in English ads convey the idea of beer consumption as a special occasion or a source of pleasure, as illustrated by a Guinness ad where a beer glass (metonymically standing for the beer) is depicted as a pile of mobile phones. This visual metaphor suggests that beer drinking time is to be enjoyed in group without being disturbed. The metaphor interacts with the PILE schema and it is based on the INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION metonymy.

Some metaphorical images highlight brand loyalty by featuring it as a commitment. For example, another Guinness ad creates a visual and verbal analogy between

drinking Guinness beer and getting married. The view of a pile of beer glasses filled with Guinness as the layers of a wedding cake is backed up by the clincher: *Making a commitment*. The metaphor relies on the PILE schema and a part-whole metonymy, as cutting the cake represents the act of getting married.

5. Data discussion

It is clear that the target domain imposes constraints on source selection. The choice of source objects is constrained by branding strategy. Advertisers use the anthropomorphic metaphor to develop the 'commoditization process' (Borchers 2005: 27), in which a commodity is understood in terms of a person, adding value to the product by transferring to it human features and behavioural actions. Therefore, by presenting a product as a person, advertisers incite consumers to buy it.

Highlighting special features of a particular beer brand such as softness or creaminess increases brand positioning. This explains why advertisers resort to source objects that prototypically have those features, i.e. butter and cream, and map them onto the beer brand. In addition to that, establishing the brand reputation through metaphors that equate beer with an outstanding figure (a queen, a celebrity), a valuable object (gold, china) or a cultural symbol (a ship, the shovel of a cricket, a dragon/shamrock) can help promote the brand.

Monomodal visual metaphors show these source objects in the centre of the image, while the brand name appears on the bottom right corner, so that establishing the relationship between the source object and the beer brand is quite straightforward.

The high quality of a beer may be determined by its origin, which explains the metaphors BEER IS A LANDSCAPE ELEMENT and BEER ORIGIN IS A BEER INGREDIENT.

In the remaining of the corpus meaning inferences are produced through multimodal metaphor. The text either triggers or supports the metaphorical interpretation of the image. In the ad for the Kronenbourg beer, the image does not convey metaphorical meaning by itself; it is the text that profiles a metaphor (BEER IS A PERSON). In other ads (e.g. Lorraine, Kanterbräu, Boddingtons, Fischer, La Dodo lé) the text simply acts as a linguistic support of a visual metaphor.

The analysis also gives evidence of the metaphor-metonymy interplay. First, metonymy highlights the beer ingredients, a beer feature (e.g. taste, quality) or its origin. Then the element metonymically highlighted activates a metaphor. In the ad for the Murphy's brand, the metaphorical representation of the beer as a shamrock rests upon the metonymic view of Ireland as a shamrock, suggesting that both the shamrock and the Murphy's brand are symbols of Ireland.

Occasionally metonymy operates within a metaphorical scenario. Thus the ad for Guinness shown in figure X activates a MARRIAGE scenario. The image of a couple cutting the wedding cake reflects a PART-WHOLE metonymy subsumed within the metaphor DRINKING GUINNESS IS GETTING MARRIED, which is cued by the layers of the cake, equated with beer glasses. This metaphor-metonymy interaction is illustrated in table 2:

Metaphor BEER GLASSES ARE LAYERS OF A WEDDING CAKE	
Source domain	Target domain
Getting married	Beer drinking
METONYMY : PART OF AN EVENT FOR THE WHOLE EVENT	

Table 2. Metaphor-metonymy interaction

As regards image schemas, they are productive in the creation of metaphoric or metonymic mappings in both languages. The most recurrent ones are the SPACE schema (up-down, front-back), the ATTRIBUTE schema (big-small), the FORCE schema and the PILE schema. It is worth noting that specific beer features are enhanced by means of particular image schemas in both subcorpora. Thus density is highlighted through the PILE schema, while the beer origin is shown through the FORCE-ATTRACTION schema. The beer benefits are highlighted through the SPACE (up-down) and ATTRIBUTE (big-small) schemas in English and French. Additionally, the PILE and FORCE schemas are used to enhance the benefits of beer in the English ads.

In both subcorpora metaphor, metonymy and image schemas add value to the beer being advertised and contribute to beer promotion by (1) enhancing product features (colour, density, creaminess, freshness, origin) and benefits (source of energy and pleasure); or (2) highlighting elements that determine the beer brand's position in the market, such as brand reputation and brand loyalty.

6. Conclusion

The present paper has attempted to show the role of cognitive devices in advertising through a contrastive analysis of a sample of English and French beer ads. Advertisers exploit metaphor, metonymy and image schemas in the verbal and/or visual mode to create powerful messages and call customers' attention. The relevance of these cognitive mechanisms lies in (1) their contribution to the correct interpretation of the visual and verbal components of ads; and (2) their broadly rhetorical function, being decisive in generating persuasion. Our corpus analysis

reveals that metaphor and metonymy contribute to the primary goal of advertising by promoting beer in different ways: (i) by emphasizing specific beer features that make it unique; (ii) by evoking the beneficial effects of beer drinking; and (iii) by regarding beer as a cultural symbol that provides identity. The image schemas SPACE, FORCE, PILE and ATTRIBUTE underlying many metaphors and metonymies contribute to beer promotion by conveying a positive evaluation of the product.

The scope of the paper being limited, further research should be carried out on a wider corpus to provide further evidence for the findings.

Notes

[1] These authors examine multimodal conceptual metaphors in American and Ukrainian television beer commercials.

[2] The sources of the adverts are the beer brand websites. We only show those adverts that we were granted permission to publish.

[3] Colour, flavour, mouthfeel, alcohol content and bitterness are the main parameters of beer character (Oliver 2011).

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GENDER ASYMMETRIES IN NEWS REPORTS

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Abstract

Women have traditionally been defined in journalistic studies as the 'unaccessed voice group' due to their underrepresentation in most media coverage, a fact commonly described in linguistics as 'symbolic annihilation' (Caldas-Coulthard 2002; Armstrong 2004). Although many scholars state that linguistic stereotypes have been weakening over time, there is a prevailing view that women are still experiencing linguistic discrimination in the age of digital storytelling. This paper discusses gender inequality by means of an in-depth study of females as sources of information in newspaper discourse, based on a corpus of 68 online news items published in four broadsheet British and Spanish newspapers: *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *El Mundo* and *El País*. The research mainly focuses on the possible relation between the gender of the source and that of the news reporter, as well as the tendencies in the depiction of female sources in reporting segments. The analysis reveals a continuing underrepresentation of women, though less noticeable in the Spanish news group. Contrary to possible expectations, both corpora coincide in defining female sources on a professional basis. The results also suggest that the predominance of male sources of information, rather than being tied to the 'familiarity' criterion, is institutionally biased.

Keywords: journalistic studies, media coverage, linguistic stereotypes, source of information, gender.

Resumen

Tradicionalmente las mujeres han sido definidas en estudios periodísticos como 'la voz inaccesible del grupo' debido a su infrarrepresentación en la mayor parte de la cobertura mediática, un hecho que se ha descrito comúnmente en lingüística como 'aniquilación simbólica' (Caldas-Coulthard 2002; Armstrong 2004). Aunque muchos expertos afirman que los estereotipos lingüísticos se han ido reduciendo con el tiempo, hay una postura predominante que establece que las mujeres todavía están experimentando discriminación lingüística en la era de la narración digital. Este artículo aborda la desigualdad de género por medio de un estudio exhaustivo de las mujeres como fuentes de información en el discurso periodístico, basado en un corpus de 68 noticias online publicadas en cuatro periódicos británicos y españoles en línea de gran tirada: *The Times, The Guardian, El Mundo* y *El País*. La investigación se centra principalmente en la posible relación entre el género de la fuente y el del periodista, así como en las tendencias en la representación de las fuentes femeninas en los segmentos citativos. El análisis revela la continua infrarrepresentación de la mujer, aunque este hecho es menos evidente en el grupo de noticias españolas. En contra de posibles expectativas, ambos corpus coinciden en definir las fuentes femeninas según su profesión. Los resultados también sugieren que el predominio de las fuentes masculinas de información, en lugar de estar ligado al criterio de la 'familiaridad', se debe al sesgo institucional.

Palabras clave: estudios periodísticos, cobertura mediática, estereotipos lingüísticos, fuente de información, género.

1. Introduction

The question of how women are represented in discourse has been a recurring motif in feminist writings since the advent of the women's movement in the middle decades of the twentieth century, which has contributed to the creation of a rich vein of scholarship on the issue of women depiction in journalistic texts (Black 2015: 160). Although some scholars indicate that linguistic stereotypes have been weakening over time (Popp et al. 2003: 323), there is a prevailing view that women are still experiencing linguistic discrimination, not only in the way they are said to use language, but also in the way language depicts them, a theme subjected to a process of re-examination.

In the case of journalism, the language used in the mass media industry is considered as an important source of role models and, consequently, it is usually regarded as key in the reinforcement of "gender segregation and inequalities" (Kitzinger et al. 2008: 1). Newspapers appear then to "continue to encode bias

and legitimate assumptions about linguistic behaviour and social asymmetries" (Caldas-Coulthard 2002: 305), which jeopardises the image of women.

Several measures have been proposed to beat gender inequality and violence against women in the media today. For instance, the project entitled #HerNetHerRights launched in 2017 by the European Women's Lobby aimed at actively fighting violence against women in online spaces, as well as providing policy recommendations to combat abusers online (DG IPOL Policy Departments 2018: 31). There is also an interesting tool that struggles for equality in the media, the software *Bechdel Filter*, which is currently being tested in UK journals. In essence, this software is used

> to analyse the text of stories to identify the proportion of subjects and sources who are women, the proportion of female pronouns, and the gender of the journalist […] [in order to] enable journalists and section editors to 'sense-check' the gender balance of their stories and sections quickly and easily, and to thereby identify and redress any inappropriate imbalances. (DG IPOL Policy Departments 2018: 38)

Therefore, this software provides news reporters with a quantitative indication of the degree of gender underrepresentation as a measure to promote understanding of the need for effective action. Since the mass media is defined as the fourth power in democratic societies, it is crucial for digital broadcasting to tackle the social problems women are experiencing today and to raise awareness in the general public sector, these actions being a great impetus to the fight against gendered discrimination and abuse.

Gender imbalance is not only reflected in the media, but it is also present in the working environment. In fact, the European Commission elaborated a gender balance on corporate boards in 2015, which concluded that "women are [still] outnumbered by men in leadership positions in the corporate sector in the EU", constituting "a waste of talent and a loss of economic growth potential". To minimise the disparities universally favouring the male, scholars have suggested ways to help redress women discrimination in the media sector. For example, following a top-down approach, i.e. "ensuring women occupy all roles in the newsroom to a commitment to diversity from the top", "not simply filling low-level research or editorial roles" (Davidson 2016). A study released by the non-profit organisation Catalyst (2014) proved that "companies with a higher representation of women in senior management positions financially outperform companies with proportionally fewer women at the top". Thus, having a larger and more diverse personnel in the newsroom may encompass financial benefits. The journalist Casserly (2016), on her part, posits providing new role models for women as leaders, as well as putting them on the political agenda so as to make the media industry more inclusive and thereby guarantee diversity in the newsroom.

When analysing gender discrimination in the media, it is well worth remembering that women journalists had more difficulties than male reporters to break into the broadcast news field decades ago. Indeed, as Irvin points out, "in the late 1970s and early 1980s, only 13% of reporters were women, whereas today about half of reporters are women" (2013: 39-40). Although these figures have slightly increased over the years, women are still experiencing gender inequality in the media sector, as indicated above. As an example, "women reporters are frequently relegated to soft news stories, like health and entertainment news, whereas their male counterparts are given stories of political and international importance" (Irvin 2013: 39). In fact, Cullity and Younger found out in a research carried out in 2009 that in news stories featuring hard political news on the BBC website, women and men were present in a ratio of 1:4.

As I indicated above, gender imbalance does not only affect women journalists, but also women as sources of information in newspaper discourse, as in this report published by *The Times* (2014a): "'He was very sorry about the loss, especially for her parents, the suffering they are going through,' Ms van Schalkwyk said", where the source of evidence is a female entity. One of the factors that has been mentioned as a potential source of women underrepresentation in current media is the gender of the news reporter, mostly men. There is a widespread belief that female writers choose female sources because both parties share the same gender, i.e. as a matter of the familiarity (Armstrong 2004; Irvin 2013). A study conducted by Liebler and Smith (1997) of 159 stories broadcast on major news networks demonstrated that female information sources were more likely to appear in stories reported by women. Zoch and Turk support this fact by stating that "female journalists might attach greater credibility to female sources than do male reporters and thus use proportionally more of them in their stories" (1998: 772). However, Irvin found out in a research on the 2012 Presidential Election in the United States that "female reporters [rely] on males as expert sources more than male reporters" (2013: 39). At all events, evidence seems to indicate that the gender of the news reporter "is a statistically significant predictor of the gender of the source given attention and emphasis within the story", which may affect the retention of traditional sex-role stereotypes and thus constitutes a field subjected to further review (Armstrong 2004: 143).

The present paper on sex-role inequality considers the gender of the writer as a factor which hypothetically influences the presence of females as sources of information in the media. In order to prove the actual extent of the connection between gender and news coverage, an in-depth corpus-based study of female sources of information is carried out. The research is based on a corpus of 68 online news items published in British and Spanish quality papers. It is organised

as follows: section 2 discusses the literature on the role of women in journalistic discourse and then the way female sources may connect to certain paradigms of gender disparities in news stories is analysed in section 3. Section 4 explains and justifies the sort of data studied in the corpus. The quantitative results and discussion are presented in section 5 and, finally, section 6 is devoted to the conclusions and suggests lines for further research in this field. Due to the relatively small size of the collection of reporting segments analysed, the value of the results is limited with regard to an ultimate explanation for the connection between the gender of the source and that of the news writer, though I launch some preliminary findings in the paper as a prelude to having more consistent results.

2. Women in journalistic discourse

Journalism is an excellent arena for the analysis of gender-related differences in speech style since the media still perpetuates certain sex-role stereotypes, though in a more subtle way than in former times (Hinnosaar 2017). Women have been traditionally described by their "irrationality, familial dependence, powerlessness and sexual and physical excess" (Fowler 1994: 95), and regarding job functions conventional stereotypical ideas tended to relate them to "specific domestic situations, such as housewives [or] mothers", while men were more likely to be identified by positions of power in society (Popa and Gavriliu 2015: 1203), that is, "*outside* the home and family" (Fowler 1994: 102).

Modern journalistic style guides try to diminish those generally-accepted attributes given to women. As a matter of fact, the *Reuters Handbook of Journalism* (2008) advises news writers to take into consideration the following:

> Do not assume police, firefighters or soldiers are men. Do not refer to a woman's looks, hairstyle or clothing unless the details are relevant to the story and similar remarks would be made about men. Where possible use the same term for men and women, e.g., actor, comedian, poet; not actress, comedienne, poetess.

These pieces of advice aimed at preventing the use of sexist language are also in accordance with *The Guardian and Observer Style Guide*, which was published in 2015. This style guide recommends writers be cautious about the use of certain terms to describe the profession of female entities since they are considered to "reinforce outdated stereotypes", more specifically "businessmen, housewives, male nurse, woman driver, woman (lady!) doctor". Moreover, it suggests not "gratuitously describ[ing] a woman as a 'mother-of-three' [as] family details and marital status are only relevant in stories about families or marriage". The basis of all these suggestions lies in the tenet of inclusiveness, i.e. the avoidance of

taken-for-granted assumptions uncritically accepted with respect to "the range of roles women can inhabit" (Black 2015: 160).

According to Caldas-Coulthard, the portrayal of conventional female work may find its source in the fact that women are "generally dissociated from power structures", whilst men are mostly "represented speaking in their public or professional roles" (2004: 198). By extension, women in the press media tend to be depicted "in terms of marital or family relations, especially in their relationship with a man", that is, on a personal basis; as opposed to men, who are usually "glossed by their professional designations or position in the government or in some kind of public institution" (2004: 205).

As a consequence of the above, readers may end up assigning, almost unconsciously, gender stereotypes regarding the occupation status of the information source. For instance, the readership might assume that a police officer quoted in a news article is male, even though the gender has not been explicitly mentioned in the discourse (Armstrong and Nelson 2005: 822). Not only that, "the appearance in discourse of a large number of expressions mentioning powerful social categories and referring to men as incumbents of those categories" can instil the idea that "this is the natural order of things, and so strengthens resistance to women actually being admitted to the positions concerned" (Fowler 1994: 104). Therefore, the negative portrayal of women together with the realm in which they are usually framed in journalistic discourse may impact on readers' role identification. Besides, the existing female depiction may reinforce the maintenance of the status quo which prevents the rise of women from positions of power. The media serves then as a 'cultural looking glass' that shows the social and cultural patterns that are ingrained in people's minds, which, in turn, may affect the readership's cognition.

In terms of the study at hand, this paper examines newspaper coverage of women to flesh out which factor(s) can be regarded as predictor(s) for the occurrence of female sources of information in the mass media industry, which will be discussed in section 3 below. The main objective is to prove the actual extent of the misrepresentation of women in the contemporary quality press as was described in the traditional literature, considering the gender of the writer as a potential factor that influences their presence as sources of information in news coverage.

3. Female sources of information

News articles are traditionally required to respond to "the five W's and H's" of events, namely who, when, where, how and why (Bell 2001: 175). The detachment from the events in terms of space makes writers depend largely on those who have

participated (either directly or indirectly), witnessed or just have an "overall knowledge or demonstrated competence" regarding the state of events to be reported, the so-called sources of information (Armstrong and Nelson 2005: 820).

From the array of available sources, "those with economic or political power are more likely to influence news reports than those who lack power", and therefore, they are more likely to be contacted by journalists (Zoch and Turk 1998: 764). Despite the growing participation of women in public life, the news is still largely male-dominated and the editorial leaders tend not to reflect in the news of the day the wide range of cultural, linguistic and socioeconomic backgrounds present in our society. Instead, "public figures and other prominent people generally make news" (Armstrong and Gao 2011: 493). Hence, news coverage is dominated by the presence of men if compared to the number of women portrayed, generally for a male audience (2011: 492).

According to Armstrong, "women have historically been both underrepresented and misrepresented in media coverage", a fact which has been commonly described in linguistics as a 'symbolic annihilation' (2004: 139). This concept, first proposed by Tuchman et al. (1978) and limited to television, implies that "portrayals of minority groups in mass media are generally superficial, distorted, or absent in news coverage compared to portrayals of members of dominant groups" (Armstrong and Boyle 2011: 155). Thus, it appears that there is "a rhetoric of silencing and alienation at work" as regards the way women are (under)represented in news coverage, making female sources part of the "unaccessed voice group" in the newsroom (Caldas-Coulthard 2002: 304, 307).

Despite occupying more and more high-level positions, women's progress has not been completely mirrored by the press media, probably due to the lack of newsworthy consideration when sourcing, which correlates with past beliefs (Armstrong et al. 2010: 90). According to Caldas-Coulthard, quality papers appear to be influenced by the traditional ideology of "male supremacy", excluding women from the speaking position (2002: 304). Thus, it seems that "men dominate news coverage" (Armstrong et al. 2010: 80), a statement that applies not only to news sources of information, but also to the television newscast representation of sources and news reporters in general. Indeed, according to the press release on progress for women in news media published by the UN Women in 2015, "women make up about 50 per cent of the general population" but the percentage of the persons heard, read about or seen in newspaper, television and radio news drops to 24.

Not only are women outnumbered by men, but they also seem not to fit properly in the traditional definition of 'experts', in the sense of sources with official status quoted on a professional basis (Armstrong and Nelson 2005: 831; Irvin 2013: 39). A study by Freedman et al. (2008) of governor's races in nine states discovered

that only 10% of all experts used were female political experts. Besides, more recent work in gender scholarship concludes that women just comprise 20% of the experts interviewed in the news (*Global Media Monitoring Project* 2015). These figures appear to confirm that men and women are treated differently as regards the level of expertise when sourcing information.

In addition, the citation segment that depicts female voices is said to be more negatively charged and prone to reductive portrayal. Two relevant references are Black's (2015) analysis of the representation of offending women in the Irish press and Gidengil and Everitt's (2003) study on the news coverage of the 1993 and 1997 Canadian elections. There is in fact a "gendered mediation" in the sense that news reports treat the male as normative and, in turn, women are more subjected to evaluation and interpretation (Gidengil and Everitt 2003: 2; Black 2015: 160). In particular, Gidengil and Everitt proved that the speech of female leaders was more likely to be reported using verbs with negative nuances such as 'lambast', 'rebuff' or 'hammer', rather than more neutral verbs such as 'say' or 'tell' (2003: 226-227).

Numerous researchers have attempted to isolate probable predictors for the existing gender disparity in the news information sources, mainly focused on the examination of sources themselves, authorship and subjects in news content. Four possible theories have been put forth to explain the way news content is shaped: accessibility, familiarity, time pressure and institutional bias (Turk 1987; Liebler and Smith 1997; Armstrong 2004; Armstrong and Nelson 2005), which will be defined below.

Accessibility (proximity or availability) is thought to be one of the central criteria to select the source. It primarily claims that those who are appointed as spokespeople or representatives in their companies or government agencies, generally high-ranking executives, are routinely the ones appearing in news content (Armstrong 2004: 142). Considering the present gender imbalance, women would have less chance of appearing in the news due to their low-level working role in their agencies which is far from serving as spokespeople, whereas male sources are more likely to be accessible and/or available since they tend to hold more positions of power, that is, due to their prominence value (Armstrong 2004: 148, 149).

Besides, since men tend to belong to 'the elite', male sources commonly fit in the criterion of "suitability", which means that they are considered to be appropriate for supplying "a great deal of information without unduly taxing their organizations or the resources of journalists, [as they are] more likely to meet standard definitions of reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness" (Diedong 2016: 43). This leads us to think that news reporters tend to produce biased coverage through their focus on high-profile officials, commonly men, whilst almost disregarding the remaining portion of society, women in particular (Silver 1986: 145).

Further, sourcing powerful members of society in the press implies reciprocity, in the sense that

> [t]he media conventionally expect and receive the right of access to the statements of these individuals, because the individuals have roles in the public domain; and reciprocally these people receive access to the columns of the papers when they wish to air their views. (Fowler 1994: 22)

This biased treatment of sources of information appears therefore to legitimate the status quo, defined by the underrepresentation (and misrepresentation) of female voices as part of the unaccessed news group.

The *Global Media Monitoring Project* did interesting research in 2015 on the kind of roles performed by women in digital news (figure 1). It concluded that there is "a breakdown of the people by sex, by the roles they fulfil in stories published on news websites" (2015: 11). This study confirmed that among all news sources women are "likely to appear as subjects and as persons interviewed based on personal experience in online published stories", providing evidence for the assumption that women commonly do not belong to the elite group. As a matter of fact, according to this research the vast majority of women included in news published by the web are portrayed as popular opinion providers rather than experts or spokespeople (2015: 11), as may be seen in figure 1, depicted by the author of this paper from thee data provided in the publication.

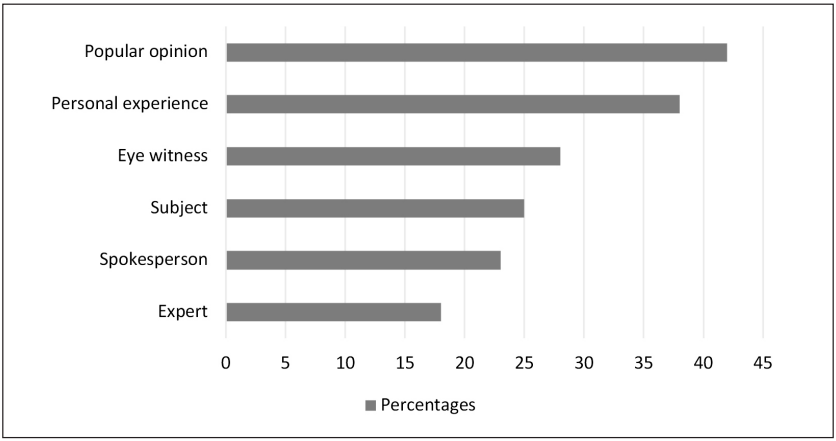

Figure 1. Distribution of female sources of information in the media by function (source: *Global Media Mentoring Project* 2015)

The unequal coverage of women in media content has also been justified alluding to the 'familiarity' criterion. According to it, journalists tend to seek "sources that [they] know instead of seeking out sources with a more diverse background" (Armstrong and Nelson 2005: 832). Thus, newspaper reporters appear to employ sources of their same gender in their news stories with whom they seem to have a better cordial relationship (Armstrong 2004). Considering women do not hold as many positions of power as men in their media agencies, nor in the departments that are contacted to report the evidence, and given the fact that the relationship between reporters (mostly men) and sources serves as a starting point for journalists in determining from whom information is sought (Gans 2004), statistically women must be quoted less in the press media. This line of thought may also lead us to deduce that female writers would use more female sources in their news articles, an issue which would deserve a comprehensive examination.

Gender inequality in news coverage has also been explained on the basis of time pressure. Journalists commonly refer to the underlying reason of time constraints and working to deadlines to account for the lack of diversity in news sources of information (Zoch and Turk 1998: 764). As was indicated above, reporters tend to get into contact with the first available sources, normally male spokespeople appointed by their agencies, which results in the disparity in treatment between men and women relative to source representation.

Finally, another key indicator of the appearance of male source is the criterion of 'institutional bias', i.e. the organisational-level influences and group-level decisions within the editorial department which decides who and what constitutes news, affecting the retention of traditional sex-role stereotypes in news coverage (Armstrong 2004: 149). This principle implies a dispute between the news writer's own criterion and the one imposed by the news organisational structures, typically occupied by male top-executives. The argument of the institutional bias would justify the fact that "although women may constitute a critical mass in network newsrooms, their presence has seemingly had little impact on the way news is reported" (Liebler and Smith 1997: 66). Following Armstrong and Boyle, "agents for social change generally seek power, recognition, and favorable treatment, but the existing social system —and those who hold power positions within it— seeks to maintain control" (2011: 158). The institutional conventions appear then to be aimed at preserving the male viewpoint, more particularly, they seem to strengthen social conventions concerning a male-dominated coverage that relegates women to secondary importance (Armstrong and Boyle 2011: 156). Given this scenario, one might infer that even though female writers report news or occupy high-level positions in the departments that are contacted by news agencies, the status quo will be kept, i.e. driving the story selection from a male-centric newsroom.

The incidence of some of these paradigms will be scrutinised in this research in order to ascertain the level of women's underrepresentation in media coverage, concretely the way female sourcing and representation may be affected by certain predictors.

4. Data and methodology

The corpus of the present investigation comprises contemporary articles published in four broadsheet newspapers in Spain and Great Britain: *El Mundo*, *El País, The Times* and *The Guardian*. To simplify data collection, I opted for digital news published during a two-month period (from May 7 to June 30, 2014); in that time I randomly chose a total number of 68 articles with an extension ranging from 164 to 1,122 words in length, including headlines and subheadings. The British and Spanish press constitute a corpus with a total number of 40,478 words (20,001 and 20,477 words, respectively), comprising a total sum of 519 and 461 reporting expressions, respectively. Both corpora were manually-annotated in an Excel database, which in essence categorised reporting expressions with regard to the gender of the writer who by-lined the news article: male, female, both or the equitable representation of both genders (e.g. Jill Treanor and Larry Elliott) and unknown, which refers to press agencies, such as 'EFE'. The database also included reference to the type of source of the reported information, comprising its animacy value (human vs. inanimate), the specification of the source gender (female, male or unknown) and the general way the source is described in the reporting segment, for example 'The Finnish prime minister [source head on professional basis], Alexander Stubb' (*The Times* 2014b). The category of 'unknown' sources alludes to plural and/or collective sources, such as 'authorities' or 'police', as well as reporting expressions whose source is non-specified ('apparently') or inanimate ('Israel radio'), in which case the gender identity of the source of information does not fit in the conventional female-male dichotomy.

Furthermore, for sampling purposes I restricted my study to journalistic texts whose primary concern was to inform the readership about a particular happening, i.e. articles which do not overtly persuade readers' perception of the events in a particular direction (as editorials do); the news sections chosen for the research have been Sports, Education, Economy, International News and National News.

Regarding the portrayal of female sources in the citation segment, these are some of the common patterns found in my corpus: social / courtesy title + surname ('Mrs Merkel', 'Ms van Schalkwyk', 'Dame Ellen MacArthur'); full name ('Yvette van Schalkwyk', 'Montserrat González Fernández'); surname ('Lundgren', 'Colau'); definite article + head on a professional basis ('the president', 'la juez' [the judge]),

among others. In the case of males, these sources of information are also usually depicted by courtesy title followed by the surname ('Dr Carter', 'Mr Cameron'), as well as their full name ('Alberto Casillas Asenjo') and surname ('Farage'); the portrayal of men by mentioning the profession is much more common ('the Conservative Leader', 'the Foreign Secretary'), especially in the Spanish corpus.

The data seeks to clarify whether or not the new media confirms the periphery roles incarnated in female sources of information as was described in the literature, along with an analysis of women portrayal and their relation to the gender of the writer.

Two research questions are thus formulated:

RQ1: Does a contemporary corpus still preserve traditional sex-role stereotypes?

RQ2: Is the gender of the writer a potential factor that influences the presence of women in news coverage?

5. Results and discussion

The quantitative results for the different source categories concerning the gender parameter in the British and Spanish press are shown in table 1. Since the number of words in each group of newspapers differs, the results are given in both raw numbers (N) and frequency per thousand words (R) in order to normalise the data.

Gender of the source	British press 20,001 words		Spanish press 20,477 words		P
	N	R	N	R	
Female	34	1.70	59	2.88	0.0010
Male	270	13.50	200	9.77	0.0072
Unknown	215	10.75	202	9.86	0.4766
Total	519	25.95	461	22.51	

Table 1. Distribution of information sources in the British and Spanish press

The overall presence of female information sources is reduced in comparison with the presence of male counterparts, whose distribution in both the British and the Spanish corpora is extremely statistically-significant ($P<0.05$) according to the chi-square test. This finding suggests that there has been little progress in comparison with the "biased and imbalanced gender portrayal in old media" which depicted women "consistently less frequently than men" (Armstrong and Gao 2011: 491).

The underrepresentation of women in the press media is also noticeable if comparing the ratio per thousand words for female and male sources in the two news groups (1.70 vs. 13.50 and 2.88 vs. 9.77 in the British and the Spanish press, respectively), with a difference of 11.80 in the case of the British corpus. This fact might indicate a greater approval for the use of men playing the role of experts as a newsworthy marker on the part of the British media reporters, for instance, "A Coast Guard spokesman in Boston said: 'I can confirm that the United States Coast Guard is resuming the search at the request of the British government'" (*The Times* 2014c).

The distribution of newspaper reporters in the two corpora concerning the gender factor is registered in figure 2 below. Tokens have been divided into the following categories: 'male', 'female', 'both' or equitable representation of both genders, and 'unknown (press agencies)', which refers to those articles whose story content is by-lined by the press agency, for instance, 'Associated Press in Bethlehem' or 'EFE'.

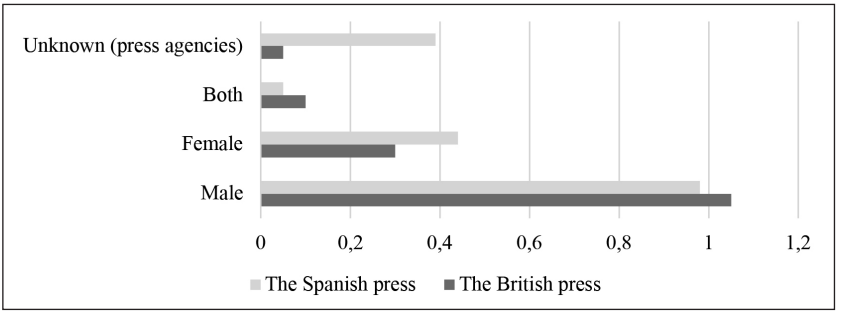

Figure 2. Distribution of news writers concerning the gender parameter (ratio per thousand words)

Considering the results obtained from this analysis, one can infer that there is a general trend to specify the author of the article; in particular, this figure shows that the presence of men vastly outnumbers female authorship in the British and Spanish corpora (21 out of 30 and 20 out of 38 total number of occurrences, respectively). However, the Spanish news industry seems to be more prone to gender balance in the newsroom.

The use of reporting depending on the gender of the journalist is shown in table 2 below. As may be deduced, male writers are more prone to cite other sources of information, particularly in the Spanish press (the comparison between the Spanish

and the British press is statistically-significant [P<0.05] according to the chi-square test). In this news group male writers present a difference of 7.79 points in the ratio per thousand words when compared to the presence of their female counterparts.

Writer's gender	British press 20,001 words		Spanish press 20,477 words		P
	Information sources		Information sources		
	N	R	N	R	
Female	73	3.65	107	5.22	0.0127
Male	113	5.65	266	13.01	
Total	186	9.30	373	18.23	

Table 2. The use of reporting with respect to the gender of the news writer

Table 3 further analyses the issue of gender by means of a comparative study of the gender of the writer and the information source.

Writer's gender	British press 20,001 words				Spanish press 20,477 words				P	
	Female sources		Male sources		Female sources		Male sources		Female sources	Male sources
	N	R	N	R	N	R	N	R		
Female	12	0.60	61	3.05	25	1.22	44	2.15	0.0053	0.5810
Male	21	1.05	181	9.05	30	1.46	122	5.96	0.0370	0.0204
Total	33	1.65	242	12.10	55	2.68	166	8.11		

Table 3. The gender of the writer and the information source: a comparative analysis

Male journalists appear to advocate for reporting more male voices in both news groups, 9.05 and 5.96 in the British and the Spanish press, respectively, which leads to a statistically-significant difference (the p-value has been obtained below 0.05 after comparing the number of male sources reported by male reporters and the rest of occurrences in both corpora). Although the distribution of female writers using male sources does not lead to a statistically-significant difference according to the chi-square test, women writers also seem to be inclined to use male voices as information sources in the newspaper articles. Contrary to possible expectations, the presence of female sources reported by women writers is reduced in both corpora, especially in the British press (12 out of 33 total number of occurrences). This data further indicates a more noticeable presence of female

sources in Spanish than in British digital news, presenting a statistically-significant difference. Therefore, it appears that women reporters still maintain the societal status quo which is male-dominated and, accordingly, "even if women have power over their stories, their work looks much like that of their male counterparts" (Liebler and Smith 1997: 65). As a matter of fact, most work in gender scholarship argues that "the disparity between male and female portrayals is an outcome of a male-dominated culture, where men are the decision makers and the authorities, and women are the subordinates within society" (Armstrong and Boyle 2011: 155-156).

These quantitative results appear to highlight the fact that the predominance of male sources of information, rather than being tied to the 'familiarity' criterion, is institutionally biased, i.e. due to the organisational-level influences and group-level decisions within the editorial department which favour the maintenance of sex-role stereotypes in news coverage. Hence, my corpus does not seem to adhere to the assumption that journalists tend to seek out sources belonging to their gender on the basis of the 'familiarity' principle (Armstrong and Nelson 2005: 832); instead, it supports the fact that news agencies do not allow women to develop new dissemination strategies concerning sourcing.

Regarding the portrayal of female sources in the citation segment, contrary to a common perception, female sources appear to be mostly recognised by their economic role, rather than embodying the depiction of source on a personal basis. Moreover, the first most used pattern in the Spanish newspapers is 'surname'. According to Fowler, "the distinction between first and last name for women can symbolize a polarization around the issue of solidarity and dissociation" (1994: 99). Thus, this fact seems to indicate a deliberate distance on the part of Spanish writers from the quoted information provided by female sources. Nonetheless, all these aspects need to be explored more extensively and backed by a quantitative analysis to see if tendencies remain in larger corpora.

6. Conclusion

This investigation has approached the issue of women underrepresentation in the media from a corpus-based study. The research has been focused on the presence and portrayal of female sources, as well as the analysis of the gender of the journalist as a potential predictor and driver of gender imbalance. Results uncover an inadequate representation of women in the mass media, providing evidence for the first research question formulated in the methodology. Nevertheless, there seems to be a greater approval for the use of male sources as the expert voice in the British corpus, a finding which correlates with the higher gender balance present in the Spanish newsroom.

As regards the second research question posed in the methodology, results, especially those of the British corpus, also appear to indicate that the predominance of male sources of information, rather than being tied to the 'familiarity' criterion, is institutionally biased, i.e. it is due to the institutional practice of society in the news organisations which continues to maintain traditional gender roles for women. Hence, the second research question cannot be answered affirmatively since, contrary to possible expectations, women writers also appear to advocate for using more male sources of information in their articles. To provide additional insight into the analysis, a qualitative analysis of the citation segment was carried out, suggesting a change in past gender dynamics which usually depicted women sources on a personal basis. Besides, the results indicate a tendency to use more reporting on the part of male writers as a sign to present well-grounded and objective information in their news articles.

Although many scholars in the field have been claiming that female underrepresentation in the media does not reflect our present reality, but rather entails an inaccurate reflection of our society (Armstrong 2004), the present research seems to have demonstrated the existing low social status of women mirrored by the media, though hopefully in a state of transition. As Caldas-Coulthard states, "language simply reflects 'facts' and the ways society in general treats the genders, but by ignoring the asymmetries we tend to reinforce the stereotypes" (2004: 207). The new media appears then to keep on promoting stereotypes and as such, it ignores the presence of particular segments of society, concretely, women. Therefore, even though the publications analysed in this study belong to the 'new' media, online journalism appears to continue replicating the gendered hierarchies and/or disparities from the traditional newsroom (Armstrong and Gao 2011: 492). In light of the above, the study would suggest raising awareness on gender discrimination as an effective measure to combat sexism and attempt more parity in the quality newspapers. Unless citizens as a whole acknowledge the existing overwhelming situation for women, social change will be kept from attaining its goals.

Further research is required to investigate journalists' own perception of the gender-based frames encoded in the news stories, along with their impact on the readers' imagery. Audience-related studies would also be needed to analyse to whom the content is addressed, whether it is true or not that news is generally produced for a male public. Furthermore, it would be necessary to do a more detailed cognitive linguistic research to investigate whether the reduced number of female sources is sufficient to diminish the value of women in public opinion, or it is rather the source portrayal which has further influence on the mental realm of the target audience.

At all events, this paper posits that since "a reporter's selection of sources within a story is a crucial factor toward the story's overall impact for readers" (Armstrong and Nelson 2005: 832), journalists should stimulate a change in both news coverage and media outlets headed for a more comprehensive frame of voices. Hence, achieving a more encompassing and less stereotypical representation of sources in the quality newspapers requires undoubtedly invigorated efforts to instil a more pluralistic angle in the newsroom. Editorial leaders are therefore encouraged through this investigation to start walking down the path towards diversity in the new media platforms.

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Reviews

PRAGMATICS: COGNITION, CONTEXT AND CULTURE

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The book here reviewed is a well-expressed, up-to-date and comprehensive description of the concerns of pragmatics. It consists of six chapters, with chapters 2 to 5 each covering a major area of this all-embracing field of linguistics. The first chapter is an introduction that explains the difference between semantics and pragmatics by reference to Leech's (1983: 6) pithy contrast in the questions *What does X mean?* (semantics) vs. *What did you mean by X?* (pragmatics) (2), the underdeterminacy of language (9-12) and the overriding exploitation of indirectness in expressing meaning (18-23). Great importance is also attached to the cultural facet of the determination of meaning (23-27). Chapter 2 deals with speech acts, while chapter three deals with reference, inference and implicature, including Grice's conversational implicature. Chapter 4 looks at the more recent topic of politeness and its corollary, impoliteness. Chapter 5 provides an overview of Relevance Theory and explains the trade-off between explicature, that is, fully explicit communication, and processing effort, while chapter 6 rounds the book off with completely up-to-date information on all the recent spin-offs of the theories expounded in the earlier chapters.

The publication is a successful mixture of simplicity and complexity that goes well beyond most manuals and textbooks written on the topic. It provides clear explanations of many of the issues that are usually found to be challenging by the average student of semantics and pragmatics, such as the subject of logical

positivism and the concept of truth conditions (37), or the difference between illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (46). The authors make the useful clarification that "[…] a perlocutionary act is not performed *in* saying something, but *by* saying it". Additionally, a way of testing whether an act is illocutionary or perlocutionary is suggested.

The above technical terms are always referred to in books on pragmatics, but they are rarely given the lucid, straightforward and detailed explanation provided in the present text. Other topics receive more than their usual share of attention, as is the case of deixis (80-90), which is given full coverage, including mention of the overlapping of person and place deixis (*Same here!* 'So am I') and the interesting complementary information that English *he* can ultimately be traced back to Proto-Indo-European **ki-* ('here'), and *she* to **so-* ('this, that') (86-87). Locative deictics are also shown to be used in discourse reference (*Here I agree with you* ..., *There I disagree* ..., etc.) (88).

More is made of Searle's contribution to Speech Act Theory (chapter 2) than in most textbooks. In fact, a whole section (2.6, 51-58) is devoted to his development of Austin's ideas, and the authors are at pains to emphasize that Searle undertook a substantial critical revision of Austin's work, rather than a mere recasting. Searle was careful to point out that it is not uncommon for the categories of speech act to overlap (commissive and directive, for example) and it is to him that we owe some of the most frequently used terminology, such as IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device).

Unlike traditional books on semantics and pragmatics, the present work treats reference as an indisputably pragmatic mechanism (74-76), crucially dependent on the speaker's and hearer's shared knowledge. It is classified into seven different types (76-80) and each type is summarized in tabular form on p. 79. Surprisingly, no mention is made of the traditional sense-reference dichotomy expounded by Gottlob Frege (*Sinn* vs. *Bedeutung* in German), even if only to reject it in favour of a more up-to-date approach, but perhaps this is considered too deeply rooted in semantics to merit attention in the present book on pragmatics.

Several good examples of the use of English *come* and *go* in spatial deixis are given (89), and it is pointed out that such verbs may become grammaticalized as indicators of tense. For example, *to go* is one way to express the future in English (*I'm going to…* = future time without necessarily referring to motion). However, the authors show surprise that Catalan uses the present paradigm of *anar* 'to go' to form the preterite, when there exist in English many expressions like *So he goes and drives into a fence*, a dramatic or graphic use of the present tense to allude to past events. A parallel construction in Catalan probably gave rise to the

grammaticalization of *anar* for past reference, as opposed to the retention of the synthetic preterite in Valencian and literary Catalan (cf. literary Catalan *esdevingué* vs. spoken Catalan *va esdevenir* 'it became'). A similar case of grammaticalization is to be found in the use of *do* as an auxiliary in certain varieties of English (*He done gone* 'He went').

Implicature is handled exhaustively by the authors and they take the process beyond Grice to neo-Gricean theories, including scalar implicature and Horn's reductionist reinterpretation of Grice's maxims (109-114).

Like all of the previous chapters, the one devoted to the more recent theories of politeness and impoliteness masterfully elucidates the ideas behind these conversational strategies. We are reminded too that, "when we speak of politeness in linguistics, we are not speaking of just social 'good manners'" (131), an important point often missing from books dealing with the subject. As the authors concisely state, the main intention of politeness is to "minimize the imposition of the request" (131).

The work of Leech on politeness and the face-saving view of Brown and Levinson are well covered, and the latter is contrasted with Watts's standpoint (134), which views politeness as "a tool for maintaining hegemony in the hands of the powerful" (Leech 2014: 43). The criticisms that have been levelled at the claim for universality are outlined (154-157) and several authors who have underlined the primacy of positive politeness in the Spanish-speaking world are named, though there is no reference to the work of Leo Hickey on Spanish pragmatics in this section (I am thinking in particular of Hickey 1991), who points out that the Anglo-Saxon world may be embarrassed by and suspicious of direct flattery.

The all-pervasive concept of relevance receives full attention in chapter 5. The fundamental belief of its creators is that Grice's four conversational maxims can be condensed into one, namely relevance, which permeates all our exchanges: "[…] every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of relevance" (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 162). The chapter shows how the hearer is coaxed towards the intended interpretation of a message, but wisely points out that the supposition that "[…] it is always the most relevant interpretation that hearers reach first is ripe for testing" (206). For some unknown reason, the authors only quote from the first edition of Sperber and Wilson (1986), rather than the second (1995), which would have allowed them to check for refinements and modifications in approach, and there is no reference to the update, Wilson and Sperber (2012), which situates Relevance Theory within recent developments in cognitive science.

The last chapter sketches some recent concerns of pragmatics, not least the role of historical pragmatics in motivating semantic change. While abduction is given fair mention (246) under the section dealing with computational linguistics, much more could have been made here of the part played by inference (which is a kind of abduction) in general in motivating extension of meaning or, in the words of Bybee (2015: 133), "Semantic change by adding meaning from the context". The extension of the meaning of *going to* from temporality to goal or intention can be interpreted in the light of this insight (Bybee 2015: 134), as can the development of *since* from temporal to causal (Bybee 2015: 204), though, admittedly, Alba-Juez and Mackenzie (244) do pay some attention to the connection between Gricean pragmatics and frequently observed types of semantic change (as noted in Traugott 2007: 540).

Every chapter of this book ends with a succinct conclusion, which is followed by a complete, point-by-point summary, arranged in numbered paragraphs, so that no fact is overlooked. Finally, after the summary, there are numerous useful, well thought-out exercises that enable the reader to check what s/he has learned. The degree of difficulty has been well controlled to make them accessible to the average reader, and the first one always consists of fifteen mutiple-choice questions (three options), which help the reader to recall every major point made in the chapter.

All in all, this is a complete survey of the subject of pragmatics, which all students and scholars of the discipline should read. However, while I feel that it is an excellent text for postgraduates, it is at the same time rather forbidding for undergraduates owing to the array of theories covered and the abundance of terminology used. For undergraduates I would recommend concentration on the first three chapters only. Regarding the plethora of terminology, one wonders whether we need a label for every single linguistic phenomenon. Couldn't some of these be grouped under the same heading? The table on p. 79, for example, lists no fewer than seven different types of reference (see above); deixis is given a similar detailed treatment (80-90).

The whole text is perfectly composed except for the odd slip in the English (*aspect* for *respect* on p. 14, *along* for *throughout* on p. 19, *many times* for *very often* on p. 85) and the fact that the answer to question 2 on p. 30 seems to be unclear. However, only six chapters for 258 pages of text makes reading a chore for the uninitiated. Perhaps further subdivisions into chapters could have been made or, alternatively, it might be a good idea to reissue the book in a separate abridged format for beginners. Disregarding these final comments, the work is probably the best book of its kind on the market to date.

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ON (DE)CONSTRUCTING CORPORATE IDENTITY: AN ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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Poznan: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2017.
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This book is a welcome addition to the existing literature in the field of *ecolinguistics* "symbolically marked with the 1970 talk delivered by Einar Haugen and the publication of *The Ecology of Language* (1972) that opened the door to challenging the perception of the relations between language and its environment" (63). The second major strand of this approach began in the 1990s with Halliday's insights connecting biological ecology as well as ecological and environmental issues to language.

In an attempt to be comprehensive, this volume has been divided into five chapters. Each chapter finishes with a summary section in which the most relevant aspects covered are reviewed. The first chapter thoroughly revises the theoretical foundations of the ecolinguistic paradigm, providing a solid summary of its history and main developments. Chapter 2 defines the concept of identity in the organizational setting, taking an interdisciplinary perspective that draws on contributions representing the fields of social psychology, sociology, discourse studies, organizational studies and corporate communication studies, construed in the ecological paradigm. This chapter differentiates and compares elusive concepts such as *identity, individual vs. social identity, identity vs. self, image and reputation,* whose meanings often overlap across disciplines. It also includes new concepts, which have become relevant to the construction of corporate identity: ethical and environmental issues. Ethical aspects of corporate identity have become a must for

corporate communication, reinforcing and consolidating corporate identity and reputation. On page 77, the author rightly points out the scarce consensus that exists on the notion of organizational identity and "calls for a multilevel framework for analysis, embracing the individual, group, social, organisational, corporate and cultural identities (Albert, Ashforth and Dutton 2000; Brown 2000; Gioia, Schultz and Corley 2002)". Another important issue is the dynamic nature of corporate identity, seen as a dynamic construct, that is, in Breeze's words, "created, expressed and replicated through discourse, and it is also performed through the actions and practices of the corporate entity and its members" (2013: 14). In the final section of chapter 2, the author develops her own Ecological Model of Corporate Identity that situates the company in the broadly understood ecosystem accounting for a complex network of social, cultural, economic, political, technological and environmental factors. The novelty of her model lies in exposing the company's embeddedness in the intricate network of mutual relations between the company, its stakeholders and the ecosystem, and in assuming the centrality of ethical and ecological appeals as well in constructing corporate identity.

Chapter 3 is particularly attention-grabbing for those interested in the mechanisms of communicating corporate identity on the internet corporate webpages, undoubtedly nowadays the most important communication tool. The author explores the unequal status among users and organizations, the latter being the source of a persuasive message with a clearly defined goal. Corporate messages are cleverly "planned, controlled and subdued to the needs of the company rather than encouraging an honest dialogue with stakeholders" (154). This chapter also highlights the most important generic and linguistic aspects of the corporate webpage, concerning the construction of corporate identity, and discusses both the form and content of the mission statement, a web-migrated micro-genre, considered the main carrier of corporate identity, and the cunning use of pronouns as the key identity markers in corporate discourse.

In chapter 4 —"Ideological Aspects of Corporate Identity and Discourse: Towards Ecological Discourse Analysis"— we find an explanation of the notion of discourse and then of another essential, yet nebulous, notion of ideology. It also outlines the main assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and contrasts them with those of Ecological Discourse Analysis. The author concludes that the perspective offered by CDA seems too narrow to comprehend the discursive construction of corporate identity that nowadays has nuances of ecological embedding.

Chapter 5 presents a research project that analyses the discursive construction of corporate identity, with special focus on its ideology, confronted with the assumed ecosophy. In accordance with the proposed Ecological Model of Corporate Identity, corporate identity is understood as a concept deeply embedded in its

environmental and anthropomorphic ecosystem. Therefore, the self-representation of the company, guided primarily by corporate goals, emerges from a particular socio-economic and ecological context and the corporate identity discourse may reflect existing ideologies. The analysis, using corpus data gathered in the period of June-December 2015 from different companies, concludes that corporate companies construct their identities based on ecological appeals, named "surface ecologization" (Fill 2001: 50).

The findings of this volume are thought-provoking, not only because of what they prove in relation to the construction of corporate identity, but also because they open up new paths of research. These include the need for further studies of different corporate websites of international and local companies. These are important, particularly as they could have implications for discourse studies and web designers.

All in all, *On (De) Constructing Corporate Identity: An Ecolinguistic Approach* by Emilia Wąsikiewicz-Firlej is theoretically well-grounded and this contributes to the development of corporate communication studies. However, the wide range of the four topics addressed —identity, discourse, ideology and ecology— results in a certain lack of unity of the book as a whole. Likewise, given the wide range of these research interests, it is hard to envisage a homogenous type of audience. It could be of interest to a wide readership, including people working on corporate websites, discourse analysis or cognitive linguistics. Despite these shortcomings, the book is highly recommendable because it includes a comprehensive analysis of corporate identity issues. Consequently, it is definitely a very interesting read for those interested in corporate identity as it brings to the fore an invaluable amount of scholarly material on this topic, providing original insights as well.

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ANGLICISMOS SEXUALES EN ESPAÑOL: EL INGLÉS COMO RECURSO EUFEMÍSTICO Y DISFEMÍSTICO EN LA COMUNICACIÓN VIRTUAL

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Como es bien sabido, los anglicismos constituyen hoy en día un terreno fértil para la investigación científica y una fuente inagotable de recursos en todos los niveles lingüísticos. De los anglicismos léxicos y sintácticos se han ocupado Pratt (1980), Lorenzo (1996), Gómez Capuz (2004) o Medina López (2004), por citar algunos ejemplos de trabajos influyentes en este campo. En su tesis doctoral, Pratt incide en la influencia del inglés estadounidense sobre el español, limitando su estudio a los anglicismos léxicos y, en menor medida, a los anglicismos sintácticos. Lorenzo, a su vez, hace una clasificación pormenorizada de los anglicismos léxicos a través de un riguroso análisis descriptivo, en tanto que Gómez Capuz ofrece una visión léxico-semántica de los mismos. Por su parte, Medina López pone de relieve el importante influjo lingüístico del francés como lengua intermediaria entre el inglés y el español. Así pues, la notable presencia de los anglicismos durante la segunda mitad del s. XX y su creciente influencia en los albores del s. XXI han propiciado no pocas investigaciones en casi todos los ámbitos, como la tecnología, la ciencia, la economía o el deporte, demostrando que siguen siendo un objeto de estudio prolífico. Así lo atestiguan algunos estudios recién publicados (Bouwman 2017; Rodríguez González 2018 o Vázquez Amador 2018).

El libro que aquí reseñamos se revela como una importante aportación a la temática de los anglicismos en la lengua española por dos motivos fundamentales. Por un lado, por abarcar un campo —el sexo y el erotismo— que pocos se atreven a ex-

plorar por considerarlo tabú y, por otro, por abordarlo desde una perspectiva fundamentalmente pragmática tomando como base los foros de internet. Con este volumen, los autores, Crespo-Fernández y Luján-García, vuelven a la senda iniciada unos años antes con dos publicaciones (2013, 2017) que trataron específicamente sobre este tema, con la salvedad de que lo hicieron sin el apoyo de un corpus. En este punto, resulta pertinente afirmar que esta última aportación no es solo una profundización de estudios anteriores sino que ofrece una excelente visión de conjunto sobre el uso real de la lengua en contextos informales, lo que contribuirá con toda probabilidad al desarrollo de este ámbito de estudio.

La obra está compuesta por cuatro capítulos y cinco anexos. Está prologada por el profesor Félix Rodríguez González, Catedrático de Lingüística Inglesa de la Universidad de Alicante en cuyo trabajo se inspiran los autores. Le preceden un índice de figuras y tablas, muy apropiado para localizar rápidamente cada cuadro descrito, así como los agradecimientos de rigor. Le siguen una breve introducción, unas consideraciones previas que ocupan unas 15 páginas en las que se detallan las hipótesis y objetivos, los marcos teóricos utilizados, el corpus seleccionado, así como la metodología adoptada. Aunque a lo largo del volumen los autores aportan interesantes reflexiones sobre el objeto de estudio, la idea principal del libro queda reflejada ya en el subtítulo inserto en la portada: "El inglés como recurso eufemístico y disfemístico en la comunicación virtual" —que constituye el eje temático de la investigación— y en el propio título: "Anglicismos sexuales en español", en el que se especifica claramente el campo de reflexión de los autores. Los eufemismos —esas palabras o expresiones políticamente correctas tan de moda hoy en día— se usan reiteradamente en casi todos los ámbitos, ya sea para camuflar una realidad desagradable o para ocultar un tabú maquillándolo lingüísticamente. En el lado opuesto están los disfemismos —palabras soeces o malsonantes—, que se emplean con una clara intención ofensiva y transgresora. Así las cosas, las palabras que sustentan el título de la introducción —"Sexo, anglicismo e internet"— son especialmente reveladoras, ya que aparecen interrelacionadas entre sí a lo largo de la obra, constituyendo el epicentro de la investigación. Como los propios autores expresan "[…] el sexo es, sin duda, el tabú por antonomasia, un tabú atemporal cuya fuerza interdictiva ha resistido los efectos corrosivos del paso del tiempo" (1), por lo que constituye un campo idóneo para el estudio de los eufemismos, destacando, por su relevancia en este tema, los anglicismos léxicos.

Partiendo de un corpus de temática sexual extraído de dos foros de internet —*Doctissimo* y *Enfemenino*— que abarca el período de 2010 a 2016, los autores ofrecen un análisis inductivo de las que llaman 'lexías anglicadas', para, posteriormente, clasificarlas y categorizarlas, describir su valor axiológico en contexto —eufemístico o disfemístico— y finalmente identificar los usos metafóricos de los anglicismos

sexuales en español. Los dos primeros capítulos, si bien se centran en la parte teórica, resultan imprescindibles, pues propician la comprensión de los capítulos siguientes en los que se analizan los anglicismos y se evidencian resultados. Así pues, en el primer capítulo, "Tabú, eufemismo y disfemismo" (19-34), se definen los conceptos mencionados haciendo especial hincapié en el denominado por Allan y Burridge (2006) 'X-femismo', concepto al que recurren los autores para clasificar las variantes axiológicas que adopta el referente tabuizado en el contexto comunicativo: eufemismo, disfemismo, cuasi-eufemismo, cuasi-disfemismo y ortofemismo.

El capítulo segundo, "El anglicismo" (35-54), es, como su título indica, otro apartado teórico en el que la definición del concepto da paso a un recorrido por la evolución del anglicismo en España y en otros países europeos, incidiendo en la tipología y funciones desempeñadas por el anglicismo en la comunicación. Así, siguiendo a Pulcini et al. (2012), los autores optan por la siguiente clasificación: anglicismos puros, anglicismos adaptados, anglicismos híbridos, calcos y pseudoanglicismos (41), al tiempo que hacen suyas las siguientes funciones establecidas por Rodríguez González (1996): referencial, expresiva y textual. Estas aparecen recogidas en la Figura 2.1. (54) de una forma clara y sintética. Presentar los conceptos o resultados de este modo es, a nuestro juicio, un gran acierto de los autores porque ayuda al esclarecimiento de la reflexión conceptual. Sin embargo, aunque estas tres funciones responden a tres conceptos diferentes, se solapan de diversos modos, con la consiguiente dificultad que supone determinar con rigor qué función desempeña un determinado anglicismo, teniendo en cuenta además que puede llegar a cumplir las tres funciones a la vez. Así pues, sería deseable asegurar la comparabilidad con otras clasificaciones existentes si bien ninguna de ellas puede ser considerada como el único modelo de referencia.

Otras tablas y ejemplos se suceden a lo largo del libro, con especial énfasis en los capítulos 3 y 4, que son los que contienen el análisis propiamente dicho y los resultados globales respectivamente.

El tercer capítulo (55-99) es el más extenso por estar centrado en el objeto principal del libro: los anglicismos sexuales en el corpus. Se dedica al análisis cualitativo de los anglicismos eufemísticos y disfemísticos, con un gran número de ejemplos que amenizan la lectura. De entre todos ellos destacamos los del primer grupo por su frecuencia de uso y su función atenuadora: *LGTB*, *escort, swinger, sexting, tuppersex*; los del segundo grupo se limitan a cuatro campos y cumplen una función envilecedora: *toy boy*, *whoppers*.

En el cuarto y último capítulo (101-114) los autores proporcionan los resultados globales de su investigación y las conclusiones a las que llegan. De nuevo aquí se ofrecen breves síntesis exponiendo los datos cuantitativos en tablas, lo que a nues-

tro entender facilita la lectura y comparación de los resultados por tipos y campos semánticos. En el apartado de conclusiones se integran oportunas reflexiones e interpretaciones de datos que siempre resultan de gran provecho y, lo que es de valorar, se abren nuevas líneas de investigación que podrán constituir ejes temáticos de nuevos trabajos. Finalmente, el libro se cierra con una abundante bibliografía seguida de cinco anexos, en los que se recogen, de forma resumida, los tipos de anglicismos, la frecuencia de uso y el equivalente en español. Este es, a nuestro juicio, otro de los aciertos del trabajo.

En definitiva, este libro constituye una magnífica herramienta para obtener conocimientos sobre las cuestiones abordadas, siendo de utilidad tanto para neófitos como para especialistas que quieran refrescar conceptos o profundizar en el tema. Sus numerosos ejemplos, su redacción clara y su lenguaje sencillo hacen que resulte especialmente atractivo para el público en general.

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TRANSLATION AS A SCIENCE AND TRANSLATION AS AN ART: A PRACTICAL APPROACH

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Starting with a splendidly well-chosen cover, Noa Talaván's *Translation as a Science and Translation as an Art: A Practical Approach* is the epitome of what a clear, thorough monograph should be, which will immerse the readers in the world of translation and will have them longing for more. Noa Talaván is a professor at UNED, who has written an array of books within Translation Studies and has specialized in the realms of Audiovisual Translation and the learning of foreign languages through subtitling. The following lines are intended to serve as a guide through the main features of this monograph, and they will deal with topics that go from its physical description to a brief summary of each of its five chapters.

The monograph's front cover makes one stare deeply into it to discover all the details of Hans Holbein the Younger's painting *The Ambassadors* (1533), which conveys a scene in which the arts (and sciences) of geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and music are reflected. Thus, through a subtle but clever use of a two-fold strategy (the painting and the title) the author already presents the main idea that will be further developed in the following chapters: translation is both a science and an art. Additionally, the book is presented in paperback, which makes it very easy to handle, especially for students who need comfortable materials to read and carry around. The adequate paper caliper, together with a correct choice of fonts, clear charts and general structure, make the task of reading this monograph an easy one.

Chapter 1 starts with a clear —and probably expected— dichotomy: is translation a science or an art, or is it both? In order to make up one's mind and understand why translation should be considered both, the author starts this chapter with a short but key introduction to the history of translation, dividing the chapter into two main parts: what translation was regarded as up to the 20th century, and from the 20th century onwards. Talaván takes the reader through the different theories and representatives of all these periods, and she clearly presents each of their contributions to this discipline, starting with Cicero's sense-for-sense translation in Roman times and ending with today's formal and dynamic equivalences, among other theories. The chapter ends with a mention of James S. Holmes and his ideas on Translation Studies to round off the concept of translation being an art and a science.

The second chapter begins by providing the readers with a collection of very useful translation strategies that are strategically presented in layers, starting with the translation at word level and ending with the use of pragmatics in translation. At word level, the author stresses the importance of knowing the different types of lexical meaning that words have and takes the reader to some of the most important strategies used by translators when it comes to non-equivalence (cf. Baker 2011). The following layer deals with collocations (and the most common pitfalls of translating them), idioms and fixed expressions, whose translation strategies are readily provided in a chart full of examples. Grammar is at the next level, in which important aspects such as number, gender, person, or voice are explained as well as two important strategies: grammatical transposition and modulation. The following layer deals with "the text as a complete linguistic unit" (36), which involves the information flow as presented by Halliday's theme and rheme, types of marked themes, or a number of interesting strategies related to information structure, such as voice change or extraposition (cf. Baker 2011). Additionally, the author rounds out this level by providing different strategies within the concept of cohesion, such as reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunctions, or lexical cohesion (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976). Lastly, the author elaborates on the importance of pragmatics by explaining the concepts of coherence and H. Paul Grice's implicature and his co-operative principle as well as some strategies by Mona Baker on how to deal with these two concepts (2011). The chapter ends accompanied by a clear and useful summary of all the translation strategies explained for each of the five aforementioned linguistic layers.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the translation of humanistic texts and is pertinently divided into three main sections. The first section deals with the understanding of translations as purposeful tasks, that is, not only shall translations encompass

a linguistic transfer but a cultural one as well. To this end, the author briefly describes the Skopos Theory and Christiane Nord's three aspects of functionalism: "the importance of the translation brief, the role of source-text analysis, and the classification and hierarchisation of translation problems" (1997: 53). In order to deal with cultural elements, Talaván provides a first insight into the concepts of domestication and foreignization (cf. Venuti 2008), along with the concept of cultural transposition (cf. Haywood et al. 2009) and "their continuum that goes from exoticism to total adaptation to the TL culture" (63) —exoticism, cultural borrowing, calque, communicative translation and cultural transplantation. The chapter ends with an explanation of the importance of translation loss, and to tackle this, the author provides four strategies to compensate for such losses —compensation in kind, in place, by merging or by splitting— and six strategies that deal with the role of connotative meaning: attitudinal, associative, affective, reflected, collocative and allusive meanings (cf. Haywood et al. 2009).

The fourth chapter is divided into five main sections and it deals with a series of methods, strategies and techniques to cope with the lack of equivalence in translation. The first section addresses the differentiation between methods, strategies and techniques and the author provides an instructive chart with some of the most relevant translation methods according to Newmark (1988) and a brief description of each of them. The second section deals with the source-text oriented strategy of foreignization and four of its techniques (literal translation, equivalence, borrowing —or loan—, and calque) and the third section deals with seven target-text oriented strategies, namely adaptation, compensation, modulation, neutralization, specification, substitution and transposition, and an array of different techniques within each of them. Footnotes and glossaries are also mentioned as possible translation solutions. Section four deals with the translation of humor and the different strategies to tackle this difficult topic, following Chiaro (2010). Additionally, this section includes seven strategies (cf. Delabastita 1993) to translate puns or wordplay, each of which is presented with clear definitions and examples. The last section of chapter 4 elaborates on the topic of translation quality and translation errors, such as pragmatic or adequacy errors (cf. Hurtado Albir 2008). The author provides a relevant ending to this chapter by stressing the importance of the fact that "there is no scientific absolute right or wrong" when it comes to translating; however, the translator should produce a "balance between accuracy, naturalness and overall comprehension" (95) to achieve a certain level of quality in his/her translation.

The last chapter lays emphasis on the importance of background knowledge before approaching any kind of text, such as knowing who the author is, his or

her style, the intention of his or her text, knowing about the source-text and target-text culture, etc. Its first section deals with the art of translating poetry, about which the author says that it is "probably one of the most challenging tasks for a translator" (100) as it is the most personal kind of literature. She then provides different approaches to translating poetry, following Bassnett (2002), such as phonemic, metrical or rhymed translations, but she reminds the readers that blank verse is probably the most reasonable and frequent approach to adopt. For the translation of prose, the author provides some interesting guidelines to take into account such as considering the source text as an integral unit, bearing in mind the various levels of equivalence at all times, the importance of false friends, etc. The third section deals with the translation of drama and the macro-, micro- and intersystemic textual levels it presents (cf. Merino Álvarez 1994), as well as with some challenges that the translators may face when dealing with this genre (cf. Hurtado Albir 2011). Section four tackles the difficulty that may arise when dealing with dialects, and section five can be summarized by Talaván's idea that "the beauty of translation lies precisely in this flexibility that allows for the existence of multiple translated versions of the very same ST, all of which can be perfectly valid" (119). Through this quote, the author reminds the reader once again that translation is both a science and an art.

Noa Talaván's monograph is an exceptional piece of work that comprises all the important elements a newborn translator should bear in mind, ranging from the most basic translation techniques, to dealing with the most complicated uses of the language, such as humor, puns or even dialects. To complete this impressive work I would only suggest adding another chapter that may inform about what the current trends in this realm are, especially for those students who are considering doing translations for a living. Furthermore, information on different software that translators use would be ideal in order to understand what a translator does when dealing with new translations. Each of the chapters in Talaván's monograph contemplates what the students will face when it comes to handling texts and for that purpose she provides dozens of examples of translation practice for them to do. Moreover, at the end of the monograph, a key to all the practical tasks can be found, each of which comes with a translation (into Spanish) and a thorough analysis of the methods, strategies and techniques used. Since Talaván keeps her students (and the general reader) in mind at all times when providing clear examples to each challenge and quotes the most important authors in the realm of Translation Studies, it can be concluded that her work of art and science is a must on anyone's bookshelf.

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Notes for contributors

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…following Blakemore (1987: 35),…

…perform a distinctive function in discourse (Blakemore 1987).

…this issue has received a lot of attention by relevance theorists (Blakemore 1987, 1992; Wilson and Sperber 1993).

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