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Articles

ANXIETY AND EFL SPEAKING IN SPANISH COMPULSORY AND NON-COMPULSORY SECONDARY EDUCATION: A MIXED-METHOD STUDY

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Abstract

This exploratory study aims to examine the relationshp between language anxiety (LA) and the speaking skill for English as a Foreign Language in both Spanish Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE) and (Upper) Non-compulsory Secondary Education (NCSE). A sequential explanatory mixed-method study was implemented with two intact classes (18 CSE and 19 NCSE students). In the quantitative phase the 37 students' LA levels were measured through the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986) to analyse their relationship with their school speaking test scores, using bivariate correlation and stepwise linear regression analyses. Quantitative results revealed an inverse relationship between the students' LA levels and the test scores; the predictive power of course level and fear of negative evaluation in the test scores and the absence of an increase of LA as a function of the students' course level. In the qualitative phase, follow-up interviews were conducted with four subjects whose quantitative results had revealed a non-isomorphic pattern in the relationship between LA and the test scores (high/low, low/high). The qualitative results corroborated the significance of fear of negative evaluation and gave prominence to other factors. Several pedagogical implications are indicated.

Keywords: Anxiety, FLCAS, speaking skill, Spanish Secondary Education, mixed-method design

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo exploratorio consiste en examinar la relación entre la ansiedad lingüística y la destreza de expresión oral en la asignatura de Inglés como Lengua Extranjera en la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y Bachillerato españoles. A tal fin, se llevó a cabo un estudio con un diseño de métodos mixtos, de carácter explicativo y secuencial. La investigación se realizó en dos clases intactas, cuya muestra ascendió a 18 alumnos de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria y 19 de Bachillerato. En la fase cuantitativa, los niveles de ansiedad lingüística de los 37 alumnos se midieron a través de la "escala de ansiedad en el aula de lenguas extranjeras" (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986) para analizar su relación con las puntuaciones en sus exámenes orales, mediante un análisis de correlación bivariante y de regresión escalonada lineal. Los resultados cuantitativos revelaron una relación inversa entre los niveles de ansiedad lingüística de los alumnos y sus puntuaciones en el examen; el poder predictivo en el examen de las variables del curso escolar y miedo a una evaluación negativa, así como la ausencia de un aumento de la ansiedad lingüística de los alumnos en función de pertenencia a uno u otro curso escolar. En la fase cualitativa posterior, se entrevistó a cuatro alumnos cuyos resultados cuantitativos se ajustaban a un patrón no isomorfo (alto/bajo, bajo/alto) de relación entre niveles de ansiedad lingüística y sus puntuaciones del examen. Los resultados cualitativos corroboraron la importancia del miedo a una evaluación negativa e hicieron visible el peso de factores relativos a situaciones ligadas a los exámenes. Se aportan implicaciones pedagógicas que se derivan de los resultados del estudio.

Palabras clave: ansiedad, escala de medición de la ansiedad en el aula de lenguas extranjeras, destreza de expresión oral, educación secundaria española, diseño de métodos mixtos

1. Introduction

When considering affective factors, language anxiety (LA)[1] is as an essential element that affects L2[2] learning in general (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope 1986; MacIntyre, 2017) and the speaking skill in particular (Price 1991; Aida 1994; Cheng, Horwitz and Schallert 1999; Kitano 2001; Pérez-Paredes and Martínez-Sánchez 2001; Yan and Horwitz 2008; Mak 2011). As stated by Horwitz et al. (1986: 126), "difficulty in speaking in class is probably the most frequently cited concern of the anxious foreign language students".

For both Compulsory Secondary Education (CSE) and Upper/Non-compulsory Secondary Education (NCSE), the state legislation in Spain explicitly states that

oral comprehension and expression should be prioritised in the learning of foreign languages (Royal Decree 1105/2014: 196). This accounts for the present exploratory study, along with the fact that –to the best of our knowledge– there are no previous studies explicitly focusing on an examination of the relationship between LA and the speaking skill in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) within the context of Spanish Compulsory Secondary and (Upper) Non-compulsory Secondary Education.

This article is organised in nine sections in all. After this introduction, the second section includes a review of the literature, section three states the rationale for this study and section four presents the corresponding research questions. The fifth section encompasses the method employed followed by the results, whilst the sixth and seventh sections respectively describe and discuss the results. The eighth section lists a series of limitations, followed by the identification of potential pedagogical implications in section nine. Finally, several conclusions are drawn from the study.

2. Literature review

This section is organised into three main blocks: a description of the process which the speaking skill entails, an account of the LA construct and a review of the research into LA as related to the speaking skill.

2.1. The complexity of the speaking skill

The (often) on-the-spot and spontaneous nature of the speaking skill implies the execution of an extremely demanding and complex process in physical and psycholinguistic terms. A detailed account of this can be found in Levelt's (1989) four-stage model of conceptualisation, formulation, articulation and self-monitoring phases.

Thornbury (2005) refers to a number of general factors that add to the complexity of the speaking skill in terms of processing as well as its production: cognitive factors, for example, the familiarity with the topic, affective factors, such as the self-consciousness of being exposed, and performance factors, for instance, available planning time. Furthermore, he also underlines the importance of the speakers' pragmatic knowledge –which influences their ability to adapt their speech acts to different contextual elements, such as the socio-cultural context or the register. All these speaking factors can be clearly correlated in MacIntyre's (2017: 28) statement that language anxiety "[…] is influenced by internal physiological processes, cognitive and emotional states along with the demands of

the situation and the presence of other people, among other things, considered over different timescales".

Richards (1990) distinguished two main types of spoken discoursal products: interactional and transactional, both of which are encompassed within "spoken interaction" by *The Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR, 2001). Ur (1996) considers interactional communication as mainly related to the usage of short turns, whereas transactional messages can be performed both through short or long turns. A third type of discourse is added by the CEFR (2001), that of performance. This is an often monological type of transactional communication before an audience, where long turns prevail and interaction is almost non-existent or relegated to the end of the speech. Depending on the type of discourse, the complexity factors highlighted by Thornbury (2005) will make different demands on the learner.

2.2. The construct of Language Anxiety

In their seminal paper, which marked a milestone in this field of study, Horwitz et al. (1986: 128) defined LA as "a distinct complex of self perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning, arising from the *uniqueness of the language learning process*" (emphasis added). LA is seen as situation-specific, that is, only applicable to language learning situations rather than a necessarily static personality characteristic, that of trait anxiety.

Horwitz et al. (1986) explained that LA is related to three elements: "communication apprehension", "fear of negative evaluation" and "test anxiety". *Communication apprehension* refers to the sense of fear experienced by the person when communicating with others; those students who do not feel comfortable when speaking in front of others in general will experience a higher degree of difficulty in the FL class, where they lack full control of the communicative situation and their performance is being permanently monitored. *Fear of negative evaluation* refers to "apprehension about others' evaluations, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectation that others would evaluate oneself negatively" (Horwitz et al. 1986: 128); it may occur in any general situation which requires interacting with people, such as a job interview or a speaking activity in a FL class. *Test anxiety* underlies all the situations which require evaluation of language performance and it is most obvious in the evaluation of the speaking skill; in fact, "oral tests have the potential of provoking both test- and oral communication simultaneously in susceptible students" (Horwitz et al. 1986: 128).

To test the LA construct and make it measurable, Horwitz et al. (1986) developed the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS). FLCAS consists of 33 items on a five-point Likert scale whose piloting demonstrated both internal

reliability (.93) and test-retest reliability –over eight weeks (r = .83, p <.001). This scale became the most widely used instrument in empirical research on LA.

2.3. Research on LA in relation to the speaking skill

Several construct-validity studies have confirmed the link between FLCAS and speaking anxiety. For instance, Aida (1994), Pérez-Paredes and Martínez-Sánchez (2001) and Mak (2011) found that *fear of negative evaluation* is a strong component of LA, and Park (2014) discovered that *communication apprehension* was strongly associated with LA.

This leads us to question what the reasons are that make speaking the most anxiety-provoking of the four basic language skills. Speaking is an extremely demanding skill since it usually happens on the spur of the moment. Thus, it requires speed, and there is very limited or virtually no time at all to simultaneously think and use correct language spontaneously in an L2 that is generally not thoroughly mastered. This might accentuate students' fear of making mistakes and consequently of "losing face" before peers and teachers. Such pressure may affect students' self-perception negatively, especially for those who lack confidence in their language abilities. Several empirical studies have documented the existence of both sources of LA.

Within quantitative studies, Cheng et al. (1999) reported that one of the major factors in the component analysis of the FLCAS administered to 433 Taiwanese L2 English undergraduate students was their perception of their level of proficiency as low. The correlation between the learners' LA levels and their self-perception was higher than that between the students' LA levels and their actual achievement. Similarly, a significant negative correlation was found by Kitano (2001) between LA and self-perceived language ability in 211 L1 English undergraduate students of L2 Japanese in two North American universities, after completing an *ad-hoc* validated 70-item questionnaire. The results also revealed that the higher the students' anxiety, the stronger their fear of negative evaluation. Na (2007) used the Chinese version of FLCAS to study the anxiety of 115 L2 English secondary-school students in China and found that the fear of negative evaluation was the major cause of LA, and moreover high LA levels played a somewhat debilitating role in those students' learning progress. A similar pattern of results was obtained by Liu and Jackson (2008) in their study of 547 L1 Chinese first-year undergraduate learners of English.

As regards qualitative studies, Young (1990) administered an *ad-hoc* questionnaire containing close and open questions to 135 university-level L2 beginners and 109 secondary-school students in Texas. She found that speaking in front of others was a source of language anxiety shared by both groups and that students would be

willing to participate in oral classroom tasks if they were not afraid of using the language incorrectly. Price's (1991) 10 interviewed undergraduate subjects reflected this fear of negative evaluation in their answers. Ewald's (2007) qualitative study revealed that her 21 undergraduate advanced L2 Spanish students in a university from the United States suffered from LA and displayed weak self-perceptions and fear of negative evaluation, even if they did not consider their peers to be unsympathetic towards their mistakes.

Liu (2006) used a mixed-method research design to study LA in 547 Chinese undergraduate non-English majors at three different levels proficiency through an adapted FLCAS (Horwitz et al. 1986), observations and students' reflective journals and interviews. Her ANOVA results suggest that proficiency in the target language did not play a significant role in distinguishing the students by their levels of LA and that the students felt most anxious when answering questions asked by the teacher or when asked to speak English publicly in class. Gkonou (2014) developed a mixed-method study to examine the L2 English speaking anxiety of 128 adult Greek students (B1-C1 levels) attending EFL private tuition. All the students completed the FLCAS and 13 of them were interviewed. Multivariate statistics of the data from the FLCAS showed that speaking anxiety and fear of negative evaluation were high and significantly correlated with LA. The interviews confirmed the students' fear of negative evaluation, by their peers and teachers, and they also revealed that students' low self-perceptions were intrinsically related to their LA.

This review clearly demonstrates that most of the studies mentioned employed quantitative data alone. Many of them focused on undergraduate students, with the exception of Na (2007), whose subjects were secondary school students. Furthermore, LA emerges as a pervasive and debilitating phenomenon in speaking performance regardless of the L2s.

3. Rationale

From the previous review of the literature and, to the best of our knowledge, studies which examine LA specifically in relation to EFL speaking within Spanish CSE and NCSE are absent. The purpose of this sequential, explanatory mixed-method study is to contribute to filling this gap by exploring the relationship between LA, performance in the speaking skill and course levels[3] in Spanish EFL CSE and NCSE learners.

4. Research questions

The following research questions (RQs) were proposed:

— RQ1: Does LA relate to L2 English speaking performance?

— RQ2: Does LA increase as a function of course level?

— RQ3: How do Spanish EFL learners conceptualise the sources of their LA when speaking in L2 English?

5. Method

5.1. Research design

In order to answer the above-mentioned research questions, a sequential explanatory mixed-method research design (Creswell 2014) was implemented: a quantitative phase followed by a qualitative phase.

In the quantitative phase of the study, all 37 students completed the FLCAS and their results were matched against their school speaking test scores. The quantitative results revealed the following patterns:

a) Isomorphic, that is, subjects with high levels of LA together with high speaking scores, on the one hand, and students showing low levels of LA and low speaking scores, on the other (9 subjects, accounting for 24.32% of the sample);

b) Non-isomorphic, that is, subjects with high levels of LA accompanied by low speaking scores, on the one hand, and students with low levels of LA and high speaking scores, on the other (28 subjects, accounting for 75.68% of the sample).

In order to investigate the sources and reasons behind LA for the students within the most abundantly clear pattern, a qualitative phase was implemented. This consisted of interviewing two students who had been randomly selected from the pool of the two sub-patterns from the non-isomorphic pattern (four students overall). In other words, the interviews facilitated the triangulation of data (method triangulation) and provided additional complementary information about the two tendencies from the largest pattern (the non-isomorphic one).

5.2. Research context and participants

The full sample was composed of 37 students who studied in a state-run secondary school in Murcia, the capital city of the Region of Murcia, Spain, where most of the students come from Spanish middle-class families. There were 18 subjects from the fourth and last year of Spanish CSE (access age: 15) and 19 subjects from

the year above, which is the first of two NCSE years (access age: 16). Completion of the NCSE entitles students to sit for the University entrance exam. The original intact classes to which the students belong consisted of 31 students (CSE) and 30 (BACC) students. The final and definitive sample was reduced to 37 subjects, precisely those who were present at the time of data collection.

All the subjects were Spanish native speakers. There were 12 males and 6 females in the CSE group and 7 males and 12 females in the NCSE group (19 males and 18 females overall). The students' ages ranged from 15 to 18 (M = 16.27; SD = 0.77). Three more variables were introduced: whether they had ever lived in an English-speaking country (1 student had) and whether they had been going to an English language school for extra lessons in the past five years (16 students had) and whether they perceived themselves as "competent" in L2 English speaking. More specifically, this question read as "do you consider yourself competent when speaking in L2 English, that is, can you understand and speak in English correctly and fluently in everyday situations?" (25 said 'yes' whereas 12 said 'no').

The NCSE group belonged to an officially designated "Bilingual Programme", which entailed eight hours' instruction in L2 English: four hours a week devoted to the "First Foreign Language" subject (EFL), one of which was taught by a British oral teaching assistant, two hours per week for Physical Education and two more for ICTs. The CSE group received four EFL hours per week. The regular teacher in charge of the "First Foreign Language" subject (EFL) was the same for both groups.

As regards the subjects' proficiency level, the CSE group used a textbook reaching the B1 level according to the *CEFR* (2001), while the NCSE group's course book covered up to the first half of the B2 level (*Advanced Real English 4* and *English File Third Edition Intermediate Plus,* respectively; see the Works Cited section). Accordingly, both textbooks stick to the language level required by the legislation of the Local Education Authority of the Region of Murcia**,** Spain (Decrees 220/2015 and 221/2015) for the First Foreign Language subject in each respective course.

Finally, as indicated in the previous section, four students were interviewed.

5.3. Data-collection instruments

The following data-collection instruments were used in the present study:

a) Background questionnaire (which was targeted at obtaining information from several demographic variables). Students were asked their age, their sex, whether they perceived themselves as competent in L2 English speaking or not, whether they had been living in an English speaking country and whether

they had been going to an English academy in the past five years. The last three variables were measured on a dichotomical scale (yes/no).

b) Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS). This scale was used to measure the students' LA levels. The version used was the Spanish version translated by Pérez-Paredes and Martínez-Sánchez (2001), available at file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Downloads/A_Spanish_version_of_the_foreign_language_classroo.pdf

The FLCAS consists of 33 items which are rated through a Likert scale that ranges from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) values. Assessment is carried out through simple summative scoring, but the values of the items 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31 and 33 must be inverted. The minimum score is 33 and the maximum is 165. The range of scores is distributed as follows: low LA (between 33 and 75); medium LA level (between 76 and 119) and high LA level (between 120 and 165).

c) Speaking test scores. The participants' global scores in their latest school L2 English speaking test were used as an achievement measure (maximum score: 2.5 points). The exam differed in terms of the content tested in each year group but shared the same format. The tests consisted of evaluating at the same time two students who had to interact with each other using materials such as pictures to elicit their opinions and thoughts. The scoring grid had four aspects: accuracy, fluency, pronunciation and content, each of which carried a weighting of 25% in the overall score. We were granted permission by the Head of the secondary school to access the students' overall scores.

d) Interview. We conducted a semi-structured interview in L1 Spanish with four subjects. It consisted of six open-ended questions (see the Appendix).

5.4. Procedure

The data-collection process took place in March 2017. The participants' parents had signed a consent form at the beginning of the academic year to allow their sons and daughters to participate in research studies and projects requiring written data.

The students were first given a brief explanation of the purpose of both the questionnaire and the FLCAS and then proceeded to complete them within one hour. They were reassured that the results would be solely used for research purposes at the University of Murcia, that they would have no impact whatsoever on their final grades and that they would remain anonymous and confidential. We also insisted on the importance of them answering each FLCAS item as sincerely as possible.

The interviews were held with the four students individually on the same day two weeks after the 37 students had completed the questionnaire and the FLCAS. On

the same day as the interviews, the purposes of the interview were explained to the four students in the presence of their teacher; they were reassured that it would not affect their grades whatsoever and that their answers would remain anonymous and confidential. The four students agreed to be interviewed. The same person conducted the interviews, each lasting around ten minutes, by reading the questions aloud to the interviewee. Since we were not allowed by the Head of the secondary school to record the interviews, in either an audio or an audiovisual format, the interviewer took notes while the students answered.

5.5. Data analysis

The statistical analysis of the quantitative data was carried out with the IBM SPSS Statistics version 20 software. In order to process the data from the interviews, a three-stage qualitative content analysis was utilised in line with Mayring (2014). The first stage consisted of a careful scrutiny of all the notes in order to obtain a general idea of the data. The second stage focused on identifying main and secondary topics and organising them in key words and related concepts. The third stage involved making sense of such key words and concepts by relating them to a coding scheme comprised of the FLCAS components.

6. Results

6.1. Quantitative analyses

In terms of the internal consistency and reliability of FLCAS, Cronbach's coefficient alpha for this instrument was .83. Therefore, the FLCAS as computed on the 37 subjects is satisfactorily reliable.

RQ 1: Does LA relate to L2 English speaking performance?

In order to answer this RQ, two types of analyses were implemented: firstly, a bivariate correlation analysis was computed so as to assess the individual relationship between all the subscales of the FLASC, overall FLCAS and the speaking test scores; secondly, stepwise linear regression analyses were undertaken to determine which demographic variables, FLA subscales and the total FLCAS best predicted school speaking test scores.

As can be seen in Table 1 (bivariate correlation analysis), the speaking test score correlated negatively with *communication apprehension*, *fear of negative evaluation* and the total of the FLCAS. Thus, from the results of both types of analyses it can be generally concluded that speaking performance is related to LA, that is, the higher the LA, the lower the school speaking test scores and viceversa.

Moreover, all the subscales of the FLCAS and the total of the FLCAS positively correlated with each other, which means that when each one of the subscales or the total of the FLCAS increases, the remaining subscales or the total of the FLCAS increase too.

	CA	FNE	TA	FLCAST	SPKT
CA	1				
FNE	.898**	1			
TA	.787**	.784**	1		
FLCAST	.955**	.940**	.921**	1	
SPKT	-.432**	-.396*	n.s.	-.372*	1

Table 1. Correlations between the subscales of the FLCAS, overall FLCAS and school speaking tests scores

CA: Communication Apprehension; **FNE:** Fear of Negative Evaluation; **TA:** Test Anxiety; **FLCAST:** Total FLCAS score; **SPKT:** school speaking test score

*. Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed). n.s. Non-significant correlation.

Regarding the stepwise linear regression analyses, the speaking test scores achieved by the students were set as the dependent variable. Sex, age, course level, attendance at an English language school, self-perception of L2 English speaking competence, overall FLCAS scores and those of its subscales were considered the independent variables.

The results in Tables 2 and 3 indicate that the first model, with the *course level* as the predictor or independent variable, explained 42.5% of the total accounted variance of the speaking test scores. The second and final model of this analysis accounted for 50.2% of the variance. The additional 7.7% is explained by *fear of negative evaluation* which, as observed in Table 1, showed a negative correlation with the speaking test scores**.** In other words, *course level* and *fear of negative evaluation* are the two variables which largely predict speaking performance.

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.664[a]	.441	.425	.517
2	.728[b]	.530	.502	.481

Table 2. Model summary obtained from the stepwise linear regression analysis.

a. Predictors: (Constant), Course Level
b. Predictors: (Constant), Course Level, Fear of Negative Evaluation

Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.065	.271		-0.242	.810
	Course Level	.893	.170	.664	5.255	.000
2	(Constant)	.680	.387		1.758	.088
	Course Level	.831	.160	.618	5.196	.000
	Fear of Negative Evaluation	-.031	.012	-.302	-2.539	.016

Table 3. Coefficients showing the direction and magnitude of the relation (course level and speaking test scores; fear of negative evaluation and speaking test scores).

a. Dependent Variable: Speaking test score.

RQ 2: Does LA increase as a function of the course level?

This research question attempted to scrutinise whether the scores of the four FLA measures (*communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation, test anxiety* and overall FLCAS) differed in terms of the group that the students belonged to (CSE and NCSE).

The Shapiro-Wilk test revealed that the distribution of the data was normal for *communication apprehension* ($W = .972$, $p = .455$), and the total of FLCAS ($W = .942$, $p = .053$), but not for *fear of negative evaluation* ($W = .938$, $p = .04$) or *test anxiety* ($W = .905$, $p = .004$). An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for *communication apprehension* and overall FLCAS to check whether the effect of both variables was statistically significant between the CSE and the NCSE students; it turned out to be non-significant ($p > .05$; M(CSE) = 33.27, M(NCSE) = 28.73). A Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance was performed for *fear of negative evaluation* (M(CSE) = 22.22, M(NCSE) = 20.21) and *test anxiety* (M(CSE) = 43.22, M(NCSE) = 41.63) to verify their

effect between both groups of learners. Again, there were no statistically significant differences ($p > .05$). Therefore, LA levels do not increase as a function of the students' course level.

An additional analysis reinforces the above-mentioned finding. In order to check whether there were any statistically significant differences within groups in terms of their speaking test scores, two *t*-tests for independent samples (one for each group) were conducted. The types of scores were selected as the independent variable (divided into two halves: the highest and the lowest) and the speaking test scores were classified as the dependent variable. The *t*-tests yielded the following results:

— CSE: t (16) = -5.804, $p < .000$, $d = 2.68$ (low speaking test score: $M = 0.45$, $SD = 0.18$, $n = 10$; high speaking test score: $M = 1.3$, $SD = 0.41$, $n = 8$)

— NCSE: t (16) = -5.016, $p < .000$, $d = 2.33$ (low speaking test score: $M = 1.36$, $SD = 0.38$, $n = 10$; high speaking test score: $M = 2.12$, $SD = 0.26$, $n = 9$)

These results reveal not only that there are statistically significant differences in the speaking scores within each group, but also that the CSE group's mean of the highest speaking test scores is slightly lower than the NCSE group's mean of the lowest scores (1.3 versus 1.36). Accordingly, the CSE and the NCSE students constitute two different groups in terms of their speaking test scores: the NCSE subjects are academically better than the CSE group. Moreover, regardless of this result, the CSE students do not show any statistically significant differences from the NCSE group in terms of their LA levels. Thus, the results of the two *t*-tests corroborate those of the previous ANOVA and Kruskal-Wallis: students' LA levels are not affected by their course level.

6.2. Qualitative results

As indicated in section 5.1, the non-isomorphic patterns from the quantitative results revealed two sub-patterns; high LA levels with low speaking scores and low LA levels with high speaking scores. Each sub-pattern included one CSE student and one NCSE student, a total of four subjects in all. Subject 1 (CSE) scored high in speaking (2 out of 2.5 points) while maintaining low mid-levels of LA (84 out of 165 points). Subject 2 (CSE) scored low in speaking (0.6 out of 2.5 points) and reflected high levels of LA (129 out of 165 points). Subject 3 (NCSE) scored high in speaking (2.5 out of 2.5 points) while maintaining low levels of LA (65 out of 165 points). Finally, subject 4 (NCSE) scored low in speaking (0.6 out of 2.5 points) and suffered from high levels of LA (129 out of 165 points). Table 4 reports the summary of their answers.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Items 1 and 2: LA-inducing factors</td></tr>
<tr><td>Subjects 1, 2, 4</td><td colspan="2">Subject 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Exposed to other people's judgements
Unable to express the intended message
Reason: lack of linguistic resources or mental blocks</td><td colspan="2">Not anxious</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Item 3: length of turn</td></tr>
<tr><td>Subjects 1, 2</td><td>Subject 4</td><td>Subject 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Long turns
Reason: the longer students are exposed, the higher the chances of making language mistakes and not being able find the words to continue</td><td>Short turns
Reason: fewer opportunities for repairs and other adaptations</td><td>Neither long nor short</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Item 4: types of spoken discourse</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">All subjects</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Performance talks
Reason: lack of support during speech; students become exposed and they end up being in the spotlight</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Item 5: accuracy vs. fluency</td></tr>
<tr><td>Subjects 1, 2, 3</td><td colspan="2">Subject 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Accuracy
Reason: the key to avoid making mistakes</td><td colspan="2">Fluency
Reason: it helps her "hide" her mistakes</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Item 6: factors associated with test situations</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">All subjects</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">• Topic
Reason: being unfamiliar with topic makes students both make more language mistakes and not know what to say or how to utter their ideas
• Partner
Reason: a more proficient test-taker generates more anxiety (potential contrast effect)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4. Sources of LA regarding the speaking skill according to the students interviewed

7. Discussion

In the first RQ (Does FLA relate to L2 English speaking performance?), the results of the bivariate correlation analyses reflected an inverse relationship: students with higher LA levels scored lower on their school speaking test, which confirms the findings of other previous studies using speaking measures (MacIntyre et al. 1997; Stephenson 2006; Sparks and Ganschow 2007) and non-speaking measures (Na 2007). More specifically, *communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation* and overall FLCAS were associated with low marks in the speaking exam. In other words, those students who felt uneasy about speaking in front of their peers and their teacher (communication apprehension) and/or who feel that they could be the target of negative judgements (*fear of negative evaluation*) achieved lower scores in the speaking test.

Only the *test anxiety* subscale of the FLCAS did not correlate significantly with the speaking test scores. This recalls the non-predictive power of this subscale for LA as discovered by Aida (1994), Pérez-Paredes and Martínez-Sánchez (2001) and Mak (2011). In contrast to our results, in Na (2007) *test anxiety* was the only subscale that negatively and significantly correlated with general language achievement, which this author attributed to the frequent number of tests that Chinese secondary school students have to take. However, in our study this variable also showed a positive significant correlation with the other two subscales (*communication apprehension* and *fear of negative evaluation*). This means that the students who felt fearful about communicating with others in the L2 (*communication apprehension*) were also afraid of being negatively judged and were apprehensive of tests too (similar to Liu and Jackson 2008). A possible explanation for the absence of *test anxiety* as a predictive variable in speaking performance would be that its effect is subsumed within the other two subscales, for which further analysis is required. As can be seen below, the qualitative results from the interviews did clearly reflect the importance within the students' LA of both *test anxiety* as such and the specific format of the students' speaking tests.

The weight of *fear of negative evaluation* in the students' speaking performance is reinforced in the second predictive model of the stepwise regression analysis (Tables 2 and 3). Interestingly, the students' self-perception of their own competence at L2 English speaking was not a crucial factor in the prediction of the quality of their oral performance (as opposed to the findings of MacIntyre et al. 1997; Cheng et al. 1999; Liu and Jackson 2008). This would be an interesting avenue for further research using samples in (Spanish) Secondary and Upper Secondary Education.

Together with *fear of negative evaluation*, *course level* also appeared in both models of the regression analyses as a variable which best predicted speaking performance.

Language level and proficiency seem to be a crucial variable (Sparks and Ganschow 2007). Besides, the NCSE group was theoretically more motivated to study given its belonging to the Bilingual Programme, thanks to which these students received 8 hours of instruction weekly exposed to L2 English in contrast to the 4 EFL hours of the CSE group. Nevertheless, further related research is needed to disentangle the effect of course level in greater detail.

Questions 1 and 2 from the interviews (LA-inducing factors) provided extra corroboration for the results of RQ1. Like Gkonou (2014), the two subjects who attained low scores in their speaking test while scoring high in LA (subjects 2 and 4) spoke explicitly about their fear of being exposed and negatively evaluated by their teacher or their peers *(fear of negative evaluation)*; they also mentioned their concern at not being able to express their ideas and thoughts in their L2 (*communication apprehension*) as precisely as they could in their L1. The profile of the CSE student who obtained a high score in her speaking test but a low-mid level of LA (subject 1) does not fully match that of the aforementioned subjects. Despite reaching a high speaking score, her answer is explicitly related to *fear of negative evaluation:* she claimed that she did not like feeling exposed mainly because of the risk of failing in front of her teacher. As suggested by Stephenson (2006), her low-mid levels of LA might have acted as facilitating anxiety which improved her oral performance. Likewise, she referred to *communication apprehension* as her fear of "getting blocked", also referred to by Stephenson (2006). Subject 3, who achieved high speaking test scores and low LA levels, did not make any statement that would indicate any concern related to either *fear of negative evaluation* or *communication apprehension*. She stated that she "just" did not like to be in the spotlight, which seems to point to a personality trait.

The results of RQ2 (Does LA increase as a function of course level?) signalled that students' course level did not affect their LA levels, regardless of the fact that the CSE group was academically weaker than the NCSE group in L2 English speaking performance. Such a result does not coincide with the main trends of the research on this question: on the one hand, the students with high language levels show high LA levels (Saito and Samimy 1996; Omwuegbuzie, Bailey and Daley 1999; Kitano 2001; Ewald 2007; Liu and Jackson 2008; Marcos-Llinás and Juan-Garau 2009; Gkonou 2014); on the other hand, an inverse relationship is found by which students with more advanced language levels experience lower LA levels (Stephenson 2006; Sparks and Ganschow 2007; Dewaele and Dewaele 2017). Our results do however coincide with those of Liu (2006) and with Arnáiz-Castro and Guillén-García (2013), who found no statistically significant differences between LA levels and language levels in their undergraduate students. As stated by Arnáiz-Castro and Guillén-García (2013), the disparity of all the previous trends might be due to

methodological issues when establishing the students' language level. For instance, some studies, such as Kitano (2001) and the present one relied on the student's official ascription to years of study, while the studies by Dewaele and MacIntyre (2014) and Dewaele and Dewaele (2017) incorporated students' rating of their own L2 competence. Besides, it seems evident that the particularities of the context of the studies, such as the socio-economic-cultural background of the students and their families, their own personalities, the nature of the schools, teachers, course materials, etc. do affect the shaping of the students' learning experiences (LA included).

RQ3 focused on how Spanish EFL learners conceptualise the sources and reasons for their LA, for which purpose the qualitative data of the interviews was used. Given that the first and the second items have already been discussed within RQ1, this part will refer to items 3 to 6 of the interviews. These items provide information about other elements of speaking performance: *length of turn, type of discourse, accuracy and fluency* and *factors associated to test situations* (see Table 4 and the Appendix).

Regarding the *length of turn*, subjects 1 and 2 (CSE) agreed on signalling longer turns as the most anxiety-provoking ones, whereas subject 3 (NCSE) did not feel anxious about either short or long turns and subject 4 (NCSE) spoke of short turns as being more stressful for her. The answers to question 4 (relating to the *type of spoken discourse*) might help shed some light on these heterogeneous results.

In item 4, an overwhelming unanimity was reached: performance talk is the most anxiety-inducing type of discourse. Ewald's (2007) and Mak's (2011) subjects also identified the lack of preparation when speaking in front of the class as an anxiety-provoking factor, which was not mentioned by our subjects. They very clearly justified their responses: in performance talks, the student speaks alone in front of the class —either in long or short turns—, is exposed and everyone focuses their attention on him or her, thus, the students' potential mistakes become much more visible for both their classmates and their teacher. Consequently, performance speech is the type of discourse most prone to make these students suffer from *fear of negative evaluation* and *communication apprehension*. Interestingly, subject 3 (a NCSE student who showed a high speaking test score and low LA levels) differed from her three classmates. She mentioned short turns as more anxiety-inducing since she argued that they afforded her far fewer opportunities for repairs and self-corrections; in other words, the self-monitoring phase (Levelt, 1989) was very important for her, which arguably points to traits of perfectionism (Price 1991).

As for *accuracy* and *fluency*, three of the subjects (subjects 1, 2 and 3) claimed that complying with accuracy puts them under more pressure, while one of them (subject 4, from *NCSE*) stated that she was more concerned about achieving fluency. *Fear of negative evaluation* once again came to light in their explanations. Those who thought of accuracy as a more anxiety-provoking factor referred to the

same idea: it is crucial to avoid making mistakes and thus, reduce the chances of being judged negatively. On the other hand, subject 4 defended the same position but from a different perspective: maintaining fluency contributes to hiding your mistakes and making them more difficult to detect.

Finally, regarding the *factors associated with test situations*, a consensus was reached again. The four students concluded that the test topic and a proficient test partner were the most important elements influencing their LA levels. Both elements coincide with two others which Thornbury (2005) indicated could facilitate or hinder students' speaking performance: familiarity with the topic (cognitive factor) and familiarity and degree of collaboration with their interlocutors (performance factors). Regarding the former, the less familiar the students are with the topic, the less control they have over the L2 communicative situation and presumably the more fearful they feel about making themselves understood (communication apprehension). In turn, as they argued, the unfamiliarity with the topic might increase the risks of making mistakes and thus heightening their fears of negative evaluation. In addition, the students believed that a more proficient partner would make their mistakes more conspicuous to the on-the-spot comparison of their respective productions, which could in all probability affect their self-confidence and self-perceptions of L2 competence.

As can be seen, all the qualitative findings highlight the importance of *fear of negative evaluation* in these students' LA (similar to those of Price 1991; Aida 1994; Kitano 2001; Pérez Paredes and Martínez-Sánchez 2001; Na 2007; Mak 2011; Gkonou 2014, etc.), which corroborates and complements the quantitative results of both the bivariate correlation analysis and the stepwise regression analyses. Also, to a lesser extent, the qualitative findings reflected students' *communication apprehension*. Furthermore, they contributed to making visible an aspect of LA that went unnoticed in the quantitative data and which is of great importance for these students: *factors associated with test situations*. Indirectly, self-perceptions and confidence were also uncovered in conjunction with such factors. Certainly, the combination of the quantitative and qualitative results highlighted the internal and social dimensions of LA (MacIntyre 2017).

8. Limitations

It should be acknowledged that a series of limitations have come to light in this exploratory study. Firstly, the extrapolation of the results is constrained by the small number of student participants and by the specific nature and characteristics of the sample *per se* (Compulsory and Non-compulsory Secondary Education in a

single Spanish city). Secondly, the relationship between LA and speaking performance should be considered with a certain degree of caution: even though the scoring criteria of the speaking test had been clearly defined by the secondary school where this research took place (see section 5.2), the scores were assigned by a single person, the groups' teacher, thus inter-rater reliability was missing. Thirdly, the bivariate correlation analysis and stepwise regression analyses cannot determine whether LA is the cause of poor or good speaking performance or whether poor or good speaking performance is the cause of LA. Nevertheless we firmly believe that, despite these limitations, this exploratory study successfully achieves its aim, which was to offer some preliminary insights into the relationship between LA and speaking performance in Spanish CSE and NCSE.

9. Pedagogical Implications

As a result of this study a number of pedagogical implications can be identified. Firstly, fear of making mistakes was recurrent in the students' answers in the interviews. Teachers should try to encourage their students and they could also explicitly teach them about production strategies used by L1 speakers such as repetitions, pause fillers, vague language and L2 communicative strategies, for instance requesting for help, that can enable them to reduce mistakes and improve accuracy, achieve greater fluency, sound more natural and build their self-confidence.

Secondly, it should be remembered that the legislation of the Local Education Authority of the Region of Murcia, Spain, explicitly indicates the types of activities for both CSE and NCSE for teaching and evaluating students' oral performance in their L2 (Decree 220/2015, p. 31047 and Decree and 221/2015, pp. 32163-32164). The types of teaching activities consist of oral presentations of topics of interest to the students, dramatisations, simulations and real video-conference conversations; the types of evaluation activities encompass personal interviews, oral presentations of projects, conversations and debates between students. Setting such activities means that teachers must comply with the legal requirements in terms of teaching and assessment. Moreover, by providing the appropriate stimulation to create a positive emotional and cooperative environment in the classroom, teachers can also contribute to equipping the students with the necessary tools for tackling fear of negative evaluation and communication apprehension, especially in performance-based activities such as oral presentations, and test anxiety. For ideas about how teachers can help their students to cope with LA as produced by oral tests, see Rubio-Alcalá (2017).

10. Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore and examine the factors and sources of LA of Spanish CSE and NCSE students as related to the L2 English speaking skill. To the best of our knowledge, these two variables in this context had not been jointly researched before. For the purposes of our task, a sequential explanatory mixed-method research design was implemented.

In terms of the aim of the study, the quantitative results revealed that LA has a debilitating effect on the students' L2 speaking performance; that course level constituted a main variable which affected the students' speaking performance together with fear of negative evaluation. Likewise, the qualitative results, gathered from the interviews, displayed that fear of negative evaluation played a major role in the students' LA, followed by communication apprehension. The effect on students' LA of certain features intrinsic to the speaking skill such as length of turns, types of spoken discourse, the dimension of accuracy versus fluency and factors associated with test situations were also explored in the interviews. Further research could attempt to investigate statistically the precise role of factors associated with test situations, the importance of which was clearly demonstrated in the second phase of the study, and of students' self-perceptions, which were absent in the first phase and indirectly suggested in the second. Likewise, future studies could attempt to study which strategies are used by secondary school subjects to cope with LA regarding L2 speaking.

In terms of our research methodology, the mixed-method design proved to be more effective in achieving the aim and answering the research questions of the study than a single mono method strand. The bivariate and stepwise regression analyses offered essential objective data which helped to unveil certain general patterns. The qualitative results reinforced the quantitative ones in terms of the prominence of fear of negative evaluation. In addition, other important aspects, factors associated with test situations that had remained hidden in the initial quantitative phase, were brought to the fore.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the preliminary insights of this exploratory study have contributed to shedding light on secondary school students' LA with regard to the speaking skill and that it will encourage further related research in the Spanish context.

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Notes

[1] As in Horwitz (2017), the more comprehensive term of Language Anxiety (LA) instead of Foreign Language Anxiety will be used throughout this article except when referring to Horwitz et al.'s (1986) anxiety measuring scale (FLCAS).

[2] "L2" will refer indistinguishably to both a second or foreign language in this study, that is, a language other than the students' L1 or native tongue.

[3] By "course level" we refer to the two different years of study that the groups of learners belonged to (CSE and NCSE).

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APPENDIX. Protocol interview (qualitative phase)

1. What is the most difficult or unpleasant thing that you experience when you have to talk in English? What thoughts usually come to your mind when you have to talk in English?
2. What makes you feel most anxious or nervous when you are talking in your English class? Why do you think this happens?
3. When you have to talk in English, would you say that the length of your turn affects you? If so, in what way?
4. When speaking in English, which situation generates most anxiety in you?: Interacting with a group in an informal way about one or several topics; interacting with a group on a specific topic, such as a debate; delivering an oral presentation. Why?
5. When talking in English, which of the following situations puts you under most pressure?: Speaking fluently, without many interruptions, or using accurate language even if at the cost of slowness and/or stops? Why?
6. Imagine that your teacher is going to give you an oral English exam in an hour's time. On what aspect(s) do you think that your success depends?

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A DATA-DRIVEN LEARNING EXPERIMENT IN THE LEGAL ENGLISH CLASSROOM USING THE FLAX PLATFORM

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Abstract

This research presents a data-driven experiment in the legal English field where the FLAX, an open-source self-learning online platform, is assessed as regards its efficacy in aiding a group of legal English non-native undergraduates (divided into an experimental and a control group) to use legal terminology more consistently, amongst other language items. The experimental group were instructed to only resort to the FLAX and to exploit all the functionalities offered by it. Conversely, the control group could access any information source at hand except for the learning platform for the completion of the same task. Two learner corpora were gathered and analysed on a lexical and pragmatic level for the evaluation of term usage and distribution, lexical diversity, lexical fundamentality and the use of discourse markers. The results display a tendency on the part of the experimental group towards a more consistent usage of legal terminology, which also appears to be better distributed than the terms in the non-FLAX corpus. In contrast and on average, the lexicon in the FLAX-based corpus tends to be slightly more basic. Concerning the use of MD markers, the experimental group appears to use, though marginally, a greater number of evidentials, endophoric and interactional markers.

Keywords: legal English, data-driven learning (DDL), corpus linguistics, learner corpora, open access.

Resumen

En este artículo se presenta un experimento basado en corpus para la enseñanza del inglés jurídico donde se evalúa la plataforma FLAX, un sistema online de aprendizaje de lenguas, como apoyo a la enseñanza de esta variedad del inglés. Los informantes fueron divididos en un grupo experimental y otro de control. Al grupo experimental se le pidió que utilizara únicamente FLAX para la realización de la tarea haciendo uso de todas las opciones que facilita dicha plataforma. Por el contrario, el grupo de control podría utilizar cualquier fuente de información para la realización del trabajo a excepción de FLAX. Se compilaron dos corpus con el material elaborado por los informantes y se analizaron a nivel léxico y pragmático para la evaluación del uso y la distribución de la terminología especializada, la diversidad léxica y el uso de los marcadores del discurso. Los resultados muestran una tendencia por parte del grupo experimental hacia un uso más consistente de la terminología jurídica, que además parece estar mejor distribuida que lo está en el corpus del grupo de control. En lo que respecta al uso de los marcadores del discurso, el grupo experimental emplea un mayor número de marcadores endofóricos, interaccionales y evidenciales.

Palabras clave: inglés jurídico, data-driven learning (DDL), lingüística del corpus, learner corpora, open access.

1. Introduction

The use of language corpora in language instruction has been explored profusely, as illustrated by authors like Boulton (2010a), since they can contribute, not only to the provision of authentic language samples which enable learners and instructors to approach language learning from a different perspective, but also to the learning process itself. As Johns (1986; 1991; 1997) –who coins the term *data-driven learning* (DDL henceforth) – points out, through the direct observation of corpus samples, students can infer the rules of language and "develop strategies for discovery –strategies through which he or she can learn how to learn–" (Johns 1991: 1). In other words, they can become "language detectives" (Johns 1997: 101).

There exists a large number of teaching resources focused on general English basically due to the number of potential users of these teaching materials and the economic benefits this might generate. However, and precisely due to that fact, the more specialised the need, the fewer materials we find, as Boulton (2012) acknowledges. As regards corpus-based materials specifically, some scholars (McEnery and Wilson 1996; Boulton 2010a) consider that they address the

students' needs better than other traditional materials like coursebooks, "including quantitative accounts of vocabulary and usage which address the specific needs of students in a particular domain more directly than those taken from more general language corpora" (McEnery and Wilson 1996: 121). In Boulton's words (2012: 262), they can provide "a framework to highlight the highly conventionalised language used in specialist disciplines, especially where the focus is on a specific genre or text type".

As a consequence of this tendency, there is a plethora of studies aimed at testing the efficiency and advantages/disadvantages of corpus-based language instruction within the general and specific fields, yet, unlike other ESAP (English for Specific and Academic Purposes) varieties, legal English has not been sufficiently explored or tested in this respect (Boulton 2010b; Marín 2014b; Marín and Fernández Toledo 2015). This was one of the major reasons which motivated the present research, which aims at determining the efficiency and influence of corpus-based materials on the usage of legal English terminology, at a lexical level, and the expression of engagement and stance through the use of metadiscourse markers, at a pragmatic level.

To that end, two learner corpora were gathered, which comprised the essays written by 105 undergraduate students (divided into an experimental and a control group) as part of the final assessment of their legal English translation course. The essays presented the structure of research articles where the informants had to critically review the literature related to each topic of their choice. Among the topics they had to write about were contract law, international law, common vs. civil law, the sources of law, the principle of binding precedent, legal genres, criminal law: major offences, or probate law.

For the completion of this task, the experimental group was only allowed to consult and exploit the different functionalities offered by the FLAX,[1] a corpus-based open-source language platform, while the control group could refer to any information source at hand. The essays were then processed applying corpus linguistics techniques, which allowed us to quantify term usage and distribution, lexical diversity and fundamentality and also to reveal interpersonality traits based on an analysis of metadiscourse markers.

Two research questions were thus formulated:

RQ1: Would this corpus-based platform positively influence the usage of specialised legal terminology by learners?

RQ2: Can corpus-based materials also influence the usage of metadiscourse markers?

2. Literature review

The potential benefits of the use of language corpora in second language teaching and learning have been discussed by scholars such as Johns (1986, 1991), Sinclair (1991, 2003), McEnery and Wilson (1996), McEnery and Xiao (2011), Hunston (2007) or Boulton (2011), to name but a few, who, amongst other advantages, highlight their capacity to present learners with authentic materials and to offer plenty of genuine examples of a particular linguistic item in various contexts, thus facilitating its understanding through such contexts. Not only can corpora assist understanding through contextualisation and offer samples of the language in authentic settings, but they can also contribute to learners' motivation, as initially put forward by Johns (1986, 1991) and later by Boulton (2011), who affirms that they are capable of "empowering learners to explore language corpora and come to their own conclusions" (2011: 563).

Nevertheless, one of the main criticisms levelled at DDL methods, according to some authors who follow the chomskian trend (less numerous than those who support their usage), is precisely related to the context of corpus language samples, which appears to be insufficient in their view. As Flowerdew (2009: 406) puts it, corpus samples, if selected at random and analysed in the SL classroom, are "truncated concordance lines [which] are examined atomistically". This is precisely why Hunston (2007) recommends that such samples should be filtered, selected and adapted to the students' levels and needs.

There have been many DDL experiments aimed at testing the efficiency of corpora in supporting second language acquisition processes in specialised settings like translation (Aston 1997), technical engineering (Todd 2001), economics (Hadley 2002), computing (Clerehan et al. 2003), tourism (Curado Fuentes 2004) or architecture (Boulton 2010a), to name but a few. In Boulton (2010b) we find a comprehensive review of over a hundred different empirical evaluations of DDL carried out in the last two decades. Yet, the legal English field remains underexplored as only two of these experiments are dedicated to this ESAP branch (Fan and Xun-Feng 2002; Hafner and Candlin 2007). The scenario is similar in EAP (English for Academic Purposes) writing, as Ädel (2010) points out, since there is a very limited number of studies implementing DDL methods in specialised or academic writing instruction. The direct approach, which, following Hunston and Römer (in Ädel 2010), consists in giving the students "hands-on access to corpora" in the SL classroom, appears to be the most controversial and also least explored DDL method, which poses a challenge for researchers working in the field. The present study falls within this category.

The research questions posed in the introduction to this study present two major foci, firstly, to measure the influence of resorting to a corpus-based learning platform on

the use of legal terminology by ESAP learners and, secondly, to try to access the pragmatic level of two learner corpora through the analysis of meta-discourse markers.

Regarding the usefulness of meta-discourse markers (MD markers henceforth) in writing, Hyland (2005: 3) suggests that "the writer is not simply presenting information about the suggested route by just listing changes of direction, but taking the trouble to see the walk from the reader's perspective". Metadiscourse is, according to Hyland, "the means by which propositional content is made coherent, intelligible and persuasive" to receivers of texts (Hyland 2005: 39). MD markers could thus be regarded as tools for the expression of interpersonality, a concept that relates to Bakhtin's/Voloshinov's now widely influential notions of dialogism and heteroglossia. Interpersonality is a somewhat fuzzy concept that has been approached from different viewpoints such as the theories of appraisal, stance, evaluation and engagement (Biber and Finnegan 1989; Martin and White 2005; Sancho Guinda and Hyland 2012, among many others). Generally, the concept has been taken up and used by researchers to trace patterns of interaction and to discuss different aspects of language in use: the greater the abundance of markers, the clearer, the more legible and engaging the text is supposed to be.

The taxonomy for analysis deployed in this article will be based upon Hyland's conception of MD (2005), the incidence of these markers in our texts being scrutinised in order to ascertain the level of proximity between interactants. Hyland organises metadiscourse markers by distinguishing between *interactive or textual devices* (those which organise information in an intelligible and persuasive way for the audience) and *interactional devices* (those that allow writers to articulate linguistically their attitudes and perspectives toward the propositional content of the text). In other words, through the use of textual markers, writers would be able to present the propositional content and their ideas both coherently and intelligibly to the readers, while interactive markers would, in turn, build an interaction between the reader and writer and create rapport and reader-friendliness in the text (Hyland and Tse 2004). The taxonomy of interactive or textual signals used by Hyland (2005; Hyland and Tse 2004) divides MD markers into transitions (conjunctions and conjunctives that help the readers determine the logical relationships between propositions), endophorics (referring to other parts of the text in order to make additional information available), frames (used to sequence parts of the text), glosses (supplying additional information by rephrasing, illustrating or explaining) and evidentials (helping to establish authorial command of the subject). According to Dafouz (2008), textual MD markers engage the reader on a level that relates more to formal grammar and are generally realised in the form of conjuncts and adverbials. The incidence of these markers in both our learner corpora will be quantified so as to measure how interpersonality is expressed in both text collections by resorting to them.

The textual function is intrinsic to language and exists to construe both propositional and interpersonal aspects into a linear and coherent whole. In comparison, interactional markers –hedges (indicators of the writer's decision to recognise other voices), boosters (expressing authorial certainty), attitude markers (indicating the authorial opinion or assessment), engagement markers (drawing addresses into the discourse) and references to self (making authorial presence explicit in the text)– relate more to the socio-affective level where audience engagement from that perspective is prioritised in discourse (Heng and Tan 2010). The incidence of these markers in our texts will be scrutinised in order to ascertain the level of proximity between interactants, since, according to Mao (1993: 270), metadiscourse is not merely a stylistic device, but has a rhetorical role very much in line with the purpose that the text wishes to accomplish.

3. Methodology

3.1. The FLAX: an Open-Source Online Language Learning Platform

The FLAX could be described as an open-source self-learning platform which mines salient linguistic features from augmented full-text corpora and displays them in interfaces designed to support learners with domain-specific language learning materials. Unlike traditional concordancers,[2] the FLAX project has developed interfaces for non-specialists in corpus linguistics, namely, second language learners and teachers. The MOOC course on Common Law, which was employed for the experiment presented here, is introduced by several YouTube tutorials, which explain briefly what the platform offers and how to exploit it to its fullest.

The MOOC course on common law used in this research could be deemed a corpus inasmuch as it contains a set of transcriptions of authentic legal English lectures given by Professor Adam Gearey, at the University of London for London Coursera. The prospective learners can watch the video of the lecture, which is also duly transcribed for them to read and work, having recourse to all the different functionalities which the platform offers. As regards the content of the lectures, they deal with various issues such as the history of common law, the structure of courts and tribunals in Great Britain, the sources of law, the principle of binding precedent or European law. The transcriptions themselves vary considerably in terms of their textual features, some of them belonging to the oral mode due to the presence of questions, inserts, pauses or simple syntactic structures, which denote the speaker's intention to catch the listeners' attention and to keep them engaged in the talk. In other cases, the lectures are often read by the speaker, being more formal as regards lexical choice, more syntactically complex and better planned and organised, as is typical of the written mode.

Amongst other functionalities, the FLAX system facilitates the retrieval of typical word and phrase usage samples by grouping linguistic data and sorting search results to show the most common patterns. It is capable of producing term lists, like the one illustrated by figure 1, which allow the user to search for the most relevant concordances associated with each of these.

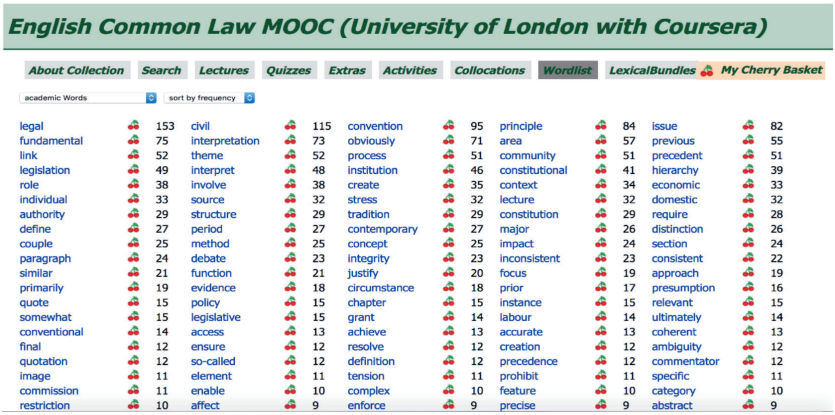

Figure 1. Legal term list (wordlist function on the menu)

Secondly, it automatically retrieves collocations and lexical bundles according to part-of-speech tags —for instance, all the adjectives associated with a particular noun—, as shown in figures 2 and 3. Learners can explore these elements by searching and browsing, and inspect them along with contextual information. The platform also presents them with general and academic English words, hyperlinked to their usage and collocates in authentic contexts.

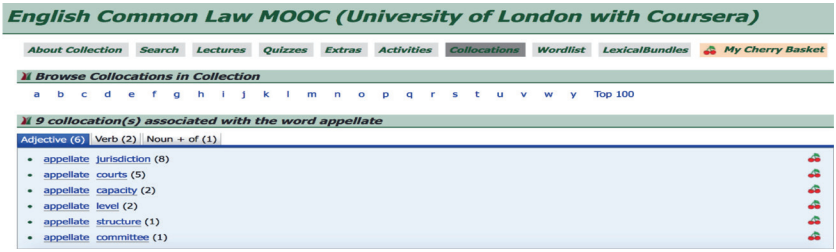

Figure 2. Collocations of the term appellate.

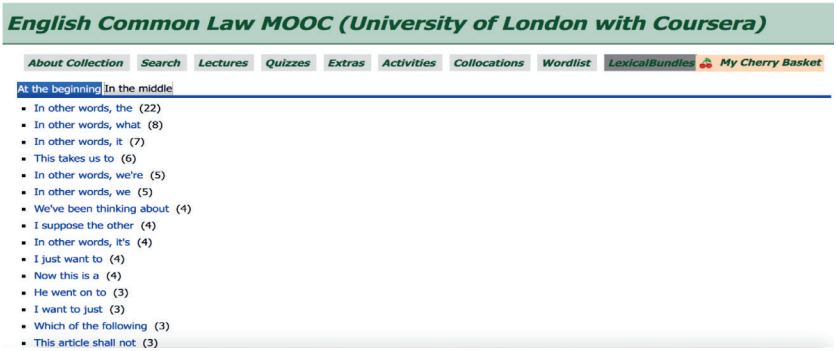

Figure 3. Lexical bundles.

One of the most useful functionalities offered by the FLAX is the possibility of exploiting term usage by working on the activities proposed in each section such as "completing collocations", "word guessing" or "scrambled sentences", amongst others, and also of consulting other contexts like Wikipedia by activating the "wikify" option, where the most salient terms are linked to their definition and related topics. The definition of the term *appellate jurisdiction*, which appears in a green text frame, is retrieved by the system from Wikipedia. Those elements which are "wikified" are highlighted in blue, allowing the user to see the definition and related topics comprised in it. However, due to the instructions given to the experimental group, as shown in the methodology section, and with the aim of not letting other sources "contaminate" the process, students were instructed not to activate this option during the present experiment.

Thus, all the different functionalities offered by the FLAX platform might make it a suitable tool to be employed in corpus-based language instruction as its design addresses some of the challenges Ädel (2010) poses within the field. Firstly, Ädel complains about the lack of available academic corpora (which is particularly remarkable in the legal field) and the growing demand for this kind of materials, which the FLAX offers online and exploits through all the possibilities described above. As regards hands-on work with corpora, Ädel also detects some problem areas that corpus-based instruction must cope with, some of which, in our view, could be tackled if working with a system like the FLAX.

Like most of its critics (Widdowson 2000; Flowerdew 2009), Ädel refers to the decontextualised samples obtained when exploring corpora in the language classroom and to the corpus, as looking like a maze when presented to students, who often get

lost in the vast amount of information retrieved by corpus tools and can even get drowned in data, to use Ädel's words. There is a need to control such a large amount of input, a challenge that the FLAX addresses (at least on a lexical level) firstly, by filtering results and offering different options such as highlighting only terms, academic or general vocabulary and expanding their contextual information. Such expansion is carried out by connecting the selected vocabulary to the web through the wikify option. This facilitates, on the one hand, understanding and, on the other hand, presents the terms in various contexts acting as reference for later use.

Concerning the challenges of interpretation and evaluation of the information retreived from corpora, as presented by Ädel (2010), it could also be argued that the FLAX partially addresses such challenges insofar as it selects the most relevant terms, collocational patterns or lexical bundles in a text collection and allows the learner to explore their contexts of usage. The system also guides the students through different activities to exploit term and collocation usage and, in a way, contribute to their acquisition.

3.2. Description of the Experiment

The experiment presented herein could not be regarded as a DDL experiment proper but rather as a corpus-based self-learning experience which attempts to test the effectiveness of an online learning platform, the FLAX, used as a support in the legal English classroom. One of its major aims is to try to quantitatively determine the usefulness and effectiveness of employing the FLAX in the teaching of legal English. To that end, a group of 105 students in the fourth year of the Translation Degree at the University of Murcia (Spain) studying a legal English course were selected as informants. All the students' linguistic competence level complied with the CEFR requirements for the B2 level, having passed general English exams B1 and B2 prior to studying legal English.

Our initial intention was to incorporate the FLAX as part of the course methodology itself, trying not to alter the original syllabus of the subject in its essence. In order to do so, the informants, who had to write an essay on a given set of legal English topics —defined by the subject instructor— as part of their final assessment, were divided into two groups. The experimental group (34 informants organised in 8 subgroups) were requested to only consult the FLAX website as the single source of information to draft their essays. The remaining 71 students (divided into 16 different groups) would act as the control group, following the usual working method for the design and drafting of their work, that is, they could employ any information source available without any limitation or previous instruction. The groups were not balanced because the FLAX course lessons included in the MOOC course on English Common Law did not cover some of the topics comprised in

the syllabus of the subject (designed before this experiment took place), and only 8 out of 24 topics coincided with the ones listed on the online learning platform.[3]

The informants employing the FLAX (the experimental group) were instructed on its use in one session of one hour, where they were requested to follow the video tutorials provided in the legal English section of the website.[4] This would imply, not only watching the videos on various legal English topics and reading their transcriptions, but also using the functionalities present in every lesson as well as the language activities described above. The informants were further instructed to abstain from consulting any reference outside the platform, being constrained to use the sources supplied by it, whereas the control group was given the liberty to resort to any kind of source and/or reference such as related bibliography or internet websites dealing with the subjects involved. After following all the steps described in the tutorials, all the members of the experimental group would start writing their essays trying to incorporate all the relevant information and the specialised terminology required in each case.

3.3. Learner Corpora Description

Once the essays were finished, they were gathered forming two small learner corpora whose size differed considerably for the reasons explained above (see section 3.1). The FLAX-based corpus contained 34,647 tokens,[5] while those texts not based on it amounted to 108,681. The extension of the texts in each corpus ranged from 2,356 tokens to 10,908. On the whole, those texts which were not based on the FLAX tended to be longer, including 6,393 tokens on average, as opposed to those based on the FLAX, containing 4,330. The fact that there were many more data available for those informants using the internet or other information sources might account for this noticeable difference.

Both corpora were processed automatically using Scott's (2008a) *Wordsmith Tools* with the purpose of extracting information tending to hint at the suitability of the FLAX as an experimental learning method, as opposed to the usual working method used by the subjects in the control group. In the first place, the texts were analysed applying Corpus Linguistics techniques for the exploration of the lexical level of the language, namely, lexical diversity, specialised term usage and distribution and lexical fundamentality.

Additionally, and with the aim of revealing the interpersonality traits in the texts of either corpus, a thorough analysis of the MD markers present in them was undertaken. Such an analysis was deemed necessary to go beyond the lexical choices made by the informants to ascertain whether the stance taken by the authors of the essays in either group towards the propositional content of their work bore relevant differences attributable to the use of FLAX or non-FLAX materials.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Lexical Analysis

4.1.1. *Lexical Diversity*

One of the possibilities offered by Scott's *Wordsmith 5.0* is to compute the type/token ratio in a corpus, that is, the proportion existing between a word (type) and the number of occurrences of that same word in the corpus (token). When the size of the texts in each corpus is different, Scott (2008b: 221) recommends applying the standardised type/token ratio (STTR), which is calculated for the first 1,000 tokens in each text, since, when text length varies, the results may also differ considerably, as is the case in the present study. A corpus with a high STTR would contain a higher number of types per token than one with a lower ratio, consequently, the breadth of its vocabulary would necessarily be greater.

Regarding the corpora under examination, the one not based on the FLAX displayed a higher STTR, reaching 37.63 as opposed to the FLAX-based text collections, over 2 points below (35.3). As already stated, a higher STTR would necessarily imply greater lexical diversity; therefore, although the difference is not substantial, those texts written using the internet and other bibliographic sources displayed greater vocabulary breadth, whereas the lexicon in the FLAX-based corpus tends to be more repetitive, according to the figures.

This fact is directly related to the observations presented in section 4.1.4. on lexical fundamentality, which refers to the amount of general vocabulary found in both text collections. The results presented in 4.1.4. reinforce our perception of the smaller vocabulary breadth of the texts in the FLAX corpus as measured by STTR. These texts also present higher frequency of general vocabulary than those containing information from various sources other than the FLAX. As a consequence, it could be stated that, in spite of the greater proportion of specialised terms and their better distribution in the FLAX text collection (as illustrated below), these texts also display a poorer vocabulary when it comes to expressing non-specialised ideas and concepts.

4.1.2. *Specialised Term Usage*

On a lexical level, one of the parameters that was measured was term usage. The relevance of terms in academic texts is fundamental as they could be regarded as conceptual vehicles which can be employed to transmit specialised knowledge amongst scientists, researchers, professionals or language learners, as is the case. In Kit and Liu's words, terms are "linguistic representations of domain-specific key concepts in a subject field that crystallise our expert knowledge in that subject" (Kit and Liu 2008: 204).

In order to quantify term usage, both corpora were analysed using Scott's (2008a) *Keywords* functionality included in the *Wordsmith 5.0* software package, a powerful corpus analysis tool which, according to Marín (2014a), turned out to be one of the most efficient in the extraction of legal terms from an 8.85 million-word legal corpus, the *BLaRC* (the *British Law Report Corpus*), reaching a peak of precision of 85% for the top 200 candidate terms identified by it.[6] Following Scott (2008b: 104), a word is key "if it is unusually frequent (or unusually infrequent) in comparison with what one would expect on the basis of the larger word-lists", that is to say, its degree of specificity could be related to its keyness given its statistical behaviour both in the general and the specialised fields.

Keywords managed to mine 349.2 specialised terms from the learner corpus based on the FLAX and 309.1 from those texts not using the FLAX after normalisation. The difference in size between both corpora led to the normalisation of the data obtained, which consisted in dividing the total number of terms extracted from each corpus by the number of tokens in them. Subsequently, the figures were multiplied by 100,000 to avoid an excessive amount of decimals. In order for the list of candidate terms produced by *Keywords* to be validated, it was compared against a glossary of 10,088 legal terms[7] so that every time a candidate term was found in the glossary, it was confirmed as such.

In spite of the similar number of terms in each corpus, their proportion with respect to the whole type list was three times as high (10.32%) for the FLAX-based corpus as for the non-FLAX-based one (3.82%). It could, therefore, be argued that those students using the FLAX as an information source for the drafting of their essays, showed greater command in the use of legal terms than those who did not.

The observed data related to the proportion and average frequency of specialised terms in both corpora were also scrutinised from the perspective of inference statistics.[8] Inference statistics, amongst other possibilities, allows linguists to make generalisations on the language based on the observations of a given sample. It "pertains to the need to generalise from a finite sample of language data to a theoretical infinite amount of text" (Baroni and Evert 2009: 779). Using the average frequency of specialised terms in both corpora and the number of tokens in each of them, the probability for these to occur in a hypothetical total population of similar texts also indicated that it was higher for the FLAX collection obtaining a frequency estimate of 11.77% as against 4.81% for the non-FLAX set.

Table 1 displays the top 20 legal terms extracted from both sets of texts using Scott's keywords.

NON FLAX-BASED TEXTS (control group)		FLAX-BASED TEXTS (experimental group)	
TERMS	**KEY-NESS**	**TERMS**	**KEYNESS**
Law	7833.93	Law	3584.82
Contract	3050.50	Rights	1586.21
Legal	2839.63	Court	1378.70
Civil	2493.52	Precedent	1187.08
Attorney	1904.97	Case	702.25
Court	1577.73	Sovereignty	641.44
Criminal	1361.42	Statutes	468.01
Offence	1316.28	Act	467.83
Party	1266.36	Decisions	429.75
Custody	796.83	Convention	372.03
Testator	649.71	Appeal	337.26
Property	600.88	Legislation	227.05
Probate	581.39	Rule	219.71
Contractual	531.89	Civil	210.75
Power	523.25	Constitution	210.63
Legislation	509.75	Power	201.92
Arbitration	485.55	Interpretation	197.23
Act	432.32	Binding	184.37
Notary	426.29	Judicial	179.32
Agreement	422.80	Jurisdiction	158.02

Table 1. Top 20 legal terms

One of the major conclusions to be drawn with respect to the top 20 terms identified in both corpora pertains to the nature of such terms. For instance, a term like *attorney* could not be found in the FLAX-based text collection because that collection only includes British texts and *attorney* is a legal term from the American system. Furthermore, most of the terms in the FLAX-based list refer to the sources of law and the norm itself (*precedent, act, statute, constitution, legislation, convention*) and also to their procedural application (*court, interpretation, judicial, appeal, binding*), whereas the non-FLAX term sample displays greater heterogeneity since, although it contains some of these terms (*act, legislation*), it does not refer to the major source of law *par excellence*: case law. In

fact, it gathers terms from various legal areas, mainly contract law (*contract, contractual, agreement, party, arbitration*), and also property and its management (*probate, property, testator, notary*).

In spite of such difference, the specificity level of the terms identified in both corpora differs considerably. Using *Keywords* as the tool to mine the most relevant terms by comparison with a general English corpus, LACELL, of 21 million tokens, it was found that the terms in the non-FLAX corpus displayed an average keyness value of 179.33, whereas those using the FLAX as a resource stand 20 points below, at 156.49 keyness.

However, specialised terms represented 10.32% of the whole type list in the FLAX corpus as opposed to the non-FLAX text collection, where the percentage of terms identified is three times lower, that is, 3.82%, as shown above. It could be assumed that the experimental groups used the terminology more consistently than the control group although the latter employed more specific terms than those used by the former. As examples of usage by both groups:

(1) In a will, the testator or testatrix appoints another person (called the executor) as responsible of the administration and distribution of his/her possessions among his/her inheritors or beneficiaries (Non-FLAX).

(2) A.D.R consists of choosing a judge called arbitrator that, after examining the different positions of the parties, issues a binding decision called arbitration (Non-FLAX).

(3) The term binding precedent is the opposite idea to persuasive precedent, which is not binding (FLAX).

(4) The parliament (…) creates supreme law (statutes), which will override inconsistent case law and reflect the sovereignty and legitimacy of parliament (FLAX).

4.1.3. *Term Distribution*

The distribution of terms within a learner specialised corpus is also a relevant piece of data which can reveal information on the learners' knowledge of the terminology and their capacity to employ it in a wider set of contexts. As a matter of fact, the word *distribution* is used in this study to refer to the amount of texts in a corpus where a term can be found: it is expressed in percentages to respect proportionality. Therefore, the better distributed a term is, the more relevant it might be to the corpus.

Distribution, or text range, can be computed automatically using the *Wordlist* software included in the *Wordsmith* package (Scott 2008a), as well as the type/token ratio, which are provided within the general statistics. In this particular

case, it must be taken into account that the texts in the corpus deal with different legal areas (family law, European law, civil law or common law, amongst other), thus, except for the most general terms covering a wider range of topics, the majority of the terms extracted from each corpus should rather be restricted to their specific areas. Nevertheless, the figures show that the specialised terms used by the experimental group are much better distributed, occurring in 48.49% of the corpus texts on average, whereas the control group average value for this parameter is noticeably lower, 29.54%. These percentages reflect mean values, that is to say, terms like *convention* or *ruling* appear in 100% of the texts in the FLAX corpus while *override* or *injunction* are only employed in 34% and 25% of the texts respectively. If we consider the whole list of specialised terms obtained from both text collections, they are better distributed in the experimental group, whose term list covers almost half of the texts included in the corpus.

Even so, these figures can be read in different ways. On the one hand, it appears that the informants in the experimental group may have a wider knowledge of the terminology, as they are capable of using terms which are not only related to the legal area they have researched but also to other areas present in other corpus texts, given the high average distribution percentage obtained (48.49%). In fact, the legal terms identified in the FLAX corpus can be found in almost half of its texts. Terms such as *law, court, case, rule* or *convention*, appear in the whole of the text collection, whereas others like *injunction*, *litigant* or *jurist* are limited to just one of the texts, due to their more specific character.

On the other hand, the lower distribution percentages computed for the control group, at almost 20 points below the experimental one, might well be related to the learners' more limited knowledge of the terminology, although it may also be associated with the more specialised meaning of the terms used in this text collection, being found in fewer texts in the corpus. This hypothesis might be supported by the average keyness value of the terms in both lists, 20 points higher for the control group, which could be indicative of the greater specificity of the terms found in the non-FLAX texts. Either way, in order to confirm this perception, based on the data obtained automatically from both text collections, a manual scrutiny of the texts included in each corpus would be required to complement this quantitative analysis.

4.1.4. *Lexical Fundamentality*[9]

Processing both corpora with the software *Range* (Heatley and Nation 1996) could also provide an insight into the lexicon of both text collections. The version employed in this study is the one offering the possibility of processing

the texts in a corpus in comparison with the most frequent 3,000 words found in the *British National Corpus*[10] (BNC), a general English corpus of 100 million words. This software allows the user to calculate text range, that is, the percentage of running words in a corpus covered by those 3,000 words which are arranged in sets of 1,000 according to their frequency in it. The figures below were obtained by comparison with the first list only of the most frequent 1,000 words in this general corpus. Words such as *and, baby*, *because, hate, the* or *then* could be found within that list. As a consequence, the higher the text range percentage obtained after processing a corpus, the more fundamental the lexicon in that corpus. On the contrary, if the percentage of tokens covered by these lists was lower, the vocabulary in a corpus would necessarily be more specialised, or at least less basic.

Concerning our two corpora, lexical fundamentality was computed automatically by processing them with *Range*. The highest percentages were assigned to the FLAX corpus, reaching 79.39% text range, while 20.61% of the tokens in that corpus could not be found in the *BNC* lists of the most frequent 1,000 types in it. In contrast, only 66.73% of the types in the non-FLAX corpus overlapped with the ones on the BNC lists. These percentages indicate that the former corpus displays greater lexical fundamentality than the latter, that is, it contains a higher number of tokens present in the lists of the most frequent/basic types of English used as reference for their processing.

This finding might contradict the results discussed in section 4.1.2., where it was observed that the ratio of terms per token was higher in the FLAX corpus in spite of its lexicon seeming more fundamental or basic, as illustrated by the percentages above. Nevertheless, it could also be argued that legal terms such as *case, rule* or *rights*, in spite of being considered as specialised terms, could be found amongst the most frequent 3,000 types of English. Their sub-technical character accounts for this fact, since they are shared both by the legal and the general contexts. On the contrary, the use of terms like *testator, probate* or *arbitration,* included in the top 20 legal terms extracted from the non-FLAX texts, could also explain this fact. They are much more specific and tend to be employed in fewer texts, hence the lower distribution values discussed in the previous section.

Even so, the lower Standardised Type Token Ratio (STTR) associated with the texts in the FLAX collection, may also reinforce our perception that, although more specialised in the way they refer to legal concepts (judging by term ratio and distribution figures), the texts in the FLAX corpus display a tendency on the part of the authors to use more general vocabulary which also, in general, tends to be slightly less varied.

4.2. Analysis of Metadiscourse Markers: Results and Discussion

As was anticipated at the end of Section 3, a study of the presence of MD (metadiscourse) markers of the textual and interactional kind was also implemented using Scott's Wordsmith 5.0 tool with the aim of studying their statistical behaviour in both the FLAX and non-FLAX corpora. The goal was to reveal differences in the way in which propositional content was presented as regards writers' engagement and stance, as specific samples of the RA (research article) genre.[11]

As shown in Figure 4, the results indicate that, in both corpora, the overall number of textual MD markers was much higher than the set of interactional ones. They also attest that these textual markers were more frequently employed in the control group than in the experimental one (554.61 against 452.83, respectively[12]). Contrarily, interactional markers occurred more frequently in the FLAX group, displaying 154.06 frequency as opposed to 143.24 (non-FLAX texts).

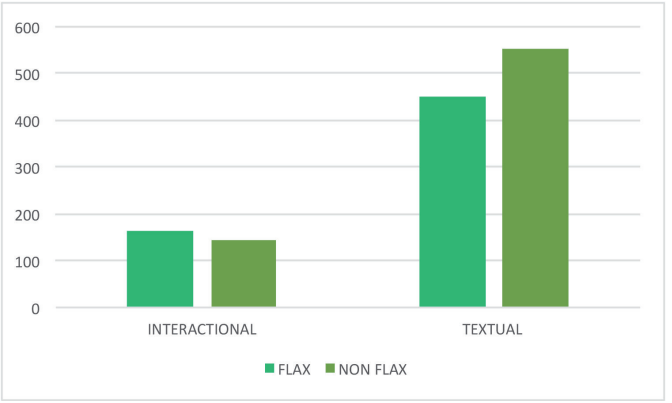

Figure 4. Metadiscourse markers in non-FLAX and FLAX-based corpora

The main reason for the greater number of textual MD markers might indicate an overall preference on the part of the informants to convey propositional content in an orderly manner, rather than engaging with the prospective readers through evaluation, appraisal and other affective resources. After all, the informants are a group of highly proficient undergraduate translation students who might lack enough self-confidence in the area of academic writing to mobilise the empathy of the prospective readers, focusing upon achieving grammar correctness and adequacy instead.

More specifically, as reflected in Table 2, transition/logical markers are the most numerous ones in either corpus (with 403 occurrences in the non-FLAX set and 384 in the FLAX-based set). This finding is in line with the claim made by Hempel and Degand (2008) concerning the importance of textual markers used in various texts, these resources being the authors' conscious stratagem in constructing the propositional content which they aim to convey to the addressee. In this sense, 'and' is, by far, the most recurrent connector in either corpora, followed by 'or'. This data might indicate that there is an overall marked preference for linking ideas through additive markers, and, for second choice, the use of adversative markers to construct arguments (Dafouz 2008).

TEXTUAL MARKERS		
TYPES	**NON-FLAX CORPUS** (norm. freq.)	**FLAX CORPUS** (norm. freq.)
TRANSITION/LOGICAL MARKERS		
and	249.17	246.77
furthermore	1.29	1.15
additionally	0.55	0
or	104.43	53.11
but	16.47	27.71
however	7.45	10.68
nevertheless	2.85	6.64
so	8.83	19.92
therefore	3.40	7.22
finally	2.85	2.60
moreover	1.20	1.73
hence	0.28	1.44
thus	2.48	4.04
in addition	1.29	0.87
in summary	0.00	0.29
in conclusion	0.09	0.29
what is more	0.09	0.00
concluding	0.37	0
SUBTOTAL	**403.09**	**384.46**

ENDOPHORIC MARKERS		
noted/see above/below	1.74	0.86
see fig	0.09	0
in section X	0.18	2.3
SUBTOTAL	**2.01**	**3.16**
FRAME MARKERS		
in the first place	0.09	0.29
firstly	0.64	1.15
as stated in	0.28	0.00
as for	0.74	0.00
as regards	0.00	0.29
thirdly	0.18	0.29
secondly	0.74	0.87
regarding	4.05	2.31
concerning	1.38	1.15
SUBTOTAL	**8.1**	**6.35**
CODE GLOSSES		
that is	2.58	3.17
in other words	0.18	0.00
explicitly	0.18	0
specifically	0.83	0.29
—	0.92	0.00
()	119.52	25.40
colon	8.37	18.76
namely	0.28	0.29
SUBTOTAL	**132.86**	**47.91**
EVIDENTIALS		
according to X	8	6.63
X states/says	0.55	4.32
SUBTOTAL	**8.55**	**10.95**
TOTAL	**554.61**	**452.83**

Table 2. Textual markers in non-FLAX and FLAX-based corpora

The use of other, more sophisticated kinds of connectors is negligible by comparison in either corpus, in tune with Moreno's (2004: 21) findings on the dearth of textual indicators in Spanish academic corpora, or their comparative scarcity with respect to English academic writing (Mur Dueñas 2011: 3071). As examples of 'and' in each corpus:

(5) It comprises the rule by which a court hears and determines what happens in civi lawsuits (Non FLAX).

(6) Defamation: it occurs when the defendant communicates untruthful information about the plaintiff and it hurts the plaintiff's reputation (FLAX).

The next group with the most markers (132.86 and 47.91) is code glosses. Glosses are used by writers to ensure the readers understand the meanings of specific elements, phrases, or idioms. Again, this kind of explanatory device is markedly more present in the control group (132.86), almost exclusively in the shape of parentheses as a means to expand, define or delimit the propositional content. It would suggest that the informants in the non-FLAX group are aware of the complexity of the subject they are dealing with, providing their audience with a number of explicit reading prompts as well as more examples, in the attempt to render their explanations clearer. On the other hand, the amount of code glosses employed by the experimental group is much smaller (47.91), the occurrences taking place, as in the control group, mostly through parentheses (25.4), but also with a relatively high number of colons (18.76). As examples of group glosses other than parentheses and colons:

(7) (…) which are not considered as crimes nor breaches of contract, that is, torts. (Non FLAX)

(8) In other words, they tried to make a case that would not be a precedent (sic). (FLAX)

Frame markers are comparatively less present in either group, even if again they are more abundant in the control one, with 8.1 and 6.35 occurrences respectively. Frames organise sequences, label text stages, announce topic goals and indicate topic shifts. The scarcity in both corpora (6.35 for the FLAX-based texts and 8.1 for the non-FLAX ones) might mark the same dearth of sophistication in academic writing that was pointed out when discussing the simplicity of the logical connectors deployed by the two groups of informants. Finally, evidentials are used to inform readers about who has said or written a given idea or comment. Mainly, they are used by way of testimonials that give weight to the supposed value of propositional content reflected by the authors, sustaining and validating their theses. The presence of evidentials is also scarce in either corpus, even though these, together with endophoric markers, are more numerous –albeit marginally–

in the FLAX texts. Evidentials display 10.95 occurrences in the FLAX group, compared to 8.55 occurrences in the non-FLAX group, the writers in the former seemingly exhibiting greater awareness of the need to establish their credibility through the knowledge of the 'right' texts.

As far as intratextual references (or endophoric MD markers) are concerned, their appearance is also scarce, but slightly more frequent in the FLAX-based corpus, with 3.16 occurrences, as opposed to 2.01 in the control group. As Heng and Tan (2010) discovered, the use of endophorics –used to support the argument by convincing readers of the validity of the argument– could be closely linked to the use of citation as a persuasive strategy in the crafting of academic writing. This affirmation would be in line with our conclusions below, pointing to the fact that the FLAX corpus could show a subtly higher degree of sophistication and capacity of persuasion if compared with the resources used by the non-FLAX group.

The results of the scrutiny of interactional markers in the corpora are reflected in Table 3 below.

INTERACTIONAL MARKERS		
TYPES	**NON-FLAX** (norm. freq.)	**FLAX** (norm. freq.)
HEDGES		
May	16.47	16.16
Might	1.75	3.17
Must	17.21	11.55
Can	35.06	43.29
Could	3.50	16.45
Would	5.89	27.42
Probably	0.28	0.87
Perhaps	0.09	0.87
Maybe	0.09	0
SUBTOTAL	**80.34**	**119.78**
BOOSTERS		
Clearly	1.10	1.15
Certainly	0	1.15
SUBTOTAL	**1.10**	**2.3**

ATTITUDE MARKERS		
need to	3.12	3.46
we think	0	0.57
I think	0	0.28
have to	4.50	10.39
Unfortunately	0	0.86
SUBTOTAL	**7.62**	**15.56**
ENGAGEMENT MARKERS		
consider that	0	0.86
SUBTOTAL	**0**	**0.86**
REFERENCES TO SELF		
I	9.01	4.61
Me	2.02	0.57
us	4.60	5.48
our	2.76	4.90
mine	0.36	0
SUBTOTAL	**18.75**	**15.56**
TOTAL	**143.24**	**154.06**

Table 3. Interactional markers in non-FLAX and FLAX-based corpora

As we anticipated at the beginning of this section, these markers occur less often in the texts under study, probably on account of a reluctance on the part of the informants to appraise the propositional content of the text. This result also agrees with Mur Dueñas's (2011: 3075) findings in a corpus of Spanish research articles, where she shows that Spanish writers tend to establish a smaller degree of interaction with their addressees than English ones do. Also, as beginners in the drafting of academic texts, the informants might be reluctant to show complicity with the reader, favouring the use of textual markers that organise the discourse in a more conventional way from an academic perspective instead.

Nevertheless, interactional markers are rather more dominant in the FLAX than in the non-FLAX corpus (154.06 against 143.24, respectively), pointing to the possibility that the experimental group might be comparatively more willing to interact with their readership and engage with it. Still, the thesis hinted at above, that, in general, informants in both groups might be more 'academically conservative', would be reinforced by the high presence of hedges in both corpora (119.78 in the FLAX collection against 80.34 in the non–FLAX set). Hedges –

mainly introduced by auxiliary 'can' in both corpora– are a usual device deployed by academic writers, since they can "anticipate possible opposition to their claims (by expressing statements with precision but also with caution and modesty), while simultaneously, enabling the reader to follow the writer's stance without the writer appearing too assertive" (Dafouz 2008: 107), for instance:

(9) As long as possible, we should transfer it, although it can be translated in some cases as "fideicomiso" (Non-FLAX).

(10) The term Common Law can first of all be understood as the law imposed on the institutions of the Anglo Saxon England (FLAX).

In academic texts, they are normally counterbalanced by boosters, but the appearance of these is residuary in both our corpora, which strengthens our previous assertions. Additionally, the absence of engagement markers would again confirm the lack of commitment on the part of the writers both in the FLAX and non-FLAX groups.

Attitude markers, in turn, are also scarce, if somewhat more present in the FLAX group, but mostly through the modal auxiliary 'have to'. Finally, the figures obtained account for similar results in the area of self-mentions, which are the only MD markers which the control group uses more often than the experimental one, although marginally (18.75 in the non-FLAX texts against 15.56 in the FLAX corpus). This is achieved mainly through the use of the first person singular. In both corpora, the first person plural pronoun is used to inform the writers of their intention, such as 'we will now deal with', 'we will then present' and 'we will include', thus indicating authorial presence, not only of the individual informant, but also of the working team as a whole. Below are some usage examples:

(11) Henceforth, we will focus on civil law from Common law and its division (Non FLAX)

(12) However, we must not forget that history is fuel to the future and that our current idea of due process is (…) (FLAX).

Like specialised terms, inference statistics confirms our perception about the two major groups of MD markers. While textual markers would represent a comparable proportion of texts within a hypothetical population of such linguistic units, that is, 1.44% and 1.46% for the FLAX and non-FLAX corpora respectively, the greatest difference would be found amongst interactional markers, obtaining 15.4% frequency estimate for the former and 14.32% for the latter.

In sum, MD markers are present in the corpora under study, as specific samples of RAs, where students are initiated in the writing of academic genres. Nevertheless, they occur in the most conventional ways, i.e. through the use of textual indicators aimed at arranging, organising and 'tidying up' the propositional content in the

texts. Both corpora, mainly the non-FLAX one –with its abundance of logical connectors–, are conventionally constructed inasmuch as they fit the impersonality and detachment that traditionally surround academic texts. Nevertheless, if persuasion is also a desirable element in this kind of texts, it is not to be found in either of the corpora under analysis. Certain differences in engagement between the control and experimental groups are observed, but these are not significant, since both corpora adopt predictable devices, mainly logical transitions and, chiefly in the control group, explanatory glosses. In the area of stance, i.e. of interactional markers, it is the FLAX group that shows a greater degree of sophistication. Within this category, hedges –at a greater distance from other groups, with the slight exception of self-mentions–, are the most favoured MD markers, which, again, could indicate a relatively primitive state of affairs in the informants' writing abilities.

5. Conclusion

This research has attempted to quantify the usefulness of corpus-based materials used as support to the legal English classroom. One of the key factors which motivated it was the fact that DDL experiments in this ESAP variety are scarce, leaving room for greater experimentation and speculation about the benefits of implementing such methods in legal English teaching which, to the best of our knowledge, remains underexplored in the literature.

To that end, the FLAX, an online language learning platform offering a course which contains a corpus of university lectures on legal issues, was used as part of an experiment where two groups of informants were instructed to write academic essays on legal topics. The FLAX was used by the experimental group as their only source of information while the control group could consult any reference at hand for the same task. As already stated, the FLAX addresses some of the challenges posed by Ädel (2010) which remain to be met by DDL methodologies. On the one hand, the scarcity of academic corpora available (which is particularly remarkable in the legal field) is a major concern to this author. In this respect, the FLAX offers free access to legal corpora, which are exploited through the proposal of language activities and other functionalities. In addition, Ädel (2010) also deems raw corpus data to be a "maze" which learners have to go through often getting "drowned" by the vast amount of data generated by concordancers. In this respect, the FLAX filters the information retrieved from corpora through term/vocabulary lists which are offered in context and linked to other information sources.

As regards the two research questions formulated in the introduction: firstly, we wondered whether the FLAX would positively influence the usage of specialised legal terminology. The answer to this question would be affirmative since, on a lexical level, after processing the two learner corpora gathered for this study, the figures indicate that the experimental group used the specialised terminology better than the control group, utilising 10.32% specialised terms for the expression of technical concepts as opposed to the non-FLAX corpus, where the presence of legal terminology was three times lower. Term distribution was also higher in the FLAX corpus, standing at 20 points above the same value for the control group (28%). Nonetheless, the lexicon employed by the experimental group appeared to be poorer, as attested by the standardised type/token ratio values yielded after processing both corpora. Although the difference was not substantial, the proportion of different types was greater in the non-FLAX corpus and hence the diversity of its lexicon. Likewise, it was noted that the lexicon of the FLAX corpus tended to be more basic than the corpus obtained from the experimental group, as 79.39% of the types found in it overlapped with the list of the 1,000 most frequently used words taken from the *British National Corpus*. Whether in fact this turns out to be a disadvantage of this teaching-learning method would require further research.

The second research question posed in the introduction could also be answered affirmatively. In the first place, as has been illustrated throughout section 4.2, corpus linguistics could throw light on the decisions made by second language learners on a pragmatic level in the deployment of metadiscourse markers. As a matter of fact, the use of these elements in both our corpora showed slight differences. This was shown by the way in which textual markers were employed by the informants, mainly logical transitions and glosses, which were more abundant in the text collection produced by the control group. On the other hand, interactive markers showed a lesser presence in both our corpora, probably due to reluctance on the part of the informants –as we may recall, English non-native undergraduate students– to appraise the propositional content of the text.

Nevertheless, the greater deployment of persuasion in the shape of interactive markers in the FLAX group indicated that the experimental group was comparatively more willing to interact with the readership and engage with it. It could be argued that such willingness might be a consequence of the text genres found in the FLAX platform. The online texts accompanying the videos of the lectures transcribe Professor Gearey's lessons literally, presenting certain features of oral language, itself necessarily of an interactive nature. However, many of the lectures are read by the speaker and also present clear features of academic writing, and so, it cannot be stated for certain that there is a direct relation between the texts written by the

experimental group and the textual genres the transcriptions might adhere to.

On the whole, it could not be categorically stated that the use of the FLAX benefited its users dramatically, although the analysis above illustrates a tendency on the part of the experimental group (only using the FLAX as their information source) towards utilising the terminology more consistently and employing MD markers more often, albeit marginally, for the expression of persuasion. Even so, further research would be needed along these lines to reach sounder conclusions and reinforce our initial perceptions.

Notes

[1] http://flax.nzdl.org

[2] Antconc (Anthony 2011) or the more sophisticated Wordsmith tools (Scott 2008), which would necessarily require training prior to actually engaging into the learning process itself.

[3] FLAX was not designed *ad hoc* to be tested in this translation course but rather incorporated as part of the experiment *a posteriori.*

[4] See: http://flax.nzdl.org/greenstone3/flax (Law collections/English Common Law MOOC)

[5] The term "type" refers to every different word in a corpus, whereas "token" stands for the number of repetitions of the same word within it.

[6] This means that 85% out of 200 terms automatically identified by *Keywords* were confirmed as true terms after comparing them with a legal English glossary.

[7] This glossary was compiled by merging together and filtering three online legal glossaries found at:
http://www.legislation.gov.hk/eng/glossary/homeglos.htm
http://www.judiciary.gov.uk/glos
http://www.nolo.com/dictionary
http://sixthformlaw.info/03_dictionary/index.htm

[8] The online frequency estimate calculator found on http://sigil.collocations.de/wizard.html was used to that end.

[9] This term has been taken from Ishikawa (2015), who also studies the presence of general vocabulary in the speeches and writings of Asian learners of ESL and refers to the proportion of general vocabulary found in corpora as lexical fundamentality.

[10] http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk

[11] A further study –but out of our scope– in line with the English-Spanish contrastive analyses performed by Moreno (2004) and Mur Dueñas (2011) would be interesting, taking into account the characteristics of the oral online corpus that the students departed from.

[12] The figures indicate normalised frequency owing to the different size of both corpora. See section 4.1.1. for further details on normalisation procedures.

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TERRIFIC-LOOKING CREATURES AND TERRIFIC, FUNNY GUYS: ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH TERRIFIC[1]

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Abstract

The term *terrific*, in line with the development of a number of evaluative adjectives over the course of the history of English, such as *awesome*, *bare*, *brutal*, *massive* and *wicked*, has come to express positive meanings where it originally conveyed negative ones. This kind of lexical semantic change, well-documented across languages, has been referred to in the literature as '(a)melioration', 'elevation' or 'improvement of meaning' (cf. Culpeper 1997, among many others). The current paper employs a corpus methodology to trace the history of *terrific*, using three synchronic and diachronic corpora representing the two supranational varieties of the language, namely British English and American English. The sense development of the adjective is examined in light of parameters such as syntactic function (attributive vs. predicative use), principal collocations, and dialectal variation (British vs. American usage).

Keywords: *terrific*, intensifying/evaluative adjectives, semantic change, (a) melioration, grammaticalization.

Resumen

Al igual que ha sucedido con la evolución histórica de otros adjetivos de carácter evaluativo, tales como *awesome*, *bare*, *brutal*, *massive* y *wicked*, *terrific* ha pasado

de tener un significado claramente negativo a uno positivo. Este cambio semántico, que está documentado en diferentes lenguas, se denomina en la literatura especializada 'melioración de significado' (cf. Culpeper 1997, entre otros). El objetivo principal de este trabajo es llevar a cabo un estudio exhaustivo de la historia de *terrific* a través de una metodología basada en el análisis de diferentes corpus representativos de las variedades de inglés británico y americano con el fin de ver la evolución semántica de este adjetivo a la luz de distintos parámetros, tales como función sintáctica (atributiva o predicativa), colocaciones, y variación dialectal (inglés británico vs. inglés americano).

Palabras Clave: *Terrific*, adjetivos intensificadores/evaluativos, cambio semántico, melioración de significado, gramaticalización

1. Introduction

As is widely recognized in the literature, certain semantic domains are marked by rapid lexical change, especially "colloquial and emotive terms of approval or disapproval" (Mair 2006: 38-39). Particularly sensitive to semantic change is the field of intensifiers, an area in language that remains relatively unstable and unsettled, and which is constantly under renewal. Indeed, the competition and recycling of intensifiers has been the norm from the Old English period to the present (cf. Bolinger 1972; Altenberg 1991; Ito and Tagliamonte 2003; Méndez-Naya 2008a, 2008b; Tagliamonte 2008).

'Intensifiers', also known as 'degree modifiers'[2] or 'degree words', have been the object of a great deal of scholarly discussion since the beginning of the 20th century.[3] They are used to convey emotion, an essential component in human communication, and this may be one of the reasons why interest in this specific domain has increased recently (cf. Lorenz 2002; Nevalainen and Rissanen 2002; Paradis 2003; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005; Tagliamonte 2006, 2008; Traugott 2006; Athanasiadou 2007; Xiao and Tao 2007; Núñez-Pertejo 2013; Calle-Martín 2014). Thanks to advances in computational and theoretical linguistics, with the development of computerized corpora, and also to developments in the study of semantic change and grammaticalization processes, there has been renewed interest in the topic from different perspectives (cf. Méndez-Naya 2008a: 213).

Intensifiers have been defined as "elements which modify another element with respect to degree" (Athanasiadou 2007: 560). They are also typically indicative of a specific type of adjective modifier, "one which corresponds to adverbs of degree; and certainly this is the most common semantic type" (Allerton 1987: 16), like

very in "very good" or *absolutely* in "absolutely necessary".[4] However, there are adjectives that also fulfill an intensifying function, such as *terrific* in "terrific despair"; these are usually referred to as 'intensifying' (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 429), 'reinforcing' adjectives or 'reinforcers' (cf. Paradis 2008). "The relationship between a reinforcing adjective and its nominal head is comparable to the relationship between a reinforcing adverb and its adjectival head" (Paradis 2008: 337), since their diachronic development typically runs in parallel, as in pairs like *absolute/absolutely*, *total/totally*, *awful/awfully* and *terrible/terribly*.

Because of their semantic make-up, these adjectives are particularly prone to experience semantic change, which makes them a very productive area for research. In this paper I will address one largely unexplored case: the evaluative adjective *terrific*.

2. *Terrific:* from negative to positive superlativity

Most intensifiers have undergone 'delexicalization', one of the general processes of grammaticalization, in that their original lexical content has been 'reduced' or 'lost', and they have become intensifying markers (cf. Partington 1993: 183; Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005: 284-285); *very* being a notable case here. As will be shown, *terrific* has not lost its lexical content but, over the course of time, has clearly 'improved' or '(a)meliorated' its original meaning (cf. Culpeper 1997; Schendl 2001; Fortson 2003). '(A)melioration' is thus the tendency for a word "[to] become associated with more favorable concepts than before" (Moessner 2003: 150), as illustrated by *nice*, from Latin *nescius*, originally 'simple, ignorant', but now 'friendly, approachable' (cf. Fortson 2003: 650; also Traugott 1996: 3).[5] In turn, the opposite process to (a)melioration is usually referred to as 'pejoration' or 'degeneration of meaning' (cf. Moessner 2003: 149), that is, "the tendency to semanticize the more negative connotations of a word" (Traugott 1996: 3), as illustrated by Old English *stincan* (Present-day English *stink*) 'to smell' > Middle English 'to smell obnoxious'.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED* s.v.[6] *terrific* adj.), *terrific* entered the English lexicon in the late 17th century as a loan partly from French *terrifique* and partly from Latin *terrificus*. Its first recorded use dates from 1667, in the sense 'causing terror, terrifying; terrible, frightful; stirring, awe-inspiring; sublime' (*OED* s.v. *terrific* adj. 1), which highlights "an extreme point on a scale of 'content X'" (Paradis 2008: 335):

(1) The Serpent... with brazen Eyes And hairie Main *terrific* (1667 MILTON *Paradise Lost* vii. 497).

By the 18th century, *terrific* had already developed a new sense, one which no longer relates to its ultimate etymological origin (i.e. Anglo-Norman *terrour* > Middle French *terreur*, Latin *terror* 'intense fear, awe, terror, dread'), but rather indicating an entity as being 'of great size or intensity; excessive, very severe, tremendous' (*OED* s.v. *terrific* adj. 2.a). Thus, the superlative meaning of 'terror' attested in (1) has generalized to 'high degree' (cf. Paradis 2008: 336 on the semantic development of *terrible*):

(2) How cou'd..Porphyrion of *terrific* size..stand against the Warrior-goddess? (1743 M. TOWERS tr. Horace *Lyric Pieces* II. v. xviii. 325).

It can be argued, then, that grammaticalization is at work at this stage, for *terrific* has acquired a more subjective meaning as a degree word.

Finally, the positive and more affective sense of something being 'approved-by-the-speaker', the sense that is so prominent today, 'amazing, impressive; excellent, exceedingly good, splendid' (*OED* s.v. *terrific* adj. 2.b), appears towards the end of the 19th century:

(3) The last lines of the first ballad are simply *terrific*, —something entirely different to what any English author would dream of, much less put on paper. (1871 *Athenæum* 21 Oct. 540/1 (*advt.*).

As will be shown below (cf. Section 4.2), there is a further development in the history of the adjective, since 'positive' *terrific* may also occur independently, that is, without a following nominal head, as an emphatic, enthusiastic form of commendation, as in the following example from the *OED* (s.v. *terrific* adj. 2.b):

(4) "Thanks awfully," said Rex. "That'll be ripping". "Fine!" said Derek Yardley. "Great! *Terrific*!" (1930 D. G. MACKAIL *Young Livingstones* xi. 271).

It seems from examples such as (4) that *terrific* has "become conventionalized into what we may call a response particle" (Adamson 2000: 62), equivalent to *fine* or *great*, following the ellipsis of a predicative construction such as [*it is*] *terrific* (cf. Adamson 2000: 62). In other words, it is not a single referent that arouses enthusiasm, as in (3), but the whole situation. All this can be taken as a further step in the grammaticalization cline of *terrific* (cf. Adamson 2000: 62), in that the adjective can have scope over larger discourse chunks.

In view of this, a number of questions emerge:

(i) What is the exact frequency over time of each of the senses identified by the *OED*? This will be tested in three comparable corpora of British and American English (see Section 3 below). Did these senses develop in a similar way in the two varieties, or can differences be discerned?

(ii) Is there a correlation between semantic development and syntactic

function? Syntactic function is understood here in terms of the contrast between attributive (e.g. *a terrific noise*) and predicative (e.g. *the food was terrific*) use. That is, how does the contrast between attributive and predicative position correlate, if at all, with the various senses of *terrific*?

(iii) What is the influence of collocation? Which nominals co-occur primarily with the various senses of *terrific* over time?

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: the corpora used are described in Section 3, followed by the findings from the corpus analysis in Section 4. Finally, Section 5 summarizes the main conclusions of the study.

3. Survey of the corpora

Since, as we have just seen, *terrific* became part of the English lexicon in the late 17th century, and its sense development was completed by the last quarter of the 19th century, when sense 2b 'impressive, excellent' is first recorded, the focus of the present analysis will be primarily on the Late Modern English period (1700-1920). With this in mind, and in order to answer the research questions formulated in Section 2 above, two corpora were selected which were deemed suitable for a comparative analysis of Late Modern British and Late Modern American English: the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts,* version 3.0 (CLMET3.0; cf. De Smet, Diller and Tyrkkö 2011) for Late Modern British English, and the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA), compiled by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University (http://corpus.byu.edu/coha/) for Late Modern American English.

CLMET3.0 is a large collection of texts covering the period 1710–1920, divided into three 70-year subperiods. The texts making up the corpus comprise five major genres, as indicated in Table 1, all written by British authors who were native speakers of English. In total, CLMET3.0 contains over thirty-four million words of running text, of which 20,547,199 correspond to narrative texts, fictional and non-fictional. It thus constitutes an ideal tool for the study of qualitative and quantitative change in Late Modern British English.

COHA, in turn, is a 400-million-word corpus of historical American English that covers the period 1810-2009. In terms of periodization, only the decades 1810-1819, 1820-1829, 1830-1839, 1880-1889, 1910-1919 were taken into consideration here, so as to make the two corpora used chronologically more comparable. COHA comprises four different genres, fiction, non-fiction, magazine and newspaper; the two latter categories of texts are not represented in CLMET3.0, and therefore, as indicated in Table 2 below, only fiction and non-fiction texts (a total of 47,439,765 words) have been examined in the present study.

Tables 1 and 2 give overviews of the number of words analyzed per genre and subperiod in CLMET3.0 and COHA, respectively:

CLMET3.0	1710–1780	1781–1850	1851–1920	TOTAL
Narrative fiction	4,642,670	4,830,718	6,311,301	15,784,689
Narrative non-fiction	1,863,855	1,940,245	958,410	4,762,510
Drama	407,885	347,493	607,401	1,362,779
Letters	1,016,745	714,343	479,724	2,210,812
Treatise	1,114,521	1,692,992	1,782,124	4,589,637
Other	1,434,755	1,759,796	2,481,247	5,675,798
TOTAL	10,480,431	11,285,587	12,620,207	34,386,225

Table 1. Number of words analyzed per genre and subperiod in Late Modern BrE (CLMET3.0)

COHA	1810s	1820s	1830s	1880s	1910s	TOTAL
Fiction	641,164	3,751,204	7,590,350	11,215,065	11,935,701	35,133,484
Non-fiction	451,542	1,461,012	3,038,062	3,820,766	3,534,899	12,306,281
TOTAL	1,092,706	5,212,216	10,628,412	15,035,831	15,470,600	47,439,765

Table 2. Number of words analyzed per genre and decade in Late Modern AmE (COHA)

In order to supplement the data from CLMET3.0 and COHA, an additional analysis was conducted on the contemporary usage of *terrific*. For this purpose, I used a sample of 15,909,312 words of Fiction from the *British National Corpus* (BNC), dating back to the 1990s.

To represent Contemporary American English, the last two decades in COHA, 1990-1999 and 2000-2009 (Fiction and Non-Fiction), were used. Word counts corresponding to COHA are shown in Table 3 below:[7]

COHA	1990s	2000s	TOTAL
Fiction	13,272,162	14,590,078	27,862,240
Non-fiction	3,104,303	3,121,839	6,226,142
TOTAL	16,376,465	17,711,917	34,088,382

Table 3. Number of words analyzed per genre and decade in Contemporary AmE (COHA)

These various materials and databases yielded a number of tokens of *terrific* which were judged to be adequate for a qualitative analysis. The distribution of the adjective, both chronologically and dialectally, is set out in Table 4. As can be seen from the normalized frequencies in this table, *terrific* is more frequently attested in Contemporary British English than in Late Modern British English (1700-1900), while the reverse seems to be true of American English (cf. also Section 4.1 below).

Terrific	**Tokens**	**NF**
CLMET3.0 (Late Modern BrE, 1710-1920)	237	0.689
BNC (Contemporary BrE)	157	0.986
TOTAL BrE	394	0.783
COHA (Late Modern AmE, 1810-1910)	533	1.123
COHA (Contemporary AmE)	319	0.935
TOTAL AmE	852	1.045
TOTAL (BrE + AmE)	1,246	0.945

Table 4. Frequency of *terrific* in the three corpora under scrutiny (NFs = frequencies normalized per 100,000 words)

4. Data and findings

4.1. Semantic distribution of terrific on the chronological dimension

An analysis of the various corpora yields the results displayed in Tables 5-7. As can be seen, all occurrences of *terrific* were classified according to the sense of the adjective they were considered to express, that is, 1, 2a or 2b (cf. Section 2 above). However, and as often happens in processes of semantic change, not all instances could be ascribed definitively to one of the three senses in question. Therefore, a fourth group, for which the label 'overlapping' has been adopted from Robinson (2010), had to be established, in order to accommodate uses whose exact semantic import was not sufficiently clear, as in the case of (5) and (6) below. As Robinson points out, overlapping uses can be "the first signals of a particular category being used in a novel way" (2010: 102):

(5) On the neck of this child was a *terrific* black bruise. (BNC, Lee, 1985-1994, *Dark Dance*)

(6) It carried all of the Salvation Army workers to and from their stations, hauled all of the supplies on its roof, inside, on its fenders, and later also on a trailer.

> It ran day and night almost without end, two drivers alternating. It was a sort of super-car, still in the service, to which Salvationists still refer with an affectionate amazement when they consider its *terrific* accomplishments. (COHA, Booth, 1919, *The War Romance of the Salvation Army*)

In (5), senses 1 ('frightful') and 2a ('tremendous') of *terrific* overlap, whereas in (6) its senses 2a ('tremendous') and 2b ('amazing') overlap.

CLMET3.0	*Terrific* 'frightful'		*Terrific* 'excessive'		*Terrific* 'excellent'		Overlapping	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1710-1780	2	0.019					2	0.019
1780-1850	65	0.575	18	0.159	3	0.026	22	0.194
1850-1920	24	0.190	52	0.412	2	0.015	47	0.372
TOTAL	91	0.264	70	0.203	5	0.014	71	0.206

Table 5. Distribution of *terrific* per sense and subperiod in Late Modern BrE (CLMET3.0; NFs per 100,000 words)

BNC	*Terrific* 'frightful'		*Terrific* 'excessive'		*Terrific* 'excellent'		Overlapping	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1984-1995			33	0.207	113	0.710	11	0.069

Table 6. Distribution of *terrific* per sense in Contemporary BrE (BNC; NFs per 100,000 words)

COHA	*Terrific* 'frightful'		*Terrific* 'excessive'		*Terrific* 'excellent'		Overlapping	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1810s	8	0.732					5	0.457
1820s	58	1.918	5	0.095			23	0.441
1830s	58	0.545	15	0.141			64	0.602
1880s	25	0.166	23	0.152			58	0.385
1910s	19	0.122	83	0.536			89	0.575
1990s	2	0.012	30	0.183	108	0.659	22	0.134
2000s	5	0.028	18	0.101	115	0.649	19	0.107
TOTAL	175	0.214	174	0.213	223	0.273	280	0.343

Table 7. Distribution of *terrific* per sense and decade in Late Modern and Contemporary AmE (COHA; NFs per 100,000 words)

Turning to the results in Table 5, these illustrate how *terrific*, though part of the English lexicon from the second half of the 17th century onwards, was still a low-frequency item a century later, at least in British English, with only four tokens recorded in the first subperiod of CLMET3.0 (1710-1780). During the second subperiod (1780-1850), a clear predominance of sense 1, that is, the original sense of *terrific*, can be appreciated, as in (7) below:

(7) A gigantic monster, they said, had arrived the night before, armed with a gun and many pistols, putting to flight the inhabitants of a solitary cottage through fear of his *terrific* appearance. (CLMET3.0, Shelley, 1818, *Frankenstein*)

By contrast, sense 2a ('excessive'; example 8), with only 18 tokens, is far less frequently attested, while only three tokens of sense 2b ('excellent') have been recorded (cf. example 9):

(8) The exertions made by Sir Thomas Wyatt had brought him a little in advance of the others. Furiously goading his horse, he dashed down the hillside at a *terrific* pace. (CLMET3.0, Ainsworth, 1843, *Windsor Castle*)

(9) "Well hit, by Jove," says little Osborne, with the air of a connoisseur, clapping his man on the back. "Give it him with the left, Figs my boy".

Figs's left made *terrific* play during all the rest of the combat. (CLMET3.0, Thackeray, 1843, *Vanity Fair*)

This situation reverses in the transition from the second to the third subperiod of CLMET3.0 (1850-1920) in that sense 2a ('excessive') increases its frequency at the expense of sense 1 ('frightful'), whose frequency of use diminishes when compared to the previous subperiod (1780-1850). This is a clear indication that *terrific* is losing part of its negative connotations in favour of more neutral shades of meaning while not yet acquiring the positive meaning it has today. Therefore, the two isolated examples of 'positive' *terrific* found in subperiod 3 simply confirm that this new meaning is still emerging and has not become totally established.

Concerning the use of *terrific* in Contemporary British English, it seems evident from the results in Table 6 that the original sense of *terrific* ('frightful') is no longer clearly attested, although there are a few cases in which the meaning of the adjective could still be interpreted as sense 1 ('frightful') and sense 2a ('excessive') overlapping:

(10) Delaney pulled up, frightened at the sight of the dismembered barricade at the bottom, but began shouting for her as he dropped down. "Nell!" He kicked the wreckage aside, and ran into the empty engine room, searching, as the Russian looked anxiously back up the stairway, listening to the tremendous

blows echoing through the ship. There was one last *terrific* crash. Then silence. (BNC, Bedford, 1985-1994, *The Titron Madness*)

What is clear from Table 6 is that sense 2b ('excellent') is, not surprisingly, the most frequently attested in the BNC, while sense 2a ('excessive') is still reasonably frequent. Examples (11) and (12) below illustrate these two senses in the BNC, respectively:

(11) And write the poems that will win your heart. I feel *terrific* now I've made a start – I'll have another book before I quit. (BNC, Cope, 1985-1994, *Making cocoa for Kingsley Amis*)

(12) And I suppose if you don't have a fridge you don't have to go out and buy all sorts of junky things like eggs and mayonnaise and ice-cream to fill it up with. It must save a *terrific* lot of shopping. (BNC, Dahl, 1985-1994, *Matilda*)

Turning now to American English, we find that COHA shows quite a similar picture. In the first decade (1810s), *terrific* is very uncommon and only the negative sense ('frightful') is recorded. From the first to the second decade of the 19th century there is a sharp, drastic increase in the overall frequency of the adjective, but most tokens (58) still represent the negative sense, as against only 5 tokens of the sense 'excessive' (cf. Table 7 above). However, from 1830 onwards, negative *terrific* starts to lose ground, in keeping with the general tendency observed (also in British English) for the negative sense to be gradually replaced by more neutral shades of meaning; note in this regard that the almost wholesale replacement of sense 1 ('frightful') by sense 2a ('excessive') becomes especially noticeable from the first decade of the 20th century.

Interestingly, no cases of 'positive' *terrific* have been found in Late Modern American English, either in the 19th century or in the first decade of the 20th century, which could be taken as an indication that this new sense develops in AmE somewhat later than in BrE, though further evidence is obviously needed to confirm this.[8]

However, in the 1990s and 2000s, the picture is completely different, since *terrific* 'excellent' has become by far the most frequently attested meaning in COHA, and the same applies to the BNC data:

(13) "We're going to stuff some twigs in the big spaces. Even though there are still little spaces, the water can't go through as fast as it wants to. You'll see, this dam will make a *terrific* pool". Andrew nodded and laid another stone in place. (COHA, Wallace, 1993, *The Seduction*).

(14) She was a beauty then and she's a beauty still. "You look *terrific*," I tell her, "and I'm not just saying that —it's the truth. (COHA, Boyle, 2001, *A friend of the earth*)

As shown in Table 7, 0.659 and 0.649 represent the normalized frequencies of 'positive' *terrific* in the 1990s and 2000s, respectively. In contrast, 0.012 and 0.028 correspond to *terrific* 'frightful' in the 1990s and 2000s, while 0.183 and 0.101 correspond to *terrific* 'excessive' in the same decades. It is clear, then, that the positive meaning of the adjective has ousted the other two senses, especially sense 1, *terrific* 'frightful', whose use has dramatically decreased over time, even though it has not completely disappeared, as shown in the following example:

(15) As soon as the god was supposed to have entered the priest, the latter became violently agitated, and worked himself up to the highest pitch of apparent frenzy, the muscles of the limbs seemed convulsed, the body swelled, the countenance became *terrific*, the features distorted, the eyes wild and strained. (COHA, Ehrenreich, 2007, *Dancing in the streets: a history of collective joy*)

Despite the fact that the time periods selected for the present study do not coincide exactly and are thus, not wholly comparable, *terrific* seems to be more common in American English than in British English in the Late Modern English period (NFs: 1.123 and 0.689 respectively; cf. Section 3 and Table 4 above). However, in Contemporary English, the reverse seems to be true, and *terrific* is (only) slightly more frequently attested in BrE than in AmE (NFs: 0.986 and 0.935 respectively; cf. Section 3 and Table 4 above), although all these findings should be treated with caution due to the differences between the three corpora under scrutiny.

Semantically speaking, it seems that *terrific* has evolved along similar lines in both varieties, although sense 2b ('amazing') may have appeared somewhat later in AmE and, consequently, sense 1 ('frightful') might have been 'retained' longer in the AmE than in BrE.

4.2. Syntactic function

As described above, syntactic function is here understood in terms of the contrast between attributive and predicative position. Moreover, an additional 'use' or 'function', here referred to as 'independent', has also been distinguished, to accommodate cases in which *terrific* is used on its own, as an independent, enthusiastic term of commendation (cf. Section 2).

Tables 8 and 9 below show the results obtained from CLMET3.0 and BNC corresponding to Late Modern and Contemporary BrE, respectively, while Table 10 shows the results obtained from COHA, corresponding to Late Modern and Contemporary AmE:

CLMET3.0	Attributive		Predicative	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1710-1780	4	0.038		
1780-1850	76	0.673	32	0.283
1850-1920	103	0.816	22	0.174
TOTAL	183	0.532	54	0.157

Table 8. Syntactic distribution of *terrific* in Late Modern BrE (CLMET3.0; NFs per 100,000 words)

BNC	Attributive		Predicative		Independent	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
	67	0.421	51	0.320	28	0.175

Table 9. Syntactic distribution of *terrific* in Contemporary BrE (BNC; NFs per 100,000 words)

COHA	Attributive		Predicative		Independent	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1810s	11	1.006	2	0.183		
1820s	63	1.208	23	0.441		
1830s	104	0.978	30	0.282		
1880s	88	0.585	18	0.119		
1910s	168	1.085	23	0.148		
1990s	92	0.561	56	0.341	14	0.085
2000s	86	0.485	50	0.282	21	0.118
TOTAL	612	0.750	202	0.247	35	0.042

Table 10. Syntactic distribution of *terrific* in Late Modern and Contemporary AmE (COHA; NFs per 100,000 words)

As Table 8 clearly shows, *terrific* is found mostly in attributive position in the Late Modern BrE period;[9] actually, in more than 77% of the tokens in CLMET3.0, the adjective precedes a nominal element. In turn, this percentage is even higher (almost 82%) in COHA, at least in the period 1810-1910 (cf. Table 10 above).

From the results in Tables 9 and 10, we can see that *terrific* is also more frequently attested in attributive position in Contemporary British and American English, thus preceding a nominal element, but its frequency in predicative position has risen with respect to the previous period scrutinized. This could be taken as an

indication that the tendency towards attributive position observed in the Late Modern English period has started to decline, and *terrific* begins to appear in predicative position more often than before.

As regards the 'independent' use, this seems to be relatively modern, with the only cases attested in the corpora corresponding to Contemporary British and American English, as in (16) and (17) below (cf. also Tables 9 and 10 and example 4 above):

(16) Anna let out a cry of disbelief and joy. "What is it?" "Novy Mir's taken two of my poems". "That's wonderful, darling! *Terrific*! It's high time. You're a marvelous poet". (BNC, Thomas, 1985-1994, *Lying together*)

(17) She drew herself up, pleased, and gulped the lemonade. "*Terrific*! Great timing!" "He might have done a jig". (COHA, Karon, 2000, *A New Song*)

Used in this way, *terrific* becomes very emphatic in that it provides "speaker-oriented claims about extreme ends of scales" (Athanasiadou 2007: 562). In such cases, its scope extends over the sentence as a whole and is oriented more towards discourse functions.

Tables 11, 12 and 13 show the syntactic distribution of the adjective per sense and subperiod/decade in British and American English, respectively (overlapping cases have obviously been excluded from the count):

CLMET3.0	*Terrific* 'frightful'				*Terrific* 'excessive'				*Terrific* 'excellent'			
	Attrib.		Predic.		Attrib.		Predic.		Attrib.		Predic.	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1710-1780	2	0.019										
1780-1850	45	0.398	20	0.177	14	0.124	4	0.035	2	0.017	1	0.008
1850-1920	21	0.166	3	0.023	41	0.324	11	0.087	1	0.007	1	0.007
TOTAL	68	0.197	23	0.066	55	0.159	15	0.043	3	0.008	2	0.005

Table 11. Syntactic distribution of *terrific* per sense and subperiod in Late Modern BrE (CLMET3.0)

BNC	Terrific 'excessive'				*Terrific* 'excellent'			
	Attrib.		Predic.		Attrib.		Predic.	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
	30	0.188	3	0.018	37	0.232	48	0.301

Table 12. Syntactic distribution of *terrific* per sense in Contemporary BrE (BNC)

COHA	*Terrific* 'frightful'				*Terrific* 'excessive'				*Terrific* 'excellent'			
	Attrib.		Predic.		Attrib.		Predic.		Attrib.		Predic.	
	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF	Tokens	NF
1810s	8	0.732										
1820s	39	0.748	19	0.364	5	0.095						
1830s	37	0.348	19	0.178	13	0.122	2	0.018				
1880s	20	0.133	5	0.033	19	0.126	4	0.026				
1910s	13	0.084	6	0.038	75	0.484	8	0.051				
1990s			2	0.012	25	0.152	5	0.030	46	0.280	48	0.293
2000s	2	0.011	3	0.016	16	0.090	1	0.005	50	0.282	45	0.254
TOTAL	119	0.145	54	0.066	153	0.187	20	0.024	96	0.117	93	0.114

Table 13. Syntactic distribution of *terrific* per sense and decade in Late Modern and Contemporary AmE (COHA)

As shown in Table 11, when *terrific* expresses sense 1 ('frightful') and sense 2a ('excessive'), the nominals with which it co-occurs tend to be found in attributive position, and the same holds true for *terrific* 'excessive' in Contemporary British English (cf. Table 12). However, when the adjective expresses sense 2b ('excellent'), the nominals with which it co-occurs are more frequently attested in predicative position.[10]

As regards American English (cf. Table 13), results point to a similar syntactic distribution, since *terrific* 'frightful' and *terrific* 'excessive' tend to precede the nominals they modify. When *terrific* means 'excellent', it is still found more commonly in attributive position, but its frequency in predicative position has risen significantly, which seems to suggest that there is a tendency for the adjective to change its syntactic distribution when it comes to the expression of positive meanings, since predicative position is more emphatic and, therefore, the positive qualities of the nominals co-occurring with the adjective are reinforced. The fact that the adjective starts to be found in predicative position more frequently can be considered a previous step towards the 'independent' use of *terrific*, that is, when it is used to express enthusiastic commendation, as in examples (4), (16) and (17).

4.3. Referents of nominals collocating with terrific

Lexical meaning is usually characterized as not being "static and determinate" (Hartman 2015: 87), that is, meaning is clearly not invariant. In turn, lexical items should not be accounted for as simple 'containers of meanings', while the role of

'context' needs to be taken into account when describing lexical meaning (cf. Hartman 2015: 87).

Apart from the different meanings *terrific* expresses per se (cf. Section 2 above), the adjective can also be described in terms of its potential nominal collocations; in other words, the nominals collocating with *terrific* have been found to fall into a number of reasonably clear semantic groups. Thus, depending on the specific meaning *terrific* expresses (either 'frightful', 'excessive' or 'excellent'), it tends to be attested in combination with nominals belonging to different semantic groups.

4.3.1. *Terrific 'frightful'*

The original sense of *terrific* occurs with two sets of nouns in the corpus which, each in its own right, can be *terrifying*, *frightful*, *awe-inspiring*: nouns denoting physical attributes which can easily be perceived with the senses (e.g. *form, shape, guise, appearance, semblance, expression, countenance, scowl, look*, *image*, *scene*, *aspect, picture, figure, feature, presence*), as in (18); and nouns designating divinity, religious objects and experiences and supernatural phenomena (e.g. *Yamen (lord of Hell); visitation (of God); cross*, *temple*, *spirit*, *prophecy*, *superstition*, *sermon*), as in (19):

(18) We have been taught to tremble at the *terrific visages* of murdering janizaries. (COHA, Hamilton, Madison, Jay, 1817, *The Federalist on the New Constitution*)

(19) Lisbon is a huge ruinous city, still exhibiting in almost every direction the vestiges of that *terrific visitation* of God, the earthquake which shattered it some eighty years ago. (CLMET3.0, Borrow, 1842, *Bible in Spain*)

This negative sense also occurs with nouns whose content can be 'told' or 'related' in some way (e.g. *legend, account, report, story, theme, description*, *thoughts*), as in (20), and with nouns designating natural scenery and natural phenomena (e.g. *scenery*, *storm*, *tempest*), as in (21). In combination with the adjective, all these nouns convey an adverse meaning, i.e. they inspire terror or fear:

(20) This evening gossip, and the *terrific stories* of Indian warfare to which it gave rise, produced a strong effect upon… (COHA, Irwing, 1836, *Astoria, or, anecdotes of an enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains*)

(21) While I watched the *tempest*, so beautiful yet *terrific*, I wandered on with a hasty step. (CLMET3.0, Shelley, 1818, *Frankenstein*)

All these nouns are primarily concrete and non-gradable.

4.3.2. *Terrific 'excessive'*

Unlike *terrific* 'frightful', *terrific* 'of great size or intensity' is associated with gradable nouns, that is, nouns designating 'gradable' properties that can thus collocate with adjectives expressing the degree to which the property holds (cf. Morzycki 2009; cf. also Paradis 2008 and Hartman 2015: 91 on particular modes of scalar construal), e.g. *pace*, *stature*, *effect*, *impact*, *power*, *size* (example 22), as well as nouns denoting some kind of emotion, which can be either 'negative' (e.g. *hatred*, *rage*, *jealousy*, *fury*, *agony*, *indignation*) or 'positive' (e.g. *excitement*), as in (23) and (24), respectively:

(22) This was a great chance to hit him so exactly at such a range. His skull is now in England, exhibiting the *terrific effect* of the heavy ball. (CLMET3.0, Baker, 1854, *The Rifle and the Hound in Ceylon*)

(23) His gestures were lighter and quicker; he had nothing of Cyril's ungainliness; he had not Cyril's limitless taste for sweets, nor Cyril's *terrific hatred* of gloves, barbers, and soap. He was much more dreamy than Cyril, and much busier. (CLMET3.0, Bennett, 1908, *The Old Wives' Tale*)

(24) And when the little creature turned and made straight for the door of Professor Farrago, our revered chief, the *excitement* among us was *terrific*. (COHA, Chambers, 1915, *Police*!!!)

4.3.3. *Terrific 'excellent'*

To explore the semantics of the nominals co-occurring with *terrific* 'excellent', I have used data from the BNC and from the last two decades of COHA (1990 and 2000), since, as noted above (Section 4.1), no tokens of positive *terrific* were attested in COHA in the period 1810-1910, and only five were found in CLMET3.0, three of which belong to the period 1780-1850, and the remaining two to the period 1850-1920 (see Table 5 above).

The nouns co-occurring most frequently with *terrific* 'excellent' are *idea* (7 tokens in COHA, 5 in the BNC), *time* (6 tokens in COHA, 1 in the BNC), *guy* (5 tokens in COHA) and *stuff* (4 tokens in COHA):

(25) "You mean you want to use them? You're not rejecting them?" He laughed. "On the contrary, I plan to give them special status. That is, if you like the idea." "How could she not like it?" "It's a *terrific idea*!" (BNC, Howard, 1985-1994, *Miracles can happen*)

(26) I want to tell you all woof, and say that I've had a *terrific time* during the last few months. (COHA, Bradfield, 2006, *Dazzle the Pundit*)

(27) Lanny was a *terrific guy*, but he was getting up there, fifty-one this last birthday. (COHA, Barr, 2004, *Flashback*)

(28) BRUNO That was *terrific stuff*! *Terrific stuff*! We can use all that. I'll need some background on these kids... men. (COHA, 1996, *Courage Under Fire*)

The positive sense of *terrific* occurs with "referents of everyday close importance to a speaker" (Robinson 2010: 89), like family, friends, etc.:

(29) You've got the right balance of humour and affection, and that wonderful warm openness. You'd be a *terrific mother*. (BNC, Anderson, 1985-1994, *The Spice of Life*)

This positive meaning also occurs with nouns denoting physical appearance and condition (e.g. *condition, figure, shape, body, look*, etc.), as in (30), as well as with nouns referring to food and beverage, as in (31):

(30) Althea has a *terrific*, voluptuous *figure*. (COHA, 1999, *Mumford*)

(31) an art gallery she'd visited, a *terrific* Spanish *beer* she'd discovered. (COHA, O'Brien, 1992, *The People We Marry)*

5. Conclusions

This study of the historical development of the polysemous adjective *terrific* has shown that "polysemy is far from being a stable phenomenon" (Robinson 2010: 85), and that evaluative adjectives like *terrific*, given their semantic make-up, are prone to experience semantic change. On the one hand, I have explored the semantic and functional development of the adjective *terrific* and, on the other, have tried to answer the research questions posed in Section 2, based on different parameters of use.

First, three different senses were identified for *terrific*, recorded in the OED as chronologically successive: (i) a negative sense, 'frightful', 'terrifying'; (ii) a more 'neutral' sense having to do with the construal of an entity as being 'of great size', 'tremendous'; (iii) a positive sense, which is very prominent today, 'amazing', 'excellent'. All examples retrieved from the three corpora here were classified accordingly, with the exception of some dubious cases, which were grouped under the label 'overlapping', adopted from Robinson (2010).

Data analysis showed that *terrific* was a low-frequency item in late Modern British English (CLMET3.0), especially during the 18th century, and the same is true of the first decade of COHA (1810s). As regards contemporary data, normalized frequencies show that the adjective is more frequently attested in Contemporary British English (BNC) than it was in the previous subperiod, while the reverse is true of American English (cf. Section 3 and Table 4 above).

The original, negative sense of the adjective is clearly predominant in both varieties well into the second half of the 19th century, when its frequency starts to decrease.

This can be taken as an indication that *terrific* is losing part of its negative connotations in favour of more neutral shades of meaning. It goes without saying that the positive sense of the adjective is hardly attested in the late Modern English period, with only 5 tokens recorded in CLMET3.0, and none in COHA in the subperiod 1810-1910. This situation is clearly reversed in the contemporary data, for the original sense is almost non-existent (no tokens in the BNC and only 7 in COHA, the 1990s and the 2000s), while the positive sense has become by far the most frequent in both varieties. It can be concluded, then, that *terrific* seems to have evolved along similar lines in both British and American English: *terrific* 'frightful' > *terrific* 'tremendous' > *terrific* 'excellent', although the latter, positive sense might have appeared somewhat later in American English and, consequently, its original sense, 'frightful', retained longer in this variety.

Second, as far as syntactic distribution is concerned, understood here in terms of the contrast between attributive and predicative use, the analysis has shown that *terrific* is more frequently attested in attributive position, especially during the late Modern English period. In fact, in more than 77% of the tokens in CLMET3.0 and almost 82% in COHA, *terrific* precedes a nominal element. This predominance of the adjective in attributive position is also observed in the contemporary data, although there has been a significant increase in the use of *terrific* in predicative position. Apart from attributive and predicative use, an additional and relatively recent one was also distinguished, referred to here as 'independent', which accommodates those cases where *terrific* is used as an enthusiastic, emphatic term of commendation.

In answer to the question of whether there is a correlation between semantic development and syntactic function, the data seem to suggest that such a correlation does indeed exist. Thus, when *terrific* conveys negative meaning ('terrifying', 'causing terror'), or when it means 'tremendous', both in late Modern and Contemporary English, it is typically found preceding the nominals with which it co-occurs. However, when used with its positive meaning, a predicative position, which is more emphatic, becomes more frequent, perhaps to reinforce the positive qualities of the nominals with which *terrific* co-occurs, and as a prior step to the 'independent' use of the adjective, as described in Section 4.2.

Finally, turning to the influence of collocations, it has been shown that depending on the specific meaning *terrific* expresses (whether 'frightful', 'tremendous' or 'excellent'), the adjective tends to be attested in combination with nouns belonging to different semantic groups. Thus, when *terrific* is used in its negative sense, it typically co-occurs with nouns referring to something that can be perceived with the senses, for example *shape* or *form*; it also occurs with nouns whose content can be 'narrated' in some way, like *story* or *legend*; also with nouns designating natural

phenomena, such as *storm* or *tempest*, as well as with nouns referring to religion or divinity, for example *cross* or *sermon*. All these nouns, when used in combination with the adjective, inspire terror or fear. In turn, *terrific* 'excessive', 'tremendous', is associated primarily with nouns profiling "single properties that can be graded" (Paradis 2008: 337), such as *pace* or *size*, unlike *terrific* 'frightful', which tends to co-occur with concrete and non-gradable nouns. In such cases, the adjective has the potential to express the degree to which the property of the noun holds, thus operating as a degree modifier. As regards 'positive' *terrific*, this is especially frequent with referents that are close or important to the speaker, such as family and friends (cf. also Robinson 2010: 89 on the collocations of *awesome* 'great').

It can therefore be concluded that the original superlative meaning of *terrific* evolved over time into a more subjective one expressing 'high degree'. Later on, a further development in its grammaticalization cline took place, in which *terrific* started to be used as a sort of response particle, similar to terms like *fine* and *great*, after an ellipsis of the predicative construction of the type [*it is*] *terrific* had taken place.

Notes

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[2] This term has been used by Biber et al. (1999: 564), among others.

[3] Cf. Stoffel (1901); Bolinger (1972); Partington (1993); Paradis (1997), to mention a few.

[4] For a classification of intensifiers, cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 445-446, 589ff); Altenberg (1991); Paradis (2000); Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 585); Athanasiadou (2007); Xiao and Tao (2007).

[5] Lat. *nescius* 'ignorant' > Old French *ni(s)ce* 'stupid', borrowed into Middle English as 'stupid' > 'shy, bashful' > 'fastidious, refined' > 'pleasant, appealing' (Traugott 1996: 3).

[6] Latin *sub verbo* or *voce* ('under the word or voice').

[7] Both BNC and COHA were accessed through the interfaces provided by Mark Davies (2004— and 2008—).

[8] There are, however, two instances of *terrific* in the 1910s where senses 2a and 2b overlap thus illustrating the transition from more neutral shades of meaning to positive ones.

[9] In fact, there are no instances of *terrific* in predicative position in the first subperiod of CLMET3.0 (1710-1780).

[10] This applies to results in Table 12, since the number of tokens for *terrific* 'excellent' in Late Modern British English, as shown in Table 11 (cf. also Section 4.1 above), is clearly minimal.

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EXEMPLIFICATION THEN AND NOW: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ENGLISH EXEMPLIFYING MARKERS

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Abstract

Examples are discursive instruments intended to represent the more general unit to which they belong. A prototypical exemplifying construction has a twofold structure consisting of a *general element* (*GE*; the first unit, with a more general referent) and an *exemplifying element* (*EE*; the second, more specific unit whose referent is included within the referent of the GE; these are the 'cases in point'). The use of an explicit link to indicate partial coreferentiality within these two units is compulsory. This paper focuses on those linking words/phrases which are used in English to convey such a relation, the so-called *exemplifying markers* (*EMs*). For a better understanding of these forms, a classification of such markers is proposed on the basis of semantic-pragmatic and syntactic criteria. With the aim of providing a more comprehensive approach to English EMs, some forms which were used in earlier stages of the language with an exemplifying function but which have now become obsolete are also discussed. Finally, the paper also draws attention to some forms which are not classified as EMs but which are on occasion found performing an exemplifying function.

Keywords: Exemplification, exemplifying markers, co-occurrence of markers, obsolete forms, emerging forms.

Resumen

Los ejemplos son instrumentos discursivos que representan una unidad más genérica a la cual hacen referencia. Una construcción ejemplificativa prototípica tiene una estructura doble que consiste en un *elemento genérico* (la primera unidad) y un *elemento ejemplificativo* (la segunda unidad, cuyo referente es más específico y se incluye en el referente del elemento genérico; estos son los 'casos ilustrativos'). El empleo de un enlace explícito para indicar una relación de coreferencialidad parcial entre ambas unidades es obligatorio. Este artículo se centra en esas formas de las que el inglés se vale para establecer dicha relación, los llamados *marcadores de ejemplificación*. Se propone aquí una clasificación de estas formas en base a criterios semántico-pragmáticos y sintácticos. A fin de comprender mejor el paradigma ejemplificativo, se consideran también algunas formas que desempeñaban una función ejemplificativa en el pasado pero que han caído en desuso, así como otras que actualmente parecen ejercer en ciertos casos como marcadores de ejemplificación aunque dicho uso no aparece recogido en ninguna gramática.

Palabras clave: Ejemplificación, marcadores de ejemplificación, coocurrencia de marcadores, formas obsoletas, formas emergentes.

1. Introduction

Exemplification is a discourse strategy by which the meaning of a unit with a general referent (the *general element* or *GE*) is clarified by means of a second, more specific unit (the *exemplifying element* or *EE*). In an exemplifying construction, the referent of the GE includes the referent of the EE, which is an example of that general term. The importance of examples in communication lies in the fact that they have a deeper impact on the interlocutor than the general assertions that they carry, given their greater persuasive power (see Brosius and Bathelt 1994; Gibson and Zillmann 1994; Perry and Gonzenbach 1997; and Lischinsky 2008, among others). On similar lines, they also make a text more graspable, in that they "have the capacity of making abstractions comprehensible" (Zillmann and Brosius 2000: 15). In other words, examples constitute a more tangible, concrete point in the writer's otherwise abstract discourse and hence render the text more accessible for the reader (see Hyland 2007).

In prototypical exemplifying constructions, the use of a link indicating the inclusion of the EE within the GE, which I will call the *exemplifying marker* or *EM*, is compulsory. According to Meyer (1992: 77), the inventory of present-day English EMs is as follows: *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *like*, *say* and *such as*. To this list, Quirk et al. (1985: 1308) add *including* and *included*. A further item can be

included here, in that the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) assigns an exemplifying function to the form *as*. Example (1) below is a prototypical exemplifying construction, where the GE (*several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines'*) and the EE (*bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics*) are linked by means of the EM *for example*.

(1) This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines', for example: bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics. (*OED*, s.v. *biolinguistics*, n.; 1974 *Eng. Jrnl.* 63 65/1)

This paper is concerned with English EMs over the course of time. To this end, current EMs will be described and classified (see section 2), but other obsolete forms which had an exemplifying function from the Old English (OE) period will also be identified (cf. section 3). Finally, some items which might be acquiring an exemplifying function at present will be considered briefly in section 4.

The main sources of information for this paper are the *OED* and the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*), although a wide range of present-day dictionaries have been also consulted in order to complement information from these two historical sources. The usefulness of the *OED* as a historical corpus is defended by Hoffmann (2004) and Partington (2015), among others, who note the wide range of sources from which its quotations are drawn, as well as their veracity. Given that the analysis proposed here is not of a quantitative nature, and that the *OED* covers the whole history of the English language, it is an optimal source of data for our purposes. Additionally, since this study aims to provide a thorough inventory of English EMs, the information from historical dictionaries will be supplemented not only by a number of corpus samples, but also by online examples, in that the Web is an invaluable source of real data for the study of linguistic change (cf. Hundt, Nesselhauf and Biewer 2007 and Gatto 2014, among many others).

2. Current EMs: A Classification

In this section, the list of present-day English (PDE) EMs is provided. In order to achieve a better understanding of these forms, a classification of EMs is here proposed on the basis of two main traits, namely the degree of emphasis which the EM conveys on the example which it introduces (cf. section 2.1) and the position of the EM in the exemplifying sequence (cf. section 2.2). These two classifications will account for the potential combinations of EMs in the same exemplifying sequence, as discussed in section 2.3.

2.1. Semantic Classification of EMs

2.1.1. *Neutral EMs*[1]

The group of neutral markers is made up of forms which introduce the EE without putting any emphasis on the example chosen. These neutral EMs are *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.*

The first occurrence of the EM *for example* found in the *OED* dates back to 1340-1370. In this early instance, *for example* occurs sentence-initially. For the sake of clarity, an approximate translation is provided for this and other examples with possibly obscure meanings in PDE.

(2) **For ensample,** bi my sawe Soþ mow ȝe fonge Of iubiter. (*OED*, s.v. *fang* v.1, 1d; 1340-1370 *Alex. & Dind.* 552)
'For example, by my story you can learn the truth about Jupiter'.

In turn, the earliest unambiguous occurrences of both *for instance* and *e.g.* are rather late, especially in comparison with *for example*. These are (3) and (4) below, dating from 1657 and 1591 respectively, although the short form *e.g.* is first attested in 1682. No consensus regarding the correct punctuation in this abbreviated form exists. Thus, *eg*, *eg.* and less frequently, *ex.gr.* can also be found.

(3) The proof of this I found, by looking on the Stars […] **For instance;** There is a little Star, called Auriga [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *instance* n., 6.b, 1657 R. Ligon *True Hist. Barbados 19*)

(4) A woman may passe where a flie cannot, **exempli gratia**, into the Popes bed chamber. (*OED*, s.v. *exempli gratia*, adv.; 1591 R. W. *Martine Mar-Sixtus* sig. B2v)

The *OED* proposes the expression *exempli causa* as a variant of *exempli gratia*. Examples with this marker are older than instances with *exempli gratia*, and its use is registered in the *OED* from 1569 until 1802. Even though this expression is not marked as obsolete in the *OED*, and indeed some examples can be found on the Internet, its use is scarce.

The differences between these markers, when it comes to *for example* and *for instance*, are very subtle. In fact, dictionaries tend to consider them as interchangeable and rarely make any distinction between the two forms: *for example* is usually defined as 'for instance' and *for instance* as 'for example'. However, certain distinctions between the two EMs become evident in usage. Data from Biber et al. (1999) show that *for example* is used up to five times more often than *for instance*. This may be so simply because the noun *example* is also more common than the noun *instance*: in *Oxford Dictionaries Pro Online*, *example* appears among the top 1000 frequently used words, while *instance* does not.

Likewise, *The Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2008) marks *for example* with an E (which stands for 'Essential', and thus indicating words that everyone needs to know in order to communicate effectively), whereas *for instance* is marked with an A (which stands for 'Advanced'). By extension, whereas *for example* might be considered as a basic and essential expression for any speaker of English, *for instance* is seen to reflect a more advanced level of proficiency.

Differences can also be found in terms of style. According to *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (2009: 583), "*for instance* is slightly less formal than *for example* and is used more in spoken English". In turn, *e.g.* is regarded as a rather formal marker, and its use tends to be restricted to parenthetical references (*The Chicago Manual of Style* 1982: 383).

To conclude this review of neutral EMs, there is also one formula related to the noun *example* which is found only occasionally with an exemplifying function (for this reason it will be considered only in this section, and not included in the classifications provided in what follows). Let us consider (5) below:

(5) **Par exemple;** if I want to make *une declaration d'amour*, why of course I should wish to produce a *chef d'oeuvre* of eloquence. (*OED*, s.v. *par exemple* adv., 1801. B. Thompson tr. A. von Kotzebue *Lovers' Vows* iv. 64)

The phrase *par exemple* is attested in the *OED* from 1801 onwards, and although at present it is occasionally used as an EM, it is not fully naturalised. Note that example (5), as in most examples where this marker is used in the *OED*, contains other French words, thus indicating the strong connection between this expression and French. The socio-historical context of the times may help us explain the borrowing of this phrase when other similar devices were already available in the language. The borrowing of French or Latin words (among them, some of the current English EMs) in Middle English (ME) times was commonplace. After the Norman Conquest, English was greatly influenced by the Norman variety of French, "inevitable" when "two languages exist side by side for a long time and the relations between the people speaking them are as intimate as they were in England" (Baugh and Cable 1993: 163). However, although such intimate contact no longer existed in the Modern English (ModE) period, French still had an impact on English (especially on its lexis), though to a lesser extent. The reasons for this influence, however, were somewhat different. Many intellectuals pointed to the "insufficiency" of English, which was considered to be "'rude' and 'barbarous', inexpressive and ineloquent, and it did not have the technical vocabulary required in specialised domains of language use" (Nevalainen 1999: 358). Hence, writers like Sir Thomas Elyot introduced many French terms to enrich their vocabulary, given that "French still had high prestige as a literary language" (Barber 1976: 42). Expressions like *par exemple*, then, were borrowed

in an attempt to sound more intellectual and erudite, and as such this EM is markedly formal.

2.1.2. *Hypothetical EMs*

The group of hypothetical EMs is represented by *say* (also occasionally *let's say*; cf. *OED*, s.v. *say*, v.1 and int., 17.b). *Say* is different from the other markers in that the example it introduces is, in many cases, a supposition, a hypothesis. That is, the EE introduced by *say* is given as a hypothetical illustration of the GE, although there is no guarantee that this is itself included in it. The earliest occurrences of *say* as EMs provided by the *OED* date back to 1736. Let us consider an instance of this marker:

(6) Pleasure and Pain are to a certain Degree, **say** to a very high Degree, distributed amongst us without any apparent Regard to the Merit or Demerit of Characters. (*OED*, s.v. *say*, 1736, Bp. J. Butler *Analogy of Relig.* i. iii. 66)

In (6), *to a very high degree* is an example of *to a certain degree*. In this example, the EM comes before the EE, although according to the *OED* it frequently comes after it (cf. *OED*, s.v. *say*, v.1 and int.; 17.b).

2.1.3. *Comparative EMs*

The group of comparative EMs consists of the forms *like*, *such as* and (by extension) *as*. Although I am aware of the controversy surrounding the use of the label *comparative* to denote this group of EMs (which will be explained later in this section), I will use the term because it is exactly the comparative origin of these markers which makes them alike. Let us consider such EMs individually.

The complex EM *such as* consists of two elements which have been part of the English language since Old English times. However, the exemplifying use of this phrase is not attested in the *OED* until the late 17th century (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron. II.9.d).

(7) If their Characters were wholly perfect (**such as for Example**, the Character of a Saint or Martyr in a Play). (*OED*, s.v. *such* adj. and pron., II.9.d 1695. Dryden in tr. C. A. Du Fresnoy *De Arte Graphica* Pref. p. xvi)

Interestingly, this example shows one recurrent feature of EMs in their early occurrences, the fact that *such as* combines with another EM, in particular *for example* (for further information on these combinations, see section 2.3). In this case, the predicate *were wholly perfect* intervenes between the GE and the EE.

Even though neither Quirk et al. (1985) nor Meyer (1992) mention *as* in their list of PDE EMs, the *OED* assigns an exemplifying function to this form: 'Introducing instances exemplifying or illustrating a general designation: like and including,

such as, of the kind of; for instance, for example' (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., B. II.19). The first occurrence of the exemplifying use of *as* attested in the *OED* is in fact very early, dating from the early 13th century:

(8) Þes patriarches, **alse** abel and noe and abraham. (*OED*, s.v. *as* adv. and conj., 19; a1225 (?OE) *MS Lamb.* in R. Morris *Old Eng. Homilies* (1868) 1st Ser. 81 (*MED*))

'These patriarchs, as Abel and Noah and Abraham'.

In this example, the units in exemplification are short noun phrases: the GE is *Þes patriarches* and the EE *abel and noe and abraham*. However, the *OED* makes clear that the EM *as* is an elliptical variant of *such as*. The reasons which may condition the choice of *such as* over *as* are the following. On the one hand, *such as* is phonetically heavier than *as*, which is extremely short. On the other, *as* is a high-frequency word which can be used as a noun, an adverb or a conjunction (cf. *OED*, *as* n.1, n.2, adv. and conj.). In fact, Fry, Kress and Fountoukidis (2006) and Paquot (2007) classify this form as the 16th most frequent word in English for Academic Purposes. Taking into account the formal and semantic properties of these two items, *such as* may be preferred to *as* because it is more straightforwardly and unambiguously recognised as an EM.

The form *like* "is arguably the most versatile four-letter word in the English language" (Peters 2004: 323). As stated in the *OED*, it may function as a verb, noun, adjective, adverb, preposition and conjunction (cf. *OED*, s.v. *like* n.1; *like* adj., adv., prep., and conj., and n.2; *like* v.1; *like* v.2). Moreover, at present *like* is also acquiring a number of additional uses, as a quotative marker and a pragmatic marker (for more information on the different uses of *like* in PDE, see Meehan 1991; Romaine and Lange 1991; Dailey-O'Cain 2000; Iyeiri et al. 2005; D'Arcy 2006, 2007; and López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2012, 2014, among others). The exemplifying use of this item develops in the Early Modern English (EModE) period, 1593 being the earliest attestation in the *OED*. In this early instance, there are two occurrences of *like* as an EM linking short noun phrases in both cases:

(9) Be thou Iohn, the many-tongued Linguist, **like** Andrewes, or the curious Intelligencer, **like** Bodley. (*OED*, s.v. *like* adj., adv., conj., and prep., D.2.a, 1593. G. Harvey *Pierces Supererogation* Aunsw. Lett. sig. **3v)

The use of *like* as an EM is not devoid of controversy. During the 20th century, it acquired a stigmatised character which, for some, remains the case in PDE. The rise of the stigmatisation of *like* can be detected in different editions of *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*. In its first edition (1926), Fowler gives 'such as' as one of the meanings which *like* could have. At the time, Fowler apparently saw nothing wrong with this exemplifying use of *like*. However, this attitude changed in

subsequent editions of the dictionary, when an editorial eyebrow was raised. Thus, Robert Burchfield, the editor of the third edition (1998), claims that the use of *like* with the meaning of 'of the class of, for example' is problematic as it could be potentially ambiguous: "for example, the title of Kingsley Amis's novel *Take a Girl like You* (1960) could be taken to mean 'a girl, for example, you' or 'a girl resembling you'. Had the title been 'Take a Girl Such as You', there would have been no such ambiguity" (Burchfield 1998: 459). Burchfield was probably influenced by a number of reactions against the use of exemplifying *like* that had been voiced in the second half of the 20th century. Two staunch opponents of this exemplifying use are Kilpatrick (1984) and Freeman (1990). According to Freeman (1990: 252), if we use *like* in the sentence *I know many 'beauties' like Elizabeth Taylor*, Elizabeth Taylor "would not [be included in the group], since *like* means similarly or similar to. This means the 'beauties' are similar to her, but she is not among them". And he adds: "To include Ms. Taylor, say, 'I know many 'beauties' *such as* Elizabeth Taylor'" (see also Bernstein 1971). However, for other coetaneous authors such controversy does not exist. For instance, in 1966 Follett sees nothing wrong in using *like* to introduce examples, and he even notes a slight difference in meaning between *like* and *such as*, namely the degree of definiteness of the EE which they introduce: whereas with *such as* the EE is indefinite, with *like* it is definite. In any case, what most authors seem to agree on is that *like* should preferably be avoided in formal text-types due to its informal nature (see Carter et al. 2011).

Another trait shared by *like* and *such as* (and, by extension, by *as* too) which makes them different from other EMs is the fact that they frequently introduce an integrated EE (especially *like*). Thus, in (10) below, no pause is made between the GE, i.e. *a critic*, and the EE, i.e. *you*, a pause which is common with the other EMs.

(10) A critic **like** you is one who fights the good fight, contending with stupidity. (*OED*, s.v. *like adj., adv., conj., and prep.*, D.2.b; 1886. R. L. Stevenson *Lett.* (1899) II. 41)

2.1.4. *Focalising EMs*[2]

This group of EMs comprises those forms which, without being as emphatic as particularisers such as *especially* or *particularly*, add a nuance of emphasis to the EE. In other words, by using focalising EMs, the example chosen is given certain relevance over any other element which might have been used to exemplify the GE. These EMs are *including* and *included*. The emphatic character of these two forms is evidenced in Meyer's (1992) semantic classification of appositional types: for Meyer (1992), *including* (and by extension *included* too) is a marker of

particularisation, not one of exemplification. Thus, in (11), which is the earliest instance in the *OED* where *including* can be understood as an EM, the choice of *the cook* to exemplify the GE *four servants* is clearly made on purpose.

(11) Four servants died, **including** the cook. (*OED*, s.v. *including*, prep., 1648 J. Lewis & T. Best Let. 4 Dec. in W. Foster *Eng. Factories in India 1646–50* (1914) 224)

As far as *included* is concerned, the use of this form as an EM is recorded for the first time in 1743, one century after the first occurrence of *including* (cf. (12) below). Here, the GE is *all the hands we could muster in both watches*, whereas the EE is *officers*. The EE is short and simple because the EM comes after it, that is, at the end of the exemplifying sequence. A longer unit with this marker could be potentially ambiguous as the reader/hearer only realises that it is a case of exemplification at the end of the sequence.

(12) All the Hands we could muster in both Watches, Officers **included**, were but twelve. (*OED*, s.v. *muster* v.1, 5.a.; 1743 J. Bulkeley & J. Cummins *Voy. to South-seas* 16)

2.2. Classification of EMs According to their Position in the Exemplifying Sequence

Given that an EM is the link between the GE and the EE, its expected position in the exemplifying sequence is between those two units, namely before the EE. That seems to be, indeed, the only possible position for markers like *e.g.* (cf. (4)), *such as* (cf. (7)), *as* (cf. (8)), *like* (cf. (10)) and *including* (cf. (11)). We will call this position P1. In turn, there is only one EM which necessarily follows the EE, namely *included*, as illustrated in example (12) above. This position will be called P3. The postposition of *included* is one of the reasons why it is less frequently used than *including*, which clearly delimits where the EE starts.

The EMs *for example*, *for instance* and *say* deserve special mention as they exhibit peculiar behaviour: their position in the exemplifying sequence is not fixed. They can be used not only in P1 (cf. (1) above) or P3, but also in the middle of the EE (i.e. in what we will call P2; cf. (13)). When an EM is used in P2, it usually isolates a part of the EE, which automatically becomes emphasised. Thus, in (13) below *hydrogen* is foregrounded and thus given added importance. *Say* also shows a high degree of mobility, although to a lesser extent.

(13) Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example**, burns completely clean. (Paquot 2007)

As claimed by Fernández-Bernárdez (1994-1995: 118-119), the position of EMs is conditioned by the type of EE which they introduce. Her research focuses on

the Spanish marker *por ejemplo*, but her comments can safely be applied to our markers *for example* and *for instance* (and less commonly to *say*).

- If the EE is a simple noun phrase, the EM can occur in either P1 (cf. (14a)) or P3 (cf. (14b)). However, depending on where exactly it appears in P2, the resulting construction may be ungrammatical (cf. (14c)), or may have a different meaning, as in (14d)), where the EE is *of 20/14* and does not refer back to *a specific number of basic boxes* but to *10,000 boxes*.

  (14) a. Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, **for example**, 10,000 boxes of 20/14. (*OED*, s.v. *basic* adj. and n.1, a.1f, 1914 J. H. Jones *Tinplate Industry* 141)

  b. Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 boxes of 20/14, **for example**.

  c. *Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 **for example** boxes of 20/14.

  d. Orders are often given for the equivalent of a specific number of basic boxes, 10,000 boxes **for example** of 20/14.

- If the EE is a list of noun phrases, that is, an enumeration, the EM can precede it (cf. (15a)) and (16a)), and can follow it when the list is closed (cf. (15b)) but not when it is open (cf. (16b)). Similarly, it can never appear between the different items listed (see (15c) and (16c)).

  (15) a. This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines', **for example:** bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics. (*OED*, s.v. *biolinguistics* n., 1974 *Eng. Jrnl.* 63 65/1)

  b. This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines': bio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics, **for example**.

  c. *This interest in linguistic knowledge has resulted in the establishment of several so-called 'hyphenated disciplines': bio-linguistics, **for example**, psycho-linguistics, and socio-linguistics.

  (16) a. In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only the initial letters. **For example** C = carbon, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *c* n., initialisms, 1813 tr. J. J. Berzelius in *Ann. Philos.* 2 359)

  b. *In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only the initial letters. C = carbon, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.], **for example**.

  c. *In the class of combustibles which I call metalloids, I use only the initial letters. C = carbon, for example, Cu = copper (cuprum), [etc.].

- Finally, if the EE is a whole sentence, the EM can usually occur in any position, P1, P2 or P3:

(17) = (13) a. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen, **for example**, burns completely clean.

b. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. **For example**, hydrogen burns completely clean.

c. Many of the fuels being developed today have little or no impact on the environment. Hydrogen burns completely clean, **for example**.

2.3. Co-occurrence of Markers

Occasionally, EMs may be modified by an added component such as an adverb or a conjunction. When describing the historical development of some appositional markers, Pahta and Nevanlinna (2001: 23) use the term *reinforcement* to refer to such cases. More specifically, when that added element is another appositional marker, they talk of *pleonastic markers*.[3] These authors explain the co-occurrence of markers in terms of two main motivations. On the one hand, a disambiguating function may encourage such combinations: "[i]t is a well-known fact that when a word or phrase begins to lose its effect it may be strengthened or reinforced by an additional component" (Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23). In like manner, when a word or phrase is acquiring a new meaning or function, it may also need some kind of reinforcement. Pahta and Nevanlinna's (2001) description here can be extrapolated to the origin of EMs. Thus, in many of their early occurrences EMs combined with other EMs, especially with *as*. This need to co-occur with other EMs may be due to the fact that the emerging marker is still not straightforwardly identified as such, and therefore needs to be reinforced by an already established and unambiguous EM; hence the use of *as*, a form which had been used as an EM since at least the 13th century, to reinforce emerging EMs.

Pahta and Nevanlinna give another possible explanation of these combinations. When a second marker or another reinforcing element is added, the distance between the anchor and the appositive is bigger, and this can be used by the speaker as a strategy "to prepare the addressee better for the expository part of the apposition or to stress the importance of the second unit" (Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001: 23).

In addition to these reasons, the clustering of markers may also be explained on the basis of the semantics of the EM added. Thus, EMs cannot combine at random: only certain markers can co-occur, and even in these combinations the markers come in a given order. This is no doubt related to the fact that some markers show a tighter bond with the GE to which they refer than to others: in general terms, neutral EMs have a more autonomous character and can therefore be separated

from their GEs, whereas focalising and comparative forms exhibit a stronger connection with their GEs. Figure 1 illustrates the potential combinations of EMs. The starting-point of the arrows indicates which marker comes first.

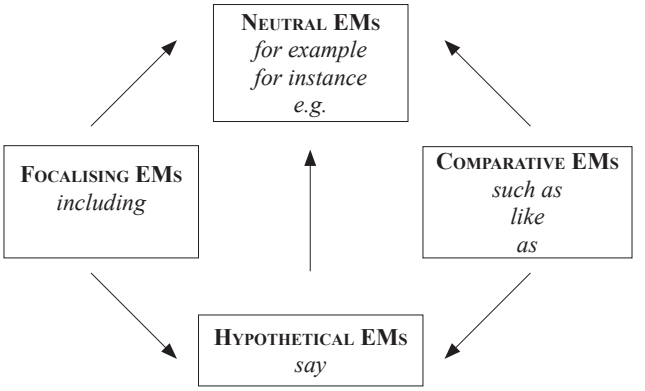

Figure 1. Potential combinations of EMs

As we can see, all the groups can combine with *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* In all such cases, these three forms follow the other EMs. The two most emphatic groups, focalising EMs and comparative EMs, never combine with each other. Note that *included* is not considered here, since as an EM it has not been found to occur with another EM. Two main reasons may explain this. On the one hand, *included* is rarely used as an EM, which means that combinations with this form may simply be difficult to find. On the other hand, given that it occupies P3 in the exemplifying sequence, this makes its combination with other EMs highly unlikely. In the sections that follow, the different combinations of EMs are examined in detail.

2.3.1. *EM + for example, for instance, e.g.*

The formulas *for example*, *for instance* and *e.g.* are, from a semantic point of view, the most prototypical markers of exemplification in PDE: they are neutral markers which introduce the EE without adding any emphasis to it. As a consequence, when used after another EM they may cancel any potential connotation of emphasis conveyed by the preceding marker. Given that *for example* is the most neutral and unmarked EM, it is the one which most frequently combines with other EMs. Some of the possible combinations of an EM plus a neutral EM are illustrated in the following examples, taken from the *OED*, from the corpus *GloWbe* (which

contains real linguistic data taken from the Web), and from creditable web pages.

(18) You will need to provide documents about you and the person who has died, **including, for example**, the full name, date of birth and passport number of the person who has died. (*GloWbE*, Great Britain, fco.gov.uk)

(19) If someone you knew who had just lost a loved one sat down opposite you, in **say** a cafe **for instance**, you would not begin to mock their loss. (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12775389)

In the majority of examples, the EMs occur side by side, but they can also be separated by the EE. This is illustrated in (19), where the EM *say* occupies P1 and *for instance* P3. In fact, examples where the EE separates the two EMs are not infrequent, at least in previous stages of the language, especially when the EM which comes in second place is *for instance*. Additionally, the *OED* provides some peculiar combinations of EMs where the markers *for example* and *for instance* are inserted between the two items which constitute the complex marker *such as*.

(20) Yet there are binary compounds which are not electrolysable, **such, for instance**, *as* pure water, and chloride of sulphur. (*OED*, s.v. *electrolysable/electrolyzable* adj., 1856. W. A. Miller *Elements Chem*. II. 1124)

2.3.2. *EM + say*

In similar fashion, *say* may also follow other EMs. Considering the semantic content of the EM *say* discussed in section 2.1.2. above, the pleonastic use of this marker in an exemplifying construction might be a strategy used by the speaker/writer to add a connotation of hypothesis to the construction (cf. (21) below). *Say* cannot, however, follow *for example*, *for instance* or *e.g.*, probably because it is more marked than these EMs.

(21) As for the reconstruction of Iraq, this surely needs to be undertaken chiefly by America and supported by a coalition of the willing, **including, say**, Spain, Italy and Australia, as well as Britain. (http://www.telegraph. co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/3589366/UN-must-earn-its-role.html)

2.3.3. *Other Combinations*

In all the examples considered, we note that the EMs combined are not linked by any conjunction. In fact, except for (19) where the two EMs are separated by intervening material, in the remaining examples the EMs are juxtaposed. The combination of two EMs other than those in Figure 1 above is not possible in PDE. Nevertheless, in some examples two EMs are linked by the coordinating conjunction *and*, as shown in (22) below. In all such cases, the combinations contain a marker of the comparative group (in particular *such as* or *like*) followed

by *including*. Some of these combinations may respond to a desire to avoid the potential ambiguity of the EM *like* mentioned in section 2.1.3. above: the speaker/writer may feel that, by using *like* or *such as*, the example given is not to be included in the GE, but used only as a point of reference with which the GE can be compared. As a consequence, s/he adds a second marker (i.e. *including*) to make the relation of inclusion clear.

(21) There are large voids surrounded or nearly surrounded by thin dense regions which are sections of structures **like (and including)** the Great Wall. (The Smithsonian/NASA Astrophysics Data System. <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/1997AJ....114.2205G>)

3. Obsolete EMs

The *OED* and the *MED* provide information on some expressions which were used as EMs in the past, but which do not exist with such a function in the present day. These expressions are *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose*, *(as) suppose* and several phrases containing the noun *example*. These formulas are considered individually in what follows.

3.1. To bisne

In OE and ME, the obsolete noun *bysen* meant 'example' (*OED*, s.v. *bysen* n.I.1). Even though the *OED* does not make an explicit reference to the use of the expression *to bisne* as an EM, it provides some examples that make it clear that such an expression could be used with an exemplifying value in earlier times. Consider (23) below.

(23) Paronomasia, id est denominatio on Lyden. Þis hiw byð gesett on myslicum andgite, swylce ic þis do **to bisne***: amans* and *amens*. (*OED*, s.v. *paronomasia* n.; OE Byrhtferð *Enchiridion* (Ashm.) (1995) iii. iii. 166)
'Paronomasia, i.e. denomination in Latin. This form is made with unlike meaning, as I this do to exemplify: *amans* and *amens*'.

In this example, *to bisne* is followed by colons and then by an example which illustrates a previous explanation. The structure and semantics of these instances suggest, therefore, that *to bisne* was probably one of the first EMs recorded in English.

3.2. As namely

The main function of *namely* in PDE is that of an appositional marker of equivalence meaning 'that is to say' (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1309), as illustrated in (24). However, this use of *namely* as a central marker of apposition was not its original

function in English. Rather, it was first used as a marker in another subtype of apposition, namely particularisation, with the meaning 'particularly, especially, above all' (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 1.a), as in example (25) below (see López-Couso 2016 and Miura 2013, among others).

(24) How can a solution be found to the current disease of contemporary society, **namely** the international economic crisis? (Quirk et al. 1985: 1307)

(25) Sunnedei ah efri cristenne Mon **nomeliche** to chirche cume. (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 1a. *a*1225. (OE). *MS Lamb.* in R. Morris *Old Eng. Homilies* (1868) 1st Ser. 139)
'On Sunday every Christian man should *especially* come to church'.

However, *namely* also had another appositional use in the past. When combined with *as*, it was used as a synonym of *for example* (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 3.b); that is, it was an EM. In the *OED* this exemplifying use is attested between 1565 and 1818. The last example given in the *OED* of *as namely* is (26) below. Here, *as namely* links two noun phrases and comes before the EE.

(26) What part or portion can I claim In all the decencies of virtuous sorrow, Which other mourners use? **as namely**, This black attire, abstraction from society, Good thoughts, and frequent sighs, [etc.]. (*OED*, s.v. *namely* adv., 3.b. 1818. C. Lamb *John Woodvil* v, in *Wks.* I. 153)

3.3. For the purpose

The idiomatic expression *for the purpose* has become obsolete as an EM in PDE, but it existed in previous stages of the language (cf. *OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., P2) with the meaning 'for example, for instance'. The *OED* gives two examples of *for the purpose* from the 17th century where its function is clearly that of an EM. In (27), *for the purpose* is intonationally delimited by pauses, represented by brackets. It links two nominal elements (the GE *those* and the EE *Catherina Senensis*) and comes after the EE.

(27) Those that […] have entitled themselves to the veneration of posterity; or Catherina Senensis (**for the Purpose**) that was Sainted by Pius 2. (*OED*, s.v. *purpose* n., P2. 1680 R. L'Estrange tr. Erasmus *20 Sel. Colloquies* ix. 159)

3.4. (As) suppose

The first reference to the exemplifying function of *suppose* in the *OED* dates from 1577, whereas its last occurrence dates from 1831. A variant of this EM is *as suppose*, as illustrated in (28), where *a word* is the GE and *head* is its EE. Once more, this example shows the recurrent combination of *as* with EMs in previous stages of the language. The semantics of this form makes it similar to present-day

English *say*, a marker which conveys a certain nuance of uncertainty about the EE.

(28) Now draw a word (**as suppose** head) from its natural and proper signification to a civil use, and head will signifie a King. (*OED*, s.v. *suppose* v., 11.c.a.; 1658 S. Hudson *Vindic. Esence & Unity Church-Catholick Visible* (ed. 2) i. 7)

3.5. *Formulas with the Noun Example*

Along with the current EM *for example*, the noun *example* (in its different spellings) occurs in a wide variety of expressions which function as EMs at different points in the history of English. The *OED* and the *MED* list the following combinations: *example of grace*, *verbi gratia example* (*MED*, s.v. *example* 1.b), *ensample*, *ensample as thus* and *ensample why* (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n.1.c), none of which is available in PDE. Examples (29) to (33) below illustrate the use of these EMs.

(29) **Ensample***:* ȝif a planete in þe biginnynge haþ aspecte [etc.] (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. (a1398) *Trev. *Barth.* (Add 27944) 109b/a)
'For example: at the beginning if a planet has the aspect [etc.]'.

(30) Whan the progressioun naturelle endithe in even nombre, by the half therof multiplie þe next totalle ouerere nombre; **Example of grace***:* 1. 2. 3. 4. Multiplie 5 by 2. (*MED*, s.v. *example* n., 1.b. c1450 *Art Number.* (Ashm 396) 45/35)
'When the natural progression ends in an even number, multiply thereof the next total higher number by the half. For example: 1. 2. 3. 4. Multiply 5 by 2'.

(31) **Verbi gratia Example***:* we wille drawe out þe water of ydropic men. (*MED*, s.v. *example* n., 1.b. ?a1425 **Chauliac(1)* (NY 12) 1b/b)
'For example: we will draw out the water of hydropic men'.

(32) **Ensaumple as thus** I wolde knowe the degre of the sunne. (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. c1400 * Chaucer *Astr.* (Brussels 4869) 2.1.84a)
'For example, I would know the degree of the sun'.

(33) **Ensample why**, se now thise wise clerkes, That erren aldermost ayeyn a lawe. (*MED*, s.v. *ensample* n., 1.c. a1425(c1385) Chaucer *TC* (Benson-Robinson) 1.1002)
'For example, see now these wise clerks, that plough everything again downwards'.

Evidence from the *MED* and the *OED* indicates that all these formulas were used in the Middle Ages. Notably, all examples containing these formulas in the *MED* are dated between 1398 and 1450. In light of this we can assert that *example* was used in a variety of expressions which coexisted with *for example* during the Middle Ages before *for example* fully grammaticalised and became the dominant variant.

4. Is the Inventory of English EMs under Renovation?

To close this review of forms which had an exemplifying use at some point in the history of the English language, some items which might be developing such a function at present should be brought to the fore.

In section 2.1.1 above, the form *e.g.* was described in detail. As specified by Peters (2004: 265), this form should not be confused with *i.e.*, which is a marker of central apposition, in fact one of reformulation, and is synonymous with *that is* (cf. *OED*, s.v. *I* n.1, INITIALISMS). It is used to introduce an explanation or a paraphrase of a previous statement which the author feels is not clear enough. Nevertheless, in light of some real examples and despite some condemnation of its use as an EM, *i.e.* seems to be closer to exemplification than to reformulation in some recent examples. (34) is one such case, where *i.e.* is probably mistaken for *e.g.* Note that in this example the second part (*fitness, dieting, exercising, eating behaviour*) is not an exhaustive list of the first part (*certain topics that potentially encourage people say one thing and then do another*); therefore, the latter is not a paraphrase of the former, but a limited list of examples thereof.

(34) Although consumers can be more candid and honest when they are doing it behind the computer, there are certain topics that potentially encourage people to say one thing and then do another (**i.e.** fitness, dieting, exercising, eating behavior). (*GloWbE*, Great Britain, dubstudios.com)

On similar lines, *thus* might also occasionally be used as an EM. Let us consider (35) below. Here, what comes after *thus* seems to be an example of how *AIDs is still monstrously distorted in political left-wing mythology*. We see that *thus* behaves similarly to *for example* or *for instance* when introducing a sentential EE. In fact, given that examples of *thus* preceding *for example* or *for instance* in such cases are not uncommon (cf. (36)), this form might be acquiring some of the semantic traits of those EMs when the two forms do co-occur. However, examples like (32) above, in which this term is part of the obsolete EM *ensaumple as thus*, might also favour the use of the form as an EM.

(35) And AIDS is still monstrously distorted in political left-wing mythology. **Thus**, in a group of ideologues, the mention of AIDS will at once inspire denouncements of the CIA who deliberately created the AIDS virus to weaken the Third World. (*OED*, s.v. *AIDS* virus n.; 1992 D. Lessing *Afr. Laughter* 336)

(36) A related error involves the comparison of one family with only part of another family. **Thus, for example**, Indo-European is still sometimes compared directly with Semitic. (*OED*, s.v. *Indo-European*, adj. and n., draft additions 1983; 1987 M. Ruhlen *Guide World's Langs.* I. vii. 253)

5. Conclusions

This paper has offered a detailed analysis of the English EMs *including*, *included*, *for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*, *say* (with its variant *let's say*), *such as*, *like* and *as*. Using the *OED* and the *MED*, their earliest occurrences in the language have been traced. With some exceptions, the majority of these forms are recorded for the first time in the *OED* in the EModE period. *As* is the earliest marker recorded (early 13th century), whereas *included*, not attested in the *OED* until the mid-18th century, is the last of the forms analysed here to acquire an exemplifying function. The EM *par exemple* is also occasionally used in English, although it is not particularly productive. In previous stages of the language, other EMs were also available to introduce examples. Thus, the noun *example* could be used in a wide range of phrases, including *example of grace*, *verbi gratia example*, *ensample*, *ensample as thus* and *ensample why*. Other obsolete EMs include *to bisne*, *as namely*, *for the purpose* and *(as) suppose*.

In this paper, a classification of PDE EMs has been proposed on the basis of various parameters. From a semantic point of view, EMs have been classified in four groups taking into account the degree of emphasis added by the EM to the example which it introduces. From less to more emphatic, these groups are: neutral EMs (*for example*, *for instance*, *e.g.*), hypothetical EMs (*say*), comparative EMs (*such as*, *as*, *like*) and focalising EMs (*including*, *included*). This latter group seems to be half way between exemplification and particularisation: such EMs emphasise the example which they introduce, but not to the same extent that particularisers do. Comparative EMs tend to introduce an integrated EE, whereas the remaining EMs occur in non-integrated constructions. If we look at the formal vs. informal character of the EMs, *e.g.* is clearly formal, whereas *for instance* and, especially, *like* are informal. The other EMs considered here are neither formal nor informal.

EMs can also be classified according to the position they occupy in relation to the EE. Thus, whereas some EMs can only appear in P1, that is, before the EE (*including*, *such as*, *like*, *e.g.*, *as*), others exclusively occur in P3, that is, after the EE (*included*). Other EMs are rather flexible as regards position: *for example*, *for instance* and, to a lesser extent *say*, can occur in P1, P3 or in P2, that is, in the middle of the EE, isolating and emphasising a part of it.

Finally, two EMs can sometimes co-occur in the same exemplifying sequence. In all the attested combinations of EMs, the most emphatic form comes first, and is followed by a more neutral form. The main reason for such arrangement has to do with the fact that by adding a second neutral marker, the connotation of emphasis conveyed by the first item may be cancelled. If the second EM is *say*, it adds a certain nuance of uncertainty to the EE. Moreover, those markers which are more

emphatic have a tighter bond with the GE, and they may introduce an integrated EE. As such, they have to occur side by side with the EE. In none of these combinations are the EMs linked by conjunctions, but some examples are also found where *such as* and *like* are coordinated with *including* (*such as and including*, *like and including*). The addition of *and including* in these sequences may be a strategy followed by the speaker/writer to make clear that *such as* and *like* do not have a comparative value in the examples at issue, but rather an exemplifying one. The use of *as* in combination with other EMs was especially noticeable in previous stages of the language, when it was probably used to reinforce emerging EMs which could be potentially ambiguous.

One of the major conclusions to be drawn from this paper is how fuzzy the boundaries between appositional types are: similar EMs may introduce different types of appositives, and the very same EM may be used in different appositional types at different points in time over the course of the history of the language. Thus, for example, *say* is a marker of exemplification when it occurs on its own, but a marker of equivalence in the phrase *that is to say*. On similar lines, *namely* is currently used as a marker of equivalence, but its origin was that of a marker of particularisation and for some time could also introduce examples when used in the sequence *as namely*. Finally, *including* and *included* are categorised as markers of exemplification by Quirk et al. (1985), but as particularisers by Meyer (1992).

This study has also pointed to the potential existence of some forms which might currently be in the process of acquiring an exemplifying function, namely *i.e.* and *thus*. Future research might usefully analyse these forms in further corpus samples.

Notes

[1] For more information on the neutral EMs *for example* and *for instance* in PDE, see Rodríguez-Abruñeiras (2017).

[2] For more information on the focalising EMs *including* and *included* in PDE, see Rodríguez-Abruñeiras (2017).

[3] The label *pleonastic* is not used in this paper because none of the EMs that co-occur are considered to be redundant as they convey specific nuances of meaning to the sequence.

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MODELLING MORPHOSYNTACTIC VARIATION IN WORLD ENGLISHES FROM A REGISTER PERSPECTIVE[1]

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Abstract

This paper addresses Miller's (2000) and Brown and Miller's (2017) hypothesis that the adverbs *just*, *(n)ever* and *yet* are becoming markers of perfect meaning in spoken English, and this at the expense of weakening semantically and reducing the use of the *have* + past participle periphrasis. The hypothesis is tested in eight varieties of Present-Day English from the perspective of Usage Based Theory (Bybee 2006, 2011, 2013) and with a corpus-based, onomasiological methodology. The results confirm the hypothesis only partially; crucially, data reveal that in order to model morphosyntactic variation in a rigorous way we need to adopt a register perspective such as that used by Biber and associates (e.g. Biber and Gray 2016), who demonstrate that language variation and change is mediated by register variation.

Key words: Perfect, register, morphosyntactic variation, onomasiology, World Englishes.

Resumen

Este artículo versa sobre la hipótesis vertida en Miller (2000) y Brown y Miller (2017) sobre los adverbios *just*, *(n)ever* y *yet*, según la cual estos adverbios se están convirtiendo paulatinamente en marcadores de perfecto a expensas del

debilitamiento semántico de la perífrasis de perfecto *have* + participio de pasado. Este trabajo comprueba esta hipótesis en ocho variedades de inglés contemporáneo desde el enfoque de la UBT (*Usage Based Theory*, cf. Bybee 2006, 2011, 2013), con una metodología basada en corpus y un enfoque onomasiológico. Los resultados confirman la antedicha hipótesis solamente de modo parcial pero, crucialmente, los datos revelan que para describir de modo riguroso la variación morfosintáctica se necesita adoptar una perspectiva de registro como hacen Biber y colegas (por ejemplo, Biber y Gray 2016), quienes demuestran que la variación el cambio lingüístico está mediado y depende de los patrones de variación observados en los distintos registros.

Palabras clave: Perfecto, registro, variación morfosintáctica, onomasiología, Nuevos Ingleses.

1. Introduction

This study will argue that in order to model morphosyntactic variation in World Englishes (henceforth WEs), a register perspective needs to be adopted, that is, a perspective based on the idea that "linguistic change is mediated by register differences at a highly specific level" (Biber and Gray 2013: 104). In numerous works, Biber and associates have shown that there are systematic differences in the patterns of linguistic variation between registers and sub-registers, and hence any attempt at a rigorous synchronic or diachronic description of language variation needs to take such differences into account (Biber 2012; Biber and Gray 2013, 2016). In this paper I adopt such a register perspective as a means of gaining further insights into morphosyntactic variation in WEs. As will become apparent in the organization of the paper, which describes the research in the order in which it was actually developed, the register approach was data-driven: an initial exploration of the topic – that of the entrenchment of particular grammatical markers (see below) – led to the discovery that register was the most important factor in modeling such entrenchment, and hence to the conclusion that no study here would be satisfactory without the adoption of a register perspective.

The specific focus of the present study is the variation observed in the realm of the expression of the present perfect in World Englishes. This has been a topic of considerable interest lately, especially from a semasiological perspective, comparing the use of forms, essentially the present perfect and the preterite (cf. Biewer 2008; Davydova 2011; Engel and Ritz 2000; Hundt and Smith 2009; Van Rooy 2009; Werner 2013, 2014, 2016; Werner and Fuchs 2017; Yao and Collins 2012; Yerastov 2015; most papers in Werner, Seoane and Suárez-Gómez, eds., 2016); but an

onomasiological perspective has also been taken, looking at all the forms that are used in contexts expressing perfect meaning (Seoane 2016a; Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2013; Suárez-Gómez and Seoane 2013; Suárez-Gómez 2017). This paper also takes a function-to-form (i.e., onomasiological) orientation, and argues that the variation observed in the expression of perfect meaning in WEs is mediated through register and can only be satisfactorily accounted for from this perspective.

In a very challenging paper, Miller (2000) dismantles the traditional account of the expression of the perfect by claiming that in spoken English the present perfect (*have* + past participle) conveys very little - and often ambiguous – information, and that its interpretation necessarily comes from the adverbs *yet, just* and *(n)ever*. These act as new markers of perfect meaning and are on their way to becoming obligatory in newly entrenched constructions expressing resultative (1), recent past (2) and experiential (3) perfect meaning (2000: 334).

(1) I haven't done it yet

(2) I have just seen it

(3) I have never heard it before

Miller's (2000) understanding of this ongoing grammatical change is based largely on intuition, and he calls for a deeper study of "naturally occurring examples" (2000: 339). This interpretation of the perfect is further developed in Brown and Miller (2017: 245-254), where they insist that "[i]nsufficient attention has been given to the role of *just* in (2b) [The Minister has (just) arrived] and of *ever* in (2d) [Have you (ever) visited Doubtful Sound?], as demarcating the hot-news (recent past) perfect and the experiential perfect from the other interpretations". They argue that there are grounds for considering examples such as these as separate constructions and not separate interpretations of the perfect. Like Miller (2000), Brown and Miller (2017: 246) underline the fact that it is in spoken English that this entrenchment of adverbs as perfect markers occurs, at times in combination with the present perfect, but also very often with the simple past (i.e., the preterite form), which would then indicate that perfect meaning is conveyed by the adverbs, and not the verbal form itself. In their own words, "[t]he perfect is the required construction in formal written English for reference to recent past time (possibly in combination with *just*). Very common in spontaneous spoken British English (standard and non-standard) is the simple past". They illustrate the latter with the example "As Charlie just pointed out", it is of great concern (Brown and Miller 2017: 246). One reason why Miller (2000: 337) and Brown and Miller (2017: 247-248) emphasize the relevance of adverbs to express perfect meaning is the existence of examples which are only acceptable if an adverb is added to the PP. This is shown in example (4) below:

(4) ?She has blinked vs She has **just** blinked (Brown and Miller 2017: 248)

Previous research has shown that perfect markers of this type are frequent in British English, whereas their frequency in Asian varieties of English is significantly lower (Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2013). This could be taken as an indication that the entrenchment of particular adverbs as perfect markers is gradually taking place in L2 or Outer Circle varieties of English (cf. Kachru 1982 for the classification of varieties of English into Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles).

Since the 1980s, a rich body of research has focused on phonological, morphological, syntactic and pragmatic variation between varieties of English as a second language (L2) worldwide. They are often referred to as World Englishes (cf. Schneider 2013: 132-133 for a discussion of terminology here), and the metropolitan varieties, British and American English. Even though many initial studies were essentially impressionistic, most current research is corpus-based, made possible by the creation and availability of various corpora (cf. Seoane 2016b for a list of such corpora). The most commonly used sources of data are the *International Corpus of English* (ICE, Greenbaum 1996) and the *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (GloWbE, Davies 2013). The ICE corpora consist of 1 million-word corpora of different varieties of English such as L1, L2 and ESD (English as a second dialect), and GloWbE contains 1.9 billion words of internet language from various L1, L2 and ESD varieties divided into two categories, blogs and general (webpages other than blogs).

In terms of variation within the corpora, a rigorous comparison between the blogs section and the general section in GloWbE is not possible since blogs are also found in the general section (cf. Loureiro-Porto, forthcoming, for a discussion of the characteristics of and differences between ICE and GloWbE). As for the ICE corpora, these tend to be used as a whole, due to their small size; however, some studies compare data from the spoken and written parts, since the material is itself divided (40% written, 60% spoken). In fact, the contrast of spoken versus written language in ICE has been used as a proxy for diachronic change by considering differences between the two modes as a reflection of diachronic differences (cf. e.g. Collins 2009; van der Auwera et al. 2012; see Seoane, forthcoming, for a critical discussion). Studies analyzing register variation in WEs are themselves not very common, probably because corpora such as ICE, with a very fine grained distinction between registers (see section 4.3), have two main drawbacks: (i) registers are not equally represented, as with private letters, which are included in most ICE components, but which are replaced in ICE Canada by emails; and (ii) most of the categories are represented only to a limited extent, due to the corpus size. Thus, persuasive writing (represented by press editorials) contains 10 texts, amounting to only 20,000 words in total. Despite such drawbacks, ICE remains the best currently available tool for the study of register variation across WEs.

The current paper intends to extend the study to further varieties of English and to analyse the factors that model the distribution of adverbs in these. This entails the adoption of a register-based perspective, through a consideration of differences between registers in the expression of perfect meaning with and without *yet, just* and *(n)ever*. The analysis includes ten high frequency verbs in British English and in six African, Caribbean and Asian varieties of English, as represented in the *International Corpus of English* (ICE). Based on the above mentioned work of Biber and associates, I will compare varieties and registers, both written and spoken, in terms of the frequency of *yet, just* and *(n)ever* as perfect markers and their interaction with other linguistic features, such as polarity and semantic verb type. The results will be examined in a macro-level context, since the L2 varieties under scrutiny here have emerged in situations of language contact and are set in multilingual contexts. Processes of second language acquisition might also be relevant here, since L2 varieties of English are by definition used by learners of English (see e.g. Schneider 2007: 61). These two conditions have been shown to make language susceptible not only to more limited exposure to exemplar constructions, but also to mechanisms such as the principle of transparency and processes of simplification and increasing isomorphism (Schneider 2013; Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2011; Thomason 2001), which might account in part for the entrenchment of the adverbs under consideration here as perfect markers.[2]

2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is Usage Based Theory (UBT, see Bybee 2006, 2011, 2013 among others), the fundamental tenet of which is that language use in real social and historical contexts models the mental grammar of speakers through cognitive processes such as the entrenchment[3] of exemplar categorization and schema formation (cf. also Fischer 2007: 324). Such language use can be captured by means of corpus-based studies, like the present one, which follows a variationist design to investigate proportional preferences in different varieties and registers (see, e.g., Biber et al. 2016). On the other hand, the progressive entrenchment of grammatical elements in the mental grammar of speakers, depending on the degree of exposure to such elements, is a useful means of conceptualising the degree of integration of these perfect markers. Another advantage of UBT is that it allows for the incorporation of both micro- and macro-level contextual factors (linguistic and extralinguistic), and these are especially relevant in multilingual settings such as those dealt with here (Adger and Trousdale 2007: 268, 273; Geeslin and Long 2014: 139; Trousdale 2010: 128).

3. Methodology

As noted above, this study is corpus-based and utilizes all the ICE corpora representing L2s which are available and complete (e.g. for ICE-Sri Lanka only the written part is available and for this reason it has not been included). This leaves us with the following ICE components. First, the Inner Circle or L1 varieties include: ICE-GB, British English, which is used mainly as a reference or benchmark variety.[4] Second, there are six Outer Circle or L2 varieties, four of these from South-East Asia, ICE-HK, Hong Kong English, ICE-SIN, Singapore English, ICE-IND, Indian English and ICE-PHIL, Philippine English, and two from Africa, ICE-NIG, Nigerian English and ICE-EA, East-African English. Finally, there is one Caribbean variety of English as a Second Dialect (ESD), ICE-JA, Jamaican English. The total number of words is eight million.

The approach to the study of the entrenchment of *just, (n)ever* and *yet* as perfect markers is function-to-form. In other words, the data are not selected and retrieved according to their form, but according to their meaning: only contexts expressing verb meaning (independent of the form the verb takes) are selected. For this purpose, we have extracted all occurrences of 10 high-frequency verbs. The selection of these verbs, as opposed to others, follows an initial study on the expression of perfect meaning in WEs, which showed that these are the verbs which appear with such meaning most frequently in the ICE corpus (Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2013). It is important to note that *be, have* and *do* are excluded from the study since they can function as primary auxiliary verbs and therefore their rate of occurrence is extremely high, hence the process of identifying and excluding irrelevant forms would be excessively time consuming. The ten verbs, then, are *come, finish, get, give, go, hear, see, say, tell* and *think*. The total number of tokens of these verbs was c.130,000, which were manually filtered out by reading the contexts and identifying perfect meaning. A total of 8,451 tokens were found.[5]

4. Results

4.1. General overview of the data

Table 1 below provides the raw numbers and percentages of tokens expressing perfect meaning for each variety, with a specification of the form of the verb. Normalised frequencies are not given, since all ICE components contain the same number of words (one million each). [6]

	BrE	HKE	SinE	IndE	PhilE	NigE	EAE	JamE	TOT
***Have*+PPple**	749 85.4%	951 70.0%	669 65.5%	980 78.0%	542 65.1%	702 68.1%	797 80.0%	604 56.1%	5994 70.9%
Preterite	108 12.3%	334 24.6%	312 30.5%	238 18.9%	261 31.3%	303 29.4%	172 17.3%	298 27.7%	2026 24.0%
***Be*+PPple**	10 1.1%	25 1.8%	18 1.8%	18 1.4%	25 3.0%	12 1.2%	14 1.4%	36 3.3%	158 1.9%
Base form	9 1.0%	33 2.4%	11 1.1%	3 0.2%	2 0.2%	10 1.0%	9 0.9%	70 6.5%	147 1.7%
Past Pple	1 0.1%	12 0.9%	7 0.7%	14 1.1%	2 0.2%	1 0.1%	3 0.3%	65 6.0%	105 1.2%
Other	0 0.0%	2 0.1%	5 0.5%	5 0.4%	1 0.1%	3 0.3%	1 0.1%	4 0.4%	21 0.2%
TOTAL	877	1357	1022	1258	833	1031	996	1077	8451

Table 1. Form and regional distribution of the verbs expressing perfect meaning

Most notable in Table 1 is the fact that the present perfect periphrasis, *have* + past participle (henceforth PP), is by no means the only way of expressing perfect meaning in L1, L2 and ESD varieties of English. Also reasonably frequent in all varieties is the use of the preterite, illustrated in (5) below, as also noted by Elsness (2009) and Hundt and Smith (2009). Other forms registered in Table 1 are clearly productive in the corpus, such as periphrasis with *be* as an auxiliary (6), the base form (7), the past participle alone, this exclusive to the verbs *see* (8a) and *go* (8b), and finally some other forms, which are considered either as performance errors or as transcription mistakes, given their marginal character (9a) to (9c).

(5) In what particular sense unintelligible-students Miss you **said** degree modif modifiers are used as adjectives in that ways (ICE-JA S1B-015)

(6) I'**m** just **come** here on a holiday (ICE-IND S1A-001)

(7) You **see** gun like this one before Yes sir (ICE-JA S1B-065)

(8) a. You never <-_>You never<-/> **seen** this movie <-_>this movie<-/> called The Disclosure (ICE-EA conversation 1k)

b. Since then they've moved on to eighty-six for three Brian Lara **gone** without scoring uh (ICE-JA S2A-006)

(9) a. Reports from Phnom Phen has say the agreement is reached at the meeting of the next military working (ICE-SIN S2B-008)

b. I am busy now. Now I am finish my half yearly Exam (ICE-HK W1B-010)

c. Uh many people Americans on the North Coast that ain't ever seen no white Jamaican before (ICE-JA S2A-040)

Figure 1 below compares the proportion of the different forms in written and spoken British English, as represented in ICE-GB. These proportions do take into account normalized frequencies, since the number of words from the written and spoken sections is different (400,000 and 600,000 words respectively).

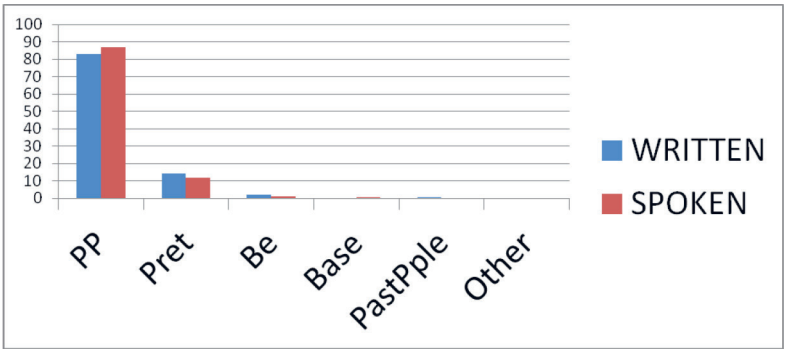

Figure 1. Distribution of forms expressing perfect meaning by mode in ICE-GB

The results set out in Figure 1 contradict the findings in Elsness (2009), Hundt and Smith (2009) and Brown and Miller (2017), in which the preterite is reported to be more frequent in spoken than written English. The same goes for the frequency of the PP, which, according to these previous studies, might be expected to be higher in written English.

Turning to the question of the relevance of adverbials in the expression of perfect meaning, Table 2 below gives the raw numbers and percentages for the use of adverbial support, that is, the distribution of verbal forms with and without the presence of an adverbial of time, by geographical variety. Adverbials of time here do not refer to *just*, *(n)ever* and *yet* exclusively, but include prepositional phrases and other adverbials that indicate the time frame in which the action takes place, as will be illustrated in section 4.2.

	BrE	HKE	SinE	IndE	PhilE	NigE	EAE	JamE	Total
Adv Absent	635 (72.4)	1002 (73.8)	729 (71.3)	1003 (79.7)	628 (75.4)	802 (77.8)	745 (74.8)	799 (74.2)	6343 (75.1)
Adv Present	242 (27.6)	355 (26.2)	293 (28.7)	255 (20.3)	205 (24.6)	229 (22.2)	251 (25.2)	278 (25.8)	2108 (24.9)
TOTAL	877	1357	1022	1258	833	1031	996	1077	8451

Table 2. Number and percentage (in brackets) of absence / presence of adverbial support by geographical variety

So, an initial view of adverbial support in the expression of perfect meaning shows that verb forms take adverbial support in more than 20 per cent of cases, and that this tendency is more pronounced in the L1 variety, British English, than in others, with the sole exception of Singapore English. In general, therefore, the combination of a verbal form plus an adverb is more frequent in native than non-native varieties. From a UBT perspective these results make sense, since the degree of entrenchment of adverbs as perfect markers in mental grammars depends on the degree of exposure to exemplars of such a use, and this is naturally weaker in L2s, which will tend to have more limited exposure to these forms.

It is important to interpret the results here against a backdrop of contact linguistics and second-language acquisition, since we are examining varieties of English which emerge from language-contact situations and which hence can be subject to various cognitive processes derived from contexts of multilingualism and language contact. Moreover, since these varieties are L2s, we can also find parallels with linguistic phenomena typical of second-language acquisition settings. One of these effects is a generalized tendency towards increased isomorphism, "an explicit one-to-one matching of form and underlying meaning" (Schneider 2013: 145), which is common not only in multilingual settings but also as a process derived from second-language acquisition. The L2s currently under discussion coincide in these two characteristics: they are learned as second languages and they develop in language-contact contexts. In the constructions that interest us here, increased isomorphism would entail the use of PP forms together with adverbial forms in order to increase the explicitness of the time frame in which the action occurs. This tendency, in the case of English, in general leads to results similar to those observed as a consequence of yet another tendency observed in L2 varieties, that of the shift towards analyticity (Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2011). In terms of the present study, this would imply a simplification of the verbal form (in line with the simplification of the target language typical of language contact, cf. Thomason

2001: 148) in favour of a greater presence of adverbial markers. As can be seen in Table 2, none of these tendencies is seen at work in the corpus as a whole. Curiously enough, the L2 that shows the highest number of adverbial markers, Singapore English, is the most advanced variety of the L2s under consideration. According to Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model, Singapore English had already reached phase 4, 'nativization,' by the early 1970s (2007: 155-161), which means that for almost 50 years it has been developing "locally distinctive linguistic forms and structures" (Schneider 2007: 71); one of these could very well be the frequent use of adverbial markers of perfect meaning, as is the case in the L1, British English, in the corpus. It is interesting to note that the L2 varieties with the highest incidence of adverbial markers, namely HKE and SinE, are precisely those which have typologically isolating or agglutinative languages as the substratum. In other words, the verbs in their main substrate languages, Cantonese in the case of HKE, and Hokkien, Malay and Mandarin in the case of SinE, show not inflection to express tense and aspect but grammatical markers.

Whereas Table 2 shows a generalized absence of increased isomorphism in L2s, an examination of the proportion of the different verbal forms with adverbial support in the L2s here provides a more fine-grained account. Figure 2 below, which also divides the data into spoken and written modes, shows that the more analytical forms, that is, the two periphrases (with *have* and with *be*), require less adverbial support. This general finding is contra Miller (2000), where he asserts that in spoken English the PP is becoming semantically empty and needs adverbial support to express perfect meaning. According to the data in ICE (see Figure 2), the PP is the most self-sufficient of the forms to express perfect meaning. The other forms (preterite, base form and past participle) show a relatively higher adverbial presence, which would lend support to another of Miller's suggestions, namely that *yet, just, (n)ever* might be on their way to becoming perfect markers in spoken English. They also illustrate the tendency towards isomorphism (presence of adverbial to make the time reference explicit) and analyticity (morphological simplification in the verbal form – base forms, auxiliary deletion – and the addition of independent markers) mentioned above, as pointed out by Thomason (2001) with regard to language-contact situations.

If we compare the results for spoken versus written English, we see that with the exception of the PP, where hardly any differences are observed, there is a fairly strong contrast between the two modes. In the case of the preterite and the base form, both verbal forms clearly favour (or demand) adverbial support in the spoken language. In contrast, when perfect meaning is expressed via a be-periphrasis or a past participle, adverbial support is hardly ever present in the spoken mode. These general results partly reinforce Miller's hypothesis, which deals with spoken English exclusively.

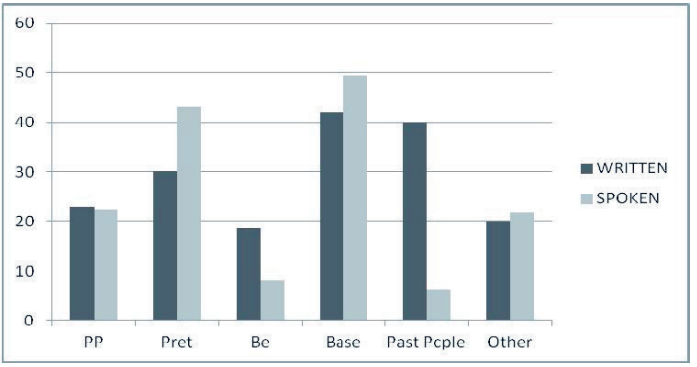

Figure 2. Distribution of adverbial support by mode (L2s only)

4.2. Polarity, lexical factors and type of perfect meaning

In section 1 we mentioned that some clauses containing a PP form can only be acceptable if an adverbial is present (cf. example (4) above), as shown by Miller (2000: 337) and Miller and Brown (2017: 427-428). Another context that facilitates the acceptability of verbs in PP form is negative polarity contexts, as in (10), where the two factors, negative polarity and presence of an adverb, converge:

(10) ? I have wanted to go vs I have never wanted to go

A study of the correlation between presence of adverb and negative polarity yields the results set out in Table 3.

	With adverbial	Without adverbial	Total
Positive	1654 (22.3%)	5757 (77.7%)	7411
Negative	454 (43.6%)	586 (56.3%)	1040
Total	2108	6343	8451

Table 3. Distribution of adverbials according to context polarity

Table 3 shows that negative contexts privilege adverbial support, since 43.6% of them have an adverbial, as can be seen in examples (11) and (12). In positive

polarity contexts, the percentage of adverbial support is much lower, at only 22.3%. These data might be seen as corroborating Brown and Miller's (2017: 247-248) intuition that negative polarity contexts and the presence of adverbs favour the use of present perfect meaning. However, the fact that almost half of the negative polarity contexts (42.5%) contain *never* (cf. example 11) undermines the force of these results.

(11) Now so far you **haven't** really **come up** with any uh argument any strong argument you have mentioned (ICE-SIN S1B-001)

(12) She **don't come** yet? (ICE-JA W2F-015)

In the study of verbal periphrases, the interface between lexical and syntactic factors cannot be ignored, given that lexical semantics and lexical collocations can shape syntactic variation. In this case, particular verbs could trigger or facilitate the use of adverbial support. Table 4 below shows the distribution of adverbs per lexical verb.

	With adverbial	Without adverbial	Total
Come	267 (23.6%)	863 (76.4%)	1130
Finish	105 (36.5%)	183 (63.5 %)	288
Get	180 (38.0%)	294 (62.0%)	474
Give	125 (14.4%)	742 (85.6%)	867
Go	201 (18.9%)	860 (81.1%)	1061
Hear	191 (21.7%)	691 (78.3%)	882
Say	412 (28.6%)	1027 (71.4%)	1439
See	405 (28.3%)	1027 (71.7%)	1432
Tell	148 (21.4%)	542 (78.6%)	690
Think	74 (39.4%)	114 (60.6%)	188
TOTAL	2108 (24.9%)	6343 (75.1%)	8451

Table 4. Presence / absence of adverbial support by lexical verb

The verbs with the highest percentage of adverbial support are *think* (39.4%), *get* (38.0%) and *finish* (36.5%). The semantic disparity between them, in that *think* is

a mental verb and both *get* and *finish* are action verbs (Biber et al 1999: 360-364), seems to show that adverbial use is not related to verbal semantics in this case. Rather, as UBT theory predicts, each verb has its own unique 'footprint' of syntactic behavior, that is, its own unique set of collocational patterns, which are entrenched and stored as such in our mental grammar (Fox 2007: 301). Frequent collocations for *think*, *get* and *finish* in the corpus are illustrated below in examples (13) to (18). These three verbs also happen to be the verbs with the lowest frequency in the corpus (as noted by one of the reviewers, for which I am grateful). The potential connection between their low frequency and their higher proportion of adverbial support is indeed a question for further study.

(13) Will I be successful. But I have **always** thought that if I <,> went to talk to a fortune teller and ask him about the (ICE-HK S1A-057)

(14) what are the issues which they have also not attended to they have **never** thought of so we have invited resource people from a cross section of you know (ICE-EA br-discK)

(15) I think it's not that India's got in danger **today** I don't see so (ICE-IND S1B-054)

(16) us to meet at eight thirty before eight thirty we have **already** gotten the copies of our songs so probably we've gone through (ICE-NIG con_05)

(17) It's 12 noon now and I've **just** finished breakfast in bed (ICE-SIN W1B-009)

(18) The the frame the the structure and the external work tasks have been finished **already** and uh it looks very good (ICE-HK S1B-074)

Thus far I have referred to 'perfect meaning' in general. However, four distinct types of perfect meaning have been widely recognized in the literature (cf. Comrie 1976; Dahl 1999: 290-291; Dahl and Hedin 2000: 385-388; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 143-145; Miller 2000: 327-331: Brown and Miller 2017: 253). These are resultative meaning, as in example (19), recent-past meaning (20), experiential meaning (21) and persistent situation (22).

(19) If she can't settle the thing you **have come** to the state you might just go back to your place to your mother's place (ICE-EA br-discK) - Spoken private dialogue

(20) The news in detail The Home Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayeed **has said** the inter-state problems should be resolved through mutual discussion (ICE-IND S2B-002)

(21) and all the kinds of influences that **have gone** I think into making me what I am (ICE-JA S2A-036)

(22) You **haven't gone out** for a long time (ICE-SIN S1A-099)

The semantic classification is not always obvious, especially as far as the distinction between resultative and experiential meaning is concerned. According to Van Rooy (2009: 320), such a distinction is a matter of degree, and as a result of this, some scholars have changed or added new terminology to the distinction. For example, Brown and Miller (2017: 253) equate persistent situation (as in 22 above, or as in the prototypical example of perfect meaning with *always*, cf. *She has always worked very hard*) with the meaning 'extended now', that is, a situation that persists in the present. In our classification, as well as in the classic studies of Comrie (1976) and Dahl (1999: 290-291), this 'extended now' meaning is categorized as resultative perfect meaning, illustrated in (19) above. Table 5 below sets out the number and percentage of examples found for each semantic type.

	ICE-GB	L2	Total
Resultative	548 (62.5%)	4488 (59.3%)	5036 (59.6%)
Recent past	169 (19.3%)	1675 (22.1%)	1844 (21.8%)
Experiential	146 (16.6%)	1305 (17.2%)	1451 (17.2%)
Persistent situation	14 (1.6%)	106 (1.4%)	120 (1.4%)

Table 5. Subtypes of perfect meaning in ICE-GB and L2 varieties.

Given the relatively low number of occurrences expressing persistent situation, with percentages barely higher than 1%, I will focus exclusively on the other meanings. Table 5 shows that resultative meaning is by far the most frequent meaning of the perfect, with values at around 60%, making it the prototypical meaning of the perfect. In order to determine the association between type of perfect meaning and adverbial support, we cross-tabulated the two factors, as shown in Figure 3 below. As mentioned in section 4.1, the analysis is not restricted to *just, (n)ever* and *yet*, but includes all adverbial expressions which specify the time frame of the action. Briefly, these include (i) for expression of resultative meaning, *already* (171 occurrences), *yet* (93), *now* (44), *since* + point in time (29) and *today* (29), among others; note that the predominance of *yet* for the expression of resultative meaning predicted by Brown and Miller (2017: 245-248) is not confirmed in the ICE corpus, since *already* is more frequent with this meaning; (ii) for the expression of recent past meaning, *just* clearly takes the lead with 289 examples, followed by *now* (166) *today* (127), *this* + point in time (58), *recently* (39) and *in* + period of time (15), among others; finally (iii) for the expression of experiential meaning there is a clear predominance of *(n)ever*, with 377 occurrences, although other adverbs are registered, among them *for* + period of time (18 examples), *since* (17), and *so far* (7).

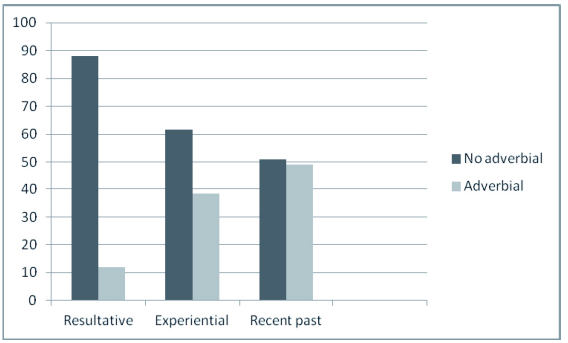

Figure 3. Distribution of adverbials according to type of perfect meaning

From Figure 3 it becomes apparent that adverbial support is very much dependent on meaning, since the prototypical resultative meaning is predominantly expressed independently of adverbial support, whereas the expression of recent past strongly depends on the presence of adverbs, and, the same is true of experiential meaning. In other words, the entrenchment of perfect markers would be taking place in the expression of recent-past perfect meaning and, to some extent, in the expression of experiential meaning, but would not be confirmed for the predominant meaning of the perfect, that is, the resultative one.

In sum, while lexical factors and polarity do not have a bearing on the use of adverbial support, semantic factors do have a strong and crucial influence on the use of adverbials and their entrenchment as perfect markers, as will be further illustrated in section 4.3.

4.3. Register variation

So far I have presented data regarding the corpus as a whole, or have focused on regional and mode differences. I have therefore ignored register dependent variability. In this section I adopt a register perspective on language variation, a factor for which register is a strong predictor of language change, and the failure to include register in the description of language variation can only lead to a distorted picture of the variation being described (see Biber and Gray 2013). One reason for the claim that register is an important factor in the present study is the strong effect that semantic factors have on the distribution of adverbial support (cf. section 4.2). Different registers make use of the perfect and its sub-meanings in different ways and to a different extent, depending on their content and communicative purpose, and this will therefore have an effect on adverb use.[7]

As a first approximation to the relationship between adverbs and registers, I have analysed the distribution of adverbs per register, as Figure 4 below shows:[8]

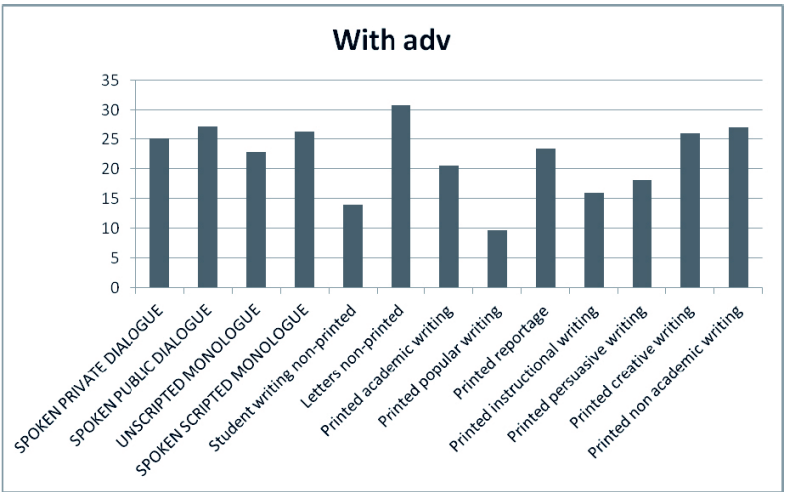

Figure 4. Distribution of adverb rate per register

Figure 4 sets out all the text categories in ICE. Spoken registers are on the left in capital letters and written registers on the right in lower case. Since not all text-types are equally represented, all data provided for registers are based on normalized frequencies. The results clearly confirm that adverb use is dependent on register. Whereas Table 2 above shows that in the corpus as a whole 24.9% of the examples expressing perfect meaning take adverbial support, Figure 4 shows how this proportion can oscillate between 9.7%, the level for printed popular writing, and 30.8%, for non-printed letters, this despite the fact that both are written registers and their audience is not markedly dissimilar. More surprising is the contrast between academic and popular writing, since both registers have exactly the same corpus: 10 texts each from the Humanities, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences, and Technology; only the readership changes, from a more to a less specialized one. However, the difference in the use of adverbial support is fairly dramatic, with values around 20.6% and 9.7% for academic and popular writing respectively. From Figure 4 we can confirm that the results derived from the corpus as a whole are register mediated results, and thus they cannot be taken at face value, lest that register should act as a confounding factor.

Whereas Figure 4 seems to establish that adverbial support is register-dependent, we still need to ask why registers exhibit such different rates of adverbial use. A broad interpretation of register, such as that of Neumann (2013: 16), who defines registers as "sub-systems of the language system or, when viewed from below, as types of instantiated texts reflecting a similar situation", proposes that the discourse conventions of each register depend on their topic, social function, intended audience and communicative purpose. This is what Bybee and Hopper call "the pressure of discourse" (2001: 3), which shapes the structure of grammar as it occurs. The distribution of adverbs presented in Figure 4 clearly reflects this interplay of factors, so that even if two registers have relatively similar topics and communicative purposes (e.g. academic writing and popular writing), they are still going to differ in their use of linguistic devices for other reasons pertaining to register-dependent factors, such as the readership and the social function of the texts. Szmrecsanyi and Hinrichs (2008: 307) reach similar conclusions in their multivariate analysis of genitive variation, which includes register: they find that register variation is indeed a strong predictor for variation in this area. In a similar vein, Hundt and Smith (2009: 57) study the distribution of present perfect forms in British and American English and find that whereas there is a significant decrease of PPs in British newspapers and American general prose, there is an increase in fiction, which serves to illustrate that register differences override geographical ones. As a final example, Mair (2015: 214) argues that in his study of modals he was also confronted with "considerable genre-dependent variability as a confounding factor".

Once we have uncovered the close relationship (i) between adverbial support and register (see Figure 4) and (ii) between adverbial support and type of perfect meaning (see Figure 3), we clearly need to see whether the variability observed between registers depends on the type of perfect meaning that the registers favour. For this purpose I examined the distribution of perfect meaning per register (Figure 5). As expected (see Table 5 above), resultative meaning is the most frequent in all registers, but the relative proportions of this and the other two meanings differ greatly in the different registers. To give just one example, we can compare the high frequency of instances of recent past in two spoken genres, that of spoken scripted monologue (43.7%) and spoken private dialogue (9.7%). The correlation between register, meaning and the entrenchment of adverbs is clearer if we consider some specific text-types: printed popular writing, non-printed letters and printed academic writing (Figures 6 to 8).

To take printed popular writing first, the register with the lowest adverbial support: as can be seen in Figure 4, it shows a correlation between high values for resultative meaning, which appeared predominantly without an adverbial (see Figure 3), and

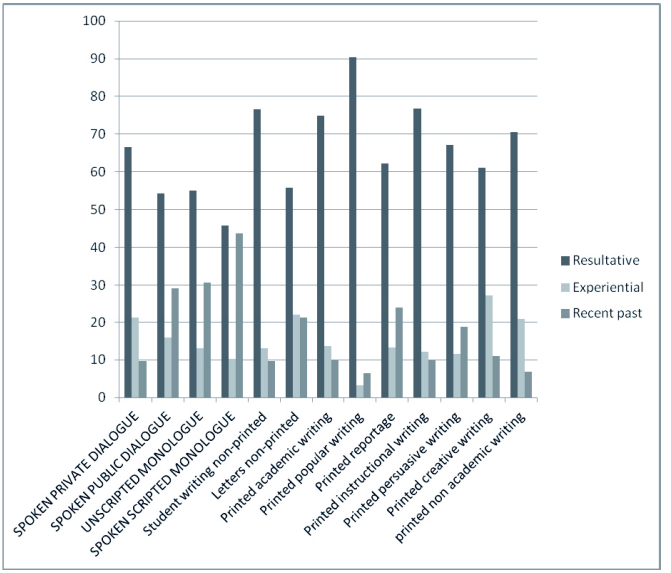

Figure 5. Types of perfect meaning per register

low frequency of adverbial use. Since it is experiential meaning and, above all, recent past meaning which require adverbial support, the low frequency of the latter results in low rates of adverbial support. Let us now turn to non-printed letters, the register with the highest level of adverbial presence (see Figure 7):

The high rate of adverbial presence for non-printed letters (the highest of all registers) is clearly correlated in Figure 7 with the low rates of resultative meaning associated with this register (55.8% compared to 90.3% in printed popular writing, cf. Figure 6) and also with higher proportions of experiential and recent past meanings, with which adverbs frequently appear (cf. Figure 3). Finally, the data on academic writing, a register with topics and purposes similar to popular writing (see Figure 6), are set out in Figure 8.

Here the use of adverbs is intermediate (see Figure 4), as is the rate of resultative meaning (74.8%, that is, between popular writing, 90.3%, and non-printed letters, 55.8%). The values for experiential and recent past meanings, which tend to have an adverbial, are also intermediate (higher than in popular writing but lower than in non-printed letters).

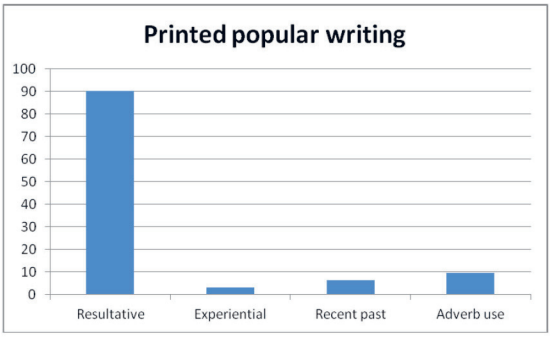

Figure 6. Types of perfect meaning and adverb use rate in printed popular writing

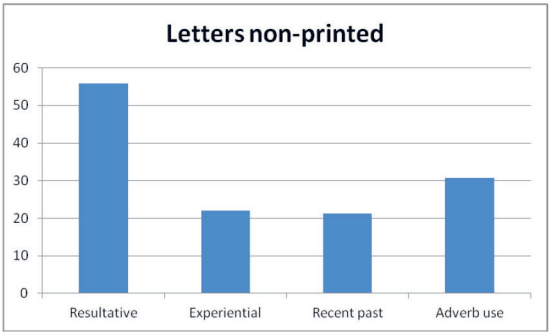

Figure 7. Types of perfect meaning and adverb use rate in non-printed letters

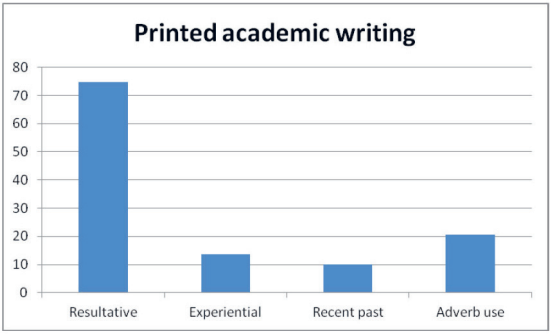

Figure 8. Types of perfect meaning and adverb use rate in printed academic writing

Discussion and Conclusions

This paper set out to test Miller's (2000) and Brown and Miller's (2017) hypothesis that *just*, *(n)ever* and *yet* are undergoing a process of becoming perfect markers in spoken English, which would make the PP redundant and hence would see its meaning weakened. This process was understood in terms of UBT, in such a way that the process would involve the progressive entrenchment of these adverbs as markers of perfect meaning in the mental grammar of speakers. The study did not limit itself to spoken L1 language but included comparable data of spoken and written language in L1, L2 and ESD varieties. The inclusion of these varieties made it possible to check whether this ongoing process of entrenchment had filtered through to other Present-Day varieties of English, and, if so, whether the process was more or less advanced than in the L1. The results showed that rates of adverb use were higher in the L1 variety analysed, which was explained in terms of L2s having more limited exposure to exemplars of this recent use of particular adverbs as perfect markers, thus making their entrenchment weaker.

The data for the study were extracted from the ICE corpus, and the onomasiological (or function-to-form) approach proved essential in demonstrating that the study of the entrenchment of adverbs as perfect markers needs to consider not only the PP and preterite forms, as is usually the case in other studies (cf. Section 1), but all the forms that are used productively to express perfect meaning, such as the *be* + past participle periphrasis, the base form, and the past participle in isolation (see Table 1). These forms were seen to occur in different ratios in the different varieties, but were not exclusive to L2 and ESD varieties, since British English also exhibits a fair number of preterites, *be*-periphrases and base forms (cf. Table 1). The entrenchment of adverbs seems to be taking place only in the synthetic forms, that is, the preterite, the base form and the past participle, whereas the analytical forms, *have* + past participle and the historical perfect periphrasis *be* + past participle, do not require adverbial support so often. Another aspect of the hypothesis that was examined is whether or not the entrenchment of adverbs takes place predominantly in spoken English, and this was confirmed: Figure 2 shows that in synthetic forms adverbs are much more frequent in the spoken than in the written mode. Miller's hypothesis, therefore, proves right only with synthetic ways of expressing the perfect. If there is any semantic weakening in the PP periphrasis, it is not due to the presence of adverbs as perfect markers. As for the adverbs themselves, *just* and *(n)ever* clearly predominate for the expression of recent past and experiential meaning respectively. However, *already* surpasses *yet* in the expression of resultative meaning, contra Miller (2000) and Brown and Miller (2017).

Sections 4.2 and 4.3 looked at potential factors motivating the distribution of adverbial markers in the corpus. The factors explored first were those quoted in the literature on the perfect: correlation between negative polarity and presence of adverbs, which was only partially confirmed (cf. Table 3), and lexical factors, in which we observed the entrenchment of certain collocations for the verbs *think, come* and *get*, which are semantically unrelated (cf. Table 4). This was interpreted in terms of UBT, which predict that verbs are stored with their own particular collocations, not necessarily according to their semantics.

A lack of explanatory force in these two factors led me to explore the distribution of adverbs according to the semantic type of perfect expressed. The results revealed that while verbs with resultative meaning, in this case the prototypical meaning of the perfect, are independent of adverbial support, experiential and recent past meanings do show a greater dependence on adverbs (cf. Figure 3). Therefore, Miller's hypothesis can be refined as applying to the expression of experiential and recent-past meaning, but not to resultative perfect meaning in general.

The onomasiological approach to the data entailed reading thousands of examples. In doing so it was possible to appreciate the differences between registers in terms of their topic, audience and style, these in turn determining the type of perfect meaning they use. For this reason I examined the connection between type of perfect meaning and register (cf. Figure 5), and the results showed that register variation needs to be accounted for in any such study, since all previous results are mediated by register differences. This was illustrated with three registers in particular, as shown in Figures 6 to 8, which exemplified the strong correlation between register, semantic type of perfect and adverbial support. These findings led to the conclusion that the right approach to morphosyntactic variation in Present-Day English must include and measure register variation, in that it is a potentially distorting factor (Mair 2015: 141; Hilpert and Mair 2015: 181). This in turn calls for the compilation of corpora representing comparable types of language use across different varieties and across different periods of time; corpora, that is, which can facilitate the rigorous analysis of variation in WEs.

Notes

[1] I am grateful to my colleague Cristina Suárez-Gómez for working with me on the data retrieval and analysis, and to the two anonymous reviewers of this paper for their helpful comments. For funding, I am grateful to the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (grants FFI2014-53930-P and FFI2014-51873-REDT).

[2] Also at the macro-level, it would be interesting to explore sociolinguistic variables (gender, age, education), but only with the second generation of ICE corpora, such as ICE Nigeria, can results be easily contextualized here; the importance of metadata and the limitations of most ICE corpora in this respect are discussed in Hundt (2015), Schaub (2016) and Seoane (forthcoming).

[3] The term entrenchment is used here as understood in UBT theory (cf. Bybee 2006, 2011, 2013). It refers to the integration of a particular linguistic element (construction, lexical item, phonological feature) in the mental grammar of speakers. Langacker's (2000) term for this process of consolidation in the grammar is *conservation*.

[4] I appreciate and take note of a reviewer's comment that it is not recommendable to draw any generalizations on L1 use of the perfect based on ICE-GB only, as Hundt and Vogel (2011) demonstrate. Indeed in their study of the progressive in ENL (L1), ESL (L2) and EFL varieties, Hundt and Vogel find that the L1-L2 distinction is not so clear-cut since L1 varieties such as New Zealand English exhibit patterns that are closer to L2 use (2011: 161-162).

[5] As might be expected, the selection of relevant examples was far from easy. Cristina Suárez-Gómez and I agreed on the criteria to follow, filtered the data separately, then compared results. Of particular difficulty was the semantic discrimination of examples (see section 5.2), which entailed the careful reading of generous amounts of context in order to clarify the time frame in which the action is set.

[6] Only clean data have been included in the analysis. That is, we carefully excluded all tokens expressing perfect meaning that belong to extra-corpus material (interviewers, speakers of a different variety of English), marked with <X> in the corpus.

[7] I refer here to the effect that the distribution of the different types of perfect meaning per geographical variety will have on adverb distribution in these varieties. However, we should also bear in mind that since adverbs express time relations, their distribution (independent of type of adverbial meaning) is also register-dependent. For example, a register such as academic writing, which is concerned with timeless truths (Xiao 2009: 438), could be expected to use fewer adverbials.

[8] I am aware that cultural differences between the territories concerned and decisions related to the compilation of the different components of the corpus have made some of the registers heterogeneous, and hence that comparing the same register across different varieties of English using ICE is not always free of problems (cf. Mukherjee and Schilk 2012: 191; Hundt 2015: 384-385; Schaub 2016: 269). However, ICE remains a useful tool for the observation of general trends and patterns of variability across registers.

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Reviews

BEYOND THE UNIVERSE OF LANGUAGES FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES: THE 21ST CENTURY PERSPECTIVE

Mary Frances Litzler, Jesús García Laborda, Cristina Tejedor Martínez, eds.

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General description

The book *Beyond the Universe of Languages for Specific Purposes* is a collection of 29 short papers (around 4 pages each), mostly in English, with a few articles in Spanish and one in French, dealing with a wide range of topics related to Languages for Specific Purposes (hereinafter LSP). The papers included in the book cover a whole variety of LSP-related issues such as learning and teaching, materials design, and activity selection.

The book is subdivided into three roughly equal parts – "Teaching of LSPs" (11 papers), "Linguistics" (9 papers), and "Translation" (9 papers). Overall, these sections are similar in structure, scope and length, with an even-handed balance of theoretical considerations and practical investigations. However, the contents of the book vary quite a lot in terms of article structure: whereas many papers follow the standard format of research articles (problem statement, literature review, methods and materials, results and findings), others resemble research reports, describing in a more subjective and descriptive fashion what was done, without observing the scientific rigour of a particular research design. Most of these papers share a drastic reduction of sample data, due to limitations of space.

Summary of the book's contents

The first part of the book, entitled "Teaching of LSPs", contains 11 articles (9 in English, 2 in Spanish), related to the following aspects:

1. Collaborative learning (interuniversity interaction and intercultural learning – Crespo; wiki-mediated collaborative learning – Rubio Cuenca; project-based collaborative learning and IT – García Esteban).
2. Psychological aspects of language learning (emotions – Santamaría García; ESP's learner motivation – Alberola Colomar).
3. CLIL in higher education contexts (Barreiro Elorza and Sancho Guinda; Bellés-Fortuño and Ferrer Alcantud).
4. ESP curriculum development (English for Policing – Torregrosa and Sánchez-Reyes; intercultural sensitivity – Ruggiero).
5. Phonemic awareness in L2 young learners (Rábano and Hernández Barriopedro).
6. Data-Driven Learning (Curado Fuentes).

The articles in the first part present a vast array of perspectives and differ somewhat in scope and type, some with much richer data and experimental treatment (Alberola Colomar, Curado Fuentes, Rábano Llamas and Hernández Barriopedro), others more structured as a research report in progress (e.g. Barreiro Elorza and Sancho Guinda). Two papers in this section might be highlighted: Torregosa and Sánchez-Reyes' "Incorporating Problem-Oriented Policing Methodologies into the Syllabus of English for Law Enforcement Course" and Ruggiero's "The Creating Communities, Engaged Scholarship Project (CruCES): Findings of a Study on Intercultural Sensitivity and Community Service Learning". Both papers are worth highlighting here due to their interesting topic formulation, innovative research and novel theoretical frameworks. In the same section are Santamaría García's "Emotions and Classroom Management" and Rábano Llamas and Hernández Barriopedro's "Teaching L2 Sounds to Very Young Learners", which are highly interesting in scope and have important implications for classroom teaching. However, they might have fitted better in the "Linguistics" section on account of their complex theoretical underpinnings.

The second section of the book is entitled "Linguistics" and it brings together 9 papers (6 in Spanish, 2 in English and one in French) that approach different linguistic theories that nurture the methodology of LSP teaching and learning. The articles here deal with topics such as the application of cognitive linguistics and semantic mapping to teaching Spanish as an L2 (Narvajas Colón), different strategies for translating medical terminology between German and Spanish (Burgos Cuadrillero and

Rohr Schrade), an analysis of Anglicisms in teaching marketing at university level (López Zurita), a critical discourse analysis of branding in Spanish politics (Negro), English loans in Spanish tabloids (Vázquez Amador and Lario de Oñate), an analysis of the way Colombia is portrayed in Spanish newspapers (Quijano and Westall), metaphor extension in the creation of scientific terms (Durán Escribano and Argüelles Álvarez), a multimodal analysis of metaphors of wine (Molina-Plaza), and a study of frequency and visual cues to help develop reading skills (Dogoriti and Vyzas).

The "Linguistics" section contains some of the best articles in the volume, as it perfectly condenses the essence of the book: how different linguistic theories support LSP, specifically teaching and translating. However, this section does not solely address the two big applications of linguistics: teaching (Narvajas Colón) and translation (Burgos Cuadrillero and Rohr Schrade; López Zurita; Vázquez Amador and Lario de Oñate) but it also covers topics such as critical discourse analysis (Negro; Quijano and Westall), cognitive processing (Dogoriti and Vyzas), and it links translation to other branches of linguistic studies such as intercultural semiotics (Molina-Plaza) and cognitive semantics (Durán Escribano and Argüelles Álvarez).

Several papers could be highlighted in this section. Narvajas Colón provides an excellent overview of recent trends in language acquisition by approaching it in terms of a link between cognitive processing and social factors, increasingly popular over the last decade, and often grouped under the heading of "Cognitive Sociolinguistics" (Kristiansen and Dirven 2008; Kristiansen and Geeraerts 2013). Negro analyses how politicians see themselves as products that buyers pay for in terms of votes in what is possibly one of the best articles in the volume and written with great elegance. It goes beyond LSP by applying a cognitive linguistic theory to social studies while keeping focus on language as a specific field of study.

Two other papers that are particularly worth mentioning in the "Linguistics" section are "Cross-Disciplinary Metaphorical Meaning Extension in the Creation of New Scientific Terms" by Durán Escribano and Argüelles Álvarez and "Multimodal Metaphors on the Spanish Technical Discourse of Wine: An Overview" by Molina-Plaza. The former shows the use of Fauconnier's (1997) mappings to discuss metaphors encountered in texts from different areas of Science and Technology, while the latter illustrates the implementation of Forceville's (2009) concept of multimodal metaphor to explain and understand innovative uses of language in advertising discourse in the highly interesting area of Winespeak.

The third part of the book is devoted to translation, covering such aspects as the use of translational strategies for rendering the imperative in guidebooks (Santamaría Urbieta), implementation of informant rating in the process of developing translation competence (Okoniewska), analysis of argument structure when translating abstracts (Montemayor-Borsinger), strategies for translating new words de-

rived from the socio-economic situation in the European Union (Valero-Garcés), confronting taxonomies and frameworks for measuring quality in professional translation (Martínez Mateo), evaluating Computer-Assisted Translation tools based on user preferences (Zaretskaya), challenges when translating from/to German/Spanish (Serra Pfennig), the creation of videogames for learning a foreign language (Lucía Gómez), and an analysis of the visual mode in car commercials (Cortés de los Ríos and Bretones Callejas).

One paper that is worth highlighting here is Zaretskaya's "A quantitative method for evaluation of CAT tools based on user preferences", as it tackles an extremely important issue in present-day research in translation, namely translation software, by confronting both commercial and free CAT tools according to criteria-based user rating within the three areas of Functionality, Adaptability and Interoperability. Lucía Goméz' "Videogame Design in Java with Artificial Intelligence for Teaching English and Spanish as a Second Language", though referring to a highly innovative topic and showing the author's enormous computer expertise, clearly stands apart from the rest of the volume in terms of structure and academic quality, being more of a step-by-step computer tutorial, without methodology or previous literature, written in a more informal and 'first-person' style. Some readers may cast doubt on why this article is included in the "Translation" section of the volume, as it does not clearly address any translation issue at first hand.

Evaluation

Beyond the Universe of Language for Specific Purposes: The 21st Century Perspective is an important book for the development of teaching, linguistic analysis and translation within different areas of specialized language due to the extremely wide range of topics, contexts and perspectives represented in the volume. Rather than give definitive answers, which would be hard in the relatively confined space of articles, the contributors indicate directions of further research, summarize previous studies or offer a glimpse of what research can be done to solve particular problems. Thus, *Beyond the Universe of Languages for Specific Purposes* does go, indeed, beyond that traditional LSP teaching and learning context, by showing how linguistic analysis and translation studies can combine to produce successful specialized language acquisition.

The book is not free of minor shortcomings, which are, most probably, hard to avoid in a project of such a wide scope involving so many authors representing diverse research perspectives and backgrounds. The title itself may be criticised. It draws attention to the field of Languages for Specific Purposes, but could also alert

its potential readers to the area of translation studies, which is covered quite comprehensively in the volume. Reworking the title to include both teaching and translation, within specialized domains of language use, would have been a helpful guide to the academic community.

A second criticism refers to the way the book is structured, as well as to how articles are selected and placed in one of three parts. It is debatable whether designating the second part "Linguistics" is appropriate since the entire volume deals with linguistic studies. The book's sections might be better named "Defining LSPs", "Teaching LSPs" and "Translating LSPs", thus designating common ground and ensuring parallelism of structure. Likewise, the inclusion of certain articles could be questioned, such as the paper by Santamaría García on emotions and classroom management and Rábano Llamas and Hernández Barriopedro's paper on the use of Text-to-Speech synthesis in teaching children, which only pertain to the teaching section in virtue of their titles, not their contents. As might be expected, the heterogeneity of the book in terms of topics and research perspectives also means varied approaches to research paper structure. A more uniform way of presenting the data and conclusions would make for much easier replication in future research.

Finally, no book will manage to avoid minor flaws, occasional typos, mistaken numbers in headings, visuals sometimes of weak quality and too small print, and a switched order of two articles in the Table of Contents. These minor shortcomings, however, do not undermine the scientific value of the volume, which must be clearly regarded as an important contribution in the field of researching, teaching and translating LSP, and the vast array of topics covered in this volume achieves the purpose of portraying a universe that goes beyond traditional approaches to Languages for Specific Purposes.

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Notes for contributors

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies is a double-blind peer-reviewed journal published twice a year by the Department of English and German Philology, University of Zaragoza, Spain. In addition to the printed version of the journal, current and back issues of the journal are available online at the following web site:

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An abstract of no more than 200 words should also be provided, together with five key words and a translation into Spanish when possible.

Reviews are also accepted of books that are of general interest in the field of English studies and that have been published within the last four years (recommended length: **1,500** words). They should not only be a mere description

of the contents of the book, but should also provide an explanation of its contribution to the field within which it belongs. Reviews will also be refereed.

Notes (brief reports on language, literature, history and lexicography) are also accepted.

Invited (non-refereed) contributions from leading scholars will be acknowledged as such.

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Reviewing process

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Double quotation marks should be used for citations. Single quotes may be used to draw attention to a particular item in the text. Italics are used for foreign words, or for emphasis. References in the text to publications should include the author's surname, the year of publication, and, if necessary, page numbers, as in the following examples:

"…narrative to their function" (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 12).

…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).

Should part of the original text be omitted, this will be made clear by inserting […], NOT (…).

Bibliographical references

Bibliographical references should be included in alphabetical order at the end of the manuscript and under the heading WORKS CITED. Authors' full first names

should be used unless the authors themselves customarily use only initials. Set the author's last name(s) in small caps. References to two or more works by the same author in a single year should be accompanied by a lower-case a, b, etc. after the year of publication, both in the reference list and in citations in the text. References to books should include the place of publication and the publisher's name, and references to articles in journals should include volume, issue number (if necessary) and page numbers. Titles of books and journals will be written in italics. Titles of articles and of book chapters will be placed in double inverted commas.

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Examples:

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NEALE, Steve. 1992. "The Big Romance or Something Wild? Romantic Comedy Today". *Screen* 33 (3): 284-299.

SAFRAN, Steve. 2007. "E&P: VT paper should be considered for Pulitzer". <http://www.lostremote.com/index.php?tag=virginia-tech>. Accessed July 25, 2008.

"Stars Slate Bush at Relief Event". 2005. BBC News. (September 19). <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/4260182.stm>. Accessed February 21, 2010.

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* There should be no full stops after interrogation and exclamation marks.

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